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ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY. VOLUME XIV

GENERAL EDITORS

A. MAWER *and* F. M. STENTON

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The collection from unpublished documents of material for this volume has been made possible by a grant received from the British Academy.

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## PREFACE

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 co-operation 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  
University College, London

A. H. SMITH

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Maps (1 County and 6 Distribution maps) *In pocket at end*

## 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<sup>1</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

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, Gilbertdike, 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 Wheldrake 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 (Gipseys 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 for 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)<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup>. 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 Hessleskew 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.

<sup>1</sup> Wetwang (*infra* 128) which might formally be taken as meaning 'wet meadow' is remarkable for its dryness.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* an important study by L. W. H. Payling, *Geology and Place-names in Kesteven* (LSE iv, 1-13).

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy's *Parisoi*, *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<sup>1</sup>, 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 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

<sup>1</sup> *v.* F. and H. Elgee, *Yorkshire* (The County Archaeologies), 107-16.

and Scandinavian origin. In the East Riding British names like *Petouaria* have completely disappeared<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup>. The distribution of archæological 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<sup>3</sup>, 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> A convenient summary of these various finds will be found in VCH ii (R. A. Smith, *Anglo-Saxon Remains*); T. Sheppard, ERAS xvi; *Trans. of the Hull Scient. and Field Nat. Club*, vol. iv; F. and H. Elgee, *Yorkshire*, 178 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *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).

existed at Goodmanham and was destroyed by the priest Coif 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 archæological 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 noted<sup>1</sup> 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*-names<sup>2</sup>. Nor is it improbable that some of the *ing*-names in the Danelaw belong rather to the Scandinavian settlement<sup>3</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> PN NRY xviii.

<sup>2</sup> v. PN NRY xvii.

<sup>3</sup> 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 archæological 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 archæological 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 archæology 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)<sup>1</sup>. It is not improbable that the early Anglian occupation of York was due to this group of Angles who pro-

<sup>1</sup> 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.

ceeded along Humber Street to its obvious goal, though we must also allow for independent approaches by the River Ouse<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup>, and the form *bold*<sup>3</sup> 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 *bodl*<sup>4</sup> 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 hitherto unrecorded, such as *pagol* (Paull 36), *cryfting* (Criftings 70-1), *hæsel* (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 *wræsel* (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*<sup>5</sup>. From the point of view of social conditions Wyton (52) and Westow (145) are interesting as they would appear to be places

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 419.

<sup>2</sup> Spalding, however, would appear to be a settlement of Angles who entered the country presumably from the Wash.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Ekwall in *Beiblatt zur Anglia* xxviii, 82 ff. and also PN Wa xx.

<sup>4</sup> Bolton (174) does actually contain this Northumbrian form.

<sup>5</sup> *Ruin*, l. 11, *steap Ʒeap Ʒedreas*. Some editors take *Ʒeap* as an adjective, because *Ʒeap* 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 English<sup>1</sup>, 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 Scarborough (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 *hofuð*, Watton (158) where Scandinavian *vátr* replaces Bede's *ueta*, or York, where Old English *Eoforwic* was adapted to Scandinavian *Jórvik* (*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 Skirlaugh (49), Skirlington (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-

<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>, 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

<sup>1</sup> On these dates cf. M. L. R. Beaven in EHR xxxiii, 328 ff. and A. H. Smith, *Parker Chronicle* 24 ff. (notes).

<sup>2</sup> PN NRY xxi.

Norwegian influence such as there is in the North Riding<sup>1</sup> is negligible. It is, in fact, almost limited to a few instances of the word *cross* 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 *cross* 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Divlinstones*, 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<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup>. 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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also PN NRY xxi-ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Heimskringla* 508-9.

Thoralby (149) is a late Old East Scandinavian change, whilst Holderness and Howden and some Middle English examples of *hofuð* (324) exhibit the late Old Scandinavian rounding of *a* by *u*-mutation. Ousethorpe (181) and Eddlethorpe (144) may both contain personal names *Iánulf* and *Iátvaldr* 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 Raven-thorpe. 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 *Jyrs* 'a giant,' and Scraters (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 Archæological 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 *ǣ* 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 *ǣl* 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 [ɔ:], 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 *ō* (*infra*). It should be noted that there is no evidence of non-Anglian broken forms with *-eald-* in this dialect.

OE *ǣl* 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 [iə], initially [jæ] or [ja]. These developments are found in the local pronunciations of such place-names as Stoneferry [sti:nfəri], 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- [stu:ən], 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  $\bar{a}$  (from any source) normally appears as *e* (for  $\bar{e}$  or  $\bar{e}$ ) in ME, as normally in the North and North Midlands (e.g. Seaton). When shortened in compounds OE  $\bar{a}$  (from *i*-mutation of  $\bar{a}$ ) is usually represented by *e*, but there are many spellings with *a* (*Haddon*, *Hatfeld* for Hedon, Hatfield).

OE  $\bar{e}$  usually remains, but in a few place-names  $\bar{e}$  before dentals has been raised to  $\bar{i}$  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  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{y}$  fell together as  $\bar{i}$  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  $\bar{i}$  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  $\bar{i}r$  (*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 [ɔ], represented occasionally by such spellings as *Bos-* 1786 for *Burshill* and pronunciations like [bɔdsəl], [bɔdl], [bɔlitən], for *Birdsall*, *Burdale*, *Bridlington*, etc. Similar developments occur also in NRY (v. PN NRY xxxi). *Ridgmont* represents an inversion.

ME  $\bar{i}$  in an open syllable was occasionally lengthened to  $\bar{e}$  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 [eit], and the tendency to diphthongise is evidenced in the later spellings (from 1636) of such place-names as Brighton, Deighton, Market Weighton.

Early ModE *ō* (from OE *ō* and other sources) occasionally appears to have been fronted to [a] or [ɑ] in the modern dialect, as in Battleburn (with *a* from 1650), Rotsea [ratsə] (*Rat-* from 1606). The older diphthong [au] (modern dialect [ɔ:]) has also become *a* in Ganstead (*Gan-* from the 16th century), Ganton and the dialect pronunciation of Spaldington (*Spawd-* in the 15th century) as [sparətən].

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

ME *ōr* fell in with ME *īr* (*supra*) and *ūr* (*infra*) and normally becomes [ɔ], as in Thorngumbald [θɔn], etc. Forms showing loss of *r* are found for Battleburn in the 16th century (*v.* also ModE *ō* above).

OE, OScand *ō*, 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 *ū* than it was to ME *ō*. 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 *īr*, *ōr* (*supra*).

ME *ūl* (including *ūl* when shortened in compounds) appears to have fallen in with ME *ōl* 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 *ū* 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

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| a.             | <i>ante</i> .  |
| Abbr           | <i>Placitorum Abbreviatio</i> , 1811.  |
| AD             | <i>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds</i> (in progress).   |
| <i>AddCh</i>   | Additional Charters in the British Museum (unpublished).                                 |
| Admiralty      | <i>Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty</i> (Selden Soc. 6, 11) 1894-7.                |
| Ælfric         | <i>The Homilies of Ælfric</i> , ed. B. Thorpe (Ælfric Society, London, 1844-6).          |
| Alcuin         | <i>Alcuini Carmina</i> (MGH, Poet. Lat. Med. Aevi i).                                    |
| AN             | Anglo-Norman.  |
| AN Infl        | R. E. Zachrisson, <i>Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names</i> , 1909.           |
| Anderson       | O. Anderson, <i>The English Hundred-names</i> , 1934.                                    |
| Angl           | Anglian.   |
| Anglo-Scand    | Anglo-Scandinavian.  |
| AntonItin      | <i>Itinerarium Antonini Augusti</i> (MHB).   |
| APS            | <i>Acta Philologica Scandinavica</i> (in progress).                                      |
| ASC            | <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , ed. B. Thorpe (Rolls Series, 1861).                   |
| Ass            | <i>Three Yorkshire Assize Rolls</i> (YAS 44), 1911.                                      |
| <i>Ass</i>     | Assize Rolls (unpublished) in PRO, nos. 1040 ff., etc.                                   |
| Asser          | Asser, <i>Life of King Alfred</i> , ed. W. H. Stevenson, 1904.                           |
| Baildon        | <i>Monastic Notes</i> , ed. W. P. Baildon (YAS 17, 81), 1895.                            |
| Barbour        | Barbour, <i>The Bruce</i> , ed. W. M. Mackenzie, 1909.                                   |
| <i>Bardney</i> | <i>Bardney Cartulary</i> , BM MS Vespasian E xx (fourteenth century).                    |
| ECS            | W. de G. Birch, <i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , 3 vols., 1885-93.                         |
| Bede           | Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols., 1896.                     |
| BedeAbb        | Bede, <i>Historia Abbatum</i> , v. Bede <i>supra</i> .                                   |
| BedeCM         | <i>Bedaë Chronica Maiora</i> (MGH, Auct. Antiq. xiii).                                   |
| Beds           | Bedfordshire.  |
| <i>BenchBk</i> | Bench Books of the City of Hull (Records Department of the Hull Corporation).            |
| Benson         | G. Benson, <i>York</i> , 1911, <i>Later Medieval York</i> , 1919.                        |
| Berks          | Berkshire.   |
| <i>Bev</i>     | <i>Registrum Curiae S. Johannis Beverlacensis</i> (BM, MS Harl 4292, sixteenth century). |
| BevAct         | <i>Chapter Act Book of Beverley Minster</i> (Surt 98, 108), 1898-1903.                   |
| BevDoc         | <i>Beverley Town Documents</i> , ed. A. F. Leach (Selden Society 14), 1900.              |
| BevRec         | <i>Beverley Borough Records</i> , 1575-1821 (YAS 84).                                    |
| <i>BevRent</i> | <i>Beverley Rentals</i> (BM, MS Lansdowne 896).  |
| Bk             | Buckinghamshire.   |
| Black Book     | <i>The Black Book of Carmarthen</i> .  |
| BM             | <i>Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum</i> , 2 vols., 1900-12.             |
| BM             | British Museum.  |
| BodlCh         | <i>Calendar of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library</i> , 1878.                    |

- BodlCh* Charters (unpublished) in the Bodleian Library.  
*Bowen* E. Bowen, *An Accurate Map of the East Riding of Yorkshire*, 1750.  
*Boyle* J. R. Boyle, *The Lost Towns of the Humber*, 1889.  
*Bretton* *Monk Bretton Chartulary* (YAS 66).  
*Bridl* *Cartulary of Bridlington Priory*, ed. W. T. Lancaster, 1912 (MS c. 1300).  
*BridlCh* *Bridlington Charters, Court Rolls and Papers, xvith-xixth century*, ed. J. S. Purvis (Hull, 1926).  
*Brit* British.  
*Byland* *Byland Cartulary* (BM, Egerton 2823, MS t. Hy 4).  
*c.* circa.  
*C* Cambridgeshire.  
*Ch* Cheshire.  
*Ch* *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 6 vols. 1903-27.  
*ChancW* *Calendar of Chancery Warrants* (in progress).  
*Chateriz* *Cartularium de Chateriz* (BM, Cotton Jul. A i).  
*ChR* *Rotuli Chartarum*, 1837.  
*CHuAS* *Cams. and Hunts. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (in progress).  
*Cl* *Calendar of Close Rolls* (in progress).  
*CIR* *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, 2 vols., 1833-44.  
*Colch* *Cartularium Monasterii S. Johannis Baptiste de Colecestrie*, 2 vols. (Roxburghe Club), 1897.  
*CR* Pipe Roll, Chancellor's copy.  
*Ct* *Court Rolls* (PRO).  
*Cu* Cumberland.  
*Cur* *Curia Regis Rolls* (in progress).  
*D* Devon.  
*Dan* Danish.  
*Dane* *Documents illustrative of the history of the Danelaw*, ed. F. M. Stenton, 1920.  
*DaPN* *Danmarks Gamle Personnavne* (in progress).  
*DaSN(F)* *Frederiksborg Amts Stednavne* (Stednavneudvalget), 1929.  
*DaSN(S)* *Samsøs Stednavne* (Stednavneudvalget), 1922.  
*DaSN(Sj)* *Sønderjyske Stednavne* (Stednavneudvalget), 1931-, in progress.  
*Davies* R. Davies, *Walks through the City of York*, 1880.  
*Db* Derbyshire.  
*DB* Domesday Book.  
*Deod* *Yorkshire Deodands* (YAJ xv).  
*DEPN* E. Ekwall, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*, 1936.  
*Deposition* *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt 40), 1861.  
*dial* dialect(al).  
*DiocVisit* *Diocesan and Provincial Visitations*, 1407-1452 (Surt 127).  
*Do* Dorset.  
*Dods* *Dodsworth's Yorkshire Notes* (YAJ xi, *et passim*).  
*Dods* Dodsworth MSS in the Bodleian Library (seventeenth century).  
*Dom* *Rotuli de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis* (Pipe Roll Society 35), 1913.  
*Drake* F. Drake, *Eboracum*, 1736.  
*Du* Durham.  
*Du* Dutch.  
*Dugd* Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols., 1817-30.

