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THE
PLACE- NAMES OF THE EAST RIDING
OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK
The collection from unpublished documents of material for this volume has been made possible by a grant received from the British Academy.
The Place-names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York

By

A. H. Smith

Formerly Vaughan Fellow in the University of Leeds

Cambridge
At the University Press
1970
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IN the early days of the English Place-name Society, the Rev. Armitage Goodall, whose book on the Place-names of South-West Yorkshire had already been accepted as a valuable and authoritative work upon northern place-names, placed at the disposal of the editors of the Society his collections for a similar volume upon the Place-names of the East Riding of Yorkshire. This work on East Riding place-names was planned on the lines of Mr Goodall’s earlier volume, and in addition to including a considerable amount of material, it also contained suggestions for the etymologies of many of the major names of the Riding and provided valuable suggestions for the elucidation of the more difficult problems, as well as useful parallel material. It was a piece of work that simplified the Director’s task in the preparation of the Chief Elements in English Place-names. At an early stage it was clear, however, that the scope of the Society’s volumes extended beyond that contemplated by Mr Goodall when he prepared the draft of his own work, and it was also clear that the collections of material would have to be considerably enlarged to bring the volume into line with the rest of the Society’s publications. At an early stage it was also evident that the gradual accumulation of comparative material in this country, as in Scandinavia, had to some extent modified the earlier views on the study of place-names generally. We are, however, under a great obligation to Mr Goodall for his generous gift to the Society.

We are under similar obligations to Professor E. V. Gordon. Professor Gordon had himself intended to prepare a study of East Riding place-names for the Society and he had already made some collections from early printed and unprinted documents. These collections, together with many useful etymological notes, were placed at our disposal by him and they have proved to be of great value. Professor Gordon has retained his interest in the place-names of this area and throughout the production of the present volume he has constantly offered his advice, and in reading the proofs he has made many illuminating suggestions.
I should also express my gratitude to Professor Bruce Dickins who has read the proofs with his usual care and insight and who has put himself to great trouble in providing parallels and suggestions for many of the cruces of this volume.

I have had many helpers in the East Riding itself. To Mrs Espinasse, of University College, Hull, I am indebted for organising the collection of modern field-names. She spent a great deal of time in the gathering of this material and she was able to provide me with very useful analyses of the field-names. Mrs Espinasse also read the proofs of the volume and I am grateful to her for this, as for all her other good offices. In this connexion I should also thank Mr P. F. Whitehead, the Education Officer of the East Riding, Mr A. E. Morgan, formerly Principal of University College, Hull, and Mr Sherard Vines, Professor of English in University College, Hull, all of whom assisted materially in the organising of the collection of field-names. To the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses and the children who collaborated with Mrs Espinasse I should express my thanks for their work. It may be disappointing that so little of this field-name collection appears in the present volume, but the value of field-names is always determined by local conditions, and until those collections are made, it is impossible to forecast what their final value may be. Nevertheless, the material will prove of use in other branches of philology.

Many other helpers have assisted the Survey in one way or another:

Mr G. R. Armstrong of Beverley has provided me with many notes upon Beverley street-names and I am grateful to him for information upon problems of local antiquarian interest.

To Dr C. E. N. Bromehead of the Geological Survey I am indebted for advice.

Dr B. G. Charles provided a good many Welsh references and I have had the advantage of seeing the proofs of his forthcoming Non-Celtic Place-names in Wales.

Mr Charles Clay gave me much detailed information on several antiquarian problems that arose in the preparation of the volume.

Mr T. P. Cooper of York allowed me the use of his collections of notes on York street-names. This proved of great assistance and I am grateful to him.
To Professor Sir William Craigie, F.B.A., I am indebted for several etymological suggestions.

Professor Max Förster has provided me with several bibliographical references.

The Rev. Canon F. Harrison gave me valuable assistance in connexion with documents in York.

Mr J. W. F. Hill advised me upon some Lincolnshire problems which arose in connexion with the East Riding.

Mr T. Joys of Bridlington gave me considerable help in matters of local topography and upon the local pronunciations of many of the names and I am also indebted to him for help in other ways.

To Miss K. Major I am grateful for some parallel material from Lincolnshire.

Dr O. K. Schram has again provided us with illustrative material from his collections for Norfolk.

To Mr L. S. Selle of Hull I am indebted for much useful local information.

Mr L. M. Stanewell, Records Clerk of Hull Corporation, gave me considerable help in dealing with the street-names of the City of Hull. He not only made easy for me access to many important documents, but from his own great knowledge of the antiquities of Hull, he led me directly to the solution of many difficulties.

To my colleagues, Professor W. B. R. King, Professor C. B. Fawcett and Professor E. J. Salisbury, all of University College, London, I am indebted for advice upon the topographical problems of the East Riding.

The Society has been fortunate in having enjoyed the cooperation of various scholars interested in Scandinavian place-names, and this, in a county where Scandinavian influence is so strong as it is in the East Riding, has proved exceedingly valuable. Dr Gunnar Knudsen and Mr K. Hald of the Danish Place-name Survey in Copenhagen, Professor J. Sahlgren of the Swedish Place-name Survey in Uppsala, and Professor E. Ekwall of Lund and the late Professor R. E. Zachrisson of Uppsala have all read the proofs of this volume and have contributed very many valuable suggestions and have constantly pointed out Scandinavian parallels, which have proved of considerable importance. I have
also had opportunities of discussing many of the problems personally with some of these scholars and there is no doubt that co-operation of this kind, which has always been one of the aims of the Society, is one of the surest approaches to the solution of many of our difficulties. I am indeed grateful to them for their help.

Amongst other scholars who have read proofs of the volume I am particularly indebted to Mr T. Sheppard of Hull, who, in addition, provided me with much local information, not only through his own books, but also in answer to particular problems which were put to him from time to time; to Mr R. M. Wilson, who also gave me much information on the topography and local pronunciations of the East Riding; to Mr J. E. B. Gover, the sub-editor of the Society, who assisted me considerably by checking forms in the Public Record Office and elsewhere and made helpful etymological suggestions; and to my colleague, Mr F. Norman, who put at my disposal his great knowledge of the early Germanic languages.

To Miss A. M. Armstrong I am indebted for the Indexes, and much of the uniformity of reference throughout the volume is due to her careful reading of the proofs.

I have to express a sense of great personal gratitude to Sir Allen Mawer and Professor F. M. Stenton, the editors of the Society. The normal duties of editors of volumes of this kind are always a task of magnitude, and a mere mention of their names on the half-title of a volume, or an inadequate expression of thanks in a preface can never be commensurate with the acknowledgement that is actually due to them. An unfortunate forced absence on my part, when this volume was half way through the press, threw an additional burden of labour upon Sir Allen Mawer and it is due entirely to his ready help in taking over duties which should normally have been the author’s that this volume is no later in appearing than it is. For this reason my gratitude to him is all the greater. To him and to Professor Stenton I am indebted for many valuable suggestions, and to Professor Stenton in particular I am grateful for his expert advice upon the historical matters that fall within the sphere of the present volume.

St Swithin’s Day, 1937
A. H. Smith
University College, London
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INTRODUCTION

The East Riding of Yorkshire has some affinities in the character of its place-names with the North Riding and with the adjacent parts of other counties, the West Riding and Lincolnshire. Such agreement as there is would seem to arise from one or the other of two conditions—the linguistic unity of the peoples who settled in this and the adjacent areas, and, to some extent, the similarity in the geological and topographical features of the different regions. The administrative area of the East Riding, which has remained practically unchanged from Viking days, is bounded by certain natural features, on the east by the North Sea, on the south by the Humber estuary which separates it from Lincolnshire, on the west by the River Ouse and the broad Vale of York which separate it from the West Riding, and on the north by the Vale of Pickering and its rivers, the Derwent and the Hertford, which separate it from the North Riding. These natural boundaries, though they may at times have been serious obstacles to early settlers, do not make the East Riding a complete unit either in geological formation or in surface conditions. The Boulder Clay, for example, is found on the coast of the North Riding, and in the East Riding it occupies the whole of the coastal districts (the wapentakes of Holderness North, Mid and South), stretching as far inland as Beverley and the Wolds, and it continues along the coast of Lincolnshire. The surface of the Boulder Clay is interspersed with patches of sand and gravel and, particularly in the flat, low-lying land of Holderness; many ancient villages (such as Driffield, Leven, Seaton, Goxhill, Cowden, Aldbrough, Thorn-gumbold, Keyingham and Skeckling) are to be found in the neighbourhood of these gravel beds, which were not waterlogged as some other sites in Holderness must have been, though it may be noted that the early settlements in the eastern parts of the Riding are not found exclusively on these gravel beds.

This area between the Wolds and the sea is not well wooded to-day, but there is some evidence for the existence of forest
land in the older place-names of the district. Several of the names which contain Old English *leah*, for example, are to be found here (Lelley, Sproatley, Skirlaugh, etc.) and we must suppose that towards the west near the Wolds it was well wooded in the time of Bede who refers to a *monasterium In Derauuda id est In silua Derorum*, ‘wood of the men of Deira’ (v. infra 12), the site of the monastery being near Beverley (infra 192). In the eastern part of the Riding we find that the valleys themselves generally have an alluvial covering. The alluvium is most prominent in the Hull valley; there is a large area around Hull and this stretches in a narrow band along the Humber towards the sea. Apart from Hull itself there do not appear to be many old settlements in these alluvial areas, for many of the older villages are to be found near the alluvium but actually on the Boulder Clay. Hessle, Cottingham, Sutton on Hull, Hedon, Ottringham and Patrington for example, lie on the Boulder Clay on the edge of the alluvial area. On the other hand, most of the villages on the Hull itself—the so-called Beverley Water Towns—do not bear in their names the appearance of any great antiquity and with the exception of one or two Middle English names like *Woodhall* (infra 199) the place-names of the large parish of Beverley are almost exclusively topographical in origin (infra 192–203). The same is largely true of the alluvial parts of the parishes of Cottingham (infra 205–9) and Kingston upon Hull (infra 209–215).

The avoidance by early settlers of these alluvial areas is to be accounted for by the marshy character of the land. A striking number of place-names bear testimony to this feature of the topography, and the early records are eloquent about the inundations which settlers along the Humber had to contend with. It is the washing away of villages along the Humber (as well as along the North Sea coast with its boulder clay cliffs) that complicates to some extent the study of the place-names of the East Riding. *Hutton, Ravenser Odd, Sunthorpe, Ravenser, Burstall, Orwithfleet, Pensthorpe, Frismarsh, Farlesthorpe, Withfleet, Paull Fleet* are amongst the many Humber towns washed away, and

1 The *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages* (O.S.) suggests dense woodland for this area, particularly on the eastern edges of the Wolds round Beverley and in the coastal region east of the River Hull.
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The problem is still further complicated by the appearance in historic times of new stretches of alluvial deposits. The appearance of Ravenser Odd as a small island in the Humber in the time of Henry III is typical (v. infra 16, n. 2), and a more recent case is the appearance of Sunk Island which has, between 1678 and the present time, grown into a large tract of the mainland (v. infra 24). With such unsettled local conditions it is not surprising that the alluvial areas have remained thinly populated. To a less extent, these difficulties of settlement apply to other alluvial areas in the Riding, particularly in Howdenshire Wapentake which is further west along the Humber. The place-names in this wapentake do not bear the stamp of any great antiquity (although by a curious chance many of them happen to be recorded in one of the few Old English charters for the Riding); indeed, many of the place-names, such as Bellasize, Bennetland, Gilberdike, are of post-Conquest origin, and in this Wapentake eight of the twenty-two township names are not recorded before the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Alluvial beds are also found along the valleys of the Ouse and the Derwent, in the Wapentakes of Ouse and Derwent, and parts of Harthill and Buckrose, and here, as elsewhere, there is a good deal of marshland which may well have affected the settlement, particularly in the Derwent valley where the valley bottom itself seems to have been avoided by the early settlers. Here again, in both these valleys there are occasional ridges of Boulder Clay (as that between Whedrake and Escrick) which make these areas similar in topography to the adjacent areas of the North Riding, particularly the Wapentake of Bulmer.

The central area of the East Riding (Harthill, Buckrose and Dickering Wapentakes) is covered by a tract of chalk wolds (v. The Wolds infra 13) intersected by numerous valleys which are often dry and treeless. There are few streams within the area and these are mostly gipseys or streams which run intermittently during the winter months and in wet seasons. Of the stream-names dealt with below (2 ff.), only one (Gipsey Race, infra 4) belongs to the Wolds, though names of springs such as Ludhill Spring (infra 172), Cawkeld (infra 159) and Holy Well (infra 136) (v. also Yeadon Fm infra 171) are not unknown. This question of water supply in the Wolds is, and
would always appear to have been, a serious problem. Early settlers seem to have avoided the higher parts of the Wolds and to have occupied the lower parts of the valleys or, especially on the north-western edges of the Wolds, to have chosen sites near their homes near the marshland of the alluvial valleys, but high enough up the Wold escarpments to avoid the inconveniences of the marshland. In other places they have chosen sites near springs or pools, as at Sledmere (infra 126) and Fimber (infra 128). These matters have some bearing upon the character of the place-names of the Wolds, for in contrast to Holderness and the Hull valley, etc. there are few which have reference to water in any form, and the few which do betoken streams or pools (such as Elmswell, Eastburn, Kirkburn, etc.) are of considerable antiquity. This aspect of local topography would obviously be one of some importance to intending settlers. Something of the same problem is to be found in the distribution of Lincolnshire place-names, where the high land of the Wolds was generally avoided by the early settlers who usually chose sites on gravel beds in the Boulder Clay or on the spring-lines of the Lincoln Edge.

In its recorded history and in its linguistic affinities, the East Riding belongs to Northumbria, but there is some evidence that before the occupation of the East Riding by the Angles there was a considerable settlement of Celts. The Celtic peoples of the East Riding are usually identified as a branch of the Gaulish tribe, the Parisii, and are distinct from the Brigantes who had settled in West Yorkshire and the more northerly parts of Bernicia. Abundant remains of La Tène culture in numerous places in the East Riding provide further evidence. Burials have been noted at Danes Graves near Driffield, at Arras, at Hessle-skew and at Westwood near Beverley, and isolated objects have been recorded from Bugthorpe and North Grimston, all these places being within the Wolds. We have also some evidence of British settlements in the swamps and woodlands of Holderness.

1 Wetwang (infra 128) which might formally be taken as meaning 'wet meadow' is remarkable for its dryness.
2 v. an important study by L. W. H. Payling, Geology and Place-names in Kesteven (LSE iv, 1-13).
3 Ptolemy's Parisii, Petouaria (the town of the Parisi). v. also R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, Roman Britain (1936), 25.
Traces of Celtic settlement-sites in the Wolds are wanting in spite of the abundance of the burial-sites, and it is also noteworthy that in the place-names of the East Riding there is little evidence for this Celtic settlement.

The material collected for the East Riding place-names provides singularly little evidence for a British settlement or the survival of a British population. Such evidence as there is is limited to the names of the principal rivers, the Humber, the Ouse and the Derwent, and the only town of any importance whose name is certainly Celtic is York (infra 275). The name of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira (infra 12) is British, and Craike Hill (infra 1, 167), which has additional interest in being the site of the Riding meeting-place, also appears to be a name of Celtic origin. Otherwise in the Wolds there is no name of Celtic origin, although such a possibility might be allowed for in the case of Beverley (infra 192) and perhaps even the river-name Hull. In Holderness we can point to Leven, Fosham and Catfoss and Roos, but the last three names raise difficult questions. There is no doubt that in the major names of the country Old English hybrids or adaptations of the type found in York (infra 275) or Manchester (PN La 33) are well established, but in the case of hybrids like Fosham or Catfoss it is more probable that foss is an Old English loan from British or Latin. In other words, the numerous examples of foss as a place-name element in this Riding, as in Lincolnshire, are not localised instances of Celtic influence (v. Foss Beck infra 3). The same may well be true of Roos, also in Holderness (v. infra 56), for this element has survived in the dialects of eastern England as a significant word. The most that can be said therefore with regard to names which contain these elements is that the adoption of the words by the Anglo-Saxons of East Yorkshire suggests some sort of connexion between Britons and Angles. The evidence of place-names, however, is so scanty that we can offer no suggestion as to the nature of that connexion. Indeed, it would hardly be proper to draw any serious conclusions from the Celtic nomenclature of the Riding, for there is always the possibility that Celtic names which may once have existed have fallen into disuse or have been supplanted by names of English

and Scandinavian origin. In the East Riding British names like Petouaria have completely disappeared.

To a corresponding degree there may be a similar uncertainty about the adequacy of the oldest stratum of English names as providing evidence of regions of original settlement. It is unnecessary to repeat here in any detail the historical references to the Angles in Northumbria that were dealt with in the *Place-names of the North Riding* (16 ff.). The English occupation of the north was certainly later than that of the more southerly parts of the country; the settlement of Deira appears to have begun before the middle of the sixth century. In the East Riding, in contrast to the North and West Ridings, burial places of heathen times are not infrequent. They are found distributed through the northern part of the Wolds, as at Garton on the Wolds and in the neighbourhood of Driffield. There is also a series of heathen burial grounds along the old Roman Way from Brough on Humber towards York, as at Sancton near Market Weighton. Other occasional remains of early date have been found in Holderness at Swine and at Nafferton. The distribution of archaeological remains suggests that the Angles entered the Riding from two points; from the North Sea coast somewhere between Bridlington and Filey, following the Derwent valley, or Wold Gate, an old Wold trackway, possibly Roman, from Bridlington to the west, or they entered the Riding at some point near the Roman fort at Brough on Humber, again following the line of the Roman road towards the north, Humber Street. In this connexion, Bede’s statement that a heathen temple

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1 In the East Riding we have not even evidence of the use of British personal names such as we have in the North Riding. It is possible, however, that Britons survived in the East Riding in the sixth or seventh centuries, if we can place any reliance upon the phonological character of the few Celtic names. Craike Hill evidences the late British change of e to ai. Leven, York, and Beverley, if that is Celtic, would appear to have undergone British mutation of b to f (v. infra 279). Lenition of s to h is suggested for Humber, and for Hull (if that is Celtic), but too much reliance should not be placed upon these forms, for in some cases the sound change is postulated to prove the etymology.


3 v. also PN NRY xviii. Ida, first king of Bernicia, is said to have landed at Flamborough with sixty ships, according to Symeon of Durham (SD, Surt 209).
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 existed at Goodmanham and was destroyed by the priest Coifi in 627, when Paulinus converted Edwin, king of Deira, to Christianity, is interesting, for Goodmanham, like Sancton, where there is a heathen burial place, is not far from this Roman road. Apart from sporadic finds such as that at Swine, there is little to suggest that any settlement on an extensive scale was made at an early date from the sea-board of Holderness.

In attempting to bring the evidence of place-names into line with recent archaeological work on this problem, it is important to remember that, as with the British names, many Anglian names of early date may have disappeared under the influence of the later Scandinavian settlements or, by the normal processes of place-name development, have become obscure. In the North Riding the rarity of such an archaic place-name element as word has already been noted1 and the absence of this element is complete in the East Riding. It may be assumed that the absence of word is due to the substitution of Scandinavian place-names for older English names which contained this element (cf. infra 315). The history of the name Goodmanham (infra 230) is also significant in this connexion, for the original medial -inga- was completely lost before the time of Domesday Book, and had it not been for the chance record of the name as Godmundingaham by Bede, we should not have known that this was an old name in -ing. It is usually assumed that the names in -ing, and to some extent those in -ingaham, belong to the period of the earliest settlement; this view is generally accepted, but there are cases where ing-names must have been formed later in the Old English period on the analogy of the original ing-names2. Nor is it improbable that some of the ing-names in the Danelaw belong rather to the Scandinavian settlement3. This question is very relevant to the problem of ing-names in the East Riding. In several cases, Skeckling (infra 34), Skeffling (infra 20), Scrayingham (infra 146), the possibility of a Scandinavian origin is by no means remote, and for that reason they cannot seriously be taken into account in proving the existence of the older English settlements. In Dickering (infra 84) or Cleaving (infra 232) other formations are possible. The acceptance or rejection of these

1 PN NRY xvii.
2 v. PN NRY xvii.
3 v. R. E. Zachrisson, PN in -ing, 115 ff.
views assumes importance when it is remembered that the total number of surviving ing-names is very small. On the other hand, it is clear that those ing-names which have survived and which can be unquestionably accepted as of early origin represent the absolute minimum of place-name evidence for the areas of the oldest Anglian settlement.

When we turn to the distribution of the ing and ingaham names in the East Riding we see that they fall into two main groups. Along the north of the Wolds within easy reach of the Derwent valley or Wold Gate and not very far from Driffield where archaeological remains are in evidence we have Nunkeeling and North Frodingham in the north of Holderness as well as the lost Drighelinge (infra 154 n.), Gembling, Leavening, Wintringham, Yedingham and perhaps Scrayingham towards the west in Dickering and Buckrose. This branch of the settlement is no doubt to be associated with a corresponding settlement on the north side of the Derwent valley in the North Riding (v. PN NRY xviii). To the south in Holderness there are names in -ing — Skeckling and Skeffling in the extreme south and a little further north in Holderness Keyingham, Ottringham, Fitling and South Frodingham. Some of these names, like the occasional archaeological remains in Holderness, may well be due to sporadic settlements from the immediate sea-board and they do not constitute evidence of any large scale invasion of the Riding through Holderness. The most prominent group of early Anglian names, however, is to be found in the upper reaches of the Humber, particularly along the southern and western edges of the Wolds above the alluvial swamps and more particularly along the Roman Way of Humber Street, where the evidence of archaeology is also prominent. Names like Cottingham and Derringham represent the eastern limit of this group, but within easy distance of the Roman road itself we have Brantingham, Riplingham, Everingham and Goodmanham, and a little way to the west of the Roman road we have Spaldingmoor (with Spaldington)¹. It is not improbable that the early Anglian occupation of York was due to this group of Angles who pro-

¹ Elloughton (infra 220), too, is near Brough, but if this name refers to a heathen temple, we do not know whether it was a temple of the Angles or of the early Scandinavian settlers.
ceeding along Humber Street to its obvious goal, though we must also allow for independent approaches by the River Ouse.

Some of the Angles would appear then to have entered the country by the Humber estuary and on the north side, at any rate, to have proceeded as far as the Wolds, possibly to the old Roman station at Brough on Humber, before attempting a landing, for, as we have seen, the flat, marshy banks of the Humber would be singularly unattractive to settlers making their way up the river. There is not much in the place-name material to suggest close connexion between those peoples who made for the North and those who made for the Midlands after sailing up the Humber, but it is difficult to dissociate Spalding Moor and Spaldington from Spalding in Lincolnshire, and the form bold which occurs already in Old English in the name Newbald (226–7) would appear to be of Midland rather than of Northumbrian origin, for the normal Northumbrian variant was boot or botl. The preservation of British foss as an element in the vocabulary of East Yorkshire as well as of Lincolnshire may also be significant (v. supra xvii). Otherwise, the evidence of place-names on this point is not significant.

The English names in the Riding otherwise call for little comment. They establish certain elements in vocabulary not hitherto unrecorded, such as pagol (Paull 36), cryfting (Crittins 70–1), haeoter (Heslerton 121–2), etc., and supporting evidence is found for others already suggested such as hæsling (Heslington 273–4), trun (Turnham Hall 259–60), wagen (Wawne 44–5) and wresel (Wressell 242–3), and much earlier evidence is found for certain other elements such as damme and fogge. Yapham (182) establishes OE geap as a noun and this is of some importance in the interpretation of that word in the Old English poem The Ruin.

From the point of view of social conditions Wyton (52) and Westow (145) are interesting as they would appear to be places

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2 Spalding, however, would appear to be a settlement of Angles who entered the country presumably from the Wash.
3 Cf. E. Ekwall in Beiblatt zur Anglia xxviii, 82 ff. and also PN Wa xx.
4 Bolton (174) does actually contain this Northumbrian form.
5 Ruin, 1. 11, steap geap sedrea. Some editors take geap as an adjective, because geap was not evidenced at all as a noun (v. N. Kershaw, Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems, 1922, 178–9).
held by women, whilst Wilberfoss (188) has a woman’s name as its first element.

As in the North and West Ridings and in Lincolnshire, there is a very considerable Scandinavian element in the East Riding. Already in Domesday Book we find two Scandinavian names to every three English, and if we include minor names recorded in later documents the proportion is higher: we have ultimately about three Scandinavian names to every four English¹, and that is excluding a considerable number of names which might be English or Scandinavian in origin. But the evidence of the thoroughness of the Scandinavian settlement is perhaps more clearly brought out by a reference to particular problems. For example, in the East Riding there are many hybrid place-names, and already in Domesday Book we can point to names like Burstwick (33) or Owstwick (58), possibly Filey (110), Beswick (159), etc. where there can be little doubt of the etymology. Such hybrid place-names as early as the eleventh century and the survival of Scandinavian inflexional forms, such as we have in Scorborough (162) and the lost Lunderbrec (320), suggest a very close linguistic fusion. We have also the evidence of names where substitutions have been made. The most striking instances of this are Howden (250–1) where already by 1086 Old English heafod had been supplanted by Scandinavian hofað, Wattam (158) where Scandinavian vadr replaces Bede’s ueta, or York, where Old English Eoforwic was adapted to Scandinavian Jørvik (infra 279). Stamford Bridge (186–7), which was the scene of the final defeat of the Scandinavian invaders in 1066, also exhibits in its name traces of the substitution of Scandinavian for English forms. We have also many instances of the substitution of Scandinavian sounds for the corresponding English ones, as, for example, that of Scandinavian sk for English sh in Skirlаugh (49), Skirlingston (80) and Skipwith (262), and in some of the early forms of Sherburn (120). We have the substitution of Scandinavian words also in several examples of Marton, Hatfield (62), Auburn (87), etc., to mention but a few. This tendency to adaptation and substitution throws great light upon the treat-

¹ It is interesting to note in connexion with this survival of Scandinavian name-forming elements that we have in Baggaby (169) another instance of the use of by after the Norman Conquest.
ment of existing English names by the Scandinavians, but in many names where the evidence cannot be carried back to Old English times, it is difficult to determine the ultimate origin; thus, several place-names in the Riding may contain either Old English ham or the Old Scandinavian cognate heim (infra 313), and without the evidence of Old English forms it is impossible in these ambiguous cases to decide, for in each of these the first element itself may also be English or Scandinavian.

The historical events which led to this impressive settlement can be shortly stated. In the eighth and ninth centuries Scandinavian raiders descended upon Northumbria, the greatest invasion being that of the army led by the sons of Ragnarr Loðbrók which entered England in the autumn of 865, crossed the Humber into Northumbria in the autumn of 866 and occupied York. This was a Danish army, and after several years of great military activity, one of their leaders, Healfdene, in 876 "portioned out the land of the Northumbrians and they (the Danes) tilled it and made their livelihood by it" (ASC s.a. 876). This settlement, it has already been suggested, was confined to the most fertile parts of Yorkshire, the central and southern parts of the North Riding, the eastern parts of the West Riding, and the East Riding, and so far as the East Riding is concerned, this view is fully borne out by place-name evidence. Names containing the Danish element thorp are very common, and they are distributed evenly over the whole Riding. A few instances of the East Scandinavian form hulm occur, as in Holmpton (21), Paull Holme (37) and Holme on Spalding Moor (234) and Danthorpe (53) contains the name of the Danes. There are numerous examples of East Scandinavian personal names such as Barne, Boie, Duva, Flik, etc. (v. infra 316-7), and we have some names which exhibit phonological characteristics of Old East Scandinavian (see in particular Ravenser 19, Tharlesthorpe 25, Thoralby 149). The Danish form kunung for West Scandinavian konungr 'king' occurs several times, as in Coniston (47) and Coney Street, York (285).

In East Riding place-names the evidence for any sort of

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2 PN NRY xxi.
Norwegian influence such as there is in the North Riding is negligible. It is, in fact, almost limited to a few instances of the word *cros* and to some examples of the word *erg*. An Irish personal name certainly enters into Duggleby (124) in the north of the Riding, where we find Buckrose (119–20) and also Acklam (147) which may exhibit the later West Scandinavian assimilation of *nk* to *kk*; here too we have one or two names containing *brekka*, and in the minor names two instances of Old West Scandinavian *gil* ‘a ravine’ (infra 324), and one or two possible Middle English examples of *brekka* (320). If there were any concentration of Norwegian settlements in the East Riding, these few place-names would suggest that it was on the northern edge of the Wolds and for that reason it is to be associated with the Norwegian settlement in Ryedale in the North Riding on the other side of the Derwent valley. The other Norwegian names mentioned are sporadic and unevenly distributed and their want of any geographical unity suggests that *erg* and *cros* were common elements in the vocabulary of the East Riding used by Scandinavians and English alike. In view of this paucity of Old West Scandinavian materials we should probably be safe in ascribing to the Danes the majority of Scandinavian place-names whose origin on linguistic grounds cannot actually be determined as Danish or Norwegian.

The distribution of these Scandinavian names throughout the Riding does not offer any points of great interest, though in Holderness English names are on the whole more common than in other parts of the Riding, and in South Holderness and Mid Holderness the East Scandinavian element as distinct from common Scandinavian is very pronounced. On the other hand, in North Holderness there is no definite evidence of East Scandinavian influence, and indeed the Scandinavian element is less well represented here than in any other part of the Riding. In Dickering, however, the proportion of Scandinavian to English names rises rapidly and along the northern parts of the Wolds the proportion of Scandinavian names reaches its highest in Buckrose Wapentake, where, as we have already seen, there is some slight evidence for Norwegian settlement and where also the East Scandinavian element is at its strongest. It is in this

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1 PN NRY xxi, xxiv ff.
Wapentake only that the Scandinavian names far outnumber the English names in Domesday Book. In the various divisions of Harthill Wapentake, in Howdenshire and the Wapentake of Ouse and Derwent, the proportions of Scandinavian to English names approximates to the average for the Riding as a whole and in these Wapentakes, too, such evidence as there is points to an East Scandinavian settlement rather than a West Scandinavian one. When, however, we come to York with its ancient street-names, the position is very different. Something is said in the introductory remarks on York street-names on this problem (280); while Coney Street itself is presumably Danish, other names such as Dixlinstones, Patrick's Pool and the like, as well as the use of Norwegian geil 'narrow passage', all show how strong the Norwegian element was, and how the historical connexions of the kingdoms of York and Dublin in the early tenth century have left their impress on local nomenclature.

Little can be said about the actual state of the Scandinavian language as spoken in the East Riding. From the time of the first invasions until 1066, when the battle of Stamford Bridge brought this period of English history to an end, there was a well sustained contact between England and Scandinavia, and there are occasional incidents in Viking history in the eleventh century which may be linked up with this Riding. It is not impossible, for instance, that the famous Jomsborg Vikings with their leader Jarl Hemingr had their quarters at Hemingbrough (26) and soon after the battle of Stamford Bridge the Norwegians are said to have departed from Ravenser in Holderness. It was one of these departing Norwegians, Styrkar, who, on a cold, windy evening, having no clothes but a shirt, and no weapon but a helm and sword, robbed an East Riding farmer of his fur-lined jacket, and is reported to have held converse with him before he slew him, the farmer recognising Styrkar as a Norwegian by his speech. From this one would conclude that the speech of the East Riding at that time had enough affinity with Scandinavian to be intelligible to a Norwegian. Certainly, from a few East Riding place-names we might conclude that linguistic fusion of English and Scandinavian continued up to the time of the Norman Conquest. The vowel assimilation exemplified by Tharlesthorpe (25) and

1 Cf. also PN NRY xxi–ii.

2 Heimskringla 508–9.
Thoralby (149) is a late Old East Scandinavian change, whilst Holderness and Howden and some Middle English examples of hprüð (324) exhibit the late Old Scandinavian rounding of a by u-mutation. Ousethorpe (181) and Eddlethorpe (144) may both contain personal names Tānulf and Iðtvældr which ultimately go back to Old English, but as in Youlthorpe, some of their spellings exhibit the late Old Scandinavian shifting of stress to the second element of the diphthong.

In other respects the Scandinavian nomenclature calls for little special comment. Riding itself is of course Scandinavian and so is the term Wapentake, but the division of the Riding into wapentakes, unlike that of the other Ridings of Yorkshire, took place after the Norman Conquest. Little can be learned about the system of tenure, but it is worth noting that in the East Riding Scandinavian personal names are very common as the first element of place-names, and Scandinavian women's names are found in Burythorpe, Gunby, Helperthorpe, and Raventhorpe. Dringhoe may preserve the word dreng which was used in England to denote a free tenant of a particular kind, and Bond Burstwick has as its first element Scandinavian bondi, a peasant proprietor. Gildersdale (170), together with various Middle English examples of the element gildihus (324), illustrate the existence of village guilds in Scandinavian England, whilst Wetwang (128) may well recall the Icelandic legal term for the place of the trial of an action. There are besides one or two allusions to Scandinavian beliefs in names like Trusey Hill (84) from byrs 'a giant,' and Scratters (233) 'devil's mound,' a name which is found elsewhere in Scandinavian England.

The materials used in this volume are similar to those already used for the Place-names of the North Riding. Here we are more fortunate in having a few charters which take us back to Old English times, though several of them are in bad fourteenth-century copies. Domesday Book on the whole is our main early source and it is unusually important. The East Riding is fortunate also in having some good abbey cartularies, those of Meaux, Bridlington and Warter being of singular value. The various Subsidy Rolls have yielded useful material for a slightly later date. A great many sources of material have been published by local societies such as the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and
the Surtees Society, and that material also has proved valuable. Much, however, remains unpublished and a scrutiny of the unpublished documents has yielded important results. A disappointing feature about the East Riding material, however, has been first the paucity of minor name material, and secondly the difficulty, where minor names are recorded in early documents, of identifying them with names that have survived on the modern map. The modern field and minor names of the Riding have few significant features, and one must conclude, after making a careful and detailed comparison of the modern field-names with the older material, that there was little continuity in the minor nomenclature of the district. Except in some score instances incorporated in the main part of the book it has not been possible to carry back the history of East Riding field-names to any useful point.
NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF THE EAST RIDING AS ILLUSTRATED BY ITS PLACE-NAMES

OE, OScand ā before nasals usually remains, and there are, as in NRY, no ME spellings with o. As in ONb generally there is some hesitation between mutated and unmutated forms in Brantingham. Cf. also Brantingham.

OE, OScand al before a consonant is occasionally represented in ME by the spelling au through AN influence. From the middle of the 15th century it is frequently written ol, aul, au, aw, and normally in the modern dialect it is pronounced [oː], as in Aldbrough, Aldwark, Auburn, Cawkeld, Wauldby. Occasional influence of the corresponding StEng -old- is noticed in spellings like Old- (Aldbrough), Wo(u)ld (in Wold Newton), etc. v. ModE ọ (infra). It should be noted that there is no evidence of non-Anglian broken forms with -eald- in this dialect.

OE āl before a consonant with i-mutation normally results in el in this dialect as in ONb generally; it occurs in place-names in w(i)ella, in ONb celc (Kelk, Kelfield), and in pers. names in Ælf-. An occasional spelling al may be found in some of these names and this is to be accounted for by the influence of OScand pers. names in Alf-, to some extent the influence of Midland scribes, and to the existence of unmutated forms like OE calc.

OE, OScand ā remains or was fronted in ME, spelled a, as usually in the North, though there are cases of the substitution of OScand cognate forms in ei (as in Stonegate, etc.). In the modern dialect, as in NRY, it becomes [ia], initially [ja] or [ja]. These developments are found in the local pronunciations of such place-names as Stoneferry [stjæneri], Aike [jæk], Yeadon, etc. They are, however, seldom represented in spellings and in many names they have been obscured by spelling pronunciations (as in South Cave, Cavil, etc.) or by the substitution of StEng rounded forms (Stone- [stjuən], etc.). In ME such StEng substitutions are rare (we may note Cova 1212 for South
Cave), but from the 16th century they become common. There are few traces of 16th-century spellings with ay for the long vowel: Cayf 1579 for South Cave is an example.

OE æ (from any source) normally appears as e (for ē or ē) in ME, as normally in the North and North Midlands (e.g. Seaton). When shortened in compounds OE æ (from i-mutation of ē) is usually represented by e, but there are many spellings with a (Haddon, Haifeld for Hedon, Hatfield).

OE ē usually remains, but in a few place-names ē before dentals has been raised to i in early ME (Bridlington, Burdale, Rillington); the subsequent development of i from this source is the same as for OE i (v. OE, OScand i, y below).

OE, OScand er becomes ar and is so spelled from the late 14th and early 15th centuries (Harswell, Carnaby); it becomes [a:] in the modern dialect and spellings exhibiting loss of r appear in the 17th century (Baswick, Harlthorpe).

OE, OScand ī, ī fell together as ī in late OE in this district as usually in the North. The ME spelling u for OE y is rare and usually it appears only in documents of southern origin.

ME į in the neighbourhood of r generally fell in with OE o and u in similar combinations. There is evidence of ME ri occasionally becoming ru in the 15th and 16th centuries (cf. the spellings of Dringhoe, Rillington and Long Riston). More frequently, however, ME ri is metathesised to ir (Birdsall, Bridlington, Burdale) and falls in with ME ir (Burshill, Burstall, Thornholme), which became ur about the 16th century (cf. the spellings of Bridlington, Burdale, etc.). At this stage it fell in with ME ur and or (v. infra) and became modern dialect [3], represented occasionally by such spellings as Bos-1786 for Burshill and pronunciations like [bɔdsal], [bɔdl], [bɔlitan], for Birdsall, Burdale, Bridlington, etc. Similar developments occur also in NRY (v. PN NRY xxxi). Ridgmont represents an inversion.

ME ē in an open syllable was occasionally lengthened to ē in the late 14th or early 15th century, and was subsequently raised to [i:]. Examples include Beeford (the earliest Be- spelling is 1147 but the MS is 14th century),
Weaverthorpe, Weedley, Little Weighton, etc. The change is not so consistent or so well evidenced as in NRY.

ME ight is occasionally represented in the modern dialect by [sit], and the tendency to diphthongise is evidenced in the later spellings (from 1636) of such place-names as Breighton, Deighton, Market Weighton.

Early ModE o (from OE o and other sources) occasionally appears to have been fronted to [a] or [æ] in the modern dialect, as in Battleburn (with a from 1650), Rotsea [ratsə] (Ra- from 1606). The older diphthong [au] (modern dialect [əi]) has also become a in Ganstead (Ga- from the 16th century), Ganton and the dialect pronunciation of Spaldington (Spawd- in the 15th century) as [sparatan].

ME əl was usually vocalised in the 16th century, as represented by such spelling as ou(l), ow and the modern pronunciation [au], as in Cowden, Fowthorpe, Towthorpe, etc., v. also ME a (infra).

ME ør fell in with ME ər (supra) and ûr (infra) and normally becomes [ɔ], as in Thorngumbald [ən], etc. Forms showing loss of r are found for Battleburn in the 16th century (v. also ModE ø above).

OE, OScand ə, and in NRY, normally becomes [iu] in the 16th century as represented by such spellings as Hewton for Hutton, Ruyston for Ruston Parva, and subsequently this became dialect [iə], as in the local pronunciation [riəstən] for Ruston Parva. Frequently, however, the vowel was shortened in compounds and the fact that this vowel is so often represented by u in ME suggests that it remained a close vowel when so shortened and was nearer in quality to ME ů than it was to ME ə. Examples of this shortened form occur in Drypool, Rudston, Roos, Southcoates, etc. In Hotham [uðm] and Hutton the shortening of the vowel may be more recent.

ME ūr was normally preserved, but in the modern dialect it becomes [ɔ], as in Burton (passim), Burstwick, Burnby, etc. v. ME ūr, ør (infra).

ME ʊl (including ʊl when shortened in compounds) appears to have fallen in with ME əl and to have undergone vocalisation to ow in the 15th and 16th
centuries and to have become dialectal [ɔu] or [Au], as in Bowthorpe, Folkton, Foulness, Fulford, Mowthorpe, Oubrough; cf. also the spellings of Molescroft and Sculcoates. In Holmpton, Ousethorpe and Ulrome, the preservation of [u] or [u:] suggests a simple loss of l without vocalisation, though in some of the 16th and 17th century spellings of these names vocalisation and the development of diphthongs would appear to have taken place.

OE, OScand å remains [u:] in this dialect, as in NRY. Cf. the local pronunciations of Howsham, Ouse, Ousegate, Owthorne, Routh. When shortened it becomes [u], as in Muston, etc.

OE ct tends to become ht in ME, as in Deighton, Speeton, Market Weighton. Cf. also Reighton.

OE cw, hw. In ERY the northern tendency to over-aspiration of OE hw is not so persistent as in NRY, but qu spellings occur in Wharram, and the later forms of Wheldrake (from OE cw) suggest that OE hw and cw had fallen together in ME. Cf. PN NRY xxxii.

OE medial -th- occasionally becomes v as in vulgar speech. Cf. Little Weighton; v survives in Hive and Leavening.

ME x appears later as s in some of the spellings of Thixendale. Cf. PN NRY xxxii.

ME consonant assimilation (especially of dentals) is well evidenced in such names as Bridlington, Melton, Millington, Nafferton, Rillington, etc.

Stress-shifting in diphthongs in the late OE and in ME is suggested by the spellings of Yapham and Youlthorpe, as well as by the development of prosthetic y [j] before such diphthongs in Yedingham, Shaps and Shipton. In Shaps (cf. the nearby Heapfields) and Shipton we have further examples of the change of early ME hy to sh (cf. PN NRY 16, RES i, 437ff.).
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

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<td>EPN</td>
<td>A. Mawer, The Chief Elements in English Place-names, 1923.</td>
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<td>ER</td>
<td>The Essex Review (in progress).</td>
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<td>ERAS</td>
<td>Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society (in progress).</td>
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<td>ERY</td>
<td>East Riding of Yorkshire.</td>
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<td>Ess</td>
<td>Essex.</td>
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<td>Fabii Ethelwardi Chronicorum libri quattuor (MHB).</td>
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<td>Extent</td>
<td>Ancient Extents (unpublished) in PRO, nos. 48 ff.</td>
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<td>f</td>
<td>feminine.</td>
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<td>FA</td>
<td>Feudal Aids, 6 vols., 1890-1920.</td>
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<td>Fabr</td>
<td>Fabric Rolls of York Minster (Surt 35), 1859.</td>
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<td>Fagrikinna</td>
<td>Fagrikinna, ed. F. Jónsson (Sammund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur, 1902-3).</td>
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<td>Fine</td>
<td>Calendar of Fine Rolls (in progress).</td>
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<td>Folcard’s Life of St John of Beverley (HCY).</td>
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<td>Cartulary of Fountains Abbey, ed. W. T. Lancaster.</td>
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<td>Memorials of Fountains Abbey (Surt 42, 67), 1863-78.</td>
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<td>Bursar’s Books in Memorials of Fountains Abbey (Surt 130).</td>
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<td>FoxReg</td>
<td>Register of Bishop Fox of Durham (Surt 147).</td>
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<td>Franck</td>
<td>Franck, Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Tuin (Lincoln Record Society 18), 1922.</td>
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<td>Furness</td>
<td>The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey (Chetham Society 9, 11, 14), 1886-7.</td>
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<td>Gael</td>
<td>Gaelic.</td>
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<td>Gaimar</td>
<td>Gaimar, Lestorie des Engles, 2 vols., 1889-90.</td>
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<td>Germ</td>
<td>Germanic.</td>
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<td>Gilbert</td>
<td>Transcripts of Charters relating to the Gilbertine Houses (Lincoln Record Society 18), 1922.</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>GI</td>
<td>Gloucestershire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guisb</td>
<td>Guisborough Cartulary (Surt 86, 89), 1889–94.</td>
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<td>Ha</td>
<td>Hampshire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harl</td>
<td>Harleian MSS (BM).</td>
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<td>Harlow</td>
<td>Harlow Cartulary (Camb. Univ. AddMS 6847).</td>
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<td>HCY</td>
<td><em>Historians of the Church of York</em> (Rolls Series), 3 vols., 1879–94.</td>
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<td>He</td>
<td>Herefordshire.</td>
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<td>Healaugh</td>
<td><em>Cartularium de Parco Helagh</em> (BM, Cotton Vespasian A iv, manuscript c. 1498).</td>
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<td>Herts</td>
<td>Hertfordshire.</td>
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<td>HistBrit</td>
<td><em>Historia Brittonum cum additamentis Nennii</em> (MGH, Auct. antiq. xiii).</td>
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<td>HMC(Bev)</td>
<td>Historical Manuscripts Commission, Beverley, 1900.</td>
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<td>Hom</td>
<td><em>Hosagia et Fidelitates</em> 1287–1376 (Surt 49), 1867.</td>
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<td>Hosp</td>
<td>The Hospitalers in England (Camden Society 65), 1855.</td>
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<td>K</td>
<td>Kent.</td>
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<td>Karlström</td>
<td>S. Karlström, <em>Old English Compound Place-names in -ing</em>, 1927.</td>
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<td>KF</td>
<td><em>Knights' Fees</em>, 1303 (Surt 49), 1867.</td>
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<td>KI</td>
<td><em>Kirby's Inquest</em>, 1285 (Surt 49), 1867.</td>
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<td>Kirkham</td>
<td><em>Kirkham Cartulary</em> (Bodl, Fairfax vii, manuscript fifteenth century).</td>
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<td>Kirkstall</td>
<td><em>Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey</em> (Thoresby Society), 1904.</td>
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<td><em>Cartulary of Kirkstead</em> (BM, Cotton Vespasian E xviii, manuscript fifteenth century).</td>
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<td>La</td>
<td>Lancashire.</td>
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<td>Langd</td>
<td>T. Langdale, <em>A Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire</em>, 1822, etc.</td>
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<td>Landsd</td>
<td>Landsdowne MSS in BM.</td>
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<td>Lat</td>
<td>Latin.</td>
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<td>Laṣamon</td>
<td>Laṣamon's <em>Brut</em>, 3 vols., 1847.</td>
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<td>Lei</td>
<td>Leicestershire.</td>
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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Leland

Leonard
Registroma Cartarum Hospit. St Leonardi Ebor. BM, Cotton Nero D iii (manuscript fifteenth century).

LeonardR
St Leonard's Cartulary, Bodl Rawlinson B 455.

Lewes
Chartulary of Lewes, ed. Salzman (SRS 38, 40), 1932–4.

LGer
Low German.

Lib
Calendar of Liberate Rolls (in progress).

LibEl
Liber Eliensis (Cotton Vesp. A xix).

LindB

Lindkvist
H. Lindkvist, Middle English Place-names of Scandinavian Origin, 1912.

LindN

LMS
London Mediaeval Studies (in progress).

L MS
Liber Niger Scaccarii, 1 77 ,1--

LRMB
Miscellaneous Books: Land Revenue (PRO).

Lind

LSE
Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages (in progress).

Lundgren-Brate
Lundgren and Brate, Personnamn från Medeltiden, 1892 ff.

LVD
Liber Vitae Dunelmensis (facsimile) (Surt 136), 1923.

Malton
Register of Malton Priory (BM, Cotton Claudius D xi, manuscript thirteenth century).

Manning

Map
Early Maps (BM, MS Lansdowne 896, f. 1).

MaryChron
The Chronicle of St Mary's Abbey, York (Surt 148).

MaryH
Cartulary of St Mary's York (BM, Harl 236, manuscript fourteenth century).

MaryR
Cartulary of St Mary's York (John Rylands Library).

MaryY
Cartulary of St Mary's York (Dean and Chapter of York, A 1–2, manuscript fifteenth century).

MDu
Middle Dutch.

ME
Middle English.

Meaux
Cartulary of Meaux Abbey (BM, Lansdowne 424, manuscript fifteenth century).

MedLat
Medieval Latin.

Melsa
Chronica monasterii de Melsa (Rolls Series), 3 vols., 1866–8.

MetrCuthbt
The Life of St Cuthbert in English Verse (Surt 87), 1891.

MGH
Monumenta Germanica Historica, 1826–1913.

MHB
Monumenta Historica Britannica, 1848.

MinAct
 Ministers’ Accounts (PRO).

Misc
Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (in progress).

MiscEng
English Miscellanies (Surt 85), 1888.

MLG
Middle Low German.

ModE
Modern English.

Modeer
E. Modeer, Svenska Skärgårdsmann, 1930.

Morden
Robert Morden’s map of the East Riding, 1695.

Mx
Middlesex.

Nb
Northumberland.

NCWills
North Country Wills (Surt 116, 121), 1908–12.

NCY
North Country.

NED
New English Dictionary.

Nennius
v. HistBrit supra.

Nf
Norfolk.
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

NoB  Namn och Bygd (in progress).
NoEN  O. Rygh, Norske Elvenavne, 1904.
NomVill  Nomina Villarum, 1316 (Surt 49), 1867.
Norw  Norwegian.
Nostell  Nostell Cartulary (BM, Cotton Vespasian E xix, manuscript thirteenth century).
NotDign  Notitia Dignitatum, ed. E. Böcking, 1839–53.
NRS  North Riding Record Society (in progress).
NRY  North Riding of Yorkshire.
NS  New Series.
Nt  Nottinghamshire.
Nth  Northamptonshire.
Nunkeel  Nunkeeling Register (BM, Cotton Otho C viii, manuscript c. 1536).
O  Oxfordshire.
OblR  Rotuli de Oblatis, 1835.
ODan  Old Danish.
ODu  Old Dutch.
OE  Old English.
OEBede  The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History (EETS 95–6, 110–11), 1890–8.
OEMisc  An Old English Miscellany (EETS 49), 1872.
OEScand  Old East Scandinavian.
OFr  Old French.
OFris  Old Frisian.
OHG  Old High German.
Ol  Old Irish.
ONb  Old Northumbrian.
ONorw  Old Norwegian.
PN på -by  E. Hellquist, De Svenska Ortnamnen på -by, 1918.
ON på -inge  E. Hellquist, Om de Svenska Ortnamnen på -inge, -unge och -unga, 1904.
Orkneyingasaga  Orkneyinga Saga in Icelandic Sagas (Rolls Series), vols. i and iii, 1887–94.
O.S.  Ordnance Survey.
OScand  Old Scandinavian.
Oseney  The English Register of Oseney Abbey (EETS, 133, 144), 1907, 1912.
OSwed  Old Swedish.
OWelsh  Old Welsh.
OWScand  Old West Scandinavian.
p.  post.
(p)  Place-name form derived from a personal name.
Pap  Calendar of Papal Registers (in progress).
ParlSurv  Parliamentary Surveys (PRO).
Pat  Calendar of Patent Rolls (in progress).
PatR  Rotuli Litterarum Patentium, 1835.
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Percy  Percy Chartulary (Surt 117), 1911.

p.n.  place-name.

PN C  W. W. Skeat, Place-names of Cambridgeshire, 1911.

PN CuWm  W. J. Sedgefield, Place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1915.

PN Db  B. Walker, Place-names of Derbyshire, 1914–15.

PN Do  A. Fägersten, Place-names of Dorset, 1933.

PN Gl  W. St C. Baddeley, Place-names of Gloucestershire, 1913.

PN He  A. T. Bannister, Place-names of Herefordshire, 1916.

PN in -ing  E. Ekwall, English Place-names in -ing, 1923; R. E. Zachrisson, English Place-names in -ing of Scandinavian Origin (Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets Förhandlingar, Uppsala), 1924.

PN K  J. K. Wallenberg, Place-names of Kent, 1934.

PN La  E. Ekwall, Place-names of Lancashire, 1922.

PN Mx  J. E. B. Gover, Place-names of Middlesex, 1912.

PN NbDu  A. Mawer, Place-names of Northumberland and Durham, 1920.

PN Nt  H. Mutschmann, Place-names of Nottinghamshire, 1913.

PN O  H. Alexander, Place-names of Oxfordshire, 1912.

PN Sa  E. W. Bowcock, Shropshire Place-names, 1923.

PN Se  J. B. Johnston, Place-names of Scotland, 1934.

PN Sf  W. W. Skeat, Place-names of Suffolk, 1913.

PN St  W. H. Duignan, Notes on Staffordshire Place-names, 1902.

PN SWY  A. Goodall, Place-names of South-West Yorkshire, 1914.

PN W  E. Ekblom, Place-names of Wiltshire, 1917.

PN WRY  F. W. Moormtan, Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1910.

Poll  Poll Tax Returns (YAJ ix, xx).

Pont  Chartulary of St John of Pontefract (YAS 25, 30).


PRO  Public Record Office.

Problems  A. Mawer, Problems of Place-name Study, 1929.

PrScand  Primitive Scandinavian.

PT  Poll Tax Returns, 1379 (YAJ v–vii).

QW  Placita de Quo Warranto, 1818.

R  Rutland.


Redin  M. Redin, Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English, 1915.

RegAlb  Magnum Registrum Album (Dean and Chapter of York, MS Zouch L 2 (1), manuscript c. 1300).

RegRoff  Registrum Roffense, ed. J. Thorpe, 1769.

Rental  Rentals and Surveys in PRO, BM, etc. (unpublished).


RH  Rotuli Hundredorum, 2 vols., 1812–18.

Riev  Cartularium abbathiae de Rievalle (Surt 83), 1889.

Ripon  Memorials of Ripon (Surt 74, 78, 81, 115), 1882–98.

Ritter  O. Ritter, Vermischte Beiträge zur englischen Sprachgeschichte, 1922.

RN  E. Ekwall, English River-names, 1928.

s.a.  sub anno.

Sa  Shropshire.

Sagastudier  Sagastudier af Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson, 1928.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Saints</td>
<td>Die Heiligen Englands, ed. F. Liebermann, 1889.</td>
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<td>Sanct</td>
<td>Sanctuarium Dunelm. et S. Beverlacense (Surt 5), 1837.</td>
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<td>Sawley</td>
<td>Register of Sawley Abbey (BM, Harl 112, manuscript fifteenth century).</td>
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<td>Saxton</td>
<td>J. Saxton, Map of Yorkshire, 1577.</td>
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<td>Sc</td>
<td>Scottish.</td>
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<td>Scand</td>
<td>Scandinavian.</td>
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<td>SD</td>
<td>Symeon of Durham (Rolls Series), 2 vols., 1882–5 (Surt 51), 1867.</td>
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<td>Seebuch</td>
<td>Das Seebuch, ed. K. Koppmann, Bremen 1876.</td>
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<td>Coucher Book of Selby (YAS 10, 13), 1891–3.</td>
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<td>Sf</td>
<td>Suffolk.</td>
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<td>Sheppard</td>
<td>T. Sheppard, Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast, 1912.</td>
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<td>s.n.</td>
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<td>Somerset.</td>
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<td>Speed</td>
<td>J. Speed, Map of Yorkshire, 1610.</td>
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<td>Sr</td>
<td>Surrey.</td>
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<td>SR</td>
<td>Lay Subsidy Rolls (PRO).</td>
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<td>Sussex Record Society (in progress).</td>
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<td>St</td>
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<td>Steenstrup</td>
<td>J. Steenstrup, De Danske Stednavne, 1908.</td>
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<td>StEng</td>
<td>Standard English.</td>
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<td>Stowe Charters (unpublished) in BM.</td>
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<td>Studies¹</td>
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<td>E. Ekwall, Studies in English Place-names, 1936.</td>
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<td>Surtees Society (in progress).</td>
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<td>Sverges Ortnamn (in progress).</td>
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<td>SvSJönann</td>
<td>E. Hellquist, Svenska Sjömann, 1903–6.</td>
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<td>Sx</td>
<td>Sussex.</td>
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<td>t.</td>
<td>tempore.</td>
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<td>TA</td>
<td>Tithe Award.</td>
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<td>Test</td>
<td>Testamenta Eboracensia (Surt 4, 39, 45, 53, 79, 106), 1836–1902.</td>
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<td>Tempore Regis Eadwardi.</td>
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<td>Trevisa</td>
<td>Higden's Polychronicon, with translation by John Trevisa (Rolls Series), 1865–86.</td>
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<td>VCH</td>
<td>Victoria County History of Yorkshire.</td>
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<td>Valor Ecclesiasticus, 6 vols., 1810–34.</td>
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<td>v.l.</td>
<td>varia lectio.</td>
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<td>Warwickshire.</td>
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<td>WRY</td>
<td>West Riding of Yorkshire.</td>
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<td>Wt</td>
<td>Isle of Wight.</td>
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<td>Y</td>
<td>Yorkshire.</td>
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<td>YAJ</td>
<td><em>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</em> (in progress).</td>
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<td><em>Yorkshire Inquisitions</em> (YAS 12, 23, 31, 37, 59), 1892 ff.</td>
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<td>YorkMem</td>
<td><em>York Memorandum Book</em> (Surt 120), 1912.</td>
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PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTION OF PRONUNCIATIONS OF PLACE-NAMES

p pay ʃ shone tʃ church ei flay
b bay ʒ azure dʒ judge ɛ Fr. jamais
t tea θ thin ə father ə there
d day ð then au cow i η
k key j you a Ger. mann i feel
g go ʍ loch ai fly ou low
æ when h his æ cab u good
w win m man ɔ pot u rule
f foe n no ə saw ə much
v vote ð sing ɔi oil ə ever
s say r run e red ə bird
z zone l land ʔ (glottal stop) Cockney water

Examples:
Harwich (hæridʒ), Shrewsbury (ʃrouzbəri, ʃrouzbəri), Beaulieu (bjuːli).
NOTES

(1) The names are arranged topographically according to the wapentakes. Within each wapentake the parishes are dealt with in topographical order, the townships within the parishes being dealt with in alphabetical order. Within each township the names of primary historical or etymological interest are arranged alphabetically after the name of the township, but in a large number of townships these names are followed by a further group of names. This group comprises minor names of obvious origin, or for which we have only very late forms, minor names of topographical origin found in the second names of persons mentioned in the Subsidy Rolls and other similar local documents, and names embodying some family name of Middle English or Early Modern English origin. The names in such a group are also arranged in alphabetical order.

(2) Where a place-name is found only on the 6-in. O.S. map, this is indicated by putting 6" after it in brackets, e.g. Yeadon Fm (6”).

(3) Place-names now no longer current are marked as (lost). This does not necessarily mean that the site to which the name was once applied is unknown. We are dealing primarily with names and the names are lost. These names are printed in italics when referred to elsewhere in the volume.

(4) Place-names marked (local) are not recorded on modern maps but are still current locally; names marked (field) survive only as field-names and do not appear on modern maps.

(5) The local pronunciation of the place-name is given, wherever it is of interest, in phonetic script within square brackets, e.g. Kilnwick Percy [kilik piasi].

(6) In explaining the various place-names, summary reference is made to the detailed account of such elements as are found in the Chief Elements in English Place-names by printing those elements in Clarendon type, e.g. Sherburn, ς. scir, burna. As the place-names in this district are derived from Anglian forms without OE breaking this is indicated by putting the e representing breaking within brackets, e.g. h(e)alh, which means that
the word will be found in EPN under the full form of the word, but that the place-name is actually derived from the form halh. This also applies to certain other forms such as w(i)ella where wiella is the form in EPN and wella the source of the local form.

(7) In the case of all forms for which reference has been made to unprinted authorities, that fact is indicated by printing the reference to the authority in italic instead of ordinary type, e.g. 1246 Ass denotes a form derived from a MS authority in contrast to 1241 FF which denotes one taken from a printed text.

(8) Where two dates are given, e.g. c. 972 (c. 1200), the first is the date at which the document purports to have been composed, the second is that of the copy which has come down to us.

(9) Where a letter in an early place-name form is placed within brackets, forms with and without that letter are found, e.g. Boventon(a) means that forms Boventon and Boventona are alike found.

(10) All OE words are quoted in their West Saxon form (cf. note 6 supra) or their OIcel form unless otherwise stated. OScand pers. names are quoted in the forms found in LindN, LindB, Lundgren-Brate and DaPN.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

For addenda with appended initials we are indebted as follows:

A.C.W.       Mr A. C. Wood.
E.W.B.       Mr E. W. Bowcock.
F.G.E.       Mr F. G. Emmison.
F.W.M.       Mr F. W. Marsom.
H.C.         Mr H. Carter.
P.H.R.        Dr P. H. Reaney.

VOL. I, PART II

CHIEF ELEMENTS

p. 21, l. 11. For ‘130’ read ‘30.’
p. 35, l. 6. For ‘Lobsell (W)’ read ‘Lopshill (Ha).’ It was formerly in Wiltshire.
p. 39, s.v. hryding. Ekwall (DEPN s.v. ryddan) points out that the OE form hryding (once found) is a bad spelling for rydding.
p. 40, l. 13 from foot. Apsell (W) now appears on the O.S. map as Apshill.
p. 56, s.vv. stoc, stocc. Ekwall (Studies 2, 11 ff.) has devoted a very full study to the place-names containing these elements. He shows how many places in stoc are dependent upon larger and more important ones and suggests that its commonest significance was ‘cattle farm, dairy farm.’ Doubtless it is true that not every ‘place’ could be called stoc any more than it could be called stow or stede, but it is very difficult to determine the precise significance of our forefathers’ use of them.

Ekwall shows that stoc could be used as a first as well as a second element though it is more difficult to distinguish it in that position.

Ekwall’s discussion suggests some revision of our analysis of elements.

Vol. ii, 252. stoc Stoke (5), (a) Lauerkestoke, (b) Adstock.
           stocc Stock Place.
Vol. iv, 375. stoc Stoke (3), Wiburgestoke.
           stocc Stock (3), (a) Warstock.
           stoc or stocc Stockton.
Vol. vii, 548. stoc Stockingham, Stock’s Hill, Stoke (3).
           stocc Stockes.
Vol. ix, 670 stoc Stock, Stoke (8), Stokenham, (a) By-, Chard-, Culum-
           Hal-, Plym-, Tavi-, Taw-stock, (b) Frithelstock, Revel-
           stoke.
           stocc Stock, Stocken, Stockbear, Stockdon, Stockeard, Stockeydown, Stockham, Stockhouse.
           stoc or stocc Stockad, Stockey, Stocklegh (3), Stockley, Stockhouse, Stockley.
Vol. x, 252. stoc Stoke (3).
           stocc Stockail, Stock Hill.
Vol. xi, 348 stoc Stoke (2), Crastock.
           stocc Stocklands, Stockwell.
           stoc(c) Stoughton.
Vol. xii, 467. stoc Stock (2).

p. 58, s.v. pel. Delete ‘Thele (Herts).’

In some of the earlier volumes it is very probable that we have unwisely speculated as to the origin of a name on the basis of too late or too scanty
forms. The editors desire on that ground to withdraw the following explanations:

PN Bk 7 (Balney), 10 (Addersley), 18 (Blacon Barn), 35 (Hollington, Mulducks), 64 (Casemore), 69 (Roddimore), 82 (Redborough), 85 (Winscott), 100 (Yardley), 108 (Binwell), 113 (Tittershall), 124-5 (Bissenden), 130 (Rignall), 133 (Copice Lowhill), 155 (Haleacre), 162 (Bodddington), 165 (Chibborohill), 192 (Andridge), 202 (Blackwell), 213 (Pressmore), 215 (Tilson), 225 (Codmore), 228 (Winchmore), 230 (Gatemoor).

PN BedsHu 28 (Galsey).

PN Wo 63 (Hipsmoor), 80 (Garmsley), 111 (Elbury), 187 (Balsford), 218 (Caddecroft), 241 (Cutnall, Felgate), 254 (Burlish), 259 (Socum), 280 (Thicknall), 287 (Falsam), 333 (Alcott), 365 (Easemore).

PN D 82 (Runland), 224 (Tuckermarsh).

VOL. II

THE PLACE-NAMES OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

p. 14, s.n. TYRINGHAM. The DB form makes Ekwall’s suggestion of a personal name Tidhere a likely one.

p. 17, s.n. BLETCHELIE. Add ‘Blechelai 1166–9 France’ (P.H.R.).

pp. 22–3, s.n. BANDLAND. There can be little doubt that this is bean-land (cf. PN Nth 266, l. 3 from bottom) and the last two sentences in this article should be deleted.

p. 25, l. 5 from bottom. Delete ‘W’ and make correction in Index accordingly.

p. 29, s.n. WALTON. This is probably a compound of weald rather than of weala.

pp. 39–40, s.n. WAWENDON. OE Wawa is on record.

pp. 51–2, s.n. ADDINGTON, ADSTOCK. Ekwall (Studies 2 39) suggests that here we may have an example of stoc denoting a smaller settlement made from a more important place.

p. 53, s.n. REDLAND. The form la Reedeland (c. 1150 Oseney) is decisive in favour of the ‘red’ interpretation.

p. 60, s.n. BUCKINGHAM. A further form in hamm is found in Buccinga-hamme in the new 11th-century text of the Burghal Hidage (LMS i, 63).

p. 81, s.n. TIEDINGFORD. Add ‘Tyttingford 1324 Deed.’ After Tyttingford add ‘1511.’

p. 95, s.n. HAWRIDGE. The fuller and more regular form of this name has survived in Hockeridge Wood (6”) and Hockeridge Bottom which divides Bucks from Herts.

p. 102, s.n. POLLCOTT. Add ‘Police 1086 DB’ (P.H.R.).

p. 196, s.n. TURVILLE. Comparison with the full forms for Therfield (Herts) now available suggests that both names alike go back to OE fiyrre, ‘dry’ and feld.

p. 198, s.n. BOURNE END. Add ‘la Burnhede 1222 RegAntiq.’

pp. 218–19, s.n. CHALFONT. Add ‘Chalfhunton St Giles 1294 Pat’ (P.H.R.).

p. 230, s.n. BAYLIN’S FM. A certain Johannes Belynges was a juror in the inquisition on the death of one of the Seagrave family (cf. Seagrave’s FM in PN Bk 231) in 1325 and was doubtless an early tenant here. Cf. also John Belling (1332 SR). Add Bailings 1810 Penn.

p. 231, s.n. SEER GREEN. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests that this name is from an OE siere, a derivative of sear, ‘withered, dry.’
The Place-names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire


p. 16, s.n. Melchbourne. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) takes the first element to be ME melch, milch, 'giving good milk,' from the pasturage here.

p. 17, l. 13. Delete 'W' and make correction in Index accordingly.


pp. 22, 146, s.n. Clapham, Clophill. These names and others with initial clogg(a) are discussed by Ekwall in Studies 136 ff. He shows that the suggestion first made by Skeat (PN of Bedfordshire 26) that the first element might mean 'stump' and be associated with MDan klof used in this sense, is an error. The Dan word denoted 'block, lump.' Following out a suggestion of Middendorf (s.v. klof) and Ritter (128 n. 2), he would associate these names with MHG klupf, Ger dial. klof, 'rock,' used in this country in the sense 'hill.' Topographically this suits nearly all the places in question very well except Clapcot (Berks) for which another explanation must be sought.


p. 29, s.n. Bridge End. Add 'Bidenhambrugge 1327 Deed' (F.G.E.).

p. 33, s.n. Dungee. Add 'Dumicho 1270 Deed' (F.G.E.).

p. 34, s.n. Santon. Add 'Swenton 1252 Deed' (F.G.E.).

p. 35, s.n. Trevor FM. Delete form and explanation. It is so called because purchased by Lord Trevor in 1723. Earlier Wood End (F.G.E.).


p. 54. Add 'Channels End is Chaneowende 1504 Deed, Chanowes End 1586 Deed, Chaunowes End 1614 Deed' (F.G.E.).

p. 59, s.n. Wyboston. For '1080' read '1086' (F.G.E.).

p. 62, s.n. Renhold. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests with much probability that this stands for OE rân(a)-healh, 'nook of the roe-deer.'

p. 66. Add 'Hudwick End (1835 O.S.) is Uddocks End 1765 J and (perhaps) Odwyk 15th Rental' (F.G.E.).


p. 81, under Maulden. Add 'Hollington is Holidon 1499 Deed' (F.G.E.).


pp. 86-7, under Wootton. Add 'Keeley Green is Culey al. Keeley 1690 Deed, Keeley Green 1765 J. The forms tend to confirm the identification made under Keeley Lane.

Potters Cross is Potty Cross 1802 Deed' (F.G.E.).

p. 91, under Eastcotts. Add 'Herring's Green is Herring Green 1765 J. It is to be associated with the family of Philippus Haryinge 1309 and Johannes Heryng 1332 SR' (F.G.E.).

pp. 91-2, s.n. Moggerhanger. It may be worth mentioning that there is a local tradition of a buried hoard in Horners Corner Field in this parish (F.W.M.).

p. 93, s.n. Northill. The pronunciation ['nɔːrəl] is rarely heard, but there is a Norrell Field and an old rhyme

Green grass and sorrel
Five bells at Norrell.

So similarly, while the pronunciation ['kaːkət] for Caldecote (p. 94) is rarely heard, there is an old rhyme which speaks of 'Carrot scraps' (F.W.M.).
pp. 93 ff. under Northill. Field-names for which early forms may be
given have been noted as follows: Clayhill (Clothul 1202), Pad’th (Padeworth
1202) (i.e. ‘Pada’s enclosure’), Stockings (Le Stocking 1219 (v, stocking),
Trumpetons (Trumpingtons croft 1232) (the family having come from
Trumpton (C)), Wilmer Hill (Windmill Hill 1634) (F.W.M.).
p. 95, under Northill parish. Add ‘ICKWELL BURY is manor of Ikwelbery
1548 Chantry Certificates, showing the manorial use of bury’ (F.W.M.).
p. 98. WARDEN STREET (from 1st ed. O.S. 6” map) is marked as a row of
cottages on a track leading to Cople Water End. It is properly a small hamlet
on each side of the lane from Warden Abbey to Old Rowney in Southill, now
known as Deadman’s Lane (F.G.E.).
p. 101, s.n. BIGGLESWADE. Add ‘Bigglesworth 1655 Deed’ (F.G.E.).
p. 111. Add ‘GANNOCK’S CASTLE (6”). Cf. Gannock Field
in Kempston (F.G.E.). This is probably OE gamen ac, “games oak”; cf.
Gannow (PN Wo 341) and Gannock (Herts), Ganwick (Mx) as noted in
Kempston (F.G.E.). This is probably OE

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA xlvii

p. 139, s.n. COLLICK. Add ‘Cockelake 1242 RegAntiq.’
p. 134, s.n. TILSWORTH. Alternatively the personal name may be *Tyfel,
a derivative of Taf (BCS 1130). Cf. DEPN s.n.
p. 135, s.n. DAINTREE WOOD. Add ‘Daintree Wood 1803 RegAntiq.’
p. 136, n. 1. The forms Levesethe, Lewsey have reference to Lewsey in
Leagrave. It lay on the bounds of Leagrave and Toddington (F.G.E.).
p. 139, s.n. WARMARK. Add ‘Warmarks 1765 Deed’ (F.G.E.).
p. 144, under WOBURN. Add ‘DRAKELOW POND (6”) is Dracklow Pond
Drakeelow (Db).’
p. 147. Add ‘BROBURY (lost). It is called Brobury 1304 Deed, manor of
Brobury in Little Caynho 1340 Deed, Brobury, -biry 1363, 1383 Cl, Brobury
1525 LP. It takes its name from the Broy family who held land here from the
early 13th century’ (F.G.E.).
p. 148, s.n. PEDLEY WOOD. Add ‘Wood called Pudelhay 1285 Deed (F.G.E.).
This makes it probable that the second element is (ge)læg, “enclosure.” The
first element must remain uncertain.’
p. 150. Add ‘NEWBURY is manor of Nevebry 1524 Deed’ (F.G.E.).
p. 178, s.n. KENSWORTH. Add ‘(apud) Ceagnesworth 975 (12th) LibEl
(P.H.R.), showing that this contains the same personal name as that found in
keynham (So), Cagenesham c. 1000 Ethelword.’
p. 188, s.n. CHADBERBEACH. Add ‘Chadh bytes 1553 CHuAS v’ (P.H.R.).
p. 191. Add ‘THE WRAYE (east of Whittlesey Mere) Rayehill 1553 CHuAS v’
(P.H.R.).
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA


p. 254, s.n. Stirtole. The first three forms do not belong here but refer to a lost place in Midloe (RegAntiq iii, 171–2).

p. 262, s.n. Mulsoe. Add ‘Mulesho 1233 RegAntiq.’

pp. 263–4, s.n. Paxton. In addition to the Paxebroc quoted in Addenda to PN Beds Hu xlii, we have Paxebroicel c. 1230 RegAntiq in Paxton. All these would seem to point to a personal name Paxx(i).

p. 287. Delete ‘Cēn Kewsworth’ and add ‘*Cægen Kewsworth.’

VOL. IV

THE PLACE-NAMES OF WORCESTERSHIRE

p. xliv, ll. 15 ff. The gylde interpretation of these names is certainly the correct one.

p. 2, s.n. Buckle Street. In the Oseney Cartulary we have an entirely independent road similarly named. A road in Water Stratford is called Bogildestrct (c. 1220), one in Barton Hartshorn is called Bugildeweye (c. 1250) and there is a regiam viam q. voc. Buggilderode (1226) in Stowe. These would seem all to refer to one road, viz. the Roman road which runs from Bicester past Stratton Audley, Barton Hartshorn and Water Stratford to Stowe.

p. 49, s.n. Hockerills. The origin of this name may be the same as that of Hockerill in Bishop’s Stortford (Herts).

p. 72, s.n. Gorst Hill. Forms insufficient for satisfactory comment. It may be originally a compound of gorst and seyff.

pp. 74, 302, s.m. Worsley, Warley. Ekwall (Studies 63 ff.) suggests that the first element in these names is OE weorfo, weorfa, gen. sg. and pl. respectively of OE weor, ‘draught-cattle.’ Cf. Warracott (PN D 200).

p. 81, s.n. Suckley. Ekwall (Studies 94) notes that the form suca is found for suca in OE and that hazock is found as a dialect term for a hedge-sparrow in Worcestershire. It may well be therefore that the first element here is a bird-name.

p. 91, s.n. Clopton. v. supra xlvii.

pp. 124–5, s.n. Ildeberg. The names on p. 125 showing early Gildene, Guldene, Geldene forms probably do not belong here. Cf. PN Nth 41–2, s.n. Moreton Pinkney.

p. 151, s.n. Botany Bay. The similarity to Botenaysse must be regarded as a pure coincidence.

p. 155, s.n. Wyre Piddle. Ekwall (DEPN s.n. Worcester) suggests that Wyre is the old Celtic name for the river Piddle and identical with the river-name Wyre (La) and Wyre in Wyre Forest (Wo).

p. 190, l. 9 from bottom. Delete reference to Brickworth (W), as also in Index.

p. 212, s.n. Pool Brook. Add ‘la Pulla 1194 P.’

p. 227, s.n. Severn Stoke. Add ‘Sauernstoch 1194 P.’

p. 233, s.n. Stechford. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) associates this name with the OE adj. stice, ‘sticky.’

p. 242, s.n. Sappcott. The first element is probably OE sapera (gen. pl.), ‘soap-boilers,’ as suggested by Ekwall (DEPN) for the places called Sapperton.

p. 251, ll. 6–7 and Index. Both the Wiltshire places (in Barford and Winterbourne Earls) should be spelled Hurcott.

p. 272, s.n. Winval. The persistent single t makes OE *wilegn, ‘willow’ more likely as the first element. Cf. Willenhall (PN Wa 190).
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

pp. 275–6, s.n. FAIRFIELD. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests a first element for, 'pig, hog,' which is on common record in OE.

pp. 315–6, s.n. CROWLE. Ekwall (Studies 3, 168) suggests that the first element here is OE *cróh, 'bend' (cf. infra li, 127) with reference to the strongly curved bend of Bow Brook in which Crowle lies.

p. 321, s.n. WALKWOOD. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) is probably right in associating the first element with OE *weorc, but the exact significance of the compound is uncertain.

p. 326, s.n. COCK HILL. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) would connect this and other examples of cock-hill with a lost OE cocc, 'hillock,' found in haycock and various place-names. The cock-hills are too numerous for us to believe in the bird-solution for all of them.

p. 367, s.v. sce. Delete '(b) Burlish, Botany (?).'

p. 380. Delete the asterisk before Beald.


Delete *Burgeai Burlish.' Cf. supra xlv.

p. 382. Delete **Cydera Kidderminster (?).'

p. 383. Delete *Ela Elbury.'

*Féle Falsam.'

p. 384. Delete **Hyppi Hipsmoor (?).'

p. 387. Delete *Weorca Walkwood.'

VOL. V

THE PLACE-NAMES OF THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

p. 2, s.n. COVER. Add 'Cobre c. 1150 SD' (cf. DEPN s.n.).

p. 50, s.n. FRYTTON. Ekwall (DEPN) groups this name with Fritton (Nf, Sf) and takes all three back to OE frīdetun, 'enclosed place, fenced-in tun.'

pp. 51–2, s.n. SCACKLETON. Ekwall (DEPN) takes the first element here to be topographical and connects it with OHG scahho, 'point of land,' ON skehill, 'tongue of land.' Cf. also infra lix.

p. 112, s.n. HACKNESS. The first element here (as suggested by Ekwall, DEPN s.n.) is probably OE haco, 'hook,' with reference to the shape of the headland.

p. 125, under RUSWARP. Add 'EWE COTE is Yowucte 1557 Pat' (A.C.W.).

p. 153, s.n. TOCKETTS. Add 'Theostcota 1104–8 SD' (P.H.R.).

p. 242, s.n. CATTERICK. For the first form read 'βια κατωμακτρωλου' (P.H.R.).

p. 300, s.n. WYCLIFFE. Ekwall (DEPN) is probably right in suggesting that the first element here is OE wiht, 'bend,' with reference to the bend in the Tees at this point. Cf. Whyte (PN BedsHu xli, 216), Witley (PN Wo 183).

VOLS. VI AND VII

THE PLACE-NAMES OF SUSSEX, PARTS I AND II

In these volumes the use of the phrases 'was the home of,' to denote that the names under that head are of local and toponymical origin, and 'is to be associated with the family of' for names which are named from a family-name, is not as uniform as in our later volumes. The following corrections should be made:

For 'gave name to,' 'took its name from' read 'was the home of' in the following:

pp. 20 (Marley), 25 (Pophall), 36 (Latchett's), 70 (Nore), 83 (Broad Rife),
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

99 (Reeth), 105 (Hardnin's), 107 (Sweat), 108 (Wassell), 110 (Pendean), 112 (Roundhurst), 114 (Redlands), 115 (Bennyfold), 116 (Hallgate), 120 (Colluma), 122 (Brookfield), 123 (Salmons Bridge), 127 (Hesworth), 135 (Spratt), 150 (Spar, Tadfold), 153 (Frithwoods), 154 (Pythingdean), 155 (Toat, Underley), 157 (Exford, Hornshill, Naldrett, Rowbrook), 160 (Pensfold, Theale), 162 (Freecland, Kithurst), 175 (Crowell), 179 (Clayton), 180 (Hill), 183 (Mitchborne), 185 (Bassell's), 187 (Pinland, Posbrook's, Pothill, Thistleworth, Whitewick), 188 (Withy Leg), 190 (Pen Bridge), 192 (Buck Barn), 199 (Kingswood), 203 (Colgate), 207 (Summersdean), 210 (Greatwick), 217 (Mock Bridge), 218 (Moustows, Pokerlee), 227 (Hornbrook), 238 (Daux), 257 (Mock Bridge), 263 (Hilders, Holmsted), 264 (Lovell's, Pilstone), 265 (Pucksroad, Thistleworth, Deanhus), 277 (Ockley), 282 (Kits Bridge), 283 (Tilgate, Tinsley), 286 (Wayfield), 299 (Woodbrooks).

For 'was the home of,' 'probably gave name to' read 'is to be associated with the family of' under 288 (Wayfield), 299 (Woodbrooks).

p. 31, s.n. WOOLBEDING. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests the personal name Wulfbeald with dissimilatory loss of l. Cf. the DB form.

p. 52, s.n. RACTON. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests that the first element is the same word found in Rake (PN Sx 41) with reference to the valley of the Ems here.

pp. 114–15, s.n. PETWORTH. OE Peota, which is on record, as suggested by Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) would suit the forms better.

p. 180, s.n. TRAKEHAM. If this is a 'thatch' name it would be better to take the first element as paca, 'thatched roof' than as pacc. Cf. DEPN s.n.

p. 194, s.n. WEST TARRING. Add 'Tiering 1165 P.'

pp. 195, 412, s.n. CLAPHAM. For the etymology of this name v. Ekwall, Studies², 136 ff. and supra xlvi. Ekwall explains the DB Clopeham as deriving from a weak form-cloppa.

p. 228, s.n. ROFFEY. Ekwall (Studies², 82) suggests that this goes back to OE råhege, frequently found in the Charters, 'deer-fence.'

p. 287, s.n. PYECOMBE. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests that the first element in this name is OE pie found in OE glosses as an insect name, perhaps denoting a gnat or midge.

pp. 340–1, s.n. BUXSHALLS. Ekwall (Studies², 44 ff.) has a full discussion of the final element in this name and shows that its more correct form is OE gesell (fem.). He suggests that it denotes 'shelter for animals, herdsmans's hut,' rather than 'group of buildings' (cf. Styrian dial sell, söl, 'cowherd's hut,' Swiss dial selle, 'kitchen in an alpine dairy cottage.'

In PN Sx this element was noted as found, or likely to be found, in Bemzells, Breadsh, Drigells, Woodseid and Yorkshire. Ekwall also rightly finds it in Boarzell, Bugsell, Hamseid, Hornshill and Wiggell (with first element wic, 'dairy-farm'), in which he takes certain shuttle-forms to be due to confusion with unstressed ME kelle, helle, 'hill.' With less certainty he extends this explanation to Branshill.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 349, s.n. MARESFIELD. EKwall's suggestion of a first element merse, 'marsh' (DEPN s.n.) is better than the one here suggested.
p. 361, l. 11. For 'Cortington' read 'Corton' and so in Index.
p. 483, s.n. HOCKHAM. This name should like Huckham (PN D 56, 332) probably be interpreted as hoc-cumb, 'valley with a hook or bend in it,' though the topography is not obviously suggestive of this.
pp. 502, 505, s.n. CROWNHURST, CROWHAM. In both these names the first element may well be OE cроh, 'corner, nook,' which EKwall (DEPN s.n.) finds in Crowhurst. The former lies in a well-marked bend in a river-valley. The latter lies by a valley opening out of the broad valley of the Brede. See further Studies', 140 ff. Cf. infra 127.
p. 545, l. 16. For 'lund' read 'land.'

VOLS. VIII AND IX

THE PLACE-NAMES OF DEVON, PARTS I AND II

p. ix, s.n. HATHERLEY. For 'Hegherle' read 'Hegberle.' So also 'Hupheberleg, Heyyerleg 1220 Fees.'
pp. 10, 342, 344, s.n. MOLE, MOLLAND, MOLTON. For the possibility of a Celtic mol, 'hill,' lying behind these names, v. EKwall (DEPN s.n. Molton).
p. 28, s.n. COCKHILL. Cf. Cock Hill supra xii.
p. 29, s.n. BITTADON. The personal name Beotta would perhaps suit the forms better (EKwall, DEPN s.n.).
p. 62, l. 4. For stoc read stoc.
pp. 69, 75, 240, 302, 331, 447, 522, s.n. STOKE. For stoc(c) read stoc.
p. 92, s.n. FRITHESTOCK. For stoc(c) read stoc.
pp. 114, last paragraph. Add 'ANCHOR WOOD is Ankerwood 1557 Pat' (A.C.W.).
p. 115, s.n. LOVECOTT. Add 'Luuecot' 1195 P.'
p. 116, s.n. BROWNSCOMBE. Add 'Bronstone in Hunshawe 1557 Pat' (A.C.W.).
p. 121, s.n. TAWSTOCK. For stoc(c) read stoc.
p. 124, s.n. TAPELEY. EKwall (DEPN s.n.) notes the parallel of Tepppleleg (BCS 596). He suggests OE teppe as the first element, hence 'wood where pegs were obtained.'
p. 127, s.n. QUODITCH. There are two places called Quidhampston in Wiltshire, one in Beherton and one in Wroughton. EKblom (PN W) deals with the former.
p. 130, s.n. MADWORTHY. Delete reference to Madington (W) and so in Index.
p. 152, l. 7. For stoc(c) read stoc.
p. 164, s.n. PANSAN. Add 'Panestana 1194 P.'
p. 168, s.n. SUTCOMBE. For 'Suttamurdo' read 'Suttamynville' and, in the rubric at the head of the charter note Suttumynville. These forms are in favour of association with suhd. Cf. EKwall, DEPN s.nn.
p. 256, s.n. PLYMSTOCK. For stoc read stoc.
p. 257, s.n. REVELSTOK. For stoc(c) read stoc.
pp. 285-6. Add Torpeek (6°). This is a manor in Pek. Supplementary to the notice of this place printed in PN D Pt. II, p. xii, where we have reference in the Black Prince's Register (1362) to 'lands in Pek late of William atte Torre Pik,' we may add earlier references as follows: 'Johannes de la Torre tenet in Pek' (1303 FA) and 'John de la Torre' the holder of a carucate of land in 'Pyk' (1304 Pat). We also have a reference in 1428 (FA) to Torre Pyk formerly held by Wilelmus att Torre. The 'peak' is Pek itself and the Tor is a manorial and not a local addition, distinguishing a particular holding in Pek.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 286, s.n. TURTLEY. Delete ‘pyrefeld…….281.’ This refers to Turville (PN Bk 196) which has however probably the same origin.

p. 332, s.n. STOKENHAM. For stoc(c) read stoc.

pp. 380, 447, 490, 521, s.n. RUCKHAM, RUGROAD, RUGGADON (2). Ekwall (Studies², 88 ff.) shows good reason for assuming here, and in other Rug-names, an unrecorded OE hrucge, denoting a bird, very probably a species of woodcock.

p. 380, s.n. HILL FM. The references under this name belong to Hill FM in Witheridge. Hill FM in Cruwys Morchard is Trehyll (1514), Hyll, Easthyll, Westhyll (1528–1614) (Cruwys MSS).

p. 380. Under CRUWS MORCHARD. Add ‘MINNICLEAVE Wood’ (6”) is Meneclyve 1382 Cruwys MSS, with the same history as Minicleave (PN D 356).’

p. 381. Add ‘EVELEIGH COTTAGE’ (6”) and PULSARDS (6”) are named after early 18th-century occupiers (Cruwys MSS).’

p. 381. Add ‘MERRIFIELDHAYES’ (6”) is so named in 1641 (Cruwys MSS). Cf. Merrivale (PN D 247).’

p. 381, s.n. STUBBORN. This is Stubbyn (1515 Ct). This would seem to be the weak plural of stubb. The farm is not stubborn, it is one of the most fertile in the parish (ex. inf. Mr M. C. S. Cruwys).

p. 382, s.n. MESHAW. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) notes that while the Normans clearly tried to interpret this name as malassart, the sceaga-forms are probably the original ones, with an uncertain first element.

p. 389, s.n. RACKENFORD. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests that this is a compound of racu, ‘bed of a stream’ and arenford, ‘ford which can be passed by riding.’ Cf. arenwege, ‘riding road.’

p. 408, s.n. PRESTCOMBE. For ‘Exeter Cathedral’ read ‘the Collegiate church of Crediton’ (A.C.W.).

p. 441, s.n. WONFORD. Add the form Wynford (BCS 721) quoted under Mincing Lake (PN D 10) and Winfrod (hundredum) 1195 P quoted by Ekwall (DEPN s.n.). This last confirms the suggestion made (PN D 10, 441) that we have to do with an old stream-name.

p. 460, s.n. STOKEINTEIGNHEAD. For stoc(c) read stoc.

p. 474, s.n. IDEFORD. As noted by Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) a gen. pl. giedda, hence ‘ford of the songs or speeches,’ is also possible.

p. 497, s.n. KENBURY HO. For ‘1083’ read ‘1063.’

p. 498, s.n. CLAPHAM. Cf. supra xlvi.

p. 612, s.n. CULMSTOCK. For stoc(c) read stoc. The endorsement of the OE Charter has to Culmstoece.

p. 621, s.n. STOCKHAM’S HILL. The Stockham family must have come from Stockham in Witheridge (PN D 390).

p. 622, s.n. FARWOOD. Ekwall (Studies², 76–7) suggests OE fór-wudu, ‘pig-wood.’

p. 632, s.n. MORGANHAYES. Add ‘Morganesheys 1557 Pat’ (A.C.W.).

p. 640, s.n. KILMINGTON. An early form Culmiton (1104 P) favours Cynehelming tun as the ultimate source but Ekwall’s Culmeton (1257 Ch) in DEPN (s.n.) refers to Cullompton.

p. 647, s.n. STOCKLAND. Ekwall (Studies², 32) shows that this estate (10 hides at Stokelonde) is probably identical with ‘10 hides at Ercecombe,’ i.e. Yarcombe, 2 miles away, in another version of the same charter (BCS 738) and that this estate was probably by origin a stoc belonging to Yarcombe. The interpretation would in that case be ‘land belonging to Yarcombe.’

p. 654, s.n. TYTHERLEIGH. For ‘Tytherton’ read ‘Tytherington.’ It is in Heytesbury.

p. 674. Under Celtic (c), add ‘Knockworthy and Mambury (?)’.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

VOL. X

THE PLACE-NAMES OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

p. xxxi, ll. 8, 12. After 'OE eald' and 'OE weald,' add '(Angl ald)' and '(Angl wald).'</p>

p. xxxiii, l. 3. Add new paragraph:

CONFUSION OF INITIAL c AND g is specially common in this county. See s.nn. Clippendale, Crayley, Gaiton, Gawber, Glapthorne, Glendon, Glinton.

p. 41, s.nn. MORETON PINKNEY. Ekwall (DEPN s.nn. Gilmorton (Lei)) notes the early rendering of Gilden Morton by the Latin Aurea Morton in an Episcopal Register of 1249, thus determining the interpretation of the name.

p. 63, s.nn. FRANKLOW. Add 'Frankelawa c. 1165 RegAntiq.'

p. 77, s.nn. WINWICK. The form Winewicle is also found in DB. Ekwall (DEPN s.nn.) calls attention to it. If this variant form has any significance it must contain the element wincel found in Aldwinkle (PN Nth 177) and the name have reference to the well-marked hollow in which Winwick lies.

p. 97, s.nn. OLD STRATFORD. Also called Little Stratford Pat Rolls t. Hy 4, vol. iii, p. 424 (A.C.W.).

pp. 107, 171-2, 218-19, s.nn. STOKE BRUERNE, ALBANY and DOYLE. For stoc(c) read stoc.

p. 147, l. 11. For 'Hacklestone' read 'Haxton,' and so in Index.

p. 153, s.nn. ARNISSE COPSE. Delete the reference to Arno's Grove (Mx).

p. 190, s.nn. CALDECOTT. Locally [ko'kat] (F.W.M.).

p. 217, s.nn. CLAPTON. Perhaps 'hill-farm,' v. supra xlvi, though the application is not quite obvious. It lies on a small plateau.

pp. 248-53. Add:

an Olney. ceald Charlock.
coc (n) Cockleyhill (?).
col Colready. *creowel (n) Croughton.
dibbing (ME) (n) Britain Sale.
dingle (ME) (n) Dingley.
dust (n) Dust Hill, Duston.
feath (n) Fulham.
gear Yarwell (?), golet (ME) (n) Gullet.
goltr, ON (n) Gaultney. hæpse (n) Hostage.
heals (n) Halse. knott (n) Knotwood.
hlose Luscote's. hulu (n) Hulcote.
yrne Horns Wood. impe ME (n) Empty.
læppe (n) Cherry Lap.
landgemære (n) Laundimer.
orodstan (n) Radstone. sceot (n) Shotwell.
seofen (n) Seawell, Sewell, Sywell.
slyppe (n) Slipton. smæde Smanhill.
*stæfer (n) Staverton. *strut (n) Studborough.
sulh (n) Sulby (?), Sulgrave.
trepp (n) Trafford. wih, weoh (n) Weedon (2).
wio (n) Wythmaile. wirð Wotherpe.
p. 293. Change the title to

'Index of some new or uncommon words or forms of which the history is illustrated in this volume.'

Add:

crackmill 285

cuttlemill 103

featherbed 278

garboard 261

haw 263-4

hulk 265

low 264

raton-row 225

slade 269

start 276

stibbing 270, 289

trench 270
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

THE PLACE-NAMES OF SURREY

p. 21, s.n. CLAPHAM. Ekwall (Studies, 136 ff.) would take the first element to be an OE *cloppe, 'hill.' Cf. supra xlv.

p. 29, s.n. SOUTHWARK. The very good form sufraganaworce from a new version of the Burghal Hidage (ed. Flower) makes the etymology certain; cf. London Medieval Studies, i, 63.

pp. 43-4, s.n. CHEAM. Mansion (English Studies xviii, 262) notes the parallel Keiem (W. Flanders), 1127 Kaithem.

p. 45, s.n. RIDDLES DOWN. Add ‘Redelsdon 1276-7 HydeReg’ (H.C.).

p. 47, s.n. SPARKLIE. Cf. s.n. Sparkey Wood (PN Ess 313).


p. 54, under SANDERSTEAD. Add (all 6?): COOMBS WOOD (Combeswoode c. 1460 HydeReg). GEE Wood (Gees 1803 CroydonEnclA). HILLOCKS WOOD (Hall Oaks ib.). THE HOOKS (Hill Hooks ib.). QUEENHILL SHAW (Queen Hall ib.). (H.C.)

p. 67, s.n. TOLWORTH. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) cites a possible parallel for the personal name in Tallington (L), DB Talintone.

pp. 95, 150, 157, s.n.n. STOKE DABERNON, STOKE and CRASTOCK. For stoc(c) read stoc.

p. 103, s.n. BISLEY. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests that we may have to do with a personal name Byssa found also in byssan broc (KCD 1309).

p. 157, s.n. GOLDSWORTH. Mr G. P. Mander calls our attention to a further example of goldhord in GOLDSHORN HILL on the southern boundary of Wolverhampton. In an unpublished Final Concord of 1261 dealing with common of pasture in the wood of Sedgley, the land is defined as lying ‘next the ancient highway which extends by La Goldhord to Billeston.’ This is the boundary road, doubtless very ancient, passing east to west over Goldthorn Hill.

p. 184, s.n. ARTINGTON. Mansion (English Studies, 262-3) explains the variant forms as due to alternation between Earta and Earda (cf. Eata as a pet-form for Ead-names). It should be noted that there is a serious objection to Heort, as proposed in the text, viz. that there are no later hurt-forms, such as we should have expected.

p. 217, s.n. SATENNHAM. Mansion (English Studies, 263) notes that in French Sotteville (Seine Inf.) and Dutch Zottegem, the personal name Sota clearly has a short vowel.

p. 277, last paragraph, 7th line. For ‘278’ read ‘410.’

p. 315, s.n. CHELLOWS FM. Add ‘land of Cheletewa de la Grave 1279 HydeReg’ (H.C.).

p. 325, s.n. LANGHURST. Add ‘Langehurst 1249-63 HydeReg’ (H.C.).

p. 326. Add ‘COOMB’S WOOD (6”) is Combeswoode 1460 Hyde’ (H.C.).

p. 339, s.n. HAMSEY GREEN. Hamsey Green Pond was le Withemere (1276 HydeReg), i.e. ‘withy-mere’ (H.C.).

pp. 341-9. Add:

alor Arbrook. broc Cosbrook.

burhgate (n) Burgate. butere Barsden.

clause, ME (n) Clause.

clopp (n) Clapham. cnafa (n) Nanhurst.

crumb Crownhill. draca (n) Drakehill.

drit, ME (n) Dirtham. ea Wray.

falod Valley End. fin Fingley.

gafol (n) Galley Wood.

gogge, ME (n) Gogmore.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

goldhord (n) Goldenlands, Goldsworth, Goldwhurd.
haca (n) Hackbridge. hamel Hambledon, -ton.
heals Hersham. hefield (n) Haldish.
hlose Loseley. imbe (n) Emley, Imhams.
impe, ME (n) Empley.
lace Lawbrook, Lagham. læppe (n) Lapscombe.
lurte, ME (n) Hogs Mill. luspom (n) Lostiford.
mearc Mark Oak, Marks Dean, Markmead, Markwich, Shiremark.
*medema (n) Meadfield. meos Mesylls, Misbrooks.
*mixten (n) Mixnams. *peac (n) Peckham.
peru (n) Parley. *pyrigen (n) Purnish.
*ran (n) Randleys (?), Ranmore (?).
rrot (n) Roothill. rysc Merton Rush.
sang (n) Songhurst. *sceacol (n) Shackleford.
sceald Shadwell (?), Shalford, Shawford.
*slief (n) Slyfield, Slithehurst.
smeoru Smarkham. smia5e (n) Smithwood.
spraec (n) Spreakley. stmf (n) Staffhurst.
sang (n) Songhurst. *sceacol (n) Shackleford.
sceald Shadwell (?), Shalford, Shawford.
*slief (n) Slyfield, Slithehurst.
smeoru Smarkham. smia5e (n) Smithwood.
spraec (n) Spreakley. stmf (n) Staffhurst.
stan (n) Taunton (?). Mange (n) Tanfield, Tangley.
prote (n) Young Stroat. twang (n) Tongham.
wafre (n) Waverley. wic Whitford, Wykehurst.
wop (n) Wapshott.

Kyrkehegge in Sanderstead corresponds to Crooks Corner (1843 T.A.). It is far from any church (H.C.).

All forms, unless otherwise stated, are from Whitgift Muniments ed. Paget, 1936.

Under (5) add Bullhead (PN D 94).
Under Sunday add Sondayferes, i.e. Sunday-furrows (v. furh) (H.C.).

Change the title to ‘Index of some new or uncommon words or forms of which the history is illustrated in this volume.’

Add:
coupled 188 leazure 263

crawt, croat 357 nonsuch 73, 369

cummill 77, 209 pitch 239
dial 368 runt 159
dick 358 steeple 398

droppett, -itt 369 trash 273

keep 386 wandering 64

kryoun 60

p. 415. Add ‘Barkhurst, 205.’
p. 420. Add ‘Cosbrook, 157.’
p. 432. Add ‘Paternoster Row, 107.’
p. 439, s.n. WANFORD. For ‘179’ read ‘173.’
p. liii, l. 6 from bottom. For "304" read "384."
p. 10, s.n. PINCEY BROOK. Add "(le) Pymkesey(e) brok 1430 Harlow" (P.H.R.).
p. 12, s.n. STORT. Add "Riuieram de Soretofere 1207 Harlow" (P.H.R.).
p. 37, s.n. MULBERY GREEN. Add "Motebergh(e) 1382 Harlow, -strate 1410 ib., Middeberghstrate, Motebergh(strete) ib., Middborow 1547 EAS xxii, Moothborow, Moleberry, Molebury 17th-18th ER xlvi, confirming the proposed etymology" (P.H.R.).
p. 37, s.n. POTTER STREET. Add "terra quondam Mauricii le Pottere iuxtia Potterestrate 1382 Harlow" (P.H.R.).
p. 38, s.n. HARLOW TYE. Add "Harrowethe 1382 Harlow, Herloughty 1409 ib." (P.H.R.).
p. 38, s.n. HORNS CROSS. Add "Here probably lived William ad Crucon (c. 1312 Harlow). The Rev. J. L. Fisher informs us that other documents show that the Hobescroft of 1156-80 was in Ipswich" (P.H.R.).

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p. 39, s.n. CHURCHGATE STREET, HARLOWBURY and MILLHILL respectively add "Churchgatetstrate 1417 Harlow, Herloughty 1409 ib., Millehel 1382 ib. POOLES was probably the home of Gilbert de Stago (t. Abbot Sampson) and is terra johannis Poole 1430 ib." (P.H.R.).
p. 39. Add "GRAVELPIT FM (6'). Cf. le Graualpettys 1430 Harlow" (P.H.R.).
p. 44. Add "LATTON STREET is Lattonestrate 1382 Harlow" (P.H.R.).
p. 69, s.n. NAVESTOCK. Add "Navestoke 1283 FF" (P.H.R.).
p. 79, n. 2. Add "Batyレスs 1409 Cl" (P.H.R.).
p. 80, n. 4. Add "Suttones 1427 Cl" (P.H.R.).
p. 86, s.n. NORTH WEALD. Add "Northwoolde 1244 FF" (P.H.R.).
p. 109, s.n. WANSTEAD. Add "Whansied 1361 Ipm (bis)" (P.H.R.).
p. 117, s.n. ROMFORD. Add "Runforde 1207 Harlow" (P.H.R.).
p. 128, s.n. LITTLE COLDHARBOUR. Add "Colthbered 1528 LP" (P.H.R.).
p. 131, s.n. BEACON HILL. Add "Beakon Hyll 1531 Deed" (F.G.E.).
p. 131, s.n. DAVEY DOWNE. Add "Great, Upper and Nether Davy Downe 1614 RegRoff" (P.H.R.).
p. 148, s.n. LAWFORTH. Add "Laweveyerde (sic) 1207 Harlow" (P.H.R.).
p. 151, s.n. CORNINGHAM. Delete "Identical with Corningham (L)." Cf. DEPN s.n.
p. 157, s.n. HORNDON-ON-THE-HILL. Add "Horndon without the hundred of Rocheford 1362 Ipm" (P.H.R.).
p. 168, s.n. RAMSDEN. Add "Remsonde 1362 Ipm" (P.H.R.).

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Ekwall's suggestion of 'ram's valley' from OE *ræmman* is possibly a better one (DEPN s.n. pp. 171, 184, s.n. RUGWARD, RUGWOOD. Ekwall (Studies, 88 ft.) suggests with much likelihood that the first element here is the lost OE *hræge*, 'wood-cock,' or some such bird, which is found in more than one place-name in the OE charters.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA


p. 176, s.n. Wickford. Add 'Winfort 1086 DB' (P.H.R.).


p. 190, s.n. Prittlewell. Add 'in loco vulgariter nuncupato Peperell 1544 Admiralty' (P.H.R.).

p. 194, s.n. Rawreth Shot. Add 'Serte 1227 Harlow' (P.H.R.). This makes it clear that the first element is not the common shot. It may be the common adj. short (OE seoert) used substantively.


p. 212, s.n. Creeksea. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests with some likelihood that this is a compound of creke, 'creek' and that the name denotes a hithe belonging to the creek or estuary of the Crouch.

p. 216, s.n. Lawling. Add 'in Lellingege 1005 Eyns' (P.H.R.).

p. 221, s.n. Ilitney. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests the possibility of OE ielfetan-, ielfetena-eg, 'swan's' or 'swans' marshland.'

p. 231, n. 3. Add 'Pabkardes 1429 Cl' (P.H.R.).

p. 238, s.n. Boreham. There can be little doubt that Ekwall (Studies 2, 131 ff.) is right in associating these names with the word bore found in the ME surname atte bore (1313 Ass) which lies behind Bore Place (PN K 78). This word is to be connected with OHG, MHG bor, 'upper room, height,' Swed dial bor, 'ridge, hill.' This sense would suit the sites of all the places in question. They are all on or by well-marked hills.

p. 262, s.n. Rettendon. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests that the first element is an adj. *rettan*, 'infested with rats.'

p. 263. Add 'Brook Hall and Pondlands (6') were probably the homes of Robert del Broc and Lucia at Ponde (1277 Ely)' (P.H.R.).


p. 275, 523, s.n. Rolphy, Roughway. Ekwall (Studies 2, 82) suggests that these go back to OE raeh-hege, 'deer-fence,' often found in the charters.

p. 295, s.n. Rivenhall. A good parallel to this name is to be found in Rivington (PN La 48) which Ekwall similarly derives from OE bræof.

p. 297, s.n. Ringer's FM. Dr Reaney notes other early examples of this formation in C and Mx, e.g. Cheney Lodge in Steeple Morden (C), le Chenes 13th Wymondley, and Bruce Grove in Tottenham (Mx), le Bruses 1398 Cl.

p. 336, n. 3. Add 'Cokystenement 1430 Cl' (P.H.R.).

p. 374, I. 4. Add 'Wylderihewy 1207 Harlow' (P.H.R.), suggesting that the first element is really OE wiideor.

p. 432, second paragraph. Add 'Hawkwoods FM and Listonhall FM are Haukwoodes and Lystones 1409 Cl' (P.H.R.).

p. 436, s.n. Gestingthorpe. Add 'Westwynthorp 1426 Cl' (P.H.R.).

p. 468, s.n. Yeldham. Add 'Gelham c. 1098 Lewes' (P.H.R.).

p. 472, s.n. Canfield. Add 'Kanefelda c. 1095 Lewes, Kanefelda c. 1098 ib.' (P.H.R.).

p. 480, n. 11. Add 'Wares 1402 Cl' (P.H.R.).

p. 496, s.n. Thaxted. For 'Thacstele 12th LibEl' read 'c. 1004 (12th) LibEl' (P.H.R.).

p. 499, s.n. Tilty. Add 'Tilthei 1199 Wardon, Tilmente 1275 RH (Camb), Tyleteyn 1279 ib.' (P.H.R.).

p. 503, last line. Delete 'and Roding supra 490-i.'


p. 512. Blagden FM was possibly the home of Richard de Blakedon who is mentioned in connexion with Gt Abington (C) in 1244 (Cl). (P.H.R.).
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 513, s.n. MORTLOCK's. For the possibility of Eng morte as a fish-name, see further Morcombelake (DEPN s.n.).

p. 523, s.n. AMBERDEN. Ekwall's suggestion (Studies², 83-4) of a first element OE amore, 'bunting,' would suit the early forms of this name very well.

p. 539, s.n. CATMERE END. Add 'Cattemere 1221 ElyA, 1277 Ely' (P.H.R.).

p. 531, under LITTLEBURY. Add 'Howe Wood. Cf. Lytelbirho 1277 Ely.'

p. 546, s.n. ELDER STREET. Ekwall (Studies², 122) takes the first element here to be ME hilder, hiller, 'elder-tree.' This would suit the early forms better.

p. 599, last paragraph. 'The allotment gardens on the south side of Hagger lane, partaking somewhat of the nature of a new settlement, have always been popularly known as 'Canada,' rendered in Essex dialect "Kennedy," W. Houghton, Walthamstow (1884), 21' (P.H.R.).

p. 674. Add 'Lodders Lane, 370.'

p. 677. Add 'Mowick, 230.'

p. 678. Add 'Mustowhouse, 314.'

p. 685. Add 'Scheregate, 369.'