- Dunelm *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, 4 vols., 1873-8.  
 e. early.  
 EAS *Trans. of the Essex Archæological Society* (in progress).  
 Easby *Easby Cartulary* (BM, Egerton 2827, MS c. 1281).  
 Ebor *Registers of the Archbishops of York* (Surt 56, 109, 114, 123, 128, 138, 141, 145), 1872-1932.  
 EDD *English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. J. Wright, 6 vols., 1898-1905.  
 EETS Early English Text Society (in progress).  
 Egils Saga *Egils Saga Skallagrímssonar*, ed. S. Nordal (Reykjavík, 1933).  
 EHR *English Historical Review* (in progress).  
 Ely Register of Ely Cathedral (BM, Cotton Claud. C. xi).  
 Ely*A* *Liber de inq. maneriorum episc. Elyensis* (BM, Cotton Tib. B ii).  
 Encl*A* Enclosure Awards (various).  
 EPN A. Mawer, *The Chief Elements in English Place-names*, 1923.  
 ER *The Essex Review* (in progress).  
 ERAS *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* (in progress).  
 ERY East Riding of Yorkshire.  
 Ess Essex.  
 Ethelwerd *Fabii Ethelwardi Chronicorum libri quattuor* (MHB).  
 Extent *Ancient Extents* (unpublished) in PRO, nos. 48 ff.  
 Eyns *Eynsham Cartulary* (Oxford Hist. Soc. 49, 51), 1907-8.  
 f feminine.  
 FA *Feudal Aids*, 6 vols., 1890-1920.  
 Fabr *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surt 35), 1859.  
 Fagúskinna *Fagrskinna*, ed. F. Jónsson (Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Literatur, 1902-3).  
 Fees *Book of Fees*, 3 vols., 1922-31.  
 FF *Yorkshire Feet of Fines* (YAJ xi, Surt 94, YAS 2, 5, 7, 8, 42, 52, 53, 58, 62, 67, 68), 1897, 1887-90, 1910, 1915-17.  
 Fine *Calendar of Fine Rolls* (in progress).  
 Folcard Folcard's Life of St John of Beverley (HCY).  
 Font *Cartulary of Fountains Abbey*, ed. W. T. Lancaster.  
 For *Forest Proceedings* (PRO, Exch.T.Rec. plac. 235-242).  
 ForPlea *Pleas of the Forest* (PRO, Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Books, vol. i).  
 Forssner T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England*, 1916.  
 Fount *Memorials of Fountains Abbey* (Surt 42, 67), 1863-78.  
 FountBurs *Bursar's Books in Memorials of Fountains Abbey* (Surt 130).  
 FoxReg *Register of Bishop Fox of Durham* (Surt 147).  
 Franck Franck, *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 2nd ed., 1929.  
 Furness *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey* (Chetham Society 9, 11, 14), 1886-7.  
 FW Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, 2 vols., 1848-9.  
 Gael Gaelic.  
 Gaimar *Gaimar, Lestorie des Engles*, 2 vols., 1889-90.  
 Germ Germanic.  
 Gilbert *Transcripts of Charters relating to the Gilbertine Houses* (Lincoln Record Society 18), 1922.

- Gl Gloucestershire.  
 Guisb *Guisborough Cartulary* (Surt 86, 89), 1889-94.  
 Ha Hampshire.  
 Hargrove William Hargrove, *History of the Ancient City of York*, 1818.  
 Harl Harleian MSS (BM).  
 Harlow Harlow Cartulary (Camb. Univ. AddMS 6847).  
 Havelok *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, ed. W. W. Skeat, rev. K. Sisam, 1915.  
 HCY *Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls Series), 3 vols., 1879-94.  
 He Herefordshire.  
 Healaugh *Cartularium de Parco Helagh* (BM, Cotton Vespasian A iv, manuscript c. 1498).  
 Heggstad L. Heggstad, *Gamalnorsk Ordbok*, 1930.  
 Heimskringla Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. F. Jónsson, 1911.  
 Herts Hertfordshire.  
 HH Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 1879.  
 HistBrit *Historia Brittonum cum additamentis Nennii* (MGH, Auct. antiq. xiii).  
 HMC(Bev) *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Beverley*, 1900.  
 Hom *Homagia et Fidelitates* 1287-1376 (Surt 49), 1867.  
 Hosp *The Hospitallers in England* (Camden Society 65), 1855.  
 HouseBk *House Books of the Corporation of York* (YAJ xiv).  
 HouseBk *House Books of the Corporation of York* (unpublished), in the Guildhall, York.  
 Hu Huntingdonshire.  
 HullRental *Hull Rentals* (unpublished) in PRO, nos. 743 ff.  
 Indledning O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne—Forord og Indledning*, 1898.  
 Inq aqd *Inquisitiones ad quod damnum*, 1803.  
 Ipm *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem* (in progress).  
 IPN *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names*, 1923.  
 K Kent.  
 Kålund P. E. K. Kålund, *Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk Beskrivelse af Island*, 2 vols., 1877-82.  
 Karlström S. Karlström, *Old English Compound Place-names in -ing*, 1927.  
 KCD J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, 6 vols., 1839-48.  
 KF *Knights' Fees*, 1303 (Surt 49), 1867.  
 KI *Kirby's Inquest*, 1285 (Surt 49), 1867.  
 Kirkham *Kirkham Cartulary* (Bodl, Fairfax vii, manuscript fifteenth century).  
 Kirkstall *Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey* (Thoresby Society), 1904.  
 Kirkstead *Cartulary of Kirkstead* (BM, Cotton Vespasian E xviii, manuscript fifteenth century).  
 KPN J. K. Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-names*, 1931.  
 L Lincolnshire.  
 La Lancashire.  
 Langd T. Langdale, *A Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire*, 1822, etc.  
 Langtoft *The Chronicle of Peter Langtoft* (Rolls Series), 2 vols., 1866-8.  
 Lansd Lansdowne MSS in BM.  
 Lat Latin.  
 La3amon La3amon's *Brut*, 3 vols., 1847.  
 Lei Leicestershire.

- Leland J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. L. T. Smith, 5 vols., 1906-10.  
*Registrum 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).  
 LibEli Liber Eliensis (Cotton Vesp. A xix).  
 LindB E. H. Lind, *Norsk-Islandska Personbinamn*, 1920-1.  
 Lindkvist H. Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-names of Scandinavian Origin*, 1912.  
 LindN E. H. Lind, *Norsk-Islandska Dopnamn ock fingerade Namn*, 1905-15.  
 LMS *London Mediæval Studies* (in progress).  
 LN *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, 1774.  
 LRMB *Miscellaneous Books: Land Revenue* (PRO).  
 LS *Yorkshire Lay Subsidies*, 1297 (YAS 16), *Yorkshire Lay Subsidies*, 1301 (ib. 21), 1894-7.  
 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 Robert Manning, *The Story of England* (Rolls Series), 1887.  
 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 Mediæval 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.  
 MinAcct *Ministers' Accounts* (PRO).  
 Misc *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* (in progress).  
 MiscEng *English Miscellanies* (Surt 85), 1888.  
 MLG Middle Low German.  
 ModE Modern English.  
 Modéer E. Modéer, *Svenska Skärgårdsnamn*, 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.

- Nicholson J. Nicholson, *Place-names of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (ERAS xxv), 1926.
- NoB *Namn och Bygd* (in progress).
- NoEN O. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne*, 1904.
- NoGN O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne*, 17 vols., 1897-1914.
- NomVill *Nomina Villarum*, 1316 (Surt 49), 1867.
- Norw Norwegian.
- Notstell *Notstell Cartulary* (BM, Cotton Vespasian E xix, manuscript thirteenth century).
- NotDign *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. E. Böcking, 1839-53.
- NP E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England*, 1910.
- 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).  
Oxfordshire.
- O 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.
- OIr 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.
- Orosius Orosius, *History of the World*, ed. H. Sweet (EETS 79), 1883.
- 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.
- P *Pipe Rolls* (Record Commission, 3 vols.), 1833-44. *Pipe Roll Society* (in progress).
- Pap *Calendar of Papal Registers* (in progress).
- ParlSur Parliamentary Surveys (PRO).
- Pat *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (in progress).
- PatR *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, 1835.

- Percy *Percy Chartulary* (Surt 117), 1911.  
 p.n. place-name.  
 PN C W. W. Skeat, *Place-names of Cambridgeshire*, 1911.  
 PN CuWm W. J. Sedgfield, *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*, 1922.  
 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 Sc 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. Moorman, *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).  
 Poulson Poulson, *History of Holderness*, 2 vols., 1845-9.  
 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 Rutla:d.  
 RBE *Red Book of the Exchequer*, 3 vols., 1896.  
 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).  
 RES *Review of English Studies* (in progress).  
 RG *Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, 2 vols., 1887.  
 RH *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 2 vols., 1812-18.  
 Riev *Cartularium abbatiae de Rievall* (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.

- Saints *Die Heiligen Englands*, ed. F. Liebermann, 1889.  
 Sanct *Sanctuarium Dunelm. et S. Beverlacense* (Surt 5), 1837.  
*Sawley* *Register of Sawley Abbey* (BM, Harl 112, manuscript fifteenth century).  
 Saxton J. Saxton, *Map of Yorkshire*, 1577.  
 Sc Scottish.  
 Scand Scandinavian.  
 SD *Symeon of Durham* (Rolls Series), 2 vols., 1882-5 (Surt 51), 1867.  
 Seebuch *Das Seebuch*, ed. K. Koppmann, Bremen 1876.  
 Selby *Coucher Book of Selby* (YAS 10, 13), 1891-3.  
 Sf Suffolk.  
 Sheppard T. Sheppard, *Lost Towns of the Yorkshire Coast*, 1912.  
 s.n. *sub nomine*.  
 So Somerset.  
 Speed J. Speed, *Map of Yorkshire*, 1610.  
 Sr Surrey.  
 SR Lay Subsidy Rolls (PRO).  
 SRS Sussex Record Society (in progress).  
 St Staffordshire.  
 Steenstrup J. Steenstrup, *De Danske Stednavne*, 1908.  
 StEng Standard English.  
 Stowe Stowe Manuscripts (BM).  
 StoweCh Stowe Charters (unpublished) in BM.  
 Studies<sup>1</sup> E. Ekwall, *Studies on English Place- and Personal Names*, 1931.  
 Studies<sup>2</sup> E. Ekwall, *Studies in English Place-names*, 1936.  
 Surt Surtees Society (in progress).  
 s.v. *sub voce*.  
 SvON *Sverges Ortnamn* (in progress).  
 SvSjónamn E. Hellquist, *Svenska Sjónamn*, 1903-6.  
 Swed Swedish.  
 Sx Sussex.  
 t. *tempore*.  
 TA *Tithe Award*.  
 Templar *Records of the Templars in England*, ed. B. A. Lees, 1935.  
 Test *Testamenta Eboracensia* (Surt 4, 30, 45, 53, 79, 106), 1836-1902.  
 TRE Tempore Regis Eadwardi.  
 Trevisa Higden's *Polychronicon*, with translation by John Trevisa (Rolls Series), 1865-86.  
 Tuke Tuke's *Map of Holderness* (in Poulson).  
 VCH *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*.  
 VE *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 6 vols., 1810-34.  
 v.l. *varia lectio*.  
 W Wiltshire.  
 Wa Warwickshire.  
 Warter *Warter Cartulary* (Bodl, Fairfax ix).  
 We Westmorland.  
 Whitby *Whitby Cartulary* (Surt 69, 72), 1879-81.  
 Wills *Wills and Inventories* (Surt 2), 1834.  
 WM William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, 2 vols., 1881-9.  
 Works *Public Works in Medieval Law* (Selden Society, 32, 40), 1915-23.

WRY	West Riding of Yorkshire.
Wt	Isle of Wight.
Y	Yorkshire.
YAJ	<i>Yorkshire Archæological Journal</i> (in progress).
YAS	Yorkshire Archæological Society: Record Series (in progress).
YCh	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , ed. W. Farrer, 5 vols., 1914-37.
YChant	<i>Yorkshire Chantry Surveys</i> (Surt 91-2), 1894-5.
YD	<i>Yorkshire Deeds</i> (YAJ v, vi, xii, xiii, xvi, xvii, YAS 39, 50, 63, 65, 69, 76, 83).
YearBook	<i>Year Books</i> (Rolls Series).
YI	<i>Yorkshire Inquisitions</i> (YAS 12, 23, 31, 37, 59), 1892 ff.
YkHB	<i>House Books of the Corporation of York</i> (YAJ xiv).
<i>YorkDeed</i>	York Deeds (various, unpublished).
YorkMem	<i>York Memorandum Book</i> (Surt 120), 1912.
YRN	E. V. Gordon and A. H. Smith, <i>River-names of Yorkshire</i> (Yorkshire Dialect Society 36), 1925.
ZEN	E. Björkman, <i>Zur englischen Namenkunde</i> , 1912.
ZONF	<i>Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung</i> (in progress).

PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN TRAN-  
SCRIPTION OF PRONUNCIATIONS OF  
PLACE-NAMES

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

Examples:

Harwich (hæridʒ), Shrewsbury (ʃrouzbəri, ʃruzbəri),  
Beaulieu (bjuzli).

## 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 piəsi].

(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, *v.* 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. OS cand 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*<sup>2</sup>, 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, 250. stoc Stoke (5), (a) *Lauerkesto*, (b) Adstock.  
stocc Stock Place.
- Vol. iv, 375. stoc Stoke (3), *Wiburgestok*.  
stocc Stock (3), (a) Warstock.
- Vol. v, 317. Add stoc Stokesley.  
stoc or stocc Stockton.
- Vol. vii, 548. stoc *Stockingham*, Stock's Hill, Stoke (3).  
stocc Stocks (2).
- Vol. ix, 670 stoc Stock, Stoke (8), Stokenham, (a) By-, Chard-, Culm-Hal-, Plym-, Tavi-, Taw-stock, (b) Frithelstock, Revel-stoke.  
stocc Stock, Stocken, Stockbeare, Stockadon, Stockeydown, Stockham, Stockhouse.  
stoc or stocc Stockadon, Stockey, Stockleigh (3), Stockley, Stokehouse, Stokeley.
- Vol. x, 252. stoc Stoke (3).  
stocc Stockall, Stock Hill.
- Vol. xi, 348 stoc Stoke (2), Crastock.  
stocc Stocklands, Stockwell.  
stoc(c) Stoughton.
- 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 (Brissenden), 130 (Rignall), 133 (Coppice Lowhill), 155 (Haleacre), 162 (Boddington), 165 (Chilborohill), 192 (Andridge), 202 (Flackwell), 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 (Solcum), 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.* BLETCHLEY. Add '*Blechelai* 1106-9 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. 39, *s.n.* WALTON. This is probably a compound of *weald* rather than of *weala*.

pp. 39-40, *s.n.* WAVENDON. OE *Waua* is on record.

pp. 51-2, *s.nn.* ADDINGTON, ADSTOCK. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup> 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 Readeland* (c. 1150 Oseney) is decisive in favour of the 'red' interpretation.

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

p. 81, *s.n.* TIDDINGFORD. Add '*Tuttyngford* 1324 *Deed.*' After *Tyttyngford* 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.* POLLICOTT. Add '*Policote* 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 *þyrre*, 'dry' and *feld*.

p. 198, *s.n.* BOURNE END. Add '*la Burnhende* 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 *sier*, a derivative of *sēar*, 'withered, dry.'

## VOL. III

## THE PLACE-NAMES OF BEDFORDSHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE

p. 15, under KEYSOE. Add 'KEYSOE ROW, earlier *Kaysho Rowe* (1592 *Deed*)' (F.G.E.).

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

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

pp. 21-2, s.n. YELDEN. Add '*Evelden 1604 Bishop's Transcripts*' (F.G.E.).

pp. 22, 146, s.n.n. CLAPHAM, CLOPHILL. These names and others with initial *clopp(a)* are discussed by Ekwall in *Studies*<sup>2</sup> 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 *klop* used in this sense, is an error. The Dan word denoted 'block, lump.' Following out a suggestion of Middendorff (s.v. *clop*) and Ritter (128 n. 2), he would associate these names with MHG *klupf*, Ger dial. *klopf*, '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. 26, s.n. BIDDENHAM FORD. Add '*Fort t. Wm 2 LincRecSoc 27, hamelettum de Forde* (in Biddenham) 1317 *Deed*' (F.G.E.).

p. 29, s.n. BRIDGE END. Add '*Bidenhambrugge 1327 Deed*' (F.G.E.).

p. 33, s.n. DUNGEE. Add '*Dunnicho 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. 49, s.n. TURVEY BRIDGE. Add '*Pontem Turueie 1138-47 BHRS xi*' (F.G.E.).

p. 54. Add '*CHANNELS END is Chanewsende 1504 Deed, Chanowes End 1586 Deed, Chaunewes 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 *rān(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. 78, s.n. BOUGHTON END. Add '*Bowden End 1554 Deed*' (F.G.E.).

p. 81, under MAULDEN. Add '*HOLLINGTON is Holidon 1499 Deed*' (F.G.E.).

p. 83, s.n. BROGBOROUGH. Delete '*Broybury, Broybiry 1363, 1383 Cl*' and '*Brobury 1525 LP*' (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 Harynge 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 [nɔrəl] 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 [kɑ:kət] for Caldecote (p. 94) is rarely heard, there is an old rhyme which speaks of '*Carcot scrubs*' (F.W.M.).

pp. 93 ff. under NORTHILL. Field-names for which early forms may be given have been noted as follows: Clayhill (*Claihil* 1202), Pad'th (*Padewrth* 1202) (i.e. 'Pada's enclosure'), Stockings (*Le Stoking* 1219 (*v.* stocking), Trumpetons (*Trumpingtons croft* 1232) (the family having come from Trumpington (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, *s.n.* HILL HO. Add 'Hulla 1170-80 BHRS xiii (p)' (F.G.E.).

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* (1669 *Deed*) 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 PN D Pt. i, liii.'

pp. 112-3, *s.n.* MANSHEAD. Add '*Mansed Hill* in Tingrith (1624 *Deed*)' (F.G.E.).

p. 125, *s.n.* KING'S WOOD. Add '*Kingeswoode* 1242 RegAntiq.'

p. 128, *s.n.* HOUGHTON REGIS. Add '(ad) *Hoh tune* 975 (12th) *LibEI*' (P.H.R.). Houghton Regis is also known as *Dunstable Houghton* 1768 *EnclA* (F.G.E.).

pp. 129-30, *s.n.* LEIGHTON BUZZARD. The *Busard* addition is first found in a Lincoln Deed of 1242. In 1247 (*Ass*) we have mention of one Theobald de *Busard*, the predecessor of the then Prebendary and Parson of Leighton, and the same man (called Theobald de *Bosat*) seems to be mentioned as a canon of Lincoln in a charter of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln (1189-95). Probably the prebend of Leighton (Beds) was distinguished by the addition of *Busard* in distinction from the prebend of Leighton Bromswold (Hu) in the same cathedral. (See R. Richmond, *Leighton Buzzard and its Hamlets*, pp. 5-6.)

p. 130, *s.n.* COLLUCK. Add '*Cockelake* 1242 RegAntiq.'

p. 134, *s.n.* TILSWORTH. Alternatively the personal name may be \**Tyfel*, a derivative of *Tuf* (BCS 1130). Cf. DEPN *s.n.*

p. 135, *s.n.* DAINTRY WOOD. Add '*Daintree Wood* 1803 *Deed*' (F.G.E.).

p. 136, n. 1. The forms *Levesethe*, *Lewsey* have reference to Lewsey in Legrave. It lay on the bounds of Legrave 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* 1661 *Survey* (F.G.E.), from OE *draca*, "dragon" and hlaw, "hill, barrow." Cf. *Drakelow* (Db).'

p. 147. Add 'BROBURY (lost). It is called *Broybury* 1304 *Deed*, manor of *Broybury* in *Little Caynho* 1340 *Deed*, *Broybury*, -*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*)*hæg*, "enclosure." The first element must remain uncertain.'

p. 150. Add '*NEWBURY* is manor of *Newbery* 1524 *Deed*' (F.G.E.).

p. 178, *s.n.* KENSWORTH. Add '(apud) *Ceagnesworthe* 975 (12th) *LibEI*' (P.H.R.), showing that this contains the same personal name as that found in Keynsham (So), *Cægenesham* c. 1000 Ethelword.'

p. 188, *s.n.* CHALDERBEACH. Add '*Chadd bytes* 1553 *CHuAS v*' (P.H.R.).

p. 191. Add '*THE WRAYE* (east of Whittlesey Mere) *Rayehill* 1553 *CHuAS v*' (P.H.R.).

p. 215. Add 'LODES END (near Bodsey Bridge). Cf. *bodslodend* 1553 CHuAS v)' (P.H.R.).

p. 242, *s.n.* HAMERTON. Add '*Hamertona* 1119 Colch' (P.H.R.).

p. 254, *s.n.* STIRTLOE. 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 BedsHu xlii, we have *Paccheswelle* c. 1230 RegAntiq in Paxton. All these would seem to point to a personal name *Pæcc(i)*.

p. 287. Delete 'Cæn Kensworth' and add '\*Cægen Kensworth.'

## VOL. IV

## THE PLACE-NAMES OF WORCESTERSHIRE

p. xlv, ll. 15 ff. The *gylden* 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 *Bogildstret* (c. 1220), one in Barton Hartshorn is called *Bugildewaye* (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 *scylf*.

pp. 74, 302, *s.m.* WORSLEY, WARLEY. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup> 63 ff.) suggests that the first element in these names is OE *weorfes*, *weorfa*, gen. sg. and pl. respectively of OE *weorf*, 'draught-cattle.' Cf. Warracott (PN D 200).

p. 81, *s.n.* SUCKLEY. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup> 94) notes that the form *suca* is found for *sucga* 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* xlv.

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 PIDDLÉ. 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 '*Sauernestoch* 1194 P.'

p. 233, *s.n.* STECHFORD. Ekwall (DEPN *s.n.*) associates this name with the OE adj. *sticce*, 'sticky.'

p. 242, *s.n.* SAPCOTT. 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 *Hurdcott*.

p. 272, *s.n.* WINNALL. The persistent single *l* makes OE \**wilegn*, 'willow' more likely as the first element. Cf. Willenhall (PN Wa 190).

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

pp. 315-6, *s.n.* CROWLE. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 168) suggests that the first element here is OE \**crōh*, '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.* æsc. Delete '(b) Burlish, Botany (?)'

p. 380. Delete the asterisk before *Beald*.

p. 381. Delete '\*Bifa Bevington.' Cf. PN Wa 220-1.

Delete '\*Burgela Burlish.' Cf. *supra* xlv.

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

p. 383. Delete '\*Ela Elbury.'

\*Fæle 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.* FRYTON. 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.* SACKLETON. Ekwall (DEPN) takes the first element to be topographical and connects it with OHG *scahho*, 'point of land,' ON *skekill*, '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 *haca*, 'hook,' with reference to the shape of the headland.

p. 125, under RUSWARP. Add '*EWE COTE* is *Yowcote* 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 '*διὰ κατοπρακτορίου*' (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 topographical 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),

99 (Reeth), 105 (Hardnip's), 107 (Swear), 108 (Wassell), 110 (Pendean), 112 (Roundhurst), 114 (Redlands), 115 (Bennyfold), 116 (Hallgate), 120 (Collumn), 122 (Brookfield), 123 (Salmons Bridge), 127 (Hesworth), 135 (Sparr), 150 (Spar, Tedfold), 153 (Frithwoods), 154 (Pythingdean), 155 (Toat, Underley), 157 (Exfold, Hornshill, Naldrett, Rowhook), 160 (Pensfold, Theale), 162 (Freeland, Kithurst), 175 (Crowell), 179 (Clayton), 180 (Hill), 183 (Mitchborne), 185 (Bassell's), 187 (Pinland, Posbrook's, Pothill, Thistleworth, Whitenwick), 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), 239 (Kingsfold, Shiremark, Strood), 246 (Holmbush), 253 (Hornsland, River's), 254 (Saucelands), 257 (Colwood), 260 (Freeke's), 261 (Ansty), 262 (Bolnore), 263 (Hilders, Holmsted), 264 (Lovell's, Pilstye), 265 (Pucksroad, Sidney, Slough), 272 (Pickeridge), 273 (Tickeridge, Old House), 274 (Danworth, Deanhouse), 277 (Ockley), 282 (Kits Bridge), 283 (Tilgate, Tinsley), 294 (Brapool), 297 (Bower), 303 (Lentridge, Ridden's), 304 (Goat), 306 (Colwell), 313 (Balneath, Caveridge), 321 (Landport), 336 (Cowstock's), 341 (Clearwater, Costell's), 342 (Noven), 346 (Flitteridge), 347 (Woolpack), 348 (Stroodland), 350 (Vetchery, Reeding's), 353 (Farables), 356 (Goat), 361 (Coombe, Newelm), 362 (Well), 369 (Reddins), 371 (*Fishridge*), 372 (Broomfield), 375 (Ruffet), 376 (Verridge), 378 (Limney, Mark Cross), 383 (Renhurst), 386 (Early, Pell), 387 (Riseden), 415 (Deans), 422 (Ash), 441 (Knightsbridge, Springham), 453 (Quedley), 466 (Pigstrood), 469 (Kingsley), 474 (Woodsell), 483 (Hockham), 497 (Duckreed, Foxhole), 506 (Lankhurst, Neatenden, Southings).

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 *Pēota*, which is on record, as suggested by Ekwall (DEPN *s.n.*) would suit the forms better.

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

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

pp. 195, 412, *s.n.* CLAPHAM. For the etymology of this name *v.* Ekwall, *Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 136 ff. and *supra* xlvi. Ekwall explains the DB *Clopeham* as deriving from a weak form *cloppa*.

p. 228, *s.n.* ROFFEY. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 82) suggests that this goes back to OE *rāhhege*, frequently found in the Charters, 'deer-fence.'

p. 287, *s.n.* PYCOMBE. 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 (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 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, herdsman's hut,' rather than 'group of buildings' (cf. Styrian dial *sell*, *söll*, '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, Breadsell, *Drigsell*, Woodsell and Yorkshire. Ekwall also rightly finds it in Boarsell, Bugsell, Hamsell, Hornshill and Wigsell (with first element *wic*, 'dairy-farm'), in which he takes certain *shulle*-forms to be due to confusion with unstressed ME *helle*, *hulle*, 'hill.' With less certainty he extends this explanation to Branshill.

p. 349, *s.n.* MARESFIELD. Ekwall's suggestion of a first element *merc*, '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.* CROWHURST, CROWHAM. In both these names the first element may well be OE *croh*, '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*<sup>2</sup>, 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. lix, *s.n.* HATHERLEIGH. For 'Hegherleo' read 'Hegberleo.' So also 'Hupheberleg, Heyyerleg 1220 Fees.'

pp. 10, 342, 344, *s.n.m.* 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* xlix.

p. 29, *s.n.* BITTADON. The personal name *Beotta* would perhaps suit the forms better (Ekwall, DEPN *s.n.*).

p. 62, l. 4. For *stocc* read *stoc*.

pp. 69, 75, 240, 302, 331, 447, 522, *s.n.* STOKE. For *stoc(c)* read *stoc*.

p. 92, *s.n.* FRITHELSTOCK. For *stoc(c)* read *stoc*.

p. 114, last paragraph. Add 'ANCHOR WOOD is *Ankerwood* 1557 Pat' (A.C.W.).

p. 115, *s.n.* LOVEACOTT. 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 *Tæppeleag* (BCS 596). He suggests OE *tæppe* as the first element, hence 'wood where pegs were obtained.'

p. 127, *s.n.* QUODITCH. There are two places called Quidhampton in Wiltshire, one in Behnerton 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.* PANSON. Add 'Panestana 1194 P.'

p. 168, *s.n.* SUTCOMBE. For 'Suttanurde' read 'Suttanville' and, in the rubric at the head of the charter note *Suttunæ wylle*. These forms are in favour of association with *suð*. Cf. Ekwall, DEPN *s.n.m.*

p. 256, *s.n.* PLYMSTOCK. For *stocc* read *stoc*.

p. 257, *s.n.* REVELSTOKE. For *stoc(c)* read *stoc*.

pp. 285-6. Add TORPEEK (6'). This is a manor in Peek. 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 *Pik* late of William *atte Torre Pik*,' we may add earlier references as follows: 'Johannes de *la Torre* tenet in *Peck*' (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 Willelmus *att Torre*. The 'peak' is Peek itself and the *Tor* is a manorial and not a local addition, distinguishing a particular holding in Peek.