VOL. XIII

THE PLACE-NAMES OF WARWICKSHIRE

p. xxv, l. 16. After 'weald' add 'Angl ald, wald.'

p. 34, s.n. BIRMINGHAM. Add 'Bremingen 1167, 1169 P, Birmingen 1167 CR, Bremingeham 1169 P' (P.H.R.).

p. 45, s.n. INNAGE. Further examples of this name are to be found in Shropshire. In Bridgnorth there is an Innage Lane, the first part of the name being recorded in the form le Ynnyche in a Rental of 1502. In Claverley in 1674 in an unpublished deed we have mention of an Innedge of Wm. Hubbard, and there is a covert called Innage in Donnington (ex inf. E.W.B.).

p. 52, s.n. WISHAW. Add 'Widshada 1166 P' (P.H.R.).

pp. 67-8, s.n. SOLEHULL. On the possibility of the first element being a lost OE sulig, 'pigsty,' see further Ekwall, Studies², 59 ff.

p. 98, s.n. BRINKLOW. For Brinkley (C) note the form Bruncele 1291 Tax (P.H.R.).

p. 106, last line. For '(ge)mæne' read '(ge)mære.'

p. 120, s.n. WIBTOFT. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) notes that the personal name may be Scandinavian. Cf. Vibbe (Lundgren 295). If so, this would affect the reference to Wibtoft in Introd. xx.

p. 125, s.n. BILTON. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) takes the first element to be OE beolone, 'henbane.'

pp. 167-8, s.n. SPON END. Add 'Span Head (PN D 346) is the head of a long, deep-cut valley.' We may note further an unidentified le Sponne (c. 1270 StWerb) in Church Lawton (Ch).

pp. 183-4, s.n. HOME GRANGE. Cf. also Homefield Shaw, Homfeld 1352 Cl (PN K 48).

p. 205, s.n. CUTT MILL. Add 'Kutte Mylne in Alton (Ha) c. 1225 Reg-Antiq.'

p. 207, l. 2. For '291' read '341.'

p. 239, s.n. CLOPTON. Better 'hill-farm.' For clopp, 'hill,' v. Ekwall, Studies², 136 ff. and supra xlv.

p. 243, s.n. FOREWOOD. The absence of a medial e makes Ekwall's suggestion of OE før, 'pig,' as the first element a likely one.
p. 294, s.n. Umberslade. In 1185 (Templars 16) we have the word humbra used apparently of the marshes of the Lea valley at Hackney. This would seem to be a further example of humbr in place-names. It can hardly be the dialectal omere, oubber as suggested in the footnote in Templars. That word is clearly derived from Fr ombre, 'shade.'

p. 297, s.n. Barcheston. Ekwall's suggestion (DEPN s.n.) of an OE personal name Bedric (cf. Bedrid etc.) is better than Beaduri, though the former name is not actually on record.

p. 327, s.v. heaved. Forms in hoveden and hadn are common also in Cambridgeshire (P.H.R.).

VOL. XIV

THE PLACE-NAMES OF THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK

pp. 6-7, s.n. Hull. Mr L. M. Stanewell informs us that the Old Hull (Holdehull) 1342 BenchBook ran along Waterhouse Lane from Carr Lane, ultimately from Springhead in Cottingham. The northern branch of this (called Scalcoate Gote) was an exit (belonging to the de la Poles) from the Old Hull to the Hull and was not, in his view, a second outlet of the Hull. There does not, however, appear to be any evidence for calling the stream between Scalcoate Gote and Springhead by the name Old Hull.

p. 8, s.n. Humber. Add the MLG spelling de Hummer 14th Seebuch.

p. 25, s.n. Tharles Thorpe. Professor Bruce Dickins suggests that the DB spelling Torulisses- points to an original Dorvaldr, but so far as is known this name did not undergo the assimilation which affected Dövaldr.

p. 35, s.n. Skreckling. Dr Knudsen points out that the Danish equivalent of ONorw skekill, 'point, corner,' occurs in Skikkild in Denmark (DaSN(Sj) iii, 78) with the sense 'something projecting' which would also be appropriate here.

p. 37, s.n. Paull. Mr T. Sheppard notes that Paull is on a small glacial mound so that the sense 'little knob' would suit the site.


p. 92, s.n. Great Kelk. The OE word *celc may, according to Professor Bruce Dickins, occur also in Kelso (Sc) which is found as Całcehou c. 1128, Kelchou 1144, Chelchëov c. 1145.

p. 102, note. I am indebted to the Rev. J. S. Purvis for the following additional notes on Bridlington street-names, derived from BridlCh. Add s.n. Applegarth Lane 'one pasture called Applegarth 16th, Applegarth Lane 1690,' s.n. Kirkgate 'Kyrkgaet 1537, Kirkgate street 1539,' s.n. St John's Street 'Sanct John Guytt 1537,' s.n. Westgate 'Westguytt 1537.' Add the following names: Back Lane is ye back Laine 1690. The Bail is the Bayle 1636 (ME bail 'prison'). Bail Gate is Bayle Street 1539. The Footy Foot is so named in 1636. King Street is the Kings strett 1641. Market Place is the Markett place 1695. Nungate is Nungatt 1537, Nungate Street 1539 (ME nunne 'nun' and gata). Pinfold Street is Pinforde Gate 1684 and is named from the Comon Pinfould 1692 (OE pundfald and gata). Amongst other unidentified street-names we may note the Kitcoate c. 1645 (a prison, cf. Kidcotes infra 291), and Rattan Row 1667.

p. 104, s.n. Sewerby, add 'Shourby 1641 BridlCh.'

p. 108, s.n. Reighton. Professor Ekwall thinks that Reighton may well be a compound of hrycg and tun and of similar origin to Rigton (WRY). The two Rigtons in the WRY, besides numerous Rigton, -y- forms also have spellings similar to those of Reighton. Rigton near Bardsey is Riston 1086 DB, Riston 1201 P, Righton 1246 Ass, and Rigton near Kirkby Overblow is Riston 1086 DB, Righton 1279-81 QW.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 130, s.n. GARROWBY. There is probably rather better evidence for an OEScand personal name Gerwørth in Denmark. The form Gerward according to Dr Knudsen is rather common in Danish and a single example from 1457 has the form Gelwertt and this may be a dissimilated form of Gerwerð.

p. 133, s.n. THIXendale. Mortimer, the famous excavator of Yorkshire barrows, said he could trace sixteen dales in this area. Local topography may here therefore have reinforced tendencies to folk-etymology.

pp. 173-4, s.n. HUGGATE. Further evidence for a basis *hug-* is pointed out by Professor Bruce Dickins who notes the word huyle from Pearl (l. 41) which survives as dialect hile and is from an original *hugil-.

p. 201, s.n. STORKHILL. The Danish place-name Strøgnæs may, according to Dr Knudsen, contain the OScand strok.

p. 211, s.n. ROTTEN HERRING STAITH. The same family gave its name to Rottenherringland (1417 BevAct) in Welwick.

p. 212, l. 3. Mr T. Sheppard informs us that the Charterhouse still exists.

pp. 214-15, s.n. STONEFERRY. Mr T. Sheppard notes that the chain was at the entrance to the Hall and not at Stoneferry. Stanfordrak was nearer the Humber.

p. 224, s.n. FAXFLEET. Professor Bruce Dickins informs us that the personal name Faxi is actually found as the name of a hairy monster in the fragments of the ME Conflict of Wit and Will (ed. Bruce Dickins).

pp. 229-30, s.n. MARKET WEIGHTON. Professor Bruce Dickins calls our attention to Wicketunes in the Owl and Nightingale (l. 730) which seems to mean 'ecclesiastical establishment' or something of that kind.

p. 268, l. 11. Professor Ekwall notes for us that the Midderice of BCS 814 appears in the better form Midda hricges weg in BCS 1009 and this example of ric should therefore be deleted.

p. 286, s.n. FINKLE STREET. Professor Ekwall notes that the Dan vinkel is a loan-word from LGer.

p. 288, s.n. GALMANLYTHE. Professor Ekwall would take this name to be a compound of Galmanhowe and hliō. Galmanhowe itself he suggests contains an OE personal name Galma. In that case presumably the spellings like Galmoneld are errors for Galmouelid. Galmou, it should be noted, is the normal ME development of an original Galmanhó, in which the inflexional n might well be lost early.

p. 290, s.n. HOBMOOR. Professor Dickins calls attention to the common occurrence of hob, 'hob-goblin,' in NRY moorland names and notes the list of hobs from the Pickering district taken from a Manuscript by George Clavert (printed by Gordon Home, The Evolution of an English Town, 1905, 207-8); the list includes such names as T'Hob of Egton High Moor, etc.
EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE
AND YORK

EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Æstreding, Estreding, Est Treding, Oustreding 1086 DB
Austriding(e) 1125–30 YCh 112, BevAct et freq to 1413 Ch,
Oust- 1180–90 YCh 623, 1191–1201 Dods, Haust- 1260
Rental, YI
Austreing’ c. 1130 RegAlb, Austridding 1135 BevAct
Austreding, -yng 1135–47 Bridl, 1152–62 (1313) Ch, t. Hy 2
(1382) Dugd
Estriding, -yng 1220 RegAlb, 1255 Kirkham et freq to 1363
Works, -inge, -ynge 1286 Ebor, 1299 Abbr, 1305 Whitby
Estrithing, -yng 1227 YD et freq to 1407 HMC (Bev)
Estreding 1279–81 QW, 1295 Pat, Estthriddinge 1296 YI
Estrihingo 1349 Works, Estridding 1493 Test
the East Ridding c. 1580 YD, (Riding) 1695 Morden et freq

ON austr, later supplanted by east ‘east’ and ON þríðjungr,

In the 13th and 14th centuries the Riding court is described
as thrithingum de Crakou 1279–81 QW, Crayhou 1296 YI,
Craykehouhe, -howe 1298, 1305 ib., Kraychou(u) 1298, 1302 ib.,
Craykhou 1303 ib., Crakhowe 1352 Ipm; it is once called
thrithingum de Craikhou in wap’ de Herthill’ 1298 Baildon and
once trithing’ de Gartem’ (sic) 1279–81 QW. The most likely site
of the wapentake meeting-place is Craike or Craike Hill (infra
167) north of Kirkburn near many old trackways and numerous
tumuli (v. haugr). This at any rate is the only name in Harthill
wapentake which agrees in form. It is near Driffield and being
thus centrally placed it is within reasonably easy access of all
parts of the Riding. Garton (the QW Gartem) is the next village
to the north. The Crak- forms suggest a combination of kraka
‘crow’ or ON KRÁKI and haugr, as in a lost Crakenhou (13th
Bardney), but the persistence of Crayk- points rather to the Brit
word *kraik ‘rock’ which is found in Crayke (PN NRY 27) and
probably in Crick (PN Nth 69).
AIKE BECK (Hull) is the Water of Aike 1617 FF. v. Aike infra 160 and bekkr.

BEALEYS BECK, riuuli Belaghe 1156 Meaux, runs past Bealey infra 161 and flows as Aike Beck into the Hull.

BESSINGBY BECK (6") rises near Hilderthorpe and Bessingby infra 102, 100 and runs into the sea at Auburn. It is le Becke in territorio de Hilderthorp and the seniorem riuulum "which divides the meadows of Bridlington and Bessingby" (13th Bridl).

BEVERLEY BECK (6") (Hull) is le Bek(ke) 1345 BevAct, 1364, 1407 BevDoc, 1379 PT, le communi beke 1467 BevDoc; Latin forms are communi guttera 1319 BevAct, torrente(m), -is 1367 BevDoc et freq, torrentis Beverlaci 1438 HMC (Bev); Beverley Beck is found from 1536 ib. v. Beverley infra 193 and bekkr.

BIELBY BECK (Derwent) is aquam de Belebywath 1300 Pat; -wath is from vað 'ford.' v. Bielby infra 232.

BLACKFOSS BECK (Derwent) is le Fosse 13th Kirkham. Cf. Foss Beck infra 3.

BRIDGE DIKE (6") (Stillingfleet Beck) is fossatum de Eskryke 1371 Works and is named from pons de Escryk' 1363 ib. v. Escrick infra 267.

BULLDIKE DRAIN (6") (Holderness Drain) is Boudike als. Boukdike (sic) 1621 FF.

CAUSEWAY DIKE (6") (Holderness Drain) is fossatum de calceta 1252 Meaux, and is named from the calceta monachorum (ib.), a causeway in Weel belonging to Meaux Abbey.

CAVE BECK (6") (Humber) is Cavebek 1370 Works. v. North Cave infra 224 and bekkr.

DERWENT (Ouse)

(annem) Deruuentionem, Dor- c. 730 (8th) Bede
(bii, begeondan) Deorwentan (pierre ea) 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, c. 1000 OEBede.
Other forms will be found in RN 121 and PN NRY 3; the following are from ERY documents:

*Derewent(e), -a(m) 1154-81 (1336) Ch, c. 1185 Warter et freq to 1352 Ipm, Derewentam 1169-73 Malton

*Derwent(e) 1165-85 Kirkham et passim to 1493 Test, Derwent-water 13th Fount, Darewent c. 1362 Works, Darwent 1418 YI et passim to a. 1678 Map

Dorwent 1500 Pat, Darwyn, -win 1549 FF et freq

The river-name is recorded in Brit *Dervatione (AntonItin, NotDign), the name of a Roman station on the Derwent, usually identified with Stamford Bridge or Malton (NRY). It is derived from Brit *derua `oak' and means `oak river.'

**Old River Derwent,** now a drain, was apparently a former outlet of the Derwent. Cf. Howden infra 250. It is on ealdan Deorwentan, andlang ealde Deorwentan 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, and it is possibly referred to in (Derewent and) alterius Derewent' 12th Bridl.

**The Earl’s Dike** forms the northern boundary of Holderness and takes its name from the Earls of Albemarle, who held this wapentake (cf. 1240 FF). It is *fossam comitis 1185–95 YCh 810, (le) Erledyk, -dik(e) 1197–1210 Melsa, 1392, 1446, 1452 Ch, Erlesdyke 1292 YI, Herlesdike 1299 Baildon.

**Ella Dyke** (Hull), forming part of the south boundary of Scorborough, is Eliotdyk 1420 YI. The same surname is also found in Eliotbryg (ib.).

**Fleet Drain** (6") (Humber) is *le Fleet 1235–49 Melsa.* v. fleot.

**Foredyke Stream** (6") (Hull) is Foriked 13th Meaux, Forthdyk, -dike 13th Melsa, Fordisdich’ 1301 Ebor. It is probably ‘ditch with a ford,’ v. ford, dic. Cf. Foredyke Bridge infra 43.

**Foss Beck** is the middle section of Blackfoss Beck *supra* 2, near Wilberfoss *infra* 188. It is called *fossam* (1336 Ch) and *ueteris fossati* (13th Warter). The word *foss* occurs several times in stream-names and in place-names in the East Riding, such as Wilberfoss, Fangfoss, Catfoss, Fosham *infra* 188, 185, 67, 60; elsewhere it appears to be common only in districts where arti-
ficial draining has taken place, as in L; there is a river Foss north of York (PN NRY 4, cf. Fossgate infra 287) and another Foss, an affluent of the Wharfe near Tadcaster,ague de Fosse 1230 Percy (cf. RN 162). In all these cases foss refers to an artificial drain or, more frequently, to a stream which has been deepened or embanked. In some of the streams such dredging is still necessary (as at Fangfoss) to reduce the danger of floods. The word is Latin fossa, probably adopted in OE through a British source (v. RN 163). At least, that is true of Lat fossa in road-names like Fosse Way (PN Wo 3). On the other hand, in these minor names it is not improbable that foss was a direct importation into OE from Latin; apart from OE on foslace (BCS 983) the word is not found in independent use in English until the 15th century and in literary usage it may well be a loan from OFr fosse. Another example is found in the name of Adam le Fossegrayve or 'the ditch-digger' of York (1317 Pat).

Foss DIKE (Foulness) is Fossam (acc.) 13th Warter. A field in Foggathorpe called le Fossefeld 13th Selby was named from this stream.

FOULNESS (Humber)
(on), (andlang) Fulanea 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4
Fulna t. Hy 2 Gilbert, 1165–85 Riev, 1268 Ass
(in), (apud) Fulna, (in) Fulnam t. Hy 2, c. 1200 Gilbert
Fulnach 1285 YI, Fulnath 1300 Pat
Fulney 1344 IpM, Fulne 1350 et freq to 1369 Pat, Foulney 1585 FF
Fowley 1582 FF, Foulness 1695 Morden

‘Dirty river,’ v. ful, ea. Cf. RN 163. It is noteworthy that only in this name and Mickley Dike infra 9 has the OE weak inflexion survived in ME. The spelling -ach (and the scribal variant -ath) probably represent the substitution of OScand á, which, as Ekwall (NoB xiv, 153 ff.) points out, would probably have retained its earlier form *ahh at the time of the Viking settlements; the relation is that of ME pouh ‘though’ to OScand þó, older þoh.

GIPSEY RACE (gipso) is found several times for various streams, one from Kilham to Ruston Parva called Old Gypsey (6"), one
in Kelleythorpe, one from Duggleby to West Lutton, where it disappears, called Gypsey Race (6*), and a fourth which appears near Wold Newton and passes through Rudstone to the sea at Bridlington. This last is Gipse, Gypse c. 1198 William of Newburgh, 1327 Ipml. The feature of these streams is that in wet seasons they spring intermittently from the Wolds, follow their course or race and then cease. William of Newburgh describes one of them as a marvel: "In prouincia Deirorum, haud procul a loco nativitatis mææ, res mirabilis contigit.... Et vicus aliquot a mari orientali milliariis distans, juxta quem famosæ illæ aquæ quam vulgo Gipse vocant, numerosa scaturigine e terra prosiliunt, non quidem jugiter, sed annis interpositis et facto torrente non modico, per loca humiliora in mare labuntur; quæ quidem cum siccantur signum bonum est, nam earum fluxus futuræ famis incommodum non fallaciter portendere dicitur" (Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen, Rolls, i, 85).

The word gipsey is used as a general term for intermittent springs, but its usage is confined to the ERY (v. NED s.v. gipsies). Ekwall (RN 173) suggests as the origin of the river-name an OE Gyppes-ea 'Gypp's stream' which is more satisfactory than derivation from OFr eaux gypsées 'waters containing gypsum, petrifying springs,' for, as Nicholson (51) points out, the latter is not borne out by the geological conditions. If the first element is a pers. name, we must assume that Gipsey was originally the name of one only of these streams, and then became a common name for a stream with these characteristics. It seems more probable, however, that the first element is a significant word, OE *gips, related to OE gipian 'to yawn,' Dan gipse, Swed dial gispa 'yawn,' ON geipsa 'yawn' and ME gayspe 'to gasp.' The sense of the ME verb suggests a convulsive and intermittent action which would be appropriate to a 'gipsey.' The Norw river-name Gjeispa (NoEN 69) is similarly related to ON geispa (from *geipsa). Initial [g] for [j] would be due to Scandinavian influence. The second element of Gipsey is ea. Race is from ON rás 'rush of water, channel, water-course,' used in a similar way in Svinekilde Raase (DaSN(S) 112).

1 It is also called "the water which comes down from Rudstone to Castelburun" 13th Bridl 18.
East Riding of Yorkshire and York

East Goit Sewer (6") (Foulness) is la gote early 13th Gilbert, from ME gote 'water-course.'

Greenoak Goit (6") is fossatum de Grenaic, -eic 1199 FF. v. Greenoak infra 245.

Gunneymarsh Drain (6") is Gunnermersksedik, Gunneremerskdik 13th Bridl. v. Gunneymarsh infra 31 and dic.

Hedon Haven (Humber) was flumen Heldone (sic) 1115 YCh 1304, flumen Heldone 1160–2 YCh 1307, Headon Haven 1666 Lansd. It is a short stream connecting the Humber with the old port of Hedon infra 39.

Hertford (Derwent) is aquam que vocatur Havereford (v.l. Haveresford) 1172 YCh 1228 (Hauerford Bridl), vallem de Haverford(e) 1204 ChR, (in longum de, marescum de) 1395 Whitby, Hauerford early 13th Malton, aqua de Harford 14th Percy, Harford 1577 Saxton. An early back-formation from Hertford infra 118. Cf. RN 195.

Holm Dike (6") (Scurf Dike) is le Holmedik c. 1280 Meaux, probably named from medios holmos, stagnum de Holmes early 13th Meaux, Holm 1219 Ass. v. holmr, dic. Scurf Dike, which runs into the Hull, is probably of the same origin as Scurth Dike infra 10, though Danish skurv 'weed' might be the origin.

Howden Dyke Drain (6"), Howden Dyke (Ouse) is (on) pa dic 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, Houden Dyk, Housedendike 1363 Works, Howden Dyke, Dike 1568 FF. v. dic and Howden infra 250.

Hull (Humber)

pare ea Húl (v.l. éa Hull) c. 1025 Saints
ammem Hull (v.l. Hul) c. 1085 (12th) Saints
Hul 12th Nunkeel, 1156, 1172 Meaux, 1175–90 Bridl,
t. John YD (freq) et freq to 1312 Bridl
fluvii de Hullo, Hullum 12th Melsa, Hulla aqua 13th Dugd
Hull 1180–96 Meaux et passim to 1828 Langd
le Hul 13th YD, 1282 YI, Hol 1268 Ass
le Hull(e) t. Hy 3, c. 1275 StoweCh, 1279–81 QW
Hulle 1279 Ebor, 1303, 1307 YI, 1380 BM
Howll 1325 Dugd. Hull Water 1548 YD

The river-name is also used as the name of Hull or Kingston upon Hull infra 209; it enters into Hull Bank and Hull Bridge.
Like the Derwent, the river Hull had apparently more than one efflux into the Humber. One was called *Vetus Hull* on the east of Wike (1160-80 Melsa), *le Vielhulle* 1298 YI, 'the old Hull.' The other was *Novum Hullum...ab antiquo Sayercrik* 1160-80 Melsa (*v. Sayercryk infra 210*). In its middle reaches the Hull appears to have been known alternatively as *aquam qui vocabatur Thorneflet* (Melsa i. 299), that is, 'stretch of the river near Thearne (*infra 201*).’ That this refers to the Hull is proved by the reading of the Phillipps MS of Melsa, *aqua inter Waghnam (Wawne) et Thorenbins (Thearne)...a quibusdam Hull et ab alis Thorenflet dicebatur*. Near its source the river is called West Beck (*infra 12*). *v. Addenda supra lix*.

The name Hull may be from Dan *hul* `hollow’, which is a form of the common word *hol* ‘hole, etc.’ without Scand *a*-mutation. *Hul* appears only in compounds in some Swed lake-names such as *Hullsjön, Hulleben* (*SvSjönarnm 232-3*), and possibly in Norw *Hulleren* (*NoGN vii, 23*) for which, however, Rygh finds a different explanation. The meaning of *hul* seems to be ‘deep’ and DaSN(F) 52 (s.n. *Hulerod*) explains *hule*, older *hule*, as ‘deep depression, cutting in the earth.’ Such a noun is found in Middle English as *hulle* in Havelok. If this association is right *hull* would mean ‘the deep one’ or ‘river which flows through a cut channel’; either would be appropriate.

Ekwall (RN 201) prefers the alternative suggestion that, though the earliest spellings are found in an 11th-century text, the name is more likely to be pre-Scandinavian, for this particular document is clearly based upon archaic materials and Derby is mentioned under its OE name *Nordweordig*, not under its Scand name *Deoraby*. He would therefore take *hull* to be a Celtic river-name from a base *seul-* cognate with Greek ὄνη ‘mud,’ OE *söl* ‘mud,’ Norw *soylda* ‘a pool,’ with Brit lenition of *s* to *h*, as suggested for Humber *infra 8*. The river-name would mean ‘the muddy one.’ The parallel of Derby, however, may not be sufficient proof that Hull is a pre-Scandinavian name, for the settlement of the East Riding by the Danes was probably earlier and more thorough than that of Derby. As there seems to be
no parallel to the river-name Hull in Welsh names we should probably be safer in regarding it as Scandinavian in origin.

**Humber**

*Humbri fluminis* c. 720 (10th) BedeAbb, c. 730 (8th) Bede (v.l. Hymbri, Umbri), 1160–2 YCh 1307

*Humbrae, Humbre fluminis* c. 730 (8th) Bede, *Humbrensis fluminis* c. 1000 Asser

*Humbrae fluminis* (v.l. Hymbri) c. 730 (8th) Bede

*Umbri* c. 800 (11th) Nennius (v.l. Humbri)

*Humbre* c. 895 (s.a. 827, 867) ASC (A), 971 (c. 1200) BCS

c. 1000 OEBede, fluuium Humbrae 1051–60 (13th) KCD 806, bizeonde þare Humbren 13th Lawamon

*Humbra ea* 10th (s.a. 942) ASC (A) (D Himbran), Humbran c. 1000 (s.a. 942) ASC (B), 1033 Reg.Alb, c. 1100 (s.a. 1066) ASC (D), c. 1150 (s.a. 933) ASC (E)

*Humbria(m)* 1072 LeonardN, 1180–95 Guisb et freq to 1300 YI

*Humbre* (usually gen.) 1072 HCY et freq to 1475 Pat, le Humbre 1260 Rental

*Humbra* (nom., abl.) 1115 YCh 1304, 12th WM

*Humbr* 1204 Cl, 1212 Pat, 1231, 1279 Ass

*Iumbre* 1279 Ass, 1298 YI et passim

*Umbre* 1349 Ipm, *Hombre* 1352 ib., Homber 1387 Trevisa

*Hummyr* 1375 (1487) Barbour, Hummer Water 1559 FF

The river-name is rendered in ON as *Humra* c. 1200 (14th) Egils Saga, 12th (14th) Skáldskaparmál, Humbra (v.l. Hymbra) early 13th Heimskringla, and is Middle Welsh Humyr, -ur, Hymyr, Humbyr, ModWelsh Hymyr (RN 202). It forms an element in Humber Dale and Little Humber infra 219, 37, and in an unidentified *Humbercote* (13th Bridl) in Ottringham, as well as Humberstone (L), DB Humbrestone and the name Northumbria (OE Norþhymbre, Nordhymbre ASC, etc.).

Ekwall (RN 205) explains the name, which is found also in other counties in this form and once as Humer, the name of a lost Monmouth river, as Brit *su-mbro* ‘good river’ with Brit lenition of s to h (as in Hafren, the Welsh name of the Severn).

The Humber estuary was called "Aþos by Ptolemy and this is a British name related to Avon (Brit *abonā ‘the river’). The river is called *Fliót* in Knytlinga Saga, and an allusion to the
Humber in the phrase *super eandem Flethe* (c. 1150–76 YCh 1399) suggests that this name (if it really is a proper name) was known in England too. v. fleot. v. Addenda lix.


**Long Sike** (Derwent) is *Langsik* 13th Percy. v. sic.

**Mickley Dike** (Hull) is *Miclensflet* 1175–90, 1312 Bridl, *Mikelnefled* -flet 13th ib., *fleet of Micclene* C. 1200 YD, and a bridge across it was *pons de Miclene* late 12th Bridl, ‘The big stream’ from OE *miclan-ea*. For the preservation of the OE weak inflexion -an in ME cf. Foulness *supra* 4.

**Mill Beck** (Humber), in South Cave, is *suera vocata Milnbek* 1371 Works.

**Monk Dike** (Lambwath Stream) is *Munkediche, -dyk(e)* 12th Nunkeel, 1377 Baildon, Works, *Monkdyk(e)* 12th–14th Melsha, *Vetus fossatum monachorum* 1252 Meaux, named from the monks of Meaux, the Abbot of which was responsible for repairing the drain (1374 Works). In part of its course Monk Dike was also known as *Wi-, Wythdyk(e)* c. 1400 Melsha passim. ‘Dike by the wood.’ v. viör.

**Newlands Drain** (Ottringham Drainage) is *Neulanddik* 14th Bridl. v. Newlands *infra* 31.

**Old Fleet** (Humber), which runs into the Humber near Hedon Haven is *Flet de Hedora* 1326 Dugd, *la Flete de Hedon* 1403 YD. v. fleot.

**Ouse** (Humber). A few spellings, mainly from ERY documents, are given here; for others v. PN NRY 5 and RN 314. *Usa* c. 780–2 (9th) Alcuin, 1155–65 YCh 981, 1199 FF et freq *(of)* *Usan* 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, *Husa* 1175–85 YCh 983 *Use* (often Lat dat. or gen.) 1185–95 Selby, et passim *Ose* 1324 Pat *Ouse* 1333 Deod, 1349 Ipm, 1362 Works, 1489 FF et freq *Owse* c. 1394 Works et freq, *Owes(e)* 1445 ib., 1547 FF
EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK

It has been suggested that Ouse here and elsewhere is from an OE *wīse* 'mud' with a change to *wūse* (as in *wuđu* from older *wīdu*) followed by loss of initial w- (Zachrisson, PN *vis* 18 ff.). Loss of initial w, however, is late OE, certainly later than the date of the first spelling given above. We have therefore to deal with an OE river-name *ūse*, the vowel-length being proved by the metre of Alcuin’s verse and by the later dialectal pronunciation (v. Introd. xxxi). *ūse* is probably a Brit *ūdso* 'water,' later *ūtso*, *usso*, with the vowel lengthened as perhaps in Roos (infra 56). Cf. RN 317.

OLD RIVER OUSE is a dyke which follows a former course of the Ouse through Hemingbrough. It is *veteris Use* 1311 Ch.

PARKS DRAIN (6") (Derwent) was formerly *fossatum de Thikhede* 1371 Works. v. Thicket infra 264.

PATRINGTON CHANNEL (Humber) is a continuation of Winestead Drain and an old channel of the Humber (cf. Little Humber infra 37). It is possible that it represents *Pateringstune* (sic) *fleotes muđa*, (andlang) *ûas fleotes* 1033 (14th) Reg.Alb.

SCAMPSTON BECK (Derwent) is *la Bec de Scameston’* 13th Malton. v. Scampston infra 138.

SCURTH DIKE (Hedon Haven), *Sturch* (sic) 1338 Poulson, *le Skyrthdyk’* 1392 Works, was a waterway by which “merchandise passed from the Humber to Hedon and thence to Beverley and York” (loc. cit.) and Boyle (74) describes it as a secondary tributary of Hedon Haven. The name does not survive. It is the same word as Lincs dialect *skirth* ‘a fen drain, a dike’ and, as Ekwall (RN 369) shows, it is related to ON *skurðr* ‘cutting, canal,’ OSwed *skyrð* ‘cutting,’ ODan *skyrdh* ‘cutting, stream.’ Cf. *Skerbæk* (DaSN(F) 25) and see further G. Knudsen, NoB xxiii, 79 ff.

SETTINGS DIKE (6") (Hull) is *Sittingdyke* c. 1325 Dugd.

THE SIKES (6") (Nunburnholme Beck) are several small streams in Nunburnholme, *lez Siks* 1537 MinAcct. v. sic.

SIKES DRAIN (6") (Burnby Beck) is *Sikeco* (sic) 1286 YD. The one early form seems to derive from MedLat *sicetum* ‘siket,’ a diminutive of the *sike* found in the modern name.
Skelfleet Drain (6") (Humber) is Skelflet 1366, 1369 Pat, Sheflet 1548 FF, Skelflet flu' 1610 Speed. Speed's map shows it as an effluent of the Foulness and forming the boundary between Harthill and Howdenshire. The name is probably a compound of Dan skel 'boundary' (cf. DaSN(Sj) iii, 78) and fleot. 'Boundary stream.'

Skerne Beck (Hull) is aqua(m), (aqua de) Ski-, Skyren(a) 13th Melsa, 1253 Percy, 1259 Ass, 1276 RH, 1303 Meaux, aquam de Skyren que vocatur Skyren 13th Percy, aqua de Shyrne 1240 Cl, aqua de Skyron 1279-81 QW, leave de Skirin c. 1310 Percy, (aqua) Skyrna 1349 Meaux, 1377 Pat, Skirne 1352 Ipm, Skyrenhee 1384 Cl. The name is from ON skirn 'the bright one' (cf. Skerne, PN NbDu 181, RN 367), which is found in one or two Norw river-names, Skirna, etc. (NoEN 217, 332, NoGN i, 331), the Norw place-name Skjern (NoGN xiv, 19), Dan Skern (ODan Skarnw or Skiarna) 1. It is an -n derivative of skirr 'bright, clear,' which is also found in river-names. ON skirn itself meant 'cleansing, healing, baptism' and the river-name may have been 'the cleansing one, the healing one' rather than 'the clear, bright one.' The spelling Skyrenhee (which has been checked by Mr J. E. Gover) probably shows ea 'river' as a second element. From this stream-name the village of Skerne (infra 155) was named as well as an unidentified Skirenbank (13th YD).

Skirpen Beck (Derwent) is aquam de Scirpingbec late 12th Whitby. v. Skirpenbeck infra 150.

Spittle Beck (6") (Hull) is identical with Spiteldik early 14th Percy. v. Spittle Fields infra 95.

Stillingfleet Beck (Ouse) is the fossata of 1349 Works (241).

Stream Dike is the effluent of Hornsea Mere and is probably identical with the stream which gave rise to Hornsea Beck infra 65. It is rivuli vocati le Bek (1400 Melsa). Another

1 Ex inf. Dr K. Hald.
2 Wytehead, curate of Hornsea, writes in 1787: “The place where the stream dike empties itself into the sea for about eight months of the year, when there is a current from the Mere, is now, and has been for a long period of years past, called the Beck: near this Beck the town was situated” (Poulson i, 318).
Stream Dike which flows from Sigglesthorne to Monk Dike is marked in Speed as flowing from Monk Dike into Hornsea Mere.

**West Beck**, an alternative name for the Hull (supra 6) in its upper reaches, is called *Westwater* (1618 FF).

**West Beck (6")** (Nunburnholme Beck, Warter) is *Westbec(k)* 12th Warter.

**Wood Dike (6")** (Foulness) was *Wodfosse* 14th Warter. v. Foss Beck supra 3.

**Miscellaneous Names**

**Deira** (lost). Bede calls the Monastery afterwards known as Beverley *In Derauuda id est In silua Derorum*, a later form of which was *Deirewald* (Dugdale from Leland’s *Collectanea* iii, 153), that is ‘wood of the men of Deira’ (cf. Introd. xiv). Other references to the *monasterium In Derauuda* (Beverley infra 193) include *in Dera wuda* (v.l. Deora, Deera, Dyra), *Dyra Wyda* c. 1000 OE Bede, *Dyra Wyda* c. 1150 (s.a. 685) ASC (E), *Deira* is found also as *Deiri, Deri, Deirorum prouincia* c. 730 (8th) Bede, *Dere* (v.l. Daera, Døre, Dara, Deara, Deora) c. 1000 OE Bede, *Dere* 11th Ælfric, c. 1150 (s.a. 678) ASC (E), *Deira* c. 800 (11th) Nennius, *Life of St Oswald*, *Dearnerice* (glossed Deira), c. 1150 (s.a. 634, 643) ASC (E), *Deur* c. 800 (11th) Nennius, *Deiron, Deirun, Deirum* 11th Gaimar, *Deivyr* Black Book of Carmarthen, *Deivor* 14th Red Book of Hergest. The name is to be connected with *W dwfr* ‘water, river.’ It is probably from a -jon stem, Brit *subriu* (pl.), and would mean ‘the waters, the region with many rivers,’ an appropriate description at least of the country round Beverley. In OE times the term *Deira* was used of a much more extensive region, the kingdom of southern Northumbria, and many of the references designate the men of Deira rather than the kingdom itself.

**Grindalythe**, originally *Cren-, Crandal(e), Grendall(e), Cren-dalith*, etc. is evidenced only in the additional descriptions of Kirby Grindalythe, Butterwick, Helperthorpe, Mowthorpe and Thirkleby infra 125, 114, 123, 125, and it is clearly the old name

1 It may occur independently in *Crandale* 1197–1210 Melsa.
for the valley in which these places stand. It is probably ‘crane valley,’ v. cran, dæl. Cren- may go back to an OE i-mutated form though such a form is not on record, whilst in later forms there is the same voicing of Cr- to Gr- that we have in Grans-moor (infra 88), perhaps assisted by names like Grindale (infra 104). hlið ‘slope’ is added to form a district name as in Hertfordlythe (infra) and here it may be used rather loosely in the sense ‘valley,’ which is, according to Anderson (4–5), suggested by such alternatives as Thornton in valle de Pykerynge (1248 Whitby) and Thornton in Pykeringlithe (1276 YI) (PN NRY 88). This of course assumes that valle de Pykerynge and Pykeringlithe were identical names. In fact, however, hlið in Pickering Lythe and Holdelythe (PN NRY 74, 42) was used generally of the northern slopes of the Derwent valley, and Hertfordlythe of the southern slopes, and if there is any looseness in meaning it may well be in the use of vallis. Kirby Grindalythe, Thirkleby and Mowthorpe are in the valley bottom. Local topography suggests that hlið refers to the extensive unbroken south side of the valley.

HERTFORDLYTHE (lost), as is seen from allusions to it in the forms for Binnington, Folkton, Sherburn, Knapton and Thorpe Bassett (v. Index), was used of the southern side of the upper Derwent valley. v. Grindalythe (supra 12). It is found independently as Hertforthlith 12th (1447) YCh 1180, foresta de Hauerforthelith c. 1200 Malton, Harefordlyth 1360 Ipm, Harfordlyth’ c. 1362 Works. v. Hertford infra 118 and hlið.

SPALDINGMOOR covered a large tract of land, mainly east of the Derwent, in Harthill wapentake. References to it in the forms for Holme on Spaldingmoor, Burnby, Seaton Ross, Thornton, Brackenholme (v. Index) give some idea of its extent. A field in Ellerton was called Spaldingmorflat (1258 FF). v. Spaldington infra 241 and mor.

THE WOLDS are frequently mentioned in the forms for many of the place-names of ERY, such as Holme on the Wolds, Middleton on the Wolds, Wold Newton, Wauldby, Cold Wold, Warter Wold, etc. General references to the Wolds are not common, and when they occur they are usually Latinised as in Waldas
The name is used of the high tract of chalk hills which extends in crescent form from the Humber near Wauldby and Cave to the North Sea at Flamborough Head. In OE weald (Angl wald) denoted forest-land, especially high forest-land, and in ME the word came to be used of any waste land in lofty country. The region is still wooded in parts and it included parts of the forest of Deira (supra 12).

I. HOLDERNESS WAPENTAKE

SOUTH DIVISION

Heldernes(se) 1086 DB, (wap') 1166, 1170, 1171, 1188 P, -neis 1130 P
Heldrenesse 1086 DB, -nesia 1098–1102 YCh 1300
Holdernes(s-e) 1087–95 (14th) YCh 1299, 12th Bridl, 1145 LeonardN, 12th Nunkeel et passim, (wapentacum, etc.) 1178, 1183 P et freq, (feoda) 1210–12 RBE, (balliuo) 1305 Rental, (lib') 1339 Extent, 1348 Ch
Hildernes(sa) 1114–24, 1124 Bridl, 1128–32 BM
Heoldernessa 1160–2 (1287) YCh 1307, Huldernesse 1300 Pat
Heuderness(e) 1195 RBE et freq to 1303 KF, Heudre- 1275 YI, 1298 Pat
Houderness(e) 1203 PatR et freq to 1255 Pat, Holdern' 1231 Ass
Holdirnesse 1279 YI, 1449 AD iii, Holdrenesse 1322 BevAct
Hellornes early 13th Heimskringla, Hallornes (v.l. Hallarnes) 13th Orkneyingasaga
South Baliwick 1786 Tuke, South division of Holderness 1828 Langd

¹ The reference in both sagas is to king Olaf (the Saint) sailing along the coast of Northumbria. He put in at a harbour fyrir Valdi 'off the Wold' and won a victory over the townsmen; the town would be either Filey or Bridlington.
Holderness is the low-lying marshy peninsula between the North Sea and the Humber, and is separated from the rest of the Riding by the Hull and the Earl's Dike. It is a district mentioned in DB along with its three hundreds, Uth Hund' (south), Mith H'd' (middle) and Nort Hund', these three hundreds corresponding very roughly in extent to the modern divisions. The name continues to the present time as a general name for the peninsula without reference to any legal division, and no doubt as such it enters into the names of many villages (infra). The site of the wapentake meeting-place is not known, but the court was probably held at the Earl of Albemarle's castle at Skipsea Brough (infra 81). It met at Hedon in 1251 (FF).

The most satisfactory explanation of the name, with the variation between Helder- and Holder-, is given by Ekwall in Sagastudier 215 ff. It is a compound of ON *holar, 'a higher yeoman, an owner of allodial land,' late OE hold 'an officer of high rank' (v. NED s.v.), and næs, ON nes, 'cape, headland.' The word hold similarly enters into a district-name in Holdlythe (PN NRY 42) and Holdnes (in Sieswick), according to Dr K. Hald, is an exact parallel. The various Holder- spellings represent the usual ON gen. sg. holdar. For the Helder- spellings Ekwall suggests the survival, for a time at any rate, of an archaic mutated gen. *holdr, which might well have occurred in a consonantal stem, for such mutation is regular in the feminine nouns of this class. A form holdr would normally become ME holder and an adaptation of this English form lies behind the Heimskringla Heltorntes. Hilder- exhibits the raising of e to i which sometimes occurs before point-consonants, as in Bridlington infra 100. The Header-, Houder- spellings are AN variants of Helder-, Holder-.

Kilnsea

KILNSEA [kiːsi]  
Chilnesse 1086 DB, Chinelesi I1I5 YCh 1304, 1160–2 ib. 1307  
Ki-, Kylnes t. Hy 3 BM, 1228 Reg Alb et passim to 1359 SR  
K ILNSESSE 1246 Ass, 1260 Rental, 1276 Abbr, 1293 QW  
KILNSEEY 1273 Meaux et freq to 1519 FF, Kylnsey 1556 ib.  
KI-, Kylnse 1301 Pat, 1333 SR, 1364 Pat, Kelnsey a. 1678  
Map, Kelsay 1725 Sheppard
'Pool near the kiln,' v. cyln. OE sæ ‘sea, lake,' occurs frequently in ERY place-names, and at Kilnsea, as elsewhere, the pool has disappeared, either through drainage or coastal erosion.

HUTTON (lost)\(^1\)

\textit{Hotun, -ton(e) 1164–79 YCh 1375, 1333 SR (p), 1339 Extent, (in Holdernesse) 1351 Ipm}

\textit{Houton in Holdernes'} 1195–1210 YCh 1376

'Farm on the spur of land,' v. hoh, tun. The land rises to about 17 ft. above sea-level at Kilnsea. This hill may be referred to.

NORTH MARSH (6") is \textit{Northmersse 1339 Extent}.

RAVENSER ODD (lost)\(^2\)

\textit{(burgo) del Odd juxta Ravenserre 1235–49 Melsa}

\textit{Ravenserot 1251 Ch, Odrauenser 1260 YI}

\textit{Rauenserhod 1260 Rental, Raueneser Hodde 1260 YI}

\textit{Odd(e) 1260 Rental, c. 1400 Melsa, Hodde 1260 Rental}

\textit{Rau-, Ravenserod(d-e) 1273 Meaux et passim to 1342 SR}

\textit{Raveneserod(de) 1286 Pat et freq to 1349 Meaux}

\textit{Raueneshereodde 1300 YI, Ravenser(r)e Odd 1349–67 Melsa (freq)}

'Headland near Ravenser (infra 19),’ v. oddr. Cf. Spurn Point (infra 17).

SUNTHORPE (lost)\(^3\)

\textit{Suntorp, -thorp(e) 1187–1207 YCh 1402, 1246 Ass, 1260 Rental et freq to 1609 FF}

\textit{Suin-, Swynthorp 1238 Cl (p), 1267 LS, -thrope 1594 FF}

\textit{Suuthorpe 1288 YI, Souththorp 1297 LS}

\textit{Swythorpe als. Sunthroppe 1601 FF}

\(^1\) Hutton was in Kilnsea (cf. Extent, PRO 48).

\(^2\) Odd stood between the sea and the Humber a little to the south-west of Kilnsea, near Spurn Point. The brief history of the place which began as a small island t. Hy 3, developed to a fair town for merchants and shipping and finally disappeared about 1360, can easily be reconstructed from an inquisition of 1290 (YI 113–14) and accounts of Humber inundations in Melsa ii, 120–2, iii, 16, 79, 121–2. By 1273 it had a chapel (Meaux 94d), and from this church \textit{Walter atte Kyrke de Ravenserodde (1293 Ass)} took his name.

\(^3\) The village stood between Kilnsea and Ravenser. Cf. Melsa iii, 122, Boyle ii, 83.
HOLDENNESS WAPENTAKE, SOUTH DIVISION 17

There has been some confusion with Southorpe (infra 65), but otherwise the older forms would appear to go back to an older Swinthorp, with the change of Swin- to Sun- as in other names, such as Swinthorpe (L), Sonetorp 1086 DB, Swinetorp 1175 P, and Sunhills (Herts), Swynewelle 1327, 1347, 1406 Ct, Sonewelle 1338 Pat. Sonewelle 1346 Ass, Sunwell 1509 FF; Swinbrook (O) also has a spelling Sunbrog 1166 P. ‘Swine village’, v. swin, porp.

Spurn Head, Spurn Point are Ravenser Sesprune 1399 Pat, Ravenes Spurne 1406 Melsa, Ruanspurgh 1597 Shakespeare (Richard II), Spun Head 1610 Speed, Spurn P.... a. 1678 Map, Spurn Head 1786 Tuke. Spurn Point, which replaced the older name Ravenser Odd, is from early ModE spurn, which is probably a variant of spur, used of different kinds of projections. A topographical use of spurn is not known outside this place-name though its significance is suggested by some of the late uses of spur, ‘projecting piece of land,’ etc. (v. NED s.v. spur, spurn). Spurn is first recorded from 1553.

Easington

I. EASINGTON [izintan]

Hesinton 1086 DB, 1260 YI, Hesington 1175–95 YCh 1401 (p)
Esinton(e) 1086 DB, 1219 Dugd et passim to 1339–49 Melsa
Essinton(a) 1098–1102 YCh 1300, 1260 Rental, -yng- 1293 QW
Esinctum 1115 YCh 1304, Esington(a), -yng- 1227 FF, 1270 Ebor et freq to 1546 FF
Easintona 1160–2 (17th) YCh 1307, Easington 1695 Morden
Esingeton 1298 Pat, Issington 1594 FF
‘Esa’s farm,’ v. ingtun and Easington (PN NRY 140).

DIMLINGTON

Di-, Dymelton(a) 1086 DB, 1150–60 YCh 1352, 13th Melsa, 1275 Meaux et freq to 1550 FF
Dymilton 1260 Rental, Dimbilton’ ib., YI, Dymbleton 1535 VE
Dombleton 1550 FF, Dimlington 1828 Langd

It is difficult to dissociate Dimlington from Dimpelhoie (1260 Rental, 1339 Extent), the name of a field in this place; dimpel in the field-name is certainly the OE *dymphel ‘pool, hollow’ which Ekwall suggests is the source of Dumplington (PN La 38) and
which is cognate with Norw dump ‘pit, pool,’ Dan dial dump ‘a natural depression in the earth,’ OHG dumphilo ‘pool,’ Germ dial dümpfel, dümpel ‘a deep place in the water’ (v. Kluge, Etym. Wörterbuch s.v. tiümpel). Cf. also Hagley’s Dumble in Eakring (Nt), Dumple c. 1650 Notts. Corp. Records 75. The main difficulty in associating Dimlington with this word is in the early and consistent loss of p. This is so far unparalleled, but if we can assume it, there would be no difficulty in OE dymel having an occasional spelling dimbil in ME, with the not uncommon intrusion of b, as in brambel, brembel from bremel, etc. On the other hand, the phonetic problems would be simplified if we could start from an OE *dymbel, for loss of b in such a word can be paralleled (cf. Jordan, Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik 211). The existence of an OE *dumbel side by side with mutated *dymbel is suggested by the modern dialect words dimble, dumble generally used of ‘a deep shady dell’ but sometimes in the compound dumble-hole used of ‘a hollow, a pit, usually overgrown with trees’ or in dumble-pit of ‘a piece of stagnant water in a wood or dell.’ These two words seem to be confined to the Midlands, but we have early evidence of the un-mutated form in the field-names Dombles 1339 Extent described as a pasture encircling a pool (pastura circa eandem marram) and Dombel 1341 ib., both in Holderness (Owthorne, Withernwick). OE *dumbel may well be a derivative of the word dub ‘a muddy or stagnant pool, a deep dark pool in a river’ with a nasal infix, as in *dympel, similarly connected with dip. Unfortunately the words related to dub, namely dab, dabble, dib, are not evidenced very early and their ultimate origin is equally obscure (v. NED, EDD s.vv.). Dib at any rate is found as a topographical element in Great Dibb (WRY), Dibe c. 1290 YD. Amongst all the uses of these words, including dimble and dumble, the commonest is that of ‘deep place, pool,’ and this may well be the meaning in Dimlington. It is certainly the kind of topographical feature one would expect in Holderness. There is no semantic difficulty in supposing that the well-evidenced meaning ‘deep and shady dell’ is an extension of the original idea (cf. PN Wa 90 s.n. Dumble). If this alternative is correct, then the local occurrence of Dimpelhole is a coincidence or its form is an error for Dimbel-hole. v. tun.
ENHOLMES (field) is le Inname 1260 Rental, le Inhammes 1339 Extent. Probably a compound of OE in and OScand nám, used of a piece of land ’taken in,’ perhaps ‘enclosed,’ as opposed to an ofnám (cf. infra 327). For the sense we may compare dial inlands ‘enclosed and cultivated lands.’ For the corresponding English term cf. s.n. Inholms (PN Sx 29).

LOCKHAM (6") is Loc-, Lokholm 1295 IY, 1349 Ipm. v. holmr. The first element is probably OE loc ‘enclosure.’

RAVENSER (10S1) Rau-, Ravenser(e) t. John AddCh, 13th, 14th Melsa, c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI et freq to 1361 Meaux, (Vetus) 1297 LS, (Ald-) 1306 IY, 1349 Meaux, (Old) c. 1400 Melsa

RAVENSE 1292 Ch, Ravenesh 1300 Ebor, Reveneser 1315 Dunelm (af) Hrafnseyri 13th Heimskringla, Orkneyingasaga
‘Hrafn’s sandbank,’ v. eyrr. The early forms consistently point to the cognate ODan or. Sometimes called ‘Old’ to distinguish it from Ravenser Odd supra 16.


2. OUT NEWTON
Nieuweeton(e) 1086 DB, Neweton 1293 QW
Nieu-, Newton(a) 1145–60 YCh 1354 et passim, (Hute-) early 13th Bridl, (Out-) c. 1265 KF et freq, (Ut-) 1285 KI
Owt(e)-, Outnewton als. Tradripnewton 1565 FF, (als. Tradipnewton) 1582 FF, (als. Stanthoropp Newton) 1616 ib.

1 Washed away by the Humber (Melsa ii, 30); it stood between Easington and Ravenser Odd (ib. ii, 122).
20 EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK


Skeffling

SKEFFLING

Sk-, Sc(k)eftling(e), -ynge(e) c. 1150-76 YCh 1399 et freq to 1375 FF, Skefzlinge 1294 YI, (in Holdernes) 1547 FF
Esceftelinga 1150-76 YCh 1399, Sceftlinges 1204 FF
Sheftling 1154-60 YCh 1825, Sheftelyng 1301 AD i, 1338 Ch
Scaftling 1227 FF
Skiftling 1228, Pat, 1260 Rental, Schiftling ib., Skiftlynges 1295 SR
Skeftelyng 1273 Meaux et freq to 1303 KF, Skeffeling(e) 1361 Meaux
Skif(f)lyng 1486, 1531 Test, Scayflyng 1530 FF

It is difficult to decide whether Skeffling is English or Scandinavian in origin. Ekwall (PN in -ing 97) suggests an ing formation from an OE *Sceftela, a diminutive of OE Sceaft found in Sceafites hangran (BCS 620) and in an expanded form Sceafter in Shaftesbury (Do) (Ekwall, Studies 12), with ON sk in most of the spellings. Zachrisson (PN in -ing of Scand origin 118) takes the name to be Scandinavian and notes OScand Skapti, ODan and OSwed Skaft, the last being found only in place-names (Lundgren-Brate 229). We may note also the lost Swedish place-name Skeftlingquern (ON på -inge 132). See further Introd.

BURSTALL

Berestal 1115 YCh 1304
Bristall(l) 1160-2 YCh 1307, 1342 SR et freq to 1381 Ebor, (in Holderness) 1325 BevAct
Birstall(l) 1175-95 YCh 1401 et passim to 1395 Dugd, (in Holderness) 1289 Ebor, Byrestel 1228 RegAlb, Birestalle 1291 Ebor

1 The site of Burstall Priory was washed away in the 18th century. The name survives in BURSTALL LANE and BURSTALL BANK (6').
Burstall(1), 1300 Ebor, (-garth) 1610 Speed
Brustall 1381 Ebor, 1428 FA, Brustell 1579 FF, BM

'The shed place,' v. byre, st(e)all. Cf. Birstall (WRY),
Birstal c. 1200 BM, Bristal 1292 Nostell. Here and in several
names infra 37, 41, 58, garðr is used of the enclosure in which
some small religious establishment stands.

Winsetts is Winsete 1165–79 YCh 1400, Windsettes 1270 Ebor,
Wynsedes 1297 LS (p), Wynnesetes 1301 Ch, Wi-, Wynsetts 1567
(et freq) FF. The origin of the second element of Winsetts and
Lissett infra 77 is somewhat uncertain. It may be OE sæte
'house, seat,' OE sæte pl. 'dwellers, inhabitants,' or OE (ge)set
'seat, dwelling.' In an investigation of names of this type in
East Anglia (ZONF iii, 200 ff.), Schram believes that most
of the examples in that area are to be derived from OE sæte
'dwellers.' But this is by no means a certain use in the East
Riding, and in all probability Winsetts is a compound of OE
wind 'wind' and either sæte or (ge)set 'dwelling,' the whole name
meaning 'houses exposed to the wind,' as in Windersome infra
95.

Fosse Hill, Fosse Bridge (6°). Cf. prati.....de Foss 1175–95
YCh 1401. v. Foss Beck supra 3. Oxlands Bank (6°) is
Oxland 1339 Extent. Punda Drain (6°). Cf. Pundagh 1285 KI,
1336 Poulson. 'Pound enclosure, pinfold,' from OE pund and
haga.

Holmpton

Holmpton [umptan, umtan]
Ulmetun 1086 DB, Humeton' (sic) 1209 FF
Holmeaton(e), -tona 1086 DB, -tune 1160–2 YCh 1307, t. John
AddCh et passim to 1547 FF
Holmton(e) 1283 Ebor et freq to 1566 FF, Holynghton 1316
NomVill
Homylton 1407 YI, Hompton 1542 NCWills
Humpton 1529 FF et freq, Holton als. Humton 1566 ib.

'Farm near the shore-meadows,' v. holmr, tun. The sense of
holmr must here be that of 'meadow near the shore' which is
found in Iceland, rather than the more common 'river-meadow':
there is no stream, but Holmpton is near the sea-shore.
There are traces of ODan *halm* in the first two forms and the modern pronunciation may reflect this. Cf. Introd. xxiii, xxxi.

**RYSOME GARTH**

*Rison, Utrisun* 1086 DB, *Rishume* 1196 FF, *Rysun* 1240 FF  
*Ri-, Rysom* 1175–95 YCh 1401, 1291 Meaux et passim  
*Rysum* c. 1265 KF et freq to 1348 FF, *Rysome* 1579 ib.  
*Risingarth* 1610 Speed, 1695 Morden, *Risom Garth* 1786 Tuke

‘Amongst the brushwood,’ from *hrisum*, dat. pl. of hris, possibly used of a place where faggots were obtained. A common Dan p.n. Cf. *Willelmo Pynder* ....amputando et cariando les ryse 8s. 6d. (1393 Fabr) and in the gloss *faggotis vocatis Myssomeryse*, i.e. ‘Midsummer rise’ (1417 BevAct). For DB Ut-, added to distinguish Rysome from Rise *infra* 7o, cf. Owthorne *infra* 28. v. garðr.

**Welwick**

**WELWICK** [welik]

*Welwic* 1086 DB, *-wike, -wyk(e) t. John AddCh, 1293 YI  
et freq to 1486 Test, *-wick* 1555 FF  
*Welewish* 1190, 1191 P (p), *-wyk* 1304 BevAct, 1344 Baildon  
*Wellewich* 1217 BM, *-wic, -wik(e), wyk(e) 1219 FF, 1230 P  
(p) et passim to 1417 BevAct  
*Wellwyk* 1419 NCWills et passim, *-weke* 1455 Test

‘Dairy-farm near the spring,’ v. w(i)ella, wic.

**MAR (field)** is *Lyttle Mair* 1581 FF. v. mere.

**ORWITHFLEET (lost)** is *Orithwithflet* 12th Meaux, *Orwythfle(e)t* 1197–1210 (et freq) Melsa, *Ortheflet* t. John AddCh. Possibly ‘fleet near the remote wood’ from ON or ‘away from’ (cf. Norw *Urnes*, NoGN xii, 47, etc.) and viðr. Cf. English *Outwood*. The first element may, as Professor Ekwall suggests, be OScand urð ‘broken ground.’

**PENSTHORPE (lost)**

*Peneges-, Peningestorp* 1200 FF, *Peningthorp(e) t. 13th Bridl  
Penythorp(p) c. 1265 KF, 1375 BM, *Penigthorp* 1285 KI

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1 *Orwythfleet in território de Pensthorpia… in Humbrian pentus est prolapse* (1310–39 Melsa ii, 300).
2 A lost Humber village which was to the west of Welwick Drain (1786 Tuke). Cf. Boyle 86. There is a field in Welwick now called *Penstrops*.
WELWICK THORPE, now THORPE HILL (6") is (be westan) hogp, (on) hogp 1033 (14th) RegAlb, Torp 1086 DB, 1200 FF, Thorp(e) c. 1265 KF et freq, (Wel(e)wyk) 1332 FF, 1511 Sanct, (Wel(e)wyk) 1376 Hom, (near Wellwyke) 1551 FF. `Hamlet belonging to Welwick,' v. porp.

See also: Penning

Penning is an assimilated form of Pending, which may be a patronymic from the rare OE Penda (Redin 69, cf. Pinvin, PN Wo 223) or OE pending. OE penning itself is thought to be a derivative of Penda, the name of the Mercian king (cf. Dickins, LSE i, 20). LindBN records perhaps has a similar connotation. `Pening's village,' v. porp. A person name `a man worth a penny'; cf. OE Scilling. The variations in the spellings of these place-names are those found in the history of the word penny (v. NED s.v.).

Ploughland is Plughelande 1540 NCWills, Plowland 1555 et freq FF, Plewland 1579 FF, 1610 Speed. This is late OE plogaland `a measure of land' (v. NED s.v.ploughland and W. H. Stevenson in EHR xxvii, 111) and may in point of fact be one of the ij plogaland on hogp mentioned in Cnut's grant of Patrington in 1033 (YCh 8). This last reference carries back the history of the word ploughland some 250 years.

Weeton

Wideton 1086 DB, Wydthona t. John YD, Wi-, Wythton 1279 QW, 1332 SR

Wytheton 1260, 1301 YI (p), (by Wellewyk) 1314 Ch

Weton 1417 BevAct, 1556 FF et freq

`Willow farm,' v. wiöig, tun. Cf. Little Weighton infra 205 and Weeton (WRY), Wide-, Widitun DB, Witheton c. 1170 BodlCh.

Welwick Thorpe, now Thorpe Hill (6") is (be westan) hogp, (on) hogp 1033 (14th) RegAlb, Torp 1086 DB, 1200 FF, Thorp(e) c. 1265 KF et freq, (Wel(e)wyk) 1332 FF, 1511 Sanct, (Wel(e)wyk) 1376 Hom, (near Wellwyke) 1551 FF. ‘Hamlet belonging to Welwick,’ v. porp.
Sunk Island

SUNK ISLAND is Sunk Island from 1678 (Map). In that map and later, Sunk Island appears as a small island rising out of a sandbank in the Humber; in 1610 (Speed) there is no trace of it. The north arm of the Humber (cf. Little Humber infra 37) has now filled up and Sunk Island is part of the mainland. The island rose on a former part of the mainland which had been previously washed away (cf. Frismarsh infra).

FRISMARSH (lost)^1

Frismareis, -eys, -ays 1130, 1190–2 P (p), 1194 P, 1212 Cur, 1246 Ass (p), 1332 FF, -marasco 1187–1207 YCh 1402

Frismareis, -eys, -ays 1187–1207 YCh 50, 1196, 1198 P, t. John AddCh et passim to 1324 Meaux, (in Holderness) 1324 Hom, -marisco 1187–1207 YCh 1403 et freq to 1301 YI, -merays 1304 YI, Frimareis 1190 P (p)

Fresmar(r)eys 1230 P (p), 1249 Meaux, Fyrsmersk 1378 Test Fri-, Frysmersk(e) 1275 Meaux et freq to 1406 Melsa, -marsh(e) 1349 Meaux, 1544 FF, -mersh 1349 Ipm

There can be little doubt that the first element of this name is the name of the Frisian people, which certainly enters into other place-names such as Fryston (WRY), Friston (Sf), Friezland (WRY), etc. There is some slight evidence for the presence of Frisians in England in Old English times. They were known here as good seamen (Gnomic Verses, lines 95 ff.) and they were employed by Ælfred to man his warships against the Danes. Frisians (probably North Frisians) were also on the Danish side and Ubba, the Danish leader, is described as dux Fresonum (Annales Lindisf. MGH xix, 502, SD (Surt) 144). Some of these may well have settled in England during the Viking period. In Frismarsh, however, seeing that the second element would appear to be OFr mareis ‘marsh,’ with ME mersh, mersk substituted later, and the name must be of post-Conquest origin. The allusion must be to Frisians who came into England after the Conquest, probably as merchants plying in the Humber. On such post-Conquest settlements of the Low

^1 A lost Humber town. It was in territorio de Tharlesthorpia (Melsa) and in the years 1286 to 1310 it suffered inundations of the Humber (ib. ii, 196).
HOLDERNESS WAPENTAKE, SOUTH DIVISION


STONE CREEK is *Stone Creek* 1840 Poulson.

**Patrington**

*Patrington* [pætrɪntən]

*æt* (to) *yaterinsa-*:, *paterings-*:, *paterins(a)tune* 1033 (14th)

*RegAlb* (for *Pateringa-*:, *Pateringtune*)

*Patrictone* 1086 DB, *Patringtonton* 1283 YI

*Patrington*, *-yng* - 1150–3 *RegAlb* et *passim* to 1786 Tuke,

*Patrinton(a) 1190–I P, 1276 RH, 1406 Melsa* [pateringa-, pateringtune]


The origin of the first element of this name is obscure. *v. ing*, *ingtun*. For suggested association with St Patrick, *v. LSE v.*

**Tharlesthorpe (lost)**

*Toruelestorp* 1086 DB, *Tu-*:, *Toraldestorp* 1190–1193 P,

*Thoraldesthorp* 1337 Ch

*Tarlest(h)orp* 1188 YCh 1364, 13th *Meaux et freq* to 1297 LS

*Tharlethorp(e) t. John* AddCh, 1544 FF, *Tharlthorp* 1316 NomVill

*Tharle(h)orp(e) 1204 Meaux et passim* to c. 1400 Melsa,

*(in, en *Holdernesse)* 1331 FF, 1349 *Meaux* [thoraldesthorp]


*Therelesthorp* 1285 KI, *Thurlesthorp* 1449 Test

‘Thorald’s village,’ *v. porp*. ON *Pórald(r)* sometimes underwent assimilation to *Tharald* in Norway; it is evidenced in Norway from about 1380 (LindN). That is the date when Norwegian documents begin to be plentiful and the change may well have taken place earlier. It is hardly, however, older than the 12th century. Cf. IPN 92, *Introd.* xxiii. *v. Addenda lix*.

1 In the early part of the 14th century *Tharlesthorpe* and *Frismarsh* ([supra 24]) suffered inundations (Melsa ii, 196). In 1353–6 the former was again flooded and floodgates were made (id. ii, 102). After further floods in 1393 the grange was abandoned and a few years later it was covered by the Humber (ib. iii, 183, 243). The name remained for some time as that of the manor.
26 EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK

WITHFLEET (lost) was Wyth(e)flet(e) 1279 Meaux, 1349 ib., 13th, 14th Melsa, Wytflete 1401 ib. 'Withy fleot,' v. widig.

ENHOLMES (6") is Ingholmes 1828 Langd. HAVEN SIDE is on Winestead Drain which marks the old course of the Humber north of Sunk Island (cf. Little Humber infra 37). It is Haven, Humber Side 1786 Tuke, Humber-side or Patrington-Haven 1828 Langd. SALT MARSH (6") is (to) sealtan meare (sic) 1033 (14th) RegAlb. Cf. Saltynges (1400 Melsa). WEST LANDS (6") is Westland(s) 1533, 1563, 1566 FF.

HOLLYM

1. HOLLYM

Holam 1086 DB, 1341 Extent, 1370 FF
Holun 1086 DB, Holume in Holderness 1260 YI
Holaim, -eym, -aym 1235-9 Melsa et passim to 1578 BM,
(in Holderness) 1332 FF, Hollayn 1280 Ass, Holein 1353 Pat
Holem 1301 YI et freq to 1394 Pat, Holym 1339 Pat et freq
to 1534 FF
Holym 1519 FF et passim, Howlym 1549 FF, Hollen 1664
Deposition

'Homestead near the hollow,' v. holh, ham. The village is in
a slight depression. Lindkvist (6i) notes that the compound is
common in Norway as Holeimr, modern Holum (NoGN ii, 285,
307, etc.). For heim-forms v. Introd. xxiii.

2. WITHERNSEA [wiðrənsi]

Witfornes, Widfornessei 1086 DB, Witfornesel 1098-1102,
Wifornesel(!) 1115, Wifornsell 1160-2 YCh 1300-7
Wi-, Wythornese 13th Bridl, 1228 Ebor et passim to 1401
Melsa
Wi-, Wythornse(e) 1260 YI et freq to 1486 Test, -thoren- 1260
YI
Wythornesse 1260 Rental, 1276 Abbr, Wytornesse 1260 Rental
Whythornese 1300 ChancW, Whithornse 1339 Extent, Wythor-
thonse 1342 SR

Withernwick infra 69 has a similar run of spellings and the

1 Withfleet was inundated with other places on the Humber in 1401
(Melsa iii, 288).
first part of each name would appear to have a common origin. In the case of Withernsea this is clearly an older place-name which is found independently as Wi-, Wythorn 1180–97 Melsa, 1338 Ch, 1339 Extent, Withoren 1260 YI, Wi-, Wyththor(e)n 1260 ib., Rental, 1342 SR. This was in the neighbourhood of Withernsea.

An obvious explanation of Witthorn would be ME w(h)itborn ‘white-thorn,’ but there is only a single Whit- spelling and none in Qu-, such as we might have expected from the forms for Wharram infra 134. The first element is therefore preferably a word with initial w. OE wit(e) ‘torture, execution’ with porn is possible in the sense ‘thorntree used for hanging felons.’ Cf. Warter infra 168 for a similar idea. In view, however, of the origin of the nearby Owthorne we may have here a prepositional or adverbial compound of OE wip or ON vid ‘against, near, beside’ and porn, with the meaning ‘near the thorntree.’ Withernwick is 12 miles from Withernsea and might be of quite independent though similar origin. It might, however, have been a dairy-farm belonging to Witthorn, though by the time of DB any such connexion had been lost. Cf. Skirlington infra 80.

The final element in Withernsea is OE sā ‘pool’ (cf. Kilnsea supra 15). The lake has disappeared but it is frequently referred to as (lacus vocat’) Wi-, Wythornse (mor)re 1260 Rental, YI, 1341 Extent, 1365 Pat1 from OScand marr ‘pool.’

Owthorne

1. SOUTH FRODINGHAM

Forthingham c. 1265 KF, Fronigham 1276 YI (p)
Frothingham, -yng- 1290 Ebor et passim to 1339 Extent, (South, South) 1285 KI et passim to 1572 FF
Frodingham 1293 QW et freq to 1301 Ebor, (South) 1546 FF

North Frodingham, about 20 miles away, and Frodingham (L), Frothingham 1125–8 Liber Niger Petroburg. (Camden Soc.), Frothingham 1316 FA, are of similar origin, from OE Frōð(a) and ingaham. The frequent -th- is due to the influence of OScand Frōði.

Newsome is Niuehusu, Neuhuson 1086 DB, Neusam c. 1265

1 Robertus de la Lake 1342 SR perhaps took his name from this pool.
28 EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK

KF, Neusum 1285 KI et freq to 1370 Pat, Neu-, Newsom 1316 NomVill et freq to 1546 FF. OE (at þem) niwum hāsum 'at the new houses,' v. niwe, hus. The name also occurs as Newsham and Newsholme infra 107, 243.

2. OWTHTONE¹ [u:ðron]

T(h)orne 1086 DB, Thorne in Wythornse 1187–97 Melsa
Out-, Owtthorn(e) 1187–97 Melsa, 1331 FF et freq to 1449
AD iii, -thoren 1297 LS, 1304 YI, 1349 Meaux
Withorne t. John AddCh, Uthorn 1268 FF
Hut(h)orn(e) 1260 Rental, YI, Utthorne 1294 YI
Ut(t)ethorne 1285 KI, 1289 Ebor, Outehorne 1486 Test
Ou-, Owthorn(e) 1316 NomVill, 1336 Ch et passim
Thorn als. Owthorn 1512 FF, Seathorne als. Owthorne 1608 FF

'The thorn tree,' v. porn. OE út(e) 'out' used in the sense 'remote,' as in Out Newton supra 19. Cf. the use of out as an alternative to far in Farmarsh infra 39. Danish parallels include

Uder-Bjærgum (DaSN(Sj) iii, 51), Udby (ODan Utby), Ude-Sundby (DaSN(F) 116)². Later called Sea- from its proximity to the sea.

REDMERE (local)³ is Rotmare, Redmare 1086 DB, Redmar(e) 1086 DB, t. John AddCh, 1260 Rental, 1260, 1295 YI (p), 1350 Ip., Riddemare 1260 Rental, Reddemere 1295 YI (p). Probably 'reed-marsh' from hreod and OScand marr or mere. Professor Ekwall suggests that the 1260 spelling Riddemare is decisive.
The DB spelling Rot- is probably erratic. Cf. Reedmere infra 41.

ENGLAND HILL is Heynglant 1260 YI, Ingeland 1339 Extent.
Foothed Garth is Futtigarth 1610 Speed, Foothed Garth 1786 Tuke. NEVILLS (6") is so named in 1786 (Tuke). Cf. Nevillogarth 1540 MinAcct.

3. RIMSWELL [rimzill] is Rimeswelle, -uelle 1086 DB, Ri-, Rymeswell(e) late 12th BM, 1240 FF et passim to 1430 BM, (in Holdernesse) 1303 Ch, Rymmeswell 1341 Extent, 1547 FF, Ri-, Rymswell 1584 FF et freq to 1828 Langd. Probably 'Rim's well' from the rare OScand Hrínr and w(i)ella.

¹ Owtthorne is part of Withernsea village and is not actually in the township of Owthorne.
² Ex inf. Dr K. Hald. ³ Cf. Skaife, Yorkshire Domesday Book 145.
Dudham Well (6") is Dudeholm 1326 Dugd. ‘Duda’s holmr.’
Thirtle Bridge is pontem de Thirkil ib. ‘Thyrkel’s bridge.’
Thyrkil is the ODan variant of OScand Dórkell.

4. Waxholme
Washam, -ha’, Wassha’, Wassum 1086 DB, Washolme 1650
ParlSurv
Waxham 1086 DB, 1160 Melsa et passim to 1512 FF, (in
Holderness) 1337 FF
Waxan 1316 NomVill, Waxam 1349 Warter et freq to 1583
YD, Waxesome 1549 FF
Wexham 1542 FF, NCWills

This name is probably a compound of OE weax ‘wax’ and
ham, used of a farm noted for its bees, as in Wexham (Bk),
cf. PN Sx (i), xli.

Winestead

Winestede, wisestade (sic for Wiue-, Wife-) 1033 (14th) RegAlb
Wife-, Wiuestad, Wifestede, Wistede 1086 DB
Wi-, Wynested(e) 12th, 13th Bridl, 1249 YI, 1256 Ch et freq
to 1527 Test, (in Holderness) 1280 Ass, -stead 1786 Tuke,
Wine- or Wiue- 1342 SR, 1347 Meaux
Wi-, Wythestede c. 1265 KF, 1287 Ebor, 1381 Test
Wyuested(e) 1347 Meaux, Wyvuestede in Holderness 1498 Test
Wysted(e) 1429 Test et freq to 1610 Speed
Wested 1486 Test, Wyested 1615 YD, Wilsted 1695 Morden

The difficulty with this place-name is to determine whether
Wiue- or Wine- is original. With the DB forms before us the
former is clearly preferable. Other examples of such confusion
are to be found under Temple Elfold (PN Sr 266–7). Wine-
in earlier documents may well be a misreading of Wine-.
The form with n is purely a spelling-pronunciation. The
occasional replacement of Wiue- by Wythe- has certainly been
assisted by the forms of the nearby Weeton supra 23 and Wyton
infra 52, where With- and Wife- are original. In later times
medial -v- seems to have been completely lost.

As in Ganstead infra 48, the only other example of -stead in
ERY, the oldest spellings point to the influence of OScand staðr upon OE stede, or to OScand staðr itself. Professor Ekwall suggests (DEPN s.n.) that this is a compound of a lost OE personal name Wifa or Wife. OE wifa, gen. pl. of wif, 'woman,' seems more likely in view of the rarity of compounds of stede with a personal name. For other ERY parallels cf. Westow and Wyton infra, 145, 52.

Westlands (6") is Westland 1339 Extent. Winestead Hall is Wilsted hall 1610 Speed, 1695 Morden.

Halsham

Halsham [ɔ:zəm]

Halsaham 1033 (14th) RegAlb
Halsem 1086 DB, 1288, 1294 YI
Halsam 1086 DB, 1180–97 Melsa et freq to 1482 Test, (Est-)
13th Bridl, (West-) c. 1265 KF, 1290 YI, (in Holdernes)
1407 Test
Halsham 1190 (1301) YCh 1312 et passim to 1828 Langd,
(in Holdernes) 12th Meaux, (Est-, West-) 1285 Ch et freq
to 1350 Ipm
Halscham 1185–95 Bridl (p)
(Est-, West-) Halsaim, -aym early 13th YD, 1285 KI, 1297 LS
Hausaim early 13th YD (p), Haussam 1204 Ass (p), Hausham
1212, 1234 FF
Halseham 1429 Test, Holsham 1433 HMC (Bev)

It should be noted that spellings with -(h)aim for the common ending -ham are not frequent in ERY and are usually found only when the place-name as a whole may be of Scandinavian origin (cf. Lindkvist 58–63). It would seem therefore that in such names (Hollym supra 26, Kirkham infra 143) a Scandinavian source is probable for the first element. OScand heim is commonly compounded with significant words, as Lindkvist's examples show, and it is probable that the first element of Halsham is OScand hals 'neck,' used in Norway of 'a low col separating two valleys' and also of 'a narrow piece of land between two lakes' (Indledning 53). Cf. cult. super Halse (13th). It is difficult in view of drainage operations in later times to be
certain of the precise application of *hals* here. The church stands on a rise between two streams, which have probably carried away the waters of ancient lakes called *Lachemar* and *Crakholmlak* (13th Bridl). 'Homestead on the neck of land.'

**Halsham Carrs (6")** is *Ker* 13th Bridl. *v. kiarr.*

**Ottringham**

*Otringeha’, Otrenga’, Otrege* 1086 DB

Otringham, -*yng* 1130–3 Bridl, 1198 Cur, 1206 FF *et passim* to 1365 FF, -*hame* 1281 BM, -*haym* 1288 YI

Ot(e)ringeham 1155–77 YCh 1148, 1167, 1191–6 P (p), 1205 ChR, 1206 FF, 1273 Pat, *Ottrinkeha* 1166 P (p)

Oteringham, -*yng* 1200 ObIR *et freq* to 1307 Misc

Otringham 1204 Cur, Hoteringham 1249 YI (p)

Ottringham, -*yng* 1230 P, 1306 BevAct *et freq* to 1828 Langd

*Otringhaym* t. Ed 1 Ipm

'Home of Oter and his people,' *v. ingaham.* On the OE pers. name Oter, Otor, cf. Redin 22 and Otterington (PN NRY 207).


**Newlands (lost)** is Neu-, Newland(e) 1150-3 YCh 1381, 1260 Rental, 1339 Extent, Neweland 1156, 1172 Meaux, le By Neuland, Merskneuland 13th ib. *v. niwe,* land. The last two spellings refer to 'the new land near (or belonging to) the village' (*v. by*) and 'the new land near Ottringham Marsh' (*infra*).

**Ottringham Marsh (6")** is marisco de Otryngham 13th Meaux, Mersk 13th Bridl, Otringhammersk(e) 1249–69 Melsa, 1349 Meaux, 1408 YD, Ott(e)ringeham Marsh(e) 1530 FF, 1583 YD.

**Carr House** is named from Ottrynghame Carre 1554 FF, *v. kiarr.*

**Haugh Closes (6")** is Haye, Haghe 13th Bridl, Ottringham Hawe 1613 FF. *v. haga,* hagi. **Humber Delve** was Humber Bank 1840.
Keyingham

**Keyingham** [keniŋəm, keniŋəm]

*Cathingha* 1086 DB, *Caignhelam* (sic) 1160–2 YCh 1307
*Caingeha* 1086 DB, -*ham* 1115 YCh 1304, 1246 Ass, 1275 Ebor
*K-, Caing-, Keing-, Cayngham* 1190 P, 1226 FF, 1260 Rental et passim to 1542 FF
*Cahinham* 1228 Ebor, *Kahingham* 1260 YI, *Cayhyngham* 1382 BM
*Kengham* 1279 Ebor
*C-, Kaying-, Keyingham* 1285 Ch et freq to 1828 Langd
*Ken(n)ingham* 1614 FF, 1650 ParlSurv, *Canaham* a. 1678 Map

‘Homestead of Cōga and his people,’ *v. ingaham*. For Cōga cf. Keysoe (PN BedsHunts 15), Cayton (PN NRY 103).


**Pethyland** (lost) is *Pethyland* 1235–49 Melsa, 1294 YI, *le Pethiland* 1260 Rental, *Pety-, Petiland* 1349 Meaux, 1401 YI. It is named from the family of Stephen Pethy (1260 Rental), *v. land.*

**Salthaugh Grange** is *Saltehache* 1150–3 YCh 1381, -*hag(it)* 1172 YCh 1391, 1275 Meaux, *Salthehache, -hag’* 1156, 1172 ib., *Salthah* 1177 ib., -*hag* 1204 ib., -*hagh(e)* 1205 ChR, 1293 QW et freq to 1347 Meaux, (grangia de) 1349 ib., *Saltagh* 12th, c. 1400 Melsa, *Sautey* 16th Sheppard. ‘Salt enclosure,’ *v. s(e)alt, haga*. It is near the old course of the Humber.

**Keyingham Bridge** (local) is so named in 1840 (Poulson). *Marsh House, Marsh Lane* (6°). Cf. *Mikel-, Litellangmersk* 1

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1 The grange does not occupy the original site, for in the 12th century it was moved from *Aldsaltaghe* to *Westsaltaghe* on account of the frequent inundations of the Humber (Melsa i, 87–8).
1339 Extent and Keyingham Marsh supra 32. Sands Bridge (6") is Sand Bridge 1840 Poulson and is named from Cherry Cobb Sands infra 38.

**Burstwick**

1. **Burstwick** [bostwig]
   
   *Broestwic, Brostewic* 1086 DB  
   *Brustwic, -wik(e), -wyk(e) 1170-5 RegAlb, t. John YD, 1260 Rental et passim to 1461 Pat, (in Holdernes) 1291 YI, Brustwyg 1260 Rental  
   *Brustewic, -wyc, -wyk 1203-21 YCh 1398 et freq to 1392 Ch Brystwyk 1253 Ebor, 1415 YI  
   *Burstwic(k), -wyk 1280 Pat et freq to 1650 ParlSurv, (in Holdernes) 1526 Bev, Burswycke 1552 FF*

   ‘Brusti’s dairy-farm,’ v. wic. OScand **Bursti** (LindBN), with metathesis to **Brusti**, is probably also the source of OE **Borstig** (NP 29).

   **Bond Burstwick** (lost) is *Bonde Brustwyk(e), -wyc* 1260 Rental, 1339 Extent, 1342 SR, 1349 Ipm, Bondarruswich (sic) 1260 YI, Bond Burstwyk, -wicz c. 1265 KF, 1578, 1588 FF, Bonbrustwyke 1276 Abbr, Bondbrustwyk(e), -wik 1297 Pat, LS, 1333 SR, 1349 Ipm. Bond Burstwick was in Burstwick; it was one of "the appendages of the great lordship of Brustwycke" (Poulson ii, 355) and took its distinctive name from certain bondi (v. bondi) who held lands here of the king (1297 Pat). These Bondi de Brustwyk also held land in Burton Pidsea infra 55 (1260 Rental 730, m. 8).

**Nuthill**

   *Not(h)ele 1086 DB  
   *Nutle 1154-80, 1203-21 YCh 1397-8, 1241 FF, c. 1265 KF Nuttele 1190 YCh 1312, 1301 YI, Nutele 1246 Ass Noutle 1253 Ebor, Nuttle 1268 FF, 1374 YD  
   *Noutel 1268 Ebor, Nuttel(l) 1274 ib., 1284 Pat, 1342 SR Nuttel(l) 1275 YI et freq to 1395 Dugd Nuttil(l), -yl(l) 1282 Ch, 1295, 1301 Ebor, 1339 Extent, 1478 YD, Nutil 1286 Misc (p) Nuthil(l), -hyll 1297 LS, 1305 BevAct, 1475 Pat*
'Nut hill,' v. hnutu, hyll. There is the same variation in the forms of the second element as in Harthill infra 151.


SKECKLING (6")1

Scachelinge 1086 DB, Scachelings 1098–1102 YCh 1300
Eschechilinga 1115 YCh 1304, Scechlinge 1154–80 YCh 1397
Exchichilinga 1160–2 YCh 1307
Skekeling(e) 1203–21 YCh 1398, 1300 Ebor, Sceteling 1229
Pat, Skekeling 1252 Ebor, Skekelinge 1297 LS
S(c)kekling, -cl-, -yng 1228 Ebor, 1260 Rental et passim to 1509 Test
Skekelinges 1253 Ebor

Although Skeckling may be derived from a rather doubtful OE pers. name Scexcella, suggested by OE Scexceling acer (BCS 906), a derivative of the Scexca, found in Sceccanhealh (ib. 1139) and Shakenhurst (PN Wo 40), yet on account of the persistent initial Sk-, as well as the uncertainty of the OE pers. name as an appropriate base, we should probably be right in associating Skeckling, as Ekwall (PN in -ing 96) and Zachrisson (PN in -ing of Scand origin 116) prefer, with the Swedish place-name Skäcklinge (ON på -inge 129). This is generally thought to be from OSwed Shakle, Shakul (cf. Scagglethorpe infra 139). It may be noted, however, that many Swedish -ing names are derivatives of common nouns (cf. ON på -inge 248 ff.); in Ekwall's opinion (op. cit. 3) only a few are from personal names. We may therefore have in the three Swedish examples and in Skeckling a word *skwêl, an OEScand equivalent of ONorw skeiill 'point, corner, outer edge'; in Skeckling, of course, we may have the ONorw word itself. This word occurs several times in Norwegian place-names as Skjekle (NoGN i, 115, etc.).

1 The village had disappeared by 1828 (Langd), but a hamlet has grown up again on the same site, to the north of Burstwick. Skeckling was also a parish name.
MODEER, Småländska Shärgårdsnamn 72, thinks that some such word lies behind the Swed island-name Skäkle and probably also the Gotland word skäklung, 'a little wood with few trees.' Skeckling would therefore mean 'the place of) Skakle and his people' or 'settlers on the corner or strip of land.' Skeckling is on a tongue of land between Burstwick Drain and Skeckling Drain. v. Addenda lix.

TOTLEYS (6") is Totele 1086 DB, Tottie(y), -lay 1295 Misc, 1296 YI, 1297 Pat, 1339, 1341 Extent. 'Totta's clearing,' v. leah.

BURSTWICK HALL GARTH is Burstwick Garth 1786 Tuke. The moat which formed the garð still remains. FORKER LEYS is le Forker 1339 Extent. v. kiarr. HALL BRIDGE (6") is Brustwyk-hallebrigge 1392 Works. KELSEY is Kel(e)say 1304, 1305 BevAct (p). Possibly not of local origin, but named from some man who came from Kelsey (L). Lea Hill (6"). Cf. le Leghes 1339 Extent. v. leah. MILL HILL (6") is Millehil 1339 Extent. North Park and South Park (6") are parci austral' 1260 YI, le Parrok, Parcus borial' (austral') 1339, 1341 Extent, Brustwick cum Parkes 1650 ParlSurv. v. pearroc. NUTTLES HALL (6") is Nuttuls 1552 FF, Nuttells 1582 ib., Nutles 1619 ib. Cf. Nuthill supra 33. Thack Carr (6") is Thacker, Thakker 1339 Extent. 'Marsh where thatching material was obtained,' from OScand fiak and kiarr. Dr K. Hald points out that Tagker is a very common Danish field-name. Tofts Hill (6") is toftis 1253 Ebor. v. topt.

2. RYHILL¹ is Ryel 1150-60 Melsa, 1392 Works, Ri-, Ryhill(e), -hyll(e) c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI et passim to 1401 YD, -hull 1316 NomVill, 1354-60 Ipm, Ryall 1521 FF et freq to 1828 Langd, Ryle 1582 FF. v. ryge, hyll. Cf. Ryhill (WRY), Rihelle DB.

CAMERTON HALL
C-, Kamerinton 1086 DB, 1155-70 YCh 1361 (p)
C-, Kamerington, -yng- 1226 FF, 1287, 1296 YI et freq to 1371 FF, Camryngton 1401 YD
Camerincham 1253 Ebor
Coverington (sic) 1285 KI
Camerington 1287 YI (p)

¹ Formerly in the parish of Skeckling.
Camerton 1392 Works et freq to 1828 Langd, Cammerton 1650 ParlSurv
Camberton 1392 Works, 1554 FF
Camerton is probably to be taken with Cameringham (L) and Camberwell (PN Sr 17), though the origin of those names is obscure. v. ingtun.

Green (field) is Legreene 1620 FF. Langham (6") is Langholme 1326 Dugd. v. holmr. Ryhill Marsh (6") was Ryelkerr' 1150-60 Melsa. v. kiarr. Slight Marsh (6") is Sl(e)ight Marshe 1583, 1620 FF. v. sletta, 'level field.'

Paull

1. Paull [pol]
Pagele 1086 DB, Pagela 1154-79 YCh 1309, 1167 P (p)
Paghel 1086 DB et freq to 1348 Ipm, Paghell 1285 KI et freq to 1354 Ipm, Pahil 1249 YI
Pagana 1098-1102 YCh 1300, Pakelea 1166 P (p)
Pagla(m) (Latin nom., acc.) 1115 YCh 1304, 1156-85 ib. 1369, 1160-81 RegAlb et freq to 1228 ib., Pagle 1265 Ch, 1292 QW
Pagula(m) (Latin nom., acc.) 1150-60 Melsa et freq to c. 1400 Melsa, Pagul 1276 RH
Pagwel 1293 QW, Pawel 1316 NomVill
Paule 1329 FF et freq to 1549 ib.
Paull (in Holdernes) 1504 Bev, 1511 Sanct, Pall 1542 NCWills

There is no extant OE or OScand word which would explain the origin of Paull, but there is in Low German an illustrative series of words, ODu *pagi/ 'a little peg' (Franck), MDu pegel 'a little knob,' LGer pegel 'a stake,' all used to denote marks, LGer pegel, for example, being used in particular of a stake to denote high-water mark. A late OE unmutated *pagol related to these words is not improbable.

The meaning of pagol in Paull is probably 'stake'; as Paull is on the bank of the Humber it may have been some kind of landmark or guide-mark, as in Stakes Road infra 41. In Sx and K dialects paul, probably of similar origin, is 'a measure, a measure of land,' perhaps developed from the idea of 'stake' to 'boundary stake' or the like, just as ODan raa, Norw ran, both meaning
'pole' came to mean 'boundary mark' and so 'boundary' (cf. Rakær, Rankær, DaSN(Sj) iii, 76). v. Addenda lix.

Little Humber is Parua Humbria 1260 Rental, Lyttyl- 1286-1310 Melsa, Parva Humber 1260, 1296 YI, parua(m) Hombre 1301 Pat, 1339 Extent, Little Humbr' 1338 Ch. This was probably a small branch of the Humber which formerly cut off Cherry Cobb Sands and Sunk Island from the mainland. The place is now some distance inland but there is still a drain and an old embankment called Humber Delve (supra 31), which marks the course of this old channel. v. Humber supra 8.

Newton Garth is Nichuetun, Niuueton 1086 DB, Newetun, -ton(a) 1190 YCh 1312, (in Holdernese, -nesse) a. 1080 Whitby, 1312 BevAct, (Hospital' de) 1341 Extent, Neuton(ia) 1160-81 RegAlb, 1294 YI, (by Heden) 1204 Pat, (by Overpaghele) 1301 Ch, (Hospital of) 1415 Ch, (Garths) 1436 HMC (Bev), Newton (Spitill) 1395 Dugd, (-garth, -garth(e)s) 1542 NCWills et freq to 1607 FF, Newton Hospital 1786 Tuke. v. niwe, tun. OScand garar 'enclosure' is used here as also in a few other names (cf. Ringbrough infra 61, Magdalen Hill) of the site of a small religious establishment. On this hospital cf. Dugd vi, 730.

Paull Fleet (lost)

Pahilflet, Paihilflit 1260 Rental, Pahilisflet, Payghelflete 1260, 1304 YI
Paghelflet(e) 1260 Rental et passim to 1349 Ipm
Pawelflet(e) 1260 YI, 1339 Extent
Pawlefleit 1570 FF, Paulflet 1604 ib., Pawlfleete 1614 ib.
Palflete 1539 FF
v. Paull supra 36 and fleot. The fleet may have been the arm of the river which passed near Little Humber supra.

Paull Holme

Holm(e) 1086 DB, 12th Nunkeel, 1179-89 Bridl, 1246 Ass et passim to 1401 YI, (by Pagle) 1285 Ch, (juxta Paule) 1329 FF
(in, de) Hulmo 1190, 1194 P, 1219 Ass, 1230 Ebor, 1285 KI
v. holmr 'river-meadow.' The second series of forms show the influence of ODan hulm.

Boreas Hill is Bowrehousehill 1552 FF, Boarhouse Hill 1786 Tuke, Boreas-hill 1828 Langd. v. bur, hus. Cherry Cobb Sands and Foulholme Sand are so named in 1786 (Tuke). Newlands Lane (6”). Cf. Neu-, Newland 1260 Rental, 1339 Extent. OXgoddes. Cf. Osgoteland 1260 Rental, from OScand Asgautr. PAULL FERRY was passagium de Pawel 1226 FF. High PAULL (6”) is Overpaghele in Holderness 1301 Ch, Uppaule 1618 FF. PAULL HOLME SAND is Holme Sand a. 1678 Map, 1750 Bowen. THORNGUMBALD CLOUGH (6”) is Thorn Clough 1840 Poulson. v. cloh, used here of a small creek.

2. THORNGUMBALD [gumb000n]

Torn(e) 1086 DB, 1160–2 YCh 1307, 1228 Ebor, 1260 Rental
Thorn(e) 1175–95 YCh 1401, 1228 RegAlb, 1392 Works,
(juxta Hedon) 1285 KI, (juxta Paghel) 1328 FF, (Little-)
1351 Ipm, (-gumba) 1305 YI, 1341 Extent, (-goba) 1328,
1370 FF, (-gum-, -gombald) 1374 YD, 1490 FF et freq
Thoren (Gumba) 1297 LS, 1303 KF, Thoryngumbald 1333
SR
Thorngumbald als. Gumberthorne 1579 FF, Gumberthorn 1620
ib.

v. porn. Distinguished from other places called Thorn(e) by the manorial addition Gumbald (from the family of Thomas de Gumbaud 1285 KI).

STOCKHOLM is Stoc-, Stockholm(e) 1197–1210 Melsa, t. John
AddCh et freq to 1478 YD, Stokholmlandes, -lond 1374 YD, 1392
Works. This is of the same origin as the Swedish and Danish place-name Stockholm, from OScand stokkr and holmr. The usual meaning of stokkr is ‘tree-stump,’ but in Scandinavian place-names it had a wide variety of applications (cf. ON på -by 25, DaSN(F’) 56). Here the compound may have denoted ‘low-lying land cleared of trees.’ Cf. OScand stokkland ‘clearing in a wood.’
II. HOLDERNESS WAPENTAKE

MIDDLE DIVISION

Hedon

Hedon(a) 1138-42 LeonardR, 1150-60 Melsa, 1190 (1301)
  Ch et passim to 1828 Langd, (in Holderness) 1334 FF et freq,
  Hedone 1339 Extent, 1340 Ch
Haduna 1138-42 YCh 1313, Headun 1247 Ebor
Hedum(a) 1148 LeonardN, 12th RegAlb et freq to 1260 Rental
  Edune 1150-60 Meaux
Heldona 1160-2 YCh 1307
Heddon(a), Heddon(a) 1160-81 RegAlb, 1162-1197 P (p),
  1167-70, 1170-5 YCh 1308-16, 1200 OblR, 1205 ChR,
  1208, 1226, 1252 FF
Haddon 1535 VE, Hedden 1594 FF, Headon a. 1678 Map
Heydon 1542 YD, NCWills, 1557 FF

Derivation from OE heah and dun 'high hill' is impossible on
topographical grounds. In view of the Haddon-spellings the
first element is probably heæ Æ 'uncultivated land,' which can re-
sult, when shortened, in Had- and Hed-. Cf. Headley (PN Sr 77)
and Haddon (PN Nth 71, 83). Cf. also Headon (Nt) Hedune
1086 DB, Hedone 1234 Cl et passim to 1509, Heddona 1178 P (p),
1226 CIR, 1254 Ebor, Haddona 1178 CIR, 1211 RBE.
The form Heldona is clearly erratic.

Note. The following are the chief street-names: Baxter Gate is
Bakestergate 1401 Poulson, 1403 YD 'baker street,' v. gata. Fletcher

1 Middle Baliwick 1786 Tuke, Middle Division 1828 Langd.
2 Cf. also wapintagio de Hedona 1197-1210 Melsa, Balliwick and wapentack
of Hedon 1582 FF.
GATE is Fletchergate 1840 Poulson, and was formerly Fleshmarketgate 1470 ib., from ME flesher 'butcher.' Magdalen Gate is Magdalenway 1432 ib., Maudlen Causey 1666 Lansdowne. Cf. Magdalen Ho infra. Market Place was formerly Mons Fort 1432 Poulson, and in the neighbourhood of Marketgate 1330 Meaux et freq and Wodmarke(t)-gate 1330 ib., 1432 Poulson. Sheriff Highway is Shirefbriggway 1459 Poulson, Sheriff Highway 1840 ib., and is named from Sheriffs' Works, 'sheriff's bridge.' Cf. also Sheriff's bridge. St Augustine's Gate is via Sancti Augustini 1439 ib. and is named from the chapel of St Augustine (capelle sancti Augustini 1390 Poulson). Souttergate is via sutter, Soutergate 1390, 1432 ib., from ME souter 'shoe-maker.' Stockwell Lane is so named in 1401 ib. West Gate is Westgate 13th YD et freq to 1840 Poulson, le Westgait 1504 Test.

Of lost street-names we may note Catbriggate 1407 YD, named from Catbrigg 1390 Poulson, Grape lane 1432 ib., also called Grape or Grop Gate 1840 ib. (cf. Grape Lane infra 289), Hewson lane, Kimboldlane, Lithousgate 1432 ib., Outgate ib. 'the way out of the town,' Steward lane ib., Walkergate 1459 ib., also described as via fullonum 1372 YD, 'street of the fullers,' Wayferer lane 1432 Poulson, later Wayfraingate (sic) 1840 ib., 'the wafer-makers' street' (cf. Waferur Garthe 1296 YI, and for waferer cf. Fransson, Surnames 63), le Westbryg 1390 Poulson, Wyndgate 1422 Poulson, named from William Wind (ib. ii, 137).

Westlands (6") is Westland 1302 YI.

Preston

1. Lelley

Lelle 1246 Ass, 1260 Rental, YI, 1284 Pat, 1297 LS et freq to 1435 AD ii, Lelley, -ay 1275 Rental, 1377 FF
Lilley 1260 Rental, Lettle (sic) 1331 YD

Lelley is probably a compound of OE lēla 'twig, switch, brushwood,' found in Lealholm (PN NRY 133) and leah, hence 'wood or clearing where such are found.' The spelling Lettle is clearly an error.

Lelley Dyke is Diche 1086 DB, Dik(e), Dyk(e) 1246 Ass, 1260 Rental et freq to 1435 AD ii, Le Dike 1259 Ass, Dick 1260 YI, Lelledike, -dyk 1260 Rental et freq to 1340 Ch, Lelleydike, Dyke near Lelley 1510, 1582 FF. v. dic.

2. Preston

Prestune, -tone 1086 DB, -tun(a), -ton(a) 1115 YCh 1304, 1170-5 RegAlb et freq to 1828 Langd, (in Holdernes, -nesse) 1280 Ass, Prestutiona 1098-1102 YCh 1300
Pri-, Pryston 1316 NomVill, (in Holdernes) 1570 FF
Preston als. Purston in Howldernes 1574 FF
‘Priest farm,’ v. preest, tun. For Purston cf. Purston Jaglin (PN WRY 151) and Purston (PN Nth 58).

Pollard is Polres 1240, 1254 FF, le Polre 1260 Rental, (le) Poller 1304 YI, 1347 Ch, Polard 1786 Tuke. Pollard, which is on very low-lying marshy land, is from OE *polra in the sense ‘marshy land’; cf. MLG polre ‘low-lying land reclaimed from the sea’ and v. Powderham, PN D 502 and Mawer, Problems 51-2.

Redmere (6") is Redmar 13th Bridl, 1326 Dugd, Redemarra 1221–35, c. 1400 Melsa, Redemere 1339 Extent, Redemergarth 1535 VE. Of the same origin as Redmere supra 28. The references make it quite clear that the two places are distinct.

Twyers (6") is Twire 12th Nunkeel, 1786 Tuke, Twier, Twyer late 12th Nunkeel, 1326 Dugd, 1339 Extent, 1347 Ch, La Twyere 1304 YI, Esttwyer 1339 Extent. The name is clearly OFr tuyere ‘a blast-pipe for a furnace,’ not otherwise recorded in English until 1350 (except in Latin documents). There is a lost Twyers in Ganstead1, which must be named from the family de la Tuyer who were well represented in the district2.

Acey Lane and Acey Farm (6") are to be associated with the family of Richard Acye 1605 Poulson. Hay Marsh (6") is Haymersshlond’ 1392 Works. The first element may be (ge)hæg ‘enclosure,’ or hæg ‘hay.’ Magdalen House with Magdalen Hill (6") [mǎdlin wsc] was formerly Maudelyngarth juxta Hedon 1435, 1436 HMC (Bev) and belonged to the church of St Mary Magdalen in Hedon. Neat Marsh (6") is Notmersk 1344 Poulson, Neat Marsh 1605 ib. From OScand naut ‘cattle,’ later replaced by the English neat; mersk is Scandinavianised from merse.

St Sepulchre’s Hospital (site) (6") was Hosp’ S. Sepulchri(a) de Hedona 13th YD, 1326 Dugd, hospital called Sepulkers 1542 BM, Sepulchres near Hedon 1651 Deposition. On this hospital cf. Dugd vi, 654, Poulson ii, 193. Southfield (6") is so named t. Ed 2 (Poulson). Stakes Road (6") is named from Preston

1 Twyer, Twyre, Twier als. Nelson 1595–1606 YD, South Twyer ib., alternatively called Nelson from Marmaduke Nelson (1614, 1618 FF).
2 Roland and Peter del Tuyer (1226 FF), William de la Tuyer (1260 YI), de la Thwyre (1291 Meaux), Petrus de la Tuyere (1297 LS, etc.).
Stakes 1666 Poulson. The stakes marked a landing-place on the Humber. Wranglands (6") is le Wranglandes 1339 Extent, Wrangland 1341 ib. v. wrang 'crooked' and land.

SUTTON ON HULL

Sudton(e) 1086 DB, 1196 FF (p), 1206 Cur (p)
Sutone 1086 DB, Sutune iuxta Hul 1172 Meaux
Suttun(a), -ton(a) 1150-67 YCh 1373 et passim to 1531 Test, (in Holdern’) 1269 Ebor, (in Holdernes, -ness) 1280 ib. et passim to 1481 NCWills
Sutthon(e) 13th YD, c. 1280 StoweCh
‘South farm,’ v. sub, tun.

BRANSHOLME is Braunceholm(e) 1150-60, 13th Melsa et freq to 1421 YI, (in Holdernesse) 1414 Test, Branzcholm 1236 FF, Braunzholm 1303 Ch, Brauncholm 1401 YI. ‘Brand’s water-meadow’ from OScand Brandr and holmr. Braunce- is an AN spelling for the OScand gen. Brands; cf. Bransby (PN NRY 28) and Brauncewell (L).

EAST CARR (6”), NORTH CARR, WEST CARR (6”) are respectively mariscum orientalem 13th Meaux, le Esther (de Sutton’) t. John YD, c. 1270 StoweCh, Oustker c. 1280 StoweCh, East Carr 1615 FF; Northkerre 1280-6 Melsa; occidentali marisco 1197-1210 Melsa, (le) Westkerre 1197-1210, 13th ib., (le) Westker c. 1280 StoweCh, 1293 YI. v. kiarr, ‘marsh.’ East Carr shows variation between east and OScand austr. Another marsh is referred to as marisco de Sutton’ c. 1200 etc. Meaux.

RISHOLME CARR (6”) is Rysholm’ 1249-69 Melsa, mariscum de Risholm c. 1270 StoweCh. ‘Water-meadow overgrown with brushwood,’ v. hris, holmr, kiarr. Common in Denmark.

SALTS Ho is pastura(m) de Saltes 1180-97 Melsa, (les) Saltz 1235-49, 1280-6 ib., le Saltes 13th YD, c. 1280 StoweCh. The name is translated in salinis de Sutiona (1280-6 Melsa), from MedLat salinum ‘salt-pit.’ Here we have an early use of salt to denote a salt-pit. The earliest example in NED is dated 1621.

SOFFHAM is Sefholm(um) 1197-1210, 1249-69 Melsa. ‘Meadow
overgrown with sedge,' v. sef, holmr. Cf. Dan. Sivholm. Later forms of the name include Swafham 1343 Baildon, Sopham 1542 MinAcct; these adaptations arise from the fact that the family de Swafham (from Swaffham, Nf) held land in the district (1254 FF).

CASTLE HILL, near the site of a castle, which is referred to as castrum de Braunceholm(e) 1356 Ipm, 1414 Test. THE CROFT (6") is Hedoncroftes late Hy 3, c. 1275 StoweCh. Cf. also Croftdyk, le Crofdyk 13th Meaux. FOREDYKE BRIDGE (6") is referred to as "a bridge across Forthdyk at Forthcrosse" in 1221-35 (Melsa), Fore Dike Bridge in 1786 (Tuke). v. brycg, cros, and Foredyke Stream supra 3. LAMWATH is Langwath als. Lamwothe 1553 FF and is named from Lambwath Stream supra 9. Cf. Lambwath Bridge infra 70. LEADS Ho is culturam ad ledam 13th Meaux. This is the word lead 'an artificial watercourse,' hitherto first recorded from 1541; it is probably OE *lĕd, an i-mutated form of lad `drain.' OXLANDS (6") is le Oxpast(o)ur 1280-6, 1356-67 Melsa, from OFr pasture, otherwise first recorded in ME from c. 1386 (NED s.v.). SPRINGFIELD (6") is culturam ad fontem 13th Meaux. SUTTON FIELDS (6") is prati(s) de Sutt(h)on(a) c. 1270 StoweCh. SUTTON INGS is Newenge de Suttona 1249-69 Melsa, Sutton Ingis, -ys, -es, Yngs 1549-1611 FF. v. eng.

Wawne

1. Meaux [minus]

Melse 1086 DB, 1154 YCh 1385-6, 1238 Meaux
Melsa 1149-50, c. 1150 YCh 1379-80, 12th Nunkeel, 1163-4
BM et passim to 1465 Pat, Melsam (Latin acc.) 1246 Ass, 1300 Ebor
Mealsa 1157, 1162 P, Mealse 1176 Percy, 1197, 1198 P
Meausa 1158-62 YCh 1387-90, Meaus 1267 Ebor, 1286 Misc, 1303 KF
Meusle 1175-85 YCh 1066
Meus c. 1180 LeonardR, Methus 1196 FF (p), Meusse 1207 Cur, Mewes 1343 Baildon
Meaux 1291 (et freq) Meaux, 1339 Extent, 1406 Melsa et freq to 1840 Poulson
Meux 1436 Baildon, 1568 FF et freq to 1828 Langd, Meuxe 1530 Test
Meaux is the site of the great and important monastery founded by William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle and lord of Holderness about 1150 with a group of monks from Fountains (WRY). As with Rievaulx and Jervaulx (PN NRY 73, 250), the existence of the monastery has resulted in French influence on the forms of the place-name, but in this case the name is not of French origin, as it is already found in DB. Meaux was probably a compound of OScand melr ‘sandbank’ and OE sæ ‘pool’ (v. Kilnsea supra 15) or OScand sær, and an exact parallel to it is found in the Norwegian lake-name Mealsjo (NoEN 157) and possibly also in Maalsjoen, earlier Melsoe (NoGN xiv, 368). The pool no longer exists. Cf. Ekwall in StudNP ii, 8.

French influence is to be noticed in the partial vocalisation of l in spellings like Mealsa and in the complete vocalisation in Melsa, Meaus, etc. The loss of the final vowel e and the replacement of s by x in the spelling were probably brought about by the monkish association of Melse, or its Latin form Melsa, with the name of the famous French abbey of Meaux (originally Meldianum, OFr Meldis).¹

Fewsome Hill (6") is Fewsom als. Feswon 1621 FF. North Grange is (le) Northgra(u)nge 1238, 1293 Meaux, 1292 Ch, 1293 QW. The word grange is used here, as often, of 'an outlying farmhouse with barns belonging to a religious house.'

2. Wawne [wɔn]  
Wagene 1086 DB, 1191 P, Waghene 1086 DB, 1228 FF, 1246 Ass, 1260 Rental, 1294 Ch, Percy, Wahene 1260 YI  
Wagla 1115 YCh 1304  
Wagna 12th Nunkeel, 1150 Meaux et freq to 1238 Ch, 1349 Meaux, Wagha 1150–60 et freq to c. 1400 Melsa, c. 1200 Meaux

¹ There is a long and curious explanation of the name in Melsa (i, 73 ff., 78): "This monastery, Melsa in Latin, Meaux in French or English, was named by our priors. The place itself was allotted a name by the first occupants, who in the Norman Conquest came from a certain town in France called Melsa in Latin, Meaux in French and inhabiting this place gave it the name of Meaux in memory of their former city." The compiler then gives various etymologies such as sapor mellis 'flavour of honey,' rixa 'strife,' etc., all of which are said to suit, sapor mellis because of "the amenities of the place, the sweetness of religion," rixa because of "the strife over the site at the foundation of the monastery or because of the continual strife against the triple enemy, the world, the flesh and the devil."
The final vowel in the Wagna- forms is the Latin nom. case ending and does not represent a fully stressed element; cf. Goxhill infra 66. Ekwall (RN 440) has suggested that Wawne contains an OE word *wagon, derived from wagian 'to move, wag,' related to ME waze from OE *wagu 'wave,' and meaning 'quagmire' or the like. Warne (PN D 201), from Waghefenne, probably contains a word derived from the same root and the meaning of the compound, 'quaking fen,' would approximate to that of Wawne.