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 (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 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 CRUWYS 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 *ærneford*, 'ford which can be passed by riding.' Cf. *ærneweg*, 'riding road.'

p. 408, *s.n.* PRIESTCOMBE. 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.* STOKENTEIGNHEAD. 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 *Culumstoce*.

p. 621, *s.n.* STOCKHAM'S HILL. The *Stockham* family must have come from Stockham in Witheridge (PN D 399).

p. 622, *s.n.* FARWOOD. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 76-7) suggests OE *fōr-wudu*, 'pig-wood.'

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

p. 640, *s.n.* KILMINGTON. An early form *Culmiton* (1194 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 (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 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 (?).'

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

CONFUSION OF INITIAL *c* AND *g* is specially common in this county. See *s.n.* Clippendale, Crayley, Gaiton, Gawber, Glapthorne, Glendon, Glington. p. 41, *s.n.* MORETON PINKNEY. Ekwall (DEPN *s.n.* 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.n.* FRANKLOW. Add '*Frankelawa* c. 1165 RegAntiq.'

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

p. 97, *s.n.* 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.n.* 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.n.* ARNISS COPSE. Delete the reference to Arno's Grove (Mx).

p. 190, *s.n.* CALDECOTT. Locally [kɔ:kɔt] (F.W.M.).

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

pp. 248-53. Add:

an Olney. ceald Charlock.

cocc (n) Cockleyhill (?).

col Colready. \*creowel (n) Croughton.

dibbing (ME) (n) Britain Sale.

dingle (ME) (n) Dingley.

dust (n) Dust Hill, Duston.

fealh (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.

hyrne Horns Wood. impe ME (n) Empty.

læppe (n) Cherry Lap.

landgemære (n) Laundimer.

rodstan (n) Radstone. sceot (n) Shotwell.

seofen (n) Seawell, Sewell, Sywell.

slyppe (n) Slipton. smeðe Smanhill.

\*stæfer (n) Staverton. \*strut (n) Studborough.

sulh (n) Sulby (?), Sulgrave.

træppe (n) Trafford. wih, weoh (n) Weedon (z).

wið (n) Wythmaile. wrið Wothorpe.

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:	clackmill	285	low	264
	cuttlemill	103	<i>raton-row</i>	225
	featherbed	278	slade	269
	garboard	261	start	276
	haw	263-4	stibbing	270, 289
	hulk	265	trench	270

## VOL. XI

## THE PLACE-NAMES OF SURREY

p. 21, *s.n.* CLAPHAM. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 136 ff.) would take the first element to be an OE \**cloppa*, 'hill.' Cf. *supra* xlvi.

p. 29, *s.n.* SOUTHWARK. The very good form *supriganaweorce* 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 *Kaihem*.

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. Delete 'THE GORSE.....*TA*' (H.C.).

p. 54, under SANDERSTEAD. Add (all 6''): COOMBS WOOD (*Combeswoode* c. 1460 *HydeReg*). GEE WOOD (*Gees* 1803 *CroydonEncl.A*). 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.nm.* 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 GOLDTHORN 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.* SATTENHAM. 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 *Chelewya 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*.

burhgeat (n) Burgate. butere *Barsden*.

clause, ME (n) Clouse.

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.

goldhord (n) Goldenlands, Goldsworth, *Goldwhurd*.  
 haca (n) Hackbridge. hamel Hambleton, -ton.  
 heals Hersham. hefeld (n) Haldish.  
 hlose Loseley. imbe (n) Emley, Imbhams.  
 impe, ME (n) Empley.  
 læge Lawbrook, Lagham. læppe (n) Lapscombe.  
 lurte, ME (n) Hogs Mill. lusporn (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 (?).  
 rot (n) Roothill. rysc Merton Rush.  
 sang (n) Songhurst. \*sceacol (n) Shackelford.  
 sceald Shadwell (?), Shalford, *Shawford*.  
 \*sliel (n) Slyfield, Slithehurst.  
 smeoru Smarkham. smiððe (n) Smithwood.  
 spræc (n) Spreakley. stæf (n) Staffhurst.  
 tan (n) Taunton (?). \*tange (n) Tanfield, Tangley.  
 prote (n) Young Stroat. twang (n) Tongham.  
 wæfre (n) Waverley. wic Whitford, Wykehurst.  
 wop (n) Wapshott.

p. 361, s.v. hecg. *Kyrkehegge* in Sanderstead corresponds to *Crooks Corner* (1843 *TA*). It is far from any church (H.C.).

p. 375, under SANDERSTEAD. Add the following, all from *TA*:

Ballard's Field (*Ballokysfeld* 1515, *Bullockesfeld* 1560). Barrows Plashes (cf. *Conye buries and plessers* 1585). East Field (*Estfeld* 1307 *Add*). Rousted (near *Rowstrete-ende de Sanderstede* c. 1460 *HydeReg*). Stockham (id. 1307 *Add*, *Stokhamme* c. 1350 *HydeReg*). Well Field (*Wellfield* 1601). Worley Bottom (Thos. *Worley* 1508 *Add*, *Woorlie Bottom* 1585).

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

p. 405. Under (5) add Bullhead (PN D 94).

p. 410. Under *Sunday* add *Sundayferes*, i.e. Sunday-furrows (v. *furh*) (H.C.).

p. 413. 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
cutmill	77, 209	pitch	239
dial	368	runt	159
dick	358	steeple	398
hoppett, -itt	369	trash	273
keep	386	wandering	64
kyroun	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.'

## VOL. XII

## THE PLACE-NAMES OF ESSEX

- p. liii, l. 6 from bottom. For '304' read '384.'
- p. 10, *s.n.* PINCEY BROOK. Add '(le) Pymkese(y) brok 1430 Harlow' (P.H.R.).
- p. 12, *s.n.* STORT. Add '*Riuieram de Storteforde* 1207 Harlow' (P.H.R.).
- p. 37, *s.n.* MULBERRY GREEN. Add '*Motebergh(e)* 1382 Harlow, *-strate* 1410 ib., *Mudberghstrate*, *Moteberugh(strete)* ib., *Middborow* 1547 EAS xxii, *Mootborow*, *Moleberry*, *Molebury* 17th-18th ER xlv, confirming the proposed etymology' (P.H.R.).
- p. 37, *s.n.* POTTER STREET. Add '*terra quondam Mauricii le Pottere iuxta Potterestrate* 1382 Harlow' (P.H.R.).
- p. 38, *s.n.* HARLOW TYE. Add '*Harlaghetye* 1382 Harlow, *Herloughty* 1409 ib.' (P.H.R.).
- p. 38, *s.n.* HOBBS CROSS. Add 'Here probably lived William *ad Crucem* (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.).
- p. 38, last paragraph. Add 'BOSSES FM (local) is to be associated with the family of Robert *Bosse* (1382 Harlow). FOSTER STREET (*fforestestrate* ib.) and FRANKLINS are to be associated with the families of Thomas *fforestare* (c. 1250 ib.) and Osbert *le ffrankeleyn* (c. 1220 ib.). HUBBARD'S HALL. Cf. *Hubertisredene* 1300 ib., *Huberdestenement* 1347 ER xlvi. The name derives from *Hubert* fitz William and John fitz *Hubert*, grandfather and father of John *Huberd* (1288 *Ass*) with whom the surname became fixed (v. ER xlvi, 44). v. ryden (PN Ess 568, 588)' (P.H.R.).
- p. 39, *s.n.* CHURCHGATE STREET, HARLOWBURY and MILLHILL respectively add '*Churchegatestrete* 1417 Harlow, *Herloughbury* 1409 ib., *Millehel* 1382 ib. POOLLES was probably the home of Gilbert de *Stagno* (t. Abbot Sampson) and is *terra Johannis Poole* 1430 ib.' (P.H.R.).
- p. 39. Add '*GRAVELPIT* FM (6)'. Cf. *le Grauelpettys* 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 '*Batayles* 1409 CI' (P.H.R.).
- p. 80, n. 4. Add '*Suttones* 1427 CI' (P.H.R.).
- p. 86, *s.n.* NORTH WEALD. Add '*Northwolde* 1244 FF' (P.H.R.).
- p. 87, n. 7. Add '*Parysreden* 1430 Harlow. Cf. ryden (PN Ess 568, 588)' (P.H.R.).
- p. 109, *s.n.* WANSTEAD. Add '*Whansted* 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 '*Colherberd* 1528 LP' (P.H.R.).
- p. 131, *s.n.* BEACON HILL. Add '*Beakon Hyll* 1581 *Deed*' (F.G.E.).
- p. 131, *s.n.* DAVEY DOWNE. Add '*Great, Upper and Nether Davy Downes* 1614 RegRoff' (P.H.R.).
- p. 148, *s.n.* LABWORTH. Add '*Loweweyerde* (sic) 1207 Harlow' (P.H.R.).
- p. 151, *s.n.* CORRINGHAM. Delete 'Identical with Corringham (L).' Cf. DEP*N 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 '*Remmesdon* 1362 Ipm' (P.H.R.). Ekwall's suggestion of 'ram's valley' from OE *ramm* is possibly a better one (DEPN *s.n.*).
- pp. 171, 184, *s.n.* RUGWARD, RUGWOOD. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 88 ff.) suggests with much likelihood that the first element here is the lost OE *hrucge*, 'woodcock,' or some such bird, which is found in more than one place-name in the OE charters.

- p. 174, under WEST TILBURY. Add 'POLWICKS (6") is *Palewick* 1584 *Survey*' (ex inf. Col. E. A. Loftus).
- p. 176, s.n. WICKFORD. Add 'Wincfort 1086 DB' (P.H.R.).
- p. 176, n. 1. Add '*domum Johannis Soper* 1207 *Harlow*' (P.H.R.).
- p. 187, s.n. HULLBRIDGE. Add '*pontem de la Wlone* 1207 *Harlow*' (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 *sceort*) used substantivally.
- p. 209, s.n. BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE. Add '*Bradewella* 1194 P' (P.H.R.).
- p. 212, s.n. CREEKSEA. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests with some likelihood that this is a compound of *crike*, 'creek' and that the name denotes a *hithe* belonging to the *creek* or estuary of the Crouch.
- p. 216, s.n. LAWLING. Add '(in) *Lellincge* 1005 Eyns' (P.H.R.).
- p. 221, s.n. ILTNEY. Ekwall (DEPN s.n.) suggests the possibility of OE *ielfetana-*, *ielfetena-eg*, 'swan's' or 'swans' marshland.'
- p. 231, n. 3. Add '*Pakkardes* 1429 Cl' (P.H.R.).
- p. 238, s.n. BOREHAM. There can be little doubt that Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 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. \**rætten*, 'infested with rats.'
- p. 263. Add 'BROOK HALL and PONDLANDS (6") were probably the homes of Robert *del Broc* and Lucia *ate Ponde* (1277 *Ely*)' (P.H.R.).
- p. 270, s.n. WALTHAM. Add '*Uualtham* c. 1095 *BuryDoc*' (P.H.R.).
- pp. 271, 523, s.n.m. ROLPHY, ROUGHWAY. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 82) suggests that these go back to OE *räh-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 *hræof*.
- 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 Chenex* 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, l. 4. Add '*Wyldeirhey* 1207 *Harlow*' (P.H.R.), suggesting that the first element is really OE *wildeor*.
- p. 432, second paragraph. Add 'HAWKWOODS FM and LISTONHALL FM are *Hawkwodes* 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 '*Kanefeld* c. 1095 *Lewes*, *Kaneulde* c. 1098 *ib.*' (P.H.R.).
- p. 480, n. 11. Add '*Wares* 1402 Cl' (P.H.R.).
- p. 496, s.n. THAXTED. For '*Thacstede* 12th *LibEl*' read 'c. 1004 (12th) *LibEl*' (P.H.R.).
- p. 499, s.n. TILTY. Add '*Thilethei* 1199 *Wardon*, *Tilente* 1275 *RH* (Cams), *Tyleteyn* 1279 *ib.*' (P.H.R.).
- p. 503, last line. Delete 'and *Roding supra* 490-1.'
- p. 511, under HADSTOCK. Add '*POTTISHALL* (6") is *Potishalefeld* 1277 *Ely*. Cf. *Polsill* (fd.) in *Ashdon* (PN Ess 641)' (P.H.R.).
- p. 512. *BLAGDEN* FM was possibly the home of Richard de *Blahedon* who is mentioned in connexion with *Gt Abington* (C) in 1244 (Cl). (P.H.R.).

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 (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 83-4) of a first element OE *amore*, 'bunting,' would suit the early forms of this name very well.

p. 530, *s.n.* CATMERE END. Add 'Cattemere 1221 *ElyA*, 1277 *Ely*' (P.H.R.).

p. 531, under LITTLEBURY. Add 'HOWE WOOD. Cf. *Lytlebirho* 1277 *Ely*.'

p. 546, *s.n.* ELDER STREET. Ekwall (*Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 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, *Burningin* 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 *Inhedge* 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.* SOLIHULL. On the possibility of the first element being a lost OE *sulig*, 'pigsty,' see further Ekwall, *Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 59 ff.

p. 98, *s.n.* BRINKLOW. For Brinkley (C) note the form *Brunckele* 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, *Studies*<sup>2</sup>, 136 ff. and *supra* xlvi.

p. 243, *s.n.* FOREWOOD. The absence of a medial *e* makes Ekwall's suggestion of OE *fōr*, '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 *humber* in place-names. It can hardly be the dialectal *oumer*, *o(u)mber* 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. *Bedfrið* etc.) is better than *Beaduric*, though the former name is not actually on record.

p. 327, *s.v.* heafod. Forms in *haveden* and *haden* 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 *Sculcote 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 *Sculcote 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.* THARLESTHORPE. Professor Bruce Dickins suggests that the DB spelling *Toruelses-* points to an original *Porvaldr*, but so far as is known this name did not undergo the assimilation which affected *Póraldr*.

p. 35, *s.n.* SKECKLING. Dr Knudsen points out that the Danish equivalent of ONorw *skckill*, '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.

pp. 54-5, *s.n.* HUMBLETON. For further discussion of OScand *humle*, v. Sahlgren in *Saga och Sed* (1935), pp. 60 ff. and in NoB x, 141-2.

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 *Calcehou* c. 1128, *Kelchou* 1144, *Chelchehov* 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.* APPLGARTH LANE 'one pasture called *Applegarth* 16th, *Applegarth Lane* 1690,' *s.n.* KIRKGATE '*Kyrkgait* 1537, *Kirkgate street* 1539,' *s.n.* ST JOHN'S STREET '*Sanct John Gaytt* 1537,' *s.n.* WESTGATE '*Westgaytt* 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 Kinges stret* 1641. MARKET PLACE is *the Markett place* 1695. NUNGATE is *Nungaitt* 1537, *Nungate Street* 1539 (ME *nune* 'nun' and *gata*). PINFOLD STREET is *Pinfould Gate* 1684 and is named from *the Comon Pinfould* 1692 (OE *punfald* 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 hryct 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, *Ricton* 1201 P, *Righton* 1246 Ass, and Rigton near Kirkby Overblow is *Riston* 1086 DB, *Righton* 1279-81 QW.

p. 130, *s.n.* GARROWBY. There is probably rather better evidence for an OEScand personal name *Gerwarth* in Denmark. The form *Geward* according to Dr Knudsen is rather common in Danish and a single example from 1457 has the form *Geluertt* 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 *Strognæs* 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 LGe.

p. 288, *s.n.* GALMANLYTHE. Professor Ekwall would take this name to be a compound of *Galmanhowe* and *hlið*. *Galmanhowe* itself he suggests contains an OE personal name *Galma*. In that case presumably the spellings like *Galmonelid* 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, Oustredinc* 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, -yng* 1286 *Ebor, 1299 Abbr, 1305 Whitby*

*Estrithing, -yng* 1227 *YD et freq* to 1407 *HMC (Bev)*

*Estreding* 1279-81 *QW, 1295 Pat, Estthridinge* 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 *þriðjungr*,  
late OE *þriðing*, 'third part.' Cf. North Riding (PN NRY 1).

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 *Kraki* 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).

## RIVER-NAMES

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 PΓ, *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 (þære 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, *Dereuentam* 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 *Derventione* (AntonItin, NotDign), the name of a Roman station on the Derwent, usually identified with Stamford Bridge or Malton (NRY). It is derived from Brit \**deruā* '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 Scarborough, is *Eliotdyk* 1420 *YI*. The same surname is also found in *Eliotbryg* (*ib.*).

FLEET DRAIN (6") (Humber) is *le Fleet* 1235-49 *Melsa*. *v. fleet*.

FOREDYKE STREAM (6") (Hull) is *Fordedik* 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, *aque 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 OScaud 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 *þouh* 'though' to OScaud *þó*, older *\*þoh*.

GIPSEY RACE (*gipsə*) 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 Ipm<sup>1</sup>. 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 natiuitatis meæ, res mirabilis contigit... Et vicus aliquot a mari orientali milliariis distans, iuxta 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-ĕa* '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 Gipse 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 *gispe*, Swed dial *gispa* 'yawn,' ON *geispa* '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 Gipse is *ea*. *Race* is from ON *rás* 'rush of water, channel, water-course,' used in a similar way in *Svinekilde Raase* (DaSN(S) 112).

<sup>1</sup> It is also called "the water which comes down from Rudstone to *Castelburun*" 13th Bridl 18.

EAST GOIT SEWER (6") (Foulness) is *la gote* early 13th Gilbert, from ME *gote* 'water-course.'

GREENOAK GOIT (6") is *fossatum de Grenaic*, -*etc* 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 Heddone* 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*) *þa dic* 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, *Houden Dyk*, *Houedendike* 1363 Works, *Howden Dyke*, *Dike* 1568 FF. v. dic and Howden *infra* 250.

HULL (Humber)

*þare eá Húl* (v.l. *éá Hull*) c. 1025 Saints

*amnem 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

*infra* 206, 202, and an unidentified place in Cottingham, *Hulgot* 1408 YI (ME *gote* 'water-course'); it is also used as a distinguishing element in Sutton upon Hull *infra* 42.

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 quæ 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 aliis 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*, *Hullaren* (SvSjönamn 232-3), and possibly in Norw *Hulleroen* (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 *hulæ*, 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 *Norðweorðig*, not under its Scand name *Deoraby*. He would therefore take *hull* to be a Celtic river-name from a base *seul-* cognate with Greek *ῥλη* 'mud,' OE *sol* 'mud,' Norw *soyla* '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

*Hymbrae fluminis* (v.l. *Hymbre*) 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 1270, c. 1000 OEBede, *fluuium Humbrae* 1051-60 (13th) KCD 806, *bizeonde þare Humbren* 13th Lazamon

*Humbra éa* 10th (s.a. 942) ASC (A) (D *Himbran*), *Humbran* c. 1000 (s.a. 942) ASC (B), 1033 *RegAlb*, 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

*Humber* 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 *Norþanhymbre*, *Norðhymbre* 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 "Αβος 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. fleet. v. Addenda lix.*

LAMBWATH STREAM (Hull) is *aquam quæ descendit de Lambwath* 1210-20 Melsa, *aqua de Lambwath* 1260 Rental, (fishery of) 1301 Pat, 1342 SR, (*magna sewera*) 1374 Works, *Lambwad* (a mere) 1260 YI, *aquam de Lamwath* 1310-39 ib., *Lamwith Stream* 1786 Tuke. It takes its name from Lambwath *infra* 70.

LONG SIKE (6") (Derwent) is *Langsik* 13th Percy. *v. sic.*

MICKLEY DIKE (6") (Hull) is *Miclneflet* 1175-90, 1312 Bridl, *Mikeln-*, *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-ĕa*. For the preservation of the OE weak inflexion *-an* in ME cf. Foulness *supra* 4.

MILL BECK (6") (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 Melsa, *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 Melsa *passim*. 'Dike by the wood.' *v. viör.*

NEWLANDS DRAIN (6") (Ottringham Drainage) is *Neulanddik* 14th Bridl. *v. Newlands infra* 31.

OLD FLEET (6") (Humber), which runs into the Humber near Hedon Haven is *Flet de Hedona* 1326 Dugd, *la Flete de Hedon'* 1403 YD. *v. fleet.*

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

It has been suggested that Ouse here and elsewhere is from an OE \**wise* 'mud' with a change to *wuse* (as in *wudu* from older *widu*) 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). *Use* is probably a Brit \**udso* 'water,' later \**utso*, \**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 muða*, (andlang) *þæs 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 *skyrþ* 'cutting,' ODan *skyrðh* 'cutting, stream.' Cf. *Skorbæk* (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, *lex 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, *Skeflete* 1548 FF, *Skelflete 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)*, (*aquæ 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, *leawe 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 *Skærnæ* or *Skiarnæ*)<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup> which gave rise to Hornsea Beck *infra* 65. It is *riouli vocati le Bek* (1400 Melsa). Another

<sup>1</sup> *Ex inf.* Dr K. Hald.

<sup>2</sup> 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 Siggleshorne 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 OEBede, *on Derawuda* c. 1150 (s.a. 685) ASC (E), *Deira* is found also as *Deiri*, *Deri*, *Deirorum prouincia* c. 730 (8th) Bede, *Dere* (v.l. *Daera*, *Ðære*, *Ðara*, *Deara*, *Deora*) c. 1000 OEBede, *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, *Deivyv* Black Book of Carmarthen, *Deivr* 14th Red Book of Hergest. The name is to be connected with W *dwfr* 'water, river.' It is probably from a *-jon* stem, Brit \**dobriu* (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)*, *Grendal(e)*, *Crendalith*, etc. is evidenced only in the additional descriptions of Kirby Grindalythe, Butterwick, Helperthorpe, Mowthorpe and Thirkleby *infra* 125, 114, 123, 125<sup>1</sup>, and it is clearly the old name

<sup>1</sup> It may occur independently in *Crandale* 1197-1210 Melsa.

for the valley in which these places stand. It is probably 'crane valley,' *v. cran*, *dæ1*. *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 Gransmoor (*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 *Thorntone 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 *Hertforthlieth* 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*

(1303 YI), *Waldo* 1322 BevAct, *Waldam* c. 1400 Melsa. Others are *the Woolde* c. 1540 Leland, *the Woolds* 1652 Deposition, *Yorke's Wold* 1551 NCWills, *Yorks Wold* 1695 Morden, while from Scandinavian sources we have ON (*fyrir*) *Valdi* early 13th Heimskringla, (*firir*) *Vallde* c. 1240 Fagrskinna<sup>1</sup>.

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, *Huldrenesse* 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *hōldr*, 'a higher yeoman, an owner of allodial land,' late OE *hold* 'an officer of high rank' (*v. NED s.v.*), and *næss*, ON *nes*, 'cape, headland.' The word *hold* similarly enters into a district-name in Holdlythe (PN NRY 42) and *Holdnæs* (in Sleswick), according to Dr K. Hald, is an exact parallel. The various *Holder-* spellings represent the usual ON gen. sg. *hōldar*. For the *Helder-* spellings Ekwall suggests the survival, for a time at any rate, of an archaic mutated gen. \**holðr*, which might well have occurred in a consonantal stem, for such mutation is regular in the feminine nouns of this class. A form *holðr* would normally become ME *helder* and an adaptation of this English form lies behind the Heimskringla *Hellornes*. *Hilder-* exhibits the raising of *e* to *i* which sometimes occurs before point-consonants, as in Bridlington *infra* 100. The *Heuder-*, *Houder-* spellings are AN variants of *Helder-*, *Holder-*.

### Kilnsea

#### KILNSEA [kilsɪ]

*Chilnese* 1086 DB, *Chinlese* 1115 YCh 1304, 1160-2 ib. 1307  
*Ki-*, *Kylnese* t. Hy 3 BM, 1228 *RegAlb et passim* to 1359 SR  
*Kilnesse* 1246 Ass, 1260 Rental, 1276 Abbr, 1293 QW  
*Kilnesey* 1273 *Meaux et freq* to 1519 FF, *Kylnese* 1556 ib.  
*Ki-*, *Kylnse* 1301 Pat, 1333 SR, 1364 Pat, *Kelnese* 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)<sup>1</sup>

*Hotun, -ton(e)* 1164-79 YCh 1375, 1333 SR (p), 1339 *Extent*,  
(*in Holderness*) 1351 Ipm

*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 *Northmersse* 1339 *Extent*.

RAVENSER ODD (lost)<sup>2</sup>

(*burgo*) *del Odd juxta Ravenserre* 1235-49 Melsa

*Ravenserot* 1251 Ch, *Odrauenser* 1260 YI

*Rauenserhod* 1260 *Rental*, *Raueneser Hodde* 1260 YI

*Odd(e)* 1260 *Rental*, c. 1400 Melsa, *Hodde* 1260 *Rental*

*Rau-*, *Ravenserod(d-e)* 1273 *Meaux et passim* to 1342 SR

*Raueneserod(de)* 1286 Pat *et freq* to 1349 *Meaux*

*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)<sup>3</sup>

*Suntorp, -thorp(e)* 1187-1207 YCh 1402, 1246 *Ass*, 1260

*Rental et freq* to 1609 FF

*Suin-*, *Swynthorp* 1238 Cl (p), 1297 LS, *-thrope* 1594 FF

*Sutthorpe* 1288 YI, *Souththorp* 1297 LS

*Swynthorpe als. Sunthroppe* 1601 FF

<sup>1</sup> Hutton was in Kilnsea (cf. *Extent*, PRO 48).

<sup>2</sup> 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 *Walter atte Kyrke de Rauenserodde* (1293 *Ass*) took his name.

<sup>3</sup> The village stood between Kilnsea and Ravenser. Cf. Melsa iii, 122, Boyle ii, 83.

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, *Suinetorp* 1175 P, and Sunhills (Herts), *Swynewelle* 1327, 1347, 1406 Ct, *Sonwelle* 1338 Pat, *Sonewelle* 1346 Ass, *Sunwell* 1509 FF; Swinbrook (O) also has a spelling *Sunbroc* 1166 P. 'Swine village', *v.* *swin*, *porp*.

SPURN HEAD, SPURN POINT are *Ravenserespourne* 1399 Pat, *Ravenser Spurne* 1406 Melsa, *Rauenspurgh* 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

#### 1. EASINGTON [izintən]

*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, -ing- 1293 QW  
*Esinctun* 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 *Dimpelhole* (1260 Rental, 1339 *Extent*), the name of a field in this place; *dimpel* in the field-name is certainly the OE \**dympel* '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. *tümpel*). 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 mitttelenglischen 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 deepshady 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 unmutated 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 YI, 1349 Ipm. *v.* holmr. The first element is probably OE *loc* 'enclosure.'

#### RAVENSER (lost)<sup>1</sup>

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

*Rau-*, *Raveneser(e)* 1230 P (p), 1240 FF *et freq* to 1359 Ipm (*Ald*) *Ravenserre* 13th Melsa, *Raveneserth* 1285 Pat

*Ravense* 1292 Ch, *Ravenesher* 1300 Ebor, *Reveneser'* 1315 Dunelm

(*af*) *Hrafseyri* 13th Heimskringla, Orkneyingasaga

'*Hrafn's* sandbank,' *v.* eyrr. The early forms consistently point to the cognate ODan *ør*. Sometimes called 'Old' to distinguish it from *Ravenser Odd supra* 16.

LANGMER (field) is probably shortened from *Langrikmar* 1339 *Extent*. 'Pool near the long ditch,' *v.* lang, mere, and cf. Escrick *infra* 267. MARSH ROAD (6"). Cf. *mariscis de Esyngtona* 1356-67 Melsa. MILL FIELD (field). Cf. *Milnemeris* 1260 *Rental*, *Milnemar*, *Milnedayl* 1339 *Extent*. *v.* myln, mere, deill. TRINITY SANDS (6") is *Trinity Dry Sands* 1786 Tuke, *Trinity Sand* 1750 Bowen. TURMERS (field) is *Turfmeredayle* 1260 *Rental*, *Turmyre dayl* 1339 *Extent*. 'Turf marsh,' from OE *turf*, *myrr*, deill.

#### 2. OUT NEWTON

*Nieuueton(e)* 1086 DB, *Neweton* 1293 QW

*Neu-*, *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.