ASH DIKE (6") is Es(c)hedyk 1150–60, 1249–69, 1372–96 Melsa, Eshedike als. Ashedike x621 FF. 'Ditch by the ashtree,' v. æsc, dic.

GREY LEGS (6") is Greilak 12th Nunkeel, Graylake 1221–35 Melsa. Originally part of the river Hull. 'Grey water-channel,' v. græg, lacu.

LUMBERCOTE BRIDGE (6") is Lumbercot(es) 1150–60, 1210–20 Melsa, Lumbercotekerre 1221–35 ib. This name should probably be associated with English lumber 'useless odds and ends' (recorded from 1552). v. cot.

STONE CARR is le Stanekerre 1249–69 Melsa, Stayneker 1252 Meaux, Stone Carre 1621 FF. 'Stony marsh,' v. stan, steinn, kiarr. Cf. Weel Stone Carr infra 202, of which Stone Carr originally formed part.

FISHERS CLOSE (field) is Fishus 1292 Ch, 1293 Meaux, Fischowse 1349 ib. 'Fish house.' KENLEY Ho was the home of William de Caynglaik and Robert de Caynlaik (1297 LS). LEYS (field). Cf.
1. Benningholme (6")

Beni(n)col 1086 DB
Benigholm(e) 12th Nunkeel, 1349 Meaux, (Hest-, Est-, Aust-) 12th, 13th ib., Bentyghome c. 1265 KF
Beningholm(e), -yng- 1193 P, 1210-20 (et freq) Melsa, 1246 Ass et passim to 1548 FF, (West-) 1221-35 Melsa, Beninghamolm 1223 FF
Banningholm 1194 P (p)
(Est) Benningholm 1240 FF, 1280 Ass
Belingholme 1285 KI
Byningholm 1297 Ch

‘Ben(n)a’s water-meadow,’ v. ing, holmr. The OE pers. name Be(o)mya is well attested (Redin 61). Cf. Beningbrough (PN NRY 19) and Binnington infra 117. East and West Benningholme correspond to Benningholme Grange and Hall. v. austr.

Fairholme is Fayrholm(e) 1210–20, 1221–35 Melsa, Feir-, Feyrholm(e), Far(r)om 1535 VE, 1650 ParlSurv, Fareholme 1571 FF, Fairholm Grange 1611 YAJ xi. ‘Fair water-meadow,’ v. fæger, holmr. Melsa has a note on the name (1210–20), “Fayrholme, which was formerly called by its right name Scitelholme.” The first element of the earlier name is OE scytel ‘excrement,’ which suggests that ‘fair’ is here a euphemistic alternative.


2. Bilton

Billeton(e) 1086 DB
Bileton(e) 1086 DB, Belethun 1198 Abbr
Bi-, Bylton(a) t. John YD, 1204, 1206 Cur et passim to 1563
FF, (in Holdernes, -nes) 1333 Baildon, 1417 BevAct, 1530
Test

‘Bill(l)es farmstead,’ v. tun. There are other Biltons in WRY.
The pers. name is probably OE Billa (cf. Bilton, PN NbDu 22),
though in some cases we may have an OE Byl(l)i as in Bulling-
hope (He) or OScand Billi.

3. CONISTON

Co(i)ningesbi 1086 DB
Cuningeston 1190 YCh 1312, Cuneston’ t. John AddCh
Coningeston, -yng- 1260 Rental, 1293 QW, 1418, 1421 YI
Conningeston(e) (in Holdernes) 1280 Ass, 1292 YI
Connygeston 1285 KI, Conyston 1349-51 Ipm
Conyngston(e) in Holdernes 1288 Ipm, 1448 Baildon
Coniston(a), -y- 1297 LS, 1563, 1585 FF, Coneston 1650
ParlSurv

‘The king’s farm,’ v. konungr and by, later replaced by tun.
The forms with Cun- are from the OEScand kunung, which is
common in many names containing this word; cf. Coneysthorpe
(PN NRY 48) and Coney Street infra 285.

4. ELLERBY

Aluuarde-, Alu(u)erdebi 1086 DB
Ewardeby 1231 Ass, Helredeby 1246 ib.
Elward(e)by, -uard- c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI, 1286 Ch, 1303 YI
et passim to 1563 FF
Ellerbye als. Ellwerbye 1583 FF, Elerdebey 1650 ParlSurv

‘Ælfweard’s farm,’ v. by. Cf. Ellerby (PN NRY 136) and
Allerthorpe infra 184, which also have the uninflected genitive.

DOWTHORPE HALL [dju:θɔ:rp]

Duuetorp 1086 DB, Douwethorpe c. 1265 KF
Duuestorp 1202 FF, 1246 Ass
Dobthorp (sic) 1308 BevAct, Douthorp 1348 Ipm
Dowthorp(e) 1568, 1583 FF, 1611 YAJ xi, Dothorpp 1650
ParlSurv
'Dufo's hamlet,' from the common ODan nickname Duvo, Dan Due, as in the Dan place-name Durup\(^1\), and porp.

**Langthorpe Hall** is Lambe-, La'be-, Lambetorp 1086 DB, Lambetorp 1231 Ass, -thorp(e) 1246 FF, 1285 KI, 1291 Meaux, 1293 YI, Lambthorp(e) c. 1265 KF, 1333 SR, Lamthorpe 1585 FF, Lanthorp als. Langthorpe 1582 FF, Langthropp 1601 FF. 'Lambi's village,' v. porp. LindN notes an early Norw place-name Lambatorp, and Dr Hald calls attention to the corresponding Danish place-name Lamdrup (in Funen).

**Oubrough [oubra]**

Ulenburg 1086 DB, Uleburg 1086 DB, 1240 FF, 1276 RH
Oulebir' 1252 FF
Ulburgh c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI et freq to 1535 VE
Wolbroughe als. Oldbroughe 1598 FF, Owghborowe 1599 FF
'Owl-haunted stronghold,' v. ule, burh. A similar formation is found in Outchester (PN NbDu 153). For the later forms cf. Introd. xxx—xxxi.

**Whitling Hill** (6") is White Hill 1634 Poulson.

**Woodhall** is (la) Wodehalle 1286 Ch, 1338 FF, (le) Wodhall(e) 1303 YI, 1370 FF, (in Holdernesse) 1347-67 YD, Wood(h)all 1599 FF, 1611 YAJ xi, Wodall in Holdernes 1557 NCWills.

5. **Ganstead [ganstimd]**

Gagenestad 1086 DB, -sted(e) 1196, 1208 FF
Gaunstede 1150-60 (et freq) Melsa, 1347 Ch, 1421 YI
Gaghensted(e) 1226, 1236 FF, 1297 LS, 1333 SR, Gagenstede, -in- 1249-69 Melsa, 1292 YI
Gaunested(e) 1260 Rental, 1481 YD, Gauenestede 1304 YI
Gadhensted 1285 KI
Gaggested 1285 KI
Gawnstede c. 1400 Melsa, Galnesteede 1534 YD
Gannestede in Holdernes 1478 Test, Ganste(a)d 1572 FF, 1594 YD

Ganstead is identical in form with several Norwegian place-names Gang(es)tad (NoGN i, 253, etc.) and Danish Gangsted in Jutland. For Gangestad Rygh and LindN postulate a pers. name

\(^1\) Ex inf. Dr K. Hald.
Gagni, derived like the recorded Gegnir from OScand gagn 'profit.' At the same time it should be pointed out that in many of the Norwegian place-names in Gagn-, such as Gangnes (NoGN ii, 196), Gagneim (ib. 330), Gagnum (ib. iv, 149), etc., it is probable that the first element is the OScand word gagn itself, either in the sense of 'profit, advantage' or in that of 'opposition, against.' The latter is certainly found in the OScand compound gagnstaar 'meeting-place, place of opposition' (Heggstad s.v.). This is of course the exact form required by Ganstead and the Norwegian Gangestad and both names would appear to refer to the site of a fight; for such a sense in place-names we might compare Wetwang infra 128. v. staðr, replaced after DB by the cognate OE stede as in Winestead supra 29.

GANSTEAD OLD HALL is Gansteade Hall 1573 FF. HUNGERHILLS is Hungerhill 1602 YD, a common term of reproach. LONGDALES (6") is Langdaile 1602 YD, 'long portion of the common field,' v. deill. MILL COTTAGES (6"). Cf. Miln Close, Miln Nook 1602 YD. TURMER HALL is so named in 1595, 1602 (YD). Cf. also Turmers Paddock 1606 YD.

6. MARTON

Meretone 1086 DB
Martona(i) 1155–7 YCh 1148 et passim to 1828 Langd, (Est-) 1401 YI, (in Holdernes) 1504 Test
Merton(a) 1210–20 Melsa et freq to 1297 LS, (Est-) 1221–35 Melsa, (in Holdernes) 1291 YI, 1349 Ipm

'Farmstead near the pool,' v. mere, tun. In some of the older Marton forms mere may have been influenced by OScand marr 'pool, marsh,' or may go back to an ONb syncopated mærtun. Cf. Marton, Marfleet infra 104, 213 where similar influence is noticed.

WHITE HOUSE FARM (6") is Whitehouse 1637 YAJ xi.

7. NORTH SKIRLAUGH [skelo]

Schires-, Scir-, Schirelai 1086 DB
Scirlaga 1145–66 LeonardR, Skirlag 1240 FF
Ski-, Skyrlagh(e) 1240 FF, (North-) c. 1265 KF, 1270 Melsa, 1285 KI et passim to 1402 StoweCh, Northkirlagh 1375 Works
Skirlawe 1251 Ass, 1292 Ch, 1293 QW, Schirlawe 1260 Rental
Northskirlewe 1423 Baildon
North Skyrley 1554, 1571 FF, Northskerley 1585 FF

The DB spellings of this name and South Skirlaugh infra 51 suggest some confusion of English and Scandinavian forms. We have the common English place-name Shirley 'bright clearing' (v. scir, leah) with OScand skirr substituted. The spelling laghe for OE leah is not uncommon in the north. Cf., for example, the spellings of Wensley (PN NRY 257).

Arnold

Harnal(e) 12th, late 12th Nunkeel, Haranhale 1204 Meaux
Ærnhale 1190–2 P (p), Ernhale, -hal(a) 1193–7 P (p)
Arnehall(e) late 12th Nunkeel, 13th Meaux, -hale 1238 ib.,
1260 Rental, 1287 YI, 1301 Ch, (in Holdernesse) 1306 YI
Arnal(e) late 12th Nunkeel, t. Hy 3 BM et freq to 1375 Works,
al(lia) 1180–97 Melsa, c. 1265 KF et passim to 1650 ParlSurv
Arnhal(e) 1205 Chr, 1231 Ass et freq to 1293 QW, -hall(ia)
1285 KI, 1401 Melsa
Arnol 1583 YD, Arnold(e) 1584 et passim to 1828 Langd

‘Nook of land haunted by eagles,’ v. earn, healh, or ‘arna’s nook of land,’ from OE Earna. Similar possibilities exist also for Arnold (Nt), Ernehale DB, and Arnforth (WRY), Erneford DB, Arneford 1198 Fount, though the double occurrence of Arnold suggests that the first element is probably the significant word.

Rowton Farm [ruton]

Rughe-, Rugeton 1086 DB, Roughton 1423 Baildon
Ruton’ t. John AddCh, 1241 FF et freq to 1293 QW, Ruthon’
13th Meaux
Rowton(a) 1180–97, 1270 Melsa, 1558, 1584 FF, Routun, -ton
1291 Meaux et passim to 1402 StoweCh
Roweton 1210–20, c. 1400 Melsa, 1441 BM

‘Rough farmstead or enclosure,’ v. ruh, tun.

8. **SOUTH SKIRLAUGH** is Sc(h)irelai, Schir-, Scherle 1086 DB, Skirlagh 1246 Ass, Suthskirlaghe 1240 FF, South Skyrlaugh 1568 FF, with other forms and meaning similar to North Skirlaugh supra 49.

9. **SWINE**

Swine 1086 DB, Suine 1086 ib., 1141-53 YCh 1360, Suina 1155-70 ib. 1361

Swina, -y- c. 1150 Dugd, t. Hy 2 YD et freq to 1325 Hom

Swine-, -y- t. Hy 2 AddCh, 1188-91 Bridl, late 12th Meaux et passim to 1828 Langd, (in Holderness, -nes) 1286 YI, 1349 FF, 1429 Test

Swine 1199 Cur, 1240 FF, Svyn 1287 Ebor

Swyn 13th Percy, 1285 KI et freq to 1396 Test, (in Heuderness) 1286 Misc, (-humbre) 1301 Pat

An OE word *swin* ‘creek, channel’ has been established for this name, on the analogy of continental place-names and Dutch zwin ‘channel.’ The word enters into Swinefleet (WRY) and some other English names dealt with by Ekwall, Studies 88 ff., and a possible Scandinavian equivalent may enter into Swedish Swinngarn, etc. (Wadstein, Fornvänner 1930, 193 ff., Göteborgs Högskol. Årskrift xxxvi, 10 ff.)¹ This word is related to OHG swinan ‘to decrease, dry up’ and exhibits a sense-development not unlike that suggested for Storkhill infra 200, but whereas stork implies ‘drying up, leading to an increase of land,’ swin suggests ‘diminution of water’ and refers to a channel, perhaps one which tends to dry up. Swine Church Drain now runs by the village. Swynhumbre suggests that the place was once connected to the Humber by a navigable channel.

**CONISTON LANE (6")** is Conystongate 1541 Poulson. v. gata.

**FOXHOLMES (6")** is Foxom 1541 Poulson. THE MARRS (6") is marra de Swyna c. 1270 StoweCh, from ON marr ‘pool.’ SWINE CARRS (6"). Cf. le Carr Side, West Carre 1541 Poulson. v. kiarr.

**THIRTY ACRE FARM** is Thirty Acres ib.

10. **THIRTLEBY**

Torchilebi 1086 DB, Thorkelby 1285 KI, 1297 LS, 1303 YI, 1332 SR

¹ It should be noted that Sahlgren (Uppsala Nya Tidning 18:10:30) doubts the existence of such a Scandinavian cognate.
Thikelebi (sic) 1200 Cur, Tirkelby 1298 Ebor
Turkillebi, -by 1202 FF, 1205, 1207 Cur, 1231 Ass, Turkel-1286 Ch
Thurkilleby 1231 Ass, Thurkylby, -el- c. 1265 KF, 1332 SR, 1348 Ipm
Thurtileby 1481 NCWills, Thirkelbye 1599 FF, Thistleby 1828 Langd

‘Thorkel’s farmstead,’ v. by. Thorkel is OScand Dorkell, ODan Thurkil. Cf. Thirkleby (PN NRY 189) and Swed Torkelsbyn (ON på -by 66).

II. Wyton [wetan]
Widetun(e) 1086 DB
Wive-, Wi-, Wyueton(a) 1175–95 YCh 1401 et passim to 1622 FF, Wyuton c. 1265 KF, Wyneton (sic) 1298 Pat, 1341 FF, Weneton (sic) 1298 Pat
Wyton(a) 1188–91 Bridl, 1352–8 Ipm et freq to 1828 Langd, (in Holdernes) 1583 FF, Wytton 1544 FF

In view of the sequence of spellings with Wiue- the DB Wide- would appear to be an error, perhaps through confusion with Weeton supra 23. The name is probably from OE wifa-tun ‘women’s farm.’ Cf. Whenby, PN NRY 30, Westow infra 145 and Winestead supra 29.

Sproatley

Sproatele 1086 DB, 1285 KI, 1294 YI, -lai, -lie 1086 DB, -lei(a), -lai(a), -ley 1128–32 BM, 1135–9 Bridl, 1155–7 YCh 1148, 13th Bridl, 1283 YI, (in Holdernes) 1478 YD
Sprotel', -le(a), -ley, -lay 12th Bridl (freq), 1196 P (p) et passim to 1546 FF
Sprotley(a), -lay, -le 1135–40 et freq Bridl, c. 1265 KF, 1292 YI et freq to 1537 FF
Sprothele 1270 BM, 1275 YI

Sprothorpeborough (WRY), Sproteburg DB, Sprotteburg 1246 Ass, has probably the same first element as Sproatley. This is OE sprota or sprott ‘sprout, shoot, twig.’ The name would mean something like ‘clearing where shoots are springing up,’ v. leah.
HOLDERNESS WAPENTAKE, MIDDLE DIVISION

For a similar compound v. Spreakley (PN Sr 179). In Sproatley, the early medial e points to the OE weak noun sprota or to a gen. plur. sprotta.

Humbleton

1. DANTHORPE [dænθɔːrp]

Danetorp 1086 DB, 1190–1194 P (p), -thorp(e) 1280 Ebor, 1298 YI
Daunthorp 1246 Ass (p)
Danthrop(e) c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI et passim to 1828 Langd, (in Holdernesse) 1348 Ch, Danthropp 1575 FF
‘Village of the Danes,’ from OScand Dana-fiorp. v. Introduction.

2. ELSTRONWICK [ɛlstrɔrnwɪg]

Esteneuic 1086 DB, Estanwik, -wyk 1316 NomVill, 1340 Ch
Elstainnewic late 12th Nunkeel, Elsteinwyk 1260 Rental
Alstineswich’ 1190–1192 P, Alstinewich 1194 P
Alstanewich t. Hy 3 BM, Alstonwike 1282 YI, Alstanwyk 1349, 1353 Ipm
Elstanwik, -wyk(e) c. 1265 KF, 1297 LS et passim to 1546 FF, (in Holdernesse) 1322 Hom
Elstaneuwy(c)k 1276 Abbr, 1339 Extent, 1410 YI
Elsternwyk, -wicke 1535 VE, 1609 FF, Elstramwick 1650
ParlSury
‘Ælfstan’s dairy-farm,’ v. wic. Some of the earlier forms have been influenced by OScand names in -steinn and later ones by Withernwick in/ra 69.

BRAEMIRE (6") is Brad(e)mire 1260 Rental, YI. v. brad, myrr.

3. FITLING

Fidlinge, Fit- 1086 DB, Fitlingge 1297 LS
Fi-, Fytling, -yng 1145–66 LeonardR, 1166, 1194–7 P, 1206 Cur (p) et freq to 1537 FF
Fitteling, -yng 13th YD, 1208 Ass (p), 1283 YI, 1306 BevAct
Fiteling(h)e 1204 YCh 1131, 1231 Ass
Fitlinges 1207 Cur, 1260 Rental
‘(The settlement of) Fitela and his people,’ v. ing. On the pers. name v. Fittleworth (PN Sx 126).
4. **FLINTON** is *Flentun, Flintone* 1086 DB, *Fli-, Flynton(e)* 
1163–5 Bridl, 1190 YCh 1312, 1226 FF et passim to 1828 Langd. 
A compound of OE *flint* ‘flint’ and tun, perhaps in the sense ‘enclosure where flints were found.’

5. **HUMBLETON [umaltan]**

*Humeltone, Umelton* 1086 DB
*Humleton, -ton* 1154–80 YCh 1397, 1286 YI et freq to 1828 Langd, *Humbeleton* 1260 Rental

*Humbelton* 1190 YCh 1312, 1216–21 RegAlb, 1260 Rental et passim to 1342 SR, *Humilton(a)* 1297 LS, 1300 Ebor, 1301 Ch

*Hombelton* 1280 Ass, 1341 Extent, *Humbleton* 1479 Test

There are several possibilities for the first element of Humbleton, but the choice would seem to rest between a pers. name *Humli (Humbli)*¹ or *Humla* (LindBN, Lundgren Brate 113) and an OE *humele* or OScand *humli* ‘hop.’ The pers. name appears to be found in one or two Norwegian place-names such as *Hummelnæset* (NoGN iii, 342) and possibly *Humlestad* (ib. vii, 26), but there is some doubt about the origin of these place-names; other suggestions for these as well as *Homleid* (ib. vii, 18) include ON *humla* ‘humble-bee’ or a river-name derived from the insect-name (v. NoEN 110). On the other hand, *Homle* (NoGN ii, 394) may be connected with OScand *humli* ‘hop-plant’ and this appears too to be the case with Danish *Humlebæk* (DaSN(F) 17). In Humbleton and Humblescough (PN La 163) we may have this Scandinavian word *humli* or OE *humele*, an unmutated variant of the *hymele* found in Himble Brook and Humbleton (PN Wo 10, 135). There is doubt about the wild hop being a native plant (cf. NED s.v. *hop*) and it is suggested in PN Wo loc. cit. that *hymele* means ‘bryony’ or ‘bindweed.’²

It has also been suggested that many of the names referred to contain an OScand *humul* or an OE *humol* meaning ‘some-

¹ Dr K. Hald also calls attention to the Dan pers. name *Hum(b)li* (cf. Brøndum-Nielsen, *Gammeldansk Grammatik* ii, 266).

² The same problem may be raised in connexion with OScand *humli*, and the use of *hummel* and *hummel-byg* for ‘barley’ in Norw dialects suggests another possibility; cf. also Norw *krathumleblomst* ‘bennet’ (a herb), from *krat* ‘scrub, brushwood’ and *humle*.
thing rounded' (v. Noreen in NoB vi, 169 ff. and Mawer, ib. ix, 56 ff.). This word is certainly related to Swedish dialect hummel ‘protuberance, hillock,’ Norwegian dialect humul ‘a round rock,’ and to Scots dialect humble ‘hornless.’ The meaning ‘rounded hillock’ is suitable in the case of Humbleton, for though it is in the flat, low parts of Holderness Mr Sheppard notes for us that there are many low, glacial mounds in the neighbourhood and hummel might well be used of one of them. v. Addenda lix.

On the development of a euphonic b cf. Camberwell (PN Sr 17) and OE brembel for brèmel (Bülbring, Altenglisches Elementarbuch § 534, Wright, Elementary ME Grammar § 251). Other problems of a similar character are raised by Dimlington supra 17.

HUMBLETON MOOR (6") is so named in 1840 (Poulson). MOOR FARM (6") is Moorhouse ib.

Burton Pidsea

Burton Pidsea [botn]
Bortun(e) 1086 DB
Burton(a) 1202 FF, c. 1275 Rental, (Gameli) 1160–2 YCh 1307
Burton Pi-, Pydse 13th YD, 1338 Ch, 1339 Extent, 1389 AD ii,
Pi-, Pydse 1296 YI, 1297 LS, 1301 Pat, Pidsey 1550 FF
Pideseburton 1260 Rental, YI, 1377 FF, Pidesey- 1276 Abbr,
Pidse- 1333, 1342 SR, 1349 Ipm, 1480 BM, Pitsey- 1512
FF, Pudsey- 1614 FF

PIDSEA (lost) 1, a pool and stream, probably identical in part with Owstwick Drain (6”), is Piddese (a fishery) 1260 YI, Piddese mere ib., Pidesse (fishery) 1285 ib., una marra vocata Pidse 1339
Extent, Pidseomarra 1341 ib., the water of Pidsey 1550, 1606 FF. The meaning of Pidsea is probably ‘pool in the marsh’ from an OE *pid(e) or *pidu ‘fen’ or the like, which is found in the lost Pidsewllan (BCS 537) and for which Ekwall (RN 325) finds good parallels in Dutch and Low German names like Pede (Brabant),

1 There is now a field in Welwick (supra 22) called Pidsea Close.
earlier Pithebruc, Pye, earlier Pythe, etc. The second element is OE sæ (v. Kilnsea supra 15).

CHATT HOUSE is so named in 1840 (Poulson) and is to be associated with Phillip Chatt (1662 ib.). DEEP CARR and ING CARR (both 6") are so named in 1762 (Poulson). v. eng. MILL LANE and CLUMP (6"). Cf. molendino ventricio c. 1275 Rental. An early reference to a windmill.

Roos
Roos [ru:az, rus, rɔ:z]

Rosse 1086 DB, 1244 Cl et freq to 1650 ParlSurv, (in Holderness) 1474 Pat, Ross c. 1265 KF, 1301 Ch, 1486 Test
Ros 1190, 1191 P (p), 1232 Ebor, 1242 FF, 1245 Ebor, 1279–81 QW, 1285 YI, 1292, 1304 Ebor, 1357 Ipm, 1542 NCWills, (in Holderness) 1415 YI
Russe 1202 FF, 1208 Ass
Rose 1285 KI, 1418 YI, 1531 Test
Roos 1414 Test, 1465 Pat, (in Holderness) 1607 FF

Roos is usually thought to be a Celtic name from British *rostā, which gave OWelsh ros, Welsh rhos 'moor, heath' (cf. Irish ros 'promontory, wood'). v. Roose (PN La 202), Ross (PN NbDu 169, PN He 163). This word survives in modern dialects not only on the Welsh border but also in the east of England as ross 'marsh' and in rossland 'moorland' (EDD s.vv.). It is possible that the word ros was taken over from British into the common word-stock of the Anglo-Saxons, much in the same way as were foss (cf. Foss Beck supra 3), cumb, carr, and cors (v. PN Wo 197, PN Sx 371, 386). The chief difficulty with Roos is the length of the vowel in ME. Ekwall (RN lxxi, 317) finds some evidence for British lengthening of vowels before s in Ouse (supra 9), Tees, etc. An OE form Rōs might well have resulted in early occasional spellings with u such as we find here (v. Introduction). The later dialectal forms which have a long vowel go back to a ME Rōse or Rūse with an older short vowel lengthened in an open syllable and may in part have been affected by the common word rose (cf. Roseden, PN NbDu 168).
Tunstall

**Tunstall** [tunstal]

*Tunstal(e)* 1086 DB, t. Ric I BM, *et freq* to 1228 Ebor
*Donestal(l)* 1098–1102, 1115, 1160–2 YCh 1300–7, *Dunstall*
1282 Abbr
*Tunstall(e)* t. Ric I Cur *et freq* to 1542 NCWills, *(in Holderness)* 1334, 1335 FF
*Tunstal* 1208 FF, 1228 RegAlb, 1231 Ass, 1260 Rental, 1301 Ch
*Tonestal* 1299 Ch, *Thunestalle* 1326 Dugd
*Townstall in Holderness* 1539 FF

‘Farmstead,’ *v.* tunst(e)all.

**Monkwith** 1 is *Mon(n)euuic* 1086 DB, *Monkewyke, -wik’* 1285 YI, 1297 LS, *Munkwyk* 1417 BevAct, *Mounckwick* 1621 FF. ‘Monks’ dairy-farm,’ *v.* OE munuc and wic. The berewick belonged to St John of Beverley at the time of the DB Survey (cf. Poulson ii, 84). The change of the final element to -with is late; it may be compared with Skipwith *infra* 262.

**Hooks** is so named in 1828 (Langd). **Inglepool (6”)** is *Ingols-pole* 1326 Dugd. ‘Ingulf’s pool,’ or ‘Ingold’s,’ *v.* pol. **Sand le Mere (6”)** [sandlima:] is *Sandley Meer* 1786 Tuke, *Sand le Marr* or *Sandley Mere* 1840 Poulson.

Hilston

**Hilston**

*Heldoueston, Heldeuueston* 1086 DB
*Hi-, Hyldoueston(a), -v-* 12th *Nunkeel*, early 13th ib., 1240 FF, 1293 QW, c. 1400 Melsa, *Ildolves-* 1252 FF
*Hildolfston, -ton* 12th *Nunkeel*, 1303 Ebor, *Hildolfstan* 1300 Ebor
*Hilduluest’* 1166 P (p), *Hildolfuesdon* 1285 Ch
*Hildonestona (sic)* 1210–20 Melsa, *Hildoveston* 1267 Ebor
*Hildoldestona* 1210–20 Melsa, *Hildolston* 1304 YI, 1342 SR
*Hilderston* c. 1265 KF, *Hildreston* 1297 Ch, 1349 Ip
*Hindolf(e)ston’* 1267, 1301, 1304 Ebor

1 Now depopulated.
Hildeston' 1273 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1359 SR, 1377 FF
Hilston 1385 Ch et freq to 1608 FF

'Hildolf's farm' from ON Hildolfr, ODan Hildulf, OSwed Hildulf, and tun. On the change of Hil- to Hin- in some of the spellings v. Hinderskelfe (PN NRY 40). The spellings with Hildre- may have been affected by names like Hilderthorpe infra 102 or Hinderwell (PN NRY 138) or they may be due to French influence.

Burncrofts (6") is Brend(e)crofte 12th, 13th Nunkeel, Brynd-1221-35 Melsa, Bryn- 1321 YD. 'Burnt enclosure,' v. brende, croft. Hilston Mount (6") is so named in 1840 (Poulson).

Garton

1. Garton is Gartun, -ton 1086 DB, -ton(a) 1190 YCh 1312, 1216-21 RegAlb, t. Hy 3 BM, 1240 FF et passim to 1828 Langd, (in Holdernesse) 1306 YI. 'Farmstead in or near the triangular piece of land,' v. gara, tun. Cf. Garton infra 96. In each of these examples the angle may be that formed at road-junctions.

Grimston Garth

Grimestun, -tone 1086 DB, Gri-, Gymrestun, -ton(e) t. John AddCh et passim to 1401 BodlCh
Grimiston 1219 FF, Greneston 1285 KI, Grimmestona 1297 LS Gri-, Grymston c. 1265 KF, 1298 YI et freq to 1542 NCWills, Grymston Garth 1618 FF

'Grim's farmstead,' from OScand Grimr and tun. The name is common in Yorkshire. v. infra 130, 141, 273, and PN NRY 54. On Garth v. garð and Burstall supra 21.

Bail Wood is named from the Bail of Garton (a little close) 1716 Poulson. Cf. Bail Bottom infra 82. Here the meaning of bail is probably 'palisade.' Barkers Field (6") is Barkarie 12th Meaux. 'Sheepfold,' v. barkary (NED). Blue Hall is so named in 1840 (Poulson). Bracken Hill (6") is Brakenhill 12th Meaux. v. braken, hyll.

2. Owstwick

Hostewic, -uuic, Osteuuic 1086 DB, Ostwik 1202 FF
Oustwic, -wik(e), -wyk(e) 12th Nunkeel, t. John AddCh et passim to 1385 Ch, Oustewik, -wyk(e) 1246 Ass, 1288 YI et freq to 1377 FF, (in Holdrenes) 1328 FF
SCANDINAVIAN vik in any of its senses is inapplicable to the site. We must therefore assume a hybrid name, 'east dairy-farm,' from austr (which may have replaced an earlier east) and wic.

**Aldbrough**

1. **ALDBROUGH** [æ:bruf, ɔ:lbra]

   *Aldenburg* 1086 DB
   *Aldeburgh* 12th *Nunkeel, 1115 YCh 1304 et passim* to 1409 AD ii, *(in Holdernesse)* 1334 FF
   *Audeburg(h)*, -bur 1127–40 YCh 1327, 1228 *RegAlb*, 1228, 1252 Ebor, 1285 KI
   *Aldaburga*’ 1160–2 YCh 1307
   *Aldburgh(e)* late 12th *Nunkeel et freq* to 1413 BodlCh
   *Alteburg*’ 1205 ChR
   *Alburgh* 1542 NCWills, 1512 FF, 1523 YD
   *Oldburgh* 1542 NCWills, *Awbrough* 1588 FF, *A(u)brough* 1650 ParlSurv

   'Old stronghold,' v. (e)ald, burh. The Aude- spellings are Anglo-Norman (cf. IPN 113).

**BEWICK HALL is Biuwich 1086 DB, Bewich 1163–70 BM, Bewyc, -k, -wic 1149–50 YCh 1379, 1150–60 Melsa et passim* to 1481 NCWills, *(in Holdernesse)* 1377 Test. ‘Bee farm,’ v. beo, wic.

Cf. Bewick (PN NbDu 19).

**CARLTON is Carlentun 1086 DB, Carlintona 1098–1102 YCh 1300, K-, Carletun 1086 DB, -ton 1251 FF, c. 1265 KF et passim* to 1549 FF, *(in Holdernesse)* 1306 YI, *Carlton* 1512 FF.

‘Peasants’ farm,’ v. karla-tun.

**ETHERDWICK**

*Ethereduic* t. John BM, early 13th YD, *Edredewik* 1240 FF
*Ethereswic* 1208 Ass (p), *Etheriswyke* 1252 FF
*Hederuuic* t. Hy 3 BM, *Ederewyke* 1301 YI (p)
Etherdewik, -wyk(e) 1240 FF, 1297 LS, 1326 Dugd, c. 1362 Works, 1377 FF, Ederdewyke 1292 YI
Etherdewik, -wyk t. Hy 3 YD, t. Ed i BM, 1333, 1342 SR, 1349 Ipm, Ederdwyk c. 1265 KF
Etherwick 1260 YI (p), Ethurwik 1512 FF
Herdwyk 1285 KI, Ederwyke 1300 Ebor
Ederwyk, -wyke 1385 Ch, 1542 NCWills, Ederwyk 1535 VE
‘Æþered’s (i.e. Æþelred’s) dairy-farm,’ v. wic.

Fosham is Fosham 1086 DB, 1359 SR, 1367 FF, Fossham 1086 DB, c. 1265 KF, 1578 FF, (-garth) 1620 FF, Fosseym 1285 KI, -ayme 1287 YI (p), Fossam 1395 Dugd, (-garth) 1590 FF.
‘Homestead on the ditch,’ v. Foss Beck supra 3 and ham, heim.

TANSTERNE
Tanstern(e) 1086 DB, et freq to 1828 Langd
Tanestern(e) 1240 FF, 1251 Ass
Tanston 1285 KI, 1614 FF, 1664 Deposition, 1828 Langd
Tanstone 1385 Ch, Tarnston 1512 FF
‘Tann’s pool,’ from OScand Tannr and tjorn. There is a pool here.

Thorpe Garth is Torp(e) 12th Nunkeel, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch, (iuxta Aldeburgh) 12th Nunkeel, Thorp(e) late 12th ib. et freq to 1299 Ch, (in Ald(e)burgh) 1180-97 Melsa, 1297 Ch. ‘Hamlet (belonging to Aldbrough),’ v. porp.

Black Bush (6") is Blackbush 1840 Poulson. East Hill is Esthall 1316 YD. v. east, heall. Owsthill Ho is Owsthill 1828 Langd, Ovesthill Ho 1840 Poulson. v. austr. Westhill(6") is so named in 1840 (Poulson).

2. East Newton
Neueteone 1086 DB
Neuton in Holdern’ c. 1190 Bridl, 1269 Ebor
Neuton iuxta Aldeburgh 12th Nunkeel, 13th Melsa
Neuton iuxta Aldeburghhe c. 1265 KF, Aldburgh-Neuton 1288 YI
Neuton(a) 1285 KI, 1297 LS, 1342 SR, (Aust-) late 12th Nunkeel, (Est-) 1165 ib., t. Hy 3 YD, 1299 Ch et freq
Ri-, Ryngburg(h)neuton 1332, 1339 YD, 1350 Ipm, Ringburoe Newton 1574 YD
Neweton 1355 FF, East Newton 1512 FF et freq
‘New farm,’ v. niwe, tun and austr, east.

RINGBROUGH
Ringeburg, Ringheborg, -burg, Righeborg, -borch 1086 DB
Ringeburc, -burg c. 1150 YCh 1380 (p), 1260 Rental, 1316 YD,
Ringgeburgh 1297 LS
Rengburgh 1221–35 Melsa (Phillipps MS)
Ringeburc, -burg c. 1265 KF, 1339 YD, 1342 SR et passim to
1542 NCWills, -burght 1360 YD, -burroe 1574 YD
Ringburgarth 1512 FF
‘Circular stronghold,’ v. hring, burh. The early forms suggest
a possible hringa-burh, burh with circular defences. It may
well have been washed away by the sea.

3. WEST NEWTON
Niuuetun, -tone, Neutone 1086 DB, Newton c. 1265 KF
Neu-, Newton Con(e)stable 1285 KI, 1290, YI 1395Dugd
West Newton 1512 FF
v. East Newton supra 60. ‘Constable’ from the family of
Constable who held Newton as well as Burton Constable infra
(cf. 1290 etc. YI).

BURLTON CONSTABLE
Santriburtone 1086 DB
Erneburgh Burtona 1190 YCh 1312
Cu-, Con(e)stable Burton 1246 Ass, 1294 YI, 1344, 1585 FF
Burton Con(e)stable c. 1265 KF, 1285 Ch et passim to 1407
Test
v. burhtun. The above documents from 1294 YI onwards
include many references to the Constable family. Erneburgh was
the widow of Gilbert de Alost (early 12th); she afterwards
married Ulbert le Conestable and so brought the manor into the
possession of the Constables. Cf. West Newton supra. Santri
in the DB spelling is obscure.

Norwood is North Wood 1786 Tuke. Old Wood (6") is Yaud
Wood ib. Smithy Bridge (6") is Smithy Brigg ib.
III. HOLDERNESS WAPENAKE
NORTH DIVISION

Mapleton

1. GREAT COWDEN

Coledun 1086 DB
Coldun, -don(a) 12th, 13th Meaux et passim to 1539 BM,
(Nord-) t. Hy 3 BM, (North-) 1297 LS, (Magna) 1268
Abbr et passim to 1539 BM, (in Holderness) 1337 FF, 1401
YI

Coudon' 13th Meaux, Coulond' 1287 Ebor
Colden 1314 Abbr, 1512 FF
Cowden 1562 FF, (Great) 1650 ParlSurv

Probably ‘Charcoal hill,’ v. col, dun. There was plenty of
woodland here in earlier days.

Cowden Parva is Coldun 1086 DB, Parva Coldon c. 1265 KF
et freq, Parva Coldoun 1297 LS, Little Cowden 1650 ParlSurv,
with other forms and meaning as for Great Cowden supra.

Eelmere Hill (6") is Elesmar 12th, 13th Meaux, Elemar 1363
Poulson. ‘Eel pool,’ v. ael, mere or OScand marr. Cf. Elmer
(PN Sx 142) and Almer (PN Do 74).

Collin Hill (6") may be identical with le Colelegh 1379 Poulson,
with the first element as in Cowden supra. v. leah. Lady
Well (6") is so named in 1840 (Poulson). Mill Hill (6”). Cf.
Milneplace 1294 YI.

2. GREAT HATFIELD

Haifeld, Hai(e)felt 1086 DB
Hetsfeldia 12th Nunkeel, Esthetsfeld 1246 Ass
Haite-, Haytefeld(e) 1145–66 LeonardR, 1293 QW, (Est-)
1281 Ebor, 1303 Abbr, 1342 SR, Haytefeud 1246 FF,
Heytefeld 1202 Ch, 1293 Meaux
Hait-, Haytfeld t. John AddCh et passim to 1402 Test,
(Magna) c. 1265 KF, Esthaitfeud 1246 Ass

1 North Balingwick 1786 Tuke, North Division 1828 Langd.
HEATHFIELD

- 'Heath land,' v. hæo, feld. The forms have been considerably influenced by the cognate OScand heiþr 'uncultivated land,' as in Hatfield (WRY), Haethfelth 8th Bede, Hed-, Heitfeld 1086 DB, 1276 RH. 'Great' and 'East' to distinguish the name from Little Hatfield infra 67.

EAST FIELD (6") is Eastfield House 1786 Tuke.

3. MAPPLETON [mapltan]

Mapleton(e) 1086 DB, 1115 YCh 1304, 1154–80 ib. 1397, 1286 Ch, 1599 BM
Mapeltun, -ton(a) 12th Nunkeel, 1160–2 YCh 1307 et passim to 1359 SR
Mapeltun, -ton 1203 Ass, 1230 Ebor et freq to 1494 FF, (in Holdernesse) 1370 FF
Mappelton 1259 Ass, Mappylton 1422 BM

'Farm by a maple-tree,' v. mapel, tun.

ROLSTON (also ROWLSTON)

Roolfestone 1086 DB
Roluestun 1086 DB, Rolveston' 1204 Cur
Rolleston' 1293 Cur, 1246 Ass et passim to 1512 FF, (in Holdernesse) 1336 Ch, Rolliston 1279 YI
Rolston(e) c. 1265 KF, 1289 YI, 1464 Test, 1577 FF, Roleston 1285 KI
Rowston 1527 FF, Roulston 1585 FF

' Rolf's farmstead,' from OScand Hrólfðr (cf. NP 113) and tun.

Hornsea

Hornesse 1086 DB, 1301 Ebor, 1358 Ch
Hornessei 1086 DB, Hornseie 1087–95 MaryR, Horneseia 1160–75 YCh 1348
Horneshai 1156–7 YCh 354, t. Ric I (1308) Ch
Hornese 1175–85 Bridl, 1228 Ebor et passim to 1349 Meaux, Hornes’ 1208 FF, Hornesee 1300 Ebor, 1390 Test, Hornesce 1528 ib.
Hornse 1221–35 Melsa et passim to 1461 Test
Horense 1248 Ebor
Hornsey 1529 FF, Horneshey 1542 NCWills, Hornsea 1828 Langd

The name Hornsea was originally that of the great lake afterwards called Hornsea Mere (infra 65); it is quite clear that the second element of the name is OE sǣ ‘pool, lake’ (cf. Kilnsea supra 15) or OScand sær. The first element is more difficult, but whilst we may have the OEScand pers. name Horn(i), it seems more likely that the OE or OScand word horn ‘horn’ is used here in one of its topographical senses, as suggested for Hornington (So) and Horning (Nf), cf. Karlström 103, PN in -ing 79. In some cases OE horn appears to be used of the corner of land formed by a bend in a river, as in Hornington (WRY), Horninctune DB, and a lost place in Hornington called Hornleg 1221 FF, Eskhamhorn ib., Horn (R), on Hornan 852 BCS 464, etc. In Scandinavia horn was used in a similar way, especially of a ‘stream with a sharp bend in its course’ (NoEN 107), but it is much more frequently used in the sense ‘nook of land, projecting piece of land, headland’ (cf. NoGN Indledning 57, iii, 128, x, 134; Modeér, Svenska Skärgårdsnamn 79). The meaning ‘projecting piece of land’ is evidenced too in the Danish place-names Hornbæk, Hornsøholm (DaSN(F) 13–14), Horns Herred ib. 132, the latter providing a parallel to Hornsea. The name probably means ‘lake in which lies a projecting piece of land,’ and this would be very appropriate, as at the lower end of the lake near Hornsea village a long narrow peninsula goes out into the water. At one time the peninsula may have been even longer, for a small island (Swan Island) appears to be a continuation of it. One or two of the earliest spellings, Horsesse, etc. appear to be gen. compounds. These are occasionally found with significant words in English (cf. Zachrisson, Englische Studien lxx, 60 ff.), but they are much more common in Scandinavia. Similarly the persistent Horne- spellings may, as Professor Zachrisson suggests, represent an OE weak gen. sg. Hornan-.
NOTE. The following are the chief street-names: EAST GATE is so named in 1787 (Poulson). MARKET PLACE, SOUTH GATE and WEST GATE are so named in 1840 (Poulson). NEWBEGIN is New Biggen 1780 ib. v. niwe, bigging, 'new building.'

HORNSEA BECK (lost) 1 is Hornsebek 1221-35 Melsa, 1473 Pat, Hornesebek(e) 1347 Ipm, 1528 Test, Hornesbek 1390 ib. 'Stream near Hornsea,' probably that now called Stream Dike (supra 11), v. bekkr.

HORNSEA BURTON

Bortun, Burton(e) 1086 DB, Burton 1145-61, 1150-61 YCh 1377-8
Burton(a) 1228 RegAlb, 1260 Rental, 1529 FF, (juxta Hornese) 1175-85 Bridl
Horneseburton(a) early 13th Meaux, 1252 FF et passim to 1414 YD
Hornseburton(a) 1221-35 Melsa, 1285 KI, 1316 NomVill, 1336 Ch, 1349 Ipm, c. 1400 Melsa, Horse- c. 1265 KF, Hornsey- 1584 FF
'Fortified farmstead,' v. burhtun.

HORNSEA MERE is mara(m) de Horneseia 1112-22 YCh 1301, (de Hornese) ib. 1302, (de Hornese) 1208 FF, lacum de Hornse 1197-1200 Melsa, marra(m) de Horne 1210-20, 1235-49 ib., Hornsy Marre 1595 Poulson. v. Hornsea supra 63. Mere (Lat mar(r)a) is from mere or OScand marr 'pool.'

THE CROFTS (6'). Cf. Capelcroft, Engcroft, Fyskercroft 1235-49 Melsa, from ME capel (OWScand kapall 'horse,' from Irish capall 'horse' or Scots Gael capall 'mare'), eng, OScand fiskari 'fisherman' and croft.

NORTHORPE (6") is Nortorp 1198 Cur (p), Northorp(e), -thorpia early 13th Meaux et passim to 1530 FF. 'North hamlet,' v. porp. In Northorpe and Southorpe (infra) porp is used of hamlets belonging to Hornsea.

SOUTHORPE is Torp 1086 DB, 1156-7 YCh 354, Suththorp' 1249-69 Melsa, Suthorp(e) 13th Bridl, 1251 FF, 1276 Abbr, RH, Southorp 1333 SR, 1519 FF. Cf. Northorpe supra.

HORNSEA BRIDGE is pons qui vocatur Southbrigge de Hornese 1392 Works. NORTH FIELD Ho. Cf. North field 1840 Poulson. WEST FIELD (6') is so named in 1706 (Poulson).

1 Now submerged by the sea.
Goxhill

**Goxhill** [gouzal]

*Golse* 1086 DB  
*Gosta* 1135–9 (p), 1154–91 Bridl, 1155–7 YCh 1148  
*Gousla* 1179–89 Bridl, *Gousl’* 1195–1225 *Dods* vii, 244  
*Gousele* 12th Meaux  
*Gowcell* 13th Nunkeel  
*Gousell’* 13th Meaux, *Gousel* 1209 FF, 1276 RH (p), 1349 Meaux, *Gowsel* late 13th Nunkeel (p), *Gowsell* 1580 FF  
*Gousill* t. Hy 3 YD, c. 1265 KF, *Gousil* 1289 Ebor, *Gowsyll* 1504 Test  
*Goushill, -hyll* 1297 LS, 1334 FF, 1341 Extent  
*Goulshull* 1316 NomVill, *Gowelsle* c. 1400 Melsa  
*Gouxhill* 1375 FF, 1483 Ipm, 1610 FF, *Gowxhill* 1537 Dugd  
*Gouxsill* 1512 FF, *Gocksall* 1589 FF  
*Gux-, Geuxhyl* 1549, 1552 FF, *Goxell* 1611 FF  
*Goxhill* 1567 FF et freq to 1828 Langd

Goxhill is identical in origin with Goxhill (L), which has a similar run of forms, *Golsa, Golse* 1086 DB, *Gausla* 12th Bridl, *Goxa* 1147–68 YCh 1339–40, *Gousla, Goussa* 1150–60 BM, *Gosla* t. Hy 2 Bridl, *Gousle* early 13th BM, Bridl et freq, *Gausile* 13th BM, *Gousel* 1211 FF, 1301 Ch, *Goushill* 1290 Ipm, *Gouxhill* 1331 ChR, 1341 Pat. These names offer considerable difficulty, and various attempts have been made to solve the etymology. For the first element Ekwall (NoB xiv, 147) has suggested the OScand pers. name *Gaukr*, gen. *Gauks*, Zachrisson (ib. xv, 163) a Scandinavianised form of OE gēæc ‘cuckoo,’ and Lindkvist (142) a stream-name *Gaus*, related to OScand gjósæ ‘to gush, spirt,’ Norw gaus ‘outflow, a stream of liquid’ and Cu dialect gowze ‘rush of fluid.’ If Lindkvist's suggestion is correct—and there is here a small stream which flows intermittently according to the season—we have to suppose that x in the later forms is an inverted spelling for z as in Moxby, Roxby (PN NRY xxxii, 29, etc.). The second element, too, has been variously derived, by Lindkvist from OScand a ‘river,’ with l introduced
as an inverted spelling by Anglo-Norman influence, by Ekwall (loc. cit.) from ODan *la* `water along the sea, creek' (though Goxhill is many miles inland, and there is no good evidence for *la* in England), and by Zachrisson (loc. cit.) from OE *leah* or possibly *hyll*. In favour of the last suggestion it may be pointed out that there is a small hill at Goxhill (ERY) such as is common in these parts of Holderness, and the earlier spellings, which do not obviously imply the form *hyll*, may be accounted for by supposing a stress-shifting to the dative case ending, that is, from *Goushille* to *Goushillë*, similar to that found in names like Newsome supra 28 and Windersome infra 95; v. also Nuthill supra 33. It may be added that the final *a* in most of the early spellings is merely the Latin nominative singular ending. v. further LMS i, 48 ff.

It is, at this stage, impossible to do more than record these attempts to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problems.

**Sigglesthorne**

1. **Catfoss**
   
   *Catefoss* 1086 DB, 1260 Rental, 1324 Ch, -foss(e) 12th Nunkeel, 1281 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1295 Pat, -fossa 1156, 1173 YCh 186, 197, *Catafossa* 1145-53 LeonardN
   
   *Cattefoss* 12th Nunkeel, 1296 YI et passim to 1602 FF, -fose c. 1265 KF
   
   *Cattefosse* 1347 Test

   Catfoss and Catwick (infra 73), which are a mile and a half apart, probably contain the same first element, and if this is a pers. name, as seems likely from the variation between *Catte-* and *Catting-* in the spellings of Catwick, they are probably named from the same man, *Catta* (cf. Catton infra 186). ‘Catta’s ditch,’ from *foss* (v. Foss Beck supra 3).

2. **Little Hatfield** is Hei(e)feld 1086 DB, Westhaitfeld 13th Meaux, Westhetfeld 1246 Ass, Parva Ha(i)feld c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI, Little Hatfield 1650 ParlSurv, with other forms and meaning as in Great Hatfield supra 62.

3. **Seaton**
   
   *Settun* 1086 DB
   
   *Seion(a)*, -tone 12th Nunkeel et passim to 1409 AD ii
Seython in Holdernesse 1268 FF, Seyton 1542 NCWills
Seeton 1286 YI, Seaton in Holdernes 1562 FF

‘Farmstead near the lake,’ from OE sæ ‘sea, lake’ (v. Kilnsea supra 15) and tun. Seaton is about a mile from the upper end of Hornsea Mere. Cf. Seaton Ross infra 235.

WASSAND

Wadsande 1086 DB
Watsand(a) 1112–22 MaryR, 1156–7 YCh 354, t. Ric I (1308) Ch, t. John AddCh, 1235 FF et freq to 1377 FF, Watsaund 1226, 1254 FF, 1251 Ass
Wathsand 1145–60 LeonardR, 12th Dane, t. Hy 2 Gilbert et passim to c. 1400 Melsa
Watsandre 1203 Cur (p)
Waxsaund 1246 Ass, Waxan 1316 NomVill
Waussaund 1246 Ass
Wassaund 1293 QW, Wassand(e) 1285 KI et passim to 1542 NCWills, Wassandis 1512 FF

‘Sand-bank or sandy shore near the ford,’ v. van, sand. It is near the head of Hornsea Mere. The form Watsandre may be an OScand plural sandar.

GRUNDILL LANE (6") is Grindel lane 1777 Poulson.

4. SIGGLESTHORNE [si:sθɔrn]

Siglestone, -torne 1086 DB
Sigelesthorn(e) 12th Meaux, 1221–35 Melsa, 1251 FF, -thorn(e) 1294 Ebor et freq to 1468 ib., -tron 1305 BevAct, Sigglestorn 1347 Test
Sigelthorne 13th Nunkeel
Sigelesthorn 1246 FF, 1343 Baildon, 1347 Ipm, 1371 Pat
Sikelestorn 1281 Nostell
Sighelstorn 1297 LS
Sigelesthorn(e) 1304 BevAct, 1336 FF, -torn 1336 FF, 1396 Test
Siltoorne 14th Nunkeel
Segulstorn 1385 Ch, Seglest(h)orn 1417 BevAct, 1449 BM, Segylstorn 1439 Baildon
Si-, Sylst(h)orn 1512 FF, 1538 NCWills, 1610 FF
Silksterne 1578 FF
'Sigel's thorn-tree,' v. porn. The first element appears to be a pers. name but its origin is obscure; it may be a derivative or a shortened form of some name like OE Sigewulf or a derivative of some Scand pers. name in Sig- (Sigólfr, etc.). The same name probably enters into Silsden (WRY), Sigledene 1086 DB, and Sileby (Lei), Sigle(s)bi 1086 ib. The spellings Sil- in all these names may be accounted for in this way: if the pers. name is Scandinavian we have the possibility of palatalisation of medial g similar to that evidenced in Snilesworth, PN NRY 204. Otherwise the variation is due to the existence of two OE forms Sigles- and Sigeles-, the former resulting in ME Sig(e)les- (with a voiced stop), the latter in Siles-. The spellings Seguls- etc. exhibit ME lengthening of short i in an open syllable to e.

**GOTT GATE (6") is Got(t) Gate 1777 Poulson, 1786 Tuke. v. gata. GRAVELS (6") is Gravils 1772 Poulson. Probably ME gravel 'coarse sand.' PASTURE HOUSE. Cf. Siglesthorne pasture 1777 Poulson.**

**Withernwick**

**WITHERNWICK [wioiranwig]**

With-, Wid-, Witforneuinc, Widforneuic 1086 DB

Wifornewic 1115, 1160–2 YCh 1304, 1307

Widornewic 1154–80 YCh 1397

Wytornewyk 13th Meaux, Wytornwyk 1279–81 QW

Wi-, Wythornwik, -c, -wyk 1190 YCh 1312, 13th BM, 1201 FF et freq to 1494 FF, Wytthornwik 1401 YI

Wi-, Wythornwik, -wyk 13th Meaux, t. Hy 3 BM et passim to 1521 Test

Wethornwik c. 1265 KF

Withernwik 1316 NomVill

Wetheurwik 1512 FF, Wetherwicke, -wyk 1526, 1546 FF

Wyderwiike 1542 NCWills

Wethernewyk als. Wetherwyk 1568 FF

Withrin-, Watheringwick 1600, 1606 FF

v. Withernsea supra 26. 'Dairy-farm belonging to a lost Withthorn,' v. wic. The spellings Witforne-, Wiforne- represent the not uncommon change of th to f.
LAMBWATH and LAMBWATH BRIDGE (6") [láməθ, la:mθ] is 
Lambeawat 1188 YCh 1364, Langwath (sic) 1260 YI, 1288 Pat, 
Lambwath 1339 Extent, c. 1400 Melsa, Lamwath 1341 ib., La-
muth als. Lamwath 1586 FF, Lamwith Br. 1786 Tuke. ‘Lamb 
ford,’ v. lamb, vað. Cf. Lambwath Stream supra 9 which was 
crossed by the ford, later by a bridge, and Lamwath supra 43 
which was named from the stream. It is a common Danish p.n.

RISE is Risun, Rison 1086 DB, Rise, Ryse 12th Nunkeel, c. 1265 
KF et passim to 1828 Langd, (in Holdernes, -nes) 1360, 1366 FF, 
1475 Pat, 1499 Test, Rys 1180–97, 1286–1310 Melsa, Risse 1316 
NomVill, Ryes 1512 FF. v. Rysome supra 22. Rise was also 
originally a dat. plur. hrisum.

FOSSE (6") is called fossata, magna fossata late 12th Meaux. 
v. Foss Beck supra 3. HUDDLE CROSS is so named in 1625 
(Poulson).

LONG RISTON

Ristun(e) 1086 DB, 1145–66 LeonardR, 1160–75 YCh 826, 
Ri-, Ryston(a) 12th Meaux, t. John BM et passim to 1583 
YD, (in Holdernes, -nesse) 1416 BM et freq to 1538 FF, 
(Long-) 1828 Langd 
Rustunia 1145–66 YCh 1345 
Reston(a) 1150–60 Melsa, t. Ed i BM. Ch et freq to 1316 
NomVill 
Russton 1465 Pat, Long Ruston 1611 YAJ xi 
Rouston in Holdernes 1524 Test, Longrouston 1610 Speed 
‘Farmstead near the brushwood’ or ‘enclosure overgrown 
with brushwood,’ v. hris, tun. The village is two miles from 
At the time Ruston was in use the place was additionally 
described as ‘Long’ (from its long straggling street) to dis-
tinguish it from Ruston Parva infra 93.

CRIFTINS is Cryftynges 1150–60 Melsa. This name, like Criftings 
infra 84, would appear to be from an OE *cryfting, possibly 
with a meaning similar to that of croft ‘small field,’ to which it
stands in the same vowel relation as OE gylden ‘golden’ does to gold. This suggests that croft of which the ultimate origin is unknown (v. NED s.v.) might be taken back to Primitive Germanic *kruftaz. Cf. Criftin Fm in Burton Joyce (Nt), the Cliftin (sic) 1609 LRMB, Criftin Ho in Epperstone (Nt), Christinge (sic) Milne 1591 Wills, the West Criftin 1624 Nottingham County Records and le Halle Cresting (1322 Poulson) in Dringhoe.

FARNTON HILL (6”) is Farmton or Farnton Hill 1840 Poulson. RISTON CARR is mariscum de Restona 1197–1210 Melsa. v. kiarr.

Routh

ROUTH [ru:0]

Rute 1086 DB
Rutha 1086 DB, 1134–91, t. Hy 2, 1155–7 YCh 1148, 1180–1200 Bridl, 1205 ChR
Rud’ 12th Meaux
Ruda 12th Nunkeel, 1150–60 Melsa, 1151, 1172, 1204 Meaux, 13th Bridl, c. 1265 KF, 1372–96 Melsa
Rue 12th Nunkeel, 1204 Ass (p), 1260 Rental, 1273, 1275 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1290 Ch, 1293 Meaux, Ruwe 1231 FF
Rovuth(e) 1210–20, 1221–35, c. 1400 Melsa, 1546 YChant, 1564 FF, Ruthe 1316 NomVill
Rovuth(e) 1293 QW, 1297 LS, 1302 Ebor et passim to 1828 Langd, (in Holdernes) 1533 Bev

The various spellings point to an original form Ruđ, but it is difficult to suggest a suitable etymon. Of the various possibilities the less unlikely include OScand hrůdr ‘scurf,’ which has a topographical sense in the compound hrůdr-karl used of a sort of shale on a cliff on the sea-coast. The spellings Rue are due to AN loss of medial -th- (cf. IPN 110).

MONK BRIDGE is referred to as pontem qui vocatur pons Ruda in 1150–60 (Melsa) and is named after the monks of Meaux. ROUTH CARRS was formerly Whytkerram 1150–60 Melsa (v. hwit, kiarr) and is marisco de Ruda 1286–1310 ib. ROUTH WOOD (6”) is nemor’ de Ruda 1150 Meaux, nemus de Rudhe c. 1150 YCh 1380, boscum de Rud(h)a 1150–3 ib. 1381, 1154, 1349 Meaux, boscum de Routh 1200 ib.
Leven

1. Hempholme is Hempholm(e) 1175–90 YCh 1410, 1664 Deposition, -home 1577 FF, Henepeholm 1312 Bridl, Hempelholme 1588 FF. ‘Hemp field,’ from OE henep, ME hemp and holm. Cf. Swed Hempeholmen (Modéer, Småländska Skärgårdsnamn 113). There are other similar names in this township, as Brackenholme infra, Thorholm late 12th Bridl, Thorholmdik 13th ib. (v. porn), Nepeholm late 12th ib. (OE nēp ‘turnip’).

Brackenholme (lost) is Brakenholm(e) 1175–90 Bridl, late 12th Meaux, 1295 YI, Brachholm’, Brakynholm’ 1197–1210 Melsa, Brackeholm 1312 Bridl. ‘Holm overgrown with bracken,’ v. braken, holm. Cf. the same name infra 258.

Goodale House (lost) is Godalehouses 1328, 1329 Works, Gode Ale Houses c. 1362 ib., Good(d)ale House 1610 Speed, 1708 Poulsen, Goodall house 1750 Bowen.

Hallytreeholme is Halitreholm 1175–90 Bridl, c. 1200 YD, early 13th, 1290, 1312 Bridl, 1290 Ch, Haltreholm late 12th Bridl, Halitreholm 1243 Ebor, Halytreholm(e) 1293 QW, 1525 Test, Halletrome 1664 Deposition. ‘Water-meadow with or near a holy tree,’ v. halig, treow, holm. The holy tree may have been one with properties of a charm or it may, like Holy Oak (v. NED s.v. holyb), have been a tree where the gospel was read; it is near the township boundary. Cf. Hallatrow (So), and other references to holy trees as pa halgan ñec (BCS 883), and quendam fraxinum quem imperiti sacrum vocant (ib. 476).

2. Leven [leven, li:ven] is Leuven(e), Leven(e) 1086 DB, 1172 (et freq) Meaux, late 12th Nunkeel, 1205 ChR et passim to 1840 Poulsen, Levena 1235–49, 1401 Melsa, Leaven 1572 FF, 1650 ParlSurv. Probably Leven was originally the name of one of the streams in the district. It is the river-name Leven, which Ekwall (RN 251) identifies with a British name (s)libnios or (s)limno (inferred from Ptolemy’s Λιβνιος), from the root *(s)leib ‘drip’ or ‘glide.’ Leven would mean ‘the slow-moving one.’

Baswick [bazik] is Bersewyk(e), -wik 1287 BevAct, 1294 YI, 1297 LS, 1417 BevAct, Berswyk 1364 FF, Barswicke als. Baswicke 1612 FF, High and Low Baswick 1786 Tuke. ‘Bersi’s dairy-
farm,' v. wic. For OScand Bersi, recorded in LVD as Berse, v. NP 27 and DaPN 116. Alternatively, as Baswick is on the river Hull, the first element might possibly be OE bær ‘perch’ and the name signify ‘farm near which perch were caught.’ A parallel in that case could be found in Fishwick (PN La 146) and Fishleigh (PN D 143).

HEIGHOLME is Holm(e) 1150–60 Melsa et freq to c. 1362 Works, (inter Leuene et Brithil(l), Brystyl) 1172, 13th Meaux, 1205 ChR, Hayholm(e) 1150–60 (et freq) Melsa, 1276 RH, 1293 QW, 1349 Meaux, Heavyholme 1572 FF. ‘Water-meadow,’ later ‘water meadow used for hay,’ v. heg, holmr.

HALL GARTH is Leaven Hall Garth 1786 Tuke. HAYHOLME GRANGE (6") is grang’ del Holme 1177 Meaux. Cf. North Grange supra 44. WHITE CROSS is crucem ligneam 1197–1210 Melsa, White Cross 1786 Tuke. It was a wooden cross to mark the burial ground of Meaux Abbey. WOOFEL HILL (6") is Woof Hills 1840 Poulson.

**Catwick**

**Catwick** [katik]

_Catinuuic, Cotingguic, Catingguic_ 1086 DB  
_Cattingewic_ 1120–40 YCh 1319  
_Catyngwyk_ 1180–97 Melsa, Cathig’wic 12th YD  
C-, Kattewic, -wy(c)k 1120–7 YCh 1318, t. Hy 2 (1230) Ch et freq to 1377 FF  
_Catewic, -wyk(e) _1150–60 YCh 1320 et passim to 1401 YI  
_Catthevic_ 1154–60 YCh 1321, Cathevic 1160–80 YCh 1323  
C-, Katvic, -wyk(e) 12th, 13th Nunkeel, 1259 Ass et passim to 1531 Test, (in Holderness) 1391 ib.  
C-, Cattingwic, -wyk, -ynk- late 12th Nunkeel, t. John StoweCh, 1221–35 Melsa

The variation between forms with and without _-ing-_ is interesting and, as in Lockton (PN NRY 91), suggests the existence of two OE forms, _Cattanwic_ and _Catting(a)wic_, ‘the dairy-farm of Catta or of Catta and his people,’ v. ing(tun), ing, wic. Cf. Catfoss supra 67.
74  EAST RIDDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK

Brandesburton

1. BRANDESBURTON [branzbotn]

Bur-, Bortun 1086 DB, Burton 1228 Ebor
Brantisburtune, -tone 1086 DB
Branzbortune 1086 DB, Brandesborton 1286 Ch
Brandesburton(a) 13th Bridl, t. Hy 3 BM et passim, Brandis-
1396 Melsa, 1521 Test
Brentbroghton (sic) 1393 Meaux
Brandsburton 1534 FF, 1828 Langd
Braynsburton, -i- 1542 NCWills, 1604 BM, Braynesburton
als. Barnesburton 1621 FF, Baronsburton 1546 FF

`Fortified farmstead belonging to Brandr,' v. burhtun. The
DB Branz- is the OScand gen. Brands, Branz, whilst the -bortun
forms have been influenced by OScand borg.

BURSHILL [bosil]

Bristehil 12th Nunkeel, c. 1200, 1293 Meaux
Bri-, Brystil(l), -yl(1) 1150-60 Melsa, 1200 Cur (p), 13th
Bridl, 1205 ChR et freq to 1348 Ipm, (in Holdernes) 1571 FF
Bristhil(l) 1172, late 12th, 13th Meaux, 1246 Ass et passim to
1510 FF, (-Mora) c. 1265 KF, (la More) 1285 KI
Bristhul(le) 1210-2 RBE (p), 1240 FF
Bresthill 1285 KI
By-, Birsthyll, -i- 1534, 1595 FF
Bursall 1537 Dugd, Bursill 1543 MinAcct, Brustill 1579 BM,
Boshill 1786 Tuke

The name is to be derived from OE byrst in the sense ‘land-
slip’ or ‘broken land’ which lies behind OE eorp(g)byrst (BCS
1240), eorpgeberst (ib. 801), and eordbriste (ib. 816) and probably
on pone byrste del (ib. 796). Middendorff (23) suggests for
the latter an OE adjective byrst, presumably in the sense ‘rugged,
broken’ and this adjective is possible also for Burshill. These
words are related to OE berstan ‘to burst.’ The description of
Burshill as ‘the broken hill’ would be appropriate; it is a small
hill forming part of the narrow ridge called Barff Hill infra 75. v.
yll. For a similar name cf. OE brocenan beorge (BCS 596).

SPEN CARR (6") is Spenne-, Spenker 13th Bridl. v. Appendix
infra 330 and kiarr.
WEEDLAND is Witheland 1175–90, 13th, 1312 Bridl, c. 1200 YD, Weedland 1650 ParlSurv. ‘Withy land,’ v. wiðig, land.

ALDERMAN’S GORSE and LORD MAYOR’S WHINS. “The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were the only overseers of the possessions...of the said Emmanuel Hospital” (Emmanuel College, Cambridge), 1632 Poulson. BARFF HILL (6”), BRANDEBURTON BARFF, is le Bergh 12th Nunkeel, 1328 Works, Le Ber(i)che, Le Beryche 13th Bridl, Burton Barfe 1786 Tuke. ‘The hill,’ v. beorg. BASWICK STEER is so named in 1828 (Langd). It was a coal and lime wharf on the river Hull. Steer (Cu, NRY) is used of ‘a landing-place’ and is a dialectal form of stæð, as in the local pronunciation of Staithes (PN NRY 139) as [stiaz]. EASTFIELD is East Field 1632 Poulson. ELLA CARR (6”) is Ellecarre, Ellarcarre 1632 Poulson. v. Ellerker infra 222. ELLA HOLME (6”) is Ellonhol 13th YD, Elowholme t. Hy 3 Poulson. INN CARRS (6”) is Ing-, Incarre 1632 Poulson. v. eng, kiarr. Cf. Dan Engkser. THE MOOR (6”)1 is mora(m) c. 1200 YD, La More 1348 Ipm. v. mor. STAR CARR is Starker 13th Meaux, -car 1632 Poulson. From OScand stgrr ‘sedge’ and kiarr. Cf. Danish Starker (DaSN(Sj) iii, 104). WESTFIELD is West Field 1632 Poulson. WHITEHOLME HILL (6”) is le Whitholm 1303 YI, Wytholm 1374 Works. v. holmr. Cf. Dan Hvidholm.

2. MOOR TOWN is Moretowne in Holdernes 1457 YD, Moor(e)-town 1632 Poulson, 1828 Langd. A late formation from The Moor supra.

North Frodingham

North Frodingham

Frotingha’ 1086 DB, North Frotingham 1316 NomVill
Frothingham 1098–1102 YCh 1300, Frothingeham 1115 ib. 1304, Froingsheham 1160–2 ib. 1307
Frodigham 1138–54 YCh 1305
Froisgnahm 1210–8 BodlCh, Frothingham, -yng- 1285 KI, (North-) 1292 Ebor et passim
Frothingeham 1246 Ass
(North) Froddingham 1521 Test, 1650 ParlSurv

1 Difficult to distinguish from Moor Grange infra 76.
76 EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK

Fordingham a. 1678 Map
Other forms and meaning as for South Frodingham supra 27.

ANDREW HOLE (6") and CONEYGARTH HILL are so named in 1840 (Poulson). CROSS ROAD (6") was Cross Lane 1840 Poulson named from an old cross which was replaced in 1811. EMMOTLAND is Emmotland 1610 Speed, 1695 Morden, Emmertland 1786 Tuke. ‘River-confluence,’ v. ea, gemot. It is near the confluence of West Beck and Frodingham Beck where they become the river Hull. HOWES HILL (6"), OLD HOWE (a stream). Cf. Emartland Hows 1569 Poulson, the Old Hoo ib. LANGHOLME HILL (6") is Langholme 1569 ib. MILL HILL (6”). Cf. Mill Closes 1786 ib.

Beeford

I. BEEFORD [bifər9]

Biuuorde 1086 DB
Beford(e) 1147–54 Bridl, c. 1160 Dane, 1249 FF et passim to 15th Sawley, (in Holdernesse) 1301 YI
Biford(a), Byford(e) c. 1160 Dane, 12th (freq) Bridl, 1155–7 YCh 1148 et passim to 1260 Rental
Beforth(e) 1180–97, 1339–49, c. 1400 Melsa, 1525 FF, 1527 Test, Befurth 1548 FF
Byfort 1190 YCh 1312
Bifford’ 1286 Ebor
Befforth 1413 BodlCh, Beyfford 1535 VE, Beafurth 1567 FF
‘Near the ford,’ v. bi, ford. For this type of name cf. Byfield (PN Nth 33), Biford (PN Gl 21) and PN NRY xliii. v. also Owthorne and Withernsea supra 28, 26. The modern pronunciation of Beeford arises from the lengthening of early ME short i in an open syllable. The 12th-century Be- spellings are from later copies.

MOOR GRANGE is grangiam de la More 1172, 1177 Meaux, grangia de mora 1180–97 Melsa, 1204 Meaux, Moregrange 1238 ib., 1339–49 Melsa, Moor Gra(u)nge 1535 VE, 1786 Tuke. It was a grange of Meaux Abbey1 (v. North Grange supra 44). The moor itself (v. mor) extended over Brandesburton (v. The

1 The grange was founded by Abbot Philip 1160–80 (Melsa i, 164).
Moor, Moor Town *supra* 75), Beeford and Bewholme (v. Moor House *infra* 79), and the part in this parish is referred to as Mora 1160–80 (et freq) Melsa, 1205 ChR, *La More* 1292, 1309 Ch, *More* 1293 QW, *Befurth Moore* 1581 FF.

2. **DUNNINGTON** [duniton]

*Dodinton(e)* 1086 DB, 1190 YCh 1312

*Dudington, -ton, -yng-* 12th *Nunkeel*, late 12th ib., c. 1200 Meaux, 1240 FF, 1293, 1349 Meaux, *Duddington* 1296 YI (p)

*Dutinton* 1157–70 Bridl, *Dudinton* 1205 ChR, 1223 FF, *-don* 1449 Test

*Dodington(a), -yng-* 1160–80 et freq Melsa, 1293 QW, 1294 YI et passim to 1512 FF

*Donnyngton als. Dodyngton als. Dudyngton* 1566 FF

*Dundington* 1610 Speed, *Donyngton* 1614 FF, *Dunington* 1650 ParlSury

‘Dudda’s farmstead,’ v. *ingtun*. The modern form has been influenced by that of Dunnington *infra* 273.

**CRAKE DIKES (6”) is Crakedyk late 13th *Nunkeel*. ‘Crow ditch’ or ‘Kráki’s ditch,’ v. *kraka*, dic.

3. **LISSETT** [lisit]

*Lessete* 1086 DB

*Leset* c. 1180 Dane, c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI et passim to 1494 Test, *Lesete* 1297 LS

*Lesset* 1194–1214 YD, 1276 RH, 1279–81 QW, 1280 Ebor (p), 1289 YI (p), 1316 NomVill, *Lessett* 1276 RH

*Lesette* 1276 RH

*Licit, Lyssett* 1561, 1590, 1608 FF, *Lissitt* 1650 ParlSury

As in Winsetts *supra* 21, the second element is OE sæte or (ge)set ‘seat, dwelling.’ The first element is difficult, but it is possibly OE læs ‘pasture.’ ‘Dwelling near the pastureland.’

**Nunkeeling**

**BEWHOLME** [biuam]

*Begun* 1086 DB

*Begum* 12th *Nunkeel*, 1175–85 YCh 1068 (p), t. John *StoweCh*, 1260 *Rental*, 1290 YI
Phonologically it is possible for Bewholme to be derived from OE beagum, dat. plur. of beag ‘a ring, collar, ornament,’ but apart from the doubtful OE on beaga lea (BCS 596) the word is not used in any OE topographical context. On the other hand, we have a related bjúgr in several Norw place-names such as Bjuge from OScand bjúgar plur. (NoGN iv², 8), Eshjuk from Eiðsbjugar plur. (ib. 199) and Kjelbju from Keldu-bjúgr (ib. xii, 201), and in Icelandic Svínbjúgr and Svínbjúgsdalr. In most of these examples bjúgr clearly refers to ‘a river-bend’ and the same is true of a derivative *bjugn which enters into other place-names such as Bjoner (NoGN i, 388) and Bjune (ib. vi, 131); v. also NoEN 17. OScand bjúgr is not on record as a noun, but the corresponding adjective bjúgr ‘bent, crooked’ occurs both independently and in the place-name Bjunes (NoGN ix, 346). A similar topographical sense is to be found in other cognates such as OE boga or OScand bogr ‘bow, river-bend’ as in Bowes (PN NRY 304), OE byge ‘bend, corner’ (= sinus Epinal Gloss) in on nearuan byge on Afene (BCS 973), and OE byht ‘bend, corner, curve.’ Dr G. Knudsen calls attention to a possibly related Danish place-name Bigum which is on a promontory in a long lake called Tjele Langsø. See also Sahlgren in NoB xii, 180 ff.

It may be added that OScand bjúgum, dat. plur. of bjúgr, would appear in ME as Beg(h)um. Bewholme itself is on a small hill but there are several streams round the village which have very twisted courses. Hence ‘at the bends in the stream(s).’
NUNKEELING

Chiling(h)e 1086 DB, Chillingha 1154-68 YCh 1334
Chelinge 1086 DB, Keillinga 1159-81 YCh 1336
Killinga 1143-54, 1164-70 YCh 1332-5
Killing', -y- 12th Nunkeel (freq), 1196 P (p), t. John StoweCh et freq to 1419 NCWills, (Nun-) 13th Nunkeel
Killinge, -y- 12th, 13th Nunkeel (freq), 1251 FF, 1260 Rental et freq to 1303 YI, (Nun-) 1406 Nunkeel, Killinghe 1144-54 YCh 1331, -inge 1297 LS
Kelyng(e), -inge 1543 MinAcct, (Nun-) 1521 Test, 1558 NCWills, (Non-) 1548 FF, Nunkeelinge 1650 ParlSurv


BILLINGS HILL is so named in 1828 (Langd). Cf. Bylling Close 1541 Poulson. FIVELIN NOOK (6") is Five Ley Nook 1786 Tuke, Fivelin-Nook 1828 Langd. MOOR Ho is Morehouse 1610 Speed, 1695 Morden. It is named from Mora (de Killing') 13th Nunkeel, 1205 Cur. v. Moor Grange supra 76. NUNKEELING WOOD (6") is bosco de Killing' 12th Nunkeel.

Atwick

Attingwik(e), -wyk(e), -wic(k) 1114-24 Bridl, 1155-7 YCh 1148 et passim to 1592 YD, (in Holdernesse) 1340, 1342 FF
Attingewic 1128-32 BM, 1135-9 YCh 1144
Attewik' 1246 Ass, Attenwyk 1421 YI, Attwyk 1491 BM
Attigwyk 1285 KI
Atwyk, -weke, -wicke 1511 FF, 1515 BM, 1575 FF et freq

'Atta's dairy-farm,' v. ing, wic.

Arram [arəm]

Argun 1086 DB
Ergum late 12th Meaux, 1246 Ass, 1290 YI, Ergom late 12th Bridl
Erghum 1157-70 YCh 1385 (p), 1246 Ass et freq to 1359 SR, (in Holderness) 1277 Bridl
Erghom(a) 1180–97 (freq) Melsa, 1293 QW
Erhome 1536 FF, Earham 1585 FF
Ar(r)am 1564 FF, 1650 ParlSurv


SKIRLINGTON [skelitan]
Schereltun(e) 1086 DB

Skirlington(a), -y- 1147–54 et freq to 1312 Bridl, 1210–20
Melsa, c. 1265 KF et passim to 1576 FF, Skirlinton 1232 FF

Schirlington’ 1190–9 P (p), c. 1228 BM, 1232 FF,
Schirlington’ 1194 P (p)

Probably ‘Scirela’s farm,’ v. ingtun. The pers. name Scire/(a)
is not on record in OE, but it may have existed as a diminutive of Scira. Initial Sk- is due to Scandinavian influence. It is possible that Skirling- is an -ing- formation from Skirlaugh supra 49 and the name in that event would mean ‘farmstead belonging to (the men of) Skirlaugh’; in this connexion it may be worth noting that in DB Skirlington and Skirlaugh, though many miles apart, both belonged to the manor of Hornsea.

Skipsea

1. BONWICK [bonik]

Bounnewich, -wik 12th Nunkeel, 1339 Extent
Bonnewik, -wyk 13th Bridl, c. 1265 KF, 1269 FF, 1297 LS, 1333 Ch, 1349 Ipm, 1367, 1374 FF
Bonnewic, -wyk’ 1205 Ob1R, 1316 NomVill, 1333 SR
Bounswyk 1268 FF
Bonnewyk 1285 KI
Bounwyk, -wik 1349 Ipm, 1359 SR, Bowenewyk 1375 FF, Bounswyk 1535 VE
Bolnewik 1512 FF, Bonwicke 1614 FF, Bonick 1650 ParlSurv

It is not always possible to distinguish Boune- and Bonne- in the various documents, but the few Boune- spellings as well as the 1375 Bowene- make it certain that Boune- is correct. The name is a compound of OE Būna (v. Bownhill, PN NRY 116) or OE bune ‘reed’ and wic. ‘Būna’s dairy-farm’ or ‘dairy-farm near the reeds.’
2. Dringhoe [driŋə]

Dringolme 1086 DB
Dringhou 12th Nunkeel, 1160–70 YCh 1405, 1251 FF, 1265 YI, -ho 1223 Baildon, -how 1297 LS
Dri-, Drynghou, -how(e) 1180–97 (et freq) Melsa, c. 1265 KF et passim to 1401 YI, Dringehou 1293 Meaux
Dreynggo 1205 ChR, Drungou 1285 KI
Dryngow 1449 AD iii, Dringo 1563 FF

dreng(s)-hill,' v. dreng, haugr. The word dreng was in common use in ERY as a technical description of a certain kind of free tenant (e.g. 1265 YI i, 100) and then as a surname (e.g. Anselm Drenge 1293 YI, Robert Drengge 1297 LS, etc.). Cf. Drinsey Nook in Thorney (Nt), Drengesha 1319 Dugd and Ring Haw (PN Nth 205).

Crow Grange (6") is grangia (manerium) de Croo 1160–80, 1235–49, 1339–49 Melsa, Craw Moor 1763 Poulson, Crowgarth 1786 Tuke, 1828 Langd. The name probably contains the same element croh ‘bend,’ which is found in Croom infra 127.

Skipsea Brough [skipsi bruf]
castellum de Skypse, -y- 1150–60 Melsa, 1339 Extent, castri de Skypse 1150–60 Melsa, (de Shayepe) 1304 YI, (de Skipsee) 1401 YI, burgo castelli de Skipse 1160–75 Bridl
Burg, Burgh(e) c. 1200, 1204 (et freq) Meaux, 1260 Rental, c. 1400 Melsa
Ski-, Skypseburgh 1329 Baildon, 1349 Ipm, 1478 YD
Skipsey (-ay) Broke 1565 FF, Burgh 1576 FF, -borough 1600 FF

Broughe 1585 FF, Brough 1650 ParlSurv

Named from the castle built by Drogo de Beuere after the Norman Conquest (Melsa i, 89, Poulson i, 456). The use of burh for a post-Conquest castle in Yorkshire is unusual.

Upton is Uptun 1086 DB, Upton 1372 Baildon, 1555 FF et freq. ‘Upper farm,’ v. uppe, tun.

Barbriggs (6") is Bar Brigg 1763 Poulson. v. brycg. Bowbutts (6"), North Field and South Field (6") are so named in 1763 (Poulson). Brougham Hill (6") is Broughams 1763 Poulson, Brougham Pastures 1763 EnclA.
3. **Skipsea**

*Skepser Skaypse* 12th Bridl, 1160–2 YCh 1307 et passim to c. 1400 Melsa, (in Holderness, -nes) 1295 Meaux, Skipsee 1302 Ebor, 1352 Ipm, 1437 HMC (Bev), 1505 Sanct, -sea 1442 AD iv, -sey 1600 FF

*Scipese* 1226 Ebor, 1260 Rental, 1287 AD iv, Skipese 1269 Ebor, *Schipse 1292 YI

*Skaypse* 1304 YI, *Skepsey* 1552 FF

‘Lake with a ship or on which a ship could sail,’ from OScand skip and OE sæ or OScand sær ‘sea, lake.’ Cf. Skipatjom (Kalund i, 586), ‘tarn of the ships’ and v. Kilnsea supra 15, Skipsea Mere infra.

**Cleeton (6")**1 is *Cletven(e)* 1086 DB, *Cleten(a)* 1086 DB, 13th Bridl, 1260 Rental et passim to 1416 Melsa, (in Holderness) 1293 Meaux, 1349 Ipm, *Clayton* 1565, 1582 FF. ‘Clay farm,’ v. clæg, tun, with loss of g before the following dental, a change which took place sporadically in Northern OE as well as in West Saxon. Cf. Clee (L) DB Cleia.

**Newwhythe or Hythe (lost)**2

*le Neuwe Hithe, Newehithe* 1260 Rental

*New-, Newhithe, -y-* 1260 YI, 1299 Pat, 1316 NomVill

*Noua Hida, -y-* 1336 Ch, 1339, 1341 Extent

*Hyth(e)* 1401, 1416 Melsa


**Skipsea Mere (lost) was Skipsemar 13th Meaux, 1339 Extent, Skipsemere 1260 YI, fishery of Skipse 1301 Pat, marra de Skipse 1341 Extent. v. Skipsea supra and mere (OScand marr) ‘pool.’**

**Withow Hole (6") is Whythow 13th Meaux, marra de Whythowe 1310–39 Melsa, Whitouker 1339 Extent, With’ker 1269 FF, Withouker 1260 Rental, Fwithouker (sic) 1260 YI, Whitoker 1341 Extent. ‘Marsh near the white hill,’ v. hwit, haugr, kiarr.**

**Bail Bottom (6") is (le) Bayl de Skipse 1260 Rental, YI, Bail pasture 1765 EnclA. It refers to the bail or outer court of Skipsea Brough supra 81. Bail WELTS is Bail wells or Bail whelts 1840**

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1 Cleeton is now the east end of Skipsea village, but the site of Cleeton village is under the sea. The name also survives in Cleeton Lane.

2 Washed away by the sea; it was a member of Skipsea (NomVill 303).
Welt is probably the word welt used of a narrow ridge, in allusion to the outer earthworks of Skipsea Brough. BARMAN HILL (6") is so named in 1840 (Poulson). CASTLE HILL. Cf. castello, ecclesia de castello 1098--1102 YCh 1300, and Skipsea Brough supra 81. HALL GARTH (6") is Hall Garths 1840 Poulson.

NORTH CARR (6") is so named in 1765 (EnclA). v. kiarr. OUT LEYS (6") is Outlays 1765 EnclA. SOUTHFIELD Ho is Southfield 1840 Poulson. STANG HILL (6"). Cf. Stangdail 1339 Extent. ‘Strip of land with a pole or stake,’ v. stong, deill.

Barmston

Berneston(a), -tun(e) a. 1080 Whitby, 12th Nunkeel, t. Hy 2, Whitby et passim to 1420 Test, (iuista Bridlyngton) 1368 YD, Bernestowne 1475 Pat Benestone, -tun 1086 DB Barneston, -tun 1166 P (p)
Bernistone 1281 Ebor (p), Barnston 1368 FF, 1410 YI Barneston 1441 Test, (in Holdernes) 1494 ib.
Barnston 1512 FF, 1531 Test, Barneston 1561 FF

‘Beorn’s farmstead,’ v. tun. The pers. name may alternatively be OScand Bjorn (older Bjarn-) and this would perhaps better account for the open vowel suggested by the spelling Barnese.

HARTBURN (lost)\(^1\) is Hertburn(e), -burnia 12th Nunkeel, 1197--1210, c. 1400, 1401 Melsa, 1349 Meaux, Hertebrun t. Hy 2 YD, Herceburne (sic) 1279--81 QW, Herteburne 1292 YI, 1299 Baildon, Bridl. ‘Hart stream,’ v. heorot, burna (OScand brunnr). Cf. Hartburn (PN NbDu 103).

WINKTON (lost)\(^2\)

Winchetone, -tona 1086 DB, 1155--7 YCh 1148, t. Hy 2 Bridl Wi-, Wyncton(a), -k- 1127-40, early 13th, 1299 Bridl, 1332 SR

\(^1\) Now washed away by the sea. A toft in Hartburn was described as being super ultimum . . . angulum de Holdernesse super le Erledyw, that is, Earl’s Dike supra 3 (1197-1210 Melsa i, 310), and it was reported in 1342 (SR 202 41, m. 83) that ‘much of the parish of Barmston is destroyed and wasted by the sea.’

\(^2\) Depopulated in the 16th century (cf. Ki 77 n.). The site of the village is noted on O.S. (6’’), 163 NW.
Wi-, Wynketon 1154–91 Bridl, 1204 Ass, 1276 RH, 1285 KI, 1297 LS, 1305 Bridl, 1332 FF
Wynketon' 1333 SR

‘Wineca’s farmstead,’ v. tun and Winchendon (PN Bk 111). A strong form of the pers. name is found in Winksley (WRY), Wincheslaie 1086 DB.

Hastem Hills (6") is Hestholme 1292 YI. ‘Horse meadow,’ v. hestr, holmr. Trusey Hill (6") is Thirshowe 1292 YI. ‘Giant hill,’ v. pyrs, haugr. Watermill Grounds (6") is the Watermylne Close, the Watermylne 1597 YD.

2. Ulrome [ulram, uram]

Ulfram, Ulreham 1086 DB
Uleram 12th YD (p), Ulleram 1279 YI, 1297 LS, 1375 FF
U-, Uram 12th Nunkeel, 12th, 13th Bridl, 1155–70 YCh 1361, t. John StoweCh, 1226 FF, 1235–49 Melsa, 1246 Ass, FF et passim to 1573 FF
Olam 1150–70 YCh 1395
Ulram c. 1150 Dane (p)
Vlam 1190 P
Ulrame 1260 YI, 1420 Test
Ulrom 1413 BodlCh, 1583 FF, Ulrome als. Owram 1604 FF
Orome 1527 Test, Ouram 1695 Morden, Urrum 1750 Bowen.

The DB forms suggest that Ulrome is a compound of the OE pers. name Wulfhere (with loss of initial W- through Scandinavian influence) and ham. There would be no difficulty in supposing an early and regular assimilation of -lf- to -(l) -. ‘Wulfhere’s homestead.’ On the later forms v. Introd. xxxi.

Crichtings (6") is Cristhing (sic for Crifthing) 13th Bridl. v. Crichtins supra 70.

IV. DICKERING WAPENTAKE

(wap’, wapentac’ de) Di-, Dykering, -yng 1166, 1200 P, 1204 Ass et passim to 1353 Ipm, (decanatus de) 1275 (et freq) Ebor (capitulo de) Dicaringa 1170–85 YCh 1065, Dicheringa 1180–90 ib. 1070
Dickering Wapentake 85

Di- , Dykeringe (wapentacum) 1185 P, (decanus) 1270 Ebor, 1298 YI, (ballivus, wappentak' de) Dikeringge 1216–22 BM, 1297 LS

Dickering', -y- 1226–8 Fees, 1518 Test, 1828 Langd

Dekering(e), -yng 1278 YI, 1279 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1441 Bridl, 1531 Test

Dikring 1305 BevAct, Dykrynge 1339–49 Melsa

Dickering is usually thought to be an old tribal name (v. Anderson xxvi, 13) and if this is correct the name may be an ing formation from an OE pers. name Dicer, formed with an -r suffix from Dic, as Picer is in Pickering, though that is an equally difficult name (PN NRY 85); cf. PN in -ing 93, 105.

It is more likely, however, that Dickering is a compound of dic and hring and means ‘circle of dikes’ (OE dica-hring), or ‘dike circle’ (dic-hring)1, for there are in this wapentake numerous earthworks and lines of dikes, particularly in the neighbourhood of Rudstone and Kilham. Eakring (Nt), Ec(h)eringe DB, Eikeringe 1156 BM, ‘ring of oaks,’ is a parallel formation.

The wapentake meeting-place has not been identified, but the wapentake met in 1192 at Burton Fleming (Bridl 102) and in 1298 at Rudston (YI), two adjacent parishes in the centre of the wapentake. The road leading south from Burton Fleming is now called Nine Dikes Road and though Nine Dikes survives as a field-name there are no traces of the dikes themselves. A mile north of Kilham Grange, near the Roman Road which passes east through Rudstone, there are remains of an old circular entrenchment, which might well have been described as a Dike-ring, but a still more likely site seems to be Rudston Beacon. This is a prominent hill a mile and a half south of Rudston crossed by a very ancient trackway called Wold Gate and on the summit there are several tumuli and the remains of two circular dikes. It was easily accessible from all parts of the wapentake and it is the kind of site that might well have been chosen as the wapentake meeting-place.

Note. In DB the wapentake was represented by three Hundreds, Huntou in the east, Torbar or Torbar in the north, and Berton in the

1 The early Dekering spellings suggest that the first vowel was short and shortening would have occurred in a trisyllabic Dica-hring or before two consonants in Dic-hring.

K
west and centre. *Huntow* is now represented by Huntow in Buckton (infra 103). *Torbar* does not survive; it is probably a compound of OScand *Púr* or *Púrí* and beorg ‘hill’ (v. Anderson 12). *Burton* is named from Burton Agnes infra 88.

**Carnaby**

1. **CARNABY [kənəbi]**

*Cherendebi* 1086 DB, *Kerendeby* 1155–7 YCh 1148, *Kerandebi* 1312 Bridl

*Kernettebi*, -by 1154–91 Bridl, 1219 Percy, 1251 Ch, 1268 Ebor, 1299 Ch, 1300 YI (p), 1302 Ebor, 1316 NomVill

*Kernetebi*, -by t. Hy 2 Bridl, 1190–1196 P (p) et freq to 1312 Bridl

*Kernetbi*, -by 12th, 13th Bridl, 1187–1207 YCh 1403 et passim to 1577 BM

*Cernoteby* 1231 Ass

*Kernetby* 1279 Ebor (p), *Karnedby* 1300 ib.

*Kerneby* 1285 KI, 1420 Test

*Kernetheby* 1293 QW, *Kenertheby* 1342 SR

*Carneby* 1448 Bridl, *Carnaby* 1481 Test, 1544 FF et passim

The two or three early spellings with *Kerende-*, etc. suggest that the first element is an OScand nick-name formed from the present participle of some verb like *keyra* (OEScand *kora*) ‘to drive,’ etc. *Keyrandi* (*Korandi*) is not on record, but similar names like *Hoggvandi* ‘the striker’ (as in Haggenby, WRY), *Hlaupandi* ‘the leaper’ in Norw *Laupstad* (NoGN xvi, 310), *Stigand* (as in Stainly (L), DB *Stigandebi*) (cf. LindN, s.n. -andi). The lost Haggenby, *Hagandebi* 12th *Sawley*, et freq, has occasional spellings which exhibit a difficulty with the suffix of the pers. name, as *Hagede-*, *Haghedenebi* DB, *Hangandeby* 1230 Percy, *Haganebi* 1267 *Healaugh*. In Carnaby there was metathesis to *Kerendeby* and then the suffix was confused with names from OE *nód* (Leofnoð, etc.) and with ME names like *Bagot* (cf. Baggaby infra 169) or *Ben(n)et* (cf. Bennet-land infra 245). Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests an OScand *Kærandi*, from the pres. part. of *kéra* ‘to prosecute at law’ and this is equally possible; he also compares the by-name *Kævir* ‘prosecutor, litigious person.’

**BRIDGE FARM** (6”). Cf. *Brigesik* 1225 Bridl. ‘Bridge stream,’
v. sic. **Flash Dales** (6") is *Flaiskedailde* 1306 Bridl. ‘Strip(s) of land in the marsh,’ v. flashe, deill. **Tofts** (6") is *le Toftes* 1306 Bridl. v. topt.

2. **Fraisthorpe** [fresth0rp]

_Frestint(h)orp_ 1086 DB, 1212 Cur, _Fresting-_ 1212 ib., 1274 Ebor  
_Fraisting(t)orp_ (-*cy*-, -*ei*-, -*ey*-) 12th YD, 12th, 13th (freq) Bridl et freq to 1226 Bridl  
_Fraistingethorp_ t. Hy 2 Bridl  
_Fraistintorp_ 1219 Ass, _Fraistingthorp_ 1312 Bridl  
_Fraist(h)orp_ (-*ei*-, -*ey*-, -*ay*-) 13th Bridl, 1280 Misc, 1285 KI et passim to 1828 Langd  
_Fraistropp_ 1561 FF, _Frasthorp_ 1420 Test, 1542 NCWills, _Frastrup, -thrup_ 1650 ParlSurv  

‘*Fresting*’s village,’ v. porp. An OScand pers. name _Freistin_gr is not actually recorded, but Lindkvist (45) suggests that such a name might well have existed as a by-name, ‘the venturesome one,’ from OScand _freista_ ‘to try, venture.’

**Auburn**¹ [æbən]

_Eleburne_ 1086 DB  
_Alburn(ia), -burne_ 1135-40, 13th Bridl, 1285 KI et passim to 1446 Ch, _Alburn(e) _1402 YI, 1448 Bridl  
_Audeburn_ 1208 FF, _Aldeburn_ 1333 FF  
_Aleburne_ 1246 Ass, late 13th Misc, 1300 YI  
_Olburn_ 1413 BodlCh (p)  
_Awborn_ 1461 Pat, 1542 NCWills, _Awbourne_ 1557 FF, _Auburne_ 1650 ParlSurv  

‘Eel stream,’ v. æl (replaced after DB by the cognate OScand *dl*), and burna.

¹ Depopulated. The site of the village is known (O.S. 6º). In 1731 the township of _Awborn_ had been “so washed away by the sea that there are only one messuage and two cottages left therein,” housing fifteen people, of whom six were Quakers, and the chapel had become “ruinous and scarce fitt for publick use, for the want of the inhabitants within the said chapelry for many years last past to contribute towards its repairs” (1731 _Ebor_ fol. 113-4).
WILSTHORPE\(^1\) [wils\text{\textTheta}rop]

Wilestorp 1086 DB, Wileustingor 1166 P (p)
Wilestorp 1086 DB, Wilethaghor 1154–91 Bridl, Wyveles-
1155–7 YCh 1148, Wivelis- 1304 YI, Wivel-
c. 1265 KF
Wi-, Wylesthorp(e) t. Hy 2 Bridl, 1210–20 Melsa, 1297 LS
Willesthorp 1147–52, late 12th Bridl, 1285 KI, 1303 KF,
1436 Ch
Wilsthorpe 1595 FF, 1828 Langd

‘Wife’s village’ from OScand Vifill, found in DB as Wifle,
a tenant TRE in Tibthorpe. \(v.\) porp. Cf. Wilthorpe (WRY),
Wiules-, Wilestorp DB, Wilsthorpe (L) and Dan Vilsby
and Vilsbæk DaSN(Sj) iii, 533.

BRACKENDALE is Bra(c)kendale 1786 Tuke, 1828 Langd. CARR
Dike and Hill (6\(^°\)). Cf. Kerdales 1225 Bridl. \(v.\) kiarr. CROSS-
HAM HILL (6\(^°\)) is Crosholm 1185–95 YCh 811. \(v.\) cros, holmr.
DEMMING is Dyning House 1539 MinAcct, Demming 1786 Tuke.
KINGSFIELD (NORTH and SOUTH) is so named in 1828 (Langd).

Burton Agnes

1. Burton Agnes [botn (agn\text{\textTheta}s), b\text{\textTheta}n]

Bortona 1086 DB
Burton(a), -ton 1086 DB, 1100–15 MaryR, c. 1125–35
MaryH et passim to 1265 YI
Anneis-, -eys Burton 1234 Ebor, 1257 Ch
Burton Agnetis 1255 Ebor, Burton Agnes 1316 NomVill, 1534 FF
Burton Anneys, -ais, -ays 1271 Ebor, 1276 RH et passim to
1343 FF

Other variants include Auneys late 13th Misc, Annesei 1301
Abbr, Anesei 1355 Ipm, Anes 1481 Test, and, as prefixes,
Anes 1506 Test, Annes 1530 ib., Annes 1608 FF, Awnis 1610
Speed. \(v.\) burhtun ‘fortified farmstead.’ ‘Agnes’ from Agnes de
Percy, who was associated with the place in the middle of the
12th century (\(v.\) YCh 677 note).

2. GRANSMOOR [gransm\text{\textTheta}]

Grentesmor(a), Grenzmore 1086 DB
Grancemor(e) 12th, 13th Bridl, 1212 Cur, 1240 FF, 1265 YI

\(^1\) Formerly in the township of Hilderthorpe and parish of Bridlington
(Langd).
DICKERING WAPENTAKE

Craucemore 1199 P, Crauncemor(e) 1268, 1346 FF
Grauntemore 1246 Ass
Grauncemor(e) 1254 Pat, 1285 KI et passim to 1506 Test
Cransmor 1534 FF
Graynsmore 1573 FF, Grans(e)more 1583 FF, 1650 ParlSurv

'Grante's moorland,' v. mor. A pers. name Grante is known in England; v. Gransden, PN BedsHu 258 and Mawer, Problems 103, 127. It is also found in Grantley (WRY), Granteleg c. 1030 YCh 7, Grentelai DB (with Grante as an uninflected genitive), and perhaps also in Grantham (L). The early spellings Grance- suggest an OScand genitive Grants. This spelling with ce, as well as variations -aun- and Grent-, is due to Anglo-Norman influence, which may also account for the 12th-century pers. name Grente (YCh 832), though Grente (an i-mutated form) occurs in OE Grentesmere in an original 8th-century Warwickshire charter (KCD 724).

3. HAISTHORPE [ɛsθɔrəp]
Aschel-, Aschiltorp 1086 DB, Haschelthorp 1190 YCh 1312
Haschetorp 1086 DB
Hastorp 1246 Ass, 1283 Ch, Hasthorp(e) 1265 YI, 1267 Ch et passim to 1364 Pat, Hastropp 1601 FF
Hassethorp 1285 KI
Haysthorp 1294 Misc, 1828 Langd, Haystrup 1650 ParlSurv
Hastethorp(e) 1381 Ebor, 1494 FF

'Haskel's village,' v. porp. The pers. name Haskel is to be derived from OWScand Höskollr (v. LindN s.n. Höskuldr); in OSwed Hoske we may have an OEScand form of the name (v. Lundgren-Brate 111). During the ME period the vowel was lengthened to give the modern diphthong, perhaps on the analogy of the word haste.

4. HARPHAM [(h)a:pm]
Arpen, Harpein 1086 DB
Harpam 1100–15 MaryR, 1265 YI, late 13th Misc
Harpenna (sic for -eima?) 1130 P (p)
Harpam 1150–61 MaryR, 1199 P, 1200–10 BodlCh (p) et passim to 1583 FF
Arpham 1156–7 YCh 354, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch
Harphaim 1160–70 YCh 1405 (p), 1197–1206 ib. 989 (p), 1246 Ass, Harpaim 1190–1206 YCh 989
Herpham 1206 OblR
Harcham (sic) 1212 Cur
Harepham 1240 FF (p)

Harp-names are always difficult. There is no reason here to assume OE herepwa found in Harpford (PN D 590). This name is rather to be associated with Harpenden (PN Herts 21), Harpley (PN Wo 75), etc., which probably contain an OE *hearpa ‘harper’ or OE hearpe, OScand harpa, horp ‘harp.’ The name would mean ‘the harper’s homestead’ or possibly ‘the homestead where the harp was played.’ v. ham, heim. Cf. Halsham supra 30.

Bracey Bridge [brs.sjbrig] is Braycefordmilneholme c. 1340 BM, Brayceforthbrig 1369 Works. ‘Breid’s ford (later replaced by a bridge),’ v. ford, brycg. The first spelling refers to a ‘mill field’ near the ford, v. myln, holmr.

The Carr (6") is Estker 1246 Ass. v. kiarr. Moor House Field (6") is Moor House 1786 Tuke, Moor-Houses 1828 Langd.

5. Thornholme [03Ilarn]
Thirnon, Tirnu’ 1086 DB
Tirnum 1190 P (p), Tirnhum 1212 Cur
Thi-, Thyrnum late 12th, 13th Bridl et passim to 1343 FF,
Thi-, Thyrnum 1268 FF, 1333 SR
Thi-, Thyrnom 1299 Bridl, 1300 YI et freq to 1338 FF,
Thirnome 1372 FF
Thurnum 1333 FF, Thurnham 1542 FF, Thornholme 1650 ParlSury
Thorn(e)holme 1546, 1604 FF, (-garth) 1616 FF
‘At the thorn-trees,’ from OE, OScand þyrnum, dat. plur. of þyrne. On the modern Thorn- cf. Introd. xxix.

Foston

1. Brigham
Bringeha’ 1086 DB
Bri-, Brygham 12th Bridl, 1187–1207 YCh 1402 et passim to 1828 Langd
Brichem, Brichem 1194 P
Brig-, Bryggeham 1200 P (p), 1206 Cur (p), 1297 LS, 1300 YI, Brige ham 1205 Cur (p)
Brigtham 1238 Cl
Brighem 1259 Ass

Brigham is on a small hill about half a mile from Frodingham Beck which is crossed by Frodingham Bridge. The name may refer to an older bridge at this point and would mean 'homestead near the bridge,' v. brycg, ham, heim. Little Brigham is a quarter of a mile from the bridge.

Fish Holm Barn is Fisholine (sic for -holme) 1498 Test, Fisholme als. Lady Fisholme 1587 FF, Fish(e)holme 1588 FF, 1650 Parl-Surv. 'Water-meadow near which fish were caught,' from OE fisc and holmr. Cf. Baswick supra 72. Dr G. Knudsen notes the parallel Danish place-name Fiskholm (DaSN(Sj) iii, 69).

Pea Hill (6") is Pighill in Brigham 1565 FF. v. pigh(t)el 'a small field.' Cf. Pighill infra 200. Turf Carr (6") is Tursker (sic for Turf-) c. 1300 Guisb. OE turf 'turf' and kiarr.

2. Foston on the Wolds

Fodstone 1086 DB, Fotston 1248 Pat
Fosteton 1297 YI (p), Fosetton 1352 Ipm
Fostun, -ton(a) 13th Percy, t. Hy 3 BM et passim to 1549 FF, (juxta Gemeling') 1291 Ebor, (on le Wolde) 1609 FF

'Fot's farmstead,' v. tun. On the pers. name Föt (from the OScand by-name Fôt), v. Fotsey (PN BedsHu 114), Foston (PN NRY 39). Fosce- (and Foste- which is probably in error for Fosce-) is an AN spelling for the OScand gen. Fôts. v. The Wolds supra 13.

3. Gembling [gemlin]

Ghemelinge 1086 DB, Gemelinge 1180–9 YCh 984 (p), 1598 FF
Gamelinga 1160–75 YCh 1355
Gemeling, -yng late 12th YD (p), 1229 Ebor et passim to 1435 BodlCh
Gemling, -yng 13th YD, 1413 BodlCh, 1607 FF
Gymelinge 1284 Abbr, Gymlyng 1527 Test
Gym(e)lyn 1404 BodlCh, 1514, 1537 FF
Gemlyn 1567 FF
Gembling 1828 Langd

'Gemla and his people,' v. ing. The base of the name is an OE pers. name Gemela (with i-mutation) or Gamela, from OE gamol 'old.' The pers. name Gamela probably enters into Gammon's Farm (KPN 269). Alternatively Gembling might be from an OScand pers. name Gemlir (extant only in place-names, cf. LindN s.n.).

Cockerell Lane (6") is to be associated with Robert Kocrel (13th YD).

4. Great Kelk
Chek, Chelche 1086 DB
Kelc, Kelk a.1080 (13th) Whitby, 1283 Ch, 1293 QW et passim to 1506 Test, (Mekyl-) 1490 FF, (Great) 1520 FF, (Mangna) Kelck' 1297 LS
Kelka, Kelca 1160–75 Bridl
Kelch(a) 1187–1207 YCh 1402, 1208 Cur
Kelke 1240 FF, 1481 Test, (Magna) 13th Bridl, 1280 Ass et freq to 1549 FF, (Great) 1598 FF
Kylk c. 1265 KF
(villa de) Kelks 1305 BevAct

A word kelk is found also in Little Kelk infra, Kelfield infra 266, Kelfield (L). It is from an OE *celc (West Saxon *cielc), an i-mutated form of calc 'chalk.' This form may also occur in Bede's Kælcæcaster. Mr Sheppard notes for us that though the soil here is gravel, there is a good deal of chalk in it. v. Addenda lix.

5. Little Kelk1 is Chelch(e) 1086 DB, Parva Kelk(e) 13th Bridl, 1285 KI et freq to 1342 SR, Littelkelk 13th Bridl, Little Kelke 1530 Test, with other forms and meaning as for Great Kelk supra.

Arden Hills (6") is Erderne, Arderne 13th, 1271, 1312 Bridl. This name is of the same etymology as Arden Grange (PN Sx 215) and Arden Hall (PN Ess 157 n.), if these are of local origin2. The word ærn 'house' is generally compounded with a signi-

1 Extra-parochial.
2 Arden (Wa) is of different origin; v. PN Wa 11–2.
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significant word and in Arden this may well be OE *eard* 'earth, land, dwelling-place' (cf. OE *eardian* 'to dwell, inhabit'), used in such compounds as OE *eardrice* 'habitation,' *eardstede*, *eardwic*, etc. 'dwelling.' A compound of *eard* and *ærn* would similarly signify 'a dwelling-house,' as distinct from a *hord-ærn* 'store-house,' etc.