<sup>1</sup> Washed away by the Humber (Melsa ii, 30); it stood between Easington and Ravenser Odd (ib. ii, 122).

'New farm,' *v. niwe*, tun. 'Out' is from OE *ūt(e)* 'out' in the sense 'remote.' Cf. *Owthorne infra* 28. *Tradrip-* and *Stanthoropp-* are obscure in origin.

### Skeffling

#### SKEFFLING

- Sk-*, *Sc(k)eftling(e)*, *-yng(e)* c. 1150-76 YCh 1399 *et freq* to 1375 FF, *Skefzlinge* 1294 YI, (*in Holdernes*) 1547 FF  
*Escefteliga* 1150-76 YCh 1399, *Sceflinges* 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*  
*Skef(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 *Scaft* found in *Scaftes hangran* (BCS 629) and in an expanded form *Scaften* 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 *Skafte*, the last being found only in place-names (Lundgren-Brate 229). We may note also the lost Swedish place-name *Skeftlingquærn* (ON på *-inge* 132). See further *Introd.*

#### BURSTALL<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The site of Burstall Priory was washed away in the 18th century. The name survives in BURSTALL LANE and BURSTALL BANK (6').

*Burstal(l)* 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 [umtøn, umtøn]

*Ulnetun* 1086 DB, *Humeton*' (sic) 1209 FF

*Holmeton(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, *Holyngton* 1316  
NomVill

*Homylton* 1407 YI, *Hompton* 1542 NCWills

*Humpton* 1529 FF *et freq*, *Holmton 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 *hulm* 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 cariendo 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* 70, cf. *Owthorne infra* 28. *v. garðr.*

## Welwick

## WELWICK [welik]

*Weluic* 1086 DB, *-wike, -wyk(e)* t. John *AddCh*, 1293 YI *et freq* to 1486 Test, *-wick* 1555 FF

*Welewich* 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)<sup>1</sup> is *Orthwithflet* 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)<sup>2</sup>

*Peneges-*, *Peningestorp* 1200 FF, *Peningthorp(e)* 13th Bridl

*Penythorp(p)* c. 1265 KF, 1375 BM, *Penigthorp* 1285 KI

<sup>1</sup> *Orwythfleet in territorio de Pensthorpia...in Humbrim penitus est prolapsa* (1310-39 *Melsa* ii, 300).

<sup>2</sup> 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*.

*Penis-*, *Penyst(h)orp* 1297 SR, 1307 Baildon, 1331 FF, 1352 BM

*Penst(h)orp* 1341 FF, 1349 Ipm, c. 1400 Melsa (*freq*), *-trope* 1547 FF *et freq*, *Penesthorp* 1519 ib., *-trope* 1567 ib.

The first element is a pers. name *Pen(n)ing*, which occurs also in Penistone (WRY), *Pengeston(e)* DB, 1241 Fees, *Peningeston* 1204 YD, *Penegestona* 1225 *Nostell*, and a lost place near Penistone called *Penisale*, *Penigheshal'* (1190-1208 YCh 1803), etc. *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*, *pening*, *pen(n)ig* 'penny' used as a pers. name 'a man worth a penny'; cf. OE *Scilling*. OE *pen(n)ing* itself is thought to be a derivative of *Penda*, the name of the Mercian king (cf. Dickins, LSE i, 20). LindBN records an ON byname *Peningr*, probably the name of a foreigner, which perhaps has a similar connotation. '*Pening's* village,' *v. þorp*. 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 þorp* 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, *Wydhona* 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. wiðig*, 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*) *þorp*, (*on*) *þorp* 1033 (14th) *RegAlb*, *Torp* 1086 DB, 1200 FF, *Thorp(e)* c. 1265 KF *et freq*, (*Wel(e)wyk*) 1332 FF, 1511 Sanct, (*Wellewyk*) 1376 Hom, (*near Wellwyke*) 1551 FF. 'Hamlet belonging to Welwick,' *v. þorp*.

## 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)<sup>1</sup>

*Frisemareis*, -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)ays* 1230 P (p), 1249 *Meaux*, *Fyrsmersk* 1378 Test *Fri-*, *Frysmersk(e)* 1275 *Meaux et freq* to 1406 *Melsa*, -maršk(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

<sup>1</sup> 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).

Dutch cf. E. C. Llewellyn, *The Influence of Low Dutch on English Vocabulary* (Philological Society 1936), *passim*.

STONE CREEK is *Stone Creek* 1840 Poulson.

### Patrington

PATRINGTON [patθrintən]

*æt (to) yaterinsa-, paterings-, paterins(a)tune* 1033 (14th)  
*RegAlb* (for *Pateringa-, Pateringtune*)

*Patrictone* 1086 DB, *Patringeton* 1283 YI

*Patrington, -yng-* 1150-3 *RegAlb et passim* to 1786 Tuke,  
*Patrinton(a)* 1190-1 P, 1276 RH, 1406 Melsa

*Paterington, -yng-* 1194-5 P, 1231 *Ass*, 1420 NCWills, (*in Holderness*) 1287 Ebor, *Paterinton* 1223 CIR, 1230 Ebor

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)<sup>1</sup>

*Torulestorp* 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

*Tharlest(h)orp(e)* 1204 *Meaux et passim* to c. 1400 Melsa,  
(*in, en Holderness*) 1331 FF, 1349 *Meaux*

*Thorletorp* 1205 ChR, *Thorolsthorp* 1230 P, *Thorlesthorp* 1259  
FF

*Therelesthorp* 1285 KI, *Thurlesthorp* 1449 Test

'*Thorald's* village,' *v. þorp*. ON *Þórald(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.*

<sup>1</sup> 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.

WITHFLEET (lost)<sup>1</sup> was *Wyth(e)flet(e)* 1279 *Meaux*, 1349 ib., 13th, 14th *Melsa*, *Wytflete* 1401 ib. 'Withy fleot,' *v.* wiðig.

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

*Holum* 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

*Hollym* 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 (61) 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(l)* 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*, *Wytthornse* 1342 SR

Withernwick *infra* 69 has a similar run of spellings and the

<sup>1</sup> *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-*, *Wytthor(e)n* 1260 ib., *Rental*, 1342 *SR*. This was in the neighbourhood of Withernsea.

An obvious explanation of *Witthorn* would be ME *w(h)itþorn* '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 þorn 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 *wiþ* or ON *við* 'against, near, beside' and þorn, 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 *sǣ* 'pool' (cf. Kilnsea *supra* 15). The lake has disappeared but it is frequently referred to as (*lacus vocat'*) *Wi-*, *Wythornse Mar(re)* 1260 *Rental*, YI, 1341 *Extent*, 1365 Pat<sup>1</sup> from OS cand *marr* 'pool.'

## Owthorne

### I. SOUTH FRODINGHAM

*Forthingham* c. 1265 KF, *Fronigham* 1276 YI (p)

*Frothingham*, -yng- 1290 Ebor *et passim* to 1339 *Extent*, (*Sowth*, *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), *Frodingham* 1125-8 Liber Niger Petroburg. (Camden Soc.), *Frothingham* 1316 FA, are of similar origin, from OE *Frōd(a)* and ingaham. The frequent -th- is due to the influence of OS cand *Frōði*.

NEWSOME is *Niuuehusu'*, *Neuhuson* 1086 DB, *Neusam* c. 1265

<sup>1</sup> *Robertus de la Lake* 1342 *SR* perhaps took his name from this pool.

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

2. OWTHORNE<sup>1</sup> [u:θrən]

*T(h)orne* 1086 DB, *Thorne in Wythornse* 1187-97 Melsa  
*Out-*, *Owthorn(e)* 1187-97 Melsa, 1331 FF *et freq* to 1449

AD iii, *-thoren* 1297 LS, 1304 YI, 1349 *Meaux*

*Wthorne* 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 thortree,' *v. þorn*. OE *ūt(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)<sup>2</sup>. Later called *Sea-* from its proximity to the sea.

REDMERE (local)<sup>3</sup> is *Rotmare*, *Redmære* 1086 DB, *Redmar(e)* 1086 DB, t. John *AddCh*, 1260 *Rental*, 1260, 1295 YI (p), 1350 Ipm, *Riddemare* 1260 *Rental*, *Reddemer* 1295 YI (p). Probably 'reed-marsh' from *hreed* 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*. FOOTHEAD GARTH is *Futitgarth* 1610 Speed, *Foothed Garth* 1786 Tuke. NEVILLS (6") is so named in 1786 (Tuke). Cf. *Nevillgarth* 1540 *MinAcct*.

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

<sup>1</sup> Owthorne is part of Withernsea village and is not actually in the township of Owthorne.

<sup>2</sup> *Ex inf.* Dr K. Hald.

<sup>3</sup> 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 *Þórkell*.

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, *Waxsome* 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

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 Holdernes*) 1280 Ass, *-stead* 1786 Tuke,  
*Wine-* or *Wiue-* 1342 SR, 1347 *Meaux*

*Wi-*, *Wythestede* c. 1265 KF, 1287 Ebor, 1381 Test

*Wyusted(e)* 1347 *Meaux*, *Wywestede 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 Efold (PN Sr 266-7). *Wine-*  
 in earlier documents may well be a misreading of *Wiue-*.  
 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 OS cand *staðr* upon OE *stede*, or to OS cand *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) *Reg Alb*

*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. OS cand *heim* is commonly compounded with significant words, as Lindkvist's examples show, and it is probable that the first element of Halsham is OS cand *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

### OTTRINGHAM

*Otringeha'*, *Otrengha'*, *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)

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

*Otrigham* 1204 Cur, *Hoteringham* 1249 YI (p)

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

GUNNEYMARSH (6") is *Gunnermersk(e)* 13th, 1349 *Meaux*, 1288 YI, (*Mickel-*, *Middel-*) 13th *Meaux*, -merke 1288 YI, *Guonermareys* early 13th *Meaux*, *Gumermersk* 1396-9 Melsa. From OScand *Gunnar(r)* and *mersc* (with Scand -sk for OE -sc). For *mareys* cf. *Frishmarsh supra* 24. Cf. Gunneymarsh Drain *supra* 6.

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)ringham Marsh(e)* 1530 FF, 1583 YD.

CARR HOUSE is named from *Otrynghame 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

Poulson. Cf. Little Humber *infra* 37. OTTRINGHAM INGS (6"). Cf. Peter *atte Henges* 1297 LS. *v. eng.* PEASEBERRY HILL (6") is *Peseberch* 13th Bridl. 'Pease hill,' *v. pise, beorg.*

### Keyingham

KEYINGHAM [kenigəm, keniŋəm]

*Chaingeha'* 1086 DB, *Cainghelam* (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, *Cayhyingham* 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 *Cæga* and his people,' *v. ingaham.* For *Cæga* cf. Keysoe (PN BedsHunts 15), Cayton (PN NRY 103).

KEYINGHAM MARSH is *marisco de Kay-*, *Keyngham* 1197-1210, 1235-49 Melsa, 1342 SR, *magno marisco* 1260 *Rental*, *Key-*, *Kayngham Mersk(e)* 1260 YI, 1286-1310 Melsa. *v. mersc.*

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<sup>1</sup> is *Saltehache* 1150-3 YCh 1381, *-hag(h)* 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*

<sup>1</sup> 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

#### I. BURSTWICK [bɔstwig]

*Brocstewic, Brostewic* 1086 DB

*Brustwic, -wik(e), -wyk(e)* 1170-5 *Reg Alb*, t. John YD, 1260

*Rental et passim* to 1461 Pat, (*in Holderness*) 1291 YI,

*Brustwyg* 1260 *Rental*

*Brustewic, -wyc, -wyk* 1203-21 YCh 1398 *et freq* to 1392 Ch

*Brustwyk* 1253 Ebor, 1415 YI

*Burstwi(c)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, -wick* 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, *Nutel(l)* 1274 *ib.*, 1284 Pat, 1342 *SR*

*Nuttel(l)* 1275 YI *et freq* to 1395 *Dugd*

*Nutil(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.

RIDGMONT (6") [ridʒimənt] is *Rugemunt* 1260 *Rental (freq)*, *-mund(e)* 1296 YI, 1339 *Extent*, *-mond* 1341 *ib.*, *Rugeomonte* 1260 YI, *Rogemond* 1342 *SR*, 1395 *Dugd*, *Ridgemont* 1786 *Tuke*, 1828 *Langd.* 'Red hill' from OFr *rouge* and *mund* (AN *mund*). Cf. *Rougemont* (WRY), *Rugemunt*, *Rubeo monte* 1167 P, *Ridgmont* (PN BedsHu 82). On modern *Ridg-* cf. *Introd.* xxix.

SKECKLING (6")<sup>1</sup>

*Scachelinge* 1086 DB, *Scachelingis* 1098-1102 YCh 1300  
*Eschechilinga* 1115 YCh 1304, *Scchlinge* 1154-80 YCh 1397  
*Eschichilinga* 1160-2 YCh 1307  
*Skekeling(e)* 1203-21 YCh 1398, 1300 *Ebor*, *Sceteling* 1229  
*Pat*, *Skekeling* 1252 *Ebor*, *Skekelingge* 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 *Scæccela*, suggested by OE *Scæceling æcer* (BCS 906), a derivative of the *Scæcca*, found in *Scæccanhealh* (*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 *Skakle*, *Skakul* (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 *\*skækel*, an OEScand equivalent of ONorw *skekill* '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.).

<sup>1</sup> 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.

Modéer, *Småländska Skärgårdsnamn* 72, thinks that some such word lies behind the Swed island-name *Skäkle* and probably also the Gotland word *skäkling*, '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, *Tottele(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 *garör* 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 OS cand *þak* and *kiarr*. Dr K. Hald points out that *Tagkær* is a very common Danish field-name. TOFTS HILL (6") is *toftis* 1253 Ebor. *v.* topt.

2. RYHILL<sup>1</sup> 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

*Cameringeton* 1287 YI (p)

<sup>1</sup> 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.'

### Paul

#### 1. PAULL [pɔ:l]

*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 OS cand word which would explain the origin of Paull, but there is in Low German an illustrative series of words, ODu \**pagil* '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 land-mark 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, Parua Humber* 1260, 1296 *YI, parua(m) Humbre* 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, Niueton* 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) 1294 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.* OS cand *garör* '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*

*Pagulflete* 1293 *YD*

*Paulefflet* 1314 *Abbr, Pauleflet(e) 1339 Extent et freq to 1416*

*YD, 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*

*Paghelholm* 1297 LS, 1354 Ipm, *Payghel-* 1304 YI, *Paggle-* 1576 FF

*Pauleholme* n.d. *Nunkeel*, 1416 YD, 1503 Test, *-ham* 1543  
*MinAcct*

*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 *Ásgautr*. 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 [gumbəθɔn]

*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, (*-gumbaud*) 1305 YI, 1341 *Extent*, (*-gobaud*) 1328,  
1370 FF, (*-gum-*, *-gombald*) 1374 YD, 1490 FF *et freq*  
*Thoren (Gumbaud)* 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-*, *Stokholm(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 *Stokholm*, 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.'

FAR MARSH (6") is *the Outmershe* 1579 FF, *Outmarshe alias Farmarshe* 1608 ib. *v. mercs* and cf. *Owthorne supra* 28. GREEN MARSH (6") is *Grenemershe, -marshe* 1579, 1608 FF, *Thornegreene Marshe* 1615 ib. RIGGS (6") is *le Rigge* 1339 *Extent. v. hrycg*. SUMMERGANGS is *le Somergames* (sic), 1605 YD. Cf. *Summergangs infra* 215. THORNEY CROFTS is *Thornyngcrofte* 1301 Ch, *Thorney Croft* 1840 Poulson.

## II. HOLDERNESS WAPENTAKE

### MIDDLE DIVISION<sup>1</sup>

#### Hedon

HEDON<sup>2</sup> [edn]

*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*

*Hedun(a)* 1148 *LeonardN*, 12th *RegAlb et freq* to 1260 *Rental*

*Edune* 1150-60 *Meaux*

*Heldona* 1160-2 YCh 1307

*Heddun(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 *hæð* 'uncultivated land,' which can result, 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, *Heddon* 1176, 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

<sup>1</sup> *Middle Balwick* 1786 *Tuke*, *Middle Division* 1828 *Langd*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *wapintagio de Hedona* 1197-1210 *Melsa*, *Ballwick and wapentack of Hedon* 1582 FF.

GATE is *Fletchergate* 1840 Poulson, and was formerly *Fleshmarketgate* 1470 ib., from ME *flessher* 'butcher.' MAGDALEN GATE is *Magdaleyn-way* 1432 ib., *Maudlen Cawsey* 1666 *Lansdowne*. Cf. *Magdalen Ho infra* 41. MARKET PLACE was formerly *Mons Fori* 1432 Poulson, and in the neighbourhood of *Marketgate* 1330 *Meaux et freq* and *Wodmarke(t)-gate* 1330 ib., 1432 Poulson. SHERIFF HIGHWAY is *Shirefbrigway* 1459 Poulson, *Sheriff Highway* 1840 ib., and is named from *Sherevesbrigg* 1392 Works, 'sheriff's bridge.' Cf. also *Sheroffbrig-house* 1504 Test. 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 sutar*, *Soutergate* 1390, 1432 ib., from ME *souter* 'shoe-maker.' STOCKWELL LANE is so named in 1401 ib. WEST LANE 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 Grope Gate* 1840 ib. (cf. *Grape Lane infra* 289), *Hewson lane*, *Kimballdlane*, *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*, *Letlle* (sic) 1331 YD

Lelley is probably a compound of OE *læla* 'twig, switch, brushwood,' found in *Lealholm* (PN NRY 133) and *leah*, hence 'wood or clearing where such are found.' The spelling *Letlle* 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*, *Prestitonia* 1098-1102 YCh 1300

*Pri-*, *Pryston* 1316 NomVill, (*in Holdernes*) 1570 FF

*Preston* als. *Purston* in *Howldernes* 1574 FF

'Priest farm,' *v. preost*, 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.

REEDMERE (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 *Ganstead*<sup>1</sup>, which must be named from the family *de la Tuyer* who were well represented in the district<sup>2</sup>.

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 heg 'hay.' MAGDALEN HOUSE with MAGDALEN HILL (6") [mɔ:dlin u:s] 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 OS cand *naut* 'cattle,' later replaced by the English neat; *mersk* is Scandinavianised from *mersc*. ST SEPULCHRE'S HOSPITAL (site) (6") was *Hosp' S. Sepulchri(a) de Hedona* 13th YD, 1326 Dugd, *hospitall 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*

<sup>1</sup> *Twyer*, *Twyre*, *Twier* als. *Nelson* 1595-1606 YD, *South Twyer* ib., alternatively called *Nelson* from *Marmaduke Nelson* (1614, 1618 FF).

<sup>2</sup> *Roland* and *Peter del Tuyer* (1226 FF), *William de la Tuyer* (1260 YI), *de la Thwyre* (1291 *Meaux*), *Petrus de la Twyere* (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

#### 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.* *suð*, *tun*.

BRANSHOLME is *Braunceholm(e)* 1150-60, 13th *Melsa et freq* to 1421 *YI*, (*in Holdernesse*) 1414 *Test*, *Branzceholm* 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. *Brandz*; cf. *Bransby* (PN NRY 28) and *Brauncewell* (L).

EAST CARR (6"), NORTH CARR, WEST CARR (6") are respectively *mariscum orientalem* 13th *Meaux*, *le Estker (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 Suttona* (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 Suafham* (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 \**læd*, an *i*-mutated form of *lad* 'drain.' OXLANDS (6"). Cf. *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"). Cf. *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

#### I. MEAUX [mius]

- 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*, *Mehus* 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 *Mælsjø* (NoEN 157) and possibly also in *Maalsjøen*, earlier *Melsøe* (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 *Mehus*, *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*)<sup>1</sup>.

FEWSOME HILL (6") is *Fewsom als. Fewson* 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 [wɔ:n]

*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*, *Waghna* 1150-60 *et freq* to c. 1400 *Melsa*, c. 1200 *Meaux*

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Meldis* 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."

*Waghen* 1150-3 YCh 40, 1228 FF *et passim* to 1478 YD, (en, in *Holderness*) 1347 *Meaux*, *Waghena* 1205 ChR, c. 1220, 1228 *Meaux*, *Wagen* 1293 QW, *Waghan* 1548 FF

*Wagne* 1153, 1177 *Meaux*, 1228, 1244 *RegAlb*, *Wahgne* 1242 FF

*Wagn'* 1216-20, 1235 *Meaux*, 1257 *RegAlb*

*Wawene* 1223 Baildon, *Wawen* 1524 Test

*Waugne* 1228 Ebor, 1244, 1246 *RegAlb*, *Waughene* 1436 Baildon

*Waune* 1228-1231 Ebor, *Wawne* 1371 Pat *et passim* to 1840 Poulson

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 *\*wagen*, 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* 1621 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(t)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 *Caynlaik* and Robert de *Caynlaik* (1297 LS). LEYS (field). Cf.

(*cultura*) *le leihed* 12th *Nunkeel*. *v. leah*. OXBOURN (field) is *Oxhenburne* 12th *Nunkeel*. *v. burna*. TURF CARR (6") is *Turfe Carre* 1621 FF. Cf. *Turf Carr infra* 91. WAWNE GRANGE is *Wagngrange* 1238 *Meaux*. Cf. *North Grange supra* 44. WAWNE HALL (6") was the home of Deddy *ad Aulam* (1297 LS).

### Swine

#### 1. BENNINGHOLME (6")

*Beni(n)col* 1086 DB

*Benigholm(e)* 12th *Nunkeel*, 1349 *Meaux*, (*Hest-, Est-, Aust-*) 12th, 13th *ib.*, *Benyghome* c. 1265 KF

*Beningholm(e)*, *-yng-* 1193 P, 1210-20 (*et freq*) *Melsa*, 1246 *Ass et passim* to 1548 FF, (*West-*) 1221-35 *Melsa*, *Beningeholm* 1223 FF

*Baningholm* 1194 P (p)

(*Est*) *Benningholm* 1240 FF, 1280 *Ass*

*Belingholme* 1285 KI

*Byningholm* 1207 Ch

'*Ben(n)a's* water-meadow,' *v. ing*, *holmr*. The OE pers. name *Be(o)nna* 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.

BENNINGHOLME GRANGE is *Grandge* 1650 *ParlSurv*. BENNINGHOLME INGS (6") is *prati de Benyngholm* 1374 *Works*, *Benninghelm Ings* (sic) 1611 YAJ xi. *v. eng*. MONKBRIDGE STREAM (6"). Cf. *Monkdayle* 1286-1310 *Melsa*. NEWLANDS (6") is *Newland* 1611 YAJ xi.

#### 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 Holderness, -nes*) 1333 Baildon, 1417 BevAct, 1530  
 Test

'*Bil(l)a*'s 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 Bullinghope (He) or OS cand *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  
*Connigeston(e) (in Holderness)* 1280 *Ass*, 1292 YI  
*Connygeston* 1285 KI, *Conynston* 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 OES cand *kunung*, which is common in many names containing this word; cf. Coneysthorpe (PN NRY 48) and Coney Street *infra* 285.

4. ELLERBY

*Ahuarde-*, *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 [du:θrəp]

*Duuetorp* 1086 DB, *Douuethorpe* 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

'Dufa's hamlet,' from the common ODan nickname *Duwa*, Dan *Due*, as in the Dan place-name *Durup*<sup>1</sup>, 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 *Lamdруп* (in Funen).

OUBROUGH [ɔubrə]

*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. *Intro.* xxx-xxx1.

WHITLING HILL (6") is *White Hill* 1634 Poulson.

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

5. GANSTEAD [gansti:əd]

*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

*Gaunsted(e)* 1260 Rental, 1481 YD, *Gauenstede* 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

<sup>1</sup> *Ex inf.* Dr K. Hald.

*Gagni*, derived like the recorded *Gegnir* from OS cand *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 OS cand word *gagn* itself, either in the sense of 'profit, advantage' or in that of 'opposition, against.' The latter is certainly found in the OS cand compound *gagnstaðr* '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

*Marton(a)* 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 OS cand *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 [skelə]

*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 OS cand *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 Holderness*) 1306 YI

*Arnal(e)* late 12th *Nunkeel*, t. Hy 3 BM *et freq* to 1375 Works,  
*-all(ia)* 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 [ru:tɔn]

*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*.

ARNOLD CARR is *Arnal(le)kerre* 1286-1310 Melsa, 1374 Works.  
*v.* *kiarr*. WOODHOUSE FARM (6") is *Wodhows*, *-hous* 1286-1310  
 Melsa, 1368 Baildon, 1375 Works, *Arnold Wood Ho* 1786 Tuke.

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

*Suine* 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

*Svine* 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, *Fornvannen* 1930, 193 ff., *Göteborgs Högskol. Årskrift* xxxvi, 10 ff.)<sup>1</sup>. This word is related to OHG *swīnan* '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

<sup>1</sup> 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  
*Thurtilby* 1481 NCWills, *Thirkelbye* 1599 FF, *Thirtleby* 1828  
 Langd

'*Thorkel's* farmstead,' v. by. *Thorkel* is OS cand *Dorkell*,  
 ODan *Thurkil*. Cf. *Thirkleby* (PN NRY 189) and Swed  
*Torkelsbyn* (ON på -by 66).

#### 11. WYTON [wetən]

*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 *wīfa-tūn*  
 'women's farm.' Cf. *Whenby*, PN NRY 30, *Westow infra* 145  
 and *Winestead supra* 29.

### Sproatley

#### SPROATLEY [sprɔ:tlə]

*Sprotele* 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  
*Sprottel'*, -*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

Sprotborough (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*.

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 [da:nθrəp]

*Danetorp* 1086 DB, 1190-1194 P (p), *-thorp(e)* 1280 Ebor, 1298 YI

*Daunthorp* 1246 Ass (p)

*Danthorp(e)* c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI *et passim* to 1828 Langd, (in *Holderness*) 1348 Ch, *Danthropp* 1575 FF

'Village of the Danes,' from OScand *Dana-þorp*. *v.* Introduction.

2. ELSTRONWICK [elstθrənwig]

*Asteneuic* 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 *Holderness*) 1322 Hom

*ElstaneWy(c)k* 1276 Abbr, 1339 *Extent*, 1410 YI

*Elsternwyk, -wicke* 1535 VE, 1609 FF, *Elstramwick* 1650 ParlSurv

'*Ælfstan's* dairy-farm,' *v.* *wic*. Some of the earlier forms have been influenced by OScand names in *-steinn* and later ones by Withernwick *infra* 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).

Longbrough (6"). Cf. *Longbrough Lane House* 1840 Poulson.

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 [umøltən]

*Humeltone*, *Umelton* 1086 DB

*Humbleton*, *-ton* 1154-80 YCh 1397, 1286 YI *et freq* to 1828 Langd, *Humbeleton* 1260 Rental

*Humbelton* 1190 YCh 1312, 1216-21 *Reg Alb*, 1260 Rental *et passim* to 1342 SR, *Humbilton(a)* 1297 LS, 1300 Ebor, 1301 Ch

*Hombelton* 1280 Ass, 1341 *Extent*, *Hombleton* 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*)<sup>1</sup> or *Humla* (LindBN, Lundgren Brate 113) and an OE \**humele* or OS cand *humli* 'hop.' The pers. name appears to be found in one or two Norwegian place-names such as *Hummelneset* (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 OS cand *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 Himbleton (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'<sup>2</sup>. It has also been suggested that many of the names referred to contain an OS cand \**humul* or an OE \**humol* meaning 'some-

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

<sup>2</sup> The same problem may be raised in connexion with OS cand *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 *brēmel* (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-*, *Pydese* 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

*v.* burhtun. *Gameli* is presumably a feudal owner (OScand *Gamall*). Cf. *Pidsea infra*.