Lowthorpe

Lowthorpe [lauθɔrəp]

Lauge-, Loghe-, Logetorp 1086 DB

Loutorp, -thorp(e) 12th, late 12th, 13th Bridl et passim to 1376 Percy

Luuetorp 1192, 1198 P (p), Lovetorp 1218 FF (p)

Laut(h)orp 1219, 1244, 1246 Ass, 1304 Meaux

Lowthorp(e) 1285 KI, 1303 KF, 1349 FF et passim to 1500 Test

Lauwthorpe 1523 Sanct, 1547 FF

The variation in the spellings of the first element may be best explained by the vocalisation in early Middle English of an intervocalic *g*, whilst the *au* forms suggest *Lage-* as the starting-point. This may well be the OScand pers. name *Lagi*, which appears to be of OEScand provenance; it is found in OWScand, but there it is a loan from Danish (LindN). It is hardly likely to be OScand *¹gr (lag-)* 'river, lake' which enters into Norw *Lagerud* (NoGN v, 294). The pers. name is found in OSwed as *Laghi* and *Lave* and in the Swed place-name *Laggarp*, earlier *Laghatorp* (Lundgren-Brate 164). The P forms *Luu-* may be merely scribal variants of *Lou-* where *ou* was wrongly treated as an Anglo-Norman spelling for *ū*.

Cattleholmes is Cathilholm late 12th Bridl (p), Catelholm(e) 1244 Ass, 1304 YI, 1305 Abbr, Cattleham als. Catleyholme 1611 FF, Cattam 1650 ParlSurv, Castleholmes (sic) 1828 Langd. ME *cattel*, first recorded in NED from a. 1275, and first recorded in the sense 'livestock' from c. 1300, *v.* holmr.

Ruston Parva

Ruston Parva [la:tən ri:stən]

Roreston 1086 DB

Ruston 1167 P, 1306 BevAct, (Little-) 1583 FF, (upon le Wolde) 1600 FF, (Parva) 1828 Langd

Rouston 1206 FF, 1227 Percy
The last spelling and the modern local pronunciation point to a ME form with a long vowel, whilst the DB forms show that the name is identical with Royston (WRY), Rorestun(e), -ton 1086 DB et freq to 1300 Ebor, Roston 1268 Ebor et freq, Rusetun 1349 Bretton Cartulary, Ruston 1409 Diocesan Visitation. The first element is OScand Hroarr, Roar, with the diphthong simplified to a as in late OE Rold (BCS 1052, DB) from OScand Hrdaldr. ‘Roar’s farmstead,’ v. tun. Ekwall (DEPN s.n. Rorrington, Sa) suggests the possibility of an OE pers. name Hrar from OE hreir ‘vigorous, strong.’ ‘Little,’ ‘Parva’ to distinguish it from Long Riston supra 70 and perhaps Ruston (PN NRY 100).

Nafferton

1. Nafferton [nafətən]

Nadfartone 1086 DB, Nafferton 1180–90 YCh 623
Nafretune, -ton a. 1080 (15th) Whitby, 1202, 1208, 1218 FF, 1276 RH, 1303 Ebor, 1363 Whitby, Narferetona 1136 YCh 868
Nafferton(a), -toun, -tone 12th Bridl, 1145–8 Whitby, 1202 FF et passim to 1828 Langd
Naferton(a) 1149–75 Whitby, 1276 RH, late 13th Bridl
Naffreton 1218, 1227 Percy, 1227 FF et freq to 1475 Pat
Naffrington 1257 Percy, Nafferton 1361 Meaux, Nafraton 1502–8 BM

‘Nattfari’s farm,’ v. tun. This OScand pers. name Nåttfari ‘the night-traveller’ is also found in Nafferton (PN NbDu 147) as well as in the Norw place-name Naattfaravik and the Swed Naffentorp (Lindkvist 187, LindN). A similar type of pers. name with the same consonant assimilation occurs in Weaver-thorpe infra 123.

Note. Howe Lane (6”) is Schalhougate c. 1300 Percy and is named from Scalhou 13th Bridl. v. haugr; the first element is uncertain. Priestgate (6”) is Prestlane 1308 Percy.

Houndale (6”) is Holfdale 13th Bridl. ‘Holf’s valley’ from OScand Holf, a by-form of Holmr¹ (which would be the source

¹ Dr G. Knudsen suggests that Holf is more probably a by-form of Halfr.
of the modern form with assimilation of *m* to *n* before *d*)

**Pockthorpe**

*Pochetorp* 1086 DB

*Poketorp,  -thorp(e)* 1195–8 P (p), 1227 FF et passim to 1534 FF

*Pok-, Pochthorp* 1224, c. 1300 Percy, 1333 FF, 1354 Ch, 1439 YD

*Pockthrop(p)* 1598, 1606 FF

‘Poca’s village,’ v. *porp* and cf. Pockley (PN NRY 72).

**Shaps** (6") , **Heapfield** (6") are to be taken together as from *Hyap* 13th Percy, (super) *Hepum, Yap, parva Yap* 13th Bridl, *Parva Schap* early 14th Percy. The two modern forms exhibit divergent ME phonological developments of OE heap ‘a hill,’ the more unusual one being Shaps with stress-shifting and the development of *Hy- to Sh-,* as in Shipton *infra* 228. Shap (We) is of similar origin.

**Windersome** (6") is *Wyndosom* 13th, 1302 (et freq) Percy, 1296 YI (p), *Wyndesom* 1352 Ipm. ‘At the windy, exposed houses,’ from OE *wind* and *hus* (in the dat. plur.). For the development cf. Loftsome *infra* 243.

**Green Dikes** (6") is *Grenedikes* 13th Bridl. The course of the entrenchment is still visible. **Spittle Fields** (6") is named from the *hospitale* 13th, early 14th Percy. Cf. Spittle Beck *supra* 11. **Thorns Nook** (6") is perhaps to be associated with William *de Spinis* 13th Bridl. Cf. also *Thornisti* c. 1300 Percy, ‘thorn path,’ v. *porn,* stig.

2. **Wansford** [wanzfød, wanzwəθ]

*Wandesford* 1176, 1218 Percy, 13th Bridl, t. John *AddCh* et passim to 1514 FF, *-forth(e)* 1180–97 Melsa, 1303 Meaux, c. 1400 Melsa, *-fordh* 1430 YD

*Wandeford* 13th, 1218, 1227 Percy, 1218 CIR, FF, 1219, 1220 Ass, 1275 Ebor, c. 1310 Percy, *-forth* 1276 RH, 1279–81 QW

*Waundeford* 1219 Ass, 1227 FF

*Wandlesford* 1234 Percy
Wendeford 1257 Percy
Wandifford (sic) 1259 Ass (p), Wannyford 1514 FF
Wonsforth 1695 Morden

‘Wandel’s ford.’ There is good evidence in place-names for an OE pers. name Wendel, as in Wensdon (PN BedsHunts 114) and Wellingborough (PN Nth 140). In Wansford, as in some other examples, the persistence of Wand-points rather to an OE unmutated form Wandel, corresponding to OHG Wandil. Similarly the almost regular loss of medial l in the ME spellings is to be seen in Wensley (PN NRY 257) and Hutton Wandesley (WRY), Wandeslage DB.

THORNHAM FARM is Thornholm 12th Bridl, 1303 Meaux, 1336 FF, 1348, 1423 YD, Thornolm late 13th YD, Thorenholme 1312 Bridl, Thorneholm in Wandesforth 1423 YD. ‘Water-meadow with a thorntree,’ v. porn, holmr. Cf. Danish Tornholm (DaSN(F) 154).

Garton on the Wolds


WANDELS (field) is Wandales 12th Kirkham, Wandailes 1336 Ch. v. Wandale infra 107.

Langtoft

COTTAM
Cottun 1086 DB, Cuthuna3 1128–32 BM, Cutona 1155–7 YCh 1148
Cotun 1285 KI, 1295 Ebor, 1306 BevAct, 1316 NomVill
Cotom 1337, 1376 FF, Cotome 1508 Test, Cottam 1598 FF
‘At the cottages,’ from OE cotum, dat. plur. of cote.

LAMBERT DALE (6") is Lamcotedayle 12th Malton. v. lamb, cot, deill.

1 Some of these spellings have been wrongly identified with Thornholme supra 96.
2 The road from Sledmere was called Gartongate 1336 Ch (v. gata).
3 If this and the next form refer to Cottam (and there is some doubt) there has been confusion with Cowton (PN NRY 281).
2. Langtoft is *Lang(h)etou* 1086 DB, *Langettoft* 1164–70 *RegAlb* et passim to 1386 Test, *Langtoft(e)* 14th Sawley, 1343 SR et passim to 1521 Test, (on the Woold) 1584 FF. 'Long piece of ground,' v. lang, top. Lindkvist (219) compares Langetot in Normandy and Dr G. Knudsen calls attention to the Danish place-name *Langtoft* (DaSN(Sj) iii, 328, etc.).

Kilham

*Kilham* [kilam]


*Ki-, Kyllum* 1100–8 (et freq) *RegAlb*, 12th, 13th (freq) Bridl, t. Hy 2 (1227) Ch et passim to 1404 YI

*Chilon* 1115–29 *RegAlb*, *Kilon* 1155–64 YCh 437

*Kilum* 1155, 1155–61 YCh 433–5

*Killon* 1155–60 YCh 436, *Killum* 1200 OblR

*Kellum* 1198 Cur, *Kelum* 1294 Pat, *Kellom* (upon the Wold) 1512, 1537 FF

*Ki-, Kyllom* 13th Misc, 1280 Ass, 1285 Ki et passim to 1546 YChant, (super Waldam) 1376 FF

*Kyllium* 1331 BM

*Kyllome* 1398 AD iii, 1402 YI, (on the Wolde) 1407 YI

*Kyllam on the Wo(o)ld* 1539, 1584 FF, *Kilham* a. 1678 Map

Probably 'at the kilns,' from OE *cylnum*, dat. plur. of *cyln.* Cf. Kilham (PN NbDu 127), where there is a similar but not complete assimilation of -ln- to -ll- in the early spellings¹. Millom (Cu), *Millum* 1229 Pat, is similarly assimilated from OE *mylnum* 'at the mills,' whilst OE *myln* itself already appears as *myll* in the 11th century.

Swaythorpe

*Suauetorp* 1086 DB, *Suauet(h)orp* 1190–1210 LeonardR

*Swauet(h)orp*² 12th, 13th Bridl, 1227, 1233 FF, 1246 Ass, 1276 RH

¹ It is difficult to associate the name with the springs which burst out in the village street in wet winters, for there appears to be no word meaning 'spring' which would suit phonologically. We might, however, note the name of a Durham spring, *fontem qui vocatur Chilt* (Dunelm iii, 50), the origin of which is obscure.

² The editors of Bridl and RH read *Swane-*. 
Suapethorp, Suaipetorp 1160–70 YCh 849
Swathorpe 1240 Cl, 1278 YI, 1285 KI et passim to 1516 FF
Swauesthorp 1259 Ass
Swagthorp' 1297 LS
Swaithorpe, -y- 1530 Test, 1579 FF
Swathroppe 1544 FF
A woman’s name Svafa is recorded in OScand but it appears to be a literary invention. A man’s name Suave is found in DB and this may well be from an OScand pers. name Svafi ‘the Swabian’ (ZEN 81–2). Swaby (L) also probably contains this name. ‘Suave’s village,’ v. porp.

Spittle Garth (6") is Spyttlegarth 1546 YChant and is named from the Hospitale de Kilillum 1333 Deod.

Rudston

RUDSTON [ruds(t)an]

Rodestan 1086 DB, 1276 RH, -stein 1086 DB, -stain, -y- 1086 DB, 1265 YI, 1292 Ebor, 1297 LS
Rudstan 1100–22 MaryR, 1156–75, 1175–91, c. 1220, 1231, 1312 Bridl, 1355 Test, 1356 FF, 1481, 1500 Test, -stane 1303 KF, 1376 Test, -stain, -y- 1312 Bridl, 1329 YD
Ruddestan 1100–22 MaryR, 1140–60 ib. et freq to 1355 YD, -stayn, -i-, -steyn 13th Bridl, 1206 FF et freq to late 13th Misc, -stane 1494 FF
Rudestan(e) 1119–47 Bridl, t. John AddCh, 1203 Cur (p) et passim to c. 1400 Melsa, -stein, -y-, -ai- 1114–22 YCh 453, t. Hy 1 (1308) Ch et passim to 1244 Ass
Rudistayn 1257 Bardney
Rudstone 1542 NCWills, 1566 YD
Rudston super Wold 1625 FF

Rudston takes its name from the great monolith in the village church-yard¹ and, like Rodestane (PN NbDu 168), Radstone (PN Nth 56) and OE rodestan (BCS 1127), it is a compound of OE rōd ‘rood, cross’ and stan, the second element probably

¹ Mr T. Sheppard says that the nearest source for the stone is the Moor Grit at Robin Hood’s Bay and that the red is due to the weathering of the iron in the sandstone, the black being due to some forms of vegetation.
being strongly influenced by the cognate OScand steinn. ‘Stone used as a cross.’ The first element might also be rudu, ‘redness.’

As with Radstone which exhibits a similar variation between Rod(d)e- and Rude- in the early spellings the raising of ɔ to u at an early date is unusual, but it can be paralleled in the spellings of Roos, Ruston supra 56, 93, Drypool and Goodmanham infra 212, 230. In Rudston the u may represent a close short ɔ, which would arise from the shortening of OE close ə, and it may have been made further possible by the existence of such pairs as OWScand būð by the side of OEScand bōð.

CAYTHORPE


THORPE HALL is Torp 1086 DB, Thorp(e) 1285 KI et passim to 1333 SR, (near Ruddestan, Rudston) 1352 Ipm, 1584 FF, (iuxta Boynton) 1376 FF, Thorpe-Hall 1828 Langd. v. porp.

Boynton

Boownton(e), -tona, Bov- 1086 DB, Bouinton(a), -v- 1114–24 Bridl, 1128–32 BM, 1135–9 (et freq) Bridlet et passim to 1249 Ch Bouington(a), -tun, Bovyng- 12th, 13th Bridl (freq), 1230 P et passim to 1353 Ipm, Bevinston 1298 YI (p) Boventon(a) 1180–90 YCh 1070, 1200 Cur (p) Buxinton 1205 FF Boington(a), -y- 1259 Ass, 1297 LS Boynton c. 1265 KF, 1316 NomVill et passim to 1828 Langd, (on the Wolde) 1366 Pat, (super le Wold) 1460 Test Bocyngeton 1300 YI (p) Bonyngton (sic) 1352 Ipm
Too EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK

‘Bofa’s farmstead,’ v. ingtun and cf. Bovington (PN Ess 413). The early loss of f (ME v) is noteworthy.

**Bessingby**

**Bessingby** [bezni]  
*Basinghebi* 1086 DB, *Basingebi, -by* 1086 DB, 1114–24, 1135–9 Bridl, 1128–32 BM  
*Besingbi, -by, -yng- 1114–24 (et freq) Bridl, 1232 FF et passim to 1446 Ch  
*Basingby 1125–33, 1145–53 Bridl  
*Besingebi, -by* 1155–7 YCh 1148, 1156–7 (et freq) Bridl, 1166 RBE, 1195–8 P (p), 1231, 1246 Ass  
*Bessingby* 1157–8 YCh 1159, *Bessynby* 1521 Test  
*Besinby, -bie* 1455 Test, 1560 FF  
*Bessonby* 1650 ParlSurv, 1695 Morden

The first element may be a patronymic formation ‘the people of Basa or Besa’ (v. ing), but there is little or no evidence for such -inga- formations with OScand by. It is therefore more likely to be a patronymic *Basing* or *Besing* with an uninflected genitive. Each name is well recorded, *Basing* in LVD (ZEN 23) and *Besing* in the ERY *Hernisius filius Besing* (1142–54 YCh 1201) and elsewhere1. The former may be from OE *Bassa* or OScand *Bassi* (ZEN 23), the latter from OScand *Bessi* (a variant of *Bersi*, cf. LindN and Baswick supra 72). As there is no clear evidence for a change of a to e in Middle English, *Besing-* seems more probable and in that case the less frequent but earlier *Basing-* forms would be Anglo-Norman spelling variants (cf. IPN 112). ‘Besing’s farmstead.’

**Bridlington**

1. **BRIDLINGTON** [bolitan]  
*Brettlington* 1086 DB, *Bretlingt* 1197 P  

1 Cf. also *Besignab 12th Nunkeel, Besignab, -yng- late 12th ib., 1249–69 Melsa (an unidentified place in Wawne); the second element is ME nabbe (OScand nabbe) ‘promontory, hill, summit.’
It is difficult to decide on the OE form of Bridlington and the choice between elements containing Brit-, Bret-, Brid- and Bred- must remain largely a matter of conjecture, for any one of these forms could be shown to be the origin of the different ME spellings. The problem is somewhat simplified, though not very satisfactorily, by the elimination of two or three of these possibilities through the lack of appropriate OE etymons and parallels; pers. names like Bridela, Bredela or Britela are unknown, whilst Brædela which might be postulated as a derivative of Bräd(a) would probably have left in this area some traces in ME shortened forms like Bradling-. It is further unlikely that OScand Bertil (of continental origin) is to be seriously considered, except that this particular name in its Scandinavian or continental form may to a small extent have influenced the early spellings of Bridlington.

The least unsatisfactory solution is the OE pers. name Berhtel (Redin 139) in a metathesised form Brehel or Brihtel¹. The

¹ There is some evidence for this pers. name in ERY in the unidentified Pocklington field-name Brettelswayt quam Brettel tenuit (v. præit) 12th Reg.Alb.

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early interchange of \(e\) and \(i\) in the spellings may reflect these possible OE variations in the pers. name or it may be due to the not infrequent raising of \(e\) to \(i\) before a dental consonant (cf. Zachrisson, *PN* *\(v\)is*, 54–5, and *Språkvetensk. Sällsk. Förhandl.* 1925–7, 49 n.); in this connexion it should be noted that up to 1200 the proportion of \(e\)- to \(i\)-spellings is some 2 to 1. This ratio has no material significance in the light of the documents from which the spellings are taken, but it at least suggests that \(e\) is the original spelling. The frequent appearance of \(d\) by assimilation from \(t\) is clearly paralleled by the early spellings of Basildon (*PN* Ess 140–1); similarly Basildon exhibits the unusual loss of OE \(h\) in *Berhtel* and the same loss of \(h\) is to be noticed in some of the spellings of Brotton (from *Broctun*, which would normally become *Brohtun*, *PN* NRY 142). The numerous *Brell-*, *Brill-* spellings of Bridlington arise from a common consonant assimilation of the kind found in Nafferton *supra* 94, Swillington (WRY), *Suillintun* DB, *Suinlington* 13th YD, etc. *Byrlington* and *Burlington* are metathesised from *Brillington* and have undergone the dialectal change of \(ir\) to [\(\theta\)] (cf. Introd. xxix). ‘*Berhtel’s* farmstead,’ v. ingtun.

**NOTE.** *Applegarth Lane.* Cf. *Appelgarthdale* 1262 Bridl, cf. *Applegarth* *infra* 165. *Kirkgate* is *Kirkgatestrete* 1539 *MinAcct*, v. kirkja, gata. *St John’s Street* is *S’ J oh’ gate* 1539 ib. *Westgate* is so named in 1539 (ib.).

Among unidentified street-names we may note *Fiskergate*, from OSand *fiskari* ‘fisherman’ and *Dreggergate* (1262, c. 1270 Bridl); *Dregger-* appears to be an early example of *dredger* ‘one who uses a dredge (a drag-net), especially to catch oysters.’ *Dredger* is recorded from 1508 and *dredge* from 1471 in the compound *dredge-boat* (NED s.v.). v. Addenda lix.

**HILDERTHORPE** [\(\text{ild\textipa[n]thorp}\)]

*Hilger-*, *Hilgretorp* 1086 DB

*Hildredtorpe* t. Hy 1 Dugd

*Hildertorp(e), -thorp(e)* t. Hy 1 (et freq to 1276) Bridl, 1246 FF, 1259 Ass *et passim* to 1446 Ch, *Hyldrethorpe* 1304 YI, *Hilderthropp* 1600 FF

*Hildstorp* 13th Font (p)

*Helderthorp* 1558 FF

The single *Hildred-* spelling is from a document of no great
authority, and the form is probably to be rejected as an error. The DB form suggests ODan Hildiger (v. DEPN) with later loss of g from the consonant combination dg. 'Hildiger’s village.' v. porp.

BRIDLINGTON QUAY (6") is Bridlington Key(e) 1610 Speed, 1651 Deposition, 1695 Morden, -Quay 1828 Langd¹. BUTT HILLS. Cf. Keldebuttes 13th Bridl. From ME butte used of earthen mounds (for archery, etc.) and of ‘ridges or strips of land in a field.’ In the compound *butt-hill* the former meaning is usual, as here. v. kelda ‘spring,’ which may refer to one or other of the chalybeate springs which formerly attracted visitors (v. Langd 147).

2. BUCKTON [buktan]

Bucheton(e) 1086 DB

Bucton(a) 1114–24 (et freq to 1312) Bridl, 12th Nostell (freq), 1316 NomVill, Bukton c. 1190 Bridl, 1343 FF et passim to 1518 Test, Buckton 1610 Speed

Bucetona 1125–30 YCh 1135, Buketun, -ton 12th YD, 1190–1210 YCh 626 et passim to 1339 Bridl, Bucketon 1301 YI, 1303 KF

Bucheton(a) 1128–32 BM, 1135–9 Bridl, 1155–7 YCh 1148, 1215 ChR

Bucatona 1145–53 Bridl

Boketon(a) 1297 LS, 1299 YI

‘Buck enclosure,’ v. bucca, tun and cf. Buckton *infra* 140, PN NbDu 33. The pers. name *Bucca* is also possible.

HUNTOW is Huntondale (sic for -ou-) c. 1270 Bridl. ‘Huntsman’s mound,’ from OE *hunta* and *haugr*, or ‘Hunta’s mound’ from the pers. name *Hunta* (cf. Huntingdon, PN BedsHu 261, Huntington, PN NRY 12). A lost Huntou 1225 Bridl (in Fraisthorpe *supra* 87) may be of similar origin². v. Dickering Wapentake *supra* 84–5.

RAINCLIFF (6") is Rauen(e)scif, Rauenclif 12th (freq) Bridl,

¹ Bridlington Quay was the port of Bridlington and is now included in the town. Bridlington itself is now represented by OLD TOWN.

² There is also an East and West Huntow in Bridlington township, named from Huntow in Buckton. There are several tumuli in the neighbourhood.
1155–7 YCh 1148. Like Raincliffe (PN NRY 102) this is probably ‘raven cliff’ (v. hræfn, clif).

3. EASTON is Estone 1086 DB, -ton(a), -tune 12th, 13th Bridl (passim), 1128–32 BM et passim to 1552 FF, (juxta Bridlyngton) 1348 Ch, 1375 YD, Easton 1562 FF. ‘East farm,’ v. east, tun. ‘East’ perhaps from its position in relation to Boynton.

4. GRINDALE [grindl]
   Grendele, Gerendele 1086 DB
   Grendale, -dal(a) 1086 DB, 12th, 13th Bridl, 1207 Cur et passim to 1342 SR, Grendall(e) 1227 YD (p), 1547 FF
   Grandala 1155–7 YCh 1148
   Grenedala, -dale 1166 P, 1285 KI
   Gryndale 1333 SR, Gryndall(e), -i- 1541, 1577 FF, 1650 ParlSurv

5. SEWERBY [siuwabi]
   Siuuarbi 1086 DB, Siuuardbi 1086 DB, -bi, -by 13th Bridl, -ward- 1086 DB, 1188 Bridl, 1276 RH et passim to 1411 YD
   Si-, Sywardebi, -by, -uu- 12th YD, t. Hy 2 BM et freq to 1355 Ipm
   Sewardeby early 13th, 1221, 1266 Nunkeel, 1304 YI
   Severby 1205 Cur (p), Sewerby 1552 FF, Sewarby 1554 YD
   Sureby, -w- c. 1265 KF, 1423 Baildon
   Suardby c. 1270 YD, 1333 SR, 1364 Pat
   Sureby 1569, 1590 FF, Suerby 1650 ParlSurv, 1695 Morden
   ‘Siward’s farmstead,’ from OScand Sigvprar, ODan Siward (cf. NP 118) and by. v. Addenda lix.

MARTON is Meretune, Martun, -tone 1086 DB, Martun, -ton(a) 12th Bridl, 1219 Ass et passim to 1828 Langd. ‘Farm near the pool,’ v. Marton supra 49.

THE BUTTS (field) is les Buttes 1565 YD. v. Butt Hills supra 103.

6. SPEETON
   Spretone 1086 DB
   Specton(e) 1086 DB, 1166 YCh 1139
   Spetune, -ton(a) 12th YD, 1155–7 YCh 1148 et passim to 1579 NCWills
Speyton 1549 FF, Spighton 1586 FF

The DB spellings suggest that we have as first element OE *sprēc, spēc* (ONb *sp(r)eik*) ‘speech,’ as in Spetchley (PN Wo 165); this is supported by the 1166 *Spectone* and by *Spighton*, but *c* was generally lost in the combination *ct* as in Brotton (PN NRY 142), cf. also Bridlington *supra* 100. The name means ‘speech enclosure’ and it was probably the place where the Hundred met. Cf. Spell Howe *infra* 116.

Flamborough

FLAMBOROUGH [flembɔːr]  
*Flaneburc, -burg 1086 DB, Flemaburch 12th SD*  
*Fleynesburg(h) (-ai-, -ei-) 12th Whitby, 1143–53 Bridl, late 12th Gilbert, 1251 Ass, Flames- (sic for Flaines-) 1145–53, 1155–7, 1180–90 YCh 917, 1148, 1154*  
*Fleynburg(h) (-ai-, -ay-, -ei-) 1114–24 Bridl, 13th Percy, 1244 Ass et passim to 1518 Test*  
*Flaineburhc, -burg(h) (-ai-, -ay-) 1128–32 BM, c. 1180 Bridl et freq to 1448 Bridl, Fleme- (? for Fleine-) 1135–9 YCh 1144*  
*Flaymburgh 1461 Pat, 1499 Sanct, Bev*  
*Flanburgh 1463 Pat*  
*Flamburgh(e) 1511 Sanct, 1552 FF, -borough 1573 FF, -brugh 1582 FF, -brough 1650 ParlSurv*¹

The first element of Flamborough is OScand *fleinn* ‘hook, barb’ used either as a pers. name or as a topographical element. OScand *Fleinn* is recorded as a pers. name (LindN, LindB) ‘the sharp-tongued person,’ and it is found in England as the surname of Hugo *Flain* of Ormesby (L) (early 13th Gilbert). Gordon (APS i, 320 ff.) links up Flamborough with Scarborough (PN NRY 105), which was founded by the Icelander Dorgils Skarði about 967 (*Kormáks Saga*). The story of Scarborough was also told in two lost romances summarised by Robert Manning of Brunne in *The Story of Inglande* (Rolls Series, ii, ll. 14816 ff.). In one of these, that of Thomas of Kendal, reference is made to Scarthe’s brother Flayn, and Gordon suggests with probability that Flayn is to be equated with Kormak,

¹ *Flemmingeburg* (sic for -burgton) 1243 Ebor is probably for Burton Fleming *infra* 112. Burch 12th Bridl is probably Flamborough.
brother of Dorgils Skarði; Kormak’s nickname is lost in Icelandic story, but from his character it might well have been Fleinn. There is, however, no evidence to connect him with Flamborough, apart from the coincidence of names, and while the identification of Kormak Flein with Flamborough is possible, we should hesitate to accept it in the way in which we can accept the Scarborough story. As with Grimsby (L), said in the romance of Havelok to have been founded by Grim who fostered the royal prince, this Flayn may have been created in mediaeval romance as the eponymous hero of Flamborough to accompany Scarthe of Scarborough which is only 16 miles up the coast.

Against this there is the alternative possibility that OScand fleinn is used here as a topographical element, as suggested by Lindkvist (44-5), to describe the lofty pike-shaped prominence on which the village stands. In Scandinavia such a use is rare, but in the Danish place-name Fløn (DaSN(F) 15o) we have an example of ODan flēn in the sense ‘spit of land, tongue of land’.

‘Flein’s fortification’ or ‘fortification on the promontory,’ v. burh. The DB and later spellings with Flane-, Flam- are partially Anglicised, and n became m before the labial b.

DANES DYKE was called Flayn(e)burghdyk, -dike 1392, 1446, 1452 Ch, Flamborough Dykes 1750 Bowen; it is a neolithic earthwork separating Flamborough Head from the mainland. v. dic. FLAMBOROUGH HEAD is Vlem-, Vlamberger hovede 14th (15th) Seebuch, Flamborough Head 1651 Deposition. SAND HOLE (6") is Sandhouleghs 1309 Bridl. v. holh, leah.

Bempton

Benton(e) 1086 DB, 1251 FF, 1265, 1299 YI, 1312 Bridl, 1518 Test, 1525 FF
Bempton(a) 1114–24 Bridl, 1163–89 YD et passim to 1595 FF, (juxta Bridleynston) 1376 Percy
Bempton(a) 1128–32 BM, 1145–53 Bridl, 1285 KI
Bemeton 1404 YI

1 A similar explanation has been suggested for Flensburg (Schleswig), but Mr K. Hald suggests that this place-name probably contains a pers. name Flēn, which is found in one or two other names near Flensburg. Flensburg stands at the head of a creek, not on a headland.
'Farm by a tree,' v. beam, tun. As with Brompton (PN NRY 96), the original _m_ could either become _n_ before the dental (Benton) or develop a _p_ after it (Bempton).

**Acredykes Plantation** (6") is Akerdic, -dike 12th, 13th Bardney. 'Dike (earthwork) near the piece of cultivated land,' v. aëcer, dic.

**Bolam Lane** (6"). Cf. (le) Burlyn 1302, 1303 YI, le Bolryn 1306 YI. The forms are too late and inconsistent for any suggestion to be possible.

**Newsham** is Neusom 13th Bridl, 1285 KI, 1300 YI, New- 1299 YI, Neusum 1303 KF, Newesom 1376 FF. 'At the new houses,' v. Newsome supra 28.

**Wandale** (6") is Wandailes 13th Bardney. This name occurs several times (v. Index). Cf. also Field-names infra 328. It is the dialectal word wandale 'share of the common arable land of a township,' probably once fenced off with wands or stakes (OScand vandr 'twig' as in vand-balkr 'wall of sticks'), cf. Wandales (PN NRY 59). The second element is usually OWScand deill, but it is occasionally OEScand _dēl_ or _OE_ dal.

**Reighton** [ri:tan]

_Ri-, Ryceton(e), -tona_ 1086 DB, 1130–9 Bridl, 12th Bardney, 1160–76 YCh 1174, 1201 Cur et freq to 1331 Ch
_Ri-, Rychton(a) _1125–30 Bridl, 1128–32 BM, 1231 FF, 1257 Ch, 1294 Ebor, 1304 YI, 1331 Ch
_Ri-, Ryhtuna, -ton(a) _1145–56 Riev, 1276 RH, 1304 YI
_Ri-, Ryighton _1251 Ass, c. 1265 KF et passim to 1597 BM
_Rigthona _1331 Ch
_Reighton _1828 Langd

The first element is the OE *ric_ 'strip' discussed under Escrick infra 267. The significance of the word is not certain here, but it may have reference to the long ridge on the side of which the village stands. It should be added that an unidentified place here was called _Strop_ 1145–56, 1160–75 Riev; this is from the rare OE _strop_, ME _strop_ 'strap, band,' which may

1 Depopulated.
possibly refer to the same topographical feature (cf. Thwing infra 113). On the development of *c* to *gh* before *t* cf. Broughton (NRY) and Speeton supra 104. ‘Farm on the strip (of land),’ v. tun. v. Addenda lix.

**DOTTEREL INN** is *Dottrell-Inn* 1828 Langd, and is named from the bird. **REIGHTON FIELD** (6") is *campis de Rictona* 12th Bardney. **ST HELEN’S WELL** (6") is *(fontis qui anglice dicitur)* *Elnewelle* 13th Bardney.

**Hunmanby**

**1. ARGAM** [argam]

- *Ergone* 1086 DB
- *Ergum* 1162–75 YCh 1246, late 12th, 1204 Cur (p), 1219 Ass, 1257 Bardney, 1270 Ebor, Ergom 1170–5 Bridl
- *Erghum* 1285 KI, 1292 Ch et freq to 1402 YI, Erghom 1292 Ebor, 1297 LS et passim to 1518 Test, Ergham 1650 ParlSurv
- *Herghum* 1290 Ebor, 1343 FF (p)
- *Ereghom, -um* 1304 YI, 1330 FF
- *Arholme* 1525 FF, Argam 1549 FF et freq

‘At the shielings,’ v. Arram supra 79.

**2. FORDON** [fodn] is Fordun(e), -duna 1086 DB, 12th Bardney, Bridl, 1160–76 YCh 1174 et freq to 1331 Ch, Fordon(e) 12th, 13th Bridl (freq), 1270 Ebor et passim to 1610 Speed, Fordoun 1297 LS. ‘In front of the hill,’ from OE *fore* ‘in front of’ and *dun*. The village is approached by a deep valley which at Fordon divides into two arms, one on each side of a steep hill at the foot of which Fordon stands. For the name-type cf. Withernsea, Beeford supra 26, 76.

**NORTH DALE** and **WEST DALE** are *Northdale* 13th Bardney, Westerdale 1293 QW. v. norō, west (compar. westerra), dæl. Cf. Westerdale (PN NRY 134).

**3. HUNMANBY** [unanbi, umanbi, umabi]

- *Hundemanebi* 1086 DB, -bi, -by c. 1135 BevAct, 1197 P (p), 13th Font, 1205 Cur et freq to 1331 Ch, Hundmaneby 1241 FF

1 Extra-parochial. Argam was formerly one of the chapels of Hunmanby.
The first element is OScand *hunda-maar, probably with the same meaning as OScand hunda-sveinn ‘houndsman,’ which enters into Hunsonby (Cu). It may be used here as a pers. name Hundeman, but the repeated medial e in Hund(e)man(n)ebi would rather suggest the OScand gen. plur. hunda-manna. The same problem is met with in Hunsonby and in Flotmanby infra 116. ‘Farmstead of the houndsmen,’ v. by.

BARTIN DALE

Barkedale 13th Bardney, 1270 Ebor, 1297 LS, 1299 Bridl, 1303 KF, 1316 NomVill, 1428 FA
Berkildale 1285 KI, Barkeldale 1304 YI
Barkendale 1332 SR, -yn- 1346 Test (p)
Bartin(g)dale 1549, 1600 FF, Bartondaill 1518 Test

‘Barkil’s valley,’ v. dæl. The origin of Berkil is obscure but it might possibly be a shortened form of the recorded OScand Bjørnkarl, a dithematic name made up of the common OScand pers. name elements Berg- or Bjarn- (Bjorn-) and -ketill (-kel).

CADDY BARF is Caldhouberg’, -berw 13th Bardney. ‘Hill with a cold or exposed tumulus,’ v. cald, haugr, be(o)rg. The mound is Caldhou 13th ib.
The Dams, Dam Lands (6"). Cf. Damside 1302 YI. This name, like The Dams infra II, is used of land alongside a stream which may have been dammed at an earlier date. ME damme ‘dam,’ possibly in the sense ‘water confined by an embankment,’ a meaning limited to Yorkshire, is recorded from c. 1325 (NED). Selby Dam (WRY), le Damme 1321 Selby, is described there as a stagnum ‘pool,’ and is probably an artificial canal or drain.

Fowthorpe (6") is Foletorp, -thorp(e) 12th Bardney, Folthorp 1270 Ebor, Fowthorpsyld 1544 FF. ‘Foli’s hamlet,’ from the OScand nick-name Foli (LindB) and porp. Dr Knudsen notes that Foli is recorded in ODan (DaPN 307).

Cansdale Farm (6") is Candlesdale 13th Bardney. Castle Hill (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd). Cf. Castelgarth, -garbe 1302, 1303 YI, 1352 Ipm, from ME castel and garær. There are remains of old earthworks (cf. Langd). Crook Lane (6"). Cf. Crochedale 13th Bardney. v. krokr, dml. Hill Farm was probably the home of Joh’ del Hil (13th Bardney). Holme Flat (field) is Holmes 1302 YI. v. holmr. Mill Field (field). Cf. molendinum abbatis 13th Bardney. North Moor is Northemor 1302 YI. Sud Hill (field) is Suddale 13th Bardney. ‘South valley,’ v. suð, dml. Wan Dale (6") is Wandailes 13th Bardney. v. Wandale supra 107.

Filey

Filey [fa:la, fafiə]

Fiuelac 1086 DB

Fiue-, Fyue-, Fivelei(a), -ley, -lay(e) a. 1080, 1081–96 (15th) Whitby, 1114–24 Bridl, 1128–32 BM, 1155–7 YCh 1148, 1201 Cur, 1285 KI, 1297 LS, 1348 FF

Fiue-, Fyue-, Fyvele 12th, 13th Bridl (freq), 1256, 1258 Pat, 1276 RH et passim to 1402 YI, Fyuelee 1316 NomVill

Phyvelay 1139–47 YCh 1137, 1301 Ch


Fiuel’ 1160–5 Bridl

Fiue(e)leg 1241 FF

Fiweley 1278 YI
DICKERING WAPENTAKE

Fi-, Fyley 1447 Ch et passim to 1650 ParlSurv, (als. Fiveley) 1613 FF, Fyeley 1565 FF

Filey might be thought of as a compound of OE *fif* ‘five’ and leah with the meaning ‘five clearings.’ Numerals, however, seem to be confined in place-names to compounds referring to hills, mounds, measures of land, springs and trees. Anderson (59, 78) notes Threo (L) ‘three mounds,’ Forchoe (Nf) ‘four mounds’ as wapentake-names, Middendorff notes under the different OE numerals names like *to tarn twam stane* ‘two stones,’ *to brim bornan* ‘three thorns,’ *on sex born* ‘six thorns,’ etc., and from other counties we may add Four Oaks, Five Ashes, etc. (PN Sx 151, etc.), Three Barrows Hill (PN D 286), Twywell (PN Nth 188), Fifhide (PN Sr 298), etc. OE *leah* never appears in early combination with numerals. A possible exception is Sixhills (L), which Zachrisson (Mélanges de Philologie offerts à M. Johan Vising, Göteborg 1925, 187) considers to be from OE *siex* ‘six’ and leah, but this again may well be a hill-name from OE *hyl* as in Harthill infra 151.

It is much more probable that Filey is a compound of OScand *fifa* or *fifill* ‘cotton-grass,’ as in Norwegian Fivelsdal (NoGN xii, 207), and leah. Mr Sheppard informs us that there is a large deposit of peat on the cliffs south of Filey and that cotton-grass is recorded from here. Osmotherley (PN NRY 213) shows that a hybrid place-name consisting of OE *leah* and a Scandinavian first element is possible.

The Dams (6") is Filay Dam 1579 FF. v. The Dams supra 110. Filey Bay is Fyley Bay 1651 Deposition. Filey Brig is Fyley Bridge 1828 Langd. This is a narrow ridge of rock projecting half a mile into the sea. The name is from OScand *bryggja* ‘jetty, landing-place’ rather than OE *brycg* ‘bridge.’

**Muston**

*Muston(e)* 1086 DB, 12th YCh 1180, 1191 P et passim to 1525 FF
*Musetona* 1285 KI
*Mussetuna* 1160–76 YCh 1174
*Musdon* 1297 LS, *Moston* 1304 YI
"Mouse-infested farm," v. mus, tun (cf. Muston, Lei, Muscotes, PN NRY 65, Muscott, PN Nth 27) or "Musi’s farm," from the OScand nick-name Musi (LindB, Nielsen).

**North Burton**

North Burton or Burton Fleming [n0 bDtn] is Burton(e) 1086 DB, -tun, -ton(a) 12th Nostell, Bardney, Bridl (freq) et passim to 1828 Langd, Bortona 1205 Nostell. The descriptive additions are frequently found from the 12th century.

Flandrensi(s) 1119-35 Nostell, 1170-80 Bridl, t. Hy 3 StoweCh (le) Flamang 1170-5 YCh 1172, c. 1200 Bardney, Flaming, -yng 1205 Nostell, 1331 Ch, Flammynge 1278 YI Fleminga- 1170-85 YCh 1065, Fleming, -yng 1240 FF et passim to 1446 Ch, Flemming, -yng 1299 Ebor, 1452 Ch, Flemeng(e) 13th Bridl, 1234 FF, 1293 YI, Flemang 1331 Ch

North- 1377, 1614 FF et freq

v. burhtun ‘fortified farmstead.’ ‘Fleming’ from the Fleming family which held Burton in the 12th century (Bridl). The prefix ‘North’ appears to have been used in this name and Cherry Burton infra 191 in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Barrow Fields (6") is Suthberges 1299 Bridl. It is a little to the west of Maiden’s Grave and contains OE be(o)rg in the sense ‘artificial hill, barrow’ or simply ‘hill.’ Maiden’s Grave may mark the site of an older Stedefald 1299 Bridl, OE stodfald ‘horse enclosure,’ used of the ruins of some earlier habitation (v. IPN 150). Thorn Dale (6") is Thorndail ib. ‘Strip of land by the thorn tree,’ v. deill.

**Thwing**

Tu(u)enc 1086 DB

Tueng, Tweng(e) 12th Bridl, 1170-85, 1180-90 YCh 1065, 1069 et passim to 1402 YI, Twengge 1297 LS

Thueng 1190-1210 LeonardR, Thweng(e) 1246 Ass, 1250 Ebor, c. 1269 RegAlb et passim to 1360 FF, (super Waldam) 1404 YI

Tehwynge 13th Healaugh, Twyng(e), -i- 1268 FF, 1360 Ipm, 1534 FF, (upon the Walde) 1582 FF
Thwyng(e) 13th Healaugh, 1352 Ipm, 1516 FF
Tweyng 1244 Ass, Thwyng(e) 1540 MinAcct, (upon the Wold) 1547 FF
Thwyng 1448 Bridl, 1481 Test

Thwing is derived from OScand þegr or OE þeng (þenga, ðuengu, plur.), a Northumbrian i-mutated form of OE þwang, þeng ‘thong, strap,’ which occurs in Upperthong and Netherthong (WRY), Thwenge 1274, Thwong 1275, 1307, Uerthwong 1297, Overthwonges 1314 Wakefield Court Rolls, Tong 1252 Ch, etc. OE þeng, þeng, OScand þegr are used of ‘a narrow strip of hide or leather, a strap, cord, especially a shoe-lace,’ but a topographical meaning is unknown outside place-names. The extension of the word to include something long and narrow like a strap is not a difficult assumption and we can point to a similar development in the case of strop (v. Reighton supra 107).

Ritter (147) notes the German field-name Riemen ‘a long narrow piece of a field’ which is an extended use of German riemen ‘strap, thong.’ Upperthong and Netherthong are each on the end of long, narrow ridges, but there is no striking feature in the topography of Thwing to account for the name. It may therefore be simply ‘strip of land,’ and this is borne out by Scandinavian parallels. The element þwing is found frequently in Danish place-names (DaSN(Sj) iii, 22, 121, etc.), and Dr Knudsen, who suggests that ‘it must be a piece of land, rather restricted and perhaps fenced,’ has noted it fifteen times as an uncompounded field-name and three times as a village-name in Denmark.

OCTON

Ocheton 1086 DB, -ton(a), -tun c. 1180 LeonardR, 1180–90 YCh 1070, c. 1200 Dods
Occatun 1156, 1173 LeonardN, Occetonia 1194 Meaux, Ocketon 1303 KF
Occatun 1170–85 YCh 1065, Oketun, -ton(a), -c–12th Nunkeel, 1155–70 YCh 1361, 1175–85 ib. 1068 et passim to 1401 Melsa

1 There is an unidentified place called Octonholm (-ton-, Ok-) 1308 BevAct, 1404 YI, 1578 FF, which is described in 1348 FF as in Holderness. No such place survives in Holderness but Barff Hill supra 75 is mentioned in connexion with Octon (12th Nunkeel). This may, however, be because the nunnery of Nunkeeling and the abbey of Meaux both held land in each place and for this reason Octonholm may have been described as being in Holderness.
Ok., Octon(a) 1150-60 Melsa, 1167 P et passim to 1516 FF
‘Occa’s farm,’ v. tun.

OCTON GRANGE is grangia (de Occet’) 1156, 1194, 1204 Meaux,
Octon-Grange 1828 Langd. v. North Grange supra 44. It was
a grange of Meaux Abbey. PADDOCK HILL (6”). Cf. Padocdailes
c. 1180 LeonardR, Paddocdeiles 1185-1205 Dods, from ME
padoke ‘toad’ (evidenced from c. 1350, NED) and deill ‘strip
or plot of land.’

Wold Newton

WOLD NEWTON [wo:d niutən] is Newton(e) 1086 DB, Neu-
Newton(e), -tun 12th Bardney, Bridl et passim to 1828 Langd,
Neuthona t. Stephen (1464) Pat, Neue-, Neweton c. 1150 Whitby
et freq to 1303 KF. It is variously described as -super Wald(am)
t. Stephen (1464) Pat, -in Waldo c. 1230 Whitby, Wald(e)- 1367
Pat, 1494, 1556 FF, Wawd- 1604 FF, Roc(c)heford, -forth 1290
Pat, 1308 Whitby, 1336 Percy, Would Newton als. Newton
Rotchforth 1617 FF. ‘New farm,’ v. niwe, tun. The manor wa
held by Walran de Rocheford in 1285 (KI). For Wold- v. The
Wolds supra 13, and cf. Wold Newton (L).

BUTT HILLS (6") is Butte 1299 Bridl. v. Butt Hills supra 103.
NORTH COTES (6") is Norhscotes 1299 Bridl.

Foxholes

1. BUTTERWICK [butəwik, butəriːk]

Butruid 1086 DB
Butreuc, -w- 12th, early 13th Whitby, Butrawic 1156-7 YCh
354, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch, Buterewich 1195 P (p)
Butterwic, -wyc, -k(e) 1120-35 YCh 1072-5 et passim to 1370
Pat, (in Crendale) 1344 FF
Buther uuic c. 1160 Whitby
Buterwic(h), -wyk(e), -cke 1161-84 StoweCh, 1184-90 MaryR,
1246 Ass et freq to 1573 FF, (in Crandale) 1268 FF, (in
Grendalelythe) 1403 YI
Boterwyk 1189 Selby, Botur- 1285 KI, Bottrewik’ 1297 LS
‘Butter farm’ or ‘dairy-farm with rich pasturage,’ v. butere,
wic and cf. Butterwick (PN NRY 47). On the additional name
Crendale cf. Grindalythe supra 12.
2. **FOXHOLES**

Foxele, Foxohole 1086 DB, Foxhol(e), -hola, -holo 1086 DB, 1100–15 MaryR et freq to 1353 Ipm, Foxholes 1127–37 MaryR et passim to 1531 Test, -hols c. 1250–1402 Whitby (freq), -holis 1300 YI (p), -holys 1519 FF, -hallis 1531 Test Foxola 1161–84 StoweCh, Foxoles 1276 RH (p) et freq to 1316 NomVill Fouxholes 1448 Bridl

Boythorpe [boiθɔrpe] is Buitorp 1086 DB, Boiethorp’ c. 1170 Riev (p), Boi-, Boythorp(e), -torp a. 1080, 12th (freq) Whitby, 1194 P et passim to 1828 Langd, Boythroppe 1574 FF. ‘Boia’s village,’ v. porp. On this late OE pers. name which is thought to be of Continental origin v. Boycott, PN Bk 48, and more particularly PN Wo 303–4, where the possibility is considered of the element being the common but obscure word boy. Boie, it may be noted, is common in ODan, where it is also a loan (DaPN s.n.).

**Folkton**

Folkton [fautn]

Fulcheton 1086 DB, Fulketuna, -ton’ 1162–7 Riev, 1220 Ass Fulchetun 12th Riev Folketun, -ton(a) 12th Bridl, 1243 Abbr et passim to 1418 YI, (in Hertforthlith) 12th (1447) YCh 1180 Folketune, -ton 1153–86 Riev, 1349 FF, 1828 Langd Folkinton’ 1230 P (p), Folkeston 1336 FF Foltun 1525 Test, Foulton 1650 ParlSurv, Fowleton 1695 Morden

‘Folki’s farmstead,’ from OScand Folki (influenced by the Norman name Fulk) or ODan Fulke (a side-form of ODan Folki, cf. DaPN 307) and tun. Cf. Foulbridge, PN NRY 98.

The Camp, Lang Camp are the names of two old earthworks about a mile and a half apart. The Camp is Camb c. 1160 Riev, 1162–7 YCh 1250, Campe 1611 FF. Lang Camp is Langecampe 13th Riev. The Camp may well be an alteration
of camb 'hill-crest, ridge,' for the topography would fit this. Lang Camp may show this sound-change at a still earlier period. The place-name element camp is unknown in Northern England.

DEEDLE HILL (6") is Dedhilledale 1153-8o Riev. This is a compound of OE déad 'dead, death' and hyll, probably with reference to the finding of a dead body there. We may compare names like Dead Lake (PN D 5), Deadpool (PN Sr 125), Manslaughter (PN NRY 331), Naburn, Wheldrake infra 274, 269-7o.

FLIXTON is Fleustone 1086 DB, Flixton(a) 12th YCh 118o, 1208 FF, 1225 Ebor et passim to 1828 Langd. 'Flik's farm,' v. tun. The pers. name is OScand Flik, which is found in ODan (DaPN 305) and once as a byname Flik in Norwegian (LindBN). In England it enters into other place-names such as Flixton (PN Sf 99, PN La 37), and Flixborough (L).

FLOTMANBY

Flotemanbi 1086 DB, -bi, -by 1205, 1240 FF
Flotemanbi-, -by 12th, 13th Bridl (freq), 12th Bardney, 1226 FF, c. 1240 Riev et passim to 1452 Ch, -mon- 13th Riev Flothermanby 1276 RH Flottmanby 13th Misc, Flotmanby 1290 Ch et freq to 1527 FF Flattenbye 1650 ParlSurv

There is a pers. name Flot(e)man which is recorded three times in Y DB and as the surname of Thomas Flotman (1342 SR, North Cave); it also enters into Newton Flotman (Nf), Newton Floteman 1301 Pat. It is probably a nickname derived from OScand flotta-maðr 'a fugitive (from justice)' or OScand flot(i) 'ship' and maðr 'shipman.' One or other of these words in its original significance is probably found in Flotmanby just as we have hundmaðr in Hunmanby supra 109. The spellings suggest an OScand gen. plur.; hence, 'by of the flotmen.'

SPELL HOWE (a tumulus) is Spelhou early 13th, 13th Bardney. 'Speech mound,' from OE spell 'speech' and haugr. Cf. Spelhoe (PN Nth 131) and a lost place in Burstwick (supra 33) called Spelhoudayl 1339 Extent. Spell Howe which is conveniently situated on the edge of the Wolds may, as Anderson (12 n.)
suggests, have been the meeting-place of Torbar Hundred (v. Dickering supra 85). Cf. also Speeton supra 104 for a similar type of name.

**FLIXTON CARR** is marisco de Flixton 1162–75 YCh 1246. v. kiarr. Lingholme Hill (field) is Lingholme 12th YCh 1180, 1447 Dugd. v. lyng, holmr. Raven Dale (6") is Ravenesdale 12th Riev (freq). ‘Raven valley’ (v. hræfn, dæl) or ‘Hrafn’s valley.’

Spital Plantation (field, near Flixton). Cf. hospitalis de Flixtona 1180–1200 Bridl, Spittell in Flixton 1607 FF. Wan Dale (6") is Wandele 1172 YCh 1228. v. Wandale supra 107.

**Willerby**

Wi-, Wyllardebi, -by 12th Riev, 12th, 13th Bridl (freq) et passim to 1446 Ch, Villardeby 1452 Ch
Willerdebi 1122–30 YCh 1135
Wi-, Wylardebi, -by 1128–32 BM, 1135–9 Bridl, 1157 YCh 1148, 1203 Cur, Ass, 1205–46 FF (freq)
Will(l)ardby 12th, 13th (freq) Bridl, 1279–81 QW et passim to 1416 YI
Wi-, Wyllarby 1290 Ch et freq to 1583 FF, -or- 1519 FF, -er- 1548 FF
Wyllardesby 1305 Abbr


**BINNINGTON**

Binne-, Bigneton 1086 DB
Benington’, -yng- 1194 P (p), early 13th Bridl, 1316 Nom Vill, 1332 SR, 1404 YI, 1555 BM, Benington 1283 Pat, Beniton 1285 KI, Bennyton 1366, 1586 FF
Binington(a), -y- 12th, 13th Bridl (freq), 1240 FF et passim to 1376 Percy, (in Harfor(t)hlyth) c. 1325, 1328 Percy, Bininton 1276 Pat, Bynigton juxta Galmeton 1313 Percy
Binnington’ 1242–3 Fees

The forms with Ben- are common enough to make it likely that Binnington is from a pers. name Ben(n)a with raising of e to i before a point consonant or nasal as in Bridlington.
supra 100. On this pers. name cf. Bengeworth, PN Wo 95, and Benningholme supra 46. v. ingtun.

HERTFORD PLANTATION (6") is Hertford Bridge 1750 Bowen. Spital House infra is described as a hospital at Hauerford (13th Bridl). The name also enters into the surname de Haverford (1230 P) and a road-name in North Burton supra 112, Hareford-gate, via de Harford (1299 Bridl). v. also River Hertford and Hertfordlythe supra 6, 13. ‘Goat ford,’ from OE hmfer and ford, with some confusion through association with place-names in Hart- (Hartburn supra 83, Harthill infra 151).

STAXTON is Stac(s)tone 1086 DB, Staxtun, -ton(a) 1086 DB, 1180–95 Bridl, 1219 Ass et passim to 1583 FF, Staxetona 12th Whitby, Staixston 1565 FF. ‘Stakk’s farmstead,’ v. tun. The first element is the OScand nickname Stakkr found in some Norw place-names and, as Dr Knudsen points out, in the Dan place-name Stagstrup (olim Staxstrop). Stax- represents the OScand gen. Stakks.

BRANS DALE (field) is Brancedale 13th Bridl. ‘Brand’s valley,’ v. dæl. COTTON DALE (6") is Cotedail, -dayl late 12th, 1256, 1295 Bridl. ‘Strips or plots of land near the cottages,’ v. cote, deill. SPITAL Ho is hospitalis de Staxtona 1180–95 Bridl, hospital de Beuerl’ 13th ib., Spittell 1585 FF, Spital-House 1828 Langd. On this hospital v. Dugd vi, 613. STAXTON BROW (6") was called Staxton Clive 13th Bridl. v. clif. STAXTON WOLD is Waldum de Staxton 1256 Bridl. v. The Wolds supra 13. WILLERBY CARR is marisco de Willardby 1170–85 YCh 1235. v. kiarr.

Ganton

GANTON [gantn] is Galmeton(a) 1086 DB, 12th, 13th Bridl (passim) et passim to 1352 Ipm, (in Harfordlyth) 1342 Baildon, Galmatona 1145–53 Bridl, Gawn-, Gaunton 1519, 1559 FF, Ganton or Galmpton 1828 Langd. ‘Galma’s farmstead,’ v. tun. Cf. Ganthorpe (PN NRY 34).

POTTER BROMPTON

Brunetona 1086 DB, Brunton 1169 Malton
Brunton 12th Bridl, (in Hauerfordelith) 13th ib., (Potter-) 1285 KI
Brumpton 13th Bridl (freq), 1263 Pat, 1297 LS, (Potter-) ib.  
Potterbrom(p)ton  1332 Ch, 1335 Bridl  
Potterbrounton  1539 MinAcct, Brunton als. Potters Brunton  
1586 FF

‘Enclosure overgrown with gorse,’ v. brom, tun. Cf. Brompton, PN NRY 97, where the phonetic problems are discussed. For early u from OE ɵ we may compare Rudston supra 98. The origin of ‘Potter’ is unknown, but it is probably from potters having worked there.

GANTON PEAK, GANTON BROW (6’), is Pekesbru late 12th Bridl. Cf. also Pekespit, Pekesheuedland 12th ib. In PN BedsHu 176 (s.n. Pegsdon) and Mawer, Problems 72, it is suggested that this name is from an OE word peac meaning ‘hill, knott’ or the like. -bru is from OE brū ‘eyebrow’ in the sense ‘declivity.’ Pekespit is probably the old chalkpit on the end of the headland to which the peke- refers.


V. BUCKROSE WAPENTAKE

(balliv’, wapenatac’, decanatus de) Buccros, -kc-  1180–1201  
YCh 1081, 1197–8 P et passim to 1365 Pat, Buccrosse, -ck-,  
-kc- 1297 LS, 1300 Ebor, 1302 YI, 1305 BevAct, 1322 Pat  
(decanatus, wap’ de) Bucros, -k-  1188 P, 1219 Ass, 1267 Ebor  
et freq to 1531 Test, -ros(s)e 1289 YI, 1339–49 Melsa, 1518 Test  
Mucrosswapentaco, Muscrowap 1195, 1196 P  
Bukeros  1245 Malton, 1275 Ebor, Bucceros 1316 NomVill  
Bokros  1309 Ipm
Buccecros 1316 NomVill, Buckrosse 1336 Deod, 1695 Morden, Bugcros 1365 Pat

'Bukki's cross,' v. cros. An OScand Bukki is not on record in OWScand, but such a weak form of the recorded OScand Bukkr is probable and does occur in ODan (DaPN 171). Anderson (14) is inclined to associate the wapentake-name with Bugthorpe (infra 149) and Bug Dale (infra 130) in Kirby Underdale, but the former at any rate offers phonological difficulties and both are in the extreme south-east of the wapentake. If Buckrose is to be connected with any other names Buckton Holms infra 140 and Bug Dale in Duggleby infra 124 would be preferable as being more centrally situated, the latter in particular, for it is within easy reach of most parts of the area. There is in fact on the ancient road leading to Wharram le Street the base of an old cross which might well mark the site of the wapentake meeting-place.

Note. The wapentake of Buckrose was at the time of the DB Survey represented by three separate Hundreds, Hacle, named from Acklam infra 147, occupying the south-west of the present wapentake between the Derwent and the old (Roman) road, Scard in the centre and Toreshou in the east. The places from which Scard (OScand skarö ‘cleft in the hills’) and Toreshou (‘Thor’s mound,’ from OScand Pórr or Pórrir and haugr) were named have not been identified, but Anderson, loc. cit., suggests that SCAR DALE (6") in Wintringham may preserve the name of Scard.

Sherburn

Sherburn

Scirebur', Scires-, Schiresburne 1086 DB
Scir(e)-, Scyreburn(e), -borna 1109-19 RegAlb, 1155-7 YCh
1148, 13th Malton, 1203 Ass, 1253 Malton, (in Herfordlithe)
1281 Ebor
S(c)hireburn(e), -y- 1145-53 (et freq) Bridl, 1193 P, 1254 Pat et passim to 1303 KF, (in Hareforthlithe) 1293 QW
S(c)hir-, Shyrburn(e), -born(e) 12th Bridl, 1285 KI et passim to 1531 Test, (in Harforthlithe) 1304 Ebor, (Hartford-) 1546 FF
Skir(e)burn, -y- 1154-91 Bridl, 1235, 1241 FF, 1255 Kirkham
Scher(e)burne 1286 YI, 1302 Ebor
Shearbourne in Harfourthlythe 1594 FF

Yedingham

_Edingham_ 1170-5, 1180-95 YCh 390, 395, 1218 FF, 1246 Ass, 1333 Ch
_Yedingeham_ 1246 Ass (freq), _Yedingham_ 1185-95 YCh 391-2, 1219 FF, 1303 KF et passim

'Homestead of Eada and his people,' v. ingaham. OE Eada has with stress-shifting in the diphthong developed a prosthetic y-, as in Yearsley (PN NRY 193), Yapham infra 182 and Shaps supra 95. For this change cf. Anglia xxxiv, 293 ff.


West Heslerton

1. **East Heslerton**

_Eserlon, Haslintonis (sic)_ 1086 DB, _Haslintunx_ c. 1160 Guisb
_Heslerton(e)_ 1086 DB, -ton(e), -thon 1160-75, 1186 Guisb, 1184-8 YCh 717 et passim to 1531 Test, (Est-) 1259 FF
_Heseleretuna, -ton_ c. 1150, c. 1180 Riev, 1164-6 P
(Est) _Heselarton(a)_ c. 1155 Riev, 1163 P (p) et freq to 1376 FF
_Est Heslarton(a)_ 1297 LS, 1355 Ipm, 1415 YI
_Hessellarton_ 1299 YI, (Est) _Heselarton_ 1302 Ebor, 1303 Percy (p), 1316 NomVill, 1352 Ipm
_Est Hes(e)lardton_ 1303 KF, 1332 SR, Estheslardon 1390 YD
_East Haslerton_ 1584 FF

This name and West Heslerton _infra_ 122 contain a first element which would appear to be related to OE hæsel 'hazel.' It is possible that there was an OE secondary form hæseler related to MDu hazelare (by the side of MDu hazel) in the same way as OE *mispel and *mispeler are related (cf. Kirkby Misperton, PN NRY 75 and ME mespile, mespiler), ME medle, medlar, etc. This er- suffix is of Latin origin (v. NED s.v.). 'Hazel enclosure,' v. tun.

East Heslerton Carr was _Hallow Carr_ 1584 FF. Cf. Esthesel-
EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK


2. WEST HESLERTON

Heslerton(e) 1086 DB et passim to 1358 Guisb, (West-) 1259 Ass

Haslintune c. 1160 Guisb, Westhaselton' 1196 P

(West) Haselerton' 1194–6 P (p), 1276 RH, Haselarton 1270 Ebor

Heselerdton 1246 FF, Heslardton(a) 1277 Bridl, 1297 LS

With numerous other forms and meaning as for East Heslerton supra 121.

CAUSEWAY BECK (6"). Cf. kymim de Oustby 13th Malton. Oustby ('east farm, village,' v. austr, by) does not survive, but it may refer to East Heslerton; Lat kymim means 'causeway.' FIVEPENNY SLACK (6"). Cf. Fiuepeniland 13th Malton, 'land worth fivepence' (v. slakki 'shallow valley'). WEST HESLERTON CARR. Cf. fossatum marisci 13th Malton, 'marsh dike.' WEST HESLERTON WOLD is Wald' 13th Malton. v. The Wolds supra 13. WHITE GATE (6") is Wytegate 13th Malton. 'White road,' v. gata.

Weaverthorpe

1. LUTTONS AMBO (6") is Ludton 1086 DB, duabus Luttunis 1108–14 Reg.Alb, Luttons two 1650 ParlSurv, Luttons-Ambo 1828 Langd. It is a township consisting of East and West Lutton. For Latin ambo 'both,' cf. Huttons Ambo (PN NRY 40) and Dickins, Proc. Leeds Philos. Soc. (Lit. and Hist.) iii, 335. East and WEST LUTTON are Lutton(a) 1166 P (p), 1180–90 YCh 1078, 1218 CLR et passim, Estlutton 1234 FF et passim to 1533 FF, Westlutton 1285 KI et passim to 1828 Langd; one or the other is called altera Lutton 1298, 1300 Ebor, 1298 Ham. 'Luda's farm,' v. tun, and cf. Lutton, PN Nth 204.

Haver Dale (6") is Hauerdale 13th Malton. From OE hæfer 'he-goat' or OScand hafri 'oats' and dæl.

2. WEAVERTHORPE [wicêthrop]

Wifretorp 1086 DB, Wyferthorp 1235 FF (p)
BUCKROSE WAPENTAKE

Wiueretorp(e) 1109–14 RegAlb, 1119–47 Nostell
Wi-, Wyuertorp, -v- 1114–21 (et freq) Nostell, 1191 P (p),
1200 Cur, 1205 FF, 1219 Ass, 1230 Ebor, -thorp(e) 1136–9
RegAlb, late 12th YD et passim to 1541 FF, Wywerthorp
1239 Ebor

Wiwelthorp 1180–5 Bridl
Wi-, Wywerunestorp 1228 Pat
Wiverestorp 1249 Ebor
Wyret(h)orp 1269 Nostell, 15th Sawley
Wythorp(e) 1304 BevAct, 1306 Yi et freq to 1389 Ch, -thorp
1344 FF
Werthorp(e) 1355 Ipm, 1407 Yi, (als. Warthorpe) 1553 FF,
Wetherthorp 1543 FF
Weuerthorp(e), -v- 1419 Yi, 1508 Test, 1524, 1582 FF

The 1228 Pat form Wiverunestorp, if it belongs here, may be
corrupt, for pers. names in -run are feminine and would not have
a genitive inflexion in -es; there is, moreover, no recorded pers.
name Wifrun. The form may of course have been influenced by
other names containing the theme -run. The first element is most
likely an OScand pers. name Víðfari ‘the far-traveller’ (LindN),
a name of the same type as that found in Nafferton supra 94.
Víðfari occurs in OE as Widfare and in DB and ME as Wifare,
etc. (NP 175). ‘Víðfari’s village,’ v. porp. The later spellings
Wythorp and Wetherthorp arise in the first case by common
reduction and shortening, in the second from lengthening of a
ME short i in an open syllable to ē (v. Introd. xxix).

DOTTEREL COTTAGE (6") is Dottrell-cottage 1828 Langd. Cf.
Dotterel Inn supra 108.

Helperthorpe

HELPERTHORPE

Elpetorp 1086 DB, Helpetorp 1196 P, Helptorp c. 1300 YD
Helprethorp’ 1109–19 RegAlb
Helpert(h)orp(e) 1160–70 YCh 1405 (p), 1193 P (p), 1204 Ass
et passim, (in Crandale) 1345 FF, Helpir- 1298 Ebor, Hom,
1369 FF
Hellesperethorp 1166 P (p)
‘Hjalp’s village,’ v. porp. On the OScand woman’s name
Kirby Grindalythe

1. DUGGLEBY

_Difgelibi, Dighelibi_ 1086 DB, _Dyfgilby_ 12th Malton
_Diuegilbi, -y-, -v-, -by_ late 12th (et freq) Malton, 1231, 1246 FF, 1336 Ch, _Diugile-_ 1218 FF, _Diuegile-_ 1226 FF
_Deuelegebi_ 1190–3 P (p), _Di-_ 1194 P, _Di-, Dyevelgebi_ 1204 Ass, 1241 FF, _Diuelkeby_ 1246 YI
_Dukelby_ late 12th Malton
_Deuegilby_ early 13th Malton
_Diugilebi_ 1218 FF, _Dyuegelby_ 1246 Ass, FF, 1257 Malton, _Divygelbi_ 1268 FF
_Duuegelby_ 1219, 1246 Ass
_Diuelgilby_ 1231 Ass, _-gele-_ 1234 FF, _-gel-_ 1241 FF
_Dugilby_ 1246 Kirkham, _-el-_ 1297 LS, 1300 Baildon, 1328 FF, 1333 SR, _Duggleby_ 1280 Ass et freq to 1356 FF, _-yl-_ 1541 FF, _Duggleby_ 1303 KF, 1828 Langd
_Deugelby_ 1276 RH, _Deukylby_ 1285 KI, SR
_Duelby_ 1289 Malton
_Dogelby_ 1350 FF (p), _Doglebye_ 1601 FF
_Dugleyby_ 1544 FF, _Dugglyby_ 1607 FF

'Dufgall's farm,' v. by. The OWScand pers. name _Dufgall_ is a borrowing from OIr _Dubhghall_ 'the black foreigner,' a term originally applied to the Danish Vikings in Ireland (cf. IPN 35; _Revue Celtique_ xlv, 41, 47). The extraordinary fluctuation in the early spellings of the name is due to the unfamiliarity of the pers. name, though it is twice found independently in Yorkshire in DB and the 12th century as _Duuegald_ and _Duglel_ (sic).

**BUG DALE (6")** is _Buckedale_ 12th Malton. 'Bukki's valley' or 'buck valley,' v. dæl and Buckrose _supra_ 119. **STONEPIT HILL (6")** is _Stanpittes, Staynpitflat_ 13th Bridl, _Staynpit_ 13th Malton. v. stan, steinn, pytt. **WANDALES (6")** is _Wandayle_ 12th, 13th Malton, _Wandeles_ 13th Bridl. v. Wandale _supra_ 107.

2. KIRBY GRINDALYTHE

_Chirchebi_ 1086 DB, _Cherchebi_ 1123–8 (1336) Ch, _Kerkebi_ 1194 P
The name is variously distinguished as in Crandala, K-, -dale 1123-8, 1154-81 (1336) Ch et freq to 1331 FF, Crandal(e) 12th Malton et freq to 1297 LS, (in) C-, Krendal(e) 1192-1230 P, 1246 Ass et freq to 1504 Bev, Crondal 1233 Ch, Cranddale 1280 Ass, Cranedale 1294 Ebor (v.l.), (in, et) Grendal(e) 1180-1201 YCh 1081 et freq to 1399 YD, Grandal 13th Misc, Grane-, Grenedalle 1285 KI, (in) C-, Krendal(e) 1192-1230 P, 1246 Ass et freq to 1504 Bev, Crondal 1233 Ch, Cranddale 1280 Ass, Cranedale 1294 Ebor (v.l.), (in, et) Grendal(e) 1180-1201 YCh 1081 et freq to 1399 YD, Grandal 13th Misc, Grane-, Grenedalle 1285 KI, in Crendalith 1367 Kirkham, 1375 FF, in Crendaillythe 1544 FF, in Grendalyth 1479 YD, in Grindallith 1531 Test, in Gryndellyth 1567 FF, super Waldam 1524 Bev, 1525 Sanct.


MOWTHORPE [mouθɔrʌp]

Meletorp 1086 DB
Muletorp 1086 DB, -t(h)orp 1109-19 RegAlb, 1178 Malton
Mult(h)orp(e) 12th, 13th Kirkham, 1157-70 Malton et passim
to 1579 FF, (in Cranedale) 1252 FF
Molthorpe c. 1200 Kirkham, 1286 YI
Mowthorpe 1547 FF et passim to 1828 Langd

'Muli's village,' v. porp. On the OEScand pers. name Müli

THORALBY (lost) is Turodebi 1086 DB, Thoraldebi, -by 12th, 13th Malton (freq), Thoraldby 1336 Ch. Cf. Thoralby infra 149.

DOLLYTH Ho (6") is Aldithehou 1193-1205 (17th) YCh 1079.

'Aldgyð's howe,' v. haugr. The relation of the earlier and later forms is obscure. MOWTHORPE WOLD is Austwald, Houstwald 12th, 13th Malton. 'East wold,' v. austr, w(e)ald. OLD DALE (6") is Holdaleside 1348 Kirkham. 'Hollow valley,' v. holh, dæl.

3. THIRKLEBY [θɪrklɪbi]

Turgislebi 1086 DB, -by 1109-19 RegAlb, 1193-1205 YCh 1079, 1228 FF, Turgesleby c. 1225 Wollaton, 1228 FF

1 There is a field in this township called Low Grindel.
2 In DB and some of the Malton references this place is associated with Thirkleby, Kirby Grindalythe and Duggleby and is quite distinct from Thoralby in Bugthorpe infra 149.
126 EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK

Thurgaleby 1086 DB, Thurkileby 1233 Ch
Thurkelby, -il- 1216–56 Kirkham, 1234 FF, 1247 Ch et passim
to 1558 FF, (in Krendale) 1300 YI
Thorkelby 1297 LS, 1330 FF
Tirkalby 1298 Horn, Thirkilbye upon the Wolde 1601 FF

The first element is OScand Porgil, with variants Porgisl, Purglis (LindN), common all over Scandinavia and in England (NP 156). A parallel is found in Swedish Torgilsbyn (ON pa-bý 66). Thirtleby supra 51, with similar later spellings is of different origin. v. Grindalythe and The Wolds supra 12, 13.

Cowlam

COWLAM [kaulam]

Colm (4), Coletun (sic) 1086 DB
Collum 12th Malton, 1109–19 RegAlb et passim to 1316
NomVill, Collom(a) 1210–20 Melsa, 1297 LS, 1348 Kirkham
et passim to 1527 BM
Colm 1203 Cur (p), 1294 Pat, Colome als. Collome 1601 FF
Cullum 1285 KI
Coulham 1608 FF, 1695 Morden

On topographical grounds OScand kollum 'at the hill-tops,' dat. plur. of OScand kollr, would be appropriate, even though it involves the rejection of the four DB spellings Colm.

Burrow House (6") is Burrehou 1285 YI. The first element is doubtful, the second is haugr; there are several tumuli here.

Sledmere

Sledemare 1086 DB
Ledemare 1086 DB, 1197 P, -mer(e) late 12th, 13th Malton,
1231 Ass, 1245 FF, 1253 Pat, 1296 YI
Sledmer(e) 12th Malton, 1216–56 Kirkham et passim to 1828
Langd, (on the Woulde) 1619 FF, Scledmer 1159–81, 1187–91 Kirkham, Sledmar 1367 ib., 1498 Test
Sledemer(e) 1157–70 Malton, 1166 P (p), 1241 FF et freq to 1355 FF
Sleddemer(e) 1219 Ass, 1223 FF, 1297 LS, 1316 NomVill
Leddemere 1227 FF, 1247 Ch, Ledmer(e) 1279–81 QW, 1336 Ch
‘Pool in the valley,’ v. săæd, mere (influenced by OScand marr, cf. Marton supra 49). The village is in a very wide valley with gently sloping sides. There are several pools about, and one on the hillside near the church is probably the sleæd-mere¹. This name and some others in the north (as Sleddale, PN NRY 149, 267) point to an Old Northumbrian by-form sled. The early spellings in Led(e)- exhibit a loss of initial s which occurs in Anglo-Norman (v. IPN 103). OE sledda (pers. name) is also possible.

CROOM [kru:m]

Crogun (4), Cogrun 1086 DB
Crown 1109–19 Reg Alb, Croum late 12th Malton, 1268, 1333 FF, Crou’d 1204 Ass (p), Croume 1348 Kirkham
Crohum t. John BM, 13th Bridl, 1259 Ass et passim to 1336 Ch, Crohom 1297 LS, 1298 Ebor, Croholm 1285 KI
Crom(e) 1279–81 QW et passim to 1582 FF, (upon the Would) 1601 FF, Croym 1286 YI, Croom 1290 Ch, 1293 QW
Crume 1348 Kirkham et freq to 1547 FF

Cf. Crow Grange supra 81. Croom is from OE crohum, dat. plur. of OE croh. Some possibilities for the etymology of this word are discussed under Crowle (PN Wo 316), but neither OE croh ‘saffron’ nor OE crōh ‘shoot, tendril, twig’ is likely here. On topographical grounds a much more likely source is an OE word crōh, meaning ‘nook, corner’ or the like, which Midden-dorff (31) suggests as the first element in names like Crowhurst (PN Sx 502), etc. This word is not recorded in OE, but cognate forms found in other Germanic languages are cited by Midden-dorff (as MLGer krōch ‘a nook of land,’ etc.), to which may be added OScand krá ‘corner.’ In Croom it would clearly have reference to several deep short valleys round about. ‘At the nooks of land.’ See, further, Ekwall, Studies² 166 ff.

YORK ROAD (6") is Yorkestret 13th Byland; it is the name of a Roman road from York. v. stræt.

¹ One of these pools is referred to in the name of Martin Attemar (1297 LS 145).
Wetwang

1. Fimber [fimba]

Fi-, Fymmar(a) 1121-37 YCh 460, 1137-55 ib. 627, 1175-84 ib. 631, 1207 FF, -mer(e) 1205-15 YCh 632, 1222 FF et passim to 1342 SR, 1489 FF
Fi-, Fymara, -mare 1121-37 YCh 456, 1137-55 ib. 62a , 1154-61 ib. 63o
Finnmar(r)a t. Hy 2 MaryH, 1156-7 YCh 354, t. Ric I (1308) Ch, -mer(e) 1166 P (p), 1299 YI, 1343 FF
Fynnere (sic) 1272 FF
Fi-, Fymber 1541 MinAcct, 1563 FF, 1650 ParlSurv

The first element is an OE or an OScand *finn ‘coarse grass.’ For this word Ekwall would compare Norw finn ‘mat-grass (nardus stricta)’ and MDu vinne ‘bristle of an ear of corn’ (v. Mawer, Problems 92); cf. also Norw fingraes ‘wire-grass, bent.’ ‘Pool amidst the rough coarse grass,’ v. mere and cf. Marton supra 49. There are two pools in the village immediately below the church, the lower one quite considerable in size.

Bowlands (6”) is Bohlangate 1348 Kirkham. The name refers to the steep sweeping hillside. In form and meaning the name is identical with Bowland (WRY, PN La 142) and the sense of boga is paralleled by Bowbank (PN NRY 308). ‘Expanse of land by the curving hillside,’ v. land, gata.

2. Wetwang [wetwan, wetway]

Wetw-, Wetuungha 1086 DB, Wetwanghe 1164-78 LeonardR bicy
Wetewang(e) 1113-14 Selby, c. 1155 AddCh, 1194 P et passim to 1376 FF, Wetweanghe 1145-56, 1164-78 LeonardR bicy
Wetewong(e) 1191, 1197 P, 1233, 1310 Ebor, -weng 1201 P
Wettewong 1196 P, -wong(e) 1334 BevAct, 1461 Test
Wetwang 1297 LS, 14th Sawley, 1333 Deod, 1492 FF
Weatewange 1585 FF

weng as the second element in place-names is almost certainly of Scand origin and Lindkvist (35) rightly takes it to be a loan-word from OScand vangr ‘field,’ v. vangr. The first element might be OE wæt (Angl wēt) ‘wet,’ but according to local information Wetwang is noted for its dryness. For that reason there can be little doubt of the correctness of Dr Knudsen’s
suggestion that Wetwang is derived from the OScand legal term *veitt-vangr* (*vettvangr*) ‘field of summons for the trial of an action.’ This explanation, with a detailed account of the topography of the place, was also put forward by E. M. Cole, *Saga-book of the Viking Society*, iv, 102. A. W. Johnston (ib. 106) notes the curious fact that whereas in Iceland the field would be moved for each trial, here it became definitely localised, possibly because the action was a well-remembered occasion.

**Fridaythorpe**

Fridaythorpe [fraiðəθərp, fra·ðəθərp]

*Fridag(s)-, Frida(r)storp* 1086 DB

*Fridait(h)orp, -y-* 1196 P, 1216–55 RegAlb et passim to 1546 YChant, *(upon the Woold)* 1584 FF

*Fri-, Frydat(h)orp* 1200–20 YCh 1264, 1571 FF

*Fridaistorp* 1219 Ass, *Fridayestorp* 1268 FF

*Fredathorpe* 1562 FF

There is evidence for an OGer pers. name *Frigdag* (Förstemann, PN 524) and there is a possibility that we may have an OE *Frigedag* in certain names in OE charters (v. PN Sr 278, 410). Here we have that name or the corresponding unrecorded OScand *Frijádagr*. Hence, ‘*Fridag’s village*,’ v. þorp.

**Kirby Underdale**

Kirby Underdale

*Cherche-, Chirchebi* 1086 DB

*Ki-, Kyrkebi, -by* 1088–93 YCh 350, t. Hy 2 *MaryH et passim* to 1572 FF

*Kircabi* 1156–7 YCh 354

The name is distinguished by the addition of

in *Hundoluesdale, -dala* t. Hy 2 *MaryH*, 1156–7 YCh 354,

in *Hundovedal* 1229 Ebor, *(in) Hundofdale* 1303 Ebor, 1366 Pat

*(in) Hundoldale* 1254, 1302 Ebor, *(in Hundeldale* 1273 ib.,

in *Hundeheoledale* 1342 SR, *Hundale* 1286, 1300 Ebor,

*Underdale, under Dale* 1542 FF, 1650 ParlSurv1


1 Cf. also 5° *chirch of Hunderdale* 1500 Test.
BUG DALE (6") is Buchdale 13th Kirkham. Possibly of the same origin as Bug Dale supra 124, though the occasional spellings of Bugthorpe (which is a mile away) with Buke- (v. infra 149) suggest a connexion with that name. BUCK WOOD is a few hundred yards from Bug Dale. v. Buckrose supra 119.

GARROWBY [garabi]
Gheruenz-, Geruezbi 1086 DB
Gernotheby 1246 Ass (p)
Gerbardebi 1279 YI, Gervordeby 1281 Cl, Gerwardeby 1297
LS, 1303 KF, 1332 YD
Geruardby, -w- 1285 SR, YI, 1330 FF et passim to 1405 YI,
Gere- 1365 Pat, Gar- 1414 YI, 1500 Test
Germandeby 1285 KI
Garueby super More 1524 Bev, Gardwarby 1538 FF, Garowby
1544 FF, Garryby 1567 FF

'Gerwarth's farm,' v. by. The first element is probably a Scand pers. name Gervardh, evidenced only in OSwed and there doubtfully (Lundgren-Brate 64)1. In view of the persistent ward(e) it is unlikely that we have OSwed Gervidh, as is alternatively suggested by Lindkvist (51) (cf. also ZEN 37), as the DB spelling Geruezbi upon which this suggestion depends is probably an erratic variant of the twice evidenced Gheruenzbi, which has AN n for r (cf. IPN 107). In the DB forms z represents the OScand gen. sg. Gervards. v. Addenda lix.

HANGING GRIMSTON
Grimeston 1086 DB, -ton(a), -tun 1088-93 YCh 350 et passim to 1263 Baildon, (Hengande-) 1300 ib.
Grimston t. Wm 1 (1297) Pat
Grimston(e) 1086 DB, (Hi-, Hyngand-) 1203 Dods, 1373 Pat,
(Hanginge-, -y-) 1575 FF et freq to 1617 BM

v. Grimston supra 58. The descriptive addition is ME hengand, pres. part. of henge (OScand hengja 'to hang, suspend'), in the sense 'overhanging, sloping' (cf. PN NRY 331), as in Hanging Heaton (PN SWY 157), Hanging Chadder (PN La 53).

1 The two themes Ge(i)rh and varðr are of course very common, and there is no difficulty, even with the poor evidence of OSwed, in postulating such a name as Ge(i)rvardr.
BUCKROSE WAPENTAKE

HUNDLE DALE (6") is Hundoluesdale t. Hy 2 MaryH, 1156–7 YCh 354. For other forms cf. Kirby Underdale supra 129. 'Hundolf's valley,' from OScand Hundólfr and dæl. Cf. OE, ME Hundulf (NP 70) also from OScand.

PAINSTHORPE [penzθɔrɒp]

Torfe, Thorf 1086 DB
Painsthorp, -ay-, -ey- t. Wm 1 (1297) Pat, 1088–93 YCh 350, 1203 Dods, 1254 FF, 1333 SR, -trop 1263 Baildon
Paynthurp 1316 NomVill, Paynstorpe 1575 FF
v. porp, here 'an outlying hamlet' (of Kirby Underdale), with the holder's name prefixed, as in Painsthorpe (WRY), Thorf 1086 DB, Penyesthorp 1353 Dugd. Pain is the Continental pers. name Pagan(us); cf. Painswick, PN Gl 119.

UNCLEBY

Unchelfs-, Unchels-, Unglesbi 1086 DB
Hunkelby t. Wm 2 (1297) Pat, 1088–93 YCh 350 et passim to 1362 Extent
Hunchilebi 1156–7 YCh 354, Hunkylby 1383 YD
Hunchellebi 1170–5 MaryH, Huncealebi 1170–6 YCh 1879.
Uncleby(e) 1575 FF et freq to 1828 Langd
'Hunkel's farm,' v. by. The pers. name is found in DB as Hunchil, from whom an unidentified DB manor Hunchilhuse (WRY) was named. It is from an unrecorded OScand *Hünkell (Hünketill) or *Hundkell (NP 70).

BAFFHAM is Baffam 1828 Langd. BROWN MOOR is Brownmore c. 1412 Kirkham. DEEP DALE (6") is Depeedale 1184 Dods, Deepdale 1828 Langd, Dipdale 1836 TA. FITTESES (6"). Cf. Fytie lands 1590 Terrier1, from OScand fit 'grassland' (v. The Fitts, PN NRY 127). FORDHAM is Firthholmnab c. 1250 Kirkham. 'Meadow by the wood,' v. fyrhp, holmr; nab is OScand nabbr 'promontory, hill.' GREENLANDS (6") is Greenland 1836 TA. HAWK'S CLIFF. Cf. Howke Hill 1836 TA. HOWE HILL (6") is so named in 1836 (TA). LEY FIELD (6") is Leys, Old Leas 1836 TA, v. læs. THE SIKES (6") is Ouerwhart Sykes 1590 Terrier. 'Across the streams,' from OScand þvert and sik. Cf. also Sykelands ib. STONE DALE (6") is Stayndale c. 1250 Kirkham. v. steinn.

1 Ex inf. the Rev. Canon W. R. Shepherd.
Stony Sleights is Stony Sleights 1836 TA. v. sletta 'level field.' Wash Pit Dale (6°). Cf. Wash Dyke Dale 1836 TA. Woodley is so named in 1828 (Langd).

Wharram Percy

1. Raisthorpe [reizθɔrp]

Redrestorp 1086 DB
Redestorp 1121–37, 1150–61 MaryR, Reidestorp 1163 P (p)
Rayst(h)orp, -ai-, -ey- 12th Malton, 1268 FF et passim to 1828
Langd, -troppe 1563 FF
Raythorp 1316 NomVill
Rasthorpe 1384 YD

'Hreidār's village,' v. þorp. The pers. name is OScand Hreiaarr (OSwed Redhar, ODan Rethwr), which is also found, as Lindkvist (75 ff.) shows, in other place-names such as Rotherby (Lei), Rothersthorpe (PN Nth 151). Dr Knudsen calls attention to a similar Dan place-name Reerstrup (DaSN(F) 10).

Burdale [bɔdl]

Bredhalle 1086 DB, Bredhale 1272 Warter
Bredale 1086 DB, Bredala 1121–37 MaryR, Bredall 1202 FF
Breddal(e) 1086 DB, 12th Malton et passim to 1297 LS
Bridale 12th YD, 1282 YI, Bridall 1362 Extent, Brydale als.
Byrdale 1500 FF
Briddale 1303 Ebor (p), KF, 1316 NomVill
Burdall 1650 ParlSurv

The phonological history of Bridlington supra 100 suggests that in Burdale the first element may be OE bred 'plank, board.' The second element is either OE heath 'nook of land' or OE h(e)all 'hall, dwelling.' 'Nook of land where planks were obtained' or 'house made of planks.' The latter seems the more probable. The word hall is usually of late occurrence in place-names, but there can be little doubt that it occurs as early as DB in Newhalle near Wath (WRY), Newhalle, Newehealla 1086 DB, Newehealla t. Hy 2 (1316) Ch, N Charleston 1154 Bretton, Nove Aule 1276 RH; cf. also East Hale (PN Sx 429), another early example.

Middle Dale (6°) is Myddildall' c. 1250 Kirkham.
2. Thixendale [θi:səndil]

Sixte(n)-, Xistendale 1086 DB
Sixtenesdala 1123–8 (1336) Ch, 1145–60 MaryR
Si-, Syxendale, -dala a. 1139 Riev, 1161–84 MaryR, c. 1250 Kirkham, 1333 SR, 1413 Kirkham, Sixtene- 1156–7 YCh 354, Sixte- 1617 BM
Sistenedala 1150–60 YCh 461
Sextendala 1154–81 (1336) Ch, 1154–9 Kirkham, c. 1250 ib., Sextenedal’ 1161, 1162 P (p), Sextendaile als. Thissendale 1605 FF
Sexendale, -in- 12th, 13th (freq) Kirkham, 1329 FF, -dalle 1285 KI
Si-, Syxendale, -in- 1263 Baildon, 1297 LS et passim to 1402 YI Thyssyndalle 1548 FF, Septendaile als. Thissyndaile 1588 FF
Thixindale, -en- 1566 FF, 1650 ParlSurv, Thyxyndall als. Syxyndall 1559 FF
Thistendale 1695 Morden

It is sometimes found as Latin Sexdecim vallibus 1170–81 LeonardR, 1180–9 YCh 984, 1268 FF, etc. (freq as surname) and French Sezeuals 1195, 1196 P (p), etc.

'Sigsten's valley,' v. dæl. The pers. name Sighsten is common in OEScand, especially in the form Six(s)ten (Lundgren-Brate 221). It is found a few times in OWScand in the form Sixstein, but the Norw pers. name was probably a loan from Swedish (LindN s.n. Sigsteinn). In England it occurs as Sistain in DB (NP 121) and enters into the place-name Sysonby (Lei), Sixtenebi 1086 DB. In the case of Thixendale it was clearly confused with the numeral sixteen, hence the Latin and French translations, Sexdecim vallibus and Sezeuals. v. Addenda lx.

The phonetic jump in the later forms of the name is curious, but there is a possible local parallel in Thystildall with a variant Systyldall (c. 1250 Kirkham). On medial x becoming s in the 16th century v. Introd. xxxi.

Pluckham (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd). Worm Dale (6") is Wormedall' c. 1250 Kirkham. 'Snake valley,' from OE wyrm and dæl.

1 It is just possible, though unlikely, that these are forms of Thixendale itself, in which case the initial change is carried back to the 13th century.
3. TOWTHORPE

Touetorp 1086 DB, -thorp 1231 Ass, FF, Touetorp 1231 FF
Tout(h)orp(e) 1157–70 Malton, 1231 FF et passim to 1355 Ipm
Thouthorp 1169 Malton, 1285 KI, 1348 Kirkham
Towethorp(e) 1333 SR, 1489 FF, Towthorpe on the Wold 1475 Pat

Tothorpe 1546 YChant, Tolthorpe upon the Wold 1564 FF
'Tove's village,' v. porp. The pers. name Tove is common in
ODan as Tufti, Towi and in OSwed as Tove, Tuve, but it is not
found in OWScand sources until the end of the 10th century
when ODan Tove was borrowed as Tófi (LindN). The Danish
name is also found in late OE as Tofig, DB Tovi, etc. (NP 141)
and in the place-name Towton (WRY), Touetun DB. The
Swedish place-name Tofvetorp (Lundgren-Brate 282) and the
Danish Toverup (DaSN(F) 94) offer exact parallels to Tow-
thorpe. Towthorpe infra 232 is of different origin, but the
phonetic development of the two names accounts for the
inverted spelling Tolthorpe for this place-name.

4. WHARRAM PERCY

Warran, Warron 1086 DB
Wharron 1150–60 Melsa, 13th Kirkham, (Sowth, Suth-) 1270
Melsa, 1316 NomVill, (Percy) 1351, 1352, 1368 Percy
Warham 1190, 1193, 1195, 1197 P, 1290 Ebor, 1563 FF
Warrum 1229 Pat, 1251 Ch, 1267 YI, 1273 Ebor
Hwarru', Hwarhum 1230 P, Wharhum 1259 Ass
Wharrum 1279–81 QW, 1300 Ebor et passim to 1387 Bodl,
(West-) (Suth-) 1303 KF, (Percy) 1370 Baildon
Quarom 1282 Ebor, Qwharrum 1311 Percy, (Percy) 1384 YD,
Qwarrompercy 1372 Percy
Sowth Warhom 1285 KI
Warrom Percy, Suth Warrom 1297 LS, Warum 1413 Kirkham
Wharhom Percy 1385 YD, Wharrume Percy 1508 Test,
Wharame Percy 1572 FF
Wherumpercy 1546 YChant

There is some doubt about the original form of the name, but
with other early examples of -ham in place of -um (as in Hotham,
Turnham infra 225, 259) we should probably be right in taking
it as Hwarrum, with occasional transposition of h (as in Tow-
thorpe supra 134). A possible source of Hwarrum is OE hwer ‘pot, kettle, caldron’ in a topographical sense which is not definable and in a Northumbrian by-form hweor. It is, however, more likely that we should take the name back to OScand hvarfum, dat. plur. of OScand hvarf ‘bend, nook, corner’ (cf. NoGN Indledning 58); this word is related to OScand hverfi ‘nook, corner,’ etc., OScand hverfa ‘to turn, wander,’ OE hweorfan ‘to turn’ (cf. NED s.v. wharve), hwyrfel ‘circle, eddy,’ and OScand hvirfill ‘hill with a rounded top.’ The root idea is ‘round,’ ‘turn,’ and it may be applied to either a hill or a river-course. In Wharram it would clearly refer to the valley in which Wharram Percy and Wharram le Street infra stand. This valley, which is practically a dry one, runs in a series of very pronounced S-bends and this would agree closely with the meaning of OScand hvarf in the common Norw place-name Bukkevar, as well as in Wharfe (WRY)¹ which stands at the foot of a steep hill near a stream which runs in many bends and twists. The assimilation of rf to rr or the loss of f would be unusual, but possible parallels are found in ME thar for tharf, whirle from OE hwyrfel, etc. (cf. NED s.v. tharf, whirl). The same assimilation has taken place in Dan (Jutland) hvarre and the Dan place-names Hverreløkkesmose (DaSN(S) 58), Versig (DaSN(Sj) iii, 96), all from hvarf.

Wharram Percy belonged to the Percy family (cf. 1251 Ch).

Wharram le Street

Wharram le Street has a similar run of forms to Wharram Percy supra 134, but the following may be noted:

Warham, Warran 1086 DB

Warrum 1119-35 Nostell, 1154-1293 Meaux et freq to 1276 RH, (in the Strete) 1333 SR

Warram 1154 et freq to 13th Meaux, (majori) c. 1160-70 YC 1090

Warham 1154-91, 1164-81 Nostell, 1199 FF, Warhom 1285 KI, 1303 YI

Wharrom 1197-1210 Melsa et passim to 1376 Percy, Wharrome in Strata 1508 Test

¹ In Austwick in Craven (Warf 1224 Font, Quarf 1297 LS (p)). The River Wharfe is many miles away.
Hwarru' 1230 P, 1308 BevAct, Wharrum 1234 FF, 1238 Ch et passim to 1560 FF, (magna) 1301 Bodl, (Est) 1303 KF, (in le Strete) 1560 FF, Quarum 1300 YI, Quarum in Lestrate 1585 FF
Warrom 1238 Meaux, 1293 QW, 1299 YI, (in le Streete) 1349 Meaux Estwarum 1292 Nostell
Wharram(e) in the Strete 1583 FF, -le- 1605 FF
So called because it stands on an ancient road. v. stræt and for the French def. art. le cf. IPN 95.

Lund Wood is Thornlund 1154, 1176 Meaux, 1310-39 Melsa, Thornlond (v.l. le Thornlund) 1160-80, 1197-1210 ib., le Lound' c. 1300 Meaux, placea pastura spinosa vocatam le Lound 1356-67 Melsa. Originally 'thorn wood,' v. porn, lundr.

Holy Well (local) is (fontem) Halykeld 1150-60 Melsa. v. halig, kelda. Wharram Grange is grangia de Warram 1204 Meaux, Wharram-Grange 1828 Langd. It was a grange of Meaux Abbey. v. North Grange supra 44.

Wintringham

1. Knapton is C-, Knapeton(a) 1086 DB, 1191 P, c. 1200 For, 1201 ChR et passim to 1345 Test, C-, Knapton(a) 1190-1217 Malton et passim, (in Herfordlith) 1366 Malton, (Est-, West-) 1552 FF, Senapeton' 1190 P. The first element is OE cnapa 'child, youth, servant' and in this name as in Knapton (WRY, Nf) it probably has a significance similar to OE cild or cniht. An OScand cognate, ODan knabe, was used of a nobleman of lower rank, a dreng, and in that sense it appears to be found in the Danish place-name Knovsnap (DaSN(Sj) iii, 90). 'The servant's or servants' farm,' v. tun. It should of course be noted that OE Cnapa and OScand Knappi are recorded as pers. names, and either of these might enter into one or another of the different Knaptons. v. Hertfordlythe supra 13.

The Howle (6") was Holcher 1336 Ch. Originally 'marsh in the hollow,' v. holh, kiarr.

2. Wintringham

Wentrigha', Wentrigena' 1086 DB
Wintringham, -y- 1169 Malton, 1234 FF et passim, (juxta Malton) 1364 YD, Winteringham, -y- 1201 ChR, 1543 FF Winteringeheim 1190, 1191 P
Wytringham 1305 YI

'Homestead of the Winteringas;' v. ingaham, heim. The name is from OE Wintra, found also in Winteringham (PN BedsHu 265), Wintringham, Winterton (L).

LINTON is Linton 1086 DB, Li-, Lynton 1225 FF, 1256 YI, 1265 Ch et passim to 1828 Langd, (Place) 1620 FF, Lington 1178 Malton. 'Flax enclosure or farm,' v. lin, tun. For Place cf. Newton infra.

NEWTON and PLACE NEWTON (6") is Neuuetone, Neuton 1086 DB, Neu-, Newton(a) 12th Malton, 1219 Ass et passim to 1543 FF, (juxta Wyntringham, -i-) 13th Malton, 1332 SR, Neweton(a) 1155-7 YCh 1148, 1303 KF, Niwe(n)tun, -ton' 1166, 1167 P (p), Newton near Wyntringham als. Place Newton 1560 FF, Place Newton upon the Wold 1601 FF. 'New farm,' v. niwe, tun. William Playce was tenant here in 1285 (KI), Beatrice Playce in 1297 (LS), whilst a little earlier we have reference to pomerium1 W. de Plaz (Malton 249 d).

Thorpe Bassett

Thorpe Bassett

Torp 1086 DB, 1200 FF, (juxta Wintringham) 13th Malton Thorp(e) 1204 FF, 1336 Ch, (in Hauerfordlyth) 13th Malton Thorphelis, -ys 13th ib. (freq), Thorp Ell(e)ys 1251 FF, 1285 KI, 1303 KF, Elisthorpe 13th Kirkham Thorp Bassett(t) 1267 Ebor et passim to 1608 FF, (als. Thorpe Ellys) 1572 FF, Thorpepassett 1565 FF, Thorpassett 1607 FF

v. porp 'an outlying village' belonging in this case to Wintringham. The feudal name Elis has not been identified in connexion with Thorpe, but, as Ekwall notes (DEPN 448), William Basset held land here in 1204 (FF). A stream and its bridge in Knapton supra 136 are called Ellis Beck and Ellis Bridge (6").

The OUTGANG (6") is Vtgang 13th Malton, from OE útgang, OScand útgangr 'the way out (of the village).' Cf. infra.

1 An error for pomarium 'orchard.'
1. RILLINGTON

Redlington(e), Renlton 1086 DB
Rillig' 1166 P (p)
Rillintun, -ton(a), -y- 1175–84 YCh 631, 1228 Pat et freq to 1268 Ebor
Ridlin(ct)on 1188 YCh 631, 1229 Ebor
Rillington(a), -y- 12th Malton, 1180–90 Byland, 1190 P et passim to 1828 Langd, Ryllyngeton 1342 SR
Rellinton 1200 FF, Relyngton 13th Kirkham, Rellyngton 1370 Works
Rullington 1616 FF

The phonological development of Rillington is similar to that of Bridlington supra 100 and the various spellings point to a late OE Rēdlingtān. An OE pers. name Rēdel is not actually recorded in that form, but this would be the normal Anglian equivalent of the recorded Rēdel and the vowel would be shortened to e before dl. Karlström (125) brings together various place-names containing this pers. name, as Ringwould (K), Ridlington (R), Redlingfield (Sf), all with similar spellings, and to these may be added Ridlington (Nf), DB Ridlinketuna, Riddlesworth (Nf), DB Redelesuuorda, and Riddlesden (WRY), 1086 DB, 1226 FF Red(e)lesden(e). Redd’s farmstead, v. ingtun.

BRECKNEY FARM is Brakenhou 13th Malton. ‘Bracken hill,’ v. braken, haugr. SANDS PLANTATION (6") is le Sandes 1279–81 QW. WEST MOOR (6") is Rillington-Moors 1828 Langd.

2. SCAMPSTON

Scameston(a) 1086 DB, -ton(a), -tun a. 1080 et freq to c. 1280 Whitby, 12th Malton, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch et passim to 1366 FF, Skameston 1327 Deod, Scams-, Skamston 1137–47 YCh 621 et freq to 1596 FF
Scamastuna 1122–37 YCh 620
Scantony 1193, 1194 P
Scameliston’ 1202 FF, Skameleston’ 1244 Ass
Scameton 1229 Ebor
Scha(m)eston 1276 RH, 1342 SR, Sc-, Skampton 1351 Ipm, 1369 Pat, 1399 YI
Scampton als. Scampston 1500 FF
'Skammel's farm,' v. tun. The pers. name Skammil, which is probably a diminutive of the OScand nickname Skammur or Skammi, appears to be of East Scandinavian origin (cf. ODan Skamillus and the Swed place-name Skammelstorp, Lundgren-Brate 228). It enters also into Scamblesby (L), DB Scamelesbi.

Settrington

1. **Scagglethorpe [skaglOrap]**

   *Scachetorp* 1086 DB, *Scaketorp* 1207 FF  
   *Scakilt(h)orp*, -el- 1154-9 Kirkham, 1204 Ass, 1297 LS et freq to 1411 YD, *Sk-* 1247 FF et freq to 1418 YI  
   *Schakilthorp(e)*, -el-, -yl- 1154-81 Kirkham, 1285 KI, SR, 1305 YI  
   *Scakerthorp* 1208 Ass  
   *Shakilthorp* 1356 FF  
   *Scagilthorpe* 1441 BM, *Skaglethorp* 1475 Test, *Scaggylthorpe* 1560 FF, *Skagilthorpe* 1607 FF

   'Skakel's village,' v. þor. The pers. name is OScand *Skakul* (OWScand *Sk9kull*, OSwed *Skakul, Skakle*). Cf. *Skeckling* supra 34. Some of the early forms would appear to have Engl *sch* substituted for OScand *sk*, perhaps through the influence of Engl *shackle*.

   **Brock Pits (6") is Brocpittes 13th YD.** 'Pits where badgers are found,' v. brocc.

   **Roskell Spring (6") is Ruskeldflat c. 1250 Kirkham, Ruskilflatt 1336 Ch.** This name is probably identical in origin with the famous Danish place-name Roskilde 'horse spring,' from OScand *hross* and *kelda*. On the latter name, cf. Chambers, *Introduction to Beowulf* 18-19.

2. **Settrington**

   *Sendriton* 1086 DB  
   *Seteringetune* c. 1090 (12th) SD  
   *Setteringtona* 1122-37 YCh 1073  
   *Sectrintone* 1187 RBE  
   *Set(e)rinton(e)* 1190, 1191 P, 1210-2 RBE, 1276 RH  
   *Setrigton* late 12th Malton
Set(e)ringtun, -yng-, -ton 1185–1208 YCh 625, 1190–1220 YCh 626 et passim to 1475 Test
Settryngton 1526 Test, 1535 FF

The first element is obscure, but the most likely origin is OE sætere ‘robber’ or the same word used as a pers. name. Cf. Satterleigh (PN D 349). Ekwall (DEPN 393) suggests the possibility of a derivative of OE seohtræ ‘drain, ditch.’ v. ingtun.

BUCKTON HOLMS (6")
Bocheton(e) 1086 DB, Bokton 1302 Ch
Bucketon 13th YD, 1305 YI, Buketon 1265 YI
Bucton, -k- 13th YD, 1376 FF, (juxta Set(e)rington) 1370, 1406 YD
‘Buck farm,’ v. Buckton supra 103.

FORKERS LANE (6") is Fridker 1190–1220 YCh 626. Possibly ‘marsh near the wood,’ v. fyrhō, kiarr and Introd. xxix.

THE KELDS (6"). Cf. Keldemilne (a mill) 12th Malton. v. kelda ‘a spring.’

Norton

Norton is Norton(e), -tun(a) 1086 DB, 1156–7 YCh 354 et passim, (super Derewent’) 1204 ChR, Northun 1169, 1178 Malton, Northon c. 1285 ib. ‘North farm,’ in relation to Sutton infra.

SUTTON is Sudton(e) 1086 DB, Sutton(a), -tuna 1121–37 YCh 456, 12th Malton, 13th Kirkham, 1207 FF et passim. ‘South farm,’ v. Norton supra.

Welham
Wellun, Wellon 1086 DB
Wellum 1173 Malton, 1218 FF et freq to 1333 SR
Wellom 13th Malton, 1276 RH, 1285 KI et passim to 1544 FF
‘At the springs,’ from OE wellum, dat. plur. of w(i)ella. There are several springs about.

MILL HILL (6"), MILL BECK (6"). Cf. Milnehelm 1252 Malton. v. myln, holmr. NORTON PARKS (6") is Park 13th Malton.

1 It is difficult to keep the forms for this name apart from those of Buckton supra 103, and editors of documents always group them together under the Dickering Buckton.
BUCKROSE WAPENTAKE


Langton

1. KENNYTHORPE [keniθɔrpi]
   Cheretorp 1086 DB
   Kenert(h)orp 12th Malton, 1230 P (p), 1246 Ass et passim to 1336 Ch
   Kinnerthorp 1174–89 (1464) Pat
   Keneringthorp 1268 FF
   Kennerthorp 1300 Baildon, 1304 YI
   Kenythorpe 1546 YChant et freq to 1600 FF, -thrope 1609 FF
   The first element is probably OScand kennari ‘teacher,’ no doubt used as a nickname. v. porp.

2. LANGTON is Lanto 1066 DB, Langatuna t. Ric I (1308) Ch, Langetun, -ton(a) 1169 Malton, 1190 P et passim to 1353 Ipm, Langgetona 1297 LS, Langton 1303 KF, 1342 SR et passim. ‘Long enclosure or farmstead,’ v. lang, tun.

North Grimston

NORTH GRIMSTON is Grimeston(e) 1086 DB, Gri-, Grymeston(e), -tun 12th, 13th Malton et passim to 1404 YI, (iuxta Setrigton) late 12th Malton, Grimetona 1086 DB, Gri-, Grymston(e) 1086 DB, 1154 Meaux et passim, (North) 1574 (et freq) FF, (Aclyn) 1582 FF, Gri-, Grymneston(a) 1297 LS, 1300 YI. ‘Grim’s farmstead,’ v. Grimston supra 58. Aclyn from the family of Aguillon, who were important landowners in the Riding (cf. FA passim).

LUDDITHS Ho is Luthewoide (sic) 1176 Meaux. WANNALES (6º) is Wandail 13th YD. v. Wandale supra 107.

Birdsall

BIRDSALL [bɔːdʒɔ:l]
   Briteshale, -hala 1086 DB
   Brideshal(a), -hale 1086 DB, 1108–14 RegAlb et passim to 1300 Hom, Bridis- t. Ric I (1308) Ch

1 Kenyngthorp(e) 1287 BevAct, 1356 FF may belong here, though from the contexts Kelleythorpe infra 155 is more likely.
Bi-, Byrdsal(l) 1150–60 et freq to c. 1400 Melsa, 1411–2 Kirkham et passim to 1531 Test, (upon the Woold) 1584 FF Bridessal(e) 1167, 1168 P (p), 1246 Ass, Bridesal(l)e 1238 Ch, 1241 Ebor, 1285 Abbr, 1355 Ipm  

Bredessale 1175–95 YCh 33, Bredeshal 1216 C1R, Breydis-

1268 YI  

Briddehale 12th Malton  

Briddessal(e), -hale 1190–4 P (p), 1200 Ch, -hall(e) 1240 FF, 1285 KI, 1286 YI et passim to 1336 Malton, Briddessaghe 1332 Deod  

Briddessal(l), -ale 1285 KI, 1286 YI et passim to 1350 FF, Briddessal(e) 1297 LS, 1303 KF, 1342 SR  

Bri-, Brydsal(l) 13th Kirkham, 1322 BM, 1349 Meaux, 1423 Baildon  

Birdsaull als. Byrdyshall als. Byrdshall als. Bardsall 1558 FF  

‘Bridd’s nook of land,’ v. h(e)alh, here probably used of ‘a secluded hollow in a hillside.’  

ALDRO is Allyrhowsleghtes c. 1412 Kirkham, Allerhow 1413 ib. ‘Alder hill,’ v. alor, haugr. There is a tumulus nearby called Aldro Rath. Sleghtes in the first form is from sletta level field.’  

MILL SCREED (6”). Cf. Byrdsall Mylne 1535 VE, v. myln. Screed refers to a landslide (OScand skrið ‘landslide,’ cf. Scrath, PN NRY 160), and nearby we have EARTHQUAKE PLANTATION and LANDSLIP SCREED (6”). Screed (from OE scrēad) is also used in ERY in such senses as ‘fragment, strip of woodland, fine earth.’  

MOUNT FERRANT (6”) is terra de Monte 1285 KI, Ruines of Montferrant 1695 Morden, Mount-Farran 1828 Langd. It is the site of the old wooden castle belonging to the Fossards and destroyed c. 1175 (v. YCh ii, 328).  

Burythorpe  

Berguetorp 1086 DB, Bergetorp 1086 DB, 1198 Cur, 1219 Ass, -trop 1191–1201 Dods, -thorpe 1318 Kirkham  

Berger(h)orp 1180–90 YCh 623, 1268 FF  

Berkerthorp 1199 YCh 6241  

1 Probably Dodsworth’s confusion of Burythorpe with Barthorpe infra 148.
Berglestorp (sic) 1205 Nostell (p)
Berewethorp 1239 Ebor
Beregethorp 1240 FF
Berwerthorp 1252 FF
Bergthorp 1289 Ebor et freq to 1351 Ipm, Berghthorp(e) 1303 KF et passim to 1360 FF, Bergh- 1333 FF
Berthorpe 1298 Ebor, Berethorp 1409 YI
Burithorp(e), -y(e)- 1519 Test et passim to 1650 ParlSurv
Berrythorpe 1554, 1600 FF

Burythorpe is in hilly country and the name might well mean ‘hill village,’ v. berg, porp. Against this, however, it should be noted that porp is more often combined with a pers. name and the two or three spellings in er (Berger-, Berwer-) point to the common OScand woman’s name Bjørg, gen. Bjargar. It is possible that the regular loss of inflexional r is an example of OEScand loss of r before other consonants (cf. IPN 61–2) rather than a Northern uninflected genitive, for in the latter case we should have expected no trace at all of an inflexional ending -er.

THORNTHORPE

Torgrimestorp 1086 DB, Thorgrymsthorp 13th Kirkham
Thorgrimthorp 1175–95 YCh 33, c. 1180 Wollaton, 1297 LS, -grime- 1336 Ch
Turgrimtorp 1192–8 YCh 636, Thurgrim-, Turgermesthorp 1336 Ch, Thurghrymthorpe 1374 FF
Turgeringthorp 1285 KI
T(h)urgenthorp 1297 LS, 1303 KF, Thorkenthorp 1333 SR
Thorn(e)thorp 1339 BevAct et passim to 1530 Test, -throppe 1587 FF

‘Thorgrim’s village,’ from OWS scand Porgrimr, ODan, OSwed Thorgrim, and porp. Thorganby infra 263 has undergone a similar reduction.

Kirkham

Cherchan, Chercha’, Chirchan 1086 DB, Cherc(he)ham 1123–8 (1336) Ch

1 Depopulated.
Ki-, Kyrkeham  a. 1139 Riev, 1154–8 (1336) Ch, 1191 Bridl et passim to 1465 Pat, -heim 1238 Ebor
Kirkaham 1170–90 YCh 623, 633, -haim 1191–1201 Dods
Ki-, Kyrkham 12th Kirkham, 1232 Ebor, 1242 Cl et passim to 1531 Test
Kirkam 1288 Ebor

'Homestead with a church,' from cirice, ham or kirkja, heim. On the alternation of -ham, -heim cf. Halsham supra 30. In 1086 there was a church and a priest here (DB). Kirkham (PN La 52) is of similar origin.

The Hall is Kirkham Hall 1540 MinAcct. Kirkham Bridge is pontis de Kirkham 1444 Test. Shireoaks Wood (6") is boscum de Kyrkeham 1170–85 Kirkham. It is probably so called from being near the Riding boundary.

Westow

1. Eddlethorpe [edl0r3p]
   Guduuales-, Geduuales-, Eduardestorp 1086 DB
   Edelestorp 1221 FF
   Edelthorp(e), -il- 1297 LS et passim to 1422 YI
   Hedelthorp 1342 SR
   Edlethorpe 1574 FF, -thop 1587 FF

'Edwald's village,' v. porp. The initial G- in the DB spellings may be an attempt to represent a Scandinavianised form of the pers. name such as Íávaldr, similar to OSScand Íátmundr, Íávarðr (for OE Æadmund, Æadward). It is worth noting that the tenant of Eddlethorpe TRE was Audulf, though it is unlikely that the place takes its name from him; the OE cognate Æadwulf would of course formally explain the later forms of the place-name.

Eddlethorpe Grange (6") is Eddlethorpe grainge 1666 Deposition.

2. Firby
   Friebia 1086 DB, Fryby 1252 FF (p), Friby 1336 Ch
   Fri-, Frythebi, -by 1170–80 Kirkham, 1192–8 YCh 636, 1230 Pat (p) et passim to 1352 Ipm
BUCKROSE WAPENTAKE

Fri-, Frythby 1335 FF, 1409 YI, 1538 FF
Firthby 1500 Test, Fyrby als. Fyrthby 1566 FF
‘Frithi’s farmstead,’ v. by. On the ODan pers. name Frithi
cf. Fryton, Firby, PN NRY 50, 237.

3. MENETHORPE
Mennistorp 1086 DB
Menigt(h)orp early 13th, 1244 Malton
Meningt(h)orp, -yng- 1219 Ass et passim to 1348 Ch
Menytrop 1256 Pat (p), -thorp 1297 LS, 1303 KF
Meynthorp 1285 KI
Meincethorp 1332 SR

‘Men(n)ing’s village,’ v. porp. The pers. name Menning occurs
in the List of Ælfric’s Festermen (c. 1030 YCh 9) and no doubt,
like other pers. names in that list, it is of Scandinavian origin.
Björkman (ZEN 62) discusses possible sources and the most
likely is OScand menning ‘character, ability’ used as a by-name
or a patronymic from Menni (cf. Menthorpe infra 261) or Manni
(cf. OE Manning from Mann, Redin 168). The form in the
place-name has to some extent been influenced by the adj. many,
meny.

4. WESTOW
Wi-, Wyuestou, -v-, -w 12th Kirkham, a. 1139 Riev et passim
to 1451 Test, -stouwe 1255 Pat, 1302 Ebor, Wifestowe 1237
Ebor
Wi-, Wynestowa, -stou 1154–8 (1336), 1227, 1336 Ch
Wystowe 1365 Pat
Westow(e) 14th Sawley, 1473 Pat, 1528 FF, Westo 1563 FF

This name seems to be identical with Westoe (PN NbDu 211,
Wiuestoue 1125 Feodarium Dunelm. Prioratus) and the inter-
pretation would seem to be ‘place belonging to women,’ from
OE wif and stow. Unfortunately in neither case do we know
of any historical justification for such a name. Cf. Whenby
(PN NRY 30), Quemborough (Lei), and Wyton (supra 52).

Scrayingham

1. HOWSHAM [u:zəm]
Huson 1086 DB
Husum 12th Kirkham, 1154–81 (1336), 1227 Ch et passim to 1285 SR
Housum 13th, 1250 Kirkham, 1327 FF, Housom, Howe- 1297 LS, 1303 KF et passim to 1542 NCWills
Housom 1414 Test, Hoseham 1549 FF

At the houses,’ from OE, OScand husum, dat. plur. of hus. Cf. Housham (L), Usun DB, Husum 1295 Pat, and Norw Husum (NoGN xii, 75, etc.). The name Husum is also that of a suburb of Copenhagen and, as Dr Knudsen notes, it occurs several times elsewhere in Denmark.

GALLY GAP (6”), i.e. gallow gap, is so named in 1828 (Langd).

2. LEPPINGTON

Lepinton(e) 1086 DB, 1166 RBE (p) et passim to 1335 FF
Lepenton' 1196 FF
Lepigtona late 12th YD
Lepington', -yng- 1246 Ass et passim to 1525 FF
Leppington 1279–81 QW, 1530 Test, 1595 NCWills

Leppa's farmstead,' v. ingtun.

3. SCRAYINGHAM

Screngha', Escringha', Escraingha' 1086 DB
Scraingeham 1157 YCh 354, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch, 1208, 1268 FF
Scraingesham 1165–75 YCh 1225 (p)
Screhingham 1230 P (p)
Sc-, Skrahingham 1233 Ebor, 1297 LS, 1342 SR, 1351 Ipm
Sc-, Skreingham, -y- 1241 FF, 1250 Ebor et freq to 1416 YI,
    Screinkham 1279–81 QW
Sc-, Skraingham, -y- 1241 FF, 1276 YI et passim to 1555 YD,
    Scraiyngham 1469 Pat
Screnham 1280 Ebor
Scrakingham 1303 YI
Skir(r)ingham 1573, 1620 FF, Keiringham 1695 Morden

Initial sc would suggest a Scandinavian source for the first element or at least Scandinavian influence. The name is to be taken with Scrane End (L), Sreinga 1158 BM, Srainge 1212 RBE, Srainges 1210 (1252) Ch, and for both names the most likely source, as originally pointed out by Zachrisson (PN in ing of Scand. origin 116), is an OScand pers. name Skrá. LindBN
records *Skrái* as a by-name from OScand *skrá* 'parchment, dry skin,' which is probably identical with Norw *skraa* 'sick person,' Swed dialect *skrá(e)* 'rascal.' Evidence for the existence of a pers. name *Skrá* or *Skrái* is also provided by such Norw place-names as *Skraatorp* (NoGN i, 329), *Skrestadir* (ib. iii, 89), *Skraarudh* (ib. ii, 386), etc. In the early spellings medial *h* and in one instance *k* would appear to be a hiatus-filler between the pers. name and the suffix, but it is possible that it stands for a lost medial *ð* (cf. IPN 111), and in this case the first element may be sought in OScand *skræda* which is related to *skrá* and has precisely the same meaning in ordinary usage. The two may well have been confused as pers. names. 'Homestead of *Skrá* (or *Skraða*) and his people,' v. ingaham. On the question of Scandinavian *ing*-names v. Skeacling and Skeffling *supra* 34, 20 and Introd. xix.

**TOFT FLATS (6")**. Cf. *toftum quod fuit Bruning* 1208 FF. *v. topt.*

**Acklam**

1. **Acklam** [aklom]

   *Aclum* 1086 RH, *Aclum* 1130, 1195 P, 1190 YCh 1312, 1203
   Ass, 1206, 1212 Cur *et freq* to 1358 Ipm, *Aclom* 1267 YI
   *Acclum* 12th, 13th (*freq*) Bridl, t. Hy 2 (1308) Ch, 1160–75
   YCh 824–6, 1206 FF *et passim* to 1377 Test, (*juxta
   Lethenyng*) 1280 Ass, *Wodecok* 1365 Pat
   *Acolhum* 1196 FF, *Akolum* 1379 AD i
   *Hackelum* 1240 FF, *Acelum* 1273 Bridl, *Athelom* (*sic* for *Ach-
   *) 1276 RH, *A(c)kelom* 1285 KI, 1295 *For
   *Acc-*, *Aclom* 1290 Ch, 1297 LS *et passim* to 1546 FF
   *Aclom* 1316 NomVill
   *Acklam* 1587 FF *et freq* to 1828 Langd

   This name is clearly of the same origin as Acklam (PN NRY 162), suggested to be from OScand *øklum*, dat. plur. of OScand *økull* 'ankle,' used in Norw place-names in the sense 'slope,' a meaning appropriate in the present instance. Ekwall, however, raises a serious objection to this proposal, pointing out that it would be unusual to find two examples of this word exhibiting OWSScand consonant assimilation of *nk* to *k* as early as DB (*v. Anderson* 14). Although Buckrose is perhaps one of those
areas where such OWScand influence might be expected, the early appearance of k is certainly noteworthy. On the other hand Ekwall’s own suggestion (DEPN s.n.) that we have early reduction of OE dat. plur. acleum (from acleah) is equally difficult. Parallels are difficult to find and if the double occurrence of Scand nk becoming kk is difficult, equally difficult would be the double occurrence of so drastic an early reduction of an original acle(g)um. For Lethenyng, v. Leavening infra.

2. Leavening

Leaving(e) 1242 Fees, Leghing, Leying 13th Bridl, Lehangge 1297 LS
Leaving 1242 Fees
Leghening 1246, 1279 Ass, t. Ed 3 AD i
Lethenyng 1280 Ass
Leu-, Leavening(e), -ynge 1284 Abbr, 1285 SR et passim to 1549 FF, Leaveninge 1604 FF
Leveninge 1296 YI (p)
Leguingge 1297 LS, Leghueng 1334 FF

1 Zachrisson (Språkvetensk. Sällsk. Förhandl. 1925–7, 40) refers this form to Gilling in Ryedale (PN NRY 53), as in VCH, but there is no doubt that it is really Leavening.
This difficult name may be derived from an OE *Ledeningas* (v. *ing*). Medial *a* was either lost and its place taken by a hiatus-filling *gh* (cf. IPN 110 and Scrayingham *supra* 146), or it became *v* (as in Earswick, PN NRŸ 12). The pers. name *Leaden* is probably a shortened form of OE *Léofēgns* or the like.

**Bugthorpe**

*Bugthorpe* [bugθərp]

- *Buchetorp* 1086 DB, 1194–8 YCh 1082 (p)
- *Bughetorp* 1086 DB
- *Bugetorp* 1086 DB, 1166 RBE, 1191–9 P (p), 1206 Cur (p), ObI (p), 1253 AD iii, -thorp(e) 1252 FF et freq to 1298
- *Ebor*
- *Bugathorp* t. Hy 2 MaryH
- *Bugget(h)orp(e)* t. Hy 2 BM et passim to 1303 KF
- *Buggatorp* 1156–7 YCh 354
- *Bugthorp(e)* c. 1175 Whitby, 13th YD et passim to 1579 FF
- *Boggethorpe* c. 1180 Whitby, 1297 LS, *Boggethorpe* 1296 YI
- *Buket(h)orp* 1248 FF, 1259 Ass, 1278 Pat
- *Buc-, Bukthorp(e)* 1287–90 Ebor (freq), 14th Sawley, 1365 Pat

‘*Buggi*’s village,’ v. *porp*. The first element is the OScand nickname *Buggi* (LindB, DaPN 171), which meant (and possibly survives in) ‘big bug.’ The occasional spellings with *Buk(e)-* show assimilation of *g* to the following voiceless consonant *th*. Bugthorpe probably has no relation to the wapentake name (cf. Buckrose *supra* 119).

**Hay Bridge** is *Haibrec* 1175–86 YCh 838. v. brekki ‘slope.’ On the first element v. Hay Marsh *supra* 41.

It is doubtful whether all the variant spellings of this name can be satisfactorily explained in relation to one another, and some of them must be poor attempts to spell a name which probably fluctuated in pronunciation between Skirpen-, etc. and Skirken-. There are a few other traces of this interchange of $p$
and k before n in ME, and it would seem that p is the original consonant. Orm’s *scorncnedd* ‘shrivelled, parched’ is to be derived from OScand *skorpna* ‘to be shrivelled,’ and ME *droukening* ‘swoon’ (?) in *The Body and Soul*, one manuscript (Vernon) of which has *droupnynge* at this place, is certainly to be connected with ME *droupe* ‘droop, hang the head’ (OScand *drúpa*) and ME *droupen* ‘to be dejected’ (OScand *drupna*). ME *droukynge* ‘crouching,’ related to the previous word, occurs in *Promptorium Parvulorum* and again one manuscript (Harley) substitutes *drowpynge*. It seems probable therefore that Skirpenbeck should be connected with OScand *skarpr* ‘dried, dried up’ or one of its derivatives. It is a common theme in Norw place-names such as *Skjerpen* (NoGN iii, 4), *Skjerpa* (ib. 293), and generally refers to dried-up, barren land. OScand *skerpingr* might well have described such a piece of land

1. It is, however, improbable that Skirpenbeck goes back to an *ing*-noun, for in the spellings medial *ing* is rare, and as the land at Skirpenbeck does not appear to be particularly barren we should perhaps seek an OScand etymon in *in* or the like and refer it to the stream itself. No such form as *Skerpin* is on record, but we could without difficulty postulate a verb *skerpna* ‘to be dried up’, parallel to the OScand *skorpna* already mentioned. The whole name would signify ‘a stream that was dry at times.’ v. bekkr.

At Skirpenbeck the stream itself is very small.

**Street Farm.** Cf. *Altam Stratam* 1346 Whitby. It is near the Roman Road from Stamford Bridge.

**VI. HARTHILL WAPENTAKE**

**BAINTON BEACON DIVISION**

*(wap’, etc. de) Hertle 1166, 1181, 1201, 1230 P, 1204 Ass, 1219 Fees Hertl’ 1219, 1231 Ass Hertell’ 1219 Ass, Hertel’ 1226–8 Fees, 1268 Ass*

1. The late Professor R. E. Zachrisson also considered an OE *scearping rough ground* possible.

2. *Bainton Devision 1610 Speed, Bainton-Beacon Division 1828 Langd.*
(wapintagium, etc., decanatus de) Herthill(e), -hyll(e) 1160–80
Melsa, 1231 Ass et passim to 1531 Test
Hertyl, -il 1240 YD, 1268 Ebor, 1276 RH
Hertehill(e) 1278 YI, 1279–81 QW
Herrhull 1285 SR, KI, 1289 YI, 1306 BevAct

Harthill Wapentake is named from an unidentified place called Hertle 1170–82 YCh 49, Hertille 1199 Cur, Herrhull 1202 FF, Herthill 1276 RH, 1324 Ch. ‘Hart hill,’ v. heorot, hyll, and on the reduction of hyll in the earlier spellings of the local name and the wapentake name v. LMS i, 48 ff.

As Anderson (19) points out, the allusion in YCh 49 to a grant of land in Hertle and Westlanges by Thomas de Heveringham and the association of a man called William de Herrhull of Shipton (1286 YI) with Everingham (1287 YI) suggest that the lost Harthill is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Everingham and the townships west or north of Market Weighton. Further evidence tends to confirm this. The RH reference associates the place with Pocklington, where an inquisition of the wapentake was held in 1279 (YI), the chapter of the Deanery of Harthill met at Ruththorp, i.e. Thorpe le Street infra 229 in 1275 (Ebor), whilst the field-name Westlanges with which Hertle is associated in YCh 49 may be identical with Rosewestlang (13th Warter), an unidentified field-name in Hayton. One might suppose from this that the original meeting-place of the wapentake was somewhere near the Roman road from Market Weighton to York. There is a further allusion c. 1210–20 (Dugd vi, 976), where mention is made of ‘a lane (semita) which goes through the middle of Goodmanham towards the east as far as Hertilgate towards the north,’ suggesting that the road leading to Herril (v. gata) was north of Goodmanham. A reference to bosci de Hertlegh (1329 Dugd iv, 279), if identical, suggests that it was still further north, nearer to Nunburnholme.

The wapentake was sub-divided in the 16th century into the four divisions of Bainton, Wilton, Hunsley and Holme.

Note. The hundreds which later formed the wapentake of Harthill actually extended beyond the limits of this wapentake; Ouse and Derwent Wapentake, for example, was made up of parts of Warter, Pocklington and Howden Hundreds. The nine DB hundreds are:
Drifelt hundret, Drifel Hund', named from Driffield infra 153. It
coincided closely in extent with the DB soke of Driffield (also *socha de Drifeld* 1190 etc. P, *socha de Driiffed 1276 RH, soecaggio de Dryffeld 1285 KI), occupying the north-eastern part of Bainton Beacon Division. Anderson (15 n.) suggests that Moot Hill (6°), a tumulus in Driffield township, possibly from OE *gemot* 'meeting-place,' and Spellow Farm in Elmswell (OE *spell* 'speech,' cf. *supra* 116), may have been meeting-places for this hundred.

*Wartre Hundred* is named from Warter *infra* 168 and included the north-west of Bainton Beacon Division, the north-east of Wilton Beacon and a detached portion in the north of Ouse and Derwent Wapentake.

*Poclinton Hundred*, named from Pocklington *infra* 182, corresponds to the north-west of Wilton Beacon Division and the middle part of Ouse and Derwent Wapentake, but it was not coterminous with the soke (*socha de Pocli'ton 1586 DB, soca de Poelington 1236 FF, etc.).


*Cave Hundred*, named from North Cave *infra* 224, corresponds to the western part of Hunsley Beacon Division and included a detached part in the west of Holme Beacon.

*Sneulf(s)cros Hundred* occupied the south-east of Bainton Beacon Division and the north-west of Hunsley Beacon Division. The meeting-place has not been identified. The wapentake-name occurs again as *Sneolfsrons Hundred* (sic) 12th Sanct. ‘Sneolfs’ cross,’ v. cros. OS and *Snekiolfr* occurs independently in England as *Snaculf* (NP 125).

*Welleton hundred*, named from Welton *infra* 219, included the centre and parts of the south of Hunsley Beacon Division with Lund on the Wolds as a detached portion. Cf. also *Welleton(e)soke* 1180-95 YCh 972, 985.

*Hase hundred*, presumably named from Hessle *infra* 215, occupied the south of Hunsley Beacon Division, with a detached portion in the south of Holme Beacon.

*Hoveden hundred* included Howdenshire and the south of Ouse and Derwent Wapentake. v. Howdenshire Wapentake *infra* 225.

**Great Driffield**

1. **Great Driffield** [driil, dœrifl]

*(on) Driffelda* c. 1100 (s.a. 705) ASC (D), c. 1121 ib. (E)

*Drifelt, -feld* 1086 DB, *Dri-, Dryfeld* 1208 FF, 1304 Abbr, 1308 Ch

*Driffeld(a), -y*– 1100-8 *RegAlb* (et *freq*), 1149-54 YCh 101, 1155-1230 *P et passim* to 1546 YChant, *(Magna)* 1294 *Meaux, (North)* 1295 YI, *(Major)* late 13th BM, *(Great)* 1466 Pat *et freq*, *(Muche)* 1570 FF
The Anglo-Saxon forms make it impossible to accept Anderson’s suggestion (15) that the first element is OE dryge ‘dry’ or to attach any weight to the d of Dridfeld. The Anglo-Saxon form suggests that we may have a compound of OE drif, probably in the once-recorded sense of ‘stubble’ (Eadwine’s Psalter), and feld. This may well be the meaning also of Driffield (PN Gl 55), Drifelle DB, etc.

KENDALE Ho is Cheldal(e) 1086 DB, parva Keldale 1202 FF, Kendall 1828 Langd. ‘Valley with a spring,’ v. kelda, dæl. According to Nicholson (65) there is a spring in the valley called Kendal Well.

DANESDALE, DANES GRAVES are so named in 1828 (Langd). WOLD Ho FARM is Wold-House 1828 Langd. v. The Wolds supra 13.

2. ELMSWELL [emzil, emzal]

Helmesuuelle 1086 DB, -well(e), -wella 1086 DB, 1156–7 YCh 354, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch, 1316 NomVill, 1371 FF
Elmesuuelle 1086 DB, -well(e) 1112–22 MaryR (et freq), 1187–91 Kirkham et freq to 1598 FF
Em(e)swell 1518 FF, 1650 ParlSurv
Hemswell 1546 FF, 1650 ParlSurv
Elmeswell als. Helmeswell als. Helmeswell upon the Wolde 1598 FF

There is the same difficulty here as in Elloughton infra 220 in deciding whether initial h in the early spellings is organic. On the whole its persistence to the 16th century supports its genuineness. ‘Helm’s spring,’ from OE Helm (v. Helmesley, PN NRY 71) and w(i)ella. There are many springs round about.

LITTLE DRIFFIELD\(^1\), with forms and meaning as for Great

\(^1\) Drigelinghe 1086 DB was probably in the neighbourhood of Driffield and has been identified by Skaife, *Yorkshire Domesday Book* 11, with Little Driffield, and in VCH ii, 197 with Brigham supra 90. The former seems more likely. There is no etymological connexion between the names.
Driffield supra 153, is distinguished as Parva 1290 YI, Lit(t)le 1367 Pat et passim.

**KELLEYTHORPE**

Calgestorp 1086 DB
Kelingtorp, -thorp(e), -yng- 1180–90 YCh 623, 1297 Baildon et freq to 1332 SR
Kelling(e)torp 1190–2 P, Kellynthorp 1518 FF
Kelint(h)orp1 1200 P (p), 1231 Ass
Kelethorp t. Hy 3 Ipm
Killingthorp 1233 Lib, Kylynthorpe 1406, 1415 YI
Kellitehorp 1268 YI, Ki-, Kellithorp(e) 1592 NCWills
Kelengthorpe als. Kellethorp 1543 FF

‘Kel(l)ing’s village,’ v. ðorp. Kel(l)ing is possibly a derivative of some OScand pers. name in Ketil- (Ketilbjorn, etc.) or OScand Ketill itself. It is to be associated with the Swedish place-name Källunge (ON på -inge 85), OSwed Kælle (Lundgren-Brate 157), and ME Kel (ZEN 52). For the early assimilation of tl to ll cf. Knedlington infra 253 and Bridlington supra 100.

**SKERNE**

Schirne 1086 DB, -y- 1246 FF, Schirn 1205 ChR, Schyren 1304 Ipm
Skirn(a), Skirne, -y- c. 1200, 1204 Meaux, 1222 FF et freq to 1349 Meaux
Skiren(a), -y- 1197–1210 Melsa, early 13th Meaux, 1259 Ass et passim to c. 1400 Melsa, Sc- 1280 Ebor
Shirin, -y- 13th Percy, 1246 Ass (p), 1294 YI, 1390 Meaux, Sck- 1304 YI
Shiron 1293 QW
Skeren 1409 AD ii, Skern(e) 1531 Test, 1545 FF
Skyerne 1423 YD
v. Skerne Beck supra 11.

RICKLE PITS is Redekeld 13th Meaux. ‘Reed-grown spring,’ v. hreod, kelda. SKERNE BRIDGE (6") is pontem de Skiren’ 13th Meaux. SKERNE GRANGE is grangia de Skyrna c. 1200 (et freq) Meaux, Newgrange 1356–67 Melsa. v. North Grange supra 44. SKERNE LEYS is campis de Skyrne 13th Meaux. v. læs.
1. HUTTON CRANSWICK

Hottune 1086 DB, Hutton(e) 1280 Ebor, 1506 NCWills
Hotton(e), -tuna, -tun 1086 DB, 1100–15 YCh 1001, 1190 ib.
1105, 1222 FF et passim to 1526 Bev
Hutton 1521 Test, Hutton 1554 FF, Hewston 1577 FF

‘Farmstead on the end of a hill,’ v. hoh, tun.

It is variously distinguished as et (cum) Cra(u)ncewyk(e) 1210–20 Melsa, 1316 NomVill, Crauncewyk, -wik 1197–1210 Melsa et passim to 1419 YI, by Crauncewyk 1310 Ch, Cra(u)nsewyk 1344 Baildon, 1479 Bev, Crawncewik 1506 NCWills, and Craunsweke 1554 FF, juxta Watton’ 1285 KI, 1302 Ebor, super Waldam 1291 Ebor, from its proximity to Cranswick infra, Watton (infra 155) and the Wolds (supra 13).

CRANSWICK [kranzik]
Cranswic, -vic 1086 DB, Cranswic 1200–16 YCh 1265
Crancewic, -wik(e) 12th YD, t. John AddCh, 13th YD (p), 1202 FF, 1219 Ass
Cranke-, Crancwith 1166 P (p)
Crantewich 1193 P (p)
Cranswich 1194 P (p)
Cranswic 1228 Pat, Cransewic 1231 Ass
Crauncewik(e), -wyk(e) 1235–49 Melsa, 1280 Ass et passim to 1492 FF, Craunswyck 1279 YI
Grancewik 1260 Baildon
Crannsewyke 1356 FF, Craneswicke 1542 NCWills, 1563 FF

The etymology of the first element is obscure, but it should be noted that the regular medial ce probably represents ts, possibly ks, and this is confirmed by the occasional use of z and s. In the majority of ERY place-names in wic the first element is a pers. name. No pers. name of suitable form is on record, but in view of the various P spellings OE cranoe ‘crane’, used as a proper name, is just possible.

EDDLEMERE LANE (6") is Edermar, Zehel-, Yehel-, Yelemar 13th Meaux. v. mere and Marton supra 49. The first element is obscure but the relation of the forms with and without initial y is that discussed under Yearsley, PN NRY xxxii, 193.

1 Cf. Gransmoor supra 88.
HARTHILL WAPENTAKE, BAINTON BEACON

Corps Landing is so named in 1828 (Langd). It is on the river Hull. South Hall is Sowthall 1569 FF.

2. Rotsea [rotsa, ratsa]

Rotese 1086 DB, 1285 KI, 1509 Test
Rotese 13th, 1348 Guisb, 1290 VI (p), Rotese 1285 KI
Rotese 1204 Ass (p), t. Hy 3 BM, 1260 Ch et passim to c. 1362 Works
Rotse 1210-20 Melsa, 1378 Baildon, 1458 BM
Rottsey als. Rottyssey 1577 FF
Ratsey 1606, 1616 FF, 1610 Speed

Of the several possibilities for this name the more likely are OE hrot 'scum' or ME rot 'rot, decayed matter' (of Scandinavian origin, possibly found in some of the Norwegian river-names Rotoa, Rottaas, etc., NoEN 198, Raasjoen, NoGN ii, 393), with OE sæ 'lake' (v. Kilnsea supra 15), though medial e in some of the spellings may present some difficulty. 'Lake which contains decayed matter or refuse.' As at other places the carrs have been drained and the pool no longer exists.

Feather Holm (6") is Fetherholm c. 1300 Guisb. v. holmr. The first element may well be OScand fjgar 'feather,' as suggested by Dr G. Knudsen. A similar name, Fjerholm, is found in Denmark (DaSN(Sj) iv, 69, 73), and it is thought that this name arose because great flocks of birds had lived in the neighbourhood. The ERY was famous for its duck decoys.

Rotsea Carr is Bupulker, Wycheke 1300 Guisb. v. kiarr.

3. Sunderlandwick

Sundreslanwic 1086 DB
Sundrelanuwic 1086 DB, -wik 1387 BM
Sunderlandwic(k), -wik, -wyk(e) 1120-41 MaryR, late 12th
Nunkeel et passim to 1652 Deposition, -ir- 1366 FF
Sunderlandawic 1156-7 YCh 354, Sunderlandewich, -wik 1161-75 YCh 681, 1280 Ass
Sunderlangwyc, -wyk(e) 1161-75 RegAlb, 1235-49 Melsa, 1286 Baildon, Sundlangwik (sic) 1242-3 Fees

1 Rygh connects all these names with an OScand *rota, cognate with hrjota 'to fall, glide forth.'
Sunderlanwik c. 1200 Gilbert
Sundrelamwik (sic) 1342 SR

‘Dairy-farm on a separated piece of land,’ v. sundorland, wic. The reason for describing the place as ‘separated land’ is not known.

POUNDSWORTH MILLS is Pouzhuat 1175–83 YCh 1116, Pounce-wath 1339–49 Melsa. v. waēd ‘ford.’ The first element is obscure.

**Watton**

Watton is on the lower slope of a long, gradually rising hill to the west of the marshes, which must then have been more extensive than now; Eustace Fitzjohn endowed the nunnery in 1150 with the whole vill of Watton in terris, in aquis, in pratis et in pascuis et in mariscis (Dugd vi, 955). This agrees with a derivation of Watton from OE (Nb) weāta dūn, ‘wet, saturated hillside,’ v. weāt, dūn. The OE spelling weāt shows the substitution of WSax wēt for Nb wēt, and weāta (which can hardly be a Mercian back-mutated form) is very likely a mistake for waēta, like OE Bede Leod (MS B) for Loid(is), i.e. Leeds (WRY), in other manuscripts. The post-conquest spellings in Wat- arise from the substitution of OScand vātr, Northern ME wate ‘wet’ (cf. Introd. xxii), as well as the assimilation of td to tt.

1 There is a Sunderland (6") in Roos supra 56, but no forms have been found for it.


Standingholme (6”) is *Staningholme* 1828 Langd. v. holmr.

Swinekeld is *Swinkhill* 1650 *ParlSurv*, *Swinkell* 1828 Langd. Probably ‘swine spring,’ v. swin, kelda, and cf. Cawkeld *supra*.

Watton Carrs is *mariscis* c. 1150 *Dugd*, Watton Karre 1551 *MinAcct*. v. kiarr.

Kilnwick

1. Beswick [bezik]

*Baseuuic, -wic* 1086 *DB*

*Besewic, -wik(e), -wyk(e)* t. Ric 1 Cur, 13th YD, 1219, 1231

Ass, 1233 FF *et passim* to 1406 YI

*Besewybk(e) 1254 Abbr, 1285 KI, 1287 YI, 1332 SR*

*Beswyk(e) 1371 BM et passim* to 1562 YD

‘Besi’s dairy-farm,’ v. wic and cf. Bessingby *supra* 100.

Beesby (L), *Bese-, Basebi* *DB*, would appear to contain the same pers. name.

Beswick Mill (6”) is “the east mill of Besewyck” 13th YD.

Wilfholme is *Wilfeholme* 1828 Langd. v. holmr.

2. Bracken

*(wet) Bracenan* c. 972 (c. 1200) *BCS* 1279

*Brachen(e) 1086 DB, 12th YD (p)*

*Braken(e) 1193 Cur (p), 1240, 1272 FF* *et freq* to 1415 YI,

*(super le Wold) 1600 FF*

*Brakken, -ck- 13th Warter, 1300 YI et passim* to 1828 Langd,

*Brackyn 1322 BM*

*Brakkeng 1379 Poll*

‘In the bracken,’ v. braken. The OE spelling is probably a late dat. plur.
3. Kilnwick [kilk]

Chileuuit, -uuit 1086 DB
Killingwic, -wik(e), -y- 1163-89 YD, 1200 P, 1219 Ass, 1232
Pat et passim to 1414 Test, (sub Waldo) 13th YD, (juxta Watton) 1300 Ch
Killewic’ 1200 Cur, 1201 FF
Killingwic early 13th YD, Killigwic, Killinwic 13th YD
Ki-, Kylnewic,-wyk 13th YD, 1226 FF, 1231 Ass, 1240 YD,
1279 YI
Ki-, Kylingwyk 1373 Pat, (iuxta Watton”) 1342 SR
Kelyngwike 1449 Test
Kylineweke 1524 FF
‘Cylla’s dairy-farm,’ v. ing, wic and cf. Nunkeeling supra 79
and Kilnwick Percy infra 179.

BECK CLOSE (field). Cf. (Buttes atte) Bec 1333 YD vi. Marr-
BOTTOM (6”). Cf. Langmare 13th YD, from lang and OScand
marr ‘pool.’

Lockington

1. AiKE [jak, jak əbak ə(d) arəm]

Ach 1086 DB
Ake 1150–60 Melsa, t. John AddCh, 1202 FF, 1236 Meaux
et passim to 1650 ParlSurv, Ak 1276 RH, 1306–7 BevAct
Hac 1238 Ch, Hak 1246 FF
Ayk 1285 KI, Ayke, -i- 1305 BevAct (p) et freq to 1828
Langd
‘At the oak-tree,’ v. ac. On the modern pronunciation v.
Introd. xxviii; [arəm] is Arram in Hunsley Beacon infra 161.
Cf. also Barf Hill infra 190.

AIKE CARRS (6") is Aike Carr 1617 FF. v. eik; kiarr.

2. LOCKINGTON [lokilton]

Loche-, Lecheton 1086 DB, Loketon 1305 Ebor
Lokinton, -ton(a), -yn- 12th YD, 1154–60, 1175–95, 1195–
1211 YCh 1117–21, t. John AddCh et passim to 1314 Ch
Lochintona 1155–68 YCh 1160 (p)
Lokington(a), -yng- 1178 Warter, 1238 Ch, 1246 Ass et passim
to 1504 Bev, Lockyngton 1578 FF
Lukinton 1226 FF

Lokenton 1247 FF, 1279 YI, 1280 Ass

‘Loca’s farm,’ v. ingtun and Lockington (PN NRY 91), where there is a similar variation in spellings with and without medial ing. This is not uncommon in Y place-names. The spelling in for ing is also a common feature, especially in place-names compounded with ingtun. It is clearly an assimilation of the back nasal to a dental.

Barf Hill is Aken(e)berg(a) 1150-60 Melsa, 1150 Meaux, 1178 Warter, 1261 Ch, 1293 QW, -berghe 1210-20 Melsa, Acheneberghe 1156 Meaux, Aking(a)berghe 1154-60 YCh 1118, Akeberga ib. 1119, Acheburuam 1162-5 YCh 1120, Berghe 1150-60 Melsa, Barewe 1381 Ebor, Barrow or Barf-Hill I828 Langd. ‘Hill near Aike’ (supra 160), v. be(o)rg. The use of the adjectival form acen ‘oaken’ is interesting, though it might be merely an orthographic variation of Aking(a)-; the latter might signify ‘(hill belonging to) the men of Aike’ (v. ing). The -ing- spellings, however, are from Dodsworth’s transcripts. The association with Aike is made certain by a reference that Akeneberg est manerium heredum domini Petri de Malo Lacu, vocatum Berghe juxta Ake (1150-60 Melsa i, 110).

Bealeys Plantation

(grangia de) Belag(a) 1150 Meaux, 1150-60 Melsa, 1154-60 YCh 1119-20, 1221 FF, -lagh(e), -lagha 1156 Meaux, 1178 Warter, 1210-20 Melsa, 1287 BevAct, c. 1400 Melsa, (bosco iuxta) 1156 Meaux, (Grange) 1535 VE

Beghladhe 1153 Meaux, Begheledhe 1153 YCh 1384

Bellagha 1154-60 YCh 1118

Beghlay 1343 FF

Belley 1527 Test

Great Byley 1547 FF

The early forms with gh, unknown to Ekwall, make it difficult to accept the explanation of this name given in Studies 2 159. Rather we must associate it with Byland (PN NRY 194). For that name a pers. name Bega was suggested. Perhaps we should rather take it to be the word bjagr, discussed under Bewholme supra 78 and denoting a bend. Bealey is in a bend of a stream and Byland is almost surrounded by one. v. leah.
Bryan Mills is (molendinum) Brianesmiln 1236 Meaux, (molendinum aquaticum) Bryanmylne 1235-49 Melsa, Brienesmyln 1238 Ch, Bryan Mylne 1535 VE. v. myln. The pers. name is ME Brian, found in Yorkshire in the 13th century.

Thorpe (6") is Torp 1086 DB, Gunmundetorp 1200 Cur, Wyynund(e)thorp 1247 FF, 1419 YI, Wyynthorp(e) 1279, 1414 YI, (Great, Little) 1571 FF, Wingesthorpe 1285 Abbr, Wyynthorp(e) 1299 YI, 1328 Ch. v. porp, with the later addition of the feudal owner’s name, probably Winemund. Gun- may be a mistake for Guin-, an AN spelling of Win-.

Scorborough

Scorborough [skɔˈbra]

Scogerbud 1086 DB
Scarebregg’ 1200 P (p)
Sc-, Skoureburg(h) 13th YD, 1230 Percy, 1246 Ass, 1316 NomVill, 1318 Percy, 1323 Cl, -byrg 1252 Baildon
Scorburgh(e) 13th Percy, 1304 BevAct, 1330 FF et passim to 1547 FF
Scoresburgh 1290, 1328 Ch
Scouresburgh 1304 YI, Scoueresburg 1305 Abbr
Scourburgh 1305 BevAct, 1352 Ipm, -bourgh 1352 Pat
Sc-, Skoreburgh 1329 Deod, 1334, 1341 Percy, 1349 Test, 1362 Extent, 1379 Poll, 1482 Test
Scordeburgh 1336 Ipm, Scardeburgh 1349 Meaux

Lindkvist (15) derives Scorborough from OWScand skógar-buð ‘a booth built in a wood,’ v. skógr, boð. Dr Knudsen points out a parallel Danish name, Skovbo in Aalborg Amt (Skoffuebod 1487), from skógar-bóth. The diphthongised Scoure- (arising from vocalisation of intervocalic g) would normally become dialect [skɔ:]. Lindkvist further suggests that the final element buð was replaced by burh when the local castle was built after the conquest.

Scorborough Ings (6") is so named in 1650 (ParlSurv). v. eng.

1 Confused with Scarborough, PN NRY 105.
2 The principal evidence for such a castle is the survival of a moat.
Holme on the Wolds

HOLME ON THE WOLDS [oum]

Hougon 1086 DB, Hogum 1100 YCh 965
Haum 1130–8 YCh 970
Houm(e), -w- c. 1150 BM, 1244 Ass et freq to 1371 BM
Houhum 1194–1214 YD, 1246 FF, Hohhum 1203 Cur,
Hohum 1251 FF, Howhum 1332 SR
Houm, Howum 1202 FF, 1210–20 Dugd et freq to 1309 Ch,
Howum 1301 Ebor
Howum 1249 Ch, 1379 Poll, Houn 1276 RH
Holme super Wolde 1578 BM, (on the Woulds) 1650 ParlSury


HOLMEDALE FARM is Humbelochedaile 12th Warter, -dale 12th YCh 1103, Humbelokedale, Hamlouc-13th ib., vallem de Houmlouc 13th ib. ‘Hemlock valley’, containing the obscure Sc and NCy form humilok and dael.

Lund

LONT 1086 DB, Lond 13th Percy, (negh Watton) 1500 Test
Lunt 1100 YCh 965, 1257, 1292 Ch, Lount 1334 Deod
Lund(e) t. Ric I Cur (p), 1190–1210 YCh 1104 et passim to 1583 NCWills, (subtus Brek’) 13th Percy, (sur, super le Waid(e)) c. 1345, 1380 Guisb, 1392 StoweCh, (upon the Wowlde) 1588 FF

Lownde (upon the Wo(u)lde) 1538, 1556, 1602 FF

v. lundr ‘grove,’ sometimes ‘sanctuary wood’; cf. LSE ii, 72 ff., and Holland (PN BedsHunts 220). The word lund is apparently evidenced as in common use in ERY in the phrase ‘one acre within his lund’ (Bridl 225). For the descriptive additions cf. The Wolds supra 13 and for Brek’ v. brekka ‘slope.’

ENTHORPE is Emethorp 1276 RH, Empthorp(e) 1342 SR, 1535 VE, Enthorpe 1828 Langd. v. porp. The first element is uncertain.

KIPLING COTES RACE COURSE is Kypplingcoats horse course 1668
BevRec. In 1618 about fifty gentlemen of the county subscribed £360 for establishing an annual horse-race here (cf. Langd 177).

Lair Hill is Layrehil 12th Warter, Laer-, Laireshil 1190–1210 YCh 1103–4. OScand leirr usually means ‘clay,’ and it is probable that this is the first element of Lair Hill (and Lairs infra 172), for we have here patches of boulder-clay in the hollows of the wolds in several places.

**Middleton on the Wolds**

*Middeltun(e)* 1086 DB, *-ton(a)* 1190–1210 YCh 1102 et passim to 1371 Works, *(negh Lond)* 1500 Test, *(of Wolde)* 1546 YChant

*Midelton(a)* 12th BM, 1155–66 Whitby, 1199 Warter et freq to 1353 FF, *(super Mardererhau)* 1190–1210 YCh 1101, *(super le Wald)* 1303 Ebor, *(iuxta Baynton’)* 1377 Meaux

*Miteltuna* 1274 Ebor

*Mildetona* 1279 Warter

*Middilton, -y-* 1285 KI, 1549 FF, *(on the Wold)* 1563 FF

*Medilton* 1351 Ipm

‘Middle farm,’ v. middel, tun. *Lond* is Lund supra 163. Mardererhau has not been identified, but it is probably identical with Manardhau, Maynardehow 13th Warter (from the Continental pers. name *Mainard*, and haugr ‘hill, mound’).

**Kipling Cotes**

*Climbi-, Clinbicotes* 1086 DB

*Kib(b)lincotes* 1190, 1192 P (p), 1190–1210 YCh 1103–4, *Kibelin-* 1294 Percy

*Kiblecotis* 1246 Ass

*Kib(e)lingcotes, -y-* t. Hy 3 BM, 1285 KI et passim to 1423 Baüldon, Kybelling- 1308 BevAct

*Ki-, Kybb(e)lingcotes* 13th Warter, 1281, 1287 YI, 14th Percy

*Kiblingecotes* 1279 YI, Kybelingekotes 1287 YI

*Kyp(p)lyngcote* 1301 Baüldon, Cootes *(super le Wold)* 1549 YD, *Kyp(p)lyncotes* 1565, 1575 FF

*Kobelyngcotes* 1333 FF

1 *ex inf.* Mr T. Sheppard.
Cottages of Cyb(b)el or of Cyb(b)el's people,' v. ing, ingtun, cote. OE Cybbel is not on independent record, but it occurs in OE cybles weoraig (BCS 455) and Kibblesworth (PN NbDu 126). It is a diminutive of the OE Cybba proposed for Guy's Cliffe (PN Wa 264), and an unmutated form Cubbel occurs in Cublington (PN Bk 78).

KIPLING Ho (6") is Kiplin-Coates-House 1828 Langd.

Bainton

1. Bainton
   Bagenton(e) 1086 DB
   Baynton(e), -tona, -i- 1100-15 YCh 1001, 1160-80 Melsa et passim to 1522 Test, (super Waldas) 1301 Pat, (upon the Wold) 1600 FF
   Bai-, Bayngtun, -ton(e) 1150-60 Guisb, 1150-65 YCh 1097, 1281, 1302 Ebor
   Baenton 1191-6 P, Banton 1191 P
   Beniton 1192 P
   Beinton 1230 Ebor, 1248 Pat
   Bayneton, -i- 1301 Abbr, 1464 Pat, (on the Wold) 1592 YD

   In all probability the first element is the pers. name Bēga or Bega compounded with ingtun. Hence, 'Bēga's farmstead.' Early contraction would result in the diphthong ei; normally written ei (ey) or ai (ay) in ME. OWScand beinn 'short' may have contributed to the development of these forms in the place-name.

   Applegarth Lane (6") is Appelgard 1279 YI, -garth 1401 ib., Applegarth(e) 1349 Ipm, 1568 FF, Appul- 1410 YI, Applil- 1415 ib. et freq to 1534 FF. 'Orchard' or 'enclosure with an apple-tree,' v. æppel, garðr. Cf. Applegarth (PN NRY 293) and Danish Abildgaard (DaSN(Sj) iii, 50).

2. Neswick [nezik]
   Nessvinc 1086 DB
   Nesseuuic 1086 DB, -wich 1191, 1192 P, -wyk, -wik 1365 Pat, 1376 FF, 1401 YI, Neseuuic 1219 Ass
   Nessingwik, -y- 1150-60 Melsa, 1254, 1257 Pat et passim to c. 1400 Melsa
Neswik(e) 1253 Pat, 1523 Test
Nesyngwyk 1254 Pat

Neswick Hall stands on a small headland which juts out into the main valley. The first element is therefore likely to be næss. ‘Dairy-farm on the headland’ or ‘dairy-farm belonging to those dwelling on the headland,’ v. ing, wic, and cf. Nassington (PN Nth 204).

Kirkburn

1. Eastburn

Aust-, Augustburne 1086 DB
Estbrunne 1274 YI, 1293 QW et passim to 1367 Pat, -bronne 1360 FF, -brune 1401 YI
Estburn(e) 1316 NomVill, 1352 Ipm et passim to 1559 FF, (als. Esborne) 1567 FF

Eastburn, Battleburn and Kirkburn (infra 166–7) all stand on Eastburn Beck, alongside which there are several springs, especially between Battleburn and Eastburn and in Kirkburn itself. Southburn (infra 167) is on an affluent stream, Southburn Beck. ‘East spring or stream,’ v. austr, east, burna, brunnr. It is difficult to say whether these names are English or Scandinavian. On August- cf. IPN 99.

Howe Hill (6’). Cf. Robert atte Hou 1333 SR. v. haugr ‘mound.’ There is a tumulus nearby.

2. Kirkburn [kɔkbon, kɔrkbon]

Burnous 1086 DB, ecclesiam de Burnnus 1121–35 (1401) Ch, 1155–8 YCh 672, Burnus c. 1180 YCh 659
Westburn(e) 1086 DB, 1316 NomVill, -brun(ne) 1246 FF, 1333 SR
Brun’ 13th Guisb, Bronne 1276 RH, Brunne 1286, 1292 Ebor, 1293 QW, Brunnas (plur.) 1285 KI
Kirkebrunnom 1272 Cl
Kirkebrun(e) 1274 YI, 1362 Extent, Ki-, Kyrk(e)brunne 1285 Pat, 1295 YI, c. 1300 Guisb, (super waldam) 1371 Ch
Ki-, Kyrk(e)burn(e) 13th Guisb, 1379 Poll, 1562 FF, (upon the Wolds) 1490 FF

v. Eastburn supra. The first spellings here represent a
compound of burna and hus ‘house by the stream.’ v. west, kirkja.

**Battleburn** is *Bordelbrun(ne)* 1227, 1228 Guisb, *Bottilbourne* 1539 ib., *Botleburne* 1566 FF, *Batle Burne* 1650 ParlSurv. ‘Bordel’s stream,’ v. brunar and cf. Bordelby (PN NRY 214). The later forms represent the dialectal change of bord to bod and the influence of the common word battle.

**Craike (Hill)** (6"). v. East Riding supra 1.

3. **Southburn** [su:θbɔn]

   *Sudburne* 1086 DB, *Sutheburne* 1276 RH (p), *Southburn(e)* 1379 Poll et freq to 1530 FF
   *Suthburnus* 1196–1212 YCh 669
   *Suthbrun(e)* 1234 FF, 1316 NomVill, 1333 SR, 1334 Deod, *Suthbrunne* 1234 FF, c. 1300 Guisb, 1301 YI, 1331 FF, *Sut* 1274 YI
   *Suze Brun(n)e* 1299 YI, *Sowborne* 1567 FF
   v. Eastburn and Kirkburn supra 166.

4. **Tibthorpe** [tɪbθɔrp]

   *Tipetorp* 1086 DB, 1166 P
   *Tibetorp* 1086 DB, *Ti-, Tybthorp(e)* 1274, 1301 YI, 1339 FF, 1352 Ipm, 1362 Extent
   *Ti-, Tybthorp(e)* 1285 KI et passim to 1543 FF, -throrpe 1565 FF
   *Tybthorp(e)* c. 1300 Guisb, 1316 NomVill
   ‘Tibbe’s village,’ v. þorp. A pers. name *Tibbi* is not recorded in OScand, but such a name enters into the parallel Danish place-name *Tibberup* (DaSN(F) 12); it is probably a shortened form of OEScand *Tibiorn*. Cf. also OE *Tibba* (a shortened form of *Tilbeorht* or the like, Redin 70), which is also possible here. In *Tipetorp* medial b has been unvoiced before the voiceless consonant th.

**Deep Dale** (6") is *Depedale* 1190–1220 YCh 588. **Eastlands** is *Estelandes* 1200–20 YCh 1264. **Oldleys Plantation** (6") is *Aldleyhe* 1229 FF. ‘Old clearing,’ v. leah. *Aldleyhe* is the reading of the MS and not *Aldlexhe* as printed in FF.
North Dalton

North Dalton [doltn] is Dalton(a) 1086 DB, 1156–7 YCh 354 et freq to c. 1400 Melsa, Dauton 1246 Ass, Northdalton(a) 1150–60 Melsa, 1219 Ass, 1226 Ebor et passim to 1415 YI, (on the Wolde) 1549 FF, Nortdalton 1190–1220 YCh 589, 1206, 1229 FF, Nordalton 1205 ChR, 1231 FF. ‘Valley-farm,’ v. dml, tun. ‘North’ in relation to South Dalton infra 190.


Warter

Warter [wa:θa]

Warte 1086 DB
Wartre 1086 DB, 12th Warter (passim), 1156 Meaux, 1165 P et passim to 1542 NCWills
Watra 12th Warter (freq), Meaux, 1144–6 YCh 105 et freq to 1336 Ch, Wartrya 1205 ChR
Wartra 1166, 1196 P, Wardra 1167 P
Wartree 1199 Abbr
Wartera 1221 FF
Warthre 1246 Ass (freq)
Wartr’ 1279–81 QW, 1303, 1349 Meaux
Warter 1338 FF et freq to 1614 FF

The numerous spellings like Wartria are Latinisations of Wartre. Ekwall (Studies 91) suggests that Warter is a compound of OE weaerg ‘felon’ and treow ‘tree,’ used of a gallows or gallows-tree. Worgret (Do) is a similar compound of weaerg and OE rōd ‘rood, cross’ and the significance of both is illustrated by the words of the Holy Cross in The Dream of the Rood (ed. Dickins and Ross, 24, 35), heton me heora werzas hebban, ‘they bade me bear aloft their felons,’ where the Cross tells of being carried from the forest and of being used to crucify malefactors. In ME waritreo is often used of the Holy Cross, but at least once in OE.
waritroe 706 (c. 1200) BCS 117, and several times in ME (v. NED s.v. warytree), the meaning is clearly ‘gallows.’

The only difficulty in this explanation is the total loss of g, though this can be paralleled if we suppose that it had become a voiceless fricative gh before t (cf. Brotton, PN NRY 142). If, however, this assumption is wrong, we may have an alternative and less picturesque etymology from OE wearr ‘callosity,’ used in ME particularly of ‘a knot in a tree,’ as in Flemish warre, weer. In this case Warter would mean ‘the gnarled tree.’

ARRAS (lost) is Erghes 1150-60 Melsa, Herghes 1156, 13th Meaux (freq), Erges 13th ib., Sutherghes 1199 Warter. ‘The shielings,’ v. erg. Cf. Introd. xxiv. In the 13th century this name went into disuse and was replaced by Blanch infra. The identification is made certain by references to totam terram de Herghes que appellatur Blanch (1156 Meaux 66), Erghes inter Northdaltonam et Wartre...nomen ei Blaunchemarle (Melsa i, 101).

BAGGABY BOTTOM (6")

Bagoteby 12th, 13th Warter (freq), 1219 Ass, 1231 FF, 1260 Ch, 1276 RH, 1293 Fine, Bagothebi 1202 FF
Baggot(e)by 1200 OblR, 1231 Ass, 1285 KI, 1301 Warter
Bag(g)odeby 1201 OblR, 1231 FF, Baddodeby (sic) 1201 P
Bagateby 1219 FF

‘Bagot’s farm,’ v. by. A family of Bagot lived here at the end of the 12th century (cf. Warter 7 d, OblR 83). This is another instance of the use of by as a place-name element in post-Conquest times. The name is translated terre de Bagot in 1288 Warter 32.

BLAKES DALE (6") is Blaykesdal 12th Warter, Blaykedale 13th ib. ‘Bleik’s valley,’ v. dæl. The OScand nickname Bleikr, OSwed Bleker, Dan Blek (DaPN 133), is found in ME as the surname of Alan Bleik (13th Selby) and in several place-names, such as Blakeston (PN NbDu 24) and possibly Blake Street in York infra 283.

BLANCH

(grangia de) Blaunchemarl(e) 1150–60 Melsa et freq to 1293 QW
This was a grange of Meaux Abbey and under French influence this name replaced the older Arras (supra 169). The name means 'white marl,' from OFr blanch and marle. Cf. Blaunchemarle quod Latine Albemarlia dicitur (1150–60 Melsa i, 101). There are many old chalk-pits in the fields about the grange.

Brig Dale (6") is so named in 1272 (Warter). 'Valley with a brycg,' v. dwl. The name now refers to the bifurcated head of a small deep valley. The meaning of brycg 'bridge' is not certain, for there is (now at any rate) neither bridge nor stream. The name may well have been applied to the whole valley, now called Lavender Dale. This valley is crossed by an old cart-track from Blanch which runs on an embankment. This meaning of brycg is in some respects similar to its application to a raised causeway or 'hard' from mainland to island in the Battle of Maldon (ed. E. V. Gordon, 3–4). Professor Dickins compares Bridgend (L), the end of a causeway across the Fens.

Dearsden (6") is Dioresdun 12th, 13th Warter, Vtter-, Haym- deresdun(e) ib. 'Déor's hill,' v. dun. The prefixed elements are ME utter 'outer, more distant,' and OScand heim 'home' (presumably in the contrasting sense 'nearer'), as in Hollows infra 170. This use of heim (except in Hollows itself) has hitherto not been noted. It has its English parallel in such names as Homewood (PN Sx 258) and Holmwood (PN Sr 271) and a Scandinavian parallel in the Dan place-name Hemfenner (DaSN (Sj) iii, 253).

Gildersdale (6")

Gildhusdal(e), -y- 12th, 13th Warter, 1285 KI, -hous- 1359 Ipm, 1371 Pat, 1415 YI
Gildusdal(e) 1166 P (p), 1219 Ass (p), 1243 Fees, 1281 Ch, 1295 Abbr, 1359 Ipm
Gildundal' 1167 P (p)
Gildhowvesdal' 1293 QW, Gildesdale 1316 NomVill

1 Most editors identify these forms with Millhouse Dale (as in KI).
'Valley near (or belonging to) the guild-house,' from OScand gildi-hús (Björkman, Loanwords 154) and dæl. Cf. Gildhusdale 1241 FF, a lost place in Feliskirk (NRY).

Hollows (6") is Haymholou 13th Warter. 'Hollow (near the homestead),' v. heim, holh, and for the use of heim here cf. Dearsden supra 170.

Keasey (6") is Kesehou (furlanges) 12th, c. 1185 Warter. 'Hill by the narrow valley,' from OScand kjöss (cf. Keasbeck, PN NRY 114, RN 230) and haugr.

Scarndale (6"), Scarndale Hill (6") is Scarnedale (clyf) 12th, 1240, 1293 Warter, Scarndalclif c. 1185 ib. 'Dung valley,' from OScand skarn (cf. scearn), dæl, clif. Cf. Dan Skarndal (bis).

Skygates Farm (6") is Scaydgat 1185 Warter, Skaythegate early 13th ib., Sc- 1278 ib. The first element of this name is OScand skeið but its sense is difficult to determine. It might possibly be used in the same way as OScand hesta-skeið 'horse-racing track' (as in Hesketh, PN NRY 198), the whole name meaning 'road used as a race-course' (v. gata); it is worth noting that a nearby valley is called Race Dale. Alternatively, we may have the meaning 'boundary,' which Whitehall (Essays and Studies in English, Michigan 1935, 73 ff.) has suggested for some place-names like Scaitcliffe (La). It is difficult to say what boundary is involved, for the Roman road to which the name refers goes straight through the middle of the parish; the section called Skygates climbs the end of a steep ridge1.

Yeaton Farm (6") is (montis) Adun(e) 12th, 13th, 1293 Warter. 'Hill with a stream,' v. a, dun. Nunburnholme Beck rises in a spring and pool at the foot of the hill; it was probably the main water supply of Warter Priory. For Yeato- cf. Introd. xxviii.

Brockhamdale (field) is Brokolmdale 1199 Warter, Brocholmedale 13th ib. 'Badger-meadow valley,' v. brocc, holmr, dæl. Carden Brow (6") is C-, Kardun(e) 12th, 13th Warter, Scortekardune 170.

1 Kalkar, Ordbog til det ældre danske sprog, records ODan skede in the sense 'boundary.' It may also be noted that OWSScand skeið is used of roads, in such senses as Latin stadium, 'running, race,' 'a road through the fields,' etc., and in compounds such as skeið-reið of a road on which one can ride at a trot (Heggstad s.v.).
HARTHILL WAPENTAKE, WILTON BEACON 173

VII. HARTHILL WAPENTAKE
WILTON BEACON DIVISION

Wilton Deuision 1610 Speed, Wilton Beacon 1650 ParlSurv.
v. Harthill Wapentake supra 151–2 and cf. Wilton infra 175.

Huggate

HUGGATE [ugit]

Hughete 1086 DB, Hugete 1200 Cur

Hugeth t. Hy 2 MaryH, 1156–7 YCh 354

Hugah 1156 YCh 186

Hugat 12th Warter, 1145–6 LeonardR, t. Hy 2 Gilbert (p),
1154–63 YCh 158 et freq to 1347 FF

Hugate 12th, 13th LeonardR, et passim to 1493 Test

Hogate 1221–35, c. 1400 Melsa, 1302 Ebor

Huegate 1285 KI

Hougat(e) 1301 Pat, 1333 YAJ xi, Howgate 1406 BM, (in le,
on the Wold) 1511, 1538 FF, Hugatte 1423 YD, 1538 FF,
Hugget(t) 1542 NCWills, 1582 FF

The second element of this difficult name would appear to be
OScand gata ‘road,’ used here of the ancient highway to York
(York Lane infra 174), though the few earliest spellings with
-gete, etc., may indicate some confusion with OE geat ‘gate,’
sometimes used in place-names in the sense ‘pass,’ though on
topographical grounds that is improbable in Huggate. The first
element presents more difficulty still. We might think of OE hoh
‘spur of land, the end of a ridge’ and this would be appropriate
to the situation of the road; comparison with other names which
contain this element like Huby (PN NRY 18) and the numerous
Huttons (as Hutton Cranswick supra 156), however, makes this
improbable, for the normal ME spelling of hoh in compounds
is Ho-, whilst Hu- is of comparatively late appearance.1 From
this it is clear that the first element in Huggate has an original -u-
and the element itself would be Hu-, Hug- or the like. Huby
(WRY), Huby 1198 Fount, 13th Font et passim to 1520 FF,

1 It should be noted that the spelling u for OE ð is commoner at an early
date in ERY, but it does not occur with such regularity elsewhere as it does
in Huggate.
**174 EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND YORK**

*Hugby* c. 1260–70 Bodl, *Hugheby* 13th Font (p), *Hueby* 1279–81 QW, *Hezby* 1569 FF, may contain the same word. Another possibility is an OScand *hugr* related to OScand haugr ‘mound.’ This word is not recorded in independent use, but it may enter into OScand *Hugastrond* (*Sveiris Saga*, cf. Heggstad s.v.), a mutated form occurs in the Norw place-name *Hogi*, earlier *Hyghinni* (Rygh, *NoGN* xii, 32) and a derivative *hugul*, corresponding to German *hügel* ‘mound,’ in Norwegian *Hugl* (*NoGN* xi, 84), and in the OSwed place-name *Thorshughele* (cf. Hellquist, *ON pa* -by 8 n.). Huby would be parallel in meaning to Swed *Högby* (Hellquist, *loc. cit.*), ‘farmstead near the mound or hill.’ Huggate would mean ‘road to the mound(s).’ There are many tumuli on Huggate Wold and by Huggate Dikes, and York Lane leads from the village in the direction of these mounds.

**V. ADDENDA LX.**

**HAWOLD** is *Howwald* 12th Dugd, 1155 *AddCh*, 1342 SR, *Houwald* 1180–6 *YCh* 1096, *Howald* 12th, t. Hy 2 *Warter et freq to 1308 Ch*. ‘Hill with mound(s),’ *v*. haugr, w(e)ald. There are numerous tumuli about (cf. Huggate *supra* 173).

**PAIN SLACK** is *Paineslac* 1200–20 *YCh* 1264, *Painslack* 1828 Langd. ‘Pain’s hollow,’ from the pers. name *Pain* (v. Pain-*thorpe* *supra* 131) and slakki, here used of a small valley.


**Bishop Wilton**

**1. BOLTON**

*Bodelton* 1086 DB

*Bouelton* 12th *Warter* (p), *Boveltona* 1210–20, c. 1400 *Melsa*, *Bovelton* 1230 P

*Boelton* 1234 (1252) Ch
Boulton 13th YD, 1204 YCh 1131 (p) et passim to 1655 YD
Bolton c. 1200 For, 1206 Cur (p) et passim to 1538 FF,
(juxta Wylton) 1299 Ebor, (juxta Pokelyngton) 1439 YD
'The village,' v. boaltun.

BOLTON HALL (6") is so named in 1444 (Test).

2. BISHOP WILTON is Widton, Wiltone 1086 DB, Waletona (sic)
1141-4 YCh 358, Wi-, Wylton(a) 1125-35 YCh 357, 1194, 1195
P et passim to 1356 FF, (Bis(s)hop) 1328 FF, 1397 YD et freq
to 1511 FF, (Bus(s)hop) 1508, 1530 Test, Willeton 1203-4 Ass.
Probably 'wild, uncultivated enclosure or farmstead,' from OE
wild and tun. Cf. Wilton (PN NRY 90) and Wildbridge (PN Sx
145). For many centuries from the time of Edward the Confessor
and Archbishop Ealdred this was a possession of the Archbishops
of York (DB, KI, etc.).

BELTHORPE Ho is Torp, Balchetorp 1086 DB, Belkert(h)orp
1205 OblR, 1240 FF, 1260 Rental, -ir- 1245 Ass, Belgerthorp
1242 P, 1246 FF, Belk(e)thorp 1333 SR, 1340 YD, Belthorp 1549
FF. The first element might be connected with the rare OScand
pers. name Bjalki, but this name is a literary one and would not
normally have a gen. giving ME Belker. We should therefore
regard the two Belger- spellings as original and derive the name
from OScand Belgr, a nickname formed from OScand belgr, gen.
sg. belgjar, 'bellows, etc.,' as in Bellerby (PN NRY 252). 'Belg's
village,' v. porp.

GREENWICK is Greneuuic 1086 DB, Greenwick 1828 Langd.

3. YOUTHORPE [jouOrap]
Aiul(f)torp 1086 DB
Hiel(t)orp 12th Font, Hiolt(or)p) 12th, late 12th ib.
Jol(f)etorp 1166 RBE (p), Yoletborp 1368 FF, 1398 AD iii
Joel-, Joilthorp c. 1175 Whitby (p)
Jolt(h)orp 1185-90 Reg.Alb, c. 1200 ib., 1204 FF, 1228 Dugd
Yolt(h)orp(e) 12th YD, 1191-6 P (p), 1202-8 Ass et passim to
1359 Ipm, Yholtorp 1246 Ass (p)
Youlthorp(e) 1372 FF et freq to 1828 Langd, Yulthorp 1399
YD (p)
There is probably no etymological connexion between the DB spellings and the later ones, unless Aiul(f)- is a mistake for Hiul-. There are, however, other cases of a change of pers. name in compounds of thorpe after DB (cf. Ousethorpe infra 184). The DB forms probably therefore represent ‘Eyjolf’s village.’ The ME spellings contain a man’s name Yole. This pers. name is probably a shortened form of OScand yólgeir or the like and it enters into Youlton (PN NRY 22), and Yawthorpe (L). Ioletorp DB, Yol-, Hioltorp 1212 Fees (p). A local example is found in the surname of William Yhole of Pocklington (1362 Extent).

The h in some of the spellings is difficult to account for, but it might well be due to the influence of names like Shaps supra 95, Yapham infra 182, where h is etymologically correct but unstable in combination with the y (j) that has arisen from shifting of stress. It may be noted that the form Yole, which exhibits OScand stress-shifting, would be a rather late borrowing from Scandinavian. On initial J cf. Yapham infra 182.

Gowthorpe [gəuθərip]

Geu-, Gheuetorp 1086 DB
Gugetorp 1166 RBE (p), Guggetorp 1166 LN (p)
Gout(h)orp 12th YD, 13th Kirkham, 1203 FF et passim to 1399 AD i
Goukthorp 1235 Ebor
Gauthorp 1276 Ch
Gow(e)thorpe 1298 YI, 1379 AD i, -thrope 1575 FF

‘Gauk’s village,’ or ‘cuckoo village,’ v. porp. The first element is OScand gaukr, also used as a nickname, recorded in ME as the surname Gouk (cf. Lindkvist 140). The same compound may occur in Gowthorpe infra 244, and it certainly occurs in Gowthorpe (Nf, La, WRY) and Gawthorpe (WRY).

1 Golthorp c. 1265 KF, 1287 Ebor, 1296 Horn is in each case identified with Gowthorpe in this township, but this does not accord with the other spellings of that name. It is more likely to be a further variant of Youlthorpe, the initial G- representing an Anglo-Norman development of y to [dʒ], which is also evidenced in many of the spellings and in the current pronunciation of Jervaulx (PN NRY 250).
Great Givendale

1. Great Givendale [gindel, gindel, geldan]

Gueudale 1086 DB, Gevedale 1212-7 RBE
Ghivedale 1086 DB, Ginedal' 1231 Ass
Geuel-, Gaveldal(e) 1120-9 YCh 449, 1158-72 ib. 451 et passim
to 1363 Ch, (North) 1296 YI et freq to 1373 Pat, Gevildale
1260, 1422 YI, Gewel- 1290 YI
Ghiualdala 1142-54 YCh 450
Gaveldal 1198 Fees (p)
Ganedale 1203-4 Ass, 1214 Abbr
Ginedal' 1204 ChR
Geveledale 1210-2 RBE
Giv-, Gi-, Gyueldaldale 1231 Ass, 1247 FF, 1256 YI, 1293,
1299 Ebor, Gwyveldale 1293 ib.
Gevendale 1231 FF, 1301 Ebor, (North) 1404, 1421 YI,
Geuindal 1260 Rental
Great Gevydale 1564 FF, (als. Gevingdale als. Geidale) 1610
ib.
Great Gevyndall als. Great Geldayll 1578 FF
Gyvyndall on the hill 1607 FF, Great Givendaile 1650
ParlSurv

On the whole the various spellings of Givendale and Little
Givendale infra 179 point to an original form Geveldale. Gane-
and Gavel- can hardly be variants of Givel-. They could, how-
ever, be AN spellings of Gevel-. The Givel- spellings arise from
the early raising of e to i which is found in Bridlington and some
other names supra 100, whilst en for el is a common AN
spelling (cf. IPN 107).

Zachrisson (NoB xiv, 57 ff.) has suggested that the first
element of Givendale is an OE river-name *Gifel 'the giver,'
as in Ivel (PN BedsHu 8) and some other names in Somerset
and Cornwall. Ekwall (RN 221) doubts this, for river-names of
OE origin are unlikely in the south-western counties. With
McClure (141) he takes the river-name Ivel back to a British
*gablo or *gablia 'a fork,' which would result in OE *gfl, later
*gfl. If we could assume that the stage *gfl was not reached
in OE in the case of Givendale, then Ekwall's suggestion would
be formally possible, and it would not be inappropriate topo-
graphically, for Givendale is at the head of a small deep valley which stands at right angles to the main valley of Whitekeld Dale. In this case initial g would be due to Scandinavian influence.

The difficulty with this explanation is that the original Gevel- from which we must start is not found with other names which Ekwall rightly groups together as from British *gablo, etc. It would therefore be better to associate Givendale, and perhaps Givendale (PN NRY 94), with the Scandinavian cognates of OE gifol ‘generous,’ which Zachrisson adduces, such as OScand gjofli ‘the generous one,’ or even OScand gjofull ‘liberal’ itself. The sense of these words is extended to the idea of ‘the giver of fish’ in some Scandinavian river-names and place-names such as Norwegian Gjev (in Gjevedal), etc., Gjennes, from OScand gef ‘the giver’ (NoE 67, NoGN ii, 132), Danish Gevninge, etc. (Olrik, Danske Studier, 1910, 26 ff.), Swedish Jäfvern, Gäven, etc., and others cited by Zachrisson (loc. cit.), and containing the root geb- with various suffixes. Givendale would mean ‘valley of the Gevel (i.e. the stream rich in fish)’ or ‘the rich valley.’ The stream is a small one but there are old fishponds in it. In Fangdale (PN NRY 68) we have a name that would be a parallel to Givendale (cf. Fangfoss infra 185).

GRIMTHORPE

Grim-, Grintorp 1086 DB, Gri-, Grym(h)orp(e) 1199 Abbr, 1241 FF et passim to 1650 ParlSurv
Thorpe 1120–9 YCh 449
Gri-, Grymesthorp’, -torp 1138 RegAlb, 1195 (1335) Ch, 1204 ChR et freq to 1279–81 QW
Grimet(h)orp 1235 YAJ xviii, 1276 RH
‘Grim’s village,’ v. Grimston supra 58 and porp. Cf. Danish Grimstrup (DaSN(F) 88). The weak form Grimi is often found in Danish place-names.

2. MILLINGTON [militn]

Mill(leton)on(a) 1086 DB
Milington(a), -y- 1150–61 MaryR, 1206 FF et passim to 1360 Ipm, Milinton 1254 YI, 1294, 1363 Ch
Millington(a), -y- 1156–7 YCh 354, 1194–1230 P et freq to 1527 YD, Millingeton 1289 YI
Midlington (2) 1227 FF
The two *Midlington* spellings point to the first element being the OE pers. name *Midele* which may be inferred from Middlesbrough (PN NRY 160), with early assimilation of the medial consonants as in Rillington *supra* 138. Otherwise the name is from OE *Mil(l)a* as in Millaton (PN D 178).

Little Givendale is *Geuedale* 1086 DB and after that has forms similar to Great Givendale *supra* 177. It is *Estgeveldale* 1296 YI, 1349 Ipm, *Estgevendale* 1404 YI, *parua Geueldale* 1342 SR, Little *Gevedale* 1564 FF, Little *Gevendaile* 1565 FF, *Given-1650 ParlSurv*. This farm is some distance from Great Givendale on the opposite side of the main valley of Whitekeld Dale and the two places are connected by what appears to be an ancient trackway. Little Givendale may therefore be named from Great Givendale. Otherwise, Givendale must have been the main valley and not the little valley in which Great Givendale stands.

**Kilnwick Percy**

KILNWICK PERCY [kilik piasi]

*Chelingewic, Chileuuic, Chilleuuinc* 1086 DB
*Kyllhythwyc(h), -wyk(e), -i- 12th YD, 1160–5 Reg.Alb, 1208 FF et passim to 1301 Ebor, (Perci) 1303 KF, (juxta Pokelington) 1385 YD
*Kyllingwic* early 13th Warter
*Killingewic, -wik 1218 FF, 1246 Ass, 1300 Ch
*Kiuillimwic (sic) 1231 FF (p)
*Kylenewyke Parcy 1519 FF
*Kyl(l)wyke Perseye 1539 NCWills, (Percy) 1545 FF

‘Dairy-farm of Cylla or of Cylla and his people,’ *v. ing, wic* and cf. Nunkeeling *supra* 79. If the spelling *Kiuillin-* is in any way reliable we might think of an OE *Cyfel*, an unrecorded diminutive of *Cufa* (Redin 90), with early assimilation of *fl* to *ll*. An unmutated variety of this name, *Cufela*, is found in Cuttinglye Wood (PN Sx 281) and Collendeian (PN Sr 293). This place was associated with the *Percy* family from the 12th century (cf. YCh 749).
Nunburnholme

**NUNBURNHOLME** [nunb'ənəm]

*Brunha' 1086 DB, Brunham 1285 KI
Brunnum 12th Warter, 1199 ib., 1231 FF, 1255 Pat, 1259 Ass,
Brunu' 1230 P (p), Brunom 1316 NomVill, Brounom 1345 FF
Brunnum t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch et passim to 1418 YI, (juxta
Wartre) 1275 Ebor, Brunnom 1239, 1306 Ebor
Brunn 1234 Cl, Brunne 1280, 1282, 1286 Ebor, Brune 1342
SR
Burnum 1260 FF, Burnom 1402 Test
Brunhum 1268 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1303 YI, 1337 FF, Brunhom
1303 KF, 1359 Ipm, 1375 FF
Burneham 1444 Test
Burn(e)holm(e) 1521 Test, (Nonne-) 1543 FF, (Nune-) 1650
ParlSurv
Nonnebrynholme 1530 Test

Probably ‘at the streams’ from OScand (i) brunnum, dat.
pl. of brunnr. There are many springs and little streams
called runnels round about. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.), laying stress
on the DB form, suggests an OE burna-hamm. ‘Nun’ from the
Benedictine Nunnery here.

**DEEP DALE** (6") is Depedale 1537 MinAcct. METHILL HALL (6")
is Mittelhill 13th Warter, Middelhills, lez Mettells 1537 MinAcct.
Probably ‘middle hill,’ v. middel, hyll. NUNBURNHOLME HILL
(6") is Waymundeshill’ early 13th Warter, Wymundeshil’ 13th ib.
Probably OE Wigmund and hyll. NUNBURNHOLME WOLD is

**Burnby**

**BURNBY** [bombi]

Brunebi 1086 DB, -by 1150–60 Melsa, 1200 FF et freq to 1310
Hom
Brunnebi, -by 12th, 13th Warter, 13th YD et passim to 1377
FF
Brunbi, -by 13th, 1349 Meaux et passim to c. 1400 Melsa,
(infra Spaldyngmore, sub Walda) 1160–80 ib.
Brunnesby c. 1265 KF
Brumeby 1285 KI, Brumby 1402 YI, (als. Burnby) 1553 YAJ xi
Burn(e)by(e) 1466 NCWills, 1486 Test et passim to 1828 Langd
Bournebye 1581 FF
‘Stream village,’ v. brunnr, by. Cf. Swed Brunnby (ON þâ -by 21), and Dan Brondby. v. also Nunburnholme supra 180.
Burnby Wold (6") is (super) Waldam 1310 YD. Cf. also le Waldegate 1286 ib. v. The Wolds supra 13.

Pocklington

I. Ousethorpe [ui:ðrap]
Ianulfestorp 1086 DB
Ulvethorp 1190–1215 RegAlb
Hulvistorp 13th BM
U-, Vluestorp, -thorp 1203 FF, 1219, 1220, 1245 Ass et passim to 1285 KI, -trope 1546 YChant, Ulvisthorp 13th BM, Uluis- 1297 YI
V-, Ullesthorp 1316 NomVill, 1332 SR, V-, Ulsthorp(e) 1302 YI, 1342 SR, -troppe 1611 FF
Owlesthorpe 1524 FF, Owlstrope 1650 ParlSurv
Ousethorpe 1542 NCWills, Owstrope 1563 FF

Ianulf in the DB spellings is an Anglo-Scandinavian pers. name from OE Æanwulf (cf. OScand Íátmunr, Íátvárð, etc., from OE Æadmund, Æadweard). Ulf in the later spellings is the common OScand pers. name Úlf. It would appear that soon after the DB survey there was a change of ownership, for such changes in pers. names compounded with thorp are not uncommon¹. It is just possible, however, that Ulf is a shortened form of Ianulf. The use of the second theme of a pers. name as a pet-form is found in OE, as in Bucge from Eadburg (Redin 115) and OScand as in Leifi from Porleifr, etc. v. porp. On the later development of the name v. Introd. xxxi.

Mill Ho (6"). Cf. Walhemulne 1241 Lib. ‘Fulling-mill.’ The compound is otherwise first recorded from 1344 (NED s.v.).

¹ If this is correct we may compare the Dan place-name Ulstrup (DaSN(F) 145).
2. POCKLINGTON [pɔklɪntən]

Poclinton 1086 DB, 1177–1230 P (freq) et freq to 1276 RH, Poc-, Poklington(a), -y- 13th Warter et freq to 1524 Test
Pocalintona 1100–15 RegAlb
Poglynton late 12th YD, Poghelington
Puk(e)linton' 1205, 1277 Cl (p)


NOTE. KIRKLAND STREET. Cf. le Kirkelandes 1330 Percy.

WEST GREEN (6") is le West Grene 1564 FF. WOOD HO (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd).

3. WAPLINGTON

Waplinton 1086 DB, 1227 FF, 1231 Ass, 1276 RH, -ing- 1190–1210 YCh 445 et freq to 1607 FF
Welplington (sic) 1199 Abbr
Wapelinton 1200 Abbr, Cur, FF, -ing- 1311 Ch
Wapplington 1254 Yl, 1285 KI et freq to 1537 FF
Wappelington 1280 Yl

There is some evidence for an OE pers. name Wæppa or Wappa (cf. Wephurst, PN Sx 108, Wappenham, PN Nth 62) and Wæppela, a diminutive of this, might well have existed though it is not on record. ‘Wæppela’s farmstead,’ v. ingtun. Alternatively, the first element may well be OE wæpol ‘bubble, froth (?),’ connected with OE wapelian ‘to bubble, emit, pour forth.’ A further sense ‘pool, marsh, swamp’ is suggested by OFris wapel, which has these meanings; this sense would be appropriate in Waplington. Cf. also the Danish place-name Vobbel (DaSN(Sj) iii, 83), from North Frisian wobbel (OFris wapul). Hence ‘marsh farm,’ with ing as a connective.

4. YAPHAM [jɑpəm]

Iapun 1086 DB, -um 1234 (1252) Ch, 1235 FF
Yapun 1138 RegAlb, 1296 Hom, -um 1150–61 YCh 442, 1208 FF, 1230 Ebor et passim to 1350 Ipm, Yappum c. 1270
OE geap is used in a variety of senses, amongst others 'open, wide, lofty, steep, deep, bent, crooked,' and there is some evidence for its use in place-names, as in OE on geapan garan BCS 624 (cf. Middendorff 59) and in Yapham (PN D 79). In both these names it seems to be used adjectivally, but in Yapham, which is from the OE dat. plur. geapum, it is used as a substantive. The village of Yapham stands high up on the slope of a fairly steep hill and we must interpret the name as 'at the steep places.' A Lincolnshire dialect word yaup (from OE geap with stress-shifting as in Yapham) is used of 'a slope of land.' There was in Yapham parish a field called Yapecroft 1316 YD.

It is difficult to come to any satisfactory solution of this name. We may have as first element an Anglo-Scandinavian pers. name Mel-, Mjoplpegn 'meal-man,' equivalent in meaning to OScand mjolkarl 'one who deals in meal' and paralleled in form by such names as Farpegn, Herpegn, etc.

Rowland Hill (6") is Rughlandes 1318 YD. 'Rough land.' Smylet Hall (6") is Smerelidh 1228 Dugd, Smerlith 1318 YD. 'Slope with good pasturage,' v. smeoru 'butter,' hlið.

1 Dr Knudsen points out that mjol-pegn would be an unusual compound of pegn, which denoted a man of authority.
Thornton

1. Allerton

Alluarestorp 1086 DB
Alwardthorp 1235 FF, Alwardethorp 1246 Ass (p), 1285 KI
Allerthorp 1252 Ebor, Averthorp 1316 NomVill
Alwarthorp 1311 Ch, 1342 SR
Allerthorp 1492 Sanct, Aler-

‘Alfward’s village,’ v. porp. The pers. name might be OE Ælfweard (v. Ellerby supra 47), but OE Ælf- would normally result in ME Elf- in this dialect, unless influenced by OScand, which had names in Alf- (Alfgeirr, Alfgerar, etc.). An OScand Alfvardr is not on record in West Scand, though the themes Alf- and -varðr are common enough in other combinations. ODan Alfward appears to be a loan from OE Ælfweard (cf. DaPN s.n.). The same pers. name Alfward, whether it be a Scand adaptation of OE Ælfweard or an OScand Alfvardr, enters into Alderthwaite (PN SWY 56).

2. Thornton is Torte-, Tornetun 1086 DB, Thorn(e)ton 13th Kirkham, 1252 Ebor et passim to 1828 Langd, (in Spaldinggemor) 1290 Pat, Torenton 1336 Ch, Thoriton in Spaldingmore 1360 Ipm. ‘Thorn enclosure’ or ‘farm by a thorn tree,’ v. porn, tun. v. Spaldingmoor supra 13.

Mill Ho (6") is Millenehous 1335 FF, Milnhous 1342 SR, 1650 ParlSurv. Walbut Mill Farm (6") is Walbotmyln 13th Kirkham.

Barmby on the Moor

Barmby on the Moor

Bernebi 1086 DB, -by 1201 ChR
Barnebi 1086 DB, Barnebi, -by 1199–1216 RegAlb, 1200 Cur, FF et passim to 1336 Ch, (in, upon the More) 1371 FF, 1650 ParlSurv
Barnby 13th Kirkham, (super Moram) 1498 Test, 1542 FF
Barmeby 1285 KI, Barmeby super Moram 1492 Sanct, Barme-
bye on the moor 1611 FF

‘Barne’s farm’ or ‘Bjarni’s farm,’ v. by. The persistence of Barn- makes it likely that the former suggestion is correct.
Cf. Barmby on the Marsh *infra* 249 and Barmby, PN NRY 36. 
v. ZEN 22 n. ‘The moor’ is clearly Spaldingmoor *supra* 13.

**Fangfoss**

*Frangefos(s)* 1086 DB, 1199 Abbr  
*Fangefos(s)e, -fos(s)* 1120–9 YCh 449, 1204 Ass (p), 1208 FF  
et passim to 1338 FF, -fous c. 1250 Whitby  
*Fangfos(e), -foss(e)* 12th YD, 1203 FF et passim to 1560 NCWills  
*Fangelfosse* 1200 Cur (p)  
*Fankefosse* 1252 Ebor, 1381 AD i, *Fancfos* 1252 FF, *Fanche-fosse* 1303 YI  
*Flangfosse* 1578 FF

Other old names in -foss (Wilberfoss *infra* 188, Catfoss *supra* 67) appear to be compounded with pers. names, and it is not unlikely that Fangfoss contains a pers. name *Fangulf* for which some English evidence is adduced under Fangdale, PN NRY 68. A name like this would certainly explain *Fangelfosse* and with AN interchange of el and er would perhaps account for the *Frangefos* spellings. A short form *Fangi* might also have existed.

If we could disregard these variant spellings Fangfoss might well be derived from OScand *fang* ‘the act of fishing’ and mean ‘fishing ditch,’ but on the whole the pers. name seems more likely. ‘*Fangulf’s ditch.*’ On foss cf. Foss Beck *supra* 3.

**Spittle** is *Spitel* 1342 SR, *Fangfosse-Spitell* 1370 FF, *Spittle* 1620 FF. ME *spital*, an aphetised form of *hospital*.  
**Spittal Bridge (6")** is *Damalicebrig (pons)*¹ 1369 Works, *Spitelbrig* 1371 ib.

**Full Sutton**

*Full Sutton* is *Sudtune* 1086 DB, *Suttune, -ton(a)* 1156–7 YCh 354 et passim, *Sutton* 1342 SR. The descriptive addition is *Ful-* 13th YD, 1285 KI et freq to 1587 FF, *Fule-* 1234 Ebor, *Foul(e)-* 1285 KI, 1310 Ch et passim to 1390 Meaux. v. suō, tun.  
The prefix is ful ‘foul, dirty.’

**Hunland Field** is *Hunland* c. 1180 Whitby.  
¹ Probably built by Alice, wife of Robert de Pothou (cf. Works, loc. cit.).
Low Catton

1. High Catton is Caton 1086 DB, Cattuna, -ton(a) 1170–85, 1180–95 LeonardR et passim to 1398 Test, (Over-) 1355 FF, 1511 Sanct, (Upper-) 1583 YD, (High-) 1828 Langd. ‘Catta’s farm,’ v. tun. Cf. Catton, PN NRY 183, Catworth, PN BedsHu 237, and Catwick supra 73. OE catte ‘wild cat’ is also possible.

2. Low Catton is Cattuna 1086 DB, and has a run of forms and meaning as for High Catton supra. It is Nether Catton 1583 YD, Low Catton 1828 Langd.


3. Stamford Bridge East

Stamford brycg c. 1075 (s.a. 1066) ASC (C), -brig(ge) 1219 Ass et freq to 1475 Pat, Stanefordbridge 1304 Abbr
Stemfordbrycg c. 1100 (s.a. 1066) ASC (D)
Stængfordesbrycg c. 1150 (s.a. 1066) ASC (E)
Steinesfordbrige 12th HH
Stanford 1206 Ob1R, 1219 Ass
Steinford 1231 Ass
Steynfordbrigg(e), -brig, -ay- 1280 Ass, 1300 Baildon et passim to 1373 FF
Staynforthbrig 14th BM, 1336 FF, Staymfurth 1529 Bev
Stamforthbrig(g), -brigh, -briggys 1342 SR, 1512 Sanct et freq to 1541 FF
Stamford(e)brig(g)(e) 1350 Percy et freq to 1602 NCWills
Staunfordbrig 1369 BM, Staunforth brigges 1490 Test
Stanforth(e)brigg(e) 1418 YI, -brydge 1546 YChant, Stanfurth-brigges 1530 Test
Stafforth Brigges 1492 Sanct
East end of Stamford Briggs 1650 ParlSurv
Stamford-Bridge...east part 1828 Langd

Normally in mediæval documents the Latin and French forms of the name are

Pons belli, ad pontem belli, (villa de) ponte belli a. 1080 (15th)
Whitby (et freq), 1130–5 YCh 908–9 et passim to 1346 Test

1 High and Low Catton together are called both Cattons 1650 ParlSurv.
In Scandinavian sources the name is *Stanfordbryggjur* (Heimskringla), *(frå)* *Stannfurdubryggiu* (Fagrskinna), *(við)* *Stafnnfurubryggiu* (Orkneyingasaga), *(til)* *Steinfurðubryggiu* *(er nu er kallað Stanford)* (Hauksbók).

‘Stone-paved ford,’ later replaced by a bridge, *v.* stan, ford, brycg. The Roman road from York to the east crossed the Derwent at this place, which was the Roman station of *Derventione* *(v.* Derwent *supra* 2–3). In some of the earlier English and Scandinavian sources we have a curious interchange of forms. In the frequent *Stayn-* spellings we have OScand steinn for OE stan, and in ASC *Stem-* *(an error for Stein-)* and *Stæng-* *(an error for Stægn-)* we have very early instances of Scandinavian influence. Most of the saga spellings have been explained by Ekwall *(Sagastudier til Finnur Jónsson 214)* as scribal adaptations of the late OE form *Stanfordbrycg*. *Stan(n)-* in these spellings is obviously OE *Stan-*; *Stafnn-* is a misspelling of *Stam-* *(or an analogical form, cf. OScand hrafn—hrann)*. The variation between *forða* and *furðu* is analogous to that found in OScand where forms with and without *a*-mutation occur, as *kuna (kona), hulm (hölmr)*, etc.; the *ð* for OE *d* in this element is also a Scandinavian substitution *(cf. Goathland, PN NRY 81–2, and IPN 65)*, and some of the earlier examples of *forth* in English documents may reflect this change, though from about the 16th century *forth* is a common variant of *ford* in many parts of the country. The later English spellings exhibit a well-evidenced assimilation of *n* to *m* before the following labial, and in *Staffforth-* we have an instance of the loss of the nasal before *f*, which is found in some other names of this type such as Stowford, PN D 41 *(cf. also Ekwall, Klaeber Miscellany 21–7)*.

The Latin and French names of the place mean ‘battle bridge’ and commemorate the great battle fought here1 in 1066, when Harold of England surprised and defeated Earl Tosti and Harold Sigurdson of Norway. These names may be purely

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1 There is a field called Battle Flats in this township.
documentary, though forms like *Ponterbell* suggest that they might have had some currency in colloquial speech.


**Flawith** (6") is *Flagdthewat* 1175–86 YCh 838, *Flathwath* c. 1265 KF, 1287, 1301 Ebor, 1302, 1306 Hom. The first spelling suggests association with ME *fla5t* 'turf' (related to OScand *flaga* 'slab of stone,' Engl *flag-stone,* etc.), and the whole name may, as in the parish-name Stamford, have reference to 'a paved ford.' *v. va5.* We may have a similar compound in *Flawford* (Nt), *Flagford* 1200 Seld, *Flage-, Flaggeford* 1200 Cur.

**Reckondales** (6") is probably identical with *Richardesdaile* 13th Percy. 'Richard's share of land,' *v. deill.*

**Wilberfoss**

1. **Newton upon Derwent** is *Niweton* 1190, 1194 P (p), *Neweton* 1246 Ass, *Newton* 13th Kirkham, 1233 Ebor et passim to 1504 FF, (-iuxta Derwent) 13th Warter, (on, super Derwent) 1371 FF, 1447 Test, (nere Darwent) 1542 NCWills, *Bridge Newton* 1610 Speed. 'New farmstead,' *v. niwe, tun and Derwent supra 2.*

2. **Wilberfoss**


*Wilburfos(s)a, -fos(se)* 1145–53 LeonardN, 1170–80 YCh 444 et freq to 1402 Test

*Wi-, Wylberfos(se)* 1178 Warter, 1202 FF et passim to 1546 YChant

*Wilborfosse* 1203–4 Ass, 1214 Abbr
*Wilburnfoss* 1233 Ebor, *Wylburtfos* 1259 FF
*Welberfosse* 1340, 1398 Test, *Wilbirfosse* 1402 ib.

'Wilburg's ditch,' from the OE woman's name *Wilburg* and *foss* (cf. Foss Beck supra 3).

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Sutton upon Derwent

SUTTON UPON DERWENT is Sudton(e) 1086 DB, Sutton 1230 P (p) et passim to 1351 Ipm, Quenersuttona, -tun 1164–72, 1172–9 YCh 379, 882, Quenre- 12th Whitby. It is generally distinguished as super (on) Der(e)went(e) 1233 Ebor et passim to 1473 Pat, on Deruwent 1280 Ebor, sub Derewent 1300 YI, on Derewynt 1305 Ebor. ‘South farm,’ v. suo, tun, and Derwent supra 2. The origin of Quener- is obscure.

THE SWALLOW (6") is Swalewe 1252 FF. The name is clearly connected with OE *swalg (cf. OE geswelg, swelh) ‘gulf, pit, whirlpool’; it is in marshy land near a field called The Dimple (cf. Dimlington supra 17). It is also possible that as the early reference is to “a mill called Swalewe” it is a nickname for a mill, ‘the devourer’ or the like.

WOODHOUSE is Wodehuses 1159–81 Kirkham, 1293 YI, Wod(e)hus(e) 1187–91, 13th Kirkham, 1293 QW, -hos 1252 Ch, -hous 1298 Pat et freq to 1370 Works, Wodehusum 1231 Ass, Woodhouses 1540 MinAct, Woodhouses 1828 Langd. v. wudu, hus. The 1231 Ass spelling is from the OE dat. plur.

THE PARK (6") is parcum de Suttona 13th Warter. Wood Brig (field) is identical with Wodhousbrig 1370 Works, also called Fossebrig ib.

VIII. HARTHILL WAPENTAKE

HUNSLEY BEACON DIVISION

Hunsley Deuision 1610 Speed, Hunsley Beacon 1828 Langd v. Harthill Wapentake supra 151 and Hunsley infra 204.

Leconfield

Leconfield [lekonfeld]

Lachinfeld, -felt 1086 DB, Lakyngfeld 1349 Test
Lec-, Lekingfeld, -yng- 1130–8 YCh 970 (p), 13th Malton, 1305 BevAct et passim to 1530 Test
Leq(u)enfeld 1176–1308 Percy (freq), -feud 1325 ib.
Lekenfeld 1199 Percy, 1290 Ebor et freq to 1504 Bev, -feud 1251 Percy
Leuchefeld 1204 ChR
It seems likely that the first element of Leconfield is connected with OE leccan ‘to wet, water, irrigate’. An OE lecc may well have existed (cf. ME, early English letch, dial. lache, “a stream flowing through boggy land, a muddy ditch,” NED s.v.) and it may signify ‘stretch of land with a muddy ditch or stream’ with ing as a connective, or it may be ‘stretch of land belonging to the lec(c)ingas or those dwelling by the stream,’ v. feld. It may also be a compound of the rare OE noun leccing ‘watering, irrigation’ and feld and mean ‘stretch of land where irrigation was carried out,’ though on topographical grounds either of the former seems more likely.


ARRAM GRANGE is grangia de Ergum 1204, 1293 Meaux. Cf. North Grange supra 44. NEWSHAM (depopulated) is Neuson 1086 DB. v. Newsome supra 27.

South Dalton

SOUTH DALTON is Delton 1086 DB, Dalton, -tun 1166 P (p) et passim, S(o)uth- 1259 Ass, 1297 LS et passim. ‘Valley farm,’ v. dael, tun and North Dalton supra 168.

Etton

ETTON [etn] is Eton 1086 DB, 1276 RH, 1287 YI, Etton(e) 1086 DB, Ettun, -ton(a) 1179–89 YCh 1098, 1191 P, late 12th YD, 1212 Cur, Ecton (sic) 1242 Fees, 1291 Tax. The Ecton spellings might be justified on the analogy of names like Brotton from Brocton, etc. (cf. Speeton supra 104), but against the long series of Etton forms the c here is likely to be a misreading of t. The
first element is probably a pers. name "Eata" as suggested for Etton, PN Nth 234. v. tun.

**Cherry Burton**

CHERRY BURTON [tferi bDtn] is Burton(e) 1086 DB, -ton, -tun 1166 P (p) et passim, Nord- 1195-1211 YCh 1117, Nor- 1199, 1202 FF, North- 1289 YI et passim to 1562 FF, Cherri-, -y- 1444 Test et freq to 1518 FF, Sher(i)- 1502 YAJ xi, Cherri-, -y- 1562 FF et freq to 1828 Langd. v. burhtun. 'North' in relation to Bishop Burton infra 192, later called 'Cherry' (ME cherry) probably from some cherry tree or trees in the neighbourhood, to avoid confusion with North Burton supra 112. Cf. Cherry Hinton (C).

GARDHAM is Gerdene 1086 DB, Gerdhom 1160-80 YCh 969, Gerthom c. 1240 YD, Gerthum 1280 Ass et freq to 1333 SR, Gerthom 1210-20 Melsa et passim to 1379 Poll, Garthom 1504 FF, Gartham 1511 YD. 'At the enclosures' from the dat. pl. of OScand gerði, 'fence, enclosure' (cf. DEPN s.n.) which also enters into la Gerthe de Hugath' (13th Warter) and Gerth (1309 Font).

NEWTON (lost) is Neuton 1086 DB, Neu-, Newton(a) 1160-80 YCh 969, (juxta Gerthum, -om, etc.) 1235-49 Melsa, (iuxta Gartham) 1511 YD, 1535 VE. 'New farm,' v. niwe, tun.

RAVENTORPHE

Rag(h)eneltorp 1086 DB, -il- 1189-1212 YCh 1106, Raganil-thoft (sic) 1130-40 Bridl
Ragniltorp(e) 1135-47 YCh 104, 1327 Dugd
Ragnildtorp 1190-1211, 1195-1211 YCh 1102, 1117, Rag- henildetorp' 1202 FF
Reinoldetorp 1202 FF, Ranaltorp 1327 Dugd
Rauenesthorpe, -v- t. John AddCh, 1279 YI, 1316 NomVill, Ravens- 1366 Pat
Rauenthorp(e), -v- 13th Warter, 1235-49 Melsa, 1287 BevAct et passim to 1620 FF, -thorppe 1613 FF
Raynthorp 1519 FF, Ranethorppe 1578 FF

1 Newton was probably the name given to the present Gardham village when the original village of Gardham was still in existence. When the original Gardham (of which the site is still known) was depopulated its name was transferred to the second village and Newton fell into disuse.

2 Depopulated: the site of the village is still known.
Originally ‘Ragnhild’s village’ from the OScand woman’s name Ragnhildr, which was replaced c. 1200 by Hrafn, the name of some possible owner. Changes in prefixed pers. names are not infrequent with porp, though in this case it may be a phonological change similar to that in Raventhorpe (L), Ragenaltorp 1086 DB.

**Bishop Burton**

BISHOP BURTON [biji bonin] is Burton(e) 1086 DB, 1194 P et passim, (juxta Beuerlacum) 1190 YCh 1312 et freq to 1346 Meaux, Suth- 1190 YCh 1312 et passim to 1316 NomVill, Su- 1274 Ebor, Sud- 1285 KI, South- 1303 KF et passim to 1544 FF, Bis(s)hop-, -y- 1349 FF et passim, Bisshopes- 1376 FF. v. burhtun. ‘South’ in relation to Cherry Burton supra 191. ‘Bishop’ (v. bispoc) from the Archbishops of York, in whose fee it was in 1086 and after (1267 Ebor, etc.). The Archbishops also had a palace here. Cf. Bishop Wilton supra 175.

KILLINGWOLDGRAVES is Kyn(e)waldgrave(s) 1169 YCh 86 (p), 1247-51 BM et passim to 1399 HMC(Bev), -gravys 1438 ib., Kenewaldegrave 1195 P, 1307 Ebor, Kewenwaldegrave(s) 1268 Ebor, Kyn(e)- 1300 Baildon, 1544 FF, Kinaldegrave 1301 Ebor, Kenygrav(es) 1521 Test, Killwallg’uys 1532 NCWills, Killingegrav(es) 1650 ParlSurv. ‘Cynewald’s copse (v. grafa) or trench (v. graef).’ There is near Killingwoldgraves an old long earthwork to which the name may refer.

COPPLEFLAT LANE (6”). Cf. croftum Thome Coppandall 1407 BevDoc, Coppyndale Tower 1564 FF, all named from the family of Coppyndale. Hospital of St Mary Magdalene (site) is Hospitalis S. Martii Magdalene 1327 Dugd. Stump Cross (6”) is Stumpe cross 1579 BevRec. Cf. William at Crosse 1379 Poll. v. cros. The limits of the sanctuary of Beverley were marked by crosses on the various roads at a distance of a mile from the Minster (cf. Sanct). Cf. Milecrosse 1435 HMC(Bev) on the south side of Beverley.

**Beverley**

1. **Beverley**1 [bevela, bevela]  
 _monasterii quod uocatur Inderaunda_ c. 730 (8th) Bede2

1 The three parishes in the town of Beverley, St Mary’s, St Martin’s and St Nicholas’s, are grouped together for convenience (v. infra 194).

2 Inderaunda is discussed under Deira supra 12.
The Latin adjectival form is RegAlb, Beverlaco element, for there can be little doubt that the first element is near. The various spellings of the suffix are in part to -leg, -le, -l', which normally appears in ME documents as Bev-, Beuerlacensis (1115-28). It is also possible that the latter is probably a piece of monkish etymologising', 'lake of the beavers,' and whilst there may be
due to the Latin Beverlacum. The latter is probably a piece of monkish etymologising', 'lake of the beavers,' and whilst there may be

1 Cf. Deirwald, locus nemorosus, id est silva Deirorum, postea Beverlac, quasi locus vel lacus castrorum, dictus a castoribus quibus Hulla aqua vicini abundabat (Dugd ii, 128). It is also possible that Beverlac arises from an Anglo-Norman form of Anglian leah (OE leah), such as we have in Hamelac for Helmesley (PN NRY 71).
a traditional element of truth in the adaptation the form *Beverlacum* bears no relation to the oldest forms in *-lic*. Ekwall (*Studies* 58) assumes that the name is English in origin and suggests that we have a compound of *beo* and an unrecorded OE word *licc* ‘stream’ (connected with OE *lecan* ‘to trickle,’ *lacu* ‘a stream,’ etc.), of which another variant *lecc* is discussed under Leconfield *supra* 189. The name was presumably that of Beverley Beck. As an alternative he suggests that OE *lecc* (for which there is rather better evidence) might have become *licc* by the sound-change of *e* to *i* before palatals which is evidenced for Old Kentish, but this seems improbable, especially as it is doubtful whether *c* was palatalised in Yorkshire.

There is of course the possibility that Beverley is, like York *infra* 275, an OE adaptation of a British name. Professor E. V. Gordon suggests that the form might have been British *bebro-licos*, meaning something like ‘beaver stream.’ Holder notes the Celtic river-names *Licos* and *Licas*; their etymology is uncertain.

**BEVERLEY CHURCHES AND PARISHES**

**NOTE.** The following may be noted: St Andrew’s is *parishe of St Andrewe* 1546 YChant. St James’s is *parishe of St James* 1546 ib. St Mary’s is *ecclesia Beate Marie Beverlaci* 1400 BevDoc, *parishe churche of St Mary* 1546 YChant. St Nicholas’s is *Hospitalis beati Nicholai Beverlaci* c. 1120 (1398) Dugd, *ecclesia sancti Nicholai* 1308 BevAct, (parishioners of) St Nicholas Holme 1406 HMC(Bev). This church was formerly called Holme Church¹ as Holm(e)kirk(e) 1410, 1428 HMC(Bev), 1444 Test, Holme church 1546 YChant, v. holmr, kirkia and Church Lane and Barliholm *infra* 196. Cf. also Holme Kyrkeleas 1510 HMC(Bev), Holmehurchelyes 1578 BevAct (v. leah). St Peter’s is *parishe of St Petir* 1546 YChant. Some of these are no longer current.