PIDSEA (lost)<sup>1</sup>, a pool and stream, probably identical in part with Owstwick Drain (6"), is *Piddese* (a fishery) 1260 YI, *Piddese mere* *ib.*, *Pidese* (fishery) 1285 *ib.*, *una marra vocata Pidse* 1339 *Extent*, *Pidsemarra* 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 *Pidewællan* (BCS 537) and for which Ekwall (RN 325) finds good parallels in Dutch and Low German names like *Pede* (Brabant),

<sup>1</sup> There is now a field in Welwick (*supra* 22) called *Pidsea Close*.

earlier *Pithebruc*, *Pye*, earlier *Pythe*, etc. The second element is OE *sǣ* (*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:əz, 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 Holdernes*) 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 [tunstəl]

- Tunestal(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 Holder-*  
*nesse*) 1334, 1335 FF  
*Tunstal* 1208 FF, 1228 *Reg Alb*, 1231 *Ass*, 1260 *Rental*, 1301  
 Ch  
*Tonestal* 1299 Ch, *Thunestalle* 1326 Dugd  
*Townstall in Holdernes* 1539 FF  
 'Farmstead,' v. *tunst(e)all*.

MONKWITH<sup>1</sup> is *Mon(n)euic* 1086 DB, *Monkewyke, -wik'* 1285  
 YI, 1297 LS, *Munkwyk* 1417 BevAct, *Mounckwick* 1621 FF.  
 'Monks' dairy-farm,' from 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

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

<sup>1</sup> Now depopulated.

*Hildeston* 1273 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1359 SR, 1377 FF

*Hilston* 1385 Ch *et freq* to 1608 FF

'*Hildolf's farm*' from ON *Hildólfr*, ODan *Hildulw*, 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 Holderness*) 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-*, *Grymestun*, *-ton(e)* t. John *AddCh et passim* to 1401 *BodlCh*

*Grimiston* 1219 FF, *Gremeston* 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.* *garðr* 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*, *-uic*, *Osteuic* 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

*Austwic(h)* 1176 P, 1202 FF, *Austewik* 1240 FF, *Ausewic* 1190 YCh 1312

*Ouistwic*, *-wyke* t. Hy 3 BM, 1279 YI

*Owstwic*, *-k*, *-wyk* 13th *Meaux*, 1246 FF *et freq* to c. 1400 Melsa

*Houstwyk* 1252 FF, *Owestwick* 1512 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 [ɔ:bruf, ɔ:lbrə]

*Aldenburg* 1086 DB

*Aldeburh*, *-burg(h)* 12th *Nunkeel*, 1115 YCh 1304 *et passim* to 1409 AD ii, (*in Holderness*) 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* 1504 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 *Biuuich* 1086 DB, *Bewich* 1163-70 BM, *Bewyc*, *-k*, *-wic* 1149-50 YCh 1379, 1150-60 Melsa *et passim* to 1481 NCWills, (*in Holdernes*) 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 Holderness*) 1306 YI, *Carlton* 1512 FF. 'Peasants' farm,' *v.* karla-tun.

#### ETHERDWICK

*Ethreduwic* t. John BM, early 13th YD, *Edredewik* 1240 FF

*Ethereswic* 1208 Ass (p), *Etheriswyke* 1252 FF

*Hederuic* 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 1 BM, 1333, 1342 SR, 1349 Ipm, *Ederdwyk* c. 1265 KF  
*Etherwick* 1260 YI (p), *Ethurwik* 1512 FF  
*Herdwyk* 1285 KI, *Erdewyke* 1300 Ebor  
*Ederwyk*, -wike 1385 Ch, 1542 NCWills, *Edderwyk* 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  
*Tanstorne* 1385 Ch, *Tarnston* 1512 FF  
 'Tann's pool,' from OS cand *Tannr* and tjørn. 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. þorþ.

BLACK BUSH (6") is *Blackbush* 1840 Poulson. EAST HILL is *Esthall* 1316 YD. v. east, heall. OWSTHILL HO is *Owsthill* 1828 Langd, *Owsthill Ho* 1840 Poulson. v. austr. WESTHILL (6") is so named in 1840 (Poulson).

## 2. EAST NEWTON

*Niuuetone* 1086 DB  
*Newton in Holdern'* c. 1190 Bridl, 1269 Ebor  
*Newton iuxta Aldeburgh* 12th *Nunkeel*, 13th Melsa  
*Newton juxta Aldeburghe* c. 1265 KF, *Aldeburgh-Newton* 1288 YI  
*Newton(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*, *Ringeborg*, *-burg*, *Righeborg*, *-borch* 1086 DB

*Ringeburc*, *-burg* c. 1150 YCh 1380 (p), 1260 *Rental*, 1316 YD,

*Rynggeburgh* 1297 LS

*Rengburgh* 1221-35 Melsa (Phillipps MS)

*Ri-*, *Ryngburgh* c. 1265 KF, 1339 YD, 1342 *SR et passim* to 1542 NCWills, *-burght* 1360 YD, *-burroe* 1574 YD

*Ryngburgarth* 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 1395 Dugd

*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).

BURTON CONSTABLE

*Santriburton* 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 WAPENTAKE NORTH DIVISION<sup>1</sup>

#### Mappleton

##### I. 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*, *Couldon'* 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.* æ1, 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

*Hetfeldia* 12th *Nunkeel*, *Esthetfeld* 1246 Ass

*Haite-*, *Haytefeld(e)* 1145-66 *LeonardR*, 1293 QW, (*Est-*) 1281 Ebor, 1303 Abbr, 1342 SR, *Haytefeud* 1246 FF, *Heytefeld* 1292 Ch, 1293 *Meaux*

*Hait-*, *Haytefeld* t. John *AddCh et passim* to 1402 Test, (*Magna*) c. 1265 KF, *Esthaitfeud* 1246 Ass

<sup>1</sup> *North Baliwick* 1786 Tuke, *North Division* 1828 Langd.

*Hadfeld* 1190 P (p)

*Hatefeld'* late 12th *Nunkeel*, (*Easte-*) 1571 FF

*Estheytfeld*, -heit- 1197-1210 *Melsa*, *Heytfeud* 1251 Ass

*Est Hattfeld* 1226 FF, *Hattefeld* 1461 Pat, *Gt. Hattfeild* 1650  
ParlSurv

*Esthaithfeud* 1246 Ass

*Est Hatfeld* 1401 YI, *Hatfeld Magna* 1578 FF

'Heath land,' *v.* hæð, feld. The forms have been considerably influenced by the cognate OScand *heiðr* '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 [mapl̥t̥ən]

*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

*Mapiltun*, -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'* 1203 Cur, 1246 Ass *et passim* to 1512 FF, (*in*  
*Holdernes*) 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 *Hrólf*r (cf. NP 113) and *tun*.

Hornsea

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 1 (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

*Horensce* 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; Modéer, *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, *Hornesse*, 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)<sup>1</sup> 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. bekk*.

HORNSEA BURTON

*Bortun*, *Burtun(e)* 1086 DB, *Burtun* 1145-61, 1150-61 YCh 1377-8

*Burton(a)* 1228 *Reg Alb*, 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 Hornesse*) ib. 1302, (*de Hornese*) 1208 FF, *lacum de Hornse* 1197-1200 Melsa, *marra(m) de Hornse* 1210-20, 1235-49 ib., *Hornsye 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).

<sup>1</sup> Now submerged by the sea.

## Goxhill

GOXHILL [gɔuzəl]

*Golse* 1086 DB*Gosla* 1135-9 (p), 1154-91 Bridl, 1155-7 YCh 1148*Gousla* 1179-89 Bridl, *Gousl'* 1195-1225 *Dods* vii, 244*Gousele* 12th *Meaux**Gousle* 1197-1210 *Melsa*, 1204 *Ass* (p), 1246 *Ass*, FF, 1251 *Ass*, 1260 *Rental*, 1285 KI, c. 1400 *Melsa*, *Gowsle* 1210-20 *ib.**Gowcell* 13th *Nunkeel**Gousell'* 13th *Meaux*, *Gousel* 1209 FF, 1276 RH (p), 1349*Meaux*, *Gowsel* late 13th *Nunkeel* (p), *Gowsell* 1580 FF*Gosill* t. Hy 3 YD, c. 1265 KF, *Gosil* 1289 *Ebor*, *Gowsyll* 1504 *Test**Goushill*, -hyll 1297 LS, 1334 FF, 1341 *Extent**Goushull* 1316 *NomVill*, *Gowlsle* c. 1400 *Melsa**Gouxhill* 1375 FF, 1483 *Ipm*, 1610 FF, *Gowxhill* 1537 *Dugd**Gouxsill* 1512 FF, *Gocksall* 1589 FF*Gux-*, *Geuxhyll* 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 *gēac* 'cuckoo,' and Lindkvist (142) a stream-name *Gaus*, related to OScand *gjōsa* '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 *Góushille* to *Góushillé*, 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

*Catefos* 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*

C-, *Katfosse* 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)tfeld* c. 1265 KF, 1285 KI, *Little Hatfeild* 1650 ParlSurv, with other forms and meaning as in Great Hatfield *supra* 62.

#### 3. SEATON

*Settun* 1086 DB

*Seton(a)*, *-tone* 12th *Nunkeel et passim* to 1409 AD ii

*Seython in Holderness* 1268 FF, *Seyton* 1542 NCWills  
*Seeton* 1286 YI, *Seaton in Holdernes* 1562 FF

'Farmstead near the lake,' from OE *sǣ* '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 1 (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

*Wausaund* 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.* *vað*, sand. It is near the head of Hornsea Mere. The form *Watsandre* may be an OS cand plural *sandar*.

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

## 4. SIGGLESTHORNE [si:lsθrən]

*Siglestone*, -*torne* 1086 DB

*Si-*, *Syglestorn(e)* 12th *Meaux*, 1221-35 Melsa, 1251 FF,  
 -*thorn(e)* 1294 Ebor *et freq* to 1468 *ib.*, -*tron* 1305 BevAct,  
*Siglestorn* 1347 Test

*Sigelthorne* 13th *Nunkeel*

*Sighelesthorn* 1246 FF, 1343 Baildon, 1347 Ipm, 1371 Pat

*Sikelestorn* 1281 *Nostell*

*Sighelstorn* 1297 LS

*Si-*, *Syghlesthorn(e)* 1304 BevAct, 1336 FF, -*torn* 1336 FF,  
 1396 Test

*Siltorne* 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. þorn*. 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), *Siglesdene* 1086 DB, and Sibley (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 *ē*.

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

WITHERNICK [wiðrənwig]

*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, *Wythornwik* 1401 YI

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

*Wethornwik* c. 1265 KF

*Withernwyk* 1316 NomVill

*Wethurwik* 1512 FF, *Wetherwicke*, *-wyk* 1526, 1546 FF

*Wyderwike* 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") [laməθ, la:miθ] is *Lambewat* 1188 YCh 1364, *Langwath* (sic) 1260 YI, 1288 Pat, *Lambwath* 1339 *Extent*, c. 1400 Melsa, *Lamwath* 1341 ib., *Lamuth 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

RISE is *Risun*, *Rison* 1086 DB, *Rise*, *Ryse* 12th *Nunkeel*, c. 1265 KF *et passim* to 1828 Langd, (*in Holderness*, -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

#### 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

*Rustumia* 1145-66 YCh 1345

*Reston(a)* 1150-60 Melsa, t. Ed i BM, Ch *et freq* to 1316 NomVill

*Ruston* 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 Rise *supra*. On the late forms *Reston* and *Ruston* cf. *Introd.* xxix. At the time *Ruston* was in use the place was additionally described as 'Long' (from its long straggling street) to distinguish 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. Crifin Fm in Burton Joyce (Nt), *the Clifin* (sic) 1609 LRMB, Crifin Ho in Epperstone (Nt), *Christinge* (sic) Milne 1591 Wills, *the West Crifin* 1624 Nottingham County Records and *le Halle Cresting* (1322 Poulson) in Dringhoe.

FARNTON HILL (6") is *Farnton or Farnton Hill* 1840 Poulson. RISTON CARR is *mariscum de Restona* 1197-1210 Melsa. *v.* kiarr.

### Routh

ROUTH [ru:θ]

*Rute* 1086 DB

*Rutha* 1086 DB, 1154-91, 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

*Rowth(e)* 1210-20, 1221-35, c. 1400 Melsa, 1546 YChant, 1564 FF, *Ruthe* 1316 NomVill

*Routh(e)* 1293 QW, 1297 LS, 1302 Ebor *et passim* to 1828 Langd, (*in Holdernes*) 1533 *Bev*

The various spellings point to an original form *Rūð*, but it is difficult to suggest a suitable etymon. Of the various possibilities the less unlikely include OScand *hrúðr* 'scurf,' which has a topographical sense in the compound *hrúðr-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 Rudæ* 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, *Hempeholme* 1588 FF. 'Hemp field,' from OE *hænep*, ME *hemp* and holmr. Cf. Swed *Hempeholmen* (Modéer, *Småländska Skärgårdsnamn* 113). There are other similar names in this township, as Brackenholme *infra*, *Thorenholm* late 12th Bridl, *Thorholmdik* 13th ib. (*v. þorn*), *Nepeholm* late 12th ib. (OE *nǣp* 'turnip').

BRACKENHOLME (lost) is *Brakenholm(e)* 1175-90 Bridl, late 12th *Meaux*, 1295 YI, *Bracheholm*', *Brakynholm*' 1197-1210 Melsa, *Brachneholm* 1312 Bridl. 'Holm overgrown with bracken,' *v. braken*, holmr. 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 Poulson, *Goodall house* 1750 Bowen.

HALLYTREEHOLME is *Halitreholm* 1175-90 Bridl, c. 1200 YD, early 13th, 1290, 1312 Bridl, 1290 Ch, *Haltreholm* late 12th Bridl, *Halitruholm* 1243 Ebor, *Halytreholm(e)* 1293 QW, 1525 Test, *Halletrome* 1664 Deposition. 'Water-meadow with or near a holy tree,' *v. halig*, treow, holmr. The holy tree may have been one with properties of a charm or it may, like Holy Oak (*v. NED