**BEVERLEY STREET-NAMES**

**NOTE.** The following are the chief street-names and buildings: Bull Ring is Bulryng 1449, 1467 HMC(Bev), ‘place where bulls were baited’ (*bull-ring* is independently recorded from 1609 and from 1551 as a street-name, PN Wa 37). Butcher Row is *rangea carnificium* 1456 HMC(Bev), Butcher Row 1633 BevRent, 1660 BevRec, Butchers Shambles 1669 ib. Butt Lane is so named in 1676 (BevRec). Cf. also a tenement called the Butt 1633 BevRent, Butt close 1706 ib. Cf. The Butts *supra* 104. Church Lane is Holmkyrklane 1417 BevAct, Kyrkleyn 1520 HMC(Bev), Kirkelane 1578 BevAct. Named from St Nicholas’s

¹ *Ecclesia parochalis sancti Nicholai vulgariter nuncupata Holmkirk* (1428 FA).
Church or Holme Church (v. supra 194). Cornhill is so named in 1688 (BevRec). Cf. also (le) Corn(e)market(t) 1401 et freq BevDoc, 1578 BevAct, fori granorum 15th BevDoc. Eastgate is Est(e)gate c. 1265 BevAct et passim to 1578 ib., Hest- c. 1300 Guisb, East- 1665 BevRec. Flemingate is Flammengaria (sic) 12th Riev, Flemingate, -yng- 1221-35 Melsa et passim to 1699 BevRent, Flemmyngate 1313 Ebor, 1407 BevDoc, vicum Flandrensiun 1318 HMC(Bev). ‘Street occupied by Flemish traders,’ v. gata. On Flemish merchants in England cf. Llewellyn, Influence of Low Dutch on English Vocabulary (Philological Society xii), 32 ff. The Guildhall is variously called (le) Hansh(o)us 1100 HMC(Bev), c. 1139 BevDoc, (Gilda Aula de Beverlaco ex antiquo vocata) le Hanshous 1359 ib., the hancehouse 1578 BevRec, le Gildhall 1391 BevDoc, the Gylde Haule 1493 ib., the Guyldhall 1579 BevRec, Gilde(s)hallam 1382 BevDoc, Gildam Aulam 1369 ib. et freq, the Townes Hall 1671 BevRec. ‘The hall belonging to a guild of merchants,’ from ME hans, gilde. Hellgarth Lane is Hellegarth 1435 HMC(Bev), Helgarth 1578 BevAct. The significance of this compound is not clear. It may, like dialectal hell-hole, refer to a haunted field or it may possibly be a place where felons or the like were buried. v. garðr. Hengate is so named from 1327 (Dugd). Probably ‘street where hens were kept,’ v. henn, gata. Highgate is alto vico c. 1135, 1313 BevAct, alta via 1407 BevDoc et passim to 1562 HMC(Bev), Highgate 1578 BevAct et freq to 1665 BevRec, v. heah ‘chief’, gata. Keldgate is Keld(e)gate 1314 BevAct et passim to 1577 BevRec, Kelgate 1408 Pat et passim. ‘Street with a spring,’ v. kelda, gata. Keldgate Bar is Keldgate barre 1394 BevDoc, Kelgat(e) Barr(e) 1438 HMC(Bev) et passim. One of the old bars or gateways of the town. Ladygate is so named from 1439 HMC(Bev), and is a street leading to St Mary’s Church. Cf. also Ladycroft 1445 ib. Lairgate is (le) Lath(e)gate 1270 Melsa et freq to 1439 HMC(Bev), Latth-, Laythgat(e) 1367 (et freq) BevDoc, 1379 Poll et passim to 1498 Test, Leth- 1437 HMC(Bev), Lairgat 1577 BevRec, Lar(e)gate 1633 BevRent, 1660 BevRec. ‘Street leading to (or with) a barn,’ v. hlaða, gata. With loss of -th- the first element has been associated with leirr. Landress Lane is the Londiners street 1660 BevRec. In the 17th century London merchants held a fair in Beverley; in the records they are called Londiners (BevRec 139). Low Friars is ‘strete in front of the Friars Preachers’ 1318 HMC(Bev), vico quod voc’ Fraryg 1341 Test, venella versus Fratres Minores 1407 BevDoc, Blakefreer lane 1444 Test, Freerlane 1578 BevAct. Lurk Lane is Lortegate 1306, 1319 BevAct, Lortilane 1578 ib. ‘Dirty street,’ v. gata, lane and Loatleys infra 207. The Minster is monasterium 1307 BevDoc et freq, Beverley Mynster 1506 NCWills. The Minster (v. mynster) was a collegiate church and was originally founded as a monastery by St John of Beverley (Bede). Minster Moorgate is Mi-, Mynstern(e)gate c. 1300 Guisb, 1400 BevAct et passim to 1578 ib., Mynstir- 1318 HMC(Bev), -mer- 1400 Test, -mur- 1417 BevAct, ‘road leading to the moor past the Minster.’ Cf. also Markbymoorgate 1417 BevAct and Fischemarktmoorgate 1344 YD. Minster Yard is cimiterium ecclesiae Beati Johannis Beverlaciensis 1306 BevAct, Minstergarth 1669 BevRec. v. garðr. Newbegin is
Niwebigginge 1190, 1191 P, Alde Niwebigging, -neu-, -y- 1340, 1345
Percy, Newbiggyn 1444 Test, -bigge 1577 BevRec, -biggin 1633 BevRent et passim. 'New building,' v. niwe, bigging. Cf. Newbigginn Street in Richmond (PN NRY 287). Barram de Newebygpyng 1443 HMC(Dev), that is Newbegin Bar, was the west gate of the town. North Bar (Within and Without) is (constabularia infra, extra) barras boriales 1367 (et freq) BevDoc, 1444 Test et freq, (extra, within, without) (le) Northbar(re) 1379 Poll et passim to 1699 BevRent. Saturday Market is Saturday Market 1577 BevRec, Saturday market place 1661 ib. Cf. Wednesday Market infra, and Thursday Market in York infra 290. Sow Hill is Sowe hill well 1660 BevRec, from OE sugu 'sow' and hyll. Toll Gavel is Tol(l)gavel(l) 1577 BevRec, 1633, 1699 BevRent. A compound of OE toll 'toll, impost' and OE gafol 'tribute, rent,' the whole being probably used of 'the place where tolls were collected,' rather like the well-evidenced toll-booth. The compound is otherwise unknown. Town's Ditch is magnus fossatum uille Beuermaci 13th YD, fossatum villae quod vocatur Barredic 1247 Ebor, le Barredyke 1407 BevDoc. Cf. also Bardike Close 1706 BevRent. 'Ditch near the town-gate,' v. dic. The ditch was filled up in 1928 to make a new street called The Leases. Trinity Lane is Inner Trinityes 1706 BevRent. Vicar Lane is so named in 1633 (BevRent). Walker Gate is so named from 1327 (Dugd et passim). 'Street of the cloth-fullers,' from OE walcere and gata. There was a ditch nearby called Walkerkbe 1355 YD et passim, v. bekkir. Wednesday Market is Wedynsday market 1467 HMC(Dev), le Wodensdaye Markett 1537 MinAcct, Wedensday-1579 BevRec. Cf. Saturday Market supra. Wood Lane is Wodelane 1439 HMC(Dev), Wodd-1498 Test, Wood-1578 BevAct et passim.

Other names of interest which have not survived include: Aldegat(e) 1371 BevDoc, 1438 HMC(Dev) is 'old street,' v. eald, gata1. Bakhouslane 1439 ib., 'street with a bake-house.' (Constabularia de) Barlholl(m)ej, -y- 1365 ib., 1379 Poll et passim to 1577 BevRec. 'Field where barley was grown,' from OE bælic and holmr. Nearby was a field called Maulholm 1417 BevAct, 'malt field.' The Bedern (1306 Ebor) is generally Bedern(a) (1280 ib., et freq), etc., literally 'prayer house,' from ME bede (OE gebed) 'prayer' and ærn. Cf. The Bedern infra, 281, OE bedhus 'house of prayer,' ME bedhus 'alms-house,' etc. The Bedern was the establishment of the Provost and College of the Minster. Bowbriglane 1449 HMC(Dev) is 'street with an arched bridge,' from OE boga; cf. Minsterbowe (infra), and Stonebow Lane in York infra 298. Buge Rowe 1560 NCWills from the makers of budge-fur. Cf. Buge Rowe, PN Nth 8. venelæ juxta Briddal myddying 1437 HMC(Dev), Burdat(t) midding Lane 1633 BevRent, 1681 BevRec, from ME midding 'midden, refuse heap' (Dan madde 'muck-heap,' cf. Dings infra 197). Cokwald Strete 1435 HMC(Dev) from ME cukewald 'cuckold.' (constabularia) Kutstulpyt (sic) 1379 Poll, (le) Cukstol(e)pit(t) 1392

1 Dr Knudsen points out that Algeade is a common Danish form of Adelgade, from ODan aodl 'head, chief.' With metathesis to Ald- such an origin might be considered for this name and Aldgate in Hull (infra 211).
BevDoc et freq, le Cokestulepitt 1420 BM. ‘Pit where the ducking-stool for scolds was used,’ from ME kúkstole and pyttr. the Cockpit 1594 BevRec, where cock-fighting was held. Couperlane 1439 HMC(Bev) from the cooperers. (le) Crosse-, Crosbrig(g) 1324, 1342 YD, 1444 Test et passim, ad pontem crucis early 14th YD, 1449 HMC(Bev). (le) Cros(s)-, Crossgarth(e)s 1376, 1385 YD, 1399 HMC(Bev) et passim to 1666 BevRec. ‘Enclosure with a cross,’ v. garor. le Dedelane 1327 Dugd, Dead Lane 1633 BevRent was near St Mary’s Churchyard. (le, lez) Dyng(e)s, -i- 1353 Ipm, 1408 YI, 1435 BevDoc et passim to 1706 BevRent, is probably from OScand dyngja ‘dung, dung-heap’, which occurs in some Norwegian names such as Dingsoren (NoGN xii, 282) and probably in English midden (cf. Burdatt myddyn supra 196). The Archbishop of York had a tenement here called Byscopdinge 1282 Ebor, Bishopdyngs 1284 HMC(Bev). Fismarketegat 1307 BevAct, Fysh-marketgate 1370 Poll is named from Fi-, Fys(s)hmarket(t) 15th BevDoc et passim to 1577 BevRec, Fish Shambles 1689 ib. Cf. also Fyschemarket-moregate 1344, 1350 YD, Markytoomargate 1417 BevAct (v. Minster Moorargate supra). Gilegate 1502 FF is named from the Hospital of St Giles (cf. St Giles Croft infra 199). Goodecheapelane 1498 Test, ‘street for a good bargain,’ v. ceap. Manton Gate 1665 BevRec is named from Lord Manton. Mercere raw 1486 Test is from ME mercer ‘a dealer in silks, etc.;’ in 1486 Guy Malyerd, a mercer, had property here (loc. cit.). Mynstirbowe, -er- 1449, 1467 HMC(Bev) is ‘minster archway’ (ME bowe, OE boga, cf. Stonebow Lane in York infra 298). Morgate c. 1265, 1273 BevAct, Moregate 1439 HMC(Bev) is ‘road to the moor,’ v. Minster Mooragate supra. Cf. also Suthmorgate 1323 BevAct. Noutdritlane 14th, 1366 YD is ‘cattle dung lane,’ from OScand naut ‘neat, cattle.’ Oswaldgate 1327 Dugd et freq to 1557 HMC(Bev), later called Hayrarlane 1402 YD. Podynglane 1439 HMC(Bev) is probably ‘puddy, muddy street’ or ‘street where beast entrails were sold.’ Pottergate 13th, 1347 YD is from the pot-makers. Ryngandan 1417 BevAct, Ryngoldlane end 1435 HMC(Bev), possibly a ‘winding lane,’ from ringand, pres. part. of ME ringen ‘to encircle.’ Spetyll in the Streit 1501 Sanct is the Hospital of St Giles (hospitale S. Egidii 1274 Ebor, domus Sancti Egidii 1367 BevDoc); cf. St Giles Croft infra 199. the Shambles 1633 BevRent is from ME shamelle ‘a booth, stall’ (cf. The Shambles in York infra 297). St(c)homarketlane 1437, 1439 HMC(Bev) is from (le) Shomarket(t) 1364 BevDoc, 1417 YD, also called Soutre-, Soutermarket 1326, 1366 YD; in 1364 all coblers were ordered to confine their stalls to the market assigned to them which was called le Shomarket (BevDoc 30). le Smetheraw 1392 BevDoc is ‘the street of the smithy’ (le Smethi 1407 ib.). Cf. also Smith Hill 1633 BevRent. Suthbarregate c. 1250 BevAct was the street leading to the south gate of the town. Tentoure Lane 1557 HMC(Bev) is ‘street where cloth was stretched on tenters.’ Turne agayne lane 1557 ib. was no doubt a cul-de-sac. Whyte lane 1557 ib. is also alba via 1417 BevAct.

Beck Side (6") is le Bekbank 1371 BevDoc. (le) Bekside 1437
HMC(Bev) et freq to 1468 Pat, (le) Beck(e)side 1546 YChant et freq to 1699 BevRent. It is also ripam torrentis 1400 BevDoc, ad torrentem 15th ib., ripam fluminis alias de Beke 1410 Wills. Cf. Beverley Beck supra 2.

FIGHAM (6") is Fegang 1284 (et freq to 1536) HMC(Bev), 1405, 1435 BevDoc et freq to 1577 BevRec, le Fegang 1407 BevDoc, Figham 1660 BevRec, Figholme c. 1678 ib. ‘Cattle track,’ from OScand fé ‘cattle’ and OE, OScand gang ‘track, path’ (cf. Summergangs supra 39). Fegang ‘cattle-track’ is a common Dan term and, as noted by Dr Knudsen, often occurs in Dan place-names.

GROVEHILL [grovəl]

Gruuale 1156 Meaux
Groual(e), -v- t. John AddCh, 13th YD, 1289 YI, (juxta Beverlacum) 1391 Test
Grouall(ia), -v- 1220-1 Melsa, 1349 Meaux et passim to 1669 BevRec
Grovhall, -u- 1290 YI, 1364 Pat
Cf. also Grovalgrene 1391 HMC(Bev), Grovaldyke 1391 BevDoc, le Grovaldyk 1439 HMC(Bev).

The first element is probably OScand gróf "stream, hollow, the hollow which a stream makes for itself" (Rygh, NoGN, Indledning 52), well-evidenced in Norwegian place-names (v. NoGN xii, passim). In ordinary literary usage in ME the word does not appear to have a topographical sense. Grovehill is near the river Hull and there are several streams and drains in the vicinity; the name therefore means ‘nook of land formed by the hollow of a stream,’ perhaps that called Grovaldyke. v. h(e)alh, dic.

LUND (6") is Lund(e) 1327 Dugd, 1345 FF et passim to 1421 YI, Lound 1399 AD i, Londe 1579 BevRec. Cf. also Lund Gates 1706 BevRent. v. lundr and cf. Lund supra 163.

MILL SCUT BRIDGE (6") is named from the Mill Scutt 1704 BevRec. Scut is clearly connected with the word scut ‘embankment (?)’ (v. NED s.v.) and is perhaps related to scud ‘to hasten,’ etc. In all probability it refers to the inflow or outflow of a watermill separated for a short distance from the main stream (Milnebek 1202 FF) by an embankment.
Norwood is Norwode 1308 BevAct, 1379 Poll et passim to 1407 BevDoc, -wod 1437 HMC(Bev), -wood 15th BevDoc et passim to 1699 BevRent, Northwod 1406 Nunkeel (p). ‘North wood.’

St Giles Croft, Gillycroft (6") is croftum Sancti Egidii 1407 BevDoc, Seintgilicroft 1413 YD, Gely- 1439 HMC(Bev), Seyntge- 1449 ib., St Gyles Crofts 1668 BevRec, Far (Hither) St Gyles Croft 1706 BevRent. A field which belonged to the Hospital of St Giles, v. supra 197 and croft. Cf. also Sayntgilyenge 1417 BevAct, the manor of Sayncte Gyles 1582 FF.

Swine Moor (6") is Swin-, Swyn(e)mor(e) 1277 Ipm, 1356 BevDoc, 1362 HMC(Bev) et passim to 1576 BevRec. Cf. also Swynmoregate 1435 BevDoc, Swynmoresdyk 1439 HMC(Bev), Swinemore Bank, Well 1706 BevRent.

Westwood is West(e)wod(e) 13th YD et passim, (un boys appelle) c. 1279 BevDoc, (boscum, silva de) 1356, 1367 ib. Cf. Norwood supra.

Woodhall (lost)1 is la Wudhall(e) 1279 YI, 1285 KI (p), Wode- c. 1265 KF, 1287 Ebor (p), 1343 Hom, 1347 Ipm, (iuxta Beverlacum) 1327 Dugd, Woodhaulle 1580 FF. v. wudu, h(e)all.

Figham Bank (6") is so named in 1706 (BevRent). v. Figham supra 198. Hurn is the Hyrne 1577 BevRec, the Hurn 1595 ib. ‘Corner of land,’ v. hyrne. Riding Fields (6") is (le) Riding, -y- 1274 Ebor, 1308 BevAct et freq to 1419 NCWills, (pastura de) 1308 BevAct, -ingges 1304 ib., -ynges 1314 Ch, Ridinge field 1566 FF. ‘Cleared land,’ v. hryding. Swinemoor Lane (6") is Swynmore Gate 1446 HMC(Bev). v. Swine Moor supra and gata. Westwood Mill (6") is so named in 1706 (BevRent).

2. Eske is Asch 1086 DB, Esc 1249 AD iv, Esk(e) c. 1265 KF, 1280 Ass et passim to 1522 FF, (in Holdernesse) 1268 FF. ‘The ashtree’ or ‘the place overgrown with ashes,’ v. æsc, influenced by OScand eski.

1 It may be identical with Westwood Hall (6").
3. **Molescroft**

*Molecroft* 1086 DB, 1316 NomVill, *Molcroft* 1292 Ch  
*Molescroft* 1086 DB, c. 1200 *Meaux et passim* to 1478 Test,  
*Mols-* 1297 LS et freq to 1375 FF, *Molys-* 1445 BevDoc  
*Mollescroft(e)* c. 1120 (1398) Dugd, 1130–40 Bridl (p), 1180–97 Melsa, 15th *Meaux et passim* to 1498 Test  
*Mulescroft* 1195 P (p), *Muls-* 1307 BevAct  
*Mulecroft* 1197, 1198 P (p)  
*Molsecroft* 1246 FF  
*MALSECROFT*(sic) 1355 FF  
*Molstoft(e) *(sic) 1463, 1466 Pat  
*MOS(s)croft(e) 1500 Test, 1524 FF, 1633 BevRent  
*Mowsecroft 1579 FF  

‘Mul’s enclosure,’ v. croft. For the regular spelling with *Mol*-  
cf. Molesey, PN Sr 94. Cf. also Introd. xxx.

PIGHILL (6") and PIGHILL LANE (6"). *Pighell* 1598 FF, 1698 YD,  
*Pighill als. Piggill* 1606 FF, *Pighill Lane* 1633 BevRent. The  
modern pronunciation [pigal] suggests that this is ‘pig hill’ and  
not the ME *pighel* which is found in Pea Hill *supra* 91.

4. **Storkhill** is *Estorch* 1086 DB, *Storck* 1297 LS, *Stork(e)*  
1309 Ebor (p), 1321 BevAct *et passim* to 1577 BevRec, *Stork-Hill*  
1828 Langd. It is obvious that this name goes back to a signi-  
ficant word and can hardly be connected with the bird-name  
*stork*. It is possible that it is a metathesised form of Norw *strok*  
which enters into the Norw river-name *Strokbækkern* (NoEN  
249) and place-names such as *Stryker*, called after the strong  
current of the nearby river (NoGN i, 115), *Stryken* (ib. iv², 134;  
v, 86, etc.), *Struksanden* near a stream *Struka* (ib. xv, 25). These  
names are related to OScad *strjuka* ‘to strike,’ *strykr* ‘strong  
wind,’ Norw *stryk* (masc.), *strok* (neut.) ‘strong current.’ The  
last goes back to an OScad *strok* which, at least formally, would  
suit Storkhill. The place stands on the river Hull, but it is  
doubtful whether the name could refer to the Hull at this point.  
It would seem therefore preferable to take into account a different  
root, OScad *storkna* ‘to stiffen, congeal’ (especially of fat, etc.);  
in England *storken* (EDD s.v.) has developed a further sense,  
‘to grow strong or stout, to thrive.’ The word is related to Gothic  
gastaúrknan ‘to dry up’ and, in a different grade, to OE stearc
'rigid, strong,' *stercan* 'to stiffen' (v. NED s.v. starch, stark). The original sense of the group seems to be 'grow rigid, stiff.' It is not difficult to suppose the existence of an OE *storc* or an OScand *stork*, which might well have had a topographical reference to 'land dried up,' perhaps (in view of the meaning of dialect *storken* 'to grow fat') 'land built up or increased (through drainage)'; we may contrast the sense development in Swine *supra* 51. The land at Storkhill was originally marshland, but it has been extensively drained. A field (to which the name must have applied) between Storkhill Farm and the river Hull has been drained in a curious manner. There is a long ditch at right angles to the river and this ditch is fed by numerous cross ditches, of the usual field drainage type; instead of being shallow depressions, however, they are about four feet deep and the soil from these valley-like hollows would appear to have been thrown up on the intervening ridges. The drainage is not modern. v. Addenda lx.

**SANDHOLME (6")** is *Sand(e)holm(e)* 1351 BM, 1356, 1369 BevDoc *et passim* to 1577 BevRec. 'Sandy water-meadow,' v. sand, holmr, and cf. Sandholme *infra* 247. Very common in Denmark.

5. **THEARNE** [θən, ðən]

*Thoren* 1297 LS, 1298, 1303 YI
*Thorn(e)* 1309 Ebor, c. 1362 Works *et passim* to 1566 FF
*Thoryn* 1333 SR
*Thurne* 1536 HMC(Bev) *et passim* to 1577 BevRec
*Thearne* 1828 Langd

'The thorn tree,' v. porn.

**SICEY FARM (6")** is *Si-, Sydese* 1297 LS, 1338 BevAct, 1402 FA, *Sydse* 1310 Ebor, *Sice* 1394 HMC(Bev), *Sicee* 1650 ParlSurv.

'Broad lake,' from sid and OE *sǣ* 'pool, sea' (v. Kilnsea *supra* 15). Sicey is by the river Hull on low marshy ground.

**WAWNE FERRY** is *passagium de Wawne* 1153 Meaux, *Waghna cum passagio fluuii de Hullo* 1150–60 Meisa, *Waghenfery* c. 1362 Works, *Waunfery* 1435, 1437 HMC(Bev). v. Wawne *supra* 44 (on the other side of the river Hull) and ferja.

et freq to 1436 Baildon, Tickton 1566 FF. ‘Ticca’s farm’ or ‘kid farm,’ v. ticcen, tun. If the latter is correct we may compare Tickford (PN Bk 23), where there is a similar loss of -n.

Hull Bridge is Ulbrigg c. 1120 (1398) Dugd, Hulbrigg, -y- 1394 HMC et passim to 1543 FF, Hull Bridge 1565 FF, pontem de Hul 1287 YI. v. Hull supra 6.

7. Weel

V-, Wela 1086 DB
Wele 1252 Meaux, 1249–69 Melsa, 1309 Ebor et passim to 1573 BM, Wel 1298, 1301 Ebor
Welle 1310 Ebor
Weel(e) 1437 HMC(Bev) et freq to 1706 BevRent
Wiel 1575 FF, Weill 1583 FF
OE wæl (Angl wēl) ‘a deep place in a river,’ as in Wheel Hall infra 265. Weel is on the river Hull.

Hoggard Ho is Weel Halgarth 1672 BevRec. v. h(e)all, garðr. The compound halgarth ‘enclosure belonging to a hall’ is still in use in dialect (v. EDD s.v. hall). Park Hill (6’). Cf. Parkedike 1252 Meaux. Weel Carr is mariscum de Wele 1150–60 Melsa, 1252 Meaux. v. kiarr. Weel Stone Carr (6”) is Staynker 1284 HMC(Bev). It is part of Stone Carr supra 45.

8. Woodmansey is Wod(e)manse 1289 YI, 1290 Pat, 1297 LS et passim to 1512 FF, Woodmancy 1573 BM, -sey 1577 BevRec.

The first element is OE wuduman, ME wodeman ‘woodman’ (perhaps a forester belonging to Beverley Parks infra). The second may be either ea ‘stream’ or OE sæ ‘pool’; the absence of a medial e which one would expect in a genitive and the fact that the nearby Sicey (supra 201) contains sæ suggests the latter.

Beverley Parks is parcum de Beverlaco 1267, 1309 Ebor, le West-park’ 1309 Ebor, parcum Beverlacæ 1417 BevAct, Parrok 1437 HMC(Bev), The park of Beverle 1452 ib., Beverley Park(e)s 1650 ParlSurv et freq. This was a park belonging to the Archbishops of York.

Sneerholmes (6”) is Snoreholm(houses) c. 1362 Works, 1402 FA, Snoresholm c. 1400 Melsa, Snordhome 1543 FF. ‘Snor(r)i’s water-meadow,’ v. holmr. ME Snore (OScand Snorri) has become Sneer- on the analogy of dialectal [dio] for door.
HARTHILL WAPENTAKE, HUNSLEY BEACON

HAMPSTON HILL is Hamtoneng, Hampston 1309 Ebor. QUEENS-GATE (6") is Quenegate 1435 HMC(Bev), Queensgate 1673 BevRec. v. gata. The first element may be OE cwen ‘queen’

Walkington

Walkington [wɔːkɪtən]

Walkintun(a), -ton(a), -yn- 1080–6 YCh 974, 1109–28 ib. 967 et passim to 1374 FF, -yn-, -ing- 1180–97 Melsa, 1279 Dunelm et passim to 1592 NCWills
Walcheton 1086 DB, Walketuna 1109–28 YCh 966
Walchinton(e) 1086 DB, -tune 1253 RegAlb, V- 1153–60 YCh 937
Wakinkton 1196 FF
Wakinton 1200 FF, 1279–81 QW
Waukinton 1251 Ass (p)
‘Walca’s farm,’ v. ingtun. On the pers. name Walca cf. Walstead (PN Sx 343) and Walkingham (WRY), Walching(e)ha’ DB.

LITTLE WOOD (6’’). Cf. Walkyngton Wode 1437 HMC(Bev).

Rowley

to brusun laya, of rusun laya (for hruzan lapa) 963 (14th) RegAlb
Rule(e) 1150–60, 1180–97 Melsa, 1249 YI (p), Ruley 1227 Ebor
Ruelai 1204 Ass, -le 1274 Ebor
Rugeleg’ (margin Rughelegh’) 1268 Ebor
Rou-, Rowle(e), -lay, -ley 1276 YI, 1280 Ebor et passim to 1544 FF
Roweley 1300 Ebor, 1410 YI

If the first spellings are correctly identified with Rowley, as seems likely, the name was originally ‘rough hill,’ v. ruh, hlaw, but the second element has been changed under the influence of leah.

1 Depopulated in 1638, when the inhabitants left for America and founded Rowley, Massachusetts (Nicholson 91).
Bentley

Benedlage 1086 DB
Ben(n)esleia, -ley 1144–6 YCh 106–7
Benetlee, -ley(e), -leg(a) 1163–89 YD, 1228, 1230 Ebor et freq to 1269 FF
Bentele(y), -lay 13th YD, 1274 Ebor et passim to 1353 Ipm
Bentley, -lay 1281 Ch, 1391 YI et passim to 1566 FF

‘Clearing overgrown with coarse grass,’ v. beonet, leah.

Hunsley is Hund(ves)leia 1086 DB, Hundeslay, -ley, -ley, -ley 1100 YCh 1894, 1109–28 ib. 966–7, 1195 (1335) Ch et passim to 1410 YI, -layque 1310–39 Melsa, Honderlad (sic) 1137–46 YCh 968, Howneslow 1505 Test, Hunsley 1570 FF. Possibly ‘Hand’s clearing,’ from the OE pers. name Hund (cf. Houndsfield, PN Wo 354) and leah, though the DB spellings with medial r rather suggest a compound of OE hundred and leah, ‘the clearing belonging to the hundred.’ Hunsley Beacon Division (supra 189) takes its name from this place, although the division itself seems to be of later origin.

Riplingham

Ripingha’ 1086 DB, Rippingham 1349 Ipm
Rippingeham 1180 P (p)
Rip(p)lingham, -y- c. 1175–88 YCh 1126 (p), 1202 FF, 1204 Ass, 1230 P (p) et passim to 1399 YI, Ryplynham 1368 YD
Rippelingham 1282 YI, 1285 KI
Rep(p)lingham, -y- 1333 YAJ xi, 1344 FF, 1355 Ipm

Either ‘home of Rippel and his people’ (v. Riplington, PN NbDu 166) or ‘homestead of those living near the strip (of woodland),’ from OE rippel ‘strip, strip of woodland’ (as in Ripple, PN Wo 158, PN K 219, etc.). v. ingaham.

Risby

Risbi 1086 DB, Risby 1828 Langd
Receby c. 1130–40 YCh 102, Resceby 1297 LS et freq to 1342 SR
Risebi, -by t. Hy 2 YD, 1316 NomVill, Rizebi 1166 P (p)
Ri-, Rysceby 1228, 1234 Ebor et passim to 1457 YD
Rischeby 1231 FF
Rytheby 1231 Ass
Ri-, Rysseby 1363 FF, 1417 BevAct
The medial ce, ze and sce generally represents the sound ts (from earlier ts, ðs or ds, generally the OScand gen. sing. in -s). There is a rare OScand nickname Rytr which would suit the forms, but in view of the 1231 spelling Rytheby it is not unlikely that Risby is of the same origin as Swedish Ryssby, ‘farm near the clearing,’ from OSwed rydh ‘clearing,’ gen. sing. rytz, and by. Cf. ON þaþ-by 24. The few spellings with e for i may be due to the occasional lowering of i especially in the neighbourhood of r (cf. the spellings of Ripplingham supra 204) or the association of ryð with the cognate OScand ryðr ‘clearing.’

LITTLE WEIGHTON [lɑtl wɪttn]

Widetone 1086 DB
Wi-, Wytheton(a) c. 1207 YD, 1276 Ch et passim to 1428 FA
Witton 1276 RH, Witton 1308 BevAct
Wycton 1285 KI, Wyachten 1299 Ch, Wyveton 1349, 1361 Ipm
Wyton 1367 YD, 1369 YAJ xi, (juxta Risceby) 1376 FF
Weton 1410 YI et freq to 1568 FF, Weeton 1593 FF
Wighton 1466 NCWills, 1523 Test, Little Weighton 1828 Langd

v. Weeton supra 23. The modern form has been influenced by that of the nearby Market Weighton (infra 229), and the place then came to be distinguished as ‘little.’

Bentley Park Farm (6") is the park 1276 YI. Birkhill Wood (6"). Cf. Birken 1254 Warter. ‘Birchen (place).’ Green Gate (6") is Grenegate 1226 Ebor. v. gata. Hall Garth (6") is Bentley Hall Garthe 1546 YChant. Cf. Hoggard House supra 202. Jillywoods (6") is Suthwode (belonging to the Hospital of St Giles in Beverley) 1269 FF. v. St Giles Croft supra 199. Socken Wood (6"). Cf. Sokmanberg 1231 FF. From ME sokman ‘a free peasant owing suit of court’ and berg.

Cottingham

Nota

Cotingeham 1086 DB, 1166 RBE (p), 1227 Ch, 1244 Ass
Cotingha’ 1086 DB, -yn-, -ham 1150–60 Melsa, 1201 Cur et passim to 1523 NCWills
Cootingham (?) c. 1125 SD
Cottageham (?) 1156 Meaux, 1196 P (p), et passim
Cottingham 1175-84 YCh 48, Cottingham 1270 YD

'Homestead of Cot(t)a's people,' v. ingaham, and cf. Cottingham, PN Nth 163. The same pers. name is found in Cottingham Well 1270 Deryngham may have as its first element a pers. name De(a)rna or De(o)rna, which would be either a nickname 'the sly one' from (Angl. dearne) OE dierne 'secret,' or a short name from OE Dœornōd (found in Darrington, PN WRY 57, cf. also Darlington, PN NbDu 60-1). 'Homestead of Derna and his people,' v. ingaham. The prefixed elements in the different early spellings are from leah, wiella, eng; Sene- is obscure unless it be for Seue-, from OScand set 'sedge.' The prefixing of words of this kind is unusual, but we have another example in Hollows supra 171.

Derningham is Deringham 1261 Selby, Suthe-, Northe-, Little Derningham 1282 YI, Daringhamwells c. 1325 Dugd, Ley-, Wel-, Eng-, Sene-dernyngham 1408 YI, Weldernyngham, Dernyngham Well 1447 (1462) Pat.

Derningham Dyke (6") is Derningamdike 1282 YI, Dernynghamdyke 1303 YI, Derynghamdyke 1415 YI, Darnyngham Dyk 1447 (1462) Pat. Derringham may have as its first element a pers. name De(a)rna or De(o)rna, which would be either a nickname 'the sly one' from (Angl. dearne) OE dierne 'secret,' or a short name from OE Dœornōd (found in Darrington, PN WRY 57, cf. also Darlington, PN NbDu 60-1). 'Homestead of Derna and his people,' v. ingaham. The prefixed elements in the different early spellings are from leah, wiella, eng; Sene- is obscure unless it be for Seue-, from OScand set 'sedge.' The prefixing of words of this kind is unusual, but we have another example in Hollows supra 171.

Dunswell is Donceuall 1349, 1353 Ipm, Donceuall c. 1362 Works, 1408 YI, Downeswall 1546 FF, B(e)arhouse 1610 Speed, 1695 Morden, Dunswell or Beer-Houses 1828 Langd.

Eppleworth is Eppelworth 1349 Ipm, -wyth 1353 ib., Eppilworth 1408 YI. 'Apple wood,' from OScand epli and viör. Examination of the MS of the 1349 Ipm has shown that the true reading is Eppelwith and not Eppleworth as printed. This, with the forms for Eppleworth Wood (infra 207), make it certain that the worth form is a late corruption introduced as in other northern place-names (Ravensworth, PN NRY 292, etc.) from the Midlands. A field in this township was called Appulgarth 1408 YI.

Hull Bank (6") is Hulban(c)k(e) 1150-60 Melsa, 1335 YD et freq to 1408 YI, Hulle- 1150-60 Melsa, ripam de Hul' c. 1270
Meaux, Hule 1276 YI, Hullbanks 1328 FF, -bancke 1568 FF. v. River Hull supra 6 and banke.

Loatleys (6") is Lorteleghe 1282 YI, Lortley 1408 YI. ‘Dirty clearing,’ from OE lort, cognate with OScand lort ‘dirt,’ dialectal lorty ‘dirty,’ cf. Ekwall, RN 259 and s.n. Hogs Mill River (PN Sr 4). The same word enters into Lurk Lane in Beverley supra 195. v. leah.

Pillwoods is Pileford 1086 DB, Pilford 1349, 1353 Ipm. ‘Ford marked by a stake,’ from OE pil ‘stake, etc.,’ ford. On OE pil in place-names v. Pilemoor, PN D 420.

Wises is le Wiches 1261 Selby, Wythes 1282, 1408 YI, les Wythyes 1415 YI, Wyse 1568 FF. ‘The willows,’ v. wiðig.

Carr Lane (6") is Carcause c. 1325 Dugd, from kiarr and ME cause ‘causey, a raised way (especially across a marsh or the like).’ Chanter Lands (field) is Est-, Southchaunturland 1408, 1415 YI. Probably ME chauntour ‘chantry-priest.’ Cottingham Parks (6") is parco de Cotyngham c. 1270 Meaux, Cottingham Parke 1516 BevDoc. Cowcroft (field) is Colcroft c. 1325 Dugd. Eppleworth Wood is Eppilwythwood 1408, 1415 YI, Eplywith wood 1578 BM. v. Eppleworth supra 206. Firths (field) is le Fyrth c. 1325 Dugd, the Fryth, -i- 1408 YI, 1578 FF. v. fyrhp. Gens (6") is Chauntergang 1261 Selby, Stanhous-gange(s) 1408, 1415 YI. OE gang ‘road’ (v. Summergangs supra 39). The ‘stone house’ (v. stan, hus) is referred to again in Stanhousgarth 1408, 1415 YI, whilst chaunter is as in Chanter Lands supra. Harland Rise (6") is Harland 1408 YI. Possibly ‘stony ground,’ from OE *har (cf. Harland, PN NRY 63, and PN BedsHu 137) and land. Haverflatts (6") is Haverflat 1261 Selby, Havenflattes (reading doubtful) 1282 YI, Northaverflat(t) 1408 YI. ‘Oat fields,’ v. hafri, flat. North Carr (6") is le Northkarre de Cotyngham c. 1270 Meaux. v. kiarr. North Ho is Northhouse(e) 1349, 1353 Ipm. Norwoods is Northwode 1276, 1282, 1408 YI. Pratwoods is Pratwode 1408 YI, -wood 1578 BM. OE prætt, ME prat ‘astute, cunning,’ was used as a by-name as in Leftwine Prat astutus (De gestis Herewardi) and here probably is the name of the owner of the wood. Raywell Farm (6") is Ragwelle water 1282 YI. ‘Well or spring
overgrown with lichen,' from OE *ragu* (rægu) and w(i)ella. **SKIDBY INGS** is *Schiteby eenges* 1303 YI. v. eng and Skidby infra. **SOUTHWOOD** is *Sutwode* 13th YD, *Suthor(ew)od(e)* 1276, 1282 YI, *Southwo(o)d(e)* c. 1325 Dugd et freq to 1415 YI. **SPRINGHEAD** is so named in 1828 (Langd). It is the source of Hull’s water supply. **THWAITE** (6") is *le Qwayt* c. 1325 Dugd, *Thwayte* 1546 FF. v. pveit ‘enclosure.’ **VINE GARTH** (6") is *Wyndgarthe* 1282 YI. ‘Exposed enclosure,’ from OE *wind* (cf. Windersome supra 95) and garð. **THE WOLDS** (6") is *Walda* c. 1270 Meaux. v. The Wolds supra 13.

2. **HALTEMPRICE** [ɔttɛmpraɪz]

*Haltanprys* 1323 Melsa
*Hau-, Hawtempris(e)* 1340 FF, 1342 Baildon, SR et passim to 1400 Test; -price 1496 FoxReg, 1531 Test
*Hautenpris* 1410 YI, 1447 (1462) Pat, -price 1449 Test
*Haudenprys* 1423 Baildon, *Howdenprice* 1610 Speed
*Attenprice* 1531 Test
*Halton Price* 1546 YChant, *Holtonprise* 1589, 1604 FF

A priory of Augustinian canons was established at Cottingham in 1322 by Thomas Wake, lord of Cottingham (Melsa ii, 347), but was moved after a year or two to a neighbouring site at Newton (infra). The name is from French *haute emprise* ‘great undertaking.’

**NEWTON** (lost) is *Niweton* 1199 P, *Neuton(a)*, -toun c. 1240 Bardney, 1261 Selby et passim to 1339 FF, (juxta Wylardby) 1299 Ch, (juxta Cotyngham) 1342 Baildon, *Neweton* 1410 YI. ‘New farm,’ v. niwe, tun. The name was replaced by Haltemprice supra. A similar case of a French name replacing an English one is Mount Grace (PN NRY 214).

3. **SKIDBY**

*Scyteby* 972 (c. 1200) BCS 1279
*Schitebi, -by* 1086 DB, 1190–6 P, 1216 Reg.Alb et freq to 1303 YI
*Schetebi* 1194 P
*Skitebi, -y* 1200, 1201 P, 1225, 1236 Ebor et passim to 1362 Extent, *Sckytebi* 1249 AD iv

HARTHILL WAPENTAKE, HUNSLEY BEACON

Hullshire

Comitatus Hull 1505 Sanct, the Countie of Kyngeston upon Hulle 1546 YChant, Hull Shyer 1546 ib., Hullshire 1828 Langd. It was constituted a county by Henry VI, and included the parishes of Kingston upon Hull, Hessle, Kirk Ella, and North Ferriby infra. v. scir.

Kingston upon Hull¹

The town was known at various times as Wike, Hull and Kingston and there was a tradition that it had also been called Sayercryk.

Wyk’ 1160–80 Melsa (et freq), (super, juxta Hull’) 1280 Ass, 1292 Meaux et freq to 1305 Rental, (super le Hul) 1279 Ch Wyke 1275 Ebor, 1278 YI, (super Hull) 1289 YI, le (la) Wyke 1278, 1298 YI, (super le Hull) 1282 Baildon le Wyche 1279 Abbr (le) S(o)uthwyk’ 1307 Rental, 1348 BenchBook

Either OE wic ‘dairy-farm’ or, more probably, OScand vik ‘creek, inlet’ in reference to the mouth of the river Hull. There was a field here called Wykecroft 1299 BM.

(portum, villa de) Hull 1228 Lib, Pat, 1242 Cl, 1268 Ebor (portum, villa de) Hull 1261 Selby, 1264 Pat et passim to a. 1678 Map, (Toune of) 1576 BevRec, Le Hull 1287 Pat, Hulle 1291 Ebor et freq to 1419 NCWills

Named from the river Hull supra 6. The name has persisted in popular and semi-official usage down to the present time.

¹ Holy Trinity parish (the parish of Holy Trinity 1546 YChant, from Holy Trinity Church, capella Sancte Trinitatis 1428 FA, ye Trinite kirke in Hull 1444 Test), with St Mary’s (S. Maryes Church 1610 Speed), and Sculcoates township are now within the Corporation of Hull.
Kyngeston, -i- 1256 (1413) Ch\(^1\), 1314 BevAct, (super, on, upon, Hul(l-e), etc.) 1275 Meaux\(^1\), 1294 ib., 1299 BM et passim to 1548 YD
Kingston super (upon, on) Hull(e) 1306 BevAct, 1476 Test et freq to 1576 NCWills
Kengeston on Hulle 1306 Ebor, Kengstown super Hull 1493 Sanct
the Kingis town upon Hull 1487 Test
Kynston upon Hull 1482 Test
Villa Regia super Hull 1407 et freq to 1502 Test

In 1292 Edward I exchanged with the monks of Meaux lands he had in Wawne (supra 44) and Wilsby (L) for Wike upon Hull, for the purpose of securing the port (Meaux fol. 69, etc.), and the place was officially called ‘the king’s town’: nomen dictæ villæ de Wyk mutavit et eandem villam Kyngestonam super Hullo fecerat nominari (Melsa ii, 192). In 15th-century and later documents it was usual to refer to the place by its full name, Kingston upon Hull, and when the place was named more than once in the document, subsequently to use the simple form Hull.

Sayercryk 1382 Ch

In 1382 the king made a grant to the mayor and people of Kingston upon Hull “to have a port below the said town formerly called Sayercryk and now called Hull.” This was actually an old name for one efflux of the river Hull (supra 6–7). ‘Sayer’s creek,’ from OScand kriki, cf. Pottercrike 12th Malton. Sayer may have been the man who also gave his name to mariscum Saier (1221–35 Melsa) in Sutton upon Hull, and he may be identical with or a predecessor of Saier de Suttona who flourished towards the end of the 12th century (cf. StoweCh, YD, etc.).

KINGSTON UPON HULL STREET-NAMES

NOTE. The following are the chief street-names\(^2\): Bishop Lane is Bisshoplane 1342, 1443 BenchBook, Bissop- late 14th ib., Bishops Lane 1610 Speed, from the Archbishops of York who had property here. Blackfriargate is Blak(k)freregate 1381 Test, 1443 BenchBook, Blake Frier gate 1388 YD, Black Friers Gate 1610 Speed, from the Dominican order of Friars Preachers whose house was here. Blanket Row with

\(^1\) These documents were obviously written after 1292, when the town assumed the name of Kingston.

\(^2\) Mr L. M. Stanewell has given much help with these names.
HARTHILL WAPENTAKE, HUNSLEY BEACON 211

Blackfriargate formed Monkgate (infra). Carr Lane. Cf. Stephen del Ker 1305 Rental, le Carr de Miton 1605 FF, v. krarr and Myton infra 213. Chapel Lane is (the) Chappell La(u)ne 1550 NCWills, 1610 Speed. Formerly Aton Lane 1347 Hull Rental, so called from the Aton family who had property here. Church Lane is Kirk(e)lane 1321 Rental, 1348 et freq to 1415 BenchBook, 1433 YD, le Kyrkelane 1342 BenchBook, Aldkirkelane 1415 ib., (le, the) Church(e) Lane 1546 Y Chant et freq to 1602 FF. Dagger Lane is Daggardlane 1415 BenchBook, Dagger lai ne 1595 YD. ‘Street where daggers were made or where such were used,’ from early English dagger, dagard. It was formerly Champagne Street (infra). Finkle Street is Fynkelstrete 1415 BenchBook, Fensiklstrete 1443 ib. Cf. Finkle Street in York infra 286. It was formerly Hale Street (infra). The Guild Hall was le Courthallie 1415 NCWills, the Gildhall 1440 Ch, Guild Hall 1610 Speed, from ME gild ‘guild (of merchants, etc.).’ High Street (formerly Hull Street infra) is High(è)gate 1443 BenchBook, 1548 YD, 1583 FF, le Hygate 1458 Test, the Hye Strete 1525 ib., the highstrete als. Hulstrete 1550 NCWills, ‘the chief street,’ v. heah, gata. Humber Street is Humber-, Humber-strete 1333, 1415 BenchBook. v River Humber supra 8. Land of Green Ginger is the Land of Greneginger 1651 BenchBook (vi, 48), the waste ground called the Land of Greene Ginger 1655 ib. (vi, 155); in 1661 it is called a sewer (ib. vi, 411). Green ginger is undried root of the tropical plant, used now in preserve. The word green-ginger is evidenced from 1463 (NED s.v. ginger). Mr T. Sheppard explains it as the name given to one of the old gardens in Hull used for the growth of potherbs which, from their general preservative qualities came to be known as green ginger. Low Gate was formerly Marketgate (infra). Myton Gate is Mytongat(e) 1388 YD, late 14th BenchBook, Mitton Gate 1610 Speed. ‘Street leading to Myton (infra 213),’ v. gata. It was formerly Lyle Street (infra). Rotten Herring Staitth is Rotynheringstathete 1443 BenchBook, a landing-place (v. stæð) named from the family of John Rotenhering (1348 BenchBook, etc.). v. Addenda ix. Salthouse Lane is Soduse Lane (sic) 1610 Speed. It was formerly Polestreet 1347 BenchBook, named from the great family of de la Pole. Scale Lane is Sc-, Skaillane 1415, 1431, 1443 BenchBook, named from the family of Richard Skayll (1342, 1415 ib.). Vicar Lane is Uykerlane 1342 BenchBook, Vicarlane 1415 ib., formerly Bedfordlane 1342, 1415 ib., from the family of John de Bedford (1342, 1484 ib.). Whitefriargate is Whitefrerigate 1415, 1443 ib., from the White Friars (cf. Aldgate infra). Witham is so named in 1828 (Langd).

Other names of interest which have not survived include: Ald(e)gate(e) 1301, 1303 YI, 1321 Rental, 1342 BenchBook, ‘old street,’ v. gata (now represented by Whitefriargate, Silver Street and Scale Lane); Beuerle(y)-strete 1231 Rental et passim to 1610 Speed, leading to Beverley (now Trinity House Lane, King Street, Fish Street, Sewer Lane and Land of Green Ginger); Bishopsgate 1342 BenchBook, from the Archbishops of York (cf. Bishop Lane supra), now represented by Bowalley Lane and Bishop Lane; the Buchery 1443 BenchBook, the Bouchery 1600 YD, from ME bocherie ‘slaughter-house, butcher’s shop’; Chaun-, Chaum
**paynstrete** 1342, 1348 BenchBook, Chaumpanstrete 1415 ib., probably 'street leading to open country,' from ME chaumpayne 'flat, open country.' 3rd Charterhouse, -house 1444 Test et freq to 1529 ib., also called *la Maison dieu* 1379 Dugd, from ME chartrous (OFr chartreuse, *maison Chartreuse* 'Carthusian house') used of a Carthusian monastery (v. NED s.v. charthouse); Hallestrete 1321 Rental (freq), Halleestrete 1333 BenchBook, Hailestrete 1415 ib., probably named from an unidentified place called *les Hales* 1305, 1307 Rental, 1348 BenchBook, 'the nooks of land,' v. health; it is now Finkle Street. *Hesilleyaies* 1443 BenchBook, Hasilgate 1550 NCWills, 'gate on the Hessle road,' v. Hessle infra 215 and geat; *Hull streth* 1303 YI, -strete 1342 BenchBook et freq. *Hulstret(e)* 1303 YI, 1321 Rental, Hullstreete als. le Heighe Streete, from the river Hull (supra 6), now High Street; *Ly-, Lilistrete* 14th Guisb, 1321 Rental, 1342 BenchBook (modo vocat 'Mitongate') 1415 ib., Liliestrete 1321 Rental, Lilistrete 1348 BenchBook, the Lyllie Lane 1550 NCWills, from the family of John Lilly (late 14th BenchBook, called *de Insula* in 1293 ib.), now Myton Gate; *Litestergate* 1335 Guisb is street of the dyers (ME *litestre*); *Marchants Row* 1610 Speed. Markedgate 1321 Rental, Market(e)gate 1342, 1348 BenchBook, the Marketi Stretee 1577 NCWills, from ME marked 'market'; Milkestrete 1347, 1348 BenchBook, an early instance of this now common street-name—it was outside the west wall of the town; *Mu-, Monk(e)gate* 1321 Rental, 1333-42 BenchBook, cf. Monkgate in York infra 295, now represented by Blanket Row, Blackfriargate and Humber Street; Postern Lane 1610 Speed led to the Postern Gate in the walls; *Preste rowe* or *Cannon rowe* 1595 YD, the street where the priests lived; *Scolestrete, Scol(e)lane* 1342 BenchBook, from ME scole 'school'—it is now Robinson Row, whilst *Scolelane* ran from Lyle Street to the cemetery.

**Drypool (6")**

Drit-, Dridpol, Dripold 1086 DB
Dri-, Drypol(e) t. John AddCh, YD, 1226 FF, 1231 *Ass et passim* to 1534 FF
Dri-, Drypule 1165 Nunkeel, 1221-35 (et freq) Melsa, -pull 1373 Pat, -pull 1381 AD i
Dri-, Drypoll(e) 1246 Ass, 1293 Meaux, 1307 YI, 1478 YD
Drie-, Dryepol 1255 FF, 1292 YI, 1293 Pat, 1297 LS
Drypoyll 1473 NCWills
Dreypoyle, -pooles 1536, 1541 FF

The DB spellings with Drit-, Drid- suggest that the name is to be connected with OScand *drit* 'dirt,' but the long vowel i (indicated by the spellings Drie- and later Drey-, as well as by the modern form) is against this and we must suppose that as in Driffield *supra* 153 the *t* (d) is inorganic. The forms with
pull(e) are from 14th- and 15th-century manuscripts and represent a common Northern spelling of OE ē (cf. Rudston supra 98).

‘Dry pool,’ v. dryge, pol, or (if we take into account the Drit-, Drid- spellings) ‘dried up pool,’ from OE dryged, past part. of drygean ‘to dry,’ in reference to a pool which has been drained or the like.

INGLEMIRE (occasionally IGGLEMIRE) is Illemere 1282 YI, Yghelmar’ 1322 Hom, Igglesmyre (sic) c. 1325 Dugd, Iglemere 1408, 1415 YI, Inglemere 1408 YI, the Igglemire 1790 Deed. For this name Dr G. Knudsen suggests a compound of an OScand word cognate with Dan, Norw igle ‘leech’ and mere ‘pool.’ The later Ingle- forms are due to the influence of the common word ingle ‘nook’ or place-names like Ingleton (WRY), Ingley (NRY), etc.

MARFLEET [ma:flit]

Mereflet, -flot 1086 DB, Meresfete in Holdernesse 1334 FF
Merflet(e) 12th AddCh, 1246 FF, 1249 Ch et passim to 1395
Dugd, -fleit 1166 P (p)
Marflet(e) 1285 KI et freq to 1539 FF, -fleete 1598 FF

‘Pool stream,’ v. mere, fleot and cf. OE Merfleot (BCS 1048). There is a small stream flowing from the mere, now a bog, into the river Hull (Nicholson 75).

MYTON (lost, cf. Myton Gate supra 211) is Mitun(e) 1086 DB, 1172, 1176 Meaux, Mi-, Myton(a) 1160–80 Melsa, 1196 FF et passim to 1605 FF, (on Humbre) 1366 Pat, Mi-, Mytton 1205 ChR et freq to 1431 BM, (on the Hulle) 1278 YI, (on Humbre) 1355 FF. ‘Farm at the confluence (of the Hull and the Humber),’ v. myoe, tun, and cf. Myton on Swale, PN NRY 23.

NEWLAND is (le) Newland, Neu- 1150–60 Melsa, 1276 YI et passim to 1576 NCWills, (-feldes) 1261 Selby, (Feilds) c. 1325 Dugd, Neweland 1336 FF, 1415 YI, 1433 Baildon. v. niwe, land, reclaimed marshland.

OWSTMARSK (lost) is Oust(e)mersk(e) 1339 Extent, 1347 Bench-Book, 1415 YI, Oustmerk 1346, 1353, 1357 FF. ‘East marsh,’ v. austr, merse (with Scand sk for English sh).

1 renes Mr T. Joys.
SCULCOATES (6")

Sculecote(s) 1166 RBE (p), 1190 P (p), 1197–1206 YCh 989, 1209, 1223 FF, 1295 YI, -cottes 1223 FF, -cot 1269 Ebor
Sculecote(s), -cottes 12th Riev, 1160–80 Melsa et passim to 1376 FF
Scolecote(s) 1269 Ebor, 1282 YI, Scolcotes 1295 Ebor
Souldcotes 1295 YI, 1301 AD ii, 1359 Ipm, Scoulcotes 1301 AD ii, 1356 FF
Scowscotes als. Sculcotes 1583 FF, Scowlcotts 1594 FF, Skoucotes 1610 Speed

'Skuli's cottages,' v. cote. The OScand pers. name Skuli is found as a surname in Richard Scoule (1297 LS, in Tharles-thorpe), and it enters into other place-names such as Sculthorpe (R, Nf), School Aycliffe (PN NbDu 8), etc. On the later spellings Scow- cf. Introd. xxxi.

SOUTHCOATES

Sotecote(s) 1086 DB, c. 1270 StoweCh, c. 1275 ib. et freq to 1304 YI, Sotkotes, -c- 1246 Ass, 1297 LS, 1337 FF
Sotescotes t. John YD
Sautecotes (sic) 1236 FF
Sutctot(t)es, -k- 1235-49 Melsa, 1303 YI, 1478 YD et passim to 1536 FF, -cottys 1527 FF, -coytts 1558 FF, -coytys 1582 FF
Suteotes 1292 YI
Sutuccotes 1293 Meaux, Suttcottes c. 1400 Melsa
Sotuccotes 1297 LS, Sottcotes 1356 Ipm
Sothecotes late 13th StoweCh, 1294 Meaux
Soddecotes 13th YD, late Hy 3 StoweCh
Sodcotes 1303 Ch, Sodecotes 1349 Meaux
Sudcotti(s) 1365 Pat, 1613 FF
Suddecotes 1415 YI

The first element is the OScand pers. name Sōti. At a later stage in the history of this name, when Sōti had developed to Sute, confusion with names in suō took place. 'Sotti's cottage(s),' v. cot(e).

STONEFERRY [stianferi, stuanferi] is Stanfery 1349 Ipm, 1381 AD i et freq to 1527 FF, Staneferi, -y 1418 YI, 1435 AD ii, 1563
In 1269 Joan de Stuteville had the right to put an iron chain across the river Hull at Stanfordrak to keep pirates off (Ebor 139) and from this it would seem that the older name of the place was 'stone ford' (v. stan, ford, and cf. Stamford Bridge supra 186); when the ford was replaced by a ferry (v. ferja) the name was changed accordingly. Otherwise, it is difficult to see the precise significance of a compound of stan and ferja. v. Addenda lx.

SUMMERGANGS is Sumergang(e) t. John YD, 13th StoweCh, c. 1270 ib., Somergang(e) 1261 Selby et freq to 1585 FF, Someryonge 1282 YI, Suttecotessomergang' 1303 YI, Somergames 1605 FF. 'Road which could be used only in summer,' from OE sumor or OScand sumar and OE, OScand gang 'road, track.' The form yonge is without doubt to be derived from Old Northumbrian geong 'going, journey,' etc., which survived until the beginning of the 14th century (v. NED s.v. yong).

THE GROVES (6") is les Groves 1564 FF. HARPINGS (6") is Est-, Westharpyn 1408, 1415 YI. HELLS (6") is Est-, Westhell 1408, 1415 YI, Hillgrange alias Hellgrange 1620 FF. SALTINGS (6") is Saltheng' 1261 Selby, -henges 1408, 1415 YI, -enges 1282 YI, le Saltyng c. 1325 Dugd, Saltyngges 1623 FF. 'Salt meadows,' v. s(e)alt, eng.

Hessle

Hesse [ezl]

Hase 1086 DB

Hesell(l) 12th Bardney, Guish, 1156-7 YCh 354 et passim to 1488 Bev, (on Humbre) 1340 FF, Hesell(l)a 1180 et freq to 1400 Melsa, Heselle 1239 Guish, 1268 FF, Hesele 1282 YI

Hasla 1180-90 Guish, Hasell(l) 1180-95 Guish et freq to 1561 FF, Hasele 13th Meaux

Hesill(l), -yll 1252 FF, 1276 YI et passim to 1578 BM, Hesylle 1416 Melsa

Hessell(l), -yll 1285 KL, 1303 YD, 1461 Pat, (on Humbre) 1479 YD

Hesell 1502 Sanct

1 The word rak in this form is probably that found in Long Drax (WRY), Langrak 1208 Cur.
‘The hazel-tree,’ v. hæsel, influenced by OScand hesli.

NOTE. PRESTONGATE is so named in 1578 (BM). There is no Preston in the neighbourhood. v. gata.

TRANBY is Tranebi, -by lath Bardney, late 12th Guisb, 1200 P (p), 1204 Ass, 1212 Cur (p) et passim to 1342 SR, Tranby 1356 FF et passim to 1545 FF. ‘Crane farm,’ v. trani, by, and cf. Swedish Tranbyn (ON þà-by 17, 98) or ‘Trani’s farm,’ from the OScand nickname derived from trani.

HESSLEWOOD is Hasylfurth 1559 FF, Hesslewood-House 1828 Langd.

Kirk Ella

1. ANLABY

Um-, Unlouebi 1086 DB
Anlachbi 12th Bardney, Anlakeby 1240 FF, 1270 YD, Anlacby 1284 Baildon, Anelacby 1303 Ebor
Anlauebi, -by 1203, 1205, 1212 Cur (p), Anlaweby 1234 Cl, Anlauby 1279 YI
Andlaueby 1204 Ass
Aulenaby 1205 OblR
Anlofby 1210–20 Melsa, Anloby 1303 YI
Anlagheby c. 1240 YD, 1306 BevAct, 1316 NomVill, Anelaghby 1303 Ebor, Anlahby 1309 ib.
Anlaweby 1246 Ass (p)
Anleby 1251 FF
Anlageby 1285 KI, Anlagby 1289 YI et freq to 1333 SR, Anelagby 1309 Ebor
Annelaby c. 1362 Works, Anlaby 1392 Test et passim to 1525 Bev Aynelebye 1566 FF

‘Anlaf’s farmstead,’ v. by. The Anglo-Scandinavian pers. name Anlaf, recorded in OE (cf. NP 4-5), is the common Scandinavian pers. name Óláfr (PrScand *AnulaibaR), and it is also found in Anglezark (PN La 48). There are two difficulties in the early spellings, but these can be paralleled. The frequent lagh(e), lake forms are in one respect similar to the early spellings of Theddlethorpe (L) and Warlaby (NRY); v. PN NRY 276. In these names, as in the numerous spellings of OScand lopt, ME loft, as Locte- in DB (v. Loftmarishes, Loftus,
PN NRY 95, 140), the c or k, gh, etc. may be an attempt to suggest the bilabial quality of OScand f (cf. a similar variation between OScand p and k in Skirpenbeck supra 150), or they may be inverted spellings which could arise when OE or OScand af and ag had fallen together in Middle English by vocalisation to au. The DB spellings with Um- and Un- have an exact parallel in the form Unlaf in the Parker manuscript of the Chronicle (s.a. 993) where the other manuscripts have the more usual Anlaf. There is no doubt that this comes from an etymological misunderstanding; the ó in OScand Ólafr was taken to be the Scandinavian negative prefix ó which was supplanted by the cognate OE prefix un-, as it was, with more justification, in ME Unfac from OScand Ófeigr and Unspac from OScand Óspakr (NP 170–1).

2. KIRK ELLA

Aluengi 1086 DB
Heluiglei 1156–7 YCh 354
Aluelay 1070–83 Selby, Alvele c. 1400 Melsa
Eluele, -v-, -ley(e), -lay 1189 Selby, 1199 FF et passim to 1496
FoxReg, (Est-) 1333 SR et freq to 1371 FF
Elueslay, -leya late 12th Selby, 1220–30 BM
Elvetele 1200 Cur, Elitele 13th YD (p)
Auuele 1265–75 BM
Esteluelle 1305 VI
Ellay, -ey 16th BM, (Ki-, Kyrk-) 1447 (1462) Pat et freq to 1604 FF, Kirkella 1594 FF

‘Ælf(a)’s clearing,’ v. leah. There is a suggestion in the DB spellings and the form Heluiglei of an original ing (v. ingtun and cf. Catwick supra 73)1. If the spellings Elvetele and Elitele really belong here, they show some confusion with OE ælfitu ‘swan’ found in some place-names such as Eldmire (PN NRY 184), etc. or with some of the spellings of Elloughton infra 220. The development of Ælf- to ME Elv- is normal in the North. ‘Kirk’ (v. kirkja) to distinguish it from West Ella infra 218. There are many references to the church here from the time of DB.

1 It should be pointed out that one of the tenants here TRE was called Aluan (OE Ælfwine) and it is possible that he gave his name to the place. Ælf(a) might well be a pet-form of Ælfwine.
Wolfreton is Uluardune, Ulfardun 1086 DB, Wulsferton 1228 Pat, 1246 Ass, Wolferton 1289 YI et freq to 1361 FF, Wulfir- 1234 FF, Wulver- 1504 Bev et freq, U-, Wlferton 13th BM, c. 1240 Guisb, 1303 KF, Wolfreton 1276 YI, 1342 SR et passim to 1462 Pat, U-, Wilf- 1282 YI, 1316 NomVill, Wo(o)ferton 1545 FF, 1559 NCWills. ‘Wulfheard’s farm,’ v. tun. Some of the spellings have OScand Ulf- for OE Wulf-.

3. Willerby is Wilgardi 1086 DB, Wil(l)ardebi 1196 FF, 1206 Cur (p), 1208 Ass (p), Wollerby 1566 FF, with other spellings and meaning as for Willerby supra 117. There is no connexion between the two places.

Willerby Carr (6") is Wyllerby Carr 1568 FF. v. kiarr.

North Ferriby

1. West Ella has a similar run of forms and meaning to Kirk Ella supra 217. Westeluelle 1305 YI, Westeluele, -legh, -ley 1333 SR et passim, West Ellay 1462 Pat, Westella 1594 FF.

2. North Ferriby

Ferebi 1086 DB, -bi, -by 1088–93 YCh 350, 1190, 1191 P, 1234, 1240 FF, 1294 YI, 1297 Pat
Feribi, -y- 1150–3 YCh 1107, 1156–7 ib. 354 et passim to 1546 YChant, (North) 1284 Baildon et passim
Ferrybi, -by 1304 BevAct, 1637 BM
Ferby 1305 YI

‘Village near the ferry,’ v. ferja, by. ‘North’ in relation to South Ferriby (L), on the opposite bank of the Humber. There are many allusions to the passagium or ferry itself (YCh 764, etc.).

3. Swanland

Suenelund 1189, 1190, 1191 P
Swaneslund 1237 Cl, c. 1265 Bodl, 1303 KF, -lond 1280 Ass, 1285 Abbr, 1305 YI, 1339 FF, Swansylund 1301 YI
Su-, Swanneslund 1293 Ch, 1296 BM et passim to 1333 FF, -lond 13th Melsa, 1285, 1294 YI, 1342 SR, -land late 12th Rievaulx
Swanlund 1303 YI, 1329 FF, -lound(e) 1303, 1415 YI, -lond 1285 KI, 1298 Baildon et freq to 1462 Pat, -land(e) 1302 Ebor, 1342 SR et passim to 1559 NCWills
Swannelund 1304 Ebor

'Svan's wood,' v. lundr. Some of the early spellings such as Swanes- look like the gen. sing. of OE swan 'herd, swine-herd' or a pers. name Swān, whilst the P spellings in Suene- might be variants of the cognate OScand sveinn. The frequency of forms with medial nn is, however, against this derivation, more particularly as OE swan is not usual in Northern place-names except where it is an anglicising of OScand sveinn. We should therefore associate the first element of Swanland with the OScand pers. name Swamr, which occurs in Iceland and (as a nickname) in Norway. An OSwed Swan is to be inferred from Swedish place-names such as Svansboda (Lundgren-Brate 251).

Braffords is Braythwaith 13th Malton, Braithwait, -y- 13th Selby, YD, 1303 KF et freq to 1339 FF, Braythayte 1221–35, c. 1400 Melsa, Braithetwhait 1307 YD, Braithawayt 1342 SR, Braffords 1828 Langd. 'Broad clearing,' v. breiðr, þveit, a common compound in Y (cf. Lindkvist 105–6, PN NRY 82, 250). The modern form has the common dialectal f for th.

Humber Dale is Humberdaile 13th Guisb. 'Strip or plot of land near the river Humber (supra 8),' v. deill. It is described as land near the Humber (ib. ii, 261).

Welton

1. Melton is Metheltun 1207 YD (p), Melleton 1332 SR, Melton 1214 Abbr, 1316 NomVill et passim to 1828 Langd. 'Middle farm,' v. medal, tun. Cf. Melbourne infra 236 and Middleton (WRY), (on) Medeltune c. 1030 YCh 7, High Melton (ib.), Mi-, Medeltone DB, Methelton 1208 FF, etc.

Melton Hill (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd).

2. Welton

Wealletune 1080–6 YCh 974
Welletuna(m), -tune, -ton(e) 1080–6 YCh 964, 974, 1086 DB, 1109–28 YCh 966 et passim to 1379 Poll

1 A detached part of Howden Wapentake.
Wilton 1212 Cur (p), 1249 Ch et passim to 1585 FF
Weleton 1249 Pat
Walleton 1279–81 QW

‘Farm near the spring,’ v. w(i)ella (Angl. walla), tun. There are several springs, including St Anne’s Well, in or near the village.

Welton Creek (6”). Cf. William Atkrik 1379 Poll. OScand kriki ‘creek, nook, bend.’

Elloughton

1. Elloughton [elɔθn]
Elgendon 1086 DB
Elgedon 1185, 1196 P, Helgedon 1196 P, 1216 RegAlb
Elegeton 1191 P, Elegeton 1195 P
Helgeton 1200, 1201 P, Elgeton 1259 FF (p), 1285 KI
Elveton, Elvhetona, Helvehet 1290 Ebor
Elghton 1379 Poll

The difficulty with this name is to decide whether initial h is organic or not. If it is, then the first element must be the OScand pers. name Helgi, OSwed, ODan Hælghe, which is found independently in late OE and ME as Helge, Elgi, Ælga, etc. (NP 66), and in place-names such as Hellaby (WRY), Helge-, Elgebi DB, Helhoughton (Nf), Helgatun DB. If it is inorganic, then we may adopt Ekwall’s suggestion (DEPN) of a compound of OScand elgr ‘heathen temple’ and tun as in the OScand p.n. Elgi(ar)tun. The second element is tun ‘farm’ or dun ‘hill.’

Brough [bruf] is Burg(h)o late 12th Meaux, 1160–80 Melsa, 1202 FF, Burg 1190–1220 YCh 1829 (p), Burgh(e) 1239 Ch et freq to 1610 Speed, (on Humber) 1239 Ch, Brough 1650 ParlSurv. v. burh ‘stronghold.’ The place has been identified with the Roman station ad Petuarium, but there is no evidence for it. Extensive Roman remains, however, have been found in a field here called ‘The Burrs’ now ‘Bozzes Field’, and it
was at Brough that the Roman road through Lincolnshire (Ermine Street) entered the Riding by a ferry and continued to Stamford Bridge (the so-called Humber Street).

2. WAULDBY [wɔːldbi]
Walbi 1086 DB
Waldebi, -by 1190-4 P (p), c. 1207 YD et passim to 1398 YD
Waldby 1202 Cur (p), 1240 FF et freq to 1379 Poll (p)
Waud(e)by 1246 Ass, Wawdbye 1585, 1618 FF
‘Farm on the wold,’ v. w(e)ald, by, and cf. The Wolds supra
13. The earlier Waud- form is due to Anglo-Norman influence, the later Wawd- to dialectal development.

Brantingham¹

I. BRANTINGHAM
Brentingeha’ 1086 DB, -ham’ 1167 P (p), 1202 FF, Brentengeh’, Brentinkea’ 1166 P (p)
Bredingha’, Brendingham 1086 DB
Brettingha’ 1086 DB, -ham 1196 P (p), 1203 Cur, Bretingeham, Bretenham 1224 CIR
Brentingham, -yng- 1080-6 (17th) YCh 974, 1086 DB, 1153-60 YCh 937 et passim to 1296 Pat
Brentinh ham 12th Malton
Brentigham 1121-8 YCh 936, c. 1160 Malton
Brantingham, -yng- 1160-80 Melsa, late 12th Meaux, t. John
AddCh, 1202 FF, 1204 ChR et passim to 1516 Bev
Brantingeham 1202 FF, 1246 Ass

Ekwall (PN in -ing 147) takes the first element to be an OE pers. name Brant, for which there is some evidence in place-names. We may also suggest a connexion with OE brant ‘steep,’ for Brantingham is situated at the southern end of the wolds in very steep country and the meaning ‘homestead of the Brantings (i.e. of those dwelling on the steep slopes)’ would be very appropriate. We may compare the Norwegian place-name Brettingen from OScand brett ‘steep’ (NoGN iv¹, 143). In any case the variation between Brent- and Brant- in the early spellings is similar to that found in the ME forms brant and

¹ A detached part of Howden Wapentake.
brent from OE *brant*, and is certainly due to the existence of OE forms with and without i-mutation (cf. Introd. xxviii). The early spellings Bret-, Bred- may well be due to the influence of the cognate OScand *brett*. v. ingaham.

BRANTINGHAM THORPE (6") is alia Bretingha’ 1086 DB, Thorpe juxta Brantyngham 1379 Poll, Thorpe Brantingham 1563 FF, Thorpbraitnhaim 1572 FF. v. porp, here ‘an outlying hamlet belonging to a larger place.’

COCKLE PITS (6") is Cockefeld 1226 FF1. Probably ‘heap field,’ from ME *cocc* ‘heap’; cf. Ekwall, Studier tillägnade Axel Koch 219. There are heaps here from old stone-quarrying. STOCK BRIDGE (6") is Stotbryge (sic) 1379 Poll. ‘Bridge made of a tree-trunk,’ v. stocc.

2. ELLERKER [elaka]

Alrecher 1086 DB, -ker 1204 ChR, Allerker 1180–95 YCh 973
Helrecher 1195 (1335) Ch, Elreker 1202 FF, 1204 Ass et freq to 1276 RH
Ellerker 12th Malton, 1196 P (p), 13th Malton et passim,
Ellercar 1507 FF, Eldercar 1562 FF

‘Alder marsh,’ v. alor, elri, kiarr and cf. Swedish Alekärr (SvON ii, 4). It is also common in Denmark.

Bow Bridge (6") is le Bowebrig 1370 Works. ‘Bridge with an arch,’ from OE *boga* ‘bow’ (cf. Bowbriglane in Beverley supra 196, and Stonebow Lane in York infra 298), brycg. Cf. also Bowbridge in Stroud (Gl), and in Balderton (Nt). ELLERKER WOLD is Elrekerwald 1202 FF. v. The Wolds supra 13.

South Cave

1. BROOMFLEET [brumflit]

Brungareflet 1150–4 YCh 185, t. Hy 2 YD, -ffleota t. Hy 2 (1294) Ch, -gari- 1156 YCh 186, -gara- 1173 ib. 197
Brungarsflet 1154–60 RegAlb
Brügaresflëta 1200 ChR

1 DB Toffled may be identical, and so also Tockelay, -leye 12th, 13th Malton; t- in each case may be a misreading of c. There is some confusion in the second element, but feld is occasionally spelled fled in DB.
2. SOUTH CAVE

Cave, Caeve 1086 DB, Cave, Caue, K- t. Hy 2 YD, 1154–60 RegAlb, 1173 ib. et passim to 1529 FF, (Marched-) 12th (1314) Pat, (Suth-, South-) 1228 Pat, 1246 Ass et passim to 1523 Test
C-, Kava, -u- 12th Byland, 1119–25 RegAlb et freq to 1202 FF, (Marca-) 1156, 1173 YCh 186, 197, (Sut-) 1260 YD
Cova 1212 Cur (p)
Cawe 1280, 1283 Ebor, South Cayf 1579 YD

Professor Ekwall has suggested that South Cave and North Cave infra 224 are derived from OE caf ‘swift, quick,’ used as a stream-name (cf. Anderson 17). Presumably the stream called by this name is that now known as Mires Beck, which flows with rapid course from the Wolds through North Cave and which is joined by Cave Beck (supra 2) less than a mile from South Cave village. The transference of the stream-name to the village is paralleled by Skerne supra 155. South Cave is called Marched-,Marca- from its market (ME market, marked, etc.), mentioned as Marchiat (12th Warter).

Bagletts (6") is Baggeflet(e) 12th Warter, c. 1160 Malton, 1231 FF, Bagflete 1371 Works et freq to 1466 NCWills, -fflete 1379 Poll. v. fleot. Bagletts is less than a mile from the Humber and fleot may refer to an inlet of which traces are still visible at low tide or to one of the two streams, Crabley Beck and Mill Beck. There is nothing in the topography to suggest that the first element is not the OE pers. name Bacga or OScand Baggi.

Weedley is Wi-, Wythele(a) 12th Warter, 1338 Hosp, 1342 SR, Wideleye 1276 RH, Wedley 1505 Test, Wedeley 1576, 1584 FF,

The Hermitage (6") is so named in 1610 (Speed). Temple Dam (6"). Cf. via templi 12th Warter. West Hall (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd). There was also Eastehall 1594, EastHall 1828 Langd, which has since disappeared.

3. Faxfleet

Flaxflet(e) 1185 Templar, 1202, 1552, 1559 FF
Faxlet(e) 1190 YCh 1312 et passim to 1566 FF, -ffleyte 1379 Poll
Faxeflet(e) 1226 LeonardN et freq to 1301 Ch
Flaxlett 1598 FF, Faxlet 1650 ParlSurv

The first element is possibly the OScand pers. name Faxi, or OE feax ‘hair,’ used of ‘coarse grass.’ For the latter cf. Halifax (WRY), Bellyfax (PN NRY 84), Vox End and Flexborough (PN Sx 337, 362). On the occasional Fl- or F- cf. PN Sx 362 and note. ‘Faxi’s stream’ or ‘stream near which coarse grass grows,’ v. fleot. v. Addenda lx.

Oxmandike is Oxmerdicke 1650 ParlSurv. ‘Ox pool dike.’

Sleights (6") is Scelctis (sic) 1219 FF. v. sletta ‘level field.’

North Cave

1. North Cave is Cave, Cava 1086 DB, Cava, Caue, Cave 1135-48 YCh 1123 et passim, Nort- 1148 ib. 179, North- 1148-58 ib. 1125 et passim, Nor- 1156 LeonardN, 1198 P (p), Northcave upon the Wolde 1585 FF. v. South Cave supra 223.

Drewton

Drouueton(e) 1086 DB, Drowetona 1100 YCh 1894
Drounton 1167 P (p)
Drouutun, -ton 1166 P (p), 1195 (1335) Ch, 1246 Ass
Dreweton 1204 Ass (p), Dreweton 1280 Ass, 1290 Pat, 1410 YI
Dreuton(a) early 13th YD, 1200 Cur (p), 1206 FF et passim to 1401 YI, Dreweton 1466 NCWills et passim to 1828 Langd
Druton c. 1580 YD

The first element is possibly an OE pers. name Drōwa (which Redin notes might actually be Dropa, though in either case the
etymology is obscure), or it may be that we have the continental Drogo found in OE (Forssner 60–1).

EVERTHORPE

_Euer-, Evertorp_ 1086 DB, -thorp(e) 1195 (1335) Ch, 1272 FF
_et freq to 1588 FF, -thrope 1614 FF_
_I-, Yvert(h)orp 1190–1214 YCh 1128, 1195–1211 ib. 1130, 1200 Ob1R, 1285 KI, 1287 Abbr et passim to 1401 YI, Jurethorp 1252 Ch
_Yuetorp_ 1200 Ob1R, P, Iveltorp 1204 Ob1R (p)

‘Upper village,’ from OE _yferra_ ‘upper’ or OScand _yfir_ ‘above’ and by. The village stands on high ground midway between North Cave and South Cave. Apart from the DB spelling _Ever-_ is late and represents lengthening of ME _i_ in an open syllable.

KETTLETHORPE [ketlθrɒp]

_Torp, Chetelestorp_ 1086 DB, _Kettlestroppe_ 1589 FF
_Ketolthorp_ 1285 KI, _-i/_- 1416 YI, 1457 YD

‘Ketil’s village,’ _v. porp. TRE_ a man called _Chetel_ (OScand _Ketill_) had two carucates of land here (DB). _Keldstrup_ is common in Denmark.

AWNHAMS LANE (6") is _Auleholme_ 1410 YI. _v. holmr._ CROFT Ho (6") is _Croft_ 1154 RegAlb, and may be identical with _Brigg’croft_ 1154 ib.

2. SOUTH CLIFFE is _Cliue_ 1086 DB, _Clif(f), -y_- 1201–4 RegAlb, 1259 Ass et passim to 1466 NCWills, (Sud-) early 13th YD, (Suth(e)-) 1231 FF et passim to 1331 FF, (South-) 1303 KF et passim to 1523 Test. _v. clif_ and cf. North Cliffe _infra_ 227. Both places are on a long steep bank at the edge of the Wolds.

Hotham

HOTHAM [uðəm]

_be fastan hode_ 963 (13th) RegAlb (for _be eastan Hode)_
_Hode, Holde_ 1086 DB
_Hodlu’_ 1086 DB, _Hodhum_ early 13th StoweCh, _Hodium_ 1166 P (p)
Hothum 1153–66 YCh 971 et passim to 1401 YI, Hodum 1167 P (p)
Houthum 1203 Cur
Hotham early 13th BM, Hotheham t. Hy 3 SR, Hotham 1444 Test, 1562 FF
Hothom 1285 KI, 1296 YI et passim to 1457 YD, Hothome 1523 Test, 1529 FF
Howthome 1546 YChant, Hoothome 1569 FF

Hotham should probably be taken with Hood (PN NRY 195), but it should be pointed out that the position of Hotham in the bottom of a valley rules out the suggestion made that Hood may mean 'a hood-shaped hill' (from OE hōd). We could, however, in either name, have OE hōd 'hood' used as a nickname for some small dwelling. This use would be paralleled by Hove (PN Sx 293) from OE hūfe 'hood, covering' and perhaps by Core (PN La 143) connected with OScand kofri 'hood' (though perhaps in a purely topographical sense). But there is more probability in Professor Ekwall's suggestion (v. PN NRY 195) that we have an unrecorded OE *hōd, related to OE hēdan 'to protect' in the same way as German hut (subst.) to hütten (vb.), and having the meaning 'shelter'; cf. MLGer hoede 'protection' and so 'fortress.'

The earlier spellings of Hotham fluctuate between an OE dat. sing. hode and a dat. plur. hodom 'at the shelters.' The spelling Hoothome (and the modern pronunciation) suggest a ME long vowel ə. Medial th for OE d is a fairly well-evidenced Scandinavian sound-substitution.

HOTHAM CARR is Hotham-Carrs 1828 Langd. v. kiarr.

North Newbald

1. NORTH NEWBOLD [niubɔ:d]
to məebote (sic for to nipebotie) 963 (14th) RegAlb
(wt) neowe boldan 972 (c. 1200) BCS 1279
Niwebold, Niwebolt 1086 DB
Neu-, Newbald 1154–86 RegAlb et passim to 1524 Bev, Neue-, Newebald 1285 KI et freq to 1371 FF, (North) 1348 Ch et freq to 1828 Langd
Newe-, Newbaud 1268 FF, Ebor
Newball 1569 FF
‘The new building,’ v. niwe, bool, and cf. Newbottle (PN NbDu 148), Newbold (PN La 55). The OE forms are from the variants botl, bold, whilst all other spellings later than DB have the unusual form -bald, which is also found in some Lancashire examples of this element, such as Parbold (PN La 130). Since it occurs so early in Newbald, we have probably an analogical substitution, for old is a rare sound-group in Northern ME and is usually correctly represented by ald, as in bald for Midland and Southern ME bold ‘bold,’ walde for wolde ‘would,’ etc.

NEWBALD SIKE is yene ric, 7lans sices (sic for bone sic, 7lang sices) 963 (14th) RegAlb. v. sic ‘stream.’ NEWBALD WOLD is yalde (sic for palde) 963 (14th) RegAlb. v. The Wolds supra 13.

2. SOUTH NEWBALD is Newebald, (Suth)neubald 1201-4 RegAlb, with other forms and meaning as for North Newbald supra 226.

DEEP DALE is Se oppendala (sic for Deoppendala) 963 (14th) RegAlb. v. deop, dæl.

Sancton

1. NORTH CLIFFE is Clieu 1086 DB, Clif 12th YD, North-Nordclif early 13th YD, with other forms and meaning as for South Cliffe supra 225.

CARR FARM (6"), NORTH CLIFFE CARR (6") is Carr 1599 YAJ xi. v. kiarr. KING’S HILL (6’). Cf. Kuniggesholm 13th YD. v. konungr (ODan kunung) ‘king,’ holmr.

2. SANCTON [santon]

Santun(e), -ton(a) 1086 DB, c. 1155 AddCh et passim to 1505

Test

Sandtona 1175 P (p)
Sancton(a) 12th Font, 1195–1211 YCh 1130, 1237 Ebor, 1293, 1586 YAJ xi, 1650 ParlSurv
Saunton 1219 Ass, 1251 FF et freq to 1589 FF
Saintron, -y- 1241, 1539 FF

‘Sand farm,’ v. sand, tun and cf. Saunton, PN D 33. The forms Saint- and Sanct- arise through popular association of the first element with OE, ME sanct, ME saint ‘saint.’
HESSLESKEW is Heselschoh t. Stephen BM, Heselchou c. 1155
AddCh, Hesellescof 1202 FF, Heselscoth 1285 KI, Hesilschogh
1339 BM, Hessleskew-Grange 1828 Langd. ‘Hazel wood,’ v.
hesli, skogr.

HOUGHTON
Houetun, -ton(e) 1086 DB, -ton(a), -tun c. 1155 AddCh,
t. Ric i Cur et passim to 1333 FF, Hoveton 1190-1214 YCh
1128, Oueton 1086 DB
Hou-, Howton 1240 FF et passim to 1444 YAJ xi
Hofueton 1260 YD
Howeton 1303 KF
Heuton 1316 NomVill
Houghton 1511 YAJ xi

Houghton is probably of the same origin as Hoveton (PN NRY
66) near Hovingham (ib. 51) and Hoveton (Nf). It may be
‘Hofa’s farm’ or ‘farm overgrown with hove’ (OE höfe ‘ale-
hoof’). v. tun.

ASH HILL (6°). Cf. Hesselskugh Ashe 1610 Speed. NORTH HALL

IX. HARTHILL WAPENTAKE
HOLME BEACON DIVISION

Holme Deuisioni 1610 Speed, Holme Beacon 1664 Deposition.
v. Harthill Wapentake supra 151 and Holme upon Spalding-
moor infra 234.

Market Weighton

I. SHIPTON
Epton 1086 DB
Hyepton 1176 P (p)1 (CR Yheptona), Yupton’ 1259 Ass
Sipton 1219 FF, Skipton 1279-81 QW, Scipton 1296 YI,
Shipton 1532 FF
S(c)hupton 1234 FF, 1244 Ass et passim to 1562 FF, Supton
1296 YI
Scopton 1267 YI, Schopton 1308 BevAct

‘Briar enclosure’ or ‘farm where briars grew,’ v. heope, tun.
The name is of the same origin as Shipton (PN NRY 15) and
has the same phonetic history. Cf. also Shaps supra 95.

1 Identified with Shipton (NRY) in PN NRY 15.
2. Thorpe-le-Street

Torp(i) 1086 DB, Thorp 1226 FF et passim to 1284 Ch
Rud(e)torp 1086 DB, Ruthlthorp 1275 Ebor, Rowthorpe als.
Thorpe in the Stre(e)te 1551, 1577 FF
Thorpe in Strata 1301 Ebor et freq to 1434 YD, -in le Strete
1413 YD, -in the Strete c. 1580 YD, Thorpastrete 1501 FF,
Thorpe-le-Street 1828 Langd
Thorpe Hersewell' 1303 KF, 1333 SR
Parsua Thorp 1334 FF, 1342 SR, 1365 FF, Littelthorp 1359
1pm, Littlethorpe 1620 FF

There were apparently two DB manors in the neighbourhood,
one Torp in Weighton Hundred, the other Rudetorp in Pock-
lington Hundred. From later references it is clear that the two
amalgamated, at any rate in name. Apart from Littel- (v. lytel),
the various distinctive additions refer to nearby places, Harswell
(infra 234) and the Roman road upon which the village stands
(v. stra). The first element in Rudetorp may be OScand ruò
‘clearing’ or a pers. name Ruddi or the like. v. port.


Wicstun 1086 DB
Wi-, Wychton(a) 1133 RegAlb, 1165, 1175 P, 1219 FF, 1301
Ebor
Wi-, Wycton(a), -tun c. 1150–60 BM, 1160–70 YCh 443 et
freq to 1279–81 QW
Wi-, Wyhtun(a), -ton c. 1156, 1167 P, 1252 Ch, 1285 YI
Wichetona 1166 RBE, Wyketon 1279–81 QW
Wi-, Wyghton 1251 Ass, 1298 Cl et passim to a. 1678 Map,
(-subtus Olde als. under le Olde) 1553 FF, (-on the Woulde)
1569 FF
Whigheton 1259 Ass, Whigon 1334 BevAct, Wyghton 1333
YAJ xi
Whyton 1268 FF, 1300 Ebor, Whytton 1285 YI
Wicthton 1279–81 QW, Wythton 1285 YI
Wyth(e)ton(e) 1281 Ebor, 1338 FF, 1356 Ipm
Wython, Withone 1285 YI
Market-Weighton 1828 Langd

1 A detached township in Nunburnholme parish (supra 180).
Weighton is clearly a compound of wic and tun, though the meaning of wictun is not obvious. In the Paris Psalter OE wictun means 'court, vestibule,' but in place-names we may have the sense 'dwelling, dwelling-place' as in other compounds such as OE wicstow, wicstede, etc. Market Weighton lies on the Roman road to Brough and the possibility of wic having reference to a Roman vicus or settlement should also be taken into account. Cf. Witton, PN Wo 289. For the addition subtus Olde, etc. 'below the Wold,' v. The Wolds supra 13 and on the form Olde v. Introd. xxviii. 'Market' appears to be a fairly recent addition (to distinguish it from Little Weighton supra 205), but the status of market-town is ancient, Reginald FitzPeter having been granted permission to hold a weekly market on Thursdays in 1252 (Ch). v. Addenda lx.

Note. Hungate is Hundegate 1285 Yi, 1293 YAJ xi (p). 'Street where hounds were kept,' from OE hund and gata. Cf. Hungate in York infra 290.

Arras is Herges 1156 Meaux, Ereves 1253 Ch, Erchys 1260 FF, Erghes 1268 FF et passim to 1391 BevDoc, Erghus 1465 Pat, Aroes upon the Wold 1535 FF, Arras 1553 (et freq) FF. v. erg, here in the nom. plur. 'the shielings.' Cf. Introd. xxiv. There was in the neighbourhood a place called Alderges 1200 FF, 1285 KI (v.l. Alderais, Aldereyes), 'the old shelters.'

Weighton Hill (6") is Wighton Hill 1610 Speed.

Goodmanham

Goodmanham [gudemone]

Gudmund(d)ingaham c. 730 (8th) Bede, c. 1000 OE Bede
Gudmundha', -ham 1086 DB, t. Hy 2 Gilbert (p) et freq to 14th Percy, Gudmundeham 1166, 1190 P (p), 1246 Ass, 1252 FF, Gudemundeham 1204 Dugd, Gudmundesham 1231 FF, Gudemundham 1285 Pat
Gudmandeham 1180–6 YCh 1096 (p)
Guthmundham 1191–1203 YCh 1122 et passim to 1404 Yi, -munde- 1228 FF, Guthemund(e)- 12th Font, 1269 Ebor, 1401 BodlCh, Guthmundesham 1231 FF
Gumundeham 1219 Ass, 1222 FF, Gummundeham 1231 Ass
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Godmund(e)ham 1225 FF et freq to 1297 Ebor, God-
Test
Cuthmundham 1231–5 RegAlb, Gudhmundham 1316 NomVill
Gothmund(e)ham 1262 FF, Gothe- 1281 Ebor, 1303 KF, God-
1285 YI
Guthamendham 1352 Ipm
Goodmad(h)am 1487, 1592 FF, -madden 1592 FF, Gud-
Goodmanham 1504 Bev, 1599 FF
‘Home of Godmund and his people,’ v. ingaham. The early
loss of medial ing is noteworthy. The same pers. name is found
in Godmanchester (PN BedsHu 255) and Gumley (Lei),
Godmundesleah c. 780 BM, Guthmundelai 1147 ib., the latter
showing the same influence of OScand *Gudmundr* which we find
in Goodmanham.

FLEETBECK LANE (6”). Cf. John *del Flete* 1329 FF. v. fleot
‘stream.’

Londesborough

LONDESBOROUGH [lounzbra]

Lodenesburg 1086 DB
Landenesburgh 1108–14 RegAlb
Loenesburgh 1136–9 RegAlb
Lonesburgh 1136–9 RegAlb, 1275 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1343 FF,
-borough 1595 FF, Lonsburgh 1466 NCWills, -brough 1569
YAJ xi
Lonnersburg 1279–81 QW
Lonnéburg(h) 1279–81 QW, 1289 Ebor et freq to 1356 Ipm,
-borough 1285 KI, 1300 Ebor, Hom, -burch 1312 BevAct
Lounesburgh(h) 1285 YI et freq to 1341 FF, -borg 1286 YI,
-broughe 1588 FF
Lownesburgh 1306 YI, Lowneburgh 1379 Poll, Lownsb(o)rough
1569 YAJ xi, 1650 ParlSurv
Lounbeburgh 1389 Ch
Londesburgh 1521 Test, Loandesburgh 1608 FF

‘Lothen’s fortification,’ v. burh. For the OScand pers. name
Lodinn, ODan Lothan (late OE *Lóden*, ASC s.a. 1046) cf.
Lonsdale (PN NRY 165) and for the loss of *th* and the develop-
ment of a diphthong cf. Roseberry Topping (ib. 164). A lost
place called *Lothenhaues*, *Lothenhaues* (13th Warter) on the
boundaries of Londesborough and Middleton on the Wolds (supra 164) contains the same pers. name and is probably named from the same man as Londesbrough.

CLEAVING GRANGE is Cleuinde, Cleuinge 1086 DB, Cleving, -yng(e), -u- 13th YD, 1204 Ass (p) et passim to 1582 YD, Clyng 1376 Test. This may be an old tribal name Clif-, Cleofungas 'the cliff-dwellers,' from clif 'cliff, steep bank' and ing (cf. Ekwall, PN in -ing 92), but more probably it is simply an OE derivative noun cliofung, cleofung 'cleft, fissure' applied to a small steep-sided valley which cuts into the Wolds at this point. The early substitution of ing for ung is common in late OE and ME (as in Conistone supra 47).

EASTHORPE [is@r@p] is Estorp 1086 DB et passim to 1276 RH, Esthorp(e) 1256 YI et passim to 1466 NCWills, Estthorp(e) 1300 Pat et freq to 1414 YI, Estrop 1569 YAJ xi, Ethrope 1569 FF, Eastropp(e) 1591 FF, 1650 ParlSurv. 'East village,' v. east, ṭorp.

TOWTHORPE [tou@r@p]

Toletorp 1086 DB, 1109-14 RegAlb
Tollethorp 1228 Pat
Tolthorp(e) 1285 KI et freq to 1303 KF
Tou-, Towthorpe in the thistles 1359 YD, Towrope in the Thystelles 1546 YChant

'Toli's village,' v. ṭorp. The late OE pers. name Toli (NP 143), ME Tole, is a loan from OEScand Toli or Tolle. Toli is recorded thrice in OWScand sources, but in two of the instances there is doubt about the form and the third may have reference to a Dane (LindN). Cf. Tolethorpe (R), the Swedish place-name Tolethorp (Lundgren-Brate 281) and Danish Tollerup (DaSN(F) 94). Dr Knudsen also calls attention to other examples of this pers. name in Denmark in place-names like Tollerod (near Ringsted) and Tollubolle (Langeland).

CLEAVING FIELD (6") is Clevyng Closes als. Clevyngfeild 1595, 1616 FF.

Hayton

1. Bielby is Belebi, -by 1086 DB, 12th YD, 1160-80 Melsa, t. John AddCh et passim to 1421 YI, Belebeia 1195-1211 YCh
HARTHILL WAPENTAKE, HOLME BEACON

1130, Belby 1359 Ipm, Beylby 1538 FF, Byelby 1563 FF. ‘Beli’s farm,’ v. by.

Rytham (6") is Wrid-, Wrydholm 14th Warter, 1342 SR, Writheholme 1535 VE, (als. Writham) 1619 FF, Rytham-Gate 1828 Langd. OE wrid ‘shoot, bush’ and holmr.

2. Hayton is Haiton(e) 1086 DB, Haitun, -ton(e), Hay- 12th Warter, 1203 Ass et passim to 1542 NCWills, Heyton 1247 Cl et freq to 1532 FF. ‘Hay farm,’ v. heg, tun, and cf. Hayton (Nt, Cu).

Scratters (6") is Scrathou 13th Warter. ‘Devil mound,’ v. haugr. scrat (from OScand skratti ‘wizzard, goblin’) is a common dialect word for the devil. Cf. Scrathowes, PN NRY 215, Scrathawe (PN Nth 264) and Scratta Wood in Worksop (Nt), the two last being compounds of skratti and haga (hagi).

Trenwick is Treswick 1828 Langd. Wandlest (6") is le Wandayles 13th Warter. v. Wandale supra 107.

Everingham

Yferingaham c. 972 (c. 1200) BCS 1279
Euringha’ 1086 DB
Hever(h)eingham 1166 RBE (p), 1170–82 YCh 49, 1201 ChR, 1252 Ch, c. 1253 Malton (p)
Eu-, Everingham 1185–95 P (p), 1228 Pat, 1244 Ass et freq to 1288 YI
Eu-, Everingham, -yng- 1192–8 YCh 636, 1219 Ass et passim to 1583 NCWills

The OE spelling with y for later e is probably an inverted spelling and is paralleled by yrcebiscop for erce-, arcebiscop in the same document (Harl 55) and by other OE spellings such as Cnyllingatun for Kenedlington infra 253, yr for eor or the like (R. Aire, WRY) in YCh 4. The spelling y for Anglian e(o) is presumably due to West Saxon influence and in some cases at any rate the equation is phonologically correct. ‘Homestead of Eofor and his people,’ v. ingaham.

Braithwaite Farm (6") is Bredeweit 1191 P. v. Braffords supra 219. South Ings (6") is Southenge 1338 FF. v. eng.
Harswell

Erseuuelle 1086 DB
Hersewell(a), -welle 1130 P (p), 1201 ChR et passim to 1434 YD
Hessewell' 1194 P
Herswell 1293 Ebor, 1355 Ipm, 1363 Ch
Hereswell 1308 BevAct
Harsewell 1370 Pat, Arswell 1503 FF, Harswell 1594 YD
Probably 'Hersa's well or spring,' v. w(i)ella. On the OE pers. name Hersa or Heresa (which is not recorded) cf. Hescott, PN D 74.

Holme upon Spalding Moor

Holm(e) 1086 DB, 12th Selby, late Hy 2 Gilbert, 1201 ChR et passim to 1316 NomVill, (juxta Everyngham) 1334 FF
Spaldiggeholm 1155 AddCh, Spaldingholm(e) t. Hy 2, c. 1200 Gilbert
Hulm(o) 1210, 1212 Cur
Holm(e) in Spaldingmore, -yng- 13th Warter, 1280 Ass et passim to 1524 Bev, in Espaudingmor 1240 FF, in Spauldyngmo(o)re 1518 Test, 1618 FF, Home in Spauldyngmore 1554 FF
v. holmr and Spaldingmoor supra 13. The spelling Hulm is from the OEScand variant hulm.

Bursea [bosi] is Bi-, Byrsay, -ey(e) 1259 Ass, 1290 Ch et passim to 1416 YI, Bursai, -ey 1303 KF, 1316 NomVill, 1567 FF. Probably 'pool near the shed,' from byre and OE së 'sea, pool' (cf. Kilnsea supra 15). Bursea is in the marshy land near the river Foulness.

Wholesale is Walsay 1285 KI, 1338 Hosp, Whalsey 1505 Test, 1582, 1585 FF, Wholesale 1828 Langd. The spellings of this name, as of Wallingfen infra 248, with which it may be connected, are not early enough to allow of any certain etymology. Possibly the first element is the OE pers. name Wealth, hence 'Wealth's lake,' v. Kilnsea supra 15. Wallingfen would then be
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from OE Wealingfen, 'the marshland of Wealth,' with connective ing.

ARGLAM is so named in 1828 (Langd). BRIDGE CARR (field) is Risebrigker 13th Selby. v. hris, brycg, kiarr and cf. Risebridge (PN Ess 119) 'brushwood causeway'. DUCK NEST. In this parish we have also Arnesnest 1189, 12th Selby, 'eagle's nest,' v. earn and Ramsnest, PN Sr 191. HASHOLME is Hasheholme als. Hasholme als. Haslesholme 1618 FF. v. holmr. LILY CLOSE (field) is le Liliclos 13th Selby. RULER MOOR (6") is Suthrulake, Sutruhale 13th Selby. Possibly 'rough nook of land,' v. ruh, h(e)alh. SKIFF FARM is Sceaf or Sceff 1828 Langd. SOUTH FIELD (6") is Suthfeld, le South Chaump 13th Selby. TOLLINGHAM is so named in 1828 (Langd). WELHAM BRIDGE is Welham-briggs 1537 MinAcct, Welham-Bridge 1828 Langd, and is named from (John) de Welham (c. 1260 Malton 39), who came from Welham supra 140. Wood Ho, Wood LANE. Cf. bosci de Hulmo 1208 Cur.

Seaton Ross

Setton 1086 DB, 1285 KI
Seton(a) 1086 DB, 12th Warter et passim to 1473 Pat, (in Spaldingmore, -yng-) 1333 YD et freq to 1340 FF, Seton gadering in Spaldingmore 1338 BevAct, Sethon 1205 ChR, 1254 Yi
Seton, Seyton 1519 FF, (in Spaldyngmore) 1535 FF, (Rose) 1575 FF, (Rosse) 1583 NCWills
Seaton 1523 Test, (Rosse) 1618 FF, (in Wilton Beacon) 1650 ParlSurv

'Farm with a pool,' v. Seaton supra 67. There is no lake here now, but the land has been well drained. 'Ross' from the family of Roos or Ross (v. Roos supra 56), who held the vill from the 12th century (cf. Warter fol. 44 et freq) to the 17th (1618 FF). Gadering in 1338 may be the common word gathering 'gathering, assembly (of people).’ v. Spaldingmoor supra 13.

EASTWOOD HO is so named in 1828 (Langd). FOSSES FARM. Cf. Suthfosse 1288 Warter. v. Foss Beck supra 3. FOURTEEN ACRE (field) is Fourtenacr’ 14th Warter. LINCOLN FLATS (6")
is Lincoln-Flatts 1828 Langd. Ounmans (field) is Houenholm 14th Warter. Priest Bridge (6") was formerly Prestwarth (sic) 12th Warter. 'Priest ford,' v. vað, later replaced by a brycg. Nearby was a place called Prestowyk 1178 Warter, 'priest farm,' v. wic. Seaton Old Hall, Seaton New Hall (6") are Seatou Hall, New Seaton Hall 1828 Langd. Cf. also le Hallemor 13th Warter.

Thornton¹

1. Melbourne

Middelburne, Midelborne 1086 DB
Mileburn 1200 ChR
Medeburg (sic) 1227 FF
Methel(e)burn' 1230 P, 1279 Ass, 1342 SR, Mechelburn 1276 RH et freq to 1415 YI
Medeburne 1285 YI, -burn 1350 Ipm
Medleburn 1285 Baildon
Mel(le)burn 13th Warter, Melburn(e) 1305 YI et passim to 1540 FF, -borne 1463 Pat et freq to 1583 NCWills

'Middle stream,' v. middel (later replaced by OScand meðal), burna. The Mechel-spellings are errors for Methel-.

Bibbill Farm (6") is Bibbehale 13th Warter, Bibehale 1288 ib. 'Bibba's nook of land,' v. h(e)alh and cf. Bigknowle, PN Sx 464.

2. Storwood [storæd]

Stort(h)wayt(e), -ai-, -ey- 1178 Warter, 1219 Font, FF et passim to 1583 NCWills, Scorthwait (sic) 1227 FF, Storthe-weyt 1282 Baildon, Storyweyt (sic for Storbweyt) 1285 YI
Storwhait 1303 KF, Storwhatt 1461 Pat
Tortawhayte 1305 YI
Strothwayth 1309 Font
Stortschaye 1557 FF, Storthwhate 1575 FF
Storthwood 1610 Speed, 1828 Langd

OScand störr 'great, big' has been suggested for the first element of Storwood (cf. Lindkvist 124), but as Lindkvist points out this word is rare in Scandinavian place-names. We should, therefore, probably derive the name from storð 'brushwood,' and pveit 'enclosure.'

¹ Thornton itself is in Wilton Beacon Division supra 173.
Aughton

1. AUGHTON [ɔ:tn]

*Actun* 1086 DB, *-ton* 1180-1200 YCh 1129-33, 13th *Warter et passim* to 1285 KI

*Aketon* 1190 P

*Achtan* 1266 Pat, 1279 YI, 1308 BevAct

*Aughton* 1266 Pat

*Aghton* 1288 Abbr *et passim* to 1493 FF

*Ayketon* juxta *Elreton* 1298 Abbr

*Agton* 1342 SR

*Askton* otherwise called *Aughton or Acton* 1507 Test¹

*Augh-, Aughton* 1542 FF *et passim* to 1828 Langd

‘Oaktree farm,’ *v. ac, tun,* and cf. *Aughton* (La). For the development of *ct* to *ght* cf. *Reighton supra* 107. The spelling *Ayketon* is due to the influence of OScand eik.

**AUGHTON RUDDINGS** is *Ridingmor* 1225 FF, *Aughton-Ruddings* 1828 Langd. *v. hryding* ‘clearing.’

2. EAST COTTINGWITH

*Coteuuid, Cotinuui* 1086 DB

*C-, Kottingwith, -y-* 1225-30 FF, *Est-* 1276 RH, 1342 SR

*Cotingwic, Cattingwic* 1231 FF, *Cotyngwyk* 1316 NomVill

*Cotingwith* 1231 Ass, *Estcotyngwith* 13th Font, *Cotynwyth* 1527 FF

For other forms *v. West Cottingwith infra* 264. ‘Cott(t)a’s dairy-farm,’ *v. wic.* For the replacement of OE *wic* by OScand *viør* ‘wood,’ *v. Skipwith infra* 262.

**LANGRICKGATE** (6°), **LANGRICKGATE FIELD** (6°) is *Landrik(e)mose,* *-ryk-* 1227, 1230 FF, 1421 YI, *-mor* 1252 FF, *-nose* 1463 Pat, *Landrekmoyse* 1415 YI, *Landricknes* 1542, 1583 NCWills, *Landricke* 1575 FF, *Landrickes als. Landriggs on the Moor* 1622 FF. ‘Strip of land,’ *v. land* and for the element *ric* cf. *Escrick infra* 267. Langrickgate Field is a strip of land between the road called Langrickgate (*v. gata*) and the river Derwent. The final element in the early spellings varies between *meos* ‘moss, marsh,’ *mor* ‘moorland’ and *næss* ‘headland.’ The land here is marshy.

¹ The form *Askton* arises from the association of the name with the family of *Aske* who lived here in the 15th and 16th centuries.
3. Laytham

Ladon(e) 1086 DB
Lathum 13th Selby, 1226 FF, 1252 Ch et passim to 1350 Ipman
Lathom 1199–1211 YCh 1133 et freq to 1539 FF
Laytham 1562 FF, 1582 YD

'At the barns,' from OScand hlaúnum, dat. plur. of hlaða. Cf. Lathom, PN La 122.

Laytham Grange is the Grange of Latham 1614 FF. Cf. North Grange supra 44.

Ellerton

Ellerton Priory

Elreton(e) 1086 DB, -tun(a), -ton 1199–1211 YCh 1133, 1198
Abbr et passim to 1298 ib., (super Derwentam) 1180–1200
YCh 1173

Ellerton 1199–1210 Reg Alb, 1225 FF et passim to 1426 Test,
in Spaldingmore) 1331 FF, (on Derwent) 1344 FF, (Abbey)
1494 Test

Hellerton 1226 FF
Ellerton 1257 Ch
Ellarton Priorie 1614 FF

'Farm by the alders' or 'alder enclosure,' v. elri, tun and cf. Ellerton, PN NRY 270, 277. A Gilbertine Priory was founded here c. 1221 by William FitzPeter.

Dancelands (6") is Dansklandes 13th Dugd. The first element would appear to be Scand dansk 'Danish' (evidenced in English from 1569, NED s.v.). v. land. The interpretation of the compound is obscure.

Fog Lane (6") is Fogges 1258 FF. Cf. also Mikelfogflat 1258 ib. ME fogge (in Cleanness), fogus (pl.) (in Audeley) North Country dialect fog in such senses as 'aftermath, long coarse grass left in the pasture still winter,' etc. The origin of the word is unknown, but Ekwall, PN La 255, suggests a Scandinavian origin and compares Norwegian dialect fogg 'tall thin grass, especially that growing on wet soil.' Jutland fog used of 'light soil,' which is possibly found in the Danish place-name Fogdal (DaSN(S) 99), may also be related.
LAYTHAM GRASSES (field) is *Lathingholm* 1199–1211 YCh 1133, 13th Dugd. The first element would seem to be OE *læund* 'a calling together, a gathering of people,' which survives as dialect *lathing*. *v*. holmr. The form has been influenced by Laytham *supra* 238.

BURN STOCKS (field) is *Brindestokflat* 1258 FF. *v*. brende, stocc, flat. Cf. Burn Butts *supra* 159. ELLERTON RUDDINGS, RUDDINGS WOOD is *Ellertonridding* 1227 FF, *Rydynge* 1252 FF. *v*. hryding 'clearing.’ LUND BRIDGE (6”). Cf. *Syolflund* 1258 FF. *'Sige-wulf's lundr.' SNAPES (field) is *Northsnapp* 1252 FF. ME *snape* 'winter-pasture,' a word of Scandinavian origin (v. PN La 17, and cf. Snape, PN NRY 229). STOTHER CLOSES (6”) is *Stodhage le veil, Suthstodhage* 1258 FF. *'Stud enclosure,'* *v*. stod, haga. *le veil* refers to the older enclosure.

**Bubwith**

1. BREIGHTON [breetan]

*Bristun, -tone, Bricstune* 1086 DB
*Brichton* 1195–1214, 1294 Selby, *Bricheton* 1268 FF
*Brigh-, Bryghton* 1195–1214 Selby, 1298 Pat *et passim* to 1567 FF, *Brigton* 1493 Test
*Brithoun* 1240 FF, *Britton'* 1242 Fees, 1285, 1305 YI
*Breighton* 1636 BM, 1650 ParlSurv

‘Bright farmstead or enclosure,’ *v*. beorht, tun.

GUNBY [gumbi]

*Bonnebi (sic)* 1086 DB
*Gunneby* 1154 (et freq) Selby *et passim* to 1354 Selby
*Gunby* 1154, late 12th Selby, 1314 Ch *et freq* to 1553 FF
*Guneby* 1195–1214, 1320 Selby

‘Gunhild's farmstead,’ *v*. by. The first two spellings of Gunby suggest that we have as first element the pers. name *Gunnhildr* or the like, a Scandinavian woman’s name found frequently as *Gunnil(d)* in England (cf. NP 55–6), reduced subsequently in the place-name to *Gunne.*

2. BUBWITH [bubi0]

*Bobewyth* 1066–9 Selby, -wid 1226 FF, *Bobwyth* 1268 FF
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Bubuid, -vid 1086 DB, -wit t. Hy 2 Gilbert, -wyht 1246 FF, -with, -wyth(e) 12th Byland, 1140–2 Reg.Alb et passim to 1573 NCWills
Bubbewith, -wyth(e) 1206 C1R, 1212 Cur et freq to 1414 YI, -wych 1279–81 QW, -wyche 1317 YearBook
Bubewithe, -wyth 1355–60 Ipm, 1546 YChant

'Bubba's wood,' v. vi8r. It may be added that Lundgren-Brate doubtfully postulates an OSwed pers. name Bubbe for the Swed place-name BubbeTorp.

BUBWITH FERRY (now replaced by a toll-bridge) is passagium in aqua Derwente inter Bubwyth et Northduffeld 1367 FF, Bubbwith fery 1407 YD. A road in North Duffield leading to the ferry was called Bubwithferygate 13th Selby and a nearby field was called Ferydale 1407 YD. v. ferja, gata, dal.

3. FOGGATHORPE

Fulcartorp 1086 DB, Fulkerthorp 1333 SR
Folkewarethorp t. Hy 2 MaryH, Folcwarethorp 1156–7 YCh 354, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch
Folketherthrop(e) 12th (et freq) Selby, 1258 MaryChron et passim to 1493 FF, -throppe 1598 NCWills
Folgerthorp 1195–1214 Selby
Folkethorp 1251 Ass
Fowerthorp 1372 FF
Fokerthorpe 1419 YI, Fockker- 1578 FF, Fowkerthorp 1545, 1578 FF
Fog(g)erthorp 1610 Speed, 1650 ParlSurv

'Folkwarth's village,' v. porp. The pers. name is OScand Folkvarar, found also in Fockerby (WRY), Fulcwardby 1164–77 YCh 487, etc. The spellings in Fulc-, Fulk- may be OEScand in origin or they may have been influenced by the common continental German name Fulcard (Forssner 98).

4. GRIBTHORPE is Gripetorp 1086 DB, -tor 1190, 1191 P, -thorp 1248 FF, Grippethorpe, -y- 1285 KI, 1335 FF, Grypthorp, -i- 13th Selby et passim to 1391 Test, Grybthorpe 1537 FF. 'Grip's village,' v. porp. The pers. name is OScand Grip(r) (uninflected in this place-name), which is also recorded in ME as the surname of Robert Grip (1197 P), a Yorkshireman.
5. Harlthorpe

*Harlesthorp(ia)* 1150–60 Melsa, 1160–80 ib., t. John *AddCh*, 1285 XI

*Harlethorp(e)* 1199–1211 YCh 1133, 1226 FF *et passim* to c. 1400 Melsa

Harlesthorp 1297 Ch

Harlethorp early 13th Gilbert (p), 1572 FF, -*thropp* 1534 FF

Herylthorp 1301 Ebor (p)

Haddleton thorp 1568 FF, Hartlethorp al. Hadlethorpe 1621 FF

‘Herel’s village,’ v. porp. For the pers. name *Herel(e)* cf. Harlington, PN BedsHu 123, Harlsey, PN NRY 212–3, Harlethorpe (Db). We should also consider the possibility of a shortened form of some OSScand pers. name *Herlaugr, Herleifr*, etc., which, as Dr Knudsen suggests, would lie behind *Hellestrup* (in Holbwk Amt, Denmark), *Hertwstorp* 1370.

6. Spaldington [spararish]

*Spellinton* 1086 DB

*Spaldinggetun* t. Hy 2 *AddCh*

*Spaldington(a), -yng*- t. Hy 2, Gilbert, 1190–1210 YCh 445, 1231 Ass *et passim* to 1573 NCWills

Spaldinton’ 1190, 1191, 1230 P, 1208 Ass, 1231 Ass

Spawdington 1494 Test

Cf. Spaldingmoor and Holme upon Spalding Moor *supra* 13, 234. The common element in all these names is an OE *Spaldingas*, a tribal name. The *Spaldingas* settled in this district may well be an offshoot from the great tribe established in Lincolnshire and surrounding parts and probably identical with the *Spalde* of the Tribal Hidage (7th BCS 297). Cf. PN in -*ing* 87. The tribal name *Spalde* is thought to survive in Spaldwick (PN BedsHu 247) and Spalford (Nt), *Spaldesford* 1086 DB, *Spaldeford* 1302 FA, whilst the derivative tribal name *Spaldingas*, that is, ‘the dependants or offshoots of the *Spalde*’ (v. *ing*), enters into Spalding (L), and this group of ERY names. The ultimate base of the name *Spalde* is obscure but it may be an OE word *spald* cognate with OGer *spalt* ‘trench, ditch, cleft’ (used of a fenland river) or a river-name derived from OE *spald* ‘spittle, saliva, foam’ (cf. PN Nt 127–8 and PN BedsHu 248). If the ERY group is independent of the Lincolnshire tribe, the
etymon of the ERY names *Spaldingas* would be a river-name *Spald*, which we must suppose was an old name for the river Foulness (*supra* 4).

**Spaldington Hall is aulam de Spaldyngton 1426 Test.**

7. **Willitoft**

*Wilgetot* 1086 DB, -toft 1190–1 P (p), 1246 Ass, *Wylgethoft* 1246 FF

*Wilegetoft* 1192, 1193 P (p), -cost 1194 ib., *Wi-, Wyllegetoft* 1195–1214, 1354 Selby

*Wiiwetoft* 1298 Extent, *Welewetoft* 1285 YI

*Wi-, Wylgh(e)toft* 1303 KF et passim to 1363 FF

*Wi-, Wyleghtoft(e)* 1332 SR, FF, 1391 Test, *Welygh* 1369 YAJ xi

*Wyluthtoft* 1346 YAJ xi, *Wi-, Wyl(o)ughtoft* 1355–60 Ipm, 1390 Meaux, 1415 YI

*Willingtoft* 1355–60 Ipm

*W(h)elitoft* 1395 YAJ xi, *Wylytoft*, -i- 1534, 1567 FF

‘Willow field,’ v. *welig* (wilig), topt.

**Wressell**

*Weresa* 1086 DB


*Wresille* 1283 Ebor, -ill, -yll 1342 SR, 1362 Extent et passim to 1537 FF, *Wresull* 1462 Pat

*Wressell* 1285 KI, 1359 Percy, 1609 FF, -ill 1583 FF

The most likely explanation of Wressell is an unrecorded OE word *wrēsēl*, a derivative of OE *wrēse* ‘knot, lump’ and connected with OE *wrēsen* ‘tie, band,’ *wriðan* ‘to twist,’ and *wrēst* used of ‘twisted, contorted land’ in Wrest (PN BedsHu 162). OE *wrēse* is the source of Wraysholme (PN La 197), where it appears to refer to a ridge and one or two small knolls close by, and of Wrose (WRY), *Wrose* 1379 Poll, 1547 FF, *Wrayse* 1426 Calverley Charters, where it applies to a steep rounded hill. At Wressell, however, the land is flat and the only slight prominence is the old site of the castle. In this case the derivative OE *wrēsel*
might alternatively have reference to the marked bend in the river by Wressell church.

BRIND is *Brend(e)* 1188–91 P, 1289 YI et freq to 1362 Extent, *La Brend* 1254 Baildon, 1271 Malton, 1333 SR, *Le Brend(e)* 1289 Cl, 1360 Ipm, *Brund* 1316 NomVill, *Brynd(e)* 1432 YD et freq to 1612 FF, *Burne* 1650 ParlSurv. ME brende ‘burnt,’ used as a substantive of ‘a place cleared (or destroyed) by burning.’ A mutated form of OE *brand* ‘a brand, the act or result of burning’ might also be thought of. On the use of the French def. art. *le, la,* cf. IPN 95.

LOFTSOME

*Lothas* 1208 FF, *Lusthus* (sic) 1226 FF

*Loth(o)sum* 1251 FF et passim to 1358 Works, *Loftheusum* 1335 FF

*Loftesum, -om* 1362 Works, FF, *Loftisum in Spaldyngmore* 1368 FF

*Loftsum* 1401 YI, *Loftsome* 1600 FF, 1650 ParlSurv

‘At the houses with lofts,’ from OScand *ilopthusum,* dat. plur. of *lopushus.* The name is fairly common in Yorkshire. On the loss of the medial syllable cf. Goxhill *supra* 66.


BRIDGE FARM (6") is *Loftsome Bridge* 1828 Langd. BRIND LEYS (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd). v. Brind *supra.* PRICKETT HILL (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd).

X. HOWDENSHIRE WAPENTAKE

*Hoveden hundret* 1086 DB, *wapent’ de Houed*’ 1231 Ass, libertas de Houeden 1306 Dunelm

*Houeden(es)ire, -syr(a), Hov-* 1153–90 Riev, 1165–83 YCh 988, 1199 FF, 1239 Lib, -scyr(e) 1189–95 YCh 987, 1280 Ebor, -s(c)hyre 1269 FF et passim to 1471 Pat
The DB Hundred of Howden (named from Howden infra 250) included the southern part of Ouse and Derwent Wapentake; otherwise it agreed roughly in extent with the later wapentake. The Liberty of Howdenshire (to which most of the above spellings refer) had some detached portions in the Hunsley Beacon Division of Harthill Wapentake (Brantingham, etc.). Anderson (18) points out that the designation of this liberty as a wapentake is late, and that the liberty (like the DB hundred) included some townships west of the river Derwent (Riccall, North and South Duffield)4. The ending -shire (v. scir) here refers to a district dependent on a manor, as in Allertonshire, Mashamshire (PN NRY 204, 230), Riponshire (WRY), etc. (cf. Anderson xxiii—xxiv).

Blacktoft

1. Blacktoft is Blaketoft(e) 1153–90 Riev, c. 1160 Malton, 1197–1206 YCh 989, 1198 FF et passim to 1398 YD, Blachestoft 1195 (1335) Ch, Blaktoft, -c- 13th LeonardN, 1325 Pat et passim to 1537 FF, Blacketoft upon Ows 1547 FF, East-, West-Blacktoft 1584 FF. ‘Black homestead or ground,’ v. blæc, topt. The ODan pers. name Blakki (DaPN 132) is also possible for the first element.

Gowthorpe Lane (6°). Cf. Gou-, Gowthorpe 1295 YI, 1582 FF. Probably of the same origin as Gowthorpe supra 176.

Staddlethorpe is Stadyethorpe 1550 FF, Staddylthorpe 1565 ib., Stertilthorpe als. Saddlethorpe (sic) 1582, Staddylethropp 1614 ib.

1 In 1285 (K1) Ouse and Derwent Wapentake is included in Howdenshire and in 1305 Howden Liberty is described as Houedenshyr in Herthill’ (As 1108, m. 13 d); cf. also 1230 P wapentacom de Herile cum parte de Houdene’.
FF. This may be a compound of dialect *staddle* and porp. The word *staddle* is used of a wooden platform on which hay-ricks are built; cf. Staddle Bridge, PN NRY 216.

2. Scalby is Sc-, *Skalleby* 1230 P (p), 1246 Ass, *Scalby(e)* 1379 Poll et freq to 1550 FF. ‘Skalli’s farm,’ v. by. The pers. name is OScand *Skalli*, as in Scalby (PN NRY 108), Scawby (L), *Scall(l)e*bi 1086 DB, the Swedish place-name *Skålby* (ON *på*-by 37), and thrice in the Dan place-name *Skallerup*.

Newton is *Neuton* 1086 DB, *Neweton* 1199 OblR, with other forms and meaning as for Newton *supra* 188.

Cheapsides (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd), probably from the London street-name. *Eight and Forty* (6") is *Eight-and-forty-houses* 1828 Langd.

**Eastrington**

1. Bellasize is *Belasis(e)*, -yse 1212 Cur (p), 1246, 1280 Ass et passim to 1498 FF, *Belassis(e)* 1296 Pat et freq to 1343 FF, -isse 1367 YD, *Bealassis* 1432 ib., *Bellisise* 1548 FF. ‘Beautiful seat,’ a name of French origin and fairly common (cf. Belsize, PN Nth 232).

Bennetland is *Benetland(e)* 13th Nunkeel, 1234 FF, 1285 SR et passim to 1397 Baildon, -laund 1246 Ass, -londe 1548 FF, *Beneteland* 1246 Ass, *Benitland* 1595 FF. This might be ‘stretch of land overgrown with bent-grass’ (v. beonet, land), but the unshortened form *bennet* survives only in the South and Midlands (cf. EDD s.v. *bennet*), the usual Northern form being *bent* as in Bentley *supra* 204. Bennetland is therefore more likely to contain the proper name Ben(n)et, from MedLat *Benedictus* pers. name or ME *benet* ‘an exorcist, a priest benedict’ (NED s.v. *benet*, recorded from 1383). We have local examples of the name: in 1198 P reference is made to *Benedictus clericus de Houeden* (from whom the place may be named), and as late as 1341 a priest called *Alexander Benet de Houeden* was collated to a chantry in Howden manor (Dunelm iii, 413).

Greenoak is *Grenaic*, -eiic 1202, 1208 FF, -hayk, -i- 1276 RH, 1316 NomVill, -ayk(e) 1294 Yi et passim to 1349 FF, *Greeneayk*
WARWICKS is Warrewikhall 1331 FF, Warwyk(e) 1498, 1537 FF.
It is named from the family of John and William de Warrewik (1331 FF). An earlier John de Warewik held land in Blacktoft in 1199 (FF).

2. EASTRINGTON

Eastrington 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4
Estrincton 1086 DB, Estrinton 1086 DB, 1226 Ebor, 1231 FF
Estrington, -yng- 1169 P (p), 1202 FF, 1231 Ass et passim to 1579 NCWills
Hestringdon 1195 (1335) Ch
Aistrintun' 1199 FF
Eastrington 1583 FF, (al. Esterton) 1611 FF

‘Farmstead of those living to the east (of Howden),’ a geonymic formation from east, compar. ēasterā ‘more easterly.’ v. ing, tun and cf. Karlström 89. The spelling Aistrin- may have been influenced by OScand eystri, compar. of aust ‘east.’

SPEN WOOD (6") is Le Spen 1288 Misc, Spen 1567 FF, Spennes 1562 YD et freq to 1611 FF, the manor of Spenn otherwyse called the manor of Eastrington 1566 YD. There were beside several fields called Spen Ynge 1562 YD, Spen Flatt(es) 1562, 1567 ib., a pasture called Spenns alias West Close, le Olde Spenn 1567 ib. v. Appendix infra 330.

CARR LANE (6") is (on) Cærorholme 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, Holmecarr 1457 Test. ‘Marsh near the water-meadow,’ v. holmr, kiarr. WEST FIELD (6’). Cf. Estfeld 1231 FF.

3. GILBERDIKE is Dyc, Dyk(e), -i- 1234, 1268 FF et passim to 1559 FF,Dicke 1285 SR, Gilbertdike, -dyke 1376 FF et freq to 1619 FF, Gilberdyke 1349 FF. ‘The dike,’ v. dic. The prefixed element is the pers. name Gilbert. Mr C. T. Clay points out that there was a Durham family le Halsart, amongst whose members were several Gilberts (cf. Surtees, Durham iii, 316). The ‘dyke’ was in the fee of the bishopric of Durham, and it is possible that
its additional name is that of one of the Halsarts. There is, however, no documentary proof of a connexion between Gilberdike and this family.

**Hive**

*Hyde* 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4

*Hidon* 1086 DB, *Hid* 1212 Cur (p), *Hyda* 1240 FF


*Ive* 1511 YAJ xi, *Hyve* 1562, 1612 FF

*Hyve* v. *hy3* 'landing place on a river.' Hive is no longer on a river, but there may have been a navigable drain connecting it with the river Foulness (a mile away), such as the one now called Delph Drain. The change of *th* to *v* is a fairly common one in dialect (cf. Earswick, PN NRY 12 and Stonehaven (Sc), earlier *Steenhive*).

**Implings (6") is Limpinhul* 1231 FF, *Lympynhyll* 1416 YI, *Implyng* 1563 FF, -inge 1615 FF, *Lympynghill* 1605 FF. It is difficult to keep this name apart from Impnells (PN Ess 446), but both names are obscure. If we regard initial *l* as the OFr def. art. we may possibly have as first element an OE *imping* 'place where saplings are grown' from OE *impa* 'shoot, sapling' (cf. PN Ess 583). *v. hyll*.

**Owsthorpe** [DuzOrap]

*Duuestorp* 1086 DB

*Hausthorp* 1285 KI

*Ousthorp(e)* 1316 NomVill, 1322 YD et passim to 1416 YD

*Oxthorpe alias Owsethorpe* 1568 YD, *Owstrop* 1605 FF

'East village,' *v. austr*, porp. DB *Dues* is probably an error.

**Sandholme** is *Sandholm(e)* 1285 *SR et passim* to 1548 FF.

'Sandy meadow,' *v. holmr* and Sandholme *supra* 207.

**Stockbriggs Closes (6") is Stokebrige* 1199 FF. *v. stocc*, brycg.

4. **Portington** is *Portiton* 1086 DB, *Portinton* 1086 DB, 1234 FF, 1281 Pat, *Portingtun*, -ton 13th YD, 1276 RH, 1285 *SR et passim* to 1828 Langd. 'Farm belonging to a town' (probably Howden), *v. port*, ington, or 'Port(a)'s farm' from an OE pers. name *Port(a)*, for which cf. Portslade, PN Sx 289.
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BURLAND is Birland 1086 DB, Bir-, Byrland(e) 1193 P (p), 1196 ib., 1199 FF et passim to 1401 YI, Berland 1379 Poll, Burland(e) 1560 FF, (als. Burlaigne) 1594 FF. ‘Expanse of land with a shed,’ v. byre, land.

CAVIL [ke:vil]

Cafeld 959 YCh 4
Cheuede 1086 DB
C-, Kayvill(e), -uyll 1281 Pat, 1330 Deod et passim to 1379 Poll, -will', -y- 1285 SR, KI, -vyle 1314 Dunelm
Cavill 1432 YD, Cavell 1610 Speed

The OE spelling certainly represents ‘tract of land where jackdaws are found,’ from OE *cā (v. ka) and feld. The relation of the later spellings to this is not clear, but ville is no doubt the OFr ville which is sometimes substituted for OE feld (cf. IPN 94). Cay- may be due to French influence1.

5. WALLINGFEN is Walefen 1228 Pat, Walingfen 1228, 1300 Pat, Wallyngfen 1556 FF, Wallenfen 1587 FF. The first element may be identical with that of Wholsea supra 234, two miles away. For a possible interpretation see under that name. v. fenn.

NEWPORT is Neu-, Newport 1368 FF, 1828 Langd. ‘New town,’ v. niwe, port, with reference to a village springing up on reclaimed fenland.

NEW VILLAGE is so named in 1828 (Langd). SEAVY CARR (6") is Seyve Closes 1590 YD. ‘Sedge marsh or fields,’ v. sef, kiarr.

1. ASSELBY

Howden

Aschilebi 1086 DB
Eskilby 1199 FF
Askelby 1282 Abbr et passim to 1379 Poll, Askil-, -kyl- 1373 YD, 1465 Pat, Askeby 1285 SR
Astelby c. 1360 Works, Astilby 1519 BM
Hasselby 1546 FF, Axilbye 1551 FF


1 The surname of Tomas (etc.) de Cauill’ (1194 P), de Cauwill’ (1197 P), de Karvilla (13th YD), has no connexion with Cavil.
2. Balkholme is Balc-, Balkholm(e) 1199 FF, t. Hy 3 BM, 1231 Ass et passim to 1498 FF, Balkeholm(e) 1240 FF, 1280 Ass, 1285 SR, 1294 YI, Balterholme 1282 Abbr, Balcolm 1322 BM, Bawkeholme 1550 FF. ‘Balki’s field’ or ‘field with a balk,’ v. holmr. If the latter is correct, the balk (OE balca) must have been some kind of a ridge or bank which has disappeared; it can hardly have the meaning ‘hill, ridge’ suggested for Balk (PN NRY 189), as here the land is perfectly flat.

East and West Linton is Li-, Lynton 1246 FF (p), 1280 Ass, 1285 SR et passim to 1543 FF, (Hyther, West) 1608 FF, (Hether, Farr) 1613 FF, (East, West) 1828 Langd. v. Linton supra 137.

Newland is Newelaund 1269 FF, -land 1331 FF, 1423 YD, Neu-, Newland 1282 Abbr et passim to 1611 FF, -lond 1548 FF, Noland 1334 FF. ‘New, reclaimed land,’ v. niwe, land.

3. Barmby on the Marsh

Barnabi, Barnabi c. 1050 YCh 9
Barnebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1379 Poll
Barnby 1342 SR, (by Howden) 1510 YD
Barmebeie 1566 FF, Barmby on the Marsh 1828 Langd

‘Barni’s farmstead,’ v. by. On the ODan pers. name Barni cf. DaPN 96, where Danish place-names containing this name are cited. v. also Barmby on the Moor supra 184.

Fleet Lane (6") possibly takes its name from Wilbaldesfleote BCS 1052. ‘Wilbald’s stream,’ v. fleot.

4. Belby

Belleby, -bi 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, 1086 DB, 1199 FF et freq to t. Ed 3 BM
Ballebi, -by 1086 DB
Belby(e) 1285 SR et passim to 1576 NCWills
Beleby 1316 NomVill, 1333 YAJ xi

The first element would appear to be a pers. name Belle, but the ME name Belle (from ME bell) is not on record early enough to be associated with this place-name. The OSScand Beli, gen. Belja, is possible (cf. Bielby supra 232), but it leaves us with ll unexplained. An OSScand by-name Belli, connected with bellinn
'bold' or with Norw dialectal bell 'bell-clapper,' or Bjalla from OScand bjalla 'bell,' may well have existed, though not on record. Though formally possible, OScand bjalli 'a round hill' (as in Bjelle, NoGN xii, 89) is unlikely on topographical grounds. 'Belli's or Bjalla's farmstead,' v. by.

5. Bishopsoil (6") is a modern township and recalls the fact that the Liberty of Howdenshire belonged to the Bishop of Durham.

6. Cotness
   Cotes 1086 DB
   Coteness(e) 1199 FF, 1246 Ass et passim to 1367 YD, -nes 1359 FF
   Cottenes(se) 1246 Ass, 1379 Poll, 1432 YD
   Coutenesse 1285 KI
   Cotnes(se) 1435 NCWills, 1546 FF
   'Headland with cottages,' v. cote, næss. Here, as in Reedness (WRY), the nes is a flat triangular piece of land round which the Ouse flows, now called Whitgift Ness (from Whitgift, WRY, on the opposite bank of the river). A piece of land similarly placed in regard to the river Aire in Rawcliffe (WRY) was called Nes c. 1219 Selby.

7. Howden [oudn]
   (Æt, to) Heafuddene, -dene1, Hwafuddene 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4
   Hovedene, Houeden(e) 1086 DB
   Houe-, Hoveden(e), -dene 1080–6 YCh 974, 1114–6 YCh 976
   et passim to 1576 NCWills, -don(e) 1279–81 QW, 1281 YI, 1311 Dunelm
   Hou-, Hovenden(e), -dene 1080–6 LVD 50, 1130, 1172 P
   et freq to 1279–81 QW, 1512 FF
   Ofendene 1153–60 YCh 937, Ouenden 1307 Ebor, Ouedan
t. Hy 2 BM
   Hofden 13th YD
   Hodden 1204 ChR
   Houden 1231 FF, 1279 Ebor et passim to 1424 NCWills,
   How- 1403 Test et passim to 1828 Langd

1 The spelling Heofuddene usually cited from YCh 4 is incorrect according to the MS (Society of Antiquaries lx).
Howden is clearly a compound of OE heafod 'head' and denu ‘valley,’ but from the time of the Conquest the various spellings show the substitution of the cognate OScand həfuð, and the spelling Huuedensyre for the wapentake name (supra 244) has OEScand huvuþ. The origin of the Hov-en- spellings is obscure. The spellings Hocden (and Hogdonesyr for the wapentake) are inverted spellings which could arise when early ME hoc-, hog- and how- had fallen together as how-1. Similarly the late forms Hol-, Howl- are inverted spellings which came in when original ME hol- had also become how-.

The significance of the original compound is not altogether clear. OE heafod could hardly have its normal topographical meaning of ‘head, top of a valley,’ nor is the sense ‘chief’ (known in OE) likely here. It seems probable therefore that in this case OE heafod means ‘headland, spit of land,’ a sense clearly demanded by Thicket and Turn Head infra 264, 257. Howden is some distance from the Ouse, so that the valley implied by denu is hardly the Ouse valley. It is in fact a reference to the old valley of the Derwent. From the present river Derwent near Loftsome Bridge a stream ran to Howden which is still called the Old Derwent, and thence it flowed into the Ouse probably near Howden Dyke or possibly a little further east2. This river-course was probably the denu and the long stretch of land between the Ouse and the Old Derwent was the heafod. ‘Valley by the spit of land.’

NOTE. HAILGATE is Halegate 1485 AD iv. Cf. Hail Farm infra 252. MARKET PLACE. Cf. Cornmarketsted 1429 BM.

BARN HILL is Beornhyll 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, Bernehelt, -held 1086 DB, Bernhill, -hyll 1199 FF, 1294 YI (p), 1342 SR, 1379

1 Strictly speaking hoc- would not become how-, though there is some evidence in place-names such as Reighton supra 107 for the palatalisation of c before a dental.

2 The references to the Old Derwent in YCh 4 do not make the problem clearer. Cf. YCh i, 15.
Poll, *Barnhill* 1495 FF. ‘Warrior hill,’ from OE *beorn* and *hyll* (cf. Barnwell, PN Nth 178), or possibly ‘Beorn’s hill,’ with the pers. name uninflected as in place-names such as Northallerton (PN NRY 210), etc.

**Hail Farm** (6")", **Hail Windmill** (6") is Hale 1199 FF, Hayle Mill 1675 Deposition. v. h(e)alh ‘nook of land’ (probably one included in a sharp bend of the Old Derwent), alongside which Hailgate in Howden supra 251 now runs. Cf. also Halebrigg 1485 AD iv.

**Ringstone Hurst** (6") is Ringestainhirst 1284 Pat, Ryngstanhyrste 1391 Test, Ringston Hurst 1616 FF. ‘Wood near the circular stone,’ v. hring, steinn (OE stan), hyrst.

**Barnhill Hall** is so named in 1828 (Langd). **Booth Fields** (6") is Booth feilde 1612 YAJ xix. v. Booth infra 253. **Broad Lane** (6"). Cf. the Broades 1612 YAJ xix, the farre brodes ib. **Butt Field** (6") is Buttsfeilde 1612 YAJ xix. Cf. Butt Hills supra 103. **Flatfields Ho** (6") is Flat 1199 FF, Flattfeilde 1612 YAJ xix. v. flat. **Howden Dyke** (hamlet) is so named in 1828 (Langd). v. Howden Dyke Drain supra 6. **Howden Wood** (6") is bosco de Houeden’, nemore de Houedenesire 1199 FF. **Northolmby Close** (6") is Nornebye 1612 YAJ xix. Ouse Carr (6") is Owsecarr 1612 YAJ xix. v. Ouse supra 9 and kiarr. **St Mary Magdalen’s Chapel** (hermitage) (6") is heremitae de Ryngstanhyrste 1391 Test. v. Ringstone Hurst supra. **Yarmshaw** (6") is Yarnshaw 1612 YAJ xix. Probably ‘eagle wood,’ v. earn, sceaga.

8. **Kilpin**

Celpene 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4
Chelpin 1086 DB

Kilpin, -y- 1199, 1231, 1246 FF, 1251 Ass et passim to 1576 NCWills, -yng 1316 NomVill, -yne 1376 FF, -eyn 1416 YI

Chilpin 1202 FF

This difficult name is probably from OE *celf* (a Northern OE mutated form of *calf* ‘calf,’ as in Kelloe, PN NbDu 125) and *penn*, a word which may also occur in Harpings supra 215. Cf. PN in -ing 27. Medial *f* might well have been lost at an
early date before the following labial; cf. also Wharram supra 134-5, and for early raising of $e$ to $i$ cf. Bridlington supra 100. ‘Calf enclosure.’

DUNCOTES (6") is Duncote 1376 FF, -cottis 1541 FF, -cottes 1576 NCWills, 1616 FF. ‘Dark cottages’ (OE dunn ‘dun, brown, dark’) or ‘Dunna’s cottages,’ v. cote. OE dun ‘hill’ is unlikely on topographical grounds.

KILPIN PIKE is so named in 1828 (Langd). v. pic ‘pike,’ perhaps used here of a stake or the like which acts as a landmark. Cf. Paull supra 36. Kilpin Pike is on the Ouse where it makes a sharp bend round Hook (WRY).

9. KNEDLINGTON

Cnyllingatun 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4
Cledinton 1086 DB
Knedlington, -y- 1285 SR, KI et freq to 1551 FF
Knedelington 1316 NomVill, 1332 SR, 1379 Poll
Knydlyngton 1577 FF

In view of the post-Conquest spellings with Kned- it is probable that the OE Cnyllingatun is a West Saxon spelling for Cneollingatun or the like, with $y$ for $e(o)$ as in Everingham supra 233. In all probability the first element is from an OE pers. name Cneoddel or Cneddel (not recorded), derived from OE cneord ‘eager, diligent’ with an assimilation of rd to dd as in OE Brodda for Brorda (cf. also IPN 172). The further assimilation of dl to ll in the OE spelling is parallel to that found in some of the forms of Bridlington supra 100. ‘Farmstead of Cneddel and his people,’ v. ing, tun.

BOOTH is Botheby 1550 FF, Bowtheby 1575 ib., Boothby(e)garth 1599, 1611 ib., Bowthe 1613 ib., Booth(e) 1610 Speed, 1612 YAJ xix, 1695 Morden. The place is originally named from the family of Botheby (1374 YD), which came ultimately from one of the Lincolnshire Boothbys.

BOOTH FERRY is Booth’s Ferry 1651 Deposition, Booth or Booth-Ferry 1828 Langd. v. Booth (supra) and ferja. The ferry has in recent years been replaced by a bridge.
10. LAXTON

*Laxinton* 1086 DB, 1200 Cur, 1210 Abbr, 1251 Ass (p), 1310 Ch, -ing- 1199 FF (p), 1252 FF, 1282 Abbr

*Laxington* 1199 FF

*Lexing(ton)* 1230 P et freq to 1251 FF

*Laxton* 1285 KI, 1287 Ebor et passim to 1591 FF

*Laxston* 1543 FF

‘Lax(a)’s farm.’ *v.* ingtun. On the pers. name Lax(a) cf. Laxton, PN Nth 168-9, PN Nt 81.

**PENNYTHORPE PLANTATION (6")** is *Pinelthorpe* 1199 FF. *v.* porp.

The first element is an OE pers. name *Pinnel* (a diminutive of the *Pinna* found in Penneton, PN D 291) or possibly a very early example of the dialect word *pinnel* ‘coarse gravel’ (first evidenced from 1766, NED *s.v.*).

**TRANDY LANE (6")** is *Tranedic, -k* 1199 FF, 1282 Abbr, *Trandyke* 1288 ib. ‘Crane-dike,’ *v.* trani, dic.

11. METHAM [*metəm, miːðəm*] is *Metham* 1268 Misc (p), 1291 Dunelm (p), 1316 NomVill et passim to 1828 Langd, *Meteham* 1432 YD. Probably ‘mean, poor homestead’ from OE *mōte* and ham. The land was formerly waste and marsh (cf. Nicholson 77). The second pronunciation must be a late spelling one.

**CARR HOUSE (6")** is so named in 1828 (Langd).

12. SALTMARSHE

*Saltemersc* 1086 DB

*Saltemareis* 1194 P (p), *Sautemareys, -ays* 1229 FF, 1276 RH, 1281 Pat, 1291 Dunelm (p), *-mares* 1246 Ass (p)

*Saltmers* 1282 Abbr, *-mersse* 1336 Deod

*Salt(e)mersh(e)* 1285 KI et freq to c. 1362 Works

*Salt(e)mersch, -mers(s)h* c. 1348 Works et passim to 1581 FF, *-marsh(e)* 1316 NomVill, 1546 FF

‘Brackish marsh,’ *v.* s(e)alt, mersc (cf. NED *s.v. salt-marsh*) partly Scandinavianised and partly influenced by OFr *mareis* ‘marsh.’ The name is also Latinised as *Salso Marisco* 1195-1211 YCh 1117, *Salsomaresc* 1501 FoxReg. A field in the locality was called *le Ssalin* (1229 FF), ‘salt pit’ (cf. NED *s.v. saline*, from c. 1450). Saltmarshe is on the Ouse, which is tidal here.
13. Skelton
Sc(h)ilton 1086 DB
Skelton(a), -ton(a) 1155–65, 1175–85 YCh 981–2, 1199 FF et passim to 1512 FF, (juxta Houedene) 1398 YD
Skelton(a) 1175–85 YCh 983, 1259 Ass
Skytton 1547 FF

The origin of various Skeltons in Y is dealt with in PN NRY 16 and PN D (vol. ii) ix. This Skelton is a long straggling village on the bank of the Ouse and the first element may well be OE scyfl (Angl scelf) ‘shelving terrain’ referring to the high bank of the river. ‘Farmstead on the river-bank,’ v. tun. Initial Sk- is due to Scandinavian influence.

Sand Hall is Sandhall(e) 1359, 1365, 1569 FF. Sandhall 1363 Ch. ‘Hall near the sands,’ v. sand, h(e)all. The sands on the edge of the Ouse bed are called Sands 1282 Abbr.


14. Thorpe Lidget is Dorp 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, Torp 1086 DB, Thorp(e) 1199 FF et passim to 1576 NCWills, (in the More) 1399 YI, (juxta Houedene) 1411 BM, (Lidget) 1828 Langd. v. porp, here ‘an outlying hamlet’ of Howden. A William de Lidgate is mentioned in 1297 (LS) in connexion with Thorpe.

15. Yokefleet [jukflit, jo:kflit]
Iugu-, Iucufled 1086 DB
Jukeflet 1153–85 Riev, 1199 OblR, -fluet 1180–95 YCh 984–5
Yukkeflet(e), -ck- 1180–9 YCh 986, 1204 (1253) Ch, 1246 Ass, c. 1348 Works, 1432 YD
Yokeflet(e) 1189–95 YCh 987, 1303 Ebor, 1550 FF
Jecofleved 1199 OblR
Huickeflete (sic for Hiucke-) 1199 FF
Jokesflied, Yokesflelet 1199 P, Yukesflet 1231 FF
Ikeflet 1200 Cur
Icleflet (v.l.), Ykefflet 1200 Cur, Ucceflete 1313 YearBook
Yockeflet 1201 FF
Yukeflet 1240, 1252 FF, 1246 Ass
Yuccflet 1246 Ass (p)
Yu-, Yukflet(e) 1246 FF, 1300 Pat et passim to 1498 FF
There are three possibilities in explanation of Yokefleet. Perhaps the obvious one is a compound of OE geoc (iuc, etc.) ‘yoke’ and fleot, in reference to a stream or ditch connecting two rivers (the Ouse and either the Old Derwent or the Foulness); there are still remains of such a watercourse running due north from Yokefleet, but this may be part of a more recent drainage scheme. There is nothing in local topography to suggest a meaning ‘creek which forks’ which we have in Yokefleet (PN Ess 17). The main difficulty in associating Yokefleet with OE geoc, however, is that it does not explain satisfactorily the late Yewke-spellings which according to the phonology of the dialect should go back to a ME long close vowel ð, and a word containing this original vowel would, on the parallel of Rudston supra 98, provide one explanation of the regular early Yuke-spellings: they would be forms with vowel-shortening before the following consonant-group, a suggestion confirmed by the Yukke-, Yucke- spellings. The most appropriate source would be the OScand pers. name jokell, with early reduction to joke, and this would certainly account for the three spellings with a genitival es and the spelling Icleflet, if these are not merely occasional errors. Alternatively, we may possibly have OE gēoc ‘help, support, safety,’ which is found in geocburnan in BCS 1125, so called because it gave help to the mill (v. PN Sx 240 n.), and possibly in Yokehirst (PN Sx 300). Yokerfleet might have been described as ‘the safe reach or creek’ if the Ouse was formerly as free from sandbanks in this stretch as it is to-day; but as this sense is not exactly paralleled we should probably regard the name as ‘Jokel’s stretch of water.’

XI. WAPENTAKE OF OUSE AND DERWENT

(wapentacum, -tag’, Wap’) inter V-, Usam et Derewent(e) 1197–1230 P, 1231 Ass et passim to 1316 NomVill, (forest) t. John Font, 1230 P, (terras) 1234 Dunelm, wap’ (inter Use) 1268 Ass, (wapentagium inter) Ouse and Derwent 1301 LS Ouse and Darwent (wapontake) 1518 Test, 1750 Bowen
This wapentake was formed from some of the Domesday Hundreds of Harthill (v. supra 152–3), and later on the part of Howdenshire (supra 244) on the west of the Derwent was added after 1316 (NomVill), though a reference in 1285 (KI) to le wappyntak in Houdenschyre inter Usse et Derwent (with reference to the whole of Ouse and Derwent) suggests some fluctuation in the historical relations of the two wapentakes (cf. Anderson 19). Ouse and Derwent was also used of the forest in the more northerly part of the wapentake. v. Derwent, Ouse supra 2, 9.

Hemingbrough

1. Barlby
Bardulbi 1086 DB, Barduleby 1166 RBE (p)
Bardelbi, -by 12th Selby, t. Hy 2 (1464) Pat et passim to 1466 NCWills
Barthelbi, -by c. 1163 Selby et freq to 1316 NomVill, -il- 1285 KI
Bardenebi 1200 Cur, 1201 Abbr
Barlebe 1363 FF, -by 1464 Pat, 1488 FF, 1610 Speed, Barlby 1828 Langd

‘Bardolf’s farm,’ v. by. The first element is a pers. name, OE Bardwulf or Continental-German Bardulf, the latter being common in ME (cf. Forssner 42–3).

Turn Head is le Turneheved 1363, c. 1394 Works. Cf. Turnham Hall infra 259. The name has reference to a sharp bend in the river Ouse, and may be from ME turn (OFr *turn) with that sense or OE *trun, turn. Turn Head itself is on the opposite side of the Ouse from Turn Head Lodge and head ‘head’ must refer to the headland formed by this twist in the river-course, as in Howden supra 251 and Thicket infra 264.

Angram Lane (6") is Angrum c. 1190, 1308 Selby. ‘At the pastures,’ from OE *angrum, dat. plur. of anger. Cf. Angrain (PN NRY 191, etc.). Beer Fleet (6") is Brer(e)flet' c. 1190 et freq to 1308 Selby. ‘River-reach near the thornbush,’ v. brær, fleot. Ings Roods (6’). Cf. Thurstaneng’ 13th Selby. v. eng. The pers. name Thurstan (OScand Dorstenn) is also found in another local field-name Thurstanland 13th ib.
2. **Brackenholme**

*Brachenholm* 11th (? spurious) YCh 990, 1195 (1335) Ch, -hol' 1167 P (p), *Brache(n)holm* 1086 DB

*Brackenholme* 1080–6 YCh 974, 1828 Langd

*Brakenholm(e) 1190–1225 YCh 997 et passim to 1619 FF, Brakan- 1285 KI, 1313 Dunelm

*Brackenholme in Spealdyngmore 1343 FF

*Bracknam* 1589 FF

'River-meadow overgrown with bracken,' v. braken, holmr. Cf. the same name *supra* 72. The word is found also as *Bracken supra* 159.

**Babthorpe** is *Babetorp* 1086 DB, -thorp 1285 KI, *Babbethorp* 1190–1225 YCh 997, 1313, 1314 Dunelm, *Babthorp(e) 1285 KI et freq to 1828 Langd, -thorpe 1621 FF. 'Babe's village,' v. porp. The pers. name *Babe, Babi* is not known in OScand, but it is recorded later in Danish and occurs in the Danish place-name *Barup* (older *Babæthorp*) and a lost *Babberup* (v. DaPN 89).

**Hagthorpe** is *Achetorp* 1086 DB, *Hakethorp* 1251 Ass (p) et passim to 1584 FF, *Hakelthorp* 1285 KI, *Hakthorp* 1353, 1365 FF, *Hag(g)thorpe* 1407 YD et freq to 1550 FF. 'Haki's village,' from the common OScand pers. name *Haki* and porp. Similar compounds are Norwegian *Hagetorp* (LindN), Swedish *Hakarp*, older *Hakathorp* (Lundgren-Brate), and Danish *Hagerup* (DaSN(F) 115). The name is found in ME as *Hake* (ZEN 43).

**Wood Hall** was originally *Grimestorp* 1133 YCh 998, then *W(u)dehalle sive Grimestorp* 1186–94 YCh 999, 1000, and thereafter *Wodhall* 1285 KI, *Wodehall(e) 1312 Dunelm et freq to 1337 FF, *La Wodehalle* 1298 Pat, *Woddall* 1584 FF, *Woodhall* 1529 FF. Originally 'Grim's village,' as in Grimthorpe *supra* 178. v. porp. Cf. Woodhall *supra* 199.

3. **Cliffe**, formerly **Long Cliff**, is *Clive* 1086 DB, *Clif(e) 1195 (1335) Ch, 1200 Cur et possim to 1542 NCWills, (juxta *Hemmyngburgh*) 1314 Dunelm. v. clif. There is no steep declivity to which the name might refer; *clif* is, therefore, probably used of the bank of the river Ouse which formerly passed below the village but which is now diverted to the southwest side of Newhay. The same use of *clif* is suggested for Rawcliff, PN NRY 15, also on the Ouse.
BOWLAND Ho (6") is Boulondeura 1251 Ass. v. land, vra and boga, ‘bow.’


NEWHAY is Nova haia, -haya 12th Selby (freq), 1196 Bodl, 1246 Ass, 1250 Cl, Lanouehaie 1311 Ch, Newhach’ 1293 QW, New(e)-hagh 1337 FF et passim to 1373 Pat, Now- 1363 Works, Newhay 1311 Ch. ‘New enclosure,’ v. niwe, (ge)hæg. It was made from land enclosed between the present Ouse and the old course of the Ouse which passed through Hemingbrough.

TURNHAM HALL

Turnham 1198, 1201 P, 1549 FF, (-all) 1474 Pat
Turnham 1204 Ass (p), (-halle) 1421 YI, Thurnham 1311 Ch (p)
Turnamhall c. 1346 Works et passim to 1616 FF
Turnumhalle 1349 Ipm, 1363 Works, Turnomhalle 1349 Ipm
Turnemhall 1363 Works
Turnemanhall 1613 FF, Tormond-Hall 1828 Langd

The first element of Turnham and Turn Head supra 257 is no doubt used with a reference to the sharp bends made by the Ouse at these places. English turn with the meaning ‘place at which a river or road turns off’ is found from the 15th century (NED s.v.), and it is thought to be from an Anglo-Norman *t(o)urn. There may have been, however, an OE word *trun or *turn ‘circular, circular place,’ which Ekwall has suggested for Trunnah, PN La 158. Other examples are given in PN Ess lxi. In Turnham Hall, Turnhead, and Trumfleet (WRY), where the topography is closely associated with a winding river, we may have an extended meaning ‘bend, bight.’ A further difficulty with Turnham Hall is presented by the variation between ham, um and om in the second element. In Wharram, Hotham and Yapham supra 134, 225, 182 there is evidence of an original dat. plur. um being represented by ham from an early date and it may be so here, in which case the name means ‘at the bends.’ But against this it should be noted that ham is definitely older than um in this series of spellings, and with an original ham so suggested a fairly early reduction to um, om, em in the medial syllable might be expected, as in other cases like Goxhill, Newsome, etc.,
supra 66, 27. Turnham therefore probably means ‘homestead at the river-bend,’ v. ham. We may have this same element in Turnham Green (PN Mx 87).

Carr Lane (6") is le Ker 1352 Ipm. v. kiarr. Upper Haggs (field) is les Hagges 1352 Ipm. v. hogg ‘cutting of trees.’

4. South Duffield is Suddufel(d), -felt 1086 DB, Duffeld 1180–90 YCh 992, 1196 Cur, P et passim to 1363 Ch, S(o)uth- 1226 FF et passim to 1529 FF, Suyth- 128o Ass, Duffeud 1246 Ass, Suth- doffeld 1337 FF. ‘Tract of land frequented by doves,’ from OE *dufe (v. NED s.v. dove) and feld. Cf. North Duffield infra 26z and Duffield (Db).

Greengate Lane (6") is le Grenegate 13th Selby. v. gata.

5. Hemingbrough

Hemingburg(h), -y- 1080–6 YCh 974, 1204 Ass (p) et passim to 1488 FF, -burc 1201 Abbr, 1311 Ch, -borough 1542 NCWills, -browghe 1571 FF

Hamiburg 1086 DB, 1476 Pat
Hemmingburch, -y- 11th (? spurious) YCh 990, 1121–8 ib. 936, -burg(h) 1272 Ebor et freq to 1408 Test
Hemmingeburc(h) 1153–60 YCh 937, 1204 ChR, Hemmigeb’ 1180–90 YCh 992, Hemingeburc 1195 (1335) Ch
Hemmigburc 1180–90 YCh 992, Hemiburg 1291 Ebor, 1295 Pap

Hemmingesburc 1200 Cur
Hemingaborg 13th Knytlinga Saga
Hymmyngburgh 1507 Test
Hembrugh 1570 FF, -broughe 1612 FF

‘Heming’s fortification,’ v. burh. The OScand pers. name Heming is common, especially in Old Danish and Old Swedish (cf. LindN s.n.), and it is found in England in independent use (NP 67) as well as in place-names like Hemingby (L), Hemingstone (Sf). It has been suggested (Crawf 140) that Hemingbrough takes its name from the Jomsborg Viking, Jarl Hemingr, who captained the northern detachment of the famous bingamannalid. This body of housecarls had been established by Swein in England and its northern quarters were at a place called
Slessvik, now lost but presumably in the neighbourhood of York. After Swein’s death the English plotted to massacre the pingamenn, and Hemingr and his followers were slain: that was about 1015. Some support is to be found in the fact that Hemingbrough was captured by Cnut himself some years later (1026, according to Knytlinga Saga). The identification is a plausible one, but in view of the general frequency of the name Heming it cannot be certain. If this etymology is correct the pers. name has an uninflected genitive form.

We should also admit the possibility of an OE Hem(m)inga-burh, ‘stronghold of Hemma and his people,’ which accords with many of the early spellings.

6. MENTHORPE [menθərp] is Menethorp 12th, 13th Selby, 1166 P (p), Menthorp(e) 1276 RH, 1285 KI et passim to 1529 FF. The first element is a pers. name OScand Menni or a woman’s name Menja. v. porp.

BOWTHORPE [bouθərp]

Boletorp 1086 DB, 1199 FF, -thorp 1241 FF
Buletorp 1200 Cur
Bolthorp(e) 1285 KI et passim to 1379 Poll
Bolothorpe 1311 Ch
Bouthorp(e) 1398 AD iii, 1585 FF, -throppe 1571 FF

‘Bula’s or Bulli’s village,’ v. porp. For an OE pers. name Bula we may compare Bullington (PN Sx 491), etc. If the pers. name is Scandinavian it is OSwed, ODan Bulle, cognate with the more common OWScand Bolli (LindN), with which there may have been some confusion in form. The latter is found in Boulby, PN NRY 140.

WILLLOW GARTHS (6°), WILLOW COTTAGE (6°). Cf. ye Wilowes 1379 Poll.

7. OSGODBY [ɔzgəbi]

Angote(s)bi 1086 DB
Angotebi, -by 12th Selby (freq), 1184 Dods, 1204 Ass, 1246 FF, 1311 Ch
Angodeby c. 1200 For, 1204 FF, 1231 Ass, 1256 Dunelm
Osegotebi, -by 1200 Cur, 1277 Reg.Alb, Hose- 1285 KI
Osgotebi, -by 1200 Cur, 1201 Abbr et passim to 1316 NomVill
Osegotesby 1244 Ass
Osgoby 13th Selby, 1280 Ch
Osgodeby 1330, 1337 FF, Osgoby 13th Selby et passim to 1519 Test
Osgarbye 1568 FF

'Asgaut's farmstead,' v. by. On the AN spellings with continental Ans- and the others with OE Ôs- for OScand Å-

Skipwith

1. North Duffield is Duffeld 1070–83 (14th) Selby et passim, Dufeld, (Nort)dufelt 1086 DB, Northduffeld 1185–1205 YCh 995 et passim, Nor- 13th Selby, Norhdufeld 1219 FF, Norhdouff' c. 1280 YD, North Duffeud 1279 Ass. v. South Duffield supra 260.

Blackwood House is Blacwod (bosci) 1256 Dunelm, 1280 Ch, Blakewodd 1277 RegAlb, -wod 1496 YD, Blak- 1280 Misc. v. blæc, wudu.

Armitty (field) is le Hermitage c. 1280 YD v. This was the hermitage of St Nicholas (cf. 1219 FF 19, note 3). Duffield Ings (6") is le Newenge, loco vocato Aboven the Enges 13th Selby, lez Newenges 1407 YD. v. eng. Duffield Wood (6") is bosco de Duffeld 1214–21 Selby. Longlands (6") is Westlangelandes 13th Selby, Est-, Westlanglandes 1407 YD. Moses Farm (6") is La Musse 1258 FF. v. mos 'moss, peatbog.' North Wood (6") is Northwod 13th Selby, Nor(t)hwod(e) c. 1280 YD. The Parks (6") is the Parke 1474 YD.

2. Skipwith [skipio]

Schipewic, -uuc 1086 DB, Schipwic 1203 Cur (p)
Schip-, Scipwiz 1166 P (p), 1244 Ebor, Skipwis 1225 Ebor
Schipwyth, -y-, -uith 12th Selby, 1153–60 YCh 937, c. 1293
Malton (p)

Schip(e)wit 1195 (1335) Ch, 1264 Ebor, Sc-, Skipwit' 1204 ChR, 1301 LS
There is considerable variation in the spellings of the second element. On the whole, wic (wike) appears more frequently in the older sources, more particularly in the older manuscripts; with appears fairly early but not consistently until the 14th century. The spellings wiz and wit are inconclusive, for the latter may in some cases be merely a misreading of wic or an AN variant of with (cf. IPN 112), whilst wiz may be an AN variant of either wic (cf. Wheldrake infra 267, IPN 102) or with (cf. suze for suthe in Southburn supra 167). In view of the greater antiquity of the wic-spellings and the occasional presence of spellings like the 13th-century sch and sepe (for Shepe), Skipwith is without doubt in origin an OE place-name Scip(a)wic, ‘sheep farm,’ from stip, an ONb variant of sceap ‘sheep’ (as in Skipton, WRY, Sciptone DB, Skipton on Swale, PN NRY 186), and wic, with substitution of OScand sk for ME sh and OScand viær ‘wood’ for wic. Similar examples are provided by Monkwith, Cottingwith supra 57, 237. Cf. also IPN 64.

PITHILL CLOSE (field)1 is Pichel 12th Selby. v. pightel.

Thorganby

Thorganby [θɔɡəmbi]
Turgisi 1086 DB
Turgrimebi 1192 P, Turgrimesbi 1194–1201 P
Thorgremby c. 1200 For
Torgramebi ib., Turgramesby 1230 P

1 On a map of 1768 (ex inf. Rev. W. Wainman).
Thicket

Thicked 1180–1203 YCh 1132
Thekeheued, Theckeued 13th Font, Thechedd 1303 Ebor
Thik(e)heved 1204 YCh 1131, 1264 Dugd et passim to 1402
Test

Ti-, Tykeheved 1204 YCh 1131, 1231 FF, Tyk- 1237 FF,
1304 Abbr, Tikhed 1363 Works
Thick(e)heved, Thickeved, -y- 1219 FF, 1287 Ebor et freq to
1303 ib.

Thycheheved 1282 Baildon, Titcheved 1358 Works
Thikhed(e) 1345 Test et freq to 1500 ib., Thickhed 1599
NCWills

Thyckytt 1590 YD, Thickett 1828 Langd

Here as in Turn Head and Howden supra 257, 251, OE heafod
means 'headland round which a river flows'; the old course of
the Derwent makes a prominent headland. The first element is
OE þicc 'thick, dense,' used in the sense 'thicket' in the
Vespasian Psalter and probably also in Thicks, PN Ess 504.
'Headland with a dense thicket' (or the like).

West Cottingwith Ings (6") is Cottingworth Ing3 t. Hy 8
Dugd. v. kringla 'circle.' Mickleland Field (6") is Mich-,
**Mikeland** 13th Font. ‘Big strip of land,’ v. micel, land. **Rot Hole (6")** is le Roth 1264 Dugd. Either OE rob, ‘clearing’ as suggested for Rothwall (PN Nth 1187) or ODan *roth*, as suggested for the Dan place-name *Roager* (DaSN(Sj) iii, 107). **Scarnflat Field (6")** is Shower Flattz t. Hy 8 Dugd. Probably ‘dung fields,’ v. scearn (with OScand sk) and fiat. **Seggcarrs Lane (6”).** Cf. Seg(g)mere(dyke) 13th Selby, 1407 YD, West-segmere 13th Selby. Originally ‘sedge pool,’ v. secg, mere, and kiarr. **Westhow Field (6")** is Weslow (sic) t. Hy 8 Dugd. Probably ‘west mound,’ v. haugr.

**Riccall**

*Richale* 1086 DB, c. 1130 SD, 13th FW, Selby, 1227 FF, 1289 Ebor, 1311 Dunelm, Rychall 1285 KI  
*Richehal(e)* 1190-4 P (p)  
*Ry-, Rikehal(e)* 1230 P, 1249 Pat, 1306 Ebor, -halle 1280 ib.  
*Rikinhal’* 1230 P (p)  
*Ri-, Rykhale* 1277 RegAlb et passim to 1381 Ch, -halle 1312 Dunelm, 1350 Ch  
*Rical’* 1276 RH, Rikale 1280 YI, Ri-, Rycall, -k- 14th Sawley, 1342 SR et passim to 1539 FF  
*Rickale* 1280 Misc, -all 1316 NomVill  

The first element may be an OE pers. name *Rica* as in Rickney, PN Sx 449, Rickford, PN Sr 163, or it may be the word *ric* discussed under Escrick *infra* 267, though the meaning of *ric* is not clear from the topography. On the whole, therefore, a pers. name offers the better solution. v. h(e)alh, used of a nook of land round which the Ouse flows.

**Wheel Hall** is Welhall’ 1314, 1316 Dunelm, Welehall 1610 Speed, 1695 Morden, (le) Welhous c. 1348, 1363 Works, -howes 1363 ib., Welehous 1363 ib., -hows 1525 Test, Welle 1750 Bowen. ‘Hall or house near the river-deep,’ from OE wæl (cf. Weel *infra* 202) and h(e)all, hus. Wheel Hall is at a sharp bend in the course of the Ouse and the modern spelling shows confusion with hweol.

**Scorce Bridge (6")** is Scalewisbrigg 1227 FF. For the first

1 Cf. Robert *del Wele* c. 1348 Works.
element we may compare *Skelwislandes* 1318 YD vi (a lost place in Yapham). In both cases the first element might be the OScand pers. name *Skjålgr*, were it not that the same element in combination with *brycg* is repeated in Scallow (PN Sx 401). We might, therefore, have to consider some word related to Northern English dialect *skellow, skeller* ‘warp, twist’ which may go back to the OE *sceolh* ‘oblique, awry,’ found in Shellow Bowells (PN Ess 495). The sense ‘skew bridge’ is at least possible.

PARK HILL (6") is *parco de Rikhall*’ 1312 Dunelm.

**Stillingfleet**

1. **KELFIELD**

   Chelchefelt, -feld 1086 DB, -feld 1155–62 Selby
   Chalchefeld, Calce- c. 1150, 1154 Selby
   Kelk(e)feld(e) 12th AD iii, c. 1150 Selby et passim to 1363 Works, -feud 13th Selby, 1227 FF et freq to 1280 YI,
   Kelcke- c. 1200 For
   Kelchelfeld 1209 Selby
   Kellef(f)eld 1219 FF, 1299 Abbr, -feud 1290 ib.
   Kelkesfeld' 1279 Dunelm
   Kelfeld 1342 SR et passim to 1546 YChant

   DRYASSES (field) is *Drihurst, -y-* 1219 FF, 13th Kirkham, 1336 Ch, -hyrst 13th Kirkham. ‘Dry wood,’ v. dryge, hyrst.

   RUDDINGS (field) is *Waltef riding* 1219 ib., from the OE pers. name *Waltheof* and hryding.

2. **STILLINGFLEET**

   Steflingefled, -feld, Steflinlet 1086 DB, Stevelingeflet 1190, 1191 P (p)
   Stivelingsflet(e), -y-, -v- 12th Selby, 1231 Ass et passim to 1416 YI, -flet' c. 1200 For, -fled 1275 Ebor, -feld 1303 Abbr,
   Stikelingsflet 1237 Ebor
   Stivelingsflet 1202 FF
   Stivelinkeflet 1231 FF, Stivelingsflet 1285 YI
   Stelingflet(e) 1269 FF, 1371 Works
   Stillingflet(e), -y- 1330 Ch et passim to 1568 FF
Stillingeflet 1349 Works, Stilyngflet(e) 1349 ib., 1358 FF, 1359 Ipm

'Stretch of the Ouse belonging to Styfela and his people,' v. ing, fleot, and cf. Stillington, PN NRY 27. The reach of the Ouse referred to is called le fiet in the 13th century (Selby i, 338). Moreby Hall is Morebi, -by 1086 DB, 1190-4 P, c. 1200 For et passim to 1580 FF, Morbi, -by 1204 Ass, 1205 OblR et freq to 1367 FF (p), Moorebyhall 1619 FF. 'Farmstead on the marsh,' v. mor, by. Cf. Swed Morby (ON ða -by II).

Stillingfleet Bridge (6") was pons de Moreby, Morebybrigge 1371, c. 1394 Works. Cf. Thomas ad Pontem 1301 LS. Stillingfleet Ings (6"). Cf. Hehg(e)inge 12th Selby, Hehinge 1205-10 ib. 'High meadow,' v. heah, eng.

1. Deighton

Diston(e) 1086 DB
Dicton, -k- 1176 YD, 1204 Ass (p), 1289 YD, 1291 YI, Dichton 1230 P, 1276 RH
Ditton' 1190-3 P (p), 1276 RH, 1293 QW, Dython 1276
Warter
Di-, Dyghton 1285 KI et passim to 1400 Test, Deighton 1828
Langd
Digton' 1342 SR

'Farmstead with a ditch,' v. dic, tun, and for the development cf. Reighton supra 107 and Deighton, PN NRY 209.

2. Escrick

Ascri 1086 DB, Ascric 1156-7 YCh 354
Eskrik(e), -c-, -y- 1169 P (p), 13th Font et passim to 1524
Bev, -rich 1230 P
Escheric 1190 P (p)
Eskerik(e), -c-, -y- 13th Warter, YD, 1227, 1241 FF et freq to 1504 FF, -rick, -y- 1227 FF, 1279-81 QW, 1282 Ebor
Eskrig(g-e) 1282 Ebor, 1563, 1601 FF
Eschkrike 1290 YI
Escriss 1336 Ch
Estrik 1355 Ipm, Estryge 1546 YChant
Estcrick als. Eskirke als. Eskrigg 1607 FF
There is little doubt that an OE word *ric existed though it is not on record outside place-names. It is certainly found in Langrickgate *supra* 237 and Wheldrake *infra* 269, possibly in Reighton *supra* 107, and perhaps Riccall *supra* 265. It also occurs in three unidentified names, *Sandrickcroft* 1339 *Extent* (in Skeffling), *Langrikdayl* 1339 ib. (in Easington), and *Bawdryk* or *Baldryk*, a sewer in Hedon (Nicholson 88). Ekwall (RN 370) notes other examples, such as Rastrick (WRY), Lindrick (Nt), the common stream-name Skitterick (NRY *freq*, WRY), and notes the possibility of this word in Lostrigg (Cu) and OE *Midderice* (BCS 814), etc. In DEPN 368 he gives further examples, Chatteris (C), etc., and to these may be added Lindrick (2 in WRY), Lendrick (WRY), Cookridge (ib.), and an unidentified *Hetherik* 1291 Pat (in Harewood, WRY). Some names in PN NRY connected there with hrycg may also have to be taken into account, particularly Gaterigg (161) and Askrigg (261), where the spelling -rik, etc. is not uncommon. Ekwall connects this common element OE *ric* with MHGer *ric* 'a narrow road, a pass,' Swed dialect rek, Norw reik 'stripe, furrow,' OScand reik 'parting of the hair,' all belonging to the root raik, rik, etc., with which is also connected OE raæcan 'to reach, stretch,' and there is no doubt that a word ric meaning 'stream, ditch' is found in some of these names (Skitterick, Baldryk, Midderice, etc.). The topography of some of the places, however, also suggests a meaning nearer to that of the allied words. Askrigg (NRY) is on a long narrow ridge between two streams, Rastrick (WRY) is on the end of a ridge between two small valleys, Lendrick (ib.) is the name of a long narrow hillside overlooking Bramham Beck, whilst Escrick and Wheldrake are at opposite ends of a long ridge. These features, together with the fact that the element is frequently combined with tree-names ash (v. askr, eski) and lime (v. lind), rather point to the notion of strip, and it may well be that Escrick and Lindrick refer not to streams distinguished by such trees but to a line of these trees or a narrow strip of land where they grew; the presence of ridges would clearly be fortuitous. In some cases, too, as on the ridge between Escrick and Wheldrake and on the ridge at Cookridge (WRY), and elsewhere, we have ridgeways, suggestive of association with MHGer ric 'a narrow road.' Finally, we have
the simple meaning ‘strip of land’ in Langrickgate supra 237.
v. Addenda lx.

One hesitates at making a definite choice for either Escrick or Wheldrake, for at both places we have a stream as well as a narrow ridge with a ridgeway joining the two, and in the former at any rate we have to allow for the simple meaning ‘strip of land on which ashtrees grow.’

ESCRICK PARK is parcus de Escrik’ 1363 Works. MILL HILL (6”).

Cf. molendini de Escrik’ 1349 Works.

Wheldrake

1. LANGWITH is Languelt 1086 DB, Lang(e)wath 12th LeonardN, 1191 P et passim, -wat 1234 Cl, 1300 Ebor, Le Haye de Langwathe 1234 Dunelm, Haia, Haya de Lang(e)wath 1276 Warter, 1286 BM, Ebor, Langwath Hay 1299 YI. ‘Long ford,’ v. lang, vaø. Langevad is a common Dan place-name (DaSN(Sj) iii, 547). The haia (v. gehæg ‘hunting enclosure’) was part of the Forest of Ouse and Derwent.

2. WHELDRAKE [weldrik]

Coldrid 1086 DB
Coldric 1167, 1194 P, 1200 ChR, OblR, 1204 YCh 1131, 1207 Cur, 1230 P (p), 1285 Pat
Queldrich 1193 P, 1269 Ebor
Querdrich 1198 P (p)
Qu-, Queldrik(e), -ric, -y- 12th Warter, Font, 1190–3 P, 1208 Ass et passim to 1400 Test, -rick 1246 FF, 1272 Warter
Quelâriz c. 1200 For, Queldrig’ 1289 Ebor
Cloderic 1214 Abbr
Coudric 1218, 1219 FF
Coldrig 1221 FF
Codriz 1228 Pat
Weldrik 13th Percy, Wheldrik 1531 Test
Wheldrake 1535 VE et passim to 1828 Langd

The second element of Wheldrake, as suggested under Escrick supra 267–8, is an OE word *ric, here used of a narrow strip of land or a narrow road; there is a small stream some little distance from the village to which ric might also refer. The origin of the
first element is also rather obscure, but there are two possibilities. The first of these (and perhaps the more likely) is that Queld- of the early spellings is from OE cwild (Anglian cweld) 'death, destruction,' and the name would mean 'strip of land (narrow road, stream) where a death had taken place,' an idea certainly expressed by other place-names such as Deedle Hill supra 116, Naburn infra 274, Manslaughter (PN NRY 331), moð crundel (ib. 1216) 'murder pit,' cwealmstowe (ib. 479) 'place of death or execution,' etc. The second possible source of the first element is an OScand word kveld or kveldr which lies behind the Norw place-name Kvelde (NoGN vi, 353). The meaning of this word in the Norwegian place-name is not clear, but it is related to Swed dialect kvall 'a rise on a flat surface, something swollen' and to OScand kvilla, ME kuelle (cf. NED s.v. cwell), Ger quellen 'to spring forth,' as well as Dan kveld(d), Ger quelle 'spring, well' and possibly the OE cwylla of BCS 779 (cf. KPN 253). The common sense seems to be 'well, spring,' or the like, and this may have been the meaning of OScand kveld(r). If this word is compounded with ric in Wheldrake it is worth noting that near the village are two wells, Low Well and Foulkeld Well. In neither case does the first element throw any light upon the precise significance of the second element. 'Strip of land (road, stream) where a death took place' or 'strip of land (etc.) near a spring or well.'

The different spellings of the name can all be related to an original Cweld-ric. Cold- (and the AN variant Coud- and the unusual metathesised Clode-) is paralleled by the occasional use of corn for OE cweorn 'mill,' and to a less degree by the development of an older Swin- to Sun- in Sunthorpe supra 16; -riz is an AN spelling for -ric (as for -rith, -rid, hence the inverted DB spelling -rid). Later initial wh is a development of original cw well evidenced in northern place-names such as Whernby (PN NRY 30) and Whernside (WRY), etc. The 1272 spelling Quelderyke is noteworthy as showing the division of the two elements into cweld and ric.

1 Goodall (PN SWY 298) takes Wheldale (WRY) as a compound of Cweld and heath, and though he suggests Cweld may be a pers. name cweld might be interpreted as in Wheldrake. The usual spellings are Queldale 1086 DB, etc., but Quelledale 1242-3 Fees (p) shows that we have to deal with an element hweol or cweol(a) with dael.
HIGH MARR, LOW MARR (6") was originally Alemar(e) (a fishery) 13th Font (freq), 1218, 1219, 1252 FF. ‘Eel pool,’ from OScand ail ‘eel’ (cf. Auburn supra 87) and OScand marr or OE mere (cf. Marton supra 49).

RAKER CLOSES (6") is Raythker, -i- 13th Warter, 1261, 1290 Font. The first element is OScand reyðr, a derivative of rauðr ‘red’; cf. Norw Rødvatnet (older Reyðuvatn, Heggstad s.v. reyðr). ‘Red marsh,’ v. kiarr. The name is found in a hybrid English form as Redker 1253 Font.

ROSHALL (lost) is Rokeshall, Roxile 13th Font, Roxhall 13th ib., 1231 FF, Roxale 1253 Font, Raxhall 1290 ib., Roxell 1293 ib., Roxehale late 13th ib. ‘Hroc’s nook of land,’ v. h(e)alh. The name was later adapted to Roos Hall 1464, 1467 Pat, Rosshall 1542 NCWills, when it was held by the Roos family (cf., for example, 1467 Pat).

WHELDRAKE WRAYS (6”), WREGGETS (6”). The former is Wra 13th Font (freq), 1231 FF, Wrah 13th Warter, le Wra 1287 ib., the latter Wragate 13th Font. v. vra ‘nook,’ and gata ‘road.’

BROAD HIGHWAY (6") may be identical with Braithegate(thwait) 1235 Font. ‘Broad road,’ v. breiðr, gata. The CARR (6") is Ker 13th Font. v. kiarr. DUNNING DIKE (6") is Dunnyngdikes 1303 YI. v. dic. EAST FIELD (6") is Estefeld 1249 Font. The FLATS (6") is Keldflate, Layrflat 13th Font. ‘Spring field,’ ‘clay field,’ v. kelda, leirr, flat. HIGH STANG (6") is Thestang 1293 Font. v. stong ‘pole, stake.’ HORSE COURSE (6’). Cf. Horsmersk(e) 13th Font, -merk 1290 ib., -mersc 13th Warter. v. merse (with OScand sk). LEONARD SCALES LANE (6") is Leuenath Scales 1261 Font, Leuenescales 13th Warter. ‘Leofnath’s shielings,’ v. skali. POOL BRIDGE (6") is Pool Briggs 1721 HouseBk and is named from Poles 1290 Font. RUFFHAMS (6") is Rutholme 13th Font. Probably a compound of OScand rød ‘clearing’ and holmr, with dialectal f for th. SOUTH RUDINGS (6") is Suthriding 1287 Warter. Cf. also Norùeriding 1287 ib. ‘South (north) clearing,’ v. hryding. SPENG LANDS (6") is Spennele 13th Font. On spen cf. Spen, Appendix infra 330. SUSSCARRS (6") is Southscogh 1235, 13th Font, Suthscoth 1290 ib. ‘South wood,’ v. skogr. WHELDRAKE HALL (6”). Cf. William de Aula 1301 LS, Hallefeld 13th Font.
ELVINGTON

Aluuinton(e) 1086 DB
Eluinton, -v- 1176 P (p), 1228 Pat et freq to 1279–81 QW, 
Eluenton late 13th Font
Eluington(a), -v-, -y- 1180–97 Melsa, 1246 Ass et passim to 
1546 YChant, Elvigton 1268 Ebor
Elington 1235 Font, Ellyngton 1444 Test, 1567 FF
‘Ælfwine’s or Ælfwynn’s farmstead,’ v. ingtun.

BRINKWORTH HALL (6") is Brink, North (sic) 1828 Langd. 
v. brinke.

Low Catton

Kexby is Kexebi, -by 1170–80 YCh 444, 1246 Ass, 1278 Ch et 
freq to 1316 NomVill, Kexby 1285 KI et passim to 1599 NCWills, 
Kixbie 1508 Test. Lindkvist (65–6) considers the first element 
to be an OScand nickname Keikr, from keikr ‘bent backwards,’ 
probably in an OEScand form Kek, gen. Keks. This is likely, 
as by is generally compounded with pers. names, but we should 
also take into account ME kex ‘an umbelliferous plant, dry 
stalks,’ a word of Scand origin (cf. Ekwall, Shakespeare’s 
Vocabulary 84, and Kexwith, PN NRY 291). ‘Kek’s farm’ or 
‘farmstead overgrown with kex.’

Carr Wood (6") is Ker 1228 Pat. v. kiarr.

Gate Helmesley

Stamford Bridge West (6") is Stamford Bridge, west part 1828 
Langd. v. Stamford Bridge supra 186.

The Haggs (6") is Newhag by Donington 1283 Misc, Neuha 1283 Pat, Nerihagh 1370 Pat. ‘New cutting,’ v. niwe, hogg 
‘cutting of trees.’

Scoreby

Scornesbi 1086 DB
Scoreby c. 1200 For, 1246 FF, 1283 Misc, 14th Percy, 1475 Pat

1 Low Catton (supra 186) is itself in Wilton Beacon Division of Harthill.
2 v. PN NRY 10.
Scorreby 1229 Pat et passim to 1336 FF
Scorresby 1299 BM
Scorby 1332 SR et passim to 1524 FF

Originally ‘Skorn’s farmstead,’ v. by. The pers. name Skorn is evidenced only in OSwed (Lundgren-Brate 233), though Skornir is recorded in Olcel as one of the names of Othin. The assimilation of rn to rr has been assisted by the existence of the more common OScand Skorri.

Dunnington

1. DUNNINGTON

Domniton, Donni-, Do’ni- 1086 DB, Doniton 1251 Ass
Danington (sic) 1190–3 P (p)
Duninton 1200 FF, 1204 Ass, Duning- 1225 FF et freq to 1307 Ebor
Dunnigton 1202 FF (p)
Donington,-y- 1225 Percy et passim to 1465 Pat, Donig- 1252 Cl
Donnyngton 14th Sawley, 1492 FF, 1498 Test
‘Dun(n)a’s farmstead,’ v. ingtun.

2. GRIMSTON is Grimestone 1086 DB, Grimston’ c. 1200 For, with other forms and meaning as for Grimston supra 58.

TILL MIRE is Tilmyre 1180–1200 YCh 320, Tilemer 1201 P (p), 1349 Works. ‘Tila’s marsh,’ from OE Tila (as in Tilbury, PN Ess 173) and myrr or mere ‘pool’.

St Lawrence, York

HESLINGTON

Haslin-, Eslinton 1086 DB
Heseligtuna 1145–52 LeonardN, Heselin- 1156 ib. c. 1200 For,
1241 Ebor, 1370 FF, -ing- 1180–1200 YCh 320, 1190 P (p)
et freq to 1349 Works, Hesilinton c. 1200 For
Heslingetun 1150–4 LeonardN
Eselington 1281 Ch, 1301 LS
Hesselington 1285 K1
Heslington, -y- 1348 FF et passim to 1561 FF

1 The parysche church of Saynct Lawrance without Walmegate Barr 1546 VChant. It is a parish in York.
Farmstead near the hazel wood,’ from the OE hasling ‘place overgrown with hazels’ suggested for Hazeldean (PN Sx 263). This word probably enters also into Haslington (Ch), Haselinton t. Hy 3 BM, Haslingfield (C), Haslingefeld 1086 DB, Haslingden (La), Heselingedon 1241 Cl (PN La 91). v. tun.

GREEN DIKES (6") is Green Dykes 1721 HouseBk. HESLINGTON HALL (6”). Cf. Henry atte Hall’ 1342 SR. MILL LANE (6") is Windmill Hill formerly called the Lane of St Nicholas 1721 HouseBk. The site of the Hospital of St Nicholas is nearby. OUTGANG (6") is the Outgang 1721 HouseBk. v. Outgang supra 137.

NABURN

Naborn(e) 1167 P, 1204 Ass et passim to 1519 FF, (super Usam) 1197 FF, -bourn’ 1314 Dunelm
Neiburn 1200 Cur, Nayborne 1583 FF
Naubourn 1370 Pat

The first element may be OScand ná (found only in compounds) meaning ‘nigh, near,’ suggested by Lindkvist (188) as the first element of Nathwait (Cu), and, if we assume that the h of PrScand *ndhzva was not completely lost, this would account for the spellings Nau- and Nei-. Otherwise the name is a compound of OScand ná ‘corpse’ and burna (perhaps replacing OScand brunnr), ‘stream where a corpse was found.’ For the meaning we may compare Lychpole, PN Sx 202, and Wheldrake supra 269–70. The name referred originally to a stream which flows into the Ouse near the village.

ACRES Ho is Great Acres 1632 YAJ xi. BELL HALL is so named in 1750 (Bowen). FOG FIELD (field) is Fogg Acres 1632 YAJ xi. v. Fog Lane supra 238. GILL RUDDING is Gilridding 1828 Langd. v. hryding ‘clearing.’ The first element may be the pers. name Gille, which is found in Gillesland 1296 YI (in this township). HOWDEN LANE (6") was by three closes called Great Owden, Little Owden, Mrs Redmans Owden 1632 YAJ xi. The connexion with Howden supra 250 is not clear. LINGCROFT FARM is Lyncroft(e) 13th, 1276 Warter, 1293 QW,

1 The parysche church of Seynt Dynnys 1546 YChant.
Lingcroft 1828 Langd. ‘Flax enclosure,’ v. lin, croft, later Lingthrough association with lyng ‘heather.’ MAUDS RIDDING (6") is Maudriding 1632 YAJ xi. v. hryding. NABURN MOOR (6"). Cf. Morland 13th YD. NABURN WOOD is Norfhwde 13th YD.

Fulfords Ambo

WATER FULFORD

Fuletorp (sic), Foleforde 1086 DB
Fuleford(e) 1086 DB, 12th Warter, 1156-7 YCh 354
Fulford t. Hy 2 MaryH, 1230 P et passim to 1546 YChant,
(Suth) 1276 RH, (Watre-) 1342 SR, (Water-) 1464 Pat et freq to 1615 FF
Fulleford 1260 Baildon
Waterfulforth 1285 KI, 1554 FF
Foulfurthe 1542 FF, Fowforth 1587 FF

GATE FULFORD is Fuleford 1086 DB et freq to 1230 P (p), Fulford 1150-61 YCh 341 et passim, Fulliford 1214 Abbr, (Ulteriori-) 1122-37 YCh 340, (Over-) 1370 FF, Overfulford 1366 Pat, Gayt-, Gatefulfurthe 1519, 1561 FF, Gatefulford als. Overfulford 1615 FF. ‘Foul, dirty ford,’ v. ful, ford. The ford was one which carried the York to Doncaster road over a small stream now crossed by STONE BRIDGE (6"). ‘Water’ because it stands on the Ouse; cf. Water Fryston (WRY) on the bank of the Aire. ‘Over’ because it is higher up the Ouse than Water Fulford, and ‘Gate’ (v. gata) from the main York to Doncaster road; cf. Gate Helmsley (PN NRY 10) for a similar use.

XII. CITY OF YORK

York

'Εβορακον c. 150 (c. 1200) Ptolemy
Ευνοοσης (rect. 'Εβορακης) 4th Holder (Mansi)
Eburacum, -i, -o 4th (8th) AntonItin, c. 650 (13th) Ravenna
Geogr, a. 725 BedeCM, c. 730 (8th) Bede (passim)
Eboracum, -i, -o 4th MGH ix, 7 (Orig. Constant. Imper.), 433-55 ib. 447 (Prosp. Tir.), a. 519 ib. 145 (Cassiod.), a. 725

1 So called in 1828 (Langd).
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BedeCM, c. 800 (11th) HistBrit, Asser, 1086 DB, 12th Malton, 1154 Pont, 1176 BM et passim to 1428 FA

Ebor-, Eburac(a)m, -ae c. 730 (8th) Bede, 949 (c. 1250) BCS 875, c. 1130 SD, 13th FW, (ecclesia) Ebur-, Eboracensis c. 730 (8th) Bede et passim

Evoraca urbs 10th (17th) Ethelwerd

Eferwic 10th Ælfirc, c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 1125), Efor-wicceaster c. 893 Orosius, Euerwic c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 1138), Eforwicingas c. 1050 ASC(C) (s.a. 918, ‘the men of York,’ v. Ing)

Eoforwic 1053-66 ASC(C), c. 1100 ASC(D) (s.a. 923-1016), c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 1016), 12th ASC(H) (s.a. 1114)

Eoforwic c. 1100 ASC(D) (s.a. 1041, 1066, 1075), c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 189, 626, 685 et passim to 1114)

Æferwic c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 675)

Heaforwic c. 1100 ASC(D) (s.a. 948)

Easforwic c. 1100 ASC(D) (s.a. 1065)

Eosor-, Eosorwicceastre c. 895 ASC(A) (s.a. 644, 738, 867), c. 1000 OE Bede, c. 1000 ASC(B) (s.a. 971), c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 869), Eosorwic stole c. 1150 ib. (s.a. 992, ‘the archbishop’s stol or see’)

Euer-, Everwic(h), -wik, -wyk 1070-80 (13th) RegAlb, 1087-94 Selby, 1100-18 YCh 353, 1118-35 RegAlb, 1130-94 P (passim), 13th OEMisc, late 13th RG1, 1322 Abbr, thereafter mainly in French documents, as 1332 Kirkstall, 1335 For et freq to 1415 Ripon

Euruic 1086 DB

Erewivic 1176 P (p)

Eoboracum 1251 Ch

Eorwic (rime: Edelfrīz) 12th Gaimar 1005

Eowerwic 13th Laṣamōn2, 13th HH

1 And suth me clefeth Euerwicke this ilke toun yeis,
   And York also, thurh light speche, yhote also hit is.

2 Laṣamōn, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, says that Ebrauc built a city which was called Kaer Ebrauc and afterwards Eborac; then came unceude men and it was then called Eowerwic, and northern men thurh ane unfewe called it Seorc (the later MS reads Sort). Laṣamōn’s original, Wace’s Brut, says simply that the city of Eborac was named from Ebrac, and later Eborac was corrupted by the French into Eorwic. The eponymous Ebrauc, probably derived from sources like these, was embodied in a pageant presented to Henry VI when he visited York in 1485 (v. EnglMisc).
The name of York has closely followed the history of the city. The town stands on the Ouse in the centre of the Vale of York and as regards its strategic position it commands the main route from the north to the south, besides being within easy reach of the sea: in former times the Ouse was navigable at least to this point. It was made the headquarters of a Roman legion with a colonia by Agricola in 79 A.D. and soon became the chief Roman centre in the north. After the withdrawal of the Roman legions the city was exposed to attacks by Picts, Scots and Angles, but it is possible that the city as a centre of population survived these attacks, as is suggested by archaeological remains. During the Anglian period York was the capital of Deira and in the 7th and 8th centuries it became first a bishopric and then an archbishopric. With the Scandinavian invasions York retained its importance and upon its capture by the sons of Ragnar Lothbrok in 865 and the settlement of Northumbria in 876, it became a Danish kingdom under Healfdene and in the 10th century an Irish-Viking kingdom under Rægenweald. The name of York itself and the names of its streets betoken the thoroughness of the Scandinavian occupation and as in the North and East Ridings, Scandinavian names must have largely replaced the earlier British and Anglian nomenclature.
The name York is, as many scholars have shown (e.g. D'Arbois de Jubainville in *Revue Celtique* viii, 112, 134), of British origin. Ptolemy's Ἐβόρακος represents the OBrit name *Eborācon.* This type of name is well evidenced in Gaulish place-names, such as Afriacus (now Friac, dép. Lot) from a pers. name Afrius, Caniacus (Canach, Luxembourg; Cheny, dép. Yonne; Chagny, dép. Ardennes, etc.) from a pers. name Canius, Carnacus (Carnac, dép. Lot) from a pers. name Carnos, Floriacus (Fleury, dép. Côt d'Or) from Latin Florius, Severiacus (Civray sur Cher, dép. Indre-et-Loire) from Latin Sēverius, etc. (v. Holder *passim*). Most place-names of this type appear to be derived from pers. names, and it is not improbable that York itself derives from a Brit pers. name Eburōs (Holder), with the suffix -āco as in these Gaulish names. This suffix became British -ōc-, subsequently OWelsh auc, MedWelsh awc, Modern Welsh og (cf. Ekwall, RN lxxviii), as may be seen in the Welsh forms of York. The pers. name Eburōs is identical with OIr *Ibar,* OWelsh *Ebur,* Middle Welsh *Efwr,* and may enter into some of the Gaulish place-names in Ebur- cited by Holder; it is worth noting that a Celtic bishop of York present at the Council of Arles in 314 was called *Eburivivs* or *Eborius* (Haverfield, *EHR* xi,417), though this, of course, only indicates the existence of the pers. name in northern England.

On the other hand it is to be noted that not all the place-names with this suffix -āco contain pers. names. Ekwall (RN lxxviii) derives the English river-names Cam Beck, Crummock, Savick and Wheelock from significant British words, and Holder records Betuliacum (Büdlich, from Budeliacum) from betula 'birc, Ligniacum (Ligny, Amiens) a derivative of lignum 'wood,' and Silvacus (La Selve, dép. Aisne) from silva 'wood.' We must therefore reckon with the possibility of York being a direct formation from the British word eburōs 'yew-tree' (which is actually the origin of the pers. name Eburōs already referred to). The common noun eburōs probably enters into Eburones, the name of a tribe between the Maas and the Rhine (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*) and Eburomagus, the name of a Roman station Languedoc, whilst Eburovicēs, the name of a Gaulish tribe (Caesar, *op. cit.*) no doubt means 'warriors of the yew-tree.' Such tree-names are not uncommon in place-names and river-
names of British origin (cf. RN li): the Isle of Avalon, for example, was named from Brit \*aballōn ‘apple-tree.’ The yew was one of the five sacred trees mentioned in the Irish geographical work Dindsenchus, whilst Tomnahurich (Stirling) contains a Gaelic word iubhrach cognate with eubros (MacBain, *Place-Names; the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* 124).

The British name survived in the Latin form Eburacum and this became Eboracum under the influence of a later British form that had undergone British ā-mutation after the ending -ōn had been lost. The Welsh forms are regular developments of the original Eburācōn. To judge by the OE spellings Eferwic, etc., British lenation of b to v had also taken place before the British element in York was finally ousted or absorbed by the Anglian invaders. The form of the name at this time would be *Evorōc or the like.

The subsequent history of the name starts from an Anglian adaptation of the later British form *Evorōc, with the substitution of OE wic for the last syllable or the simple addition of that element, as in other British names taken over by the English, such as Ilkley (WRY), Manchester (PN La 33) and Lichfield (St). The substitution of eofor ‘wild boar’ has no etymological significance, but is simply an attempt to bring the name within the speech habits of the Angles. Eoforwic survived locally till the 12th century, in southern writings until the 14th, and in French documents until the 15th, but from an early date the Scandinavian fjörk must have been current.

During the Scandinavian settlement the name underwent a further change and OE Eoforwic was adapted to OScand fjörvik: medial f before u (OScand o) was lost as in OScand björr ‘beaver’ (=OE beofor), sjū ‘seven’ (=OE seofon), and during the Viking period there was a shifting of stress to the second element of the diphthong (cf. Noreen, *Geschichte der nord. Sprache* § 85, 8). This would result in an early OScand Eörvik, and later, as evidenced in the Sagas, fjörvik and fjörk.

The form York is not found before the 13th century because the use of Latin Eboracum was almost universal in documents of the 12th and 13th centuries. An independently developed ME Yerk seems to lie behind the spelling in Havelok: this problem is discussed in *Anglia* xxxiv. 293 ff., and clear parallels
to this phonetic development are found in Yearsley (PN NRY 193), Jervaulx (ib. 251), etc.

**YORK STREET-NAMES**

Most of the following street- and minor-names are compounded with OScand gata ‘street’ or OWScand geið ‘a narrow passage between houses.’ OE words are rare, even as the first elements, though stræt may be a survival from OE times. OE lane ‘lane’ is usually found only as a later substitute for geið or gata.

The oldest street-names are within the city itself, though many have fallen into disuse and others have disappeared completely; in some cases their location is uncertain. The city itself was in early mediaeval times bounded on the north-east and north-west by the ancient Roman wall, then falling into decay (cf. Aldwark infra 281), later by a set of ditches, Wircdik, etc., and still later in Edward I’s time by a new wall farther out. On the other sides the city was bounded by the Ouse and the Foss and in the south, at least in the Conqueror’s time, by the two castles which William built (v. The Baile, Castlegate infra 281, 284). One of the first streets built outside the city walls was Jubbergate (infra 291). Marketshires (and probably Bishopshill) refer to the old division of York into shires or wards, which together with Layerthorpe and Clementhorpe (infra 292, 284), Bishopthorpe, Middlethorpe, etc. in the Ainsty (WRY) suggest smaller colonisations from the city.

Many of the street-names reflect the mediaeval trades carried on in them (Felter Lane, Fishergate, Colliergate, etc.), whilst the guild system has left us The Guild Hall and the older Gildegarths (cf. infra 289). The forms of Coney Street show that it is a Danish name; Bootham is distinctly West Scandinavian in form, while Dieclstones, Jubbergate, Patrick’s Pool, and perhaps

1 The identification of some of the street-names is made simpler by various works on York, such as Drake, *Eboracum* (1736); Hargrove, *History of the Ancient City of York* (1818); Skaife, *Plan of Roman, Mediaeval and Modern York* (1864); Davies, *Walks through the City of York* (1880); Benson, *York* (1911–9). Reference should also be made to the very full and able study of York street-names by Dr H. Lindkvist (“A Study on Early Mediaeval York” in *Anglia* xxxviii, 345 ff.). A work on “York Street-Names” by T. P. Cooper (1937) contains useful information on the changes in the names.
Hugate are enough to confirm the close connexion between the Scandinavian kingdoms of York and Dublin.

Aldwark is *regiam stratam de Ald(e)werk(e)* 12th RegAlb, 13th Nostell, 1209 YCh 291 *et passim* to 1469 Fabr, Aldwark(e) 1430 Test *et passim* to 1610 YD, Awdwarke 1546 YChant. 'The old fortification,' v. (e)ald, (ge)weorc. This street runs parallel to the present city wall and there is no doubt that it marks the site of the earlier Roman wall. St Elen's Church mentioned in 1409 (DiocVisit) as *Sancte Elene in Aldewerk* is also referred to as *Sancte Elen(e) at Wallys* (1428 FA) and as *St Elen in le Werckedickes* (1282 Ebor), in *Werke(dyke)* (1367 YD, 1428 Fabr), in Warkdyke (1424 ib.); the latter place is independently called *fossatum de Keningdik* (vetus fossatum regis...) Wirchedic in 1161–84 YCh 276, that is 'ditch near the fortification' (OScand virki, OE geweorc). This ditch probably extended to the north-east of Bootham, whence another ditch ran towards the Ouse, called *fossatum de Keningdik* late 12th Mary V, le Kenyndyke 1373 YorkMem, the kingsdyke (near Walmgate) 1494 Test. These ditches were no doubt made when the Roman wall on the north side was crumbling and left the city unprotected, and they must have been a temporary defensive work until the walls themselves could be rebuilt, as they were in the 13th and 14th centuries. Of the Roman wall nothing remains but the multangular tower (which, in Lindkvist's view, may perhaps be named as Elronding 1380 YorkMem).

The Baile is le (Veus) Baille(e) 13th, 1336 Selby, 1296 Pat, le Bayle 1296 YI. 'The bailey' or 'the old bailey,' from ME, OFr baile. The work that has survived is the motte of an old castle, one of the two erected by William I on either side of the Ouse (cf. ASC(D) s.a. 1067), and for which one of the shires or wards of York had been cleared (*uastata in castellis* DB, cf. *Marketshire infra* 293).

The Bedern is Bederna, the Bedern 1275 RegAlb et freq to 1546 YChant, lez Bedryn 1498 Test, The Bederne 1506 ib., (the college called) 1600 YD. 'The prayer-house,' from OE gebed

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1 Possibly the fortification made by the Danish kings of York (cf. William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Bk ii*, chap. 6). Asser states that in the battle of 867 between the Danes and the Northumbrians, the pagan Danes attempted to defend themselves within the walls of York, but the English destroyed the walls, "for the city was not then surrounded by firm, strong walls."
‘prayer’ and ærn. It was the residence of the Vicars Choral of the Minster. Cf. Bedern in Beverley supra 196 and Bedern Bank in Ripon (WRY), Bedern (L).

**Beggergate Lane** (now Nunnery Lane) is Bagergate 1243 YI (p), Baggergate 1303 Davies, 1489 YD, 1583 FF, Beggergate Lane 1546 YChant, 1734 HouseBk. Probably ‘the bag-makers’ street,’ v. gata. The first element is a ME baggere ‘bag-maker’ or the like, formed from ME bagge (OScand baggi ‘bag’) on the pattern of skeldere, etc. in Skeldergate infra 297.

**Besingate** (lost, cf. Bickhill infra) is Besynggate 13th Kirkham, Besyngate 1426 YAJ xviii. ‘Besing’s street,’ from the ME pers. name Besing (1185 P, Yorks.); cf. Bessingby supra 100.

**Bickhill** (lost)1 is Bychehyl(l), -i- 12th YCh 306, 13th Kirkham, Bitchehille 1314 Pat, Byrchill in les Gilgarthes 1377 YorkMem, Bichill 1334 YD. Probably a compound of the common word bitch and hyll. Cf. Beech Hill in Knaresborough (WRY). According to the Kirkham Cartulary Bichehill was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the lost Besingate (supra), as were also les Gilgarths (YAJ xviii, 415 n.). According to the same Kirkham charter Besingate was near the King’s ditch (the river Foss or the Keningdike discussed under Aldwark supra 281); it was near Felter Lane and St Martin’s Lane (1334 YD vii). Professor A. Hamilton Thompson suggests that Bichill might have been an earlier name for Bishophill, and this is not improbable, for there is hardly any time-overlap in the use of Bichill and Bishophill (infra), as les Gilgarths were possibly identical with the earlier Gildegarde (v. The Guild Hall infra 289), where the Archbishop was entitled to every third penny.

**Bishophill** is Bis(s)ophill(e) 1361 YD, 1400 YI et passim to 1546 YChant, Bischophill 1414 Test, Bus(s)hop(e)hill 1528 ib. et freq to 1550 Fabr. This district was formerly in the Archbishop’s shire. v. bicop. The name is also used in the names of the churches, St Mary Bishophill Senior and Junior.

**Bishopthorpe Road** is the highway which leadeth to Bishopthorpe 1721 HouseBk. Bishopthorpe is in the West Riding.

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1 *Buchehill* 12th Dugd, 141-4 YCh 358, refers to Buckhill in Southall (Nt).
Blake Street

_Blaicastret_ 1108–14, 1150–60 Whitby

_Blakestreet(a), -strete, -y_ 1189–95 YCh 253, 1194–9 ib. 255, 13th LeonardN et freq to 1311 YD

_Bleakestrete_ 13th LeonardN

_Blakestrete_ 1232 Ebor, 1546 YChant

This is possibly either ‘white street’ (referring to the paving) or ‘Bleiki’s street,’ from the OScand nickname _Bleiki_. _v. stæt_. Lindkvist (Anglia xxxviii, 365), probably rightly, also suggests that the name might be connected with Norw _bleik_ ‘bleaching’ and Dan _bleg_ ‘place for bleaching’ as in _Blegstrede_, a street in Holbæk, Denmark; hence ‘street where bleaching is carried on’; Dr Knudsen notes that _Bleg_ is common in Danish street-names.

**Blossom Street** is _Ploxhsuaingate_ 13th LeonardN, _Ploxwangate_ 1241 YI, Plowswayn- 1276 LeonardN, Plughswayn- 1421 YI, _Ploxwaingate_ otherwise called Blossomgate 1624 Davies. ‘The ploughswain street,’ _v. gata_. The first element is a compound of OScand _plógr_ and _sveinn_ (Lindkvist lxi), found independently as _ploughswain_. The meaning may be ‘ploughman,’ or, less probably, ‘man who makes or repairs ploughs.’ Blossomgate, a street in Ripon (WRY), is of the same origin.

**Bookbinders Alley or Lane** is so named in 18th century. It was near Minster Gates where, according to Mr T. P. Cooper, the first printers and booksellers were established.

**Bootham**

_Bouthum_ c. 1145–61 YCh 264, 267, c. 1150–61 MaryY et freq to 1428 MiscEngl, _-om_ 1341 MaryY, 1350 BM, 1376 FF

_Buthum_ c. 1150–60 Easby, 1251 Ass, 1291 YI, c. 1320 MaryY

_Budum_ c. 1150–61 YCh 271

_Bothom_ 1449 Test, 1546 YChant

_Bowdom_ 1498 Test

‘At the booths,’ from OWSScand _bûðum_, dat. plur. of _bûð_; the West Scandinavian form is noteworthy. Bootham was a vill belonging to St Mary’s Abbey, and here the abbot and monks had the right to hold a weekly market (cf. 1318 Ch). If Drake’s

1 _Ex inf._ Professor F. M. Stenton.

2 _Ex inf._ Mr T. P. Cooper.
suggestion (Eboracum 255) that a hamlet of booths was erected here for the fair is correct, Lindkvist (op. cit. 357) is right in pointing out that the name must have arisen after 1089 when St Mary’s was founded. Lindkvist also cites a parallel name in Leicester, le Bothom, from ODan bôth, which is exactly paralleled by the Dan place-name Bodom (DaSN(Sj) iv, 170).

Bootham Bar is barram de B(o)uthum late 12th YCh 270, 1275 RegAlb, Bouthumlíth 13th LeonardN, portam de Buthum 1299 Yl, Bouthumbarre 1373 FF et freq, Bowtömbar 1485 Test, 1535 Dugd. OFr barre, MedLat barra ‘a bar’ (i.e. to block the passage). The four bars of York (Bootham Bar, Micklegate Bar, Monk Bar and Walmgate Bar) were and still are the principal entrances to the city and take their names from the streets in the neighbourhood. The spelling Bouthumlíth contains OScand hlið ‘a gate, gateway,’ found also in Lounlıthgate and Micklegate Bar infra 294.

Cargate (olum, later First Water Lane, now King Street) is Kergathe 1191-1210 YCh 309, Kergate 13th LeonardN et passim to 1370 YorkMem, Car(e)gate 1497 Test, 1546 YChant, 1575 FF, Cargateland 1515 Test. ‘Marsh street,’ v. kiarr, gata.

Castlegate is Castelgate 13th LeonardN et passim to 1546 YChant, Castil(l)-1370 YorkMem, 1390, 1509 Test, Castell-1428 FA, Castlegate(end) 1607 FF, 1640 Deposition. ‘Street leading to the castle,’ from OE castel or OFr castel and gata. Cf. The Baile supra 281. The castle from which Castlegate is named is generally called (ad) castellum 1182–5 YCh 189 et freq, Yorke Castell 1550 NCWills. Cf. Castelhyll 1546 YChant, and Castelmylnes 1486 AD i, the water-mills near York Castle.


Colliergate is Colyergate, -y- c. 1302, 1303 YD, 1314 Pat et freq to 1594 FF, Colliergate 1370 YorkMem. ‘The (char)coal-dealer street,’ from ME colière ‘(char)coal maker or dealer.’
Coney Street

Cuningestre(a), -y- 12th Kirkham, 1206 ChR, OblR, -strat 1213 ChR
Cuningestrete 1150-61 YCh 232
Cuningestrete, -streta, -y- 1160-78 YCh 234-5, 1196 RegAlb, 1204-20 YCh 247
Coningstret(e), -y- 1160-80 RegAlb, 13th Mary Y et passim to 1486 MiscEngl, (Alde-) 1403 LeonardN, 1421 YI
Cunigstrate 1190-1210 YCh 245, Kunigestrete 1191 P (p), 13th YD
Conigstrete 12th RegAlb, 1280 Pat
Cunigistrate 1204-9 YCh 246, Kunighgestrete c. 1220 Nostell, Cunigestrete 1240, 1241 FF
Cony(e)strete 1535 Dugd et freq to 1579 FF, Conistreete 1597 FF
Olde Coneystrete 1569 FF

Coney Street is on the site of the south-western wall of Roman York. The name means ‘king’s street,’ from konungr and stræt. The East Scandinavian form kunung in this name and King’s Court infra 291 is noteworthy. ‘Old’ Coney Street was the northern part of the street and is now Lendal (infra 293); so called to distinguish it from Little Conystrete (1610 FF) which is now Spurriergate.

Coppergate is Coppergate c. 1120-35 YCh 218, 1170-85 ib. 221, 229, et passim, Cupergate c. 1300 Guisb, Copergate 1507 Test, 1546 YChant. ‘The joiners’ street,’ from OScand koppari ‘joiner, turner.’

Davygate is in uico de Davidlardiner 12th LeonardN, in uico David le lardiner, Davidgate 12th ib., Daui-, Davygate 13th ib., 1376 YorkMem, 1391 Test et passim to 1546 YChant. David le Lardiner (i.e. clerk of the kitchen), whose father was John le Lardiner, lived in the early part of the 12th century and the title that he held of Royal Lardiner of the Forest of Galtres (NRY) became hereditary in his family (cf. YCh i, 197; YI i, 117)1. Davygate, in which stood the forest courthouse and prison (prisona lardinarie 1304 Fine), took its name from this David.

Divlinstones (lost, a lane north of North Street) is Dyu-,

1 Ex inf. Mr C. T. Clay.
Dyvelinstaynes 1256 RegAlb, 1446–58 FountBurs, -stanes 13th,
1402 Font, 1366 Cl, (les-) 1376 YorkMem. ‘Dublin stones,’
v. steinn, stan. The first element is OWSScand Dyflinn ‘Dublin,’
and the name as a whole was no doubt coined by Vikings who
came from Ireland (cf. IPN 35 and Introd. xxv). A famous
Dublin steine is that in the Song of Dermot (ed. Orpen), 167.

Feasegate is Fesegayt (sic) 1259 YD, -gate 1376 ib., Feisgaill 1529 Test, Feesegate 1546 YChant,
Feesgale als. Feesgate 1585 FF. ‘Cow-house lane,’ from a con-
tracted form of OScand fé-hús, fjós (cf. Figham supra 198)
and OWSScand geil ‘a narrow passage, a narrow lane between
houses’ (cf. Lindkvist, op. cit. 363). In this and other examples,
geil has been supplanted by gata.

Felter Lane is Feltergayl(e) 13th Benson, Feltergate 1299 YD,
Feltregayl 1310 YD, Felter Lane 1335–44 Davies. From English
felter ‘a felt-maker’ (from 1605 NED s.v.) and geil (as in
Feasegate supra).

Finkle Street is Fynkullstrete 1370 YorkMem, Fenkelstrete
1400 YI, 1410 YorkMem, Fynkelstrete 1487 Test. Lindkvist
(op. cit. 366) suggests that the first element is an OScand
Finnkell, but this rare pers. name can hardly be always com-
bined with stræt, for Finkle Street is a frequent Northern
street-name; cf. supra 211 and Finkle Street in Southwell (Nt).
Finkell strete 1665 SR. Formally we might have the word fenkel,
a variant of femel (the herb), from Latin fæniculum, ‘street
where fennel grew.’ But it seems more likely that these street-
names contain the Northern dialect word fenkl, ‘bend, corner,
elbow,’ which, on the parallel of Falsgrave for older Walesgrif
(PN NRY 107), might well have existed as a variant of Dan
vinkel ‘corner, angle,’ etc. This word occurs as Winkel (1231 FF),
the name of an unidentified place in South Cave. The develop-
ment of w to f may have been assisted by the association of
Finchale [finkal] (PN NbDu 85) with the sharp river-bend by
which it stands. Finkle Street is a narrow crooked lane.
v. Addenda lx.

Fishergate
(on) Fiscergate 1070–80 (14th) RegAlb
Fischeregate, -gate c. 1090 Dugd, 12th LeonardN, 1201 ChR
Fi-, Fyschergate 12th Whitby (passim), YD, 1201 OblR et freq to 1339-49 Whitby, Fis(s)yer- 13th MaryY et passim to 1561 FF, Fis(s)yer- 1205-25 Whitby, 1276 Ebor Fyscaragate 13th LeonardN 
Fi-, Fysker(e)gate, -gata 12th Whitby et freq to 1292 YI

‘Fishermen’s street,’ from OE fiscere. Some of the forms have been influenced by OScand fiskari or the name may have originally been Scandinavian with ME fischere substituted. There was a street in Lowcross (NRY) called Fiskergate (12th Guisb) and another in Bridlington supra 102.

Footlessgale (lost, near St Leonard’s Hospital) is Fotlousgeyle 13th LeonardN, Fotelousegate 1377 ib., Fotelesgeyle 13th ib., -gale iuxta portam aquaticam 15th ib., Fotesgayl 14th ib. ‘Footless lane,’ from OScand føt-lauss ‘footless’ and geil (cf. Feasegate supra 286). The meaning of the compound is obscure, but Professor Stenton (York in the Eleventh Century, York Minster Historical Tracts, No. 8) makes the interesting suggestion that the name may be connected with the crippled poor seeking relief at St Leonard’s Hospital. If this is the case, we have an unusual survival of an OScand compound of lauss in the language of 12th- and 13th-century York: the Hospital was not established until the end of the 11th century.

Foss Bridge is ponte(m) Fosse 1145-8 Whitby, 1390 Test, Fosse-bri(g)g, -y- 1406 Pat, 1419 MiscEngl, 1467 Test. Named from the River Foss (PN NRY 4). The present bridge was built in the early 19th century and replaced a bridge erected in the early 15th. From the above references it is clear that there was a still earlier one.

Foss Gate is Fossagata, -gate 1120-33 YCh 168, 1122-37 ib. 310, 1145-61 ib. 312, Fossegata, -gate 1155-8 ib. 173 et passim to 1546 YChant. ‘Street leading to the River Foss.’ Cf. Foss Bridge supra. Lindkvist (op. cit. 367) looks upon the early spellings with medial a in this name and in Ousegate infra 296 as containing OScand a ‘river,’ but they are perhaps merely Latinised, as similar forms are found for Blake Street, Fishergate supra 285-6, where there can be no question of a river-name. Friargate (formerly Hartergate and then Far Water Lane infra 289) is Fryergate 1733 HouseBk. Cf. also Fryer Walls 1727 ib.
GALMANHOWE (lost) is (binnan †am mynstre †et) Galmanhó c. 1055 ASC(C) (s.a. 1055), †et Galmahó ib. (D), Galmou 1088–93 YCh 350, in monasterio Galmanho 13th FW, Galmehou 1334 Pat. v. Addenda lx.

GALMANLYTHE (lost) is Galmonelid c. 1170–84 YCh 274, Galmanl’, -lith(e) 13th LeonardN, 1203–14 YCh 263, 1266 MaryChron. The first element in these two names is no doubt OScand Galmann, found only once in Iceland in the 12th century. Dr Knudsen has found some half dozen examples in Danish. It is not improbable that Galman is a Scandinavian adaptation of OIr Colmán (cf. Revue Celtique xliv, 48 n.). The final elements are respectively hoh ‘a hill’ and OScand hlið ‘a gate’ (cf. Bootham Bar supra 284). Galmanlythe, as Drake (Eboracum 257) pointed out, was a small gate on the north side of Bootham giving entrance to the Forest of Galtres. Galmanhowe was the place where Siward Jarl of Northumbria had built a church dedicated to St Olaf and was clearly the rising ground near Bootham and St Mary’s Abbey (cf. Lindkvist, op. cit. 354–5).

GARROW HILL is named from the Gallows…now demolished 1721 HouseBk.

GILLYGATE is in vico Sancti Egidii 1161–84 YCh 276, Saintgeligate 1356 LeonardN, †ely-, †i- 1370 YorkMem, (Newbiggyn als.) 1597 FF, Giligate 1373 FF, 1392 Test, Gyllygate 1569 FF. ‘Street in which St Giles’s Church stood.’ The church has long since disappeared. A similar name occurs in Beverley supra 197 and Durham.

GIRDLERGATE (now Church Street) is Girdelerrawe 1360 Cl, Gyrdlargate 1360 LeonardN, Gi-, Gyrdelergate 1370 YorkMem et freq to 1515 Test, Gyrdlegate 1578 FF. ‘The girdle-maker street,’ from ME girdelere, a new formation from OE gyrdel, OScand gyrdill ‘girdle’ (cf. Beggergate supra 282). v. raw, gata.

GLOVER LANE (lost, near Petergate) is Glouerlane, -v- 1329 YD, 1333 LeonardN, -gayle, -i- 1333, 1360 ib. From ME glover ‘glove-maker,’ a new formation from OE glōf ‘glove’ (cf. Beggergate supra 282) and geil (cf. Feasegate supra 286), replaced by lane.
GOODRAMGATE

Guth(ere)ngata, -gate 1154-86 Reg.Alb, 12th Malton, 1256-8 Reg.Alb, Gudherume- 1191-4 YCh 345
Guth(e)rum gate 12th LeonardN, Malton et passim to 1428 FA
Goth(e)rumgate, -rom- 1240 HCY, 1285 YI et passim to 1572 FF
God(e)rom(e)gate 1293 Ebor, 1546 YChant, Gudrum- 1467 Test, Gooderam- 1581 FF, Goodrom- 1600 YD

‘Guthrum’s street,’ from the OScand pers. name Gudormr, Anglicised to Gudrum, Gudrum (cf. NP 48-9).

GRAPE LANE is Grapelane 1370 YorkMem, 1546 YChant, Grapecuntlane 1376 Pat, Graplane 1485 Test, Grooplayn 1546 YChant. From OE grāpian ‘to grope,’ and lane. This name, which is a common one as applied to any dark alley, “tends not a little to obscenity” (Drake 346). Cf. PN Nth 8, 225, PN Ess 457, and supra 40, and Gropecuntelane (1257 Oseney) in Oxford.

GREEN LANE. Cf. la Greene c. 1228, 1237 Furness.

THE GUILD HALL (in Thursday Market, St Sampson’s Square) is la Gildhall 1381 YorkMem, the Guylde Hall 1546 YChant. The name refers to the common hall of the trade-guilds of York; cf. The Guild Hall in Beverley supra 195. Near the Guild Hall was another guild building, le Tolleboth, le Tolboth 1376, 1381 YorkMem, from OEScand tolboth ‘booth where tolls were collected’; cf. Toll Gavel in Beverley supra 196. An earlier reference to guilds is found in Legergilgarde 1070-80 Reg.Alb

HARTEGATE (later Far Water Lane, now Friargate) is Hertegate 1175 YCh 359, Hertegate 13th MaryY, Hertergate 1226 FF, 1314 Pat et freq to 1546 YChant, Hattergate 1546 ib., Hatterlane 1593 FF. ‘Hert’s street,’ from the OScand pers. name Hjørtr, gen. Hjartar, and gata.

1 The usual reading of this spelling is les Gildegardes (Liebermann, Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen cxi, 278), but the manuscript reads le serfilde fard’e, and as s and f are used in this transcript to represent OE ʒ, the correct reading is no doubt Leger-gildegardes, with the first element as in Layerthorpe infra 292.
Haver Lane is Hauergate, -v- 1170–84 Nostell, 1275 Ebor et passim to 15th Sawley. ‘Street where goats are kept,’ from OE hœfer, OScand hafr (cf. Hungate infra, Swinegate infra 298) or ‘Hafri(i)’s street,’ from the OScand pers. name Hafri or the nickname Hafri.

Haymongergate (lost, part of the Shambles) is Haymongergate 1240 FF, -manger- 1254 Percy et freq to 1546 YChant, Hamanger-gate 1357 Cl, Hamondgate 1546 YChant. ‘The hay-seller street,’ from ME hei-mangere (OScand hœimangari) ‘hay-merchant.’ There was a Robert Haimanger living in Thruslane c. 1191–1210 (LeonardN 144).

Hobmoor is Hobemoore 1721 HouseBk. ‘Goblin Moor,’ v. Addenda lx.

Holgate is so named in 1368–70 (Pat). ‘Street in the hollow,’ v. hol, gata.

Hornpot Lane is Horn(e)pot lane 13th LeonardN, -pote- 1546 YChant. The first element may be a word horn-pot ‘drinking-horn,’ but the exact meaning of the street-name is not clear.

Hosier Lane (lost, near St Crux) is le Hosierrowe 1376 YorkMem, Hoseyergate 1541 Hargrove, Hos(e)yerlane 1541 MinAcct, 1594 FF, 1818 Hargrove. ‘The hose-maker street.’

Hungate is Hundegat(e) 1161–84 YCh 299, t. John (1291) Ch, 13th Nostell et freq to 1428 FA, -cata 1180–1203 YCh 304, Hungdgate 13th LeonardN et passim to 1502 Test, Hungate 1546 YChant. ‘Street where dogs were kept,’ from OE hund or OScand hundr ‘hound.’ Cf. Hundegade, a common mediaeval Danish street-name (Lindkvist, op. cit. 369, DaSN(Sj) iii, 197). Hungate (supra 230) and Hungate (Lincoln), Hund(e)gat(e) 12th, 13th Lincoln Charters, are certainly of the same origin.

Jewbury is le Jübiry 1380 YorkMem, Jubyry 1507, 1508 FF. ‘The Jews’ quarter,’ v. burh (here used in the ME sense of a part of a town outside the town proper, cf. NED s.v.). Davies (YAJ iii, 147 ff.) shows that this was the burial ground of wealthy Jews settled in York from the early part of the 12th century. Cf. Jubbergate, infra 291.

JUBBERGATE

Brettegata, -gate 1145-55 YCh 324, 12th YD, 13th LeonardN et passim to 1322 YD

Bretgate 1180-90 YCh 317, 1219 FF (p), 1251 Font

Bretgate 1256-8 RegAlb et freq to 1543 Fabr

Jubret(e)gate 1356 Pat, 14th YorkMem, Jews 1356 LeonardN, Jews 1357 ib. et freq to 1415 Fabr, Jubertgate 1459 FountBurs

Jubergate 1443 Fabr et freq to 1575 FF

Joopergayte 1550 NCWills, Jupergate 1575 FF

This was probably one of the first streets built outside the city walls (supra 280) and the name was originally used of ‘the street of the Britons,’ from OScand Bretar which Zachrisson has suggested was applied to Cumbrian Britons (cf. Birkby, PN NRY 211); they were no doubt Cumbrian Britons who accompanied the Irish Vikings, and the fact that they were segregated outside the city wall rather suggests that they came in a servile capacity. Some centuries afterwards, possibly in the 14th century, after Edward I’s expulsion of Jews from the city, they may also have concentrated in this street which was still outside the wall, and this is reflected in the prefixing of ME ‘ewe’ Jew’ to the older name Bretgate.

KETMONGERGATE (lost, probably part of St Andrewgate) is Chetmangeregata 1175 YCh 359, Ketmanger(e)gate 1194 RegAlb et passim to 1465 YD, Keg 1240 FF, Kettemangargate 13th LeonardN, Kyternongargate 1546 YChant. As suggested by Lindkvist (lx), this is ‘the flesh-seller street,’ from OScand kjpt-mangari, a word corresponding to OE flæsc-mangere. Cf. Kobmagergade (olim Kodmangergade), a street in Copenhagen. Ketmonger though not recorded in EDD is still in living use in ERY.

KIDCOTES (lost) is le(s) Kydcote(s), -i- 1430 (et freq) Test, 1435 NCWills, Kytcottes 1487 Test. A compound of ME kide ‘kid’ and cot. It was the prison belonging to the Archbishop. The significance of the name is not clear, but it is possibly an ironic nickname.

KING’S COURT is Kuningesgard c. 1270 BM, Cunyesgard late 13th LeonardN, Conymesgarth 1313 YorkDeed, 1379 YorkMem, Con(n)yangarth 15th ib., 1518 Test, Curia Regis 1509 Test, Kings Court 1597 FF. ‘The king’s residence,’ from OScand konungs-
garðr (ODan kunung, as in Coney Street supra 285). It was probably the residence of the Viking kings of York. There is a reference to the konungs-garðr of York in the account of Egil’s visit to the city in (Egils Saga Skallagrímssonar, cap. lix).

KING’S STAITH, MARYGATE LANDING. Of these landing-places on the Ouse the former is probably described as le stathe iuxta le salthole sub pontem Use 1457 Test, the Staith 1744 HouseBk, from sta `shore, landing-place.’ Other landing-places in earlier times include Sancti Martini Lending 1160–80 RegAlb (further up the river near St Martin’s Church in Coney Street), and Saynt Lenard Lendyng 1391 Test, La Lendyng, Leonard lendyng 1360, 1371 Fabr; the latter was near St Leonard’s Hospital close to the present Lendal Bridge infra 293 (which may well be connected with the name). Unidentified landing-places also include le Fysshlendyng 1416 YorkMem (OE fisc ‘fish’) and Sywinlending 1300 YD (OE Sigewine, pers. name). These names contain OScand lending ‘landing-place’ (cf. PN in -ing 24 for other examples).

KNAVESMIRE is Guaresmire 1339 YearBook, Knaresmyr(e) 1374 YorkMem, 1606 FF, Knasemyr 1484 YorkMem, Knavysmyre 1543, 1599 FF, Knavysmyre 1542 Dugd, 1721 HouseBk. ‘Knar’s marsh,’ from the OScand pers. name Knorr and myrr. Knaves- may have arisen from the execution of felons here. Professor Dickins notes that it was a recognised place of execution by 1339, as shewn by YearBook 11–12 Ed 3, xxvi–xxvii, 294–5.

LAWRENCE STREET is named from the Church of St Lawrence without Walmgate (YChant 460, 473).

LAYERTHORPE

LegeraJorp (MS leferayorp) 1070–80 (14th) RegAlb
Layr-, Leyrthorp(e), -i- 1161–84 StoweCh, 12th Kirkham et passim to 1428 FA, Layre- 1280 YorkMem, Laier- t. Ed 4 Riev, Lerthorp 13th LeonardN
Laarthorp 1409 DiocVisit, Ley-, Laythorpe 1546 YChant

Layerthorpe may be from OE leger ‘grave, burial place,’ but as the place is on the boulder clay it is better associated with OScand leira ‘clayey place’ or leir ‘clay.’ v. porp.

LAYERTHORPE BRIDGE is Leirfordbrigende 1341 Pat, Layr(e)thorpe-
brig, -bryg 1381 Test, 1550 NCWills. Until the bridge was built, it would appear from the first spelling that the river Foss was crossed by a ford called Leirford ‘clay ford,’ v. Layerthorpe (supra 292) and ford, brycg.

Lendale Bridge. Cf. Ould Connystrete alias Lendinge Street t. Chas I Deed\(^1\), v. 292 supra.

Lop Lane (now Duncombe Place) is Loplane 1198–1212 YCh 206, 13th LeonardN, 1404 Fabr, Lopelane 1359 Test, Lopelane 1639 YD. Probably ‘spider- or flea-infested lane,’ from OE loppe ‘spider’ (cf. dialect lop ‘flea’) and lane.

Lounlithgate (lost, near The Baile) is Launelidgate 1180–90 MaryY, murum juxta Lounelid 12th Sawley, Lounelith 1180–1200 YCh 209, 1425 YorkMem, Lodlingate (sic) 1202 FF, Launlityate early 14th MaryY. Lindkvist (op. cit. 384) has shown that Lounelith was the name of an old entrance to the city near Baile Hill and quite distinct from Micklegate, with which it is associated by Farrer (YCh i, 175, 177). The name means ‘hidden, secluded gateway,’ from OScand laun ‘seclusion,’ found in Norw Laundal ‘sheltered valley’ (NoGN ix, 210) and English dialect lown-hill ‘the sheltered side of a hill’ (EDD s.v.), and also in an unidentified Launland (PN La 253). The second element is OScand hlid ‘gateway’ (cf. Bootham Bar supra 284). There may have been a street in the vicinity (v. gata), but lityate looks as though hlid alternated with hlidgeat ‘swing-gate.’

Marketskire (lost) is Marketskire, -y- 1303 Pat, 1316 LeonardN, 1332 Cl, -shire 1303 YI, 1311 YD. This was the shire or ward of the city (cf. 280 supra) where the markets were held. The district included the Shambles (infra 297, cf. Marketskyre alias Flesshamelles 14th LeonardN 158 d marg.), a lost Nedellergate (1430 Test) and the Pavement (Marketskire alias pavimentum 14th LeonardN 174), and so was in the centre of the city near Thursday Market. The name means ‘the market ward,’ from ME market and scir ‘shire.’ The use of the latter for such a small district is noteworthy. It owes its origin here to the fact already mentioned that York was divided into six shires besides the Archbishop’s; one of these had before 1086 been cleared for the castle (cf. The Baile supra 281), and besides Marketshire we

\(^1\) Ex inf. Mr T. P. Cooper.
have mention of two others as *biscopes scire* and *kynges scire* 1070–80 RegAlb. Cf. Lindkvist, *op. cit.* 349 ff.

MARSH STREET (lost, near Hungate) is in *vico de Merske* 1303 YI, 1314 Pat. ‘Street leading to the marsh,’ v. merse. The marsh was probably land near the Foss, and it is mentioned as *(in)* Marisco 1190–1200 MaryY, Mersch a. 1180 Whitby, *le Merske* 1300 Ch.

MARYGATE is *(in)* *vico Sancte Marie* c. 1160–79 YCh 272, *vico de Bouthum uel uico Sancte Marie* 1314 MaryChron, Saynt Maries Street 1541 MinAcct. The street runs alongside St Mary’s Abbey. According to Drake (*Eboracum* 258) this street was more anciently called *Earlesburgh*, and according to Lindkvist *(op. cit.* 354) this name may well embody some tradition that this was the residence of the pre-Conquest Earls of Northumbria; it would be near Galmanhoeve *supra* 288, where Earl Siward founded the Church of St Olave (*Ólaftr*) which afterwards formed the nucleus of St Mary’s Abbey.

MICKLEGATE is *Myglagata* 1161–84 YCh 210, Miggel- 1290 YD, Mi-, *Mykelgat(e)* 1189–1200 YCh 211–2, 13th RegAlb et passim to 1441 MiscEngl, Mikkelgat’ 12th Sawley, Mic(e)legate 1206 FF, 1242 Ch, Mikegate 1246 Ass, Mekilgate, -y- 13th Healaugh et freq to 1501 MiscEngl. ‘The great street,’ v. mycel, gata.

MICKLEGATE Bar is portam Eboraci voc’ Michelelith iuxta barram t. Hy 2 Kirkstall, portam et barram de Mikelelith 1228 Ebor, Mikellith 1221–6 RegAlb, -lit 1241 YI, -lyht 1390 Test, (barram de, le) Mikelith, -y- 1198 P, 1228 Furness, 1385 YD, 1400 YI, Mekillith 1489 YD, Mikilgatbarr 1323 LeonardN, Mykelgate Barre 1529 Test, 1546 YChant. ‘The great gateway,’ from mycel and OScand hlid (cf. Bootham Bar *supra* 284). The later spellings contain the name of Micklegate *supra*, leading from this bar into the city. It was the main entrance to the city from the south and is on the old Roman way from Tadcaster, which is now called York Gate.

MINSTER YARD is Minster Yeard 1606 YD. It is by the Minster.

MONK BAR is *Munggatebarre* 1373 FF, Munkbarr 1419 MiscEngl, Monk(e)barr(e) 1478 YD, 1535 Dugd, 1610 YD, Mongbarre 1546

Monkgate is Munecagate 1070-80 Reg Alb, Munechegata c. 1150-60 YCh 288, Munk(e)gate 1154 Kirkham, 1195-1210 Reg Alb et passim to 1444 YD, Monk(e)gate 1507 FF et passim. ‘The monks’ street,’ from OE munuc and gata. The monks have not been identified.

Neessgate (lost, near Upper Castlegate) is Nessegate 12th Font, 1318, 1365 Pat, Nesgate early 13th Nostell, 1459 Kirkstall Rental et passim to 1578 FF. ‘Street leading to the ness,’ v. nes, gata. The ness is the triangular headland (on which York Castle stands) between the Ouse and the Foss.

Newbiggin Street is Neubighing’ late 12th Mary Y, -big(g)ing’ early 13th Reg Alb, 1219 Mary Y, 1240 Ebor, Newbygynge 1541 Dugd, -biggyn 1597 FF. ‘The new building,’ v. niwe, bigging, and cf. Newbiggin in Beverley supra 195-6.

Newgate is la Newegate 1337 Pat, Neu-, Newgate 1373 FF, 1546 YChant. v. gata.

North Field and North Lane are so named in 1721 House Bk.

North Street is Nordstreta c. 1090 Dugd, North(e)strete 13th Mary Y, 1240 Ebor et passim to 1561 FF, (in le Wra) 1366 FF, Norstret 13th Sawley, North Streate als. Bakerrawe 1580 FF. ‘Street leading to the north part of the town,’ v. norð, stræt. Wra is OScand vra ‘nook, corner,’ Bakerrawe (lost) ‘the bakers’ street’ (v. raw).

Nun Ings is so named in 1721 (House Bk). v. eng.

Ogleforth is Vgleford 1109-19 Reg Alb, Huggilford late 12th Malton, Ugelford(e) 13th Reg Alb, 1360 Fabr, Ogul- 1395 Test, Huggle- 1447 Fabr, Ogleforth 1546 YChant. Probably ‘Ugel’s ford.’ The pers. name is from a supposed OScand nickname Ugla ‘owl.’ Alternatively, as Dr Knudsen suggests, it may be the OScand word ugla itself, the meaning of the compound being ‘owl-haunted ford.’

Ouse Bridge is ponte(m) Use 1189-1200 YCh 211-2 et passim to 1451 Test, Ows(e)brig, -brigg(e) 1475 NC Wills et freq to 1506 FF, Use-, Ouse brigge 1486 Misc Engl, Owsbridgend 1593 FF.
The present bridge dates from 1810; an earlier bridge is represented in the St William window in the north Choir aisle of the Minster (ex inf. Professor Bruce Dickins); it was the scene of one of St William’s miracles (cf. HCY).

**Ousegate**

*Usagata* 1120–33 YCh 168, 1150–61 ib. 223, *Husagat(a)* 1156 ib. 186, 1173 ib. 197

*Usegate* 1120–35 YCh 218 *et passim* to 1311 YD, *Huse-* 1200 ChR, *Vasagate* 1145–8 Whitby

*Usagata*; -gate  t. Hy 2 *MaryH*, t. Hy 2 (1294) Ch, 1155–8 YCh 173

*Ouse-*, *Owsagate* 1254 Percy, 1346 *LeonardN et passim* to 1624 YD, (Nether-) 1373 FF, 1410 YI, (Ouer-) 1575 FF

*Owsagate* 1727 *HouseBk*


**Painley Croft** (lost)¹ is *Paynescroft* late 12th *MaryY*, les *Paynlathes* 1376 YorkMem, *Paynlath Crofte, le Panelaycroftes* 1444, 1478 YD. ‘Crofts near *Payn’s* barn,’ v. *hlada, croft, and* cf. Painsthorpe supra 131.

**Patrick’s Pool** is *Patrigpole* 12th *Byland, Patrikpol(e), -c-* 1190–1210 *LeonardN et passim* to 1360 ib., *Pattrickpoole* 1578 FF. The first element is the OIr pers. name *Patraicc* (cf. Revue Celtique xliv, 46, 50). According to Hargrove there was perhaps a stagnant pool here, or even a bath dedicated to St Patrick. The former seems the more likely, as the lane in 1249 was described as being “so deep and unused that no one can pass through it” (YI i, 19).

**The Pavement** is (ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum super) *paivementum* 1409 DiocVisit, 1428 FA, (Alle Halowes upon) the Pament, *Pavement* 1417 MiscEngl *et passim* to 1550 FF, *Payment* 1487 FF, *the Paement* 1507 YD. OFr, ME *pavement* ‘a pavement, paved way.’ The same name occurs in Nottingham.

**Peaseholme Green** is *Peseholm(e)* 1274 *LeonardN et passim* to 1481 AD iv, *Peis-, Peysholme* 1374 YD, 1506 Test, *Pesse- 1428

¹ A narrow lane on the south side of Monkgate without the Bar and called *Croves* in 1736 (Drake, *Eboracum* 255), now *The Groves.*
Test, *Pease* - 1585 FF. ‘Water-meadow where pease was grown,’ *v.* pise (*ME pese*), holmr.

*Petergate* is *Petergate* 13th *Mary* et passim to 1578 FF, *Petere* - 1391 Test, 1410, 1415 YI. ‘Street near St Peter’s’ (i.e. the Minster)¹.

*Peter Lane* (lost)² is *Petirlane* 1370 YorkMem, *Peterlane* 1390 Test, 1546 YChant. Cf. *Petergate supra*.

*St Andrewgate* is *Seynt*-, *Seint Andrew(e)gate* 1444 Test et freq to 1600 YD. The church of St Andrew (*Andreskirke c. 1220 Nostell*) has long since ceased to be used as a church and is now a meeting-house.

*St Martin’s Lane* is *Saynt Martyn lane* 1334 YD.

*St Nicholas Place* may be identical with *Nycolargate* 1546 YChant. It is named from the church of St Nicholas without Walmgate (YChant 31–2).

*St Saviourgate* is *Seynt*-, *Saintsavourgate* 13th *Leonard* et freq to 1477 YD, *Saviour* 1594 FF, *Seynt Savyours Gate* 1546 YChant, in vico Sancti Salvatoris 1374 YD, 1416 YI. Named from the church of St Saviour’s in the Marsh (YChant 460, 471).

*The Shambles* is *in macello* 1086 DB, *Marketskire alias Flesshamelles* 1316 *Leonard*, le Littel Flesshamelles 1373 FF, the *Shamyll end* 1525 Test, Flesshe Shamelles, the *Shambles* 1546 YChant, Little Flesh Shambles 1690 YD. ‘The flesh-benches,’ *ME flesh-shambles* (York Plays), referring to stalls set up in the open air for the sale of meat.


*Skeldergate Postern* is *posterno de Hingbrigg* 1370, 1376

¹ *Petergate* 1312 Fine, 1338 Pat may be an error for *Petergate*. If not, it is a lost street, ‘the potters’ street,’ from OE *potere*.

² *Peterlane Little* (Peter lane lytlyle 1580 FF) was apparently a church (also called *Peterkyrk litill* 1359 *Byland*), for in 1550 Miles Newton of York left to his son Myles Newton “the churche grounde, church yard, and the walles of the late dissolvyd churche callyd Peterlayne lyttill in Yorke” (NCWills i. 209). Note also the benefice still known as ‘All Saints with St Peter the Little, etc.’
YorkMem, Hangbrig 1373 FF. These forms refer to a drawbridge, by which the city-moat could be crossed at this end of the wall (cf. Davies 190). *Hangbrig* is a compound of ME *henge* 'hang' and *brycg*.

**Spen Lane** is Ispingail 12th MaryR (marg. Ympyngail), Ispinggayle 13th ib., Ispynlane 1376 YorkMem, Spentwayne 1362 Drake, Spenny Lane commonly called Spen Lane 1818 Hargrove. The first element is obscure. The second is originally OScand *geil* 'narrow lane.' For the first one might suggest the possibility of a ME *ispine*, as a variation of ME *ispile* 'hedgehog' arising by association with the common word *spine*, or more probably OWScand *espin* 'a place overgrown with aspens.'

**Spurriergate** was Little Conystrete als. Spurryergate 1610 FF. 'Spur-maker street,' from ME *sporier*. Cf. Robert *le Sporier* of York (1316 Pat). According to Davies (49), this name is of late origin.

**Stonebow Lane** is (le) Stayn(e)bowe 1275 Dugd, 1292 YD, 1384 YorkMem, (le) Staynbogh 1295 Pat, 1300 Ch, Stayn(e)bow(e)lane 1509 Test, 1594 FF. From OScand *stein-bogi* 'arch of stone,' probably referring to some arch of stone over the lane; a similar idea is expressed by Stonebow, the name of one of the Lincoln city gates. Cf. Stonebow, PN Wo 167, and Bow Bridge supra 222.

**Stonegate**

*Stangate* 12th RegAlb, 1275 Ebor, 1577 FF, Stane- 1428 FA et freq to 1571 FF

*Steingate*, -y- 12th Whitby et passim to 14th Nostell

*Stain(e)gate*, -y- 1118–9 RegAlb, c. 1219 Fees et passim to 1546 YChant

'Stone-paved street,' v. steinn, gata. Drake (*Eboracum* 343) and later writers supposed that stone was carted along here for the building of the Minster and that the street got its name from the loose piles of stone left about in it. The name, however, was certainly in existence before the present cathedral was built in the 13th and 14th centuries, and must therefore have the meaning that it has in Scandinavia, viz. stone-paved street.

**Swinegate** (lost, now Little Stonegate) is Swinegaile 1275 RegAlb, Sunnegail 1333 Riev, Swyngail 1338 Pat, -gal 1346
HCY, -gait 1338 ib., thend of Swynegale (joining of Staynegate) 1486 MiscEngl, Swyn(e)gate 1546 YChant, 1577 FF. 'Lane where swine were kept,' from swin and OScand geil 'narrow lane' (as in Feasegate supra 286). On the spelling Sunne- cf. Sunthorpe supra 16.

Tang Hall Bridge is the Thiefe Bridge which is near Tanghall 1721 HouseBk. Thief Lane is nearby. On Tang Hall, v. PN NRY io.

Thruslane (lost, now Middle Water Lane) is Thurs(e)gayle 1191-1210 LeonardN, (super Use) c. 1300 Guisb, Thursehele 13th MaryR, Thurselane 1370 YorkMem, Thruslane, -layn 1376 (et freq) ib., 1546 YChant. From OScand purs 'a giant' and geil 'narrow lane' (cf. Feasegate supra 286).

Thursday Market (lost, now St Sampson's Square) is Thursday-markett, -eth 1312 Fine et freq to 1738 HouseBk, Thu-, Thoresday(e)market(t) 1337 Pat, 1338 HCY et freq to 1437 Test, forum Jovis 1336 Ch, Mercatus Jovis 1373 FF. The city market was held here on Thursdays, as the name suggests. Cf. Saturday Market, Wednesday Market in Beverley supra 196, the Wekeday marketh or Bochery in Nottingham (1528 Test).

Toft Green is Kingestoft(es) 1227 Cl, 1236, 1280 Pat, (les) Toftes 1344 Mary Y, 1376-1416 YorkMem, 1487 Test. v. topt. The original name meant 'the king's messuage' (within the Archbishop's shire). Lindkvist (op. cit. 361) notes a good parallel in Danish Kongens Tofte in Nakskov.

Trinity Lane is named from Holy Trinity Church in Micklegate (the Trynyte parisshe in Mikelgate 1546 YChant 54).

Walmgate
Walbegate 1070-80 RegAlb, 12th Whitby et freq to 1198-1213 12th Whitby 1175-90 YCh 315, 12th Whitby Walmegate 1145-8 Whitby, 13th Mary Y, 1280 Bodl et passim to 1566 FF
Welbegate 1181-6 RegAlb
Walmesgate 1195 P, 1227, 1279 Ebor
Wamgate 1583 FF

Lindkvist (op. cit. 376) looks upon the first element of this difficult name as a pers. name Walba, a shortened form of OE
Wealhbeorht (cf. Wilma from Wilmund, etc.). The Walbe- spellings are clearly the older ones, so that in Walme- we have to suppose that b was nasalised to avoid two stop consonants in the group lbg. 'Walba's street,' v. gata.

Walmgate Bar is Walmegeatbarr(e) c. 1150–60 YCh 329, 1373 FF et freq to 1546 YChant, barra(m) de Walmgate 1280 BodlCh, 1342 YD, 1535 Dugd. v. Walmgate (supra) and Bootham Bar supra 284.

Water Lane is Waterlane 1442 Test et freq to 1593 FF, Hatter-lane als. Waterlane als. Cargayte 1593 FF, Mydle Waterlayne 1607 FF, Farwaterlane 1744 HouseBk. 'Lane leading to the water' (the Ouse). First Water Lane superseded Cargate and is now King Street, Second or Middle Water Lane replaced Thruslane, Far Water Lane superseded Hartergate or Hatter-lane and is now Friargate.

Whip-ma Whop-ma Gate is Whipnam Whapnamgate, Whipney- Whapneygate 1546 YChant, Whitman Whatmangate 1588 FF. The origin of the name is obscure. It is probably a late name and might be an allusion to the local custom of dog-whipping on St Luke's Day, or more probably, as Mr T. P. Cooper suggests, to the whipping-post and pillory which were situated at the end of the street. The elements of the name would then be related to whip, whipman 'whipper' (from 1797 NED s.v.), and weap, whap 'to bark,' whappet 'a small dog given to yelping' (from 1577, NED).

Note. Amongst other York street-names which have not survived we may note the following: Berkerigate 1240 FF, 'the tanner street,' from ME barkere (cf. OSwed barkare) 'a tanner'; (le) Barkerhill, -hyll 1373 FF, 1387 YD, 1546 YChant, 'tanner hill,' v. hyll; Buttegate 1259 YD, 'road to the butts' (cf. Butt Hills supra 103, and a lost Buthil (1365 Pat) in York); Deademans Lane 1597 FF, named from the discovery of a dead body there; Dyrtelane 1376 YorkMem, 1546 YChant, from OSand drit 'dirt'; Herloathill 1380 YorkMem, from ME herlot 'rogue, vagabond' (male or female) and hyll; Horsfare 1508 Test (cf. also le Horse lane 1500 YD); Kyrkelane 1425 YorkMem, from kirkja, lane (named from the Church of St Mary Bishophill Senior); Kyrkestyle 1546 YChant, v. kirkja, stigel 'stile'; the Lady Rowe 1546 YChant, v. raw; Nedelergate 1430 Test, from ME nedeler 'needle-maker'; Nowtgate 1612 Drake, 'cattle lane,' from OSand naut; Trichourlane 1397 YD 'trickster lane,' from ME trechur, trichur 'cheat, deceiver.'
THE ELEMENTS, APART FROM PERSONAL NAMES, FOUND IN PLACE-NAMES IN THE EAST RIDING AND YORK

This list confines itself for the most part to elements used in uncompounded place-names or in the second part of compound place-names. Certain first element words of historical or linguistic interest are also included, e.g. bondi, dreng, bjugr. Under each element the examples are arranged in three categories, (a) uncompounded elements and those in which the first element is a significant word and not a pers. name, (b) those in which the first element is a pers. name, (c) those in which the character of the first element is uncertain. Where no statement is made it may be assumed that the examples belong to type (a). Elements which are not dealt with in the *Chief Elements used in English Place-Names* are distinguished by an (n) after them. The list is for the most part confined to names for which there is evidence earlier than 1500.

**a** Yeadon. ac Aike. æcer Acredykes, Fourteen Acre.
æl Auburn, Eelmere.
æsc Eske. al OScand (n) Auburn, Marr.
alor Aldro. *anger* Angram Lane.
baers OE (n) Baswick(?).
baille OFr (n) The Baile, Bail Bottom, Bail Wood.
banke Beck and Hull Bank.
barkarie ME (n) Barkers Field.
barre OFr (n) Bootham, Kelgate, Micklegate, Monk, and North Bar, *Suthbarregate*, Walmgate Bar. beam Bempton.
beorg OE, berg OScand, Barf Hill, Barrow Fields, Brandesburton Barff, Caddy Barf, Peaseberry Hill, (b) *Turbar*.
bi Beeford. biercen (n) Birkhill.
bigging Newbegin, Newbiggin Street.
bjugr OScand (n) Bealeys, Bewholme.
bocherie ME (n) *the Buchery*. 
boga OE, bogi OScand (n) Bow Bridge, Bowbriglane, Bowland Ho, Bowlands, (a) Mynstirbowe, Stonebow Lane.

bondi Bond Burstwick.

brer Beer Fleet.

braken Bracken, Bracken Hill, Brackenholme, Brackenholme, Breckney.

brant Brantingham. bred OE (n) Burdale.

brekka Hay Bridge, Lund.

brende Brind, Burn Butts, Burncrofts, Burn Stocks.

brinke Brinkworth Hall. brocc Brockhamdale, Brock Pits.

brom Potter Brompton. bru OE (n) Ganton Brow.

brunnr Burnby, Nunburnholme. v. burna.

brycg Brig Dale, Brigham, (a) Bow Bridge, Bowbriglane, Bracey Bridge, Bridge Carr, Foredyke, Foss, Hall, Hull, Laverthorpe, Ouse and Scorce Bridge, Sheriff Highway, Skeldergate Postern, Spittal, Stamford, Stock and Wood Bridge, Stockbriggs, (b) Welham Bridge, (c) Barbriggs.

bryggja OScand (n) Filey Brigg.

bucc(a) Buckton (2), Bug Dale (?) (2). buge ME (n) Buge Row.

bune OE (n) Bonwick. bur Boreas Hill.

bryn Brough, (a) Aldbrough, Jewbury, Jubbergate, Ou-, Ring- brough, Skipsea Brough, (b) Hemingbrough, Londesborough, (c) Flamborough.

burhtun Burton (7), (b) Brandesburton.

burna (a) Au-, East-burn, Hartburn, Melbourne, Naburn, Oxbourn, Sher-, South-burn, (b) Battleburn. v. brunnr.

butere Butterwick. bua Bootham.

butte ME (n) The Butts, Buthil, Butegate, Butt Field, Hill(s), Lane, (a) Burn Butts.


byre Burstall. byrst OE (n) Burshill. caf OE (n) Cave.

cald Cawkeld, Cold Wold.

camb The Camp, Lang Camp. carr Carden.
castel ME (n) Castle Hill (2). cattel ME (n) Cattleholmes.

cause ME (n) Carr Lane, Magdalen Gate.

ceap Goodechepelane.

*cele ONb (a) (cf. cealc) Kelfield, Kelk.
ceif ONb (n) (cf. cealf) Kilpin.

champayne ME (n) Chaumpaynstrete.
chartreuse OFr (n) Charterhouse, clæg Cletton.
clif Cliffe (3), (a) Raincliff.
cliofung OE (n) Cleaving, clos ME (n) (c) Lily Close.
cocc OE (n) Cockle Pits.
cot(e) Coatgares, Cotness, Cottam, (a) Kidcotes, Lambert Dale, Lumbercote, North Cotes, (b) Kipling Cotes, Scul-, South-coates, (c) Duncotes.
croft Croft House, (a) Burncrofts, The Croft(s), Ling-, (b) Moles-croft, Painley Croft, St Giles Croft, (c) Cowcroftes, Thorney Crofts.
croh OE (n) Croom, Crow Grange.
cros Crossham, (a) Stump Cross, (b) Buckrose, S neculfscros.
cryfting OE (n) Criftings, Criftins.
cyln Kilham, Kilnsea.
damme ME (n) Damlands, The Dams (2).
dead OE (n) Deedle Hill.
denu Howden.
dic Deighton, Dickering, (a) Acredykes, Ash Dike, Crake Dikes, Danes Dyke, The Earl's Dike, Foredyke Stream, Green Dikes, Gunneymarsh Drain, Holm Dike, Howden Dyke Drain, Lelley Dyke, Monk Dike, Oxmardike, Scurth Dike, Spittle Beck, Town's Ditch, Trandy Lane, (b) Ella Dyke, Gilberdike, Dunning Dike, (c) Bulldike Drain, Settings Dike.
dreng Dringhoe, drif OE (n) Driffield.
dune OE (n) Duffield.
dun (a) Carden, Cowden, For-, He-don, Watton, Yeadon, (b) Dearsden.
dymbel OE (n) Dimlington.
dyngja OScand (n) Dyngs, (a) Byscopdinge, (b) Burdatt Midding.
ea Emmotland, (a) Foulness, Gipsey Race, Mickley Dike.
eard OE (n) Arden, eik Greenoak.
elgr OScand (n) Elloughton(?), elri Ellerker, Ellerton.
eng Inn Carrs, (a) Benningholme, West Cottingwith, Duffield, Hall, Nun and Ottringham Ings, Saltings, Scorborough,
Skidby, South, Stillingfleet and Sutton Ings, (b) Ings Roods.

erg Argam, Arram (2), Arras, Arras.
eski Escrick, Eske. eyrr (b) Ravenser.
feax OE (n) Faxfleet.
feld (a) Cavil, Cleaving Field, Cockle Pits, Driffield, North and South Duffield, East Field, Flatfields, Great and Little Hat-, Kel-, Lecon-field, South Field, Westfield.
fenn (c) Wallingfen.
ferja Ferriby, (a) Booth and Bubwith Ferry, Stoneferry, Wawne Ferry.
fiifa, fifill OScand (n) Filey.
*finn OE, OScand Fimber. fit OScand (n) Fitteses.
fjōr OScand (n) Feather Holm.
flaga OScand (n) Flawith. flashe Flash Dales.
flat The Flats, (a) Haverflatts, Scarnflat, (c) Lincoln Flats.
fleinn OScand (n) Flamborough.
flot Fleetbeck Lane, Fleet Drain, (a) Beer Fleet, Fax-, Mar-fleet, Mickley Dike, Old Fleet, Orwithfleet, Patrington Channel, Paull Fleet, Skelfleet Drain, Withfleet, (b) Bagletts, Broomfleet, Fleet Lane, Stilling-, Yoke-fleet.
flint OE (n) Flinton.
*flot(i)-maor, flotta-maor OScand (n) Flotmanby.
fogge ME (n) Fog Field, Fog Lane.
ford (a) Beeford, Fulford, Hertford, Layerthorpe Bridge, Pillwoods, Stamford Bridge, (b) Bracey Bridge, Ogleforth, Wansford. for OE (n) Fordon.
foss OE (n) Blackfoss Beck, Fosham, Foss Beck and Dike, Fosse, Fosse Bridge and Hill, (a) Fosses Farm, Wood Dike, (b) Cat-, Fang-, Wilber-foss.
fox-hole Foxholes.
ful Gate and Water Fulford, Full Sutton.
fyrhō Firths, Forkers. gafol OE (n) Toll Gavel.
gagn OScand (n) Ganstead.
gang OE, OScand (n) Figham, Gengs, Summergangs (2), v. utgang.
garōr (a) Applegarth Lane, Burstall, Burstwick Hall Garth, Coatgares Farm, Crossgarths, Grimston Garth, Hall Garth (3), Hellgarth Lane, Hoggard House, King's Court, Minster Yard, Newton, Rysome, Spittle and Vine Garth, (b) Magdalen House, (c) Foothead Garth.
gata (a) Alde-, Ald-gate, Baxter Gate, Beggergate, Berker-, Bishop-gate, Blackfriargate, Blossom Street, Bowlands, Broad Highway, Butte-, Car-gate, Castle-, Collier-gate, Coniston Lane, Coppergate, Dalton Gates, Diker's Lane, Dreggergate,
PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

East-, Fease-, Fisher-gate, Fiskergate, Flemingate, Fletcher Gate, Foss-, Friar-gate, Girdlergate, Green Gate, Greengate Lane, Haver Lane, Haymongergate, Hen-, High-gate, High Street, Hol-, Hug-, Hun-gate (2), Juber-, Keld-gate, Ketmongergate, Kirk-, Lady-, Lair-, Langrick-gate, Litestergate, Low Gate, Lurk Lane, Markedgate, Market Place, Mickle-, Minster Moor-, Monk-gate, Monk-, Mor-gate, Myton Gate, Nedeller-, Ness-gate, Newgate, Newgate Street, Nowtgate, Ousegate, Out-, Potter-gate, Queens-, Skelder-gate, Skygates, Soutter-, Spurrier-, Stone-gate, Swinemoor Lane, Walker-gate, Walker-, West-gate, West Lane, Whitefriargate, White Gate, Wreggets, (b) Davygate, Gilegate, Gilly-, Goodramgate, Hartergate, Mary-, Peter-, St Andrew-, St Saviour-, Walm-gate, Wyndgate, (c) Whip-ma Whop-ma Gate.

giap OE (n) Yapham. geat Yeapham.

giel OScand (n) Feasegate, Felter Lane, Footlessgale, Glover Lane, Spen Lane, Swinegate, Thruslane.

geröi OScand (n) Gardham.

gildihus OScand (n) Gildersdale, Guildhall (3).

gote ME (n) East Goit Sewer. græf (b) Killingwoldgraves.

grange ME (n) Arram, Benningholme, Crow, North Dalton, Eddlethorpe, Hayholme, Laytham, Moor, North, Octon, Salthaugh, Skerne, Wawne and Wharram Grange.

grijot The Grits. grof OScand (n) Grovehill.

(ge)hæg Newhay. hænep OE (n) Hempholme.

hæsel Hessle. *hæseler OE (n) East and West Heslerton.

*hæsling OE (n) Heslington.

hæþ Great and Little Hatfield, Hedon.

hæga, hagi Haugh Closes, (a) Punda, Salthaugh, Stother Closes.
hám, heim Brig-, Fos-, Hals-, Harp-ham, Holym, Kirk-, Met-ham, Waxholme, (b) Ulrome. v. ingaham.

*har OE (n) Harland Rise.


heafod Howden, (a) Thicket, Turn Head.

h(e)alh Hail Farm, Halestrete, (a) East Hill, Grovehill, Riccall, Ruler Moor, (b) Bibbill Farm, Birdsaill, Roshall, (c) Arnold.

h(e)all Burstwick Hall Garth, Hall Garth (3), Hall Slack, Hoggard House, (a) Burdale, The Guildhall (3), Kirkham, Sand, Seat Old, Spaldington, Wheel, Wheldrake and Wood Hall, Woodhall, Woodhall, (b) Warwicks.

heap Heapfield, Shaps.
heim Dearsden, Hollows. v. ham. heope Shipton.
hermitage ME (n) Armitty. hestr Hastem Hills.
hlæða Lairgate, Laytham, (b) Painley Croft.
hlaw Rowley. hldgeat Lounlithgate.
hlæ Grindalythe, Hertfordlythe, Smylet Hall.
hlæ OScand (n) (a) Lounlithgate, Micklegate Bar, (b) Galmanlythe.
hod OE (n) Hotham. hofe OE (n) Houghton.
hvö Howden.
hvøg The Hags, Upper Hags.
hvó Hutton, Hutton Cranswick, (b) Galmanhowe.
hvöl OScand (n) Holderness.
hvólv Holmy, The Howle, Old Dale, (a) Hollows.
hvól Carr Lane, Holme Flat, Holme on Spaldingmoor.
Holvon, (a) Barli-, Bracken-holme, Brackenholme, Brock-
hamdale, Cattleholmes, Crossham Hill, Fairholme, Feather
and Fish Holm, Fordham, Hallytreeholme, Hastem Hills,
Heig-, Hemp-holme, King's Hill, Langham, Langholme Hill,
Laytham Grasses, Lingholme Hill, Lock-, Middle-ham, Mill
Field and Hill, Oxlands, Paull Holme, Peascholme Green,
Risholme Carr, Ruffhams, Rytham, Sandholme (2), Soffham,
Stockholm, Thornham, Whiteholme, (b) Balk-, Benning-
Brans-holme, Dudham Well, Sneerholmes, (c) Awnhams,
Has-, Standing-, Wilf-holme.
horn Hornsea.
hvring Ringbrough, Ringstone Hurst, (a) Bull Ring, Dickering-
hvris Rise, Risholme Carr, Long Riston, Rysome Garth.
hrvör OScand (n) Routh. hvrg Reighton (?), Riggs.
hvryding Riding Fields, (a) Aughton, Ellerton and South Rudd-
ings, (b) Gill Rudding, Mauds Ridding, Ruddings.
*hvgr OScand (n) Huggate. hvmol ME (n) Holmedale.
*humol OE, humoul OScand (n) Humbleton.
hvus Howsham, (a) Boreas Hill, Feasegate, Fishers Close, Mill
and Moor House, Newsham (2), Newsholme, Newsome,
North House, Wheel Hall, Windersome, Woodhouse (2).
v. gildihus, lopthus.
hrvær OScand (n) Wharram (2). hvweol Well Dale.
thvill (a) Barkerhill, Barn Hill, Bickhill, Bishophill, Bracker Hill,
Burshill, Deedle Hill, Harthill, Herlothill, Hunger Hill, Hunger-
hills, Implings, Lair Hill, Lairs, Methill Hall, Mill Hill, Nut-
-, Pig-, Ry-hill, Sow Hill, (b) Nunburnholme Hill, (c) Goxhill.
hyrne Hurn. hyrst Dryasses, Ringstone Hurst.
hvô Hive, New Hythe. *imping OE (n) Implings (?).
ing(as) (b) Fitling, Gembling, Leavening, Nunkeeling, Skeck-
ing, Skeffling.
inga (a) Eastrington, (b) Knedlington, Spaldington.
PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

ing (a) Leconfield, Neswick, Waplington, (b) Atwick, Benningholme, Catwick, Kilnwick (2), Kipling Cotes.

ingaham (a) Brant-, Ripl-ingham, (b) Derr-, Ever-, North and South Frod-ingham, Goodmanham, Key-, Ottr-, Scray-, Wintr-, Yed-ingham.


karlatun Carlton.

kelda The Kelds, Kendale House, (a) Cawkeld, Holy Well, Rickle Pits, Roskell, Swinekeld.

kex ME (n) Kexby.

kiarr The Carr (2), Carr Dike, Farm, House, Carr Lane (3), Carr Wood, (a) Aike, Arnold and Bridge Carr(s), Carr Lane, East and Ella Carr, Ellerker, Flixton Carr, Forkers Lane, Halsham, East and West Heslerton and Hotham Carr(s), The Howle, Inn Carrs, North and Ouse Carr, Raker Closes, Risholme, Riston, Rotsea and Routh Carr(s), Ryhill Marsh, Seavy, Spen, Star, Stone, Swine and Thack Carr, Turf Carr (2), Watton Carrs, Weel, Weel Stone, and West Carr, Willerby Carr (2), Withow Hole, (c) Forker Leys.

kirkja Church Lane (2), Kirby (2), Kirkburn, Kirk Ella, Kirkgate, Kirkham, (a) Holme Church.

kjoss OScand (n) Keasey.

kollr OScand (n) Cowlam.

konungr Coney Street, Coniston.

kraka Crake Dikes.

kriki OScand (n) (a) Welton Creek, (b) Sayercryk.


læla OE (n) Lelley. læs Lissett.

land Land of Green Ginger, (a) Bowland House, Bowlands, Burland, Chanter Lands, Dance-, East-lands, Emmotland, Greenlands, Harland Rise, Kirkland Street, Long Lands, Longlands, Mickeland Field, Newland (2), Newlands, Newlands, Newlands Lane, Ox-, Plough-, Ring-lands, Rowland Hill, Weedland, West Lands, Westlands (2), Wranglands, (b) Bennetland, Osgoddes, Pethyland, (c) Hunland Field.

lane (a) Bakhouselane, Bishop Lane, Bowbriglane, Chapel Lane, Church Lane (2), Couperlane, Dagger Lane, Deademans Lane, Dede-, Dyrte-lane, Glover and Grape lane, Grape and Hornpot Lane, Hosier Lane, Kyrkelane, Lop Lane, Low Friars, Lurk Lane, Noudtrilane, Ryngandlan, Trichour and Turne agayne lane, Vicar (2) and Water Lane, Wayferer lane, Wood Lane, (b) Peter Lane, St Martin's and Scale Lane.
laning ME (n) Loaningdale.
leah Lea Hill, Leys, (a) Bealeys, Bent-, Fi-, Huns-, Lel-ley, 
Loat-, Old-leys, Skirlaugh (2), Sproat-, Weed-ley, (b) Collin 
Hill, Totleys.
leger Lair Hill, leirr Lairs, Layerthorpe.
lending OScand (n) Lendal, Marygate Landing.
*licc OE (n) Beverley(?), loc Lockham.
lopthus Loftsome. lort OE (n) Loatleys, Lurk Lane.
lundr Lund (3), (a) Lund Wood, (b) Lund Bridge, Swanland.
mapel Mappleton.
market ME (n) Markedgate, -shire, (a) Cornhill, Fismarketegat, 
Saturday Market, Shomarketlane, Thursday and Wednesday 
Market.
marr OScand (n) Marr, The Marrs, (a) Marrbottom, Redmere, 
Withernsea. v. mere.
melr Meaux.
mere Mar, Marton, (a) Eelmere, Fimber, Hornsea Mere, 
Igglemire, Langmer, Oxfardike, Red-, Reed-mere, Segg-
carrs, Skipsea Mere, (b) Till Mire, (c) Eddlemere Lane, 
Sledmere.
mersc, mersk Barmby on the Marsh, Marsh House and Lane, 
(a) Far Marsh, Frismarsh, Green, Hay, Keyingham, Neat, 
North and Ottringham Marsh, Owstmarsh, Salt Marsh, Salt-
marse, Slight Marsh, (b) Gunneymarsh.
midding ME (n) Burdatt Middling Lane.
mor Barmby on the Moor, The Moor, Moor Grange, House and 
Town, Moreby, (a) Brown Moor, Minster Moorgate, North 
and Swine Moor, (b) Grans-, Spalding-moor.
moss Moses Farm. (ge)mot Emmotland. mus Muston.
myln Mill Hill, (b) Bryan Mills, (c) Walbut Mill.
mynster The Minster, Minster Moorgate and Yard.
myrr (a) Braemire, Turmers, (b) Knavesmire, Till Mire(?).
myðe OE (n) Myton. nabbr OScand (n) Fordham.
næss, nes Neswick, (a) Cot-, Holder-ness.
nam OScand (n) Enholmes. nar OScand (n) Naburn.
naut OScand (n) Neat Marsh, Noutdrilane, Nowtgate.
nest OE (n) Duck Nest. oddr Ravenser Odd.
okull OScand (n) Acklam. or OScand (n) Orwithfleét(?) .
*pagol OE (n) Paull, High Paull. pasture OFr (n) Oxlands.
pavement OFr (n) The Pavement. *peac OE (n) Ganton Peak.
pearroc Park Hill (2), The Parks, (a) Beverley and Cottingham 
Parks, North and South Park, Norton Parks.
penn Kilpin. pigh(t)el Pea Hill, Pithill Close.
pol (a) Dry-, (b) Ingle-pool, Patrick's Pool.
*polra OE (n) Pollard. port Portington, (a) Newport.
PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

pytt Brock Pits, the Cockpit, Cokesdepitt, Stone Pit Field, Stonepit Hill.
ragu OE (n) Raywell.
araw Buge Rowe, Butcher Row, Hosier Lane, the Lady Rowe, Marchants Row, Mercere raw, Presterowe, Smetheraw.
reyr OE (n) Raker Closes.
*ric OE (n) Reighton(?), Riccall, (a) Escrick, Langmer, Langrickgate, Wheldrake.
rippel OE (n) Riplingham.
rod OE (n) Rudston(?). *ros OE (n) Roos.
rop OE (n) Rot Hole(?). *roth ODan (n) Rot Hole(?).
rudu (n) Rudston(?). ruð OScand (n) Ruffhams.
rydh OEScand (n) Risby.
sæ OE (n), seer OScand (n) Saeton (2), (a) Bur-, Horn-, Kilnsea, Meaux, Pid-, Rot-sea, Sicey, Skip-, Withern-sea, Woodmansey, (c) Wholsea.
sænget OE (n) Saintofts. sæte Lissett(?).
sand Sancton, Sand Hall, Sandholme (2), Sands Plantation, (a) Paul Holme Sand, Wassand.
sceaga Yarmshaw. sceap Skipwith. sceolh Scorce Bridge.
sceir Sherburn, North and South Skirlaugh.
sceir Howdenshire, Hullshire, Markeshire.
scut NE (n) Mill Scut Bridge. sealh Sails.
seset OE (n) Lissett(?), Winsetts.
shamelle ME (n) The Shambles, the Shambles, Fish Shambles.
sic, sik The Sikes (2), (a) Bridge Farm, Long Sike, Newbald Sike.
sid Sicey. side Beck Side. skali (b) Leonard Scales Lane.
skarn OScand (n) Scarndale. skeið Skygates.
skogr Scorborough, (a) Hessleskew, Susscarrs.
skritj OScand (n) Mill Screed. slæð Sledmere(?).
slakki (a) Hall Slack, (b) Pain Slack.
sletta Sleights, Slight Marsh, (a) Stone Sleights.
smeoru Smylet Hall. snape ME (n) Snapes.
spen ME (n) Spen Carr, Speng Lands, Spen Wood.
spittel ME (n) Spetyll, Spital House and Plantation, Spittal, Spittle Beck, Fields and Garth.
spræc OE (n) Speeton. sprot(t) OE (n) Sproatley.
spurn ME (n) Spurn Head.
stæð King’s Staith, (a) Baswick Steer, (b) Rotten Herring Staith.
stan, steinn Stone Carr and Pit, (a) Divlinstones, Ringstone Hurst, Rudston.
stær Ganstead, Winistead. steall Burstall.
stedde Winistead. stigel Kyrkestyle.
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stoc, stokkr OScand (n) Stockholm, (a) Burn Stocks.
stodfald Maiden's Grave. stōng High Stang, Stang Hill.
*storc OE (n), *stork OScand (n) Storkhill. stow Westow.
stræt Street Farm, Thorpe and Wharram le Street, (a) Chaun-
payn-, Beverley-strete, Blake Street, Cokwold Strete, Coney
Street, Finkle Street (2), Halestrete, High Street, Hullstrete,
Humber and Marsh Street, Milkestrete, North Street, Scole-
strete, York Road, (b) Lillestrete.
*swin OE (n) Swine.
pak OScand (n) Thack Carr. piece OE (n) Thicket.
porn Thearne, Thorngumbald, Thornham, (a) Owthorne,
Withernsea, Withernwick, (b) Sigglesthorne.
porp Thorpe (7), (a) Dan-, Eas-, Ever-, Layer-, Nor-, Ows-
Sou-, Staddle-thorpe, Sunthorpe, Welwick Thorpe, (b) Aller-
 Bab-, Bar-, Bel-, Bow-, Boy-, Bug-, Bury-, Cay-, Clemen-
Dow-, Eddle-, Fogg-, Fow-, Frais-, Friday-, Gow-, Grib-
Grim-, Hag-, Hais-, Harl-, Helper-, Hilder-, Kelley-
Kenny-, Kettle-, Lang-, Low-, Mene-, Men-, Mow-, Ouse-
Pains-, Penny-thorpe, Pensthorpe, Pock-, Rais-, Raven-
Scaggle-, Swa-thorpe, Tharlestrete, Thorn-, Tib-, Tow-
(2), Weaver-, Wils-thorpe, Wood Hall, Youlthorpe, (c) En-
Gowthorpe Lane.
 prêtjungr OScand (n) East Riding.
 pweit Thwaite, (a) Braffords, Braithwaite, Storwood.
pweng OE (n), pwengr OScand (n) Thwing.
pyrne Thornholme. pyrs, purs Thruslane, Trusey Hill.
tjorn (b) Tansterne.
toxt Toft Flats, Tofts, Tofts Hill, (a) Black-, Lang-toft, Sain-
tofts, Toft Green, Willitoft.
treow Hallytreeholme, Warter.
*trun OE (n) Turnham Hall, Turn Head.
tun (a) Augh-, Bemp-, Breigh-, Bromp-, Buck- (2), Clee-
Conis-, North and South Dal-, Deigh-, Dimling-, Eas-
Eastring-, Eller-, Flin-, Gar- (2), Hay-, East and West
Hesler-, Hesling-, Holmp-, Hough-ton, Hutton, Hut-, Knap-
Lang-, Lin- (3), Mapple-, Mar- (2), Mel-, Middle-ton, Moor
Town, Muston, Myon, Newton (9), Newton (2), Nor-, Pres-
Reigh-, Ris-, Row-, Sanc-, Sea- (2), Ship-, Skel-, Spec-, Sut-
(4), Thorn-, Tick-, Up-, Wapling-, Wee-, Weigh- (2), Wel-
Wil-, Wy-, (b) Barms-, Bil-, Cat- (2), Drew-, Et-, Flix-, Folk-
Fos-, Gan-, Grims- (4), Hils-, Knedling-, Lut- (2), Naffer-
OC- Rols-, Rus-, Scamps-, Spalding-, Stax-ton, Winkton, (c)
Camer-, Ellough-, Humble-, Patring-ton. v. boōltun, birh-
tun, karlatun.
tunsteall Tunstall. turf OE (n) Turf Carr (2), Turmers.
tuyere OFr (n) Tywers. ule Oubrough.
urð OScand (n) Orwithfleet.
ute Owthorne, Rysome Garth.
utgang OE (n), utgangr OScand (n) Outgang (2).
vætt-vangr OScand (n) Wetwang.
vað Wassand, (a) Flawith, Lambwath, Langwith, Priest Bridge, Wath Lane, (c) Poundsworth.
vik Wyke.
vior (a) Eppleworth, Orwithfleet (?), (b) Bubwith.
vara Wheldrake Wrays, Wreggets.
weal OE (n) Weel, Wheel Hall. *wagen OE (n) Wawne.
wandale ME (n) Wan Dale (3), Wandales (4), Wandels.
wapol OE (n) Waplington.
welîg Willitoft, Willow Garths. (ge)weorc Aldwark.
wic Weighton, (a) Be-, Butter-, Green-wick, Monkwith, Nes-, Owst-, Skip-, Sunderland-, Wel-, Withern-wick, (b) At-, Bes-, Burst-, Cat-wick, East and West Cottingwith, Crans-, Elston-, Etherd-, Kiln- (2), (c) Bas-, Bon-wick.
w(i)ella Welham, Welton, Welwick, (a) Ludhill Spring, Raywell, (b) Elms-, Hars-, Rims-well, St Helen's Well.
wind OE (n) Windersome, Winsetts.
wið OE (n), við OScand (n) Withernsea, Withernwick.
*wræsel OE (n) Wressell. wrang Ring-, Wrang-lands.
wrîd OE (n) Rytham.
wudu Wood Hall, Woodhall, Woodhouse (2), (a) Blackwood House, Eppleworth, Little, Naburn and North Wood, Norwood, Norwoods, Routh and Socken Wood, South-, Westwood, (b) Jilly-, Prat-woods.
yfera OE (n), yfîr OScand (n) Everthorpe.
NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THESE ELEMENTS

A few notes on the distribution of certain place-name elements may be given, and with the East Riding this is possible as the collections for the North Riding and the West Riding are now available. Topographically the Riding is isolated from other areas, but the distribution in relation to counties like Lincolnshire can be only tentative.

**bekkr** remains chiefly a stream-name element, being found only once as a place-name. It is one of the commonest stream-name elements (18 examples), being found more often than **burna** (11 examples), **fleot** (17), **foss** (12), **sic** (5) and **broc**, which does not occur at all. This approximates to the usage in NRY.

**beorg** is far less common than **hyl**, though it is on the whole earlier in use than **hyl**. It is mainly confined to the northeasterly parts of the Riding. In NRY **beorg** is more common, but in WRY **hyl** is more common.

**bol**, **böltn**. The characteristic northern form **bol** is found, but there is also evidence for the Mercian **bold**. There is only one **böltn**.

**burh** and **burhtun** are about as common as in NRY, and as there **burh** seems to take the place of **ceaster**. In 3 examples names in **burh** are of ME origin.

**by** occurs 42 times (33 in DB) and is distributed evenly over the Riding. It is less common than in NRY and Lincolnshire, where **porp** is not so frequent, but proportionately to area, it is more common than in WRY. 28 examples are compounded with personal names. It was in living use after the Conquest (cf. Baggaby supra 169).

**cote** is about as common as in NRY and 4 of the 10 examples occur in DB.

**deël**, **daër** are very common (39 examples, of which 7 are found in DB) as against **denu** of which there is only one instance; there are no examples of the replacement of **denu** by **daër**, such as we have in WRY. In 14 cases it is compounded with Scandinavian elements (including the 6 personal-name compounds) and of the
rest 18 are OE or OScand; of the 7 DB examples 4 have OScand elements and 3 OE or OScand. This suggests that we have to deal with OScand dalr rather than OE dæl. The use of the element approximates to that found in NRY, though it is less frequent, being confined mainly to the Wold country. In WRY denu is more common.

dic (23 examples) is fairly common and is used of stream and earthwork alike, the latter sense being commoner in the Wolds. As a stream-name it belongs on the whole to Holderness and the low-lying parts of the Humber and Hull basins. It is rare in older documents.

dun occurs 8 times (4 of them in DB).

derg occurs 5 times. v. Introd. xxiv.

tfeld. There are 14 examples (8 in DB) and it is thus slightly more common than in NRY but it is not as common as in WRY. It is always combined with OE significant elements.

fleot survives mostly in village names. The 17 examples occur chiefly along the Humber and the Ouse (as in WRY), but its use did not extend to NRY.

foss occurs 12 times (4 of them in DB) and survives in stream-names and a few village names. It is found in Holderness and in the low-lying parts of the Derwent valley. It is not found (except as a unique river-name) in NRY and it is rare in WRY, though commoner in Lincolnshire. The oldest evidence is found in ERY, where alone it survives in village-names.

garðr is rather commoner in ERY than in NRY but the examples are mostly late; it does not occur in DB. See further supra 21.

gata is very common (more so than lane or stræt), especially as a street-name in Beverley and York; in Hull it is rather less frequent. It is also found elsewhere in the Riding as a road-name, but it occurs only once in DB. As in NRY it would appear to have supplanted weg entirely.

ham. Apart from ingaham there are, as in NRY, 9 examples (8 of them in DB), but only one of these has a personal name as first element. In 5 of the names the first element is OE, but in the rest it might be OE or OScand. In some cases there is evidence of confusion with OScand heim. Most of the examples are found in Holderness and Dickering. Cf. Halsham supra 30.

hamm. There is, as in NRY and WRY, no evidence for this element.

haugr (18 examples) is less common than in NRY, and unlike the NRY examples personal names are rare as the first element. The element belongs chiefly to the Wolds. Like beorg it seems to have been used both of hills and burial-mounds.
heafod is rare and when found refers to the headland formed by the bend of a stream or river.

holmr, of which there are 48 examples (4 in DB), is three times as common as in NRY and more common than in WRY and Lincolnshire. This is to be expected from the topography. In a good many cases the word appears to have the meaning 'small hill surrounded by marshy land' a meaning which Prof. Sahlgren points out to us is well evidenced in Scand place-names.

hyll is not common and occurs only 3 times in DB. It is about as common in NRY but more so in WRY.

hyrst, as in NRY, is very rare. It is commoner in WRY.

ing(as). All 6 examples of final ing are DB manors and are from personal names. They are found mostly in the east of the Riding.

ingaham, of which there are 12 examples, is much more frequent than in NRY and WRY (which have 3 examples each), but far less common than in Lincolnshire (which has 27 examples). 10 of the ERY examples are evidenced from DB or earlier and the other two from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are found in Holderness, the Humber basin and the upper Derwent valley.

ingtun is as common as in NRY and 17 of the 18 examples are DB manors. For the most part they belong to the north-eastern part of the Riding though they are also found in the centre and extreme west. With the exception of three doubtful examples all are compounded with a personal name as the first element.

kiarr is, as would be expected, one of the commonest elements. It is found 47 times, but most of the examples are late, only one being noted from DB.

land is a fairly common element (31 examples), but most of the examples are late, only one being a DB manor.

leah, of which there are 14 examples, is less common than in NRY and much less common than in WRY. The names (6 of which occur in DB), belong to the eastern parts and to the more southerly parts of Harthill wapentake.

lundr occurs 5 times and is less common than wudu. The reverse is the case in NRY.

sae, as might be expected from the topography, is fairly common and belongs to Holderness and adjacent parts of other wapentakes. It is rare in WRY and NRY. Of the 13 examples 7 are DB manors and 12 are compounded with significant words.

skogr is rare, much less frequent than in NRY and WRY.

stow occurs only once and this agrees with its absence in NRY and its rarity in WRY.
DISTRIBUTION OF ELEMENTS 315

porp. 68 examples survive (56 in DB), and after tun it is the
commonest habitative element in the Riding. It is twice as
common as in NRY and more common than in WRY or Lincoln-
shire, despite the disparity in size of these different counties.
The ERY examples are distributed over the whole Riding.
Personal names, mostly OScand (some OEScand), provide first
elements for 49.

þveit is rare, and in this respect ERY differs from NRY and
WRY; it is slightly commoner in Lincolnshire. Its rarity in
ERY is perhaps to be accounted for by the greater use of garðr
and holmr as field-name elements.

tun. There are 131 examples (including compounds like
boðltun and names in ingtun). 117 of these occur in DB. They
are distributed fairly evenly over the Riding. Of these examples
of tun, only 19 have OScand first elements, and only 40 are
compounded with personal names (many Scandinavian).

um. The dative plural ending is fairly common, more so than
in NRY and WRY. There are 32 such names; 14 are from
OScand words, the rest from OE. The names are all old.

weald occurs frequently, but the names are not usually of any
great antiquity, only one being found in DB and there as a first
element.

wic is much commoner than in NRY and WRY, and the
examples are mostly from Holderness and neighbouring parts,
though it occurs also in the west of the Riding. 3 or 4 examples
are combined with Scandinavian first elements.

worð is entirely absent, and its absence is paralleled by its
extreme rarity in NRY and the northern parts of WRY.

wudu is fairly common, more so than in NRY but less than in
WRY. The examples are mostly late and the names of unim-
portant places. Except as a first element it does not occur in DB.

PERSONAL NAMES COMPOUNDED IN EAST
RIDING AND YORK PLACE-NAMES

Names not found in independent use are marked with a single
asterisk if they can be inferred from evidence other than that of
the place-name in question. Such names may be regarded as
hardly less certain than those which have no asterisk.

(i) Old English

Ælf(a) (Ella), Alfstān (Elstonwick), Ælfweard (Allerthorpe,
Ellerby), Ælfwine or Alfwynn (f) (Elvington), Æþered (Etherd-
wick), **Aldgyð** (f) (Dollyth), **Atta** (Awick), **Bacga** (Bagletts), **Bēga** (Bainton), **Berhtel** (Bridlington), **Bibba** (Bibbill), **Bil(l)a** (Bilton), **Bofa** (Boynton), **Bordel** (Battleburn), **Brid** (Birdsall), **Brüngr** (Broomfleet), **Bubba** (Bubwith(?)), **Bucca** (Buckton (bis)), **Būna** (Bonwick(?)), **Cāga** (Keytingham), **Catta** (Catfoss, Catton, Catwick), **Cneoddel** (Knedlington), **Col** (Collin Hill), **Cot(t)ha** (Cottingham, Cottingwith), **Cranoc** (Cranswick), **Cybbel** (Kipling Cotes), **Cylla** (Kilnwick (bis), Nunkeeling), **Cynewald** (Killing-woldgraves), **Dēor** (Dernham), **Derna** (Derrington), **Drōwa** (Drewton), **Dud(d)α** (Dudham Well, Dunnington), **Dunna** (Dunning Dike, Dunnington, Duncotes(?)), **Eāda** (Yeddington), **Eādwald** (Eddlethorpe), **Earna** (Arnold(?)), **Eata** (Etton), **Eofor** (Everingham), **Eśa** (Easington), **Fittela** (Fitting), **Fyōda** (Frodington), **Gemela** (Gembiling), **Gōdmund** (Goodmanham), **Grant(e)** (Gransmoor), **Helm** (Elmswell), **Hemma** (Heming-brough(?)), **Herele** (Harlthorpe(?)), **Her(e)sā** (Harswell), **Hofa** (Houghton(?)), **Hröc** (Roshall), **Hrōr** (Ruston Parva(?)), **Hunta** (Huntow(?)), **Lax(a)** (Laxton), **Lēofnað** (Leonard Scales), **Leppa** (Leppington), **Ledena** (Leavingen), **Loca** (Lockington), **Lūda** (Lutton's Ambo), **Midele** (Millington(?)), **Mūl(l)α** (Millington(?)), **Miil** (Molescroft), **Occa** (Octon), **Oter** (Ottringham), **Pinnel** (Pennythorpe), **Poca** (Pockthorpe), **Pocela** (Pocklington), **Porta** (Portington(?)), **Rēdel** (Rillington), **Rippel** (Riplingham(?)), **Scirela** (Skirlington(?)), **Sigel** (Siggleshorne), **Sigewulf** (Lund Bridge) **Sledda** (Sledmere(?)), **Stýfela** (Still-fleet), **Tica** (Tickton(?)), **Tila** (Till Mire), **Totta** (Totleys), **Waiba** (Walmgate), **Walcæ** (Walkington), **Walþþof** (Ruddings), **Wandel** (Wansford), **Weath** (Wholsea(?)), **Wigmund** (Nunburnholme Hill), **Wilbald** (Fleet Lane), **Wilburg** (f) (Wilberfoss), **Wilheard** (Willerby (bis)), ***Wineca** (Winkton), **Wintra** (Wintringham), **Wulfheard** (Wolfreton), **Wulfhære** (Ulrome).

(ii) **Scandinavian**

**Alfvarðr** (Allerthorpe), **Anlaf** (AngloScand) (Anlaby), **Åsgaunr** (Osgodby, Oxgoddes), **Åskell** (Asselby), **Babe** (OEScand) (Bab-thorpe), **Baggi** (Bagletts), **Bālki** (Balkholme), **Barne** (OEScand) (Barmby (bis)), **Belgr** (Belthorpe), **Beli** (Belby), **Beli** (Belby), **Berkell** (Bartin Dale), **Bersi** (Baswick(?)), **Besi** (Beswick), **Bes(s)yngr** (Bessingby), Björgr (i) (Burythorpe), Bjorn (Barmston), **Blakki** (Blacktoft(?)), **Błękr** (Blakes Dale, Blake Street(?)), **Boie** (OEScand) (Boythorpe), **Börkr** (Barthorpe), **Brandr** (Brandesburton, Brans Dale, Bransholme), **Breidr** (Bracey Bridge), **Bubbe** (OEScand) (Bubwith), **Buggi** (Buggthorpe), **Bukki** (Buckrose, Bug Dale (bis)), **Bulle** (OEScand) (Bowthorpe), **Bursti** (Burstwick),
PERSONAL NAMES

Dúva (OEScand) (Dowthorpe), Eyjólf (Youlthorpe), Fangulf (AngloScand) (Fangfoss), Fleinn (Flamborough(?)), Flik (OE-Scand) (Flixton), Fóli (Fowthorpe), Folkvarðr (Foggathorpe), Fótr (Foston), *Freistirg (Fraisthorpe), Frithi (OEScand) (Firby), *Frjúdagr (Fridaythorpe(?)), Fulke (OEScand) (Folkton), Gálmar (Ganton), Gamall (Burton Pidsea), Gaukr (Gowthorpe, Goxhill(?)), Gërvardh (OEScand) (Garrowby), Grímr (Grimston (quater), Grimsthorpe, Wood Hall olim Grimestorp), Grípr (Gribthorpe), Gunnar (Gunnemarsh), Gunnhildr (f) (Gunby), Gudormr (Goodramgate), Hafdr(i) (Haver Lane(?)), Haki (Hagthorpe), *Háskell (Haisthorpe), Helgi (Elloughton(?)), Hemingr (Hemingbrough), *Herle (Harlithorpe), Hildigard (ODan) (Hildertorpe), Hildólf (Hilston), Hjalpr (f) (Helpethorpe), Hjótr (Hartergate), Holf (Houndale), Hrafn (Ravenser, Ravenser Odd), Hreìdarr (Raisthorpe), Hrmr (Rimswell), Hróarr (Ruston), Hrólf (Rolston), Humli (Humble Dale), Húmkell (Uncleby), Ingúlf (Inglepool), Jámilfr (OE Eanwulf) (Ousethorpe), *Sáulfr (OE Úadwald) (Eddlethorpe), Úkell (Yokefleet(?)), *Joli (Youlthorpe), Gári (Caythorpe), *Kek (OEScand) (Kexby(?)), *Kel(l)ingr (Kelleythorpe), *Kennari (Kenythorpe), Ketill (Kettlethorpe), *Keyrondi (Carnaby), Lagi (OEScand) (Lowthorpe), Lambi (Langthorpe), Lóðinn (Londesborough), Menni or Menja (f) (Mentthorpe), *Munnegr (Menethorpe), *Mjolbgn (Meltonby), Múli (OEScand) (Mowthorpe), Músi (Muston(?)), Næftari (Nafferton), Pen(n)ingr (Pensthorpe), Ragnhildr (f) (Raventhorpe), Sigstén (OEScand) (Thixendale), Soward (OEScand) (Sewerby), Skalli (Scalby), *Skammil (OEScand) (Scampston), Skophull (Scagglethorpe), Skorn (OEScand) (Scoreby), Skrá (Scarthingham), Skuli (Sculcoates), Skyti (Skidby), Snékolfr (Sneulfscros), Snorri (Sneerholmes), Sóti (Southcoates), Stakkur (Staxton), *Scáfr (Swaythorpe), Svanr (Swaunland), Tanr (Tannerne), Dóraldr (Tharlesthorpe, Thoralby, Thoralby), Dorgils (Thirkleby), Dógrímr (Thorbanby, Thornthorpe), Porkell (Thirleby), Þórr (Toreshou) Þórstein (Ings Roods), Þur (Þurbar) Thyrkil (OEScand) (Thirtle Bridge), Tíbbi (OEScand) (Tibthorpe), Toli (OEScand) (Towthorpe), Tove (OEScand) (Towthorpe), Trani (Tranby), *Ugla (Ogleforth), Ûlfr (Ousethorpe), Vífíll (Wilsthorpe), Viðfari (Weaverthorpe).

(iii) Irish

Brian (OScand Brján) (Bryan Mills), Dubhghall (OScand Dufgall) (Duggleby), Colman (OScand Kalman) (? Galmanhowe, Galmanlythe), Patraicc (OScand Pattrkr) (Patrick’s Pool, Patrington(?)).
FEUDAL AND OTHER ADDITIONS

Burton Agnes, Bishop Burton, Burton Constable, Burton Fleming, North Grimston (Aguillon), Kilnwick Percy, Place Newton, West Newton (Constable), Seaton Ross, Thorngumbald, Thorpe (Winemund), Thorpe Bassett (Elys), Thorpe Lidget, Wharram Percy, Bishop Wilton.

There are several examples of parishes of the same name being distinguished by the addition of East, West, North and South (as Frodingham, Cottingwith, etc.), and some examples of additions denoting roads and rivers (as Gate and Water Fulford, Newton on Derwent, Sutton on Derwent, Sutton on Hull, Thorpe le Street, Wharram le Street). Others are named from the nature of the countryside (Barmby on the Marsh, Barmby on the Moor, Foston, Holme, Middleton on the Wolds, Wold Newton) or have other place-names added (Burton Pidsea, Kirby Grindalythe, Kirby Underdale); see Grindalythe, Hertfordlythe, The Wolds, supra 12–14. Little and Great occur (Great and Little Kelk, Little Weighton) and there is one example of Parva (Ruston Parva). The only other Latin addition is in Fulfords Ambo and Luttons Ambo. High and Low occur with Catton. Miscellaneous additions include Potter Brompton, Cherry Burton, Kirk Ella, Ellerton Priory, Hanging Grimston, Out Newton, Nunburnholme, Nunkeeling, Long Riston, Full Sutton, Market Weighton. Other examples occur in early documents, e.g. Dearsden, Derringham.

FIELD AND MINOR NAMES

This section includes field and minor names (excluding those which can be identified with modern field-names and which are already incorporated in the body of the work) which are mentioned in early documents, treating them under the heading of their most significant element and a few miscellaneous field
and minor names not readily dealt with in this fashion. In this Riding the field-name material of modern times is derived largely from collections and maps made by the Schools of the East Riding, and from other miscellaneous sources. The material is, however, somewhat uneven and a careful examination shows that most current field-names are of modern origin: even in parishes where the mediæval material as well as the modern collections are very complete, there has been no continuous history in minor names. For that reason the score or so modern field-names whose history can be traced are included in the main body of the work: they do not provide adequate material for a separate section as in other volumes in the survey.¹


æcer (OScand akr) is occasionally found as in Haueracres (3 examples) from ON hafri, ‘oats,’ Tenakers (c. 1325), Oxacre (1339) and Scouilacres (12th), apparently a compound of OE scufel, ‘shovel.’

austr is occasionally found as in Oustdayle, Housthengges, Owstholm (13th).

ME averys (n), ‘eatage of arable land after harvest’ is average sb.³ in NED, a north country term found in the form le comon-averys (1436, 1439 HMC (Bev)), carrying the word back a hundred years.

balke is occasionally found. We may note le Meerbalkes (1549), ‘boundary balks’ and Nestthesutherrestbalke (l. 12th), apparently ‘next the most southerly balk.’

banke is occasionally found.

OScand baun (n) is once found in Baunllandwro (v. vra), a variant of the common English beanland.

beretun is rare. There was one in Hedon (1276) and there were two in Burstwick (1334).

berewic is found once in Spaldington (t. Hy 2).

berg. We may note Steinberg (13th).

ME blok (n) is found in Willerby in Bloc and Uuermare Blockes (13th). The sense is obscure.

¹ The Society is greatly indebted to Mrs M. Espinasse for organising the collection of the modern field-name material through the schools and for a very careful analysis of that material.
botm is occasionally found as in *le Bothem* (1260).

ME brade (n) 'broad place' is occasionally found, as in *Marrebrede* (l. 12th).

breiðr is found in Scand compounds as in *Braythsleght* (13th) (v. sletta) and in hybrids such as *Braidxmora* (13th).

brekka 'slope, hill' is fairly common but not always easy to distinguish from the NCy form of OE bræc. We probably have the latter in *Newebreke* (1296), *New Breks* (1596), but the former in *Brecca* (12th), *Staynbreak* (13th) and *Lunderbrec* (12th), 'slope of the wood' from the inflected gen. of lundr.

broc is occasionally found.

OScand brot (n) 'piece, fragment,' used in a wide variety of senses (cf. Heggstad s.v.) is found in the pl. form *Brotis* (12th), *Brotes* (1225). In *Ladhebrote* we have the equivalent of OScand hîðu-brot, 'projecting extension of a barn.' In *le Brothide* (1318) it probably has the sense 'steep place' recorded for *brot* in Rygh, *Indledning*, the second element being hîð. This, rather than *broti*, is perhaps the word found in *Broate* (PN NRY 86, 87).

burna is very rare.

buskr is fairly common. *Surbuskedale* (1175), 'sour bush,' is a curious compound.

ME butte (n) is common. In *Braytbuttes* (13th), *Scortebuttes* (12th) (common) it is probably the term butt commonly used of short ridges of unequal length, often at right angles to the other ridges, but elsewhere it may denote the archery butts. Still common in sg. and plural form.

ME cause (n) 'causeway' is found in *Bisshopcauce* (1315) in Howdenshire.

clif is common. *Hengenclif* (13th) i.e. 'hanging,' and *Brancliffe* (1618) (v. brant) both denote steep slopes.

ME clos (n) is found in a number of late names. The earliest examples are *Northclos* (1269) and *Pigotclos* (c. 1325). Very common at present day.

ME cluse (n) 'dam, sluice' is found in *capita gutturarum dicti clowes* (1407). See NED s.v. *clow* sb.¹

coppede is found in *Coppedhou* (1246), 'peaked barrow.'

cot(e) is common. We may note *Lambecote* (1280), *Wethercote* (1339) and *Tupcotes* (1612), *tup* denoting a ram. *Westcotgarth* (sic) (1339), *Crokitcogarth* (1408) carry back the compound *cotgarth* (v. NED s.v. cot) some 500 years. See also 172 supra.

cotesetla (n) 'occupant of a cottage' is found in *Cotseteledayle* (t. Ed 1).

croft is very common indeed. It may be qualified by an adjective, e.g. *le communecroft* (1390), *Aldcroft* and *Neucroft* (12th) in Otteringham, *Esrcroft* (1219), *Northcroft* (1292),
Liitlecroft and Miclecroft (1209) in Sculcoates, Langcroft (1326), Mikelcroft (1302). Reference may be made to the creatures who feed in them, as in the common Caluecroft (12th), Hencroft (13th), Coccroft (1231), Goscroft (1163), Horsecroft (1260), Lambecroft (1311), Oxecroft (1303), or to the dwelling to which it is attached as in Castelcroft (1327), the common Halecroft (c. 1220), Kirkecroft (12th) and the common Milnecroft (12th), or to plants as in Taselcroft (1225) (where teasle grows), Lincroft (13th), from leirr, 'flax,' Havercroft (1301), 'oats croft,' Nettel Crofte (c. 1300), to the soil as in Claycroft (1309), Lercroft (1537), from leirr, 'clay,' to the owners or occupiers as in Prestecrofte and Spitilcrofte (12th), Hirdecrofte (1260), and numerous compounds with personal names such as Bawd Croft (1407) qui fuit Johannis Bawde, Maldecroft (1296), Durantcroft (1303).

cumb. Three examples have been noted—Cumb, Bicumbe, Northcumberwra (cf. vra) (c. 1250), all in Thixendale with its sixteen valleys (supra 133).

dael (OScand dalr) is very common. Cornedale, Deserdale, Mordale (c. 1250) and Pilesdale (1268) have been noted in Thixendale. We may note further (a) Pesedale (12th), Wetedaile (13th), Safrundaile (1282) in Cottingham, Kerlingdale (12th) from OScand kerling, 'old woman,' and several compounded with a personal name as Colgrindale (c. 1200).

ME dam (n) is found from the 13th century onwards.

deill, the Scand equivalent of the English dole, is very common. The first element is often an adjective, austr in Ousdailes (13th), ful in Fuldaile (c. 1280), OScand vesterra in Westerdaile (t. Hy 2), Uierdaile (12th) 'upper,' Overmastaideles (1310) 'uppermost.' Plants are referred to in Ridaile (c. 1250), Thordaile (c. 1280) and Thacdailes (13th), situation in Fordailes (1253), animals in Buledailes, Cocdaile and le Horsdaile (13th). Mikeldailes(s) is very common from the 12th century on. We may note Halvedailes (13th) and two or three compounds of hoifuð and deill as in Howed dailes (t. Hy 2), Howoð dailes (l. 13th), of which the sense is obscure unless these pieces of land formed part of the headland of a field. Occasionally we have compounds with a personal name as in Magnusdaile (c. 1230).

ME demmming (n) 'a dam' is found in le demmyng (1439). dic compounds are numerous. Crummedike (13th) and Cringledikes (c. 1280) (v. kringla, 'circle') have reference to shape. Thwaerdic (13th) is a thwart or cross dyke; Laghmerskdik (13th) is in low marsh land; le layredike (13th) is made of clay (v. leirr); Rederdic (t. Hy 2) is frequented by cattle (v. hryðer); le Houthdike (13th) is from OScand hoifuð, 'head.' In 1269
(Ebor) the men of Hull may take earth from the river and its banks to build the fosse quod dicitur Sedike.

OScand digr (n) ‘thick’ is probably found in Digherhou (12th) (v. haugr).

*dympel (n) ‘pool hollow’ is found in Dymples (13th). See also Dimlington supra 17.

ende. Early examples of its topographical use are Wartercroftend (12th), Kirkedalesende (1202).

eng ‘grassland,’ especially in marshy places, is common both in the singular and in the plural. From the 14th century a common form is ing or yng and from the 15th century onwards this is the regular form. It is often disguised by the addition of initial inorganic h as in Hyngs (1309), Óvenamhenge (13th). It is often qualified by adjectives as in Südesteseng (t. Ýv 2), Suthenges (1339), Housthengges (13th) from austr, ‘east,’ Holenge (1210-20), Bradeng (1313), Sidehenges (13th) from sid, ‘broad,’ Neweng (1306), Whiteng (1309), Hartheng (13th) and Hardeng (1313) from OScand harðr and OE h(e)ard, ‘heard.’ We have reference to the use or ownership in communeng (14th), Presteng (1261), Provvestengys (1417), Erleseng (1303), Maister Willelmum Enges (1407), Elewine-eng (13th), to the site in Waldhenges (1303), later Wald Inges (1619) and Wytepolhenges (c. 1280). It is found as a first element in lex Englandes (1407).

fal(o)d is occasionally found as in faldam (acc.) (13th), Northfalda (12th), Pondfald (1341) i.e. pundfald, ‘pin-fold,’ Faldford (1339).

feld is fairly common. It is compounded with Alde (c. 1160), Mikel (13th), Smythe, from smēþa, ‘smooth’ (1295), Wite (c. 1160), and with adjectives of direction such as North (13th).

We have the out-field in Vtfeld (12th), Falowf Feld (1537), Clayfeld (1309), Shrobfeld (1478). It seems never to be compounded with a personal name.

fen is very rare considering the character of the county.

flashe is found in Flashewell (1420), the Dan flask in Waterflashes (13th).

flat is very common. It may be qualified by an adjective such as Mene (13th) from OE (ge)māne, ‘common,’ Scorte (13th), Lange, Middel (1225), Suth (1280). We may have reference to vegetation as in Chiriflat (c. 1210), Perteflat (1282), Okflat (1446), Nuteflat (l. 12th), Sedflat, Thistleflat (1338), Ryeflat (17th), or to some object or near it as in Gateflatt (13th), Crosflat (1225), Cotflat (1258), Gibflat (1301), to animals as in Stodeflat (1338) from OE stod, ‘stud,’ to the occupier or owner as in Karterflatte (c. 1250), Murdocflat (12th), Thurstanflat (1428), to its charitable use as in Almusflattes (1249-69).
fleot is common, as one might expect in this area, often in the simple form le Flet (13th) but also in such compounds as Lang-flete (13th), Houkhflete (1253) from hoh, crosfleotes (1033), i.e. marked by a cross, Towerflet (13th).

furh (n) ‘furrow’ is occasionally found as in Sefures (13th), Merefures (1260) i.e. boundary-furrows, from OE (ge)mære.

furlang is not as common as it is in many counties. We may note Seuenvfurlanges (12th), Chortfurlanges (13th) i.e. ‘short,’ Townfurelanges (13th).

fyrhō ‘woodland’ is occasionally found as in le Frethes (1293), le Frith (1258), le Oxfrythe (c. 1240), Wald Firth (1619).

gang (n) is common in the compound ut-gang, ‘road by which the cattle go out to pasture as in Vighang (1199), Houtegang (13th), Arnaldowtgange (1249-69) which belonged to Arnold. OXgang as in Welton Oxganges (1372) is a technical term for an eighth part of a carucate. Yowgang (1413) would seem to have been used by the ewes. Watergang (1293) ‘water passage’ is also found twice.

garðr is compounded with heall in Halgarth (c. 1200), myln in le Milhgarth (1327), hlaåa, ‘barn,’ in le Ladegarth (1134). We may note also Spittelgarthe (1546), Chapelegarth and Kilne Garth (t. Hy 8) and occasional compounds with personal names as in Reynaldgarht (1339). Applegarth corresponds to English æppeltun as in Provoostappylgarth (1417), while Boturgarth (1481) contained good grass-feeding. The simple term garth is often used of a weir or a dam used as a fishgarth (cf. Works 259) as in Redelgarde (13th), a fishery in Derwent, in which we probably have a form of riddle, ‘sieve,’ Frisedikegarth (c. 1580), a fishery, Hermeregard (c. 1200), also a fishery, in the Hull. garth is still very common.

gata ‘road’ is common. We have adjectival compounds in Newgate (1300), Witegate (l. 12th), Holegate (12th), references to the site or destination in Dalegate (1226), Segate (13th), le More-gate (1341), Kircegata (12th), Yhorkgate (13th), to the road-surface in le Turfgates (1318), Sandgate (13th), le Claigate (c. 1280), to the beasts or men using it in Shepegates (1537), Noutegate (13th) (from OScand naut, ‘cattle’), Theusgat (c. 1200), Berkergate (13th), Drengate (12th) used by drengs, to the traffic in Cartgate (13th), Waingate (l. 12th), Haygate (1254), to the owner in Dreusgate (1157-70).

geat ‘gate’ is occasionally found as in le Polysgate (1396-9), Colegata (13th). It is clearly confused with gata in ‘regia strata vocata Peddergata’ (1371 Works), ‘road used by pedlars.’

gair, still in common use in NCy gair, ‘triangular land in the corner of a field,’ is found in the sg. as in Gaia (1199), Gayre
(13th), or the plural Gaires (13th), les Gayres (1260) and the compound Calugaire (c. 1280), perhaps from cau, 'bare.'

gil 'ravine' has been noted twice, viz. in Wedrygyll (c. 1280) and Grengylls (1413), both, appropriately enough, in Thixendale (cf. supra 133).

OScand gildihus (n). In illustration of the village-guilds in Scandinavian England we may note Gildehustede (c. 1275) in Pidsea Burton, Gildhustoft (1307) in Holmpton and Gildhus (1258) in Ellerton.

ME gote (n) 'channel, watercourse' is fairly common. We may note Prestegote (c. 1200), the name of a fishery, Levergot (1392), a channel overgrown with levers (OE lefer), 'wild yellow iris,' Wragot (1392), one which has or is by a corner (v. vra), and Hundolfgot (1201), so named from its owner.

greinn 'division, fork' is found in Gatelynes (13th), perhaps 'road-fork,' Gatesgraynescales (c. 1200), Twyngreyyn (1190), 'double fork,' Ulegreines, 'owl haunted greinn,' Stayngren (1339).

(g)hæg is rare. haga (OScand hagi) is more common as in Lundhaga (12th) (v. lundr), Holmagh (13th), Calfhae (1219), Stothaghe (13th) (v. stott), Erleshawe (1309) and Colsuainhaghe (12th).

haugr 'barrow, hill' is common and is probably used generally of a barrow. It is used by itself as in Hou (13th) or of barrows in groups as in Canunthrehoudelayle (l. 12th), Fourchowes (13th), Sevenhouflat (13th). Stainhou (12th) is common and so is Linghou (13th), used of one covered with ling. Note also Brakenhou (13th). Copedhou (c. 1185) was 'peaked,' Digerhau (13th) was 'thick' (cf. digr supra 322). Grethou (13th), Ruchau (12th), Scarphou (13th) and several examples of Langhou (13th) are self-explanatory. Scortelmhau (13th) and Askhowes (13th) would seem to have been tree crowned. Botildehau (l. 13th), Grymashou (13th), and Yerleshow (13th) were perhaps so called from those believed to have been buried there.

heafod is found in Hertesheude (1309), Raveneshed (1276), Wandallheudes (13th) (v. Wan Dale supra 107), Sprynghedes (1407), Twelfheudes (1408), Nordscohheued (1227), le Gamelhed (13th).

hlidgeat 'swing gate' is occasionally found as in Lydiate (1259).

hoc 'hook, corner' is occasionally found as in le Hok (12th), North'hoc (1392), Harphoc (1392) (perhaps from its shape). For Smerehoke (1204) cf. Smerhilles infra 325.

hofuo is very common in the compound le Houethland (12th), Hoffedland, Houedland (13th) corresponding to the common
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English agricultural headland. Other compounds are Hoveddales (t. Hy 2) (v. deill) and le Houthdike (13th).

hogg is occasionally found as in Hag (1240), the Hagge (1579) and Stonihag (12th). hagg is still common.

holmr generally denotes low lying marshy ground, but in some cases it is clearly used of an island of higher ground amid marsh land, as it still is in Denmark. Breckholme (1395) containing the word brink must be such and so probably is Pekholm (c. 1250). It is found both in the singular and in the plural, cf. Foureholmes (13th). Common descriptive adjectives are Grene (1200), Lang (1318), Midel (13th). Note also Oustholm (c. 1230) (v. austr) and Wildholme (13th). Sandholm (c. 1190) is common, note also Staynholme (1379) and Turfholm (13th). Brakenholm (12th) is very common. Other similar compounds are Cornholm and Hauerholm (1271) (v. hafri), Nepekholm (12th), growing turnips, Thor(e)nholm (l. 12th). Of animal and bird compounds we may note Brookes (13th), Fueles (12th), Gos (t. Hy 2), Hauc (c. 1300), Hest (13th) from OScand hestr, 'horse,' Horse (c. 1230), Lambe (13th), Ratun (l. 12th) i.e. 'rat,' Sewynes (12th). We have reference to neighbouring buildings in Kirkholt and Milneholme (13th), to a hermit in Ermyholme (1292). Compounds with personal names are common such as Alayn (1271), Godefrey (13th), Turkyl (12th), Sumerlede (13th), Edbrict (13th).

(h)ryding 'clearing' is fairly common, often compounded with an adj. such as Greneruding (1252), le Nether- and le Overriddinges (1321) or with a pers. name as in Ketelisriding (1219), Galfrying (1287), Perisriding (12th).

hus. We may note Heryng Hous (1332) (cf. Fisher's Close supra 45), le Colehowse (c. 1400) carrying that word back 150 years, Ascheous (12th). Hushald (13th) carries the word household back some 150 years.

hovamr 'marshy hollow' is found in le Wam (1260).

hyll is common. We may note two examples of Hungerhil (13th), Cokkehil (13th), probably containing OE cocc, 'heap' (cf. supra 222), Smerhilles (13th), ones with rich pasturage, from OE smeoru, 'butter,' Tothil (12th).

hyl 'pool' is probably found in Stonehills (1258), the name of a fishery.

hyst is occasionally found either by itself or in compounds such as Brakenhirst (13th). Huluerhirst (12th) carries back the dialectal huluer, 'holly' some 250 years.

ME intak(e) (n) is rare. Intak (1230) in Naburn takes this word back a hundred years. Commoner in present day.

kelda, 'spring,' 'marshy place' is common. It is often compounded with an adjective as in Caldekelde (12th), Smalekeld
(c. 1280), Goldekelde (13th), Redkeld (1318), Blyndekelde (13th) (cf. the common English Blindwell, 'hidden spring'). Hernekelde (c. 1165) was probably in a hyrne or corner. Compounded with names of animals, etc., we may note Wolfkeld (1354), Hagurmkelde (13th) 'adder spring,' carrying back hagworm (OScand hogg-ormr) some 200 years, and sternekelde (c. 1160) 'tern spring' from OE stearn. Thrillekeld (12th) seems to contain the variant thrill for thrall hitherto first noted in 1375 (NED s.v.), hence 'thrall spring.' Compounds with personal names are Murdackelde (12th), Gunerkelde (13th), Rogerkelde (13th).

kiarr is very common as in Depeker (l. 12th), Litelker and Mikelker (13th), les Kerres (1306), Wald carr (1568). Seeuker (e. 13th) is probably a compound of sef, 'reed'; Peteker (13th) is probably an early compound of peat. In Astlacker (12th) we have a compound with a personal name.

kliint is found in Galeclint (1172).

OScand kollr (n) 'hill' (cf. Cowlam supra 126) is probably found in Othecolle (13th).

kringla 'circle' is found as Cryngel (14th) and in the common Cringlesikes (c. 1280).

læs is rare, as in Leesse (c. 1325), Graylas, Greylees (1525-9). land is very common, generally used doubtless of a strip of land. Of adjectival compounds we have Aldelandes (12th) and Neuland (1339), Blaland (1150-60) from blár, 'exposed,' Breiteland (1225) and Bradelandes (l. 12th), Northland (1260), Shortland (1409), Langland (1226) and Mikeland (1326), le Laghelandes (13th) from lagr, 'low,' Redlandes (t. Hy 2), Wrangelandes (13th) from wrang, 'twisted.' We have reference to the soil in Lairlandes (l. 12th) from leirr, 'clay,' Petyland(es) (1401), Sandelandes (l. 12th), to animals in Couland (1339), Calfland (1407), to trees etc. in Byrkeland (13th), Hueltland (13th), Lyneland (1286) from lin, 'flax,' Peselandes (13th), to shape or site in Cumbeland (1265), Crokeland (13th), Tungelande (13th), to owners or occupiers in le Gildeland and Kirkeland (13th), Fremanland (13th), Eustaceland (1339), Elwynlond (12th), to the lack of such in Namanland (13th), Namanesland (1254), the NCy form of Nomanland. Heuedland (12th) and Houeland (12th) are equally common, cf. hofuð supra 324. Forland is common from the 12th century on, denoting perhaps the nearest strip. Scottlandes (13th) paid some scot.

ME lang (n) is used of a long land-strip as in Suthlanges (13th), Kalanges (13th) from ka, 'jackdaw,' Westnorthlanges (1225) and Southwestlanges (c. 1200).

leah is found in Northlaghes (13th), Gatelaye (1292), Trehaulegh (1199), Scalehouleghs (1309), Potterlagh (1300), les Leyes (1309).
leirr ‘clay’ is common, as in *Leirpittes* (13th), *Leirland* (1226), *Lairlandes* (12th), *Layrdik* (1290).

lundr is common as in *Elrelund* (1202) from elri, ‘alder,’ *Lundhaga* (12th), *Leveryklund* (c. 1155) and (in inflected form) in *Lunderbrec* (12th).

OScand *marr* (n) ‘pool’ is common as in *Smalemarres* (1339), *Brademar* (12th), *Westmar* (1309), *la Mar* (13th), *Vueurmarre* (13th). The creatures found in or on them are referred to in *Paddemar* (12th), *Swanmar* (1293), Elnar (1339), plants or trees in *Wylighmar* and *Flagmar* (13th), Hassokmar (13th) from OE *hassuc,* ‘coarse grass,’ the clearness in *Skiremare* (c. 1275), the colour in *Routhemarres* (1260) from rauðr, ‘red,’ the owner in *Leuedimar* (13th), *Godwynmarres* (1339).

mere is fairly common and mersc and mershe a good deal more so. mere is sometimes difficult to distinguish from OE (ge)mær, ‘boundary.’

mor is very common.

OScand *munr* ‘mouth’ (n) is found in *Dalemun* (13th), *Depedalemun* (1256) and *Silburnedalemun* (c. 1200).

*mylde* (n) ‘mold’ is found in *Blakemildes* (13th), *Blacmildale* (12th), *Blakemeld* (c. 1310).

mynni ‘river confluence’ is found in *Ayemin* (1338).

OScand *nabbr* (n) ‘projecting piece of land’ is found in *Nab* (c. 1190), *Robecroknab* and *Barettnab* (c. 1250), carrying this word back some 200 years. Three of them are in Thixendale.

ME *ofern* (n) ‘piece of land taken from some larger piece’ is common as in *Ouenam* (12th), *Le Ouenham* (12th), *Ovenames* (c. 1300), *Hovenam* (12th), *Auenam* (13th), *le Avenum* (1349), *Westhouenham* (e. 13th).

ME parke ‘small enclosure’ and pasture (n) are common, the latter especially in *Opasture* (13th).

pightel is occasionally found as in *Pichgel* (13th).

ME *place* (n) is occasionally found as in *Hundeplace* (12th).

pytt is common.

sef ‘sedge’ is found in *Agan sevys* (1446).

sik ‘watercourse’ is common. We may note *Holsike* (12th), *Fulsic* (12th), *Langsic* (12th), *Aldesik* (13th), *Kaisic* (1199) from OScand *keikr,* ‘bent,’ *Rynnaid sik* (1339) i.e. ‘running,’ *Landsykk* (c. 1200), *Fensik* (13th), *Wilgesic* (l. 12th) ‘willow sike,’ and with personal names *Baldricsik* (c. 1180), *Modoluessik* (from OScand *Móðolfri*), *Yarcolfisike* (e. 13th).

skali ‘shieling’ is rare as in *Gatesgraynescale* (c. 1200).

skogr ‘wood’ is occasionally found as in *Norscoh* (1230), and *Swinescogh* (1225).

OScand *skora* (n) ‘cutting’ is found in *Wramscoir* (13th) and
(compounded with a personal name) in *Syrithescore* (13th), the name of a foss.

sled is very rare. Note *Akirslade* (12th).

slakki is fairly common as in *Resholeslac* (c. 1200), *Otereslac* (13th) 'otter's valley,' *Crakeslac* (13th) 'crow valley,' or with personal names as in *Humfraislac* (13th), *Adestanslac* (13th). It is still in common use.

sletta 'level place' is fairly common as in *Braythsleght* (13th), *Thekahowsleght* (c. 1250). It may be compounded with *engr* in *Slettinges* (1229), unless this is an *ing*-derivative noun.

ME *snepe* (n) 'marshy place' is occasionally found.

*steno* 'landing place' is found in *ME snape* (n) 'marshy place' is occasionally found.

*stede* is found in *stede* is found in *stig* 'path' is found in *stig* 'path' is found in

*steort* 'tail.' In *steort* 'tail.' In

*stede* is found in *stede* is found in

*stig* 'path' is found in *stig* 'path' is found in *stig* 'path' is found in

*stocking* and *stodfald* are fairly common.

porn is found in *porn* is found in

*purs* is found in *purs* 'giant' is found in *purs* 'giant' is found in *purs* 'giant' is found in

*purp* is found in *purs* 'giant' is found in

*pors* is found in *porsch* is found in *pors* is found in *pors* is found in

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i.e. 'woe-begone.' *Refholeslac* (c. 1210) contains the Scand equivalent of *fox-hole*. *Ginaltoftes* (13th) seems to contain an early form of the NCy *ginnel*, 'narrow lane.' *Dundraghcroft* (1302) would seem to contain OScand *drag* (cf. PN Nth 112) perhaps in the sense 'place where timber is dragged down.'
APPENDIX

SPEN IN PLACE-NAMES

The word *spen*, which is found several times in Northern p.n.'s and texts, is obscure in origin. It occurs in Spen Carr, Speng Lands and Spen Wood *supra* 74, 271, 246, as well as in some field-names in Eastington near Spen Wood (*supra* 246). In the West Riding it is found in Spen Valley, *Spen* 1329 YD, 1379 PT, 1582 FF, Spen Farm in Bramham, *Munkehaidispen*, *Munkehaithespen*, *Munckhayespen* 12th, c. 1175–90, 1240 Nostell (near Monk Hay), and in an unidentified *Brathewaitspen* (1255–62 Selby) which is named from a lost *Brathewayt* (13th ib.) in Acaster Selby. There is also Spen (PN NbDu 186) and a lost Spen near Blackpool (La) mentioned in 1268 (Cockersand Cartulary). A derivative *spenning* or *spening* would seem to enter into Spennithorne (PN NRY 253) and Spennymoor (PN NbDu 186).

In literary documents *spen* is found in the *Wars of Alexander* (ed. Skeat, line 462), in the passage describing a violent storm on a vast desert plain where the camp of the army was destroyed. When the storm passes, ‘*ban ferd hai forth fra fild to fild & freschly assemblis All at was sperpolid on be spene & spilt with be blastis,* ‘Then they went forth from field to field and again gather together all that had been scattered on the *spen* and ruined by the blasts.’ The meaning of *spen* is not clear from the context though it would appear to refer in general to the vast plain. The Latin text does not help at this point, and further we must allow for a possible loose connotation in the alliterative phrase. A similar vagueness of meaning may be found in the tag in *spenne* used in *Sir Gawayn* line 1074 as an adverb for ‘there,’ as with *in stedde*, etc. This is suggested by Tolkien and Gordon, *Sir Gawayn* 99–100, to be from OE *spind* ‘fat,’ with an extension of use ‘greensward,’ as in dialect *spend* and *spen*, with the extended meaning ‘turf, sward’ confined to Somerset, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall (EDD s.v.). The ME word *spen*, however, appears to have no connexion with OE *spind*.

There are two other possible examples of *spen* in *Sir Gawayn*. In line 1709 the hunted fox dodges and doubles through groves, listens at the hedges. *At be last bi a littel dich he lepe3 over a spenne, Stele3 out ful stilly bi a strothe rande, Went haf wylt of be*

1 There is also a Spen Farm and a field called Spen Field, both in Holme on Spaldingmoor; for these no forms have so far been found.
steals out quietly by the edge of a small wood, he intended to
have escaped from the wood....” Again at line 1896 Gawayn’s
host has long pursued the fox and he sprent ouer a spenne to spye
he schrewe, “he jumped over a spenne to espy the villain.”
Tolkien and Gordon (op. cit. 193 s.v.) and NED (s.v. spinney)
derive this example of spenne from OFr espinei ‘a place full of
brambles or thorns’ and tentatively translate ‘thorn-hedge.’ This
would be appropriate to the context but there is no other example
of the particular usage, and its appearance in Sir Gawayn would
antedate by over two centuries the use of spinney in literary
documents1, whilst spenne seems otherwise unknown as a spell-
ing of spinney.

The provenance of ME spen suggests that a Scandinavian
source is at least possible, and the nearest parallels seem to be
found in Scandinavia. There is in the Germanic languages
generally an extensive series of words from the root span2 ‘span,’
with various extended meanings such as ‘stretch out, measure,
grasp, join, fasten, twist,’ etc., and some of them have in OScand
acquired senses which are possible in place-names. OScand
spann ‘a pail, a measure’ was used of ‘a measure of butter’ (cf.
also Orkney span in NED s.v.) and in OScand vinjar-spann it has
come to mean ‘a tax on a household’; the same word is probably
the source of Dan spand ‘a measure of land’ which is probably
that required by the Danish p.n. Spandet (DaSN(Sj) iii, 95).

Different mutated words from OScand spenna ‘to span,
grasp, fasten together’ include spenni recorded only in the sense
‘locket,’ spensl ‘strap, clasp,’ also used of ‘the stretcher over a
loom,’ a cognate Dutch form spansel being found in English as
spancel ‘rope or fetter for hobbling cattle,’ and spennill ‘buckle’
also used of ‘a small circle of willows’ (especially as a fence)
(Torp); West Yorkshire spendl ‘the wooden cross-bars of the
shafts of a cart’ is probably related in form at any rate. Another
derivative Norw spenning or spending occurs in the compound
vidje-spenning ‘a rope made of twisted fibres of twigs’ and this
appears in the Norw p.n.’s Spenningsby and Spenningen (NoGN

1 Spinney is not common in Middle English place-names until the fifteenth
century when we have names like Spinney Wood (PN Ess 525), Spinney Oak,
formerly Spynneres (PN Sr 114). The surname of Gilbert de Spinney of Butter-
wick (L.) carries its use back to the time of Henry II (Gilbert), and there is a
thirteenth-century example from Brandesburton itself in Burthonspyney and
Petri de Spineto de Burton 1249 Meaux. In view of phonological discrepancies
between spen and spinney the appearance of Burthonspyney in the same parish
as Spen Carr must be regarded as a matter of coincidence.

2 We may as a matter of fact have several roots behind the different con-
nnotations, but the primitive history of them is obscure.
ii, 293, 301), probably in the sense ‘a circle of willows,’ especially one which might follow the bend in the river as at Spenningsby and form a kind of enclosure. This word is the form required by Spennithorne and Spennymoor.

There is no doubt too that we have a related word in OE spann ‘span, hand’s breadth,’ which occurs in p.n.’s, especially of the West Midlands (v. PN Wa 1, 167–8). Unfortunately this word offers similar difficulties of meaning. The various sense-developments of OE spann in Modern English span such as ‘bridge, etc.’ are all late, or rather the evidence for them is late.

ME spen, spenne probably belongs to the last group and the most likely OScand source is the word spenni ‘clasp, buckle,’ which probably developed from the root ideas of ‘that which clasps’ or ‘that which spans or joins’ some meaning similar to the other words in the group. Possible senses include ‘bridge’ which might fit two of the Gawayn passages in which the fox runs along a ditch and leaps over a spenne, as well as ‘fence, hurdle, hedge’ or the like, which would suit the Gawayn contexts perhaps even better and which would generally be appropriate in the various place-name compounds; it might also be possible in the Wars of Alexander though there and in Sir Gawayn 1074 an extension of meaning to ‘strip of land’ or ‘area of land’ (as in Dan spand) would be more appropriate. Professor Dickins notes that some connexion with ‘wood’ is suggested by the reference to the Irish-English term for May Day as in de tempore Spennynges (J. Mills, Account Roll of Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337–1346, Dublin 1891, 34); this name may well be associated with the May Day custom of going to the woods.

1 The Hampshire dialect word spean ‘bar of a gate’ (EDD) may also have to be taken into account in this connexion.
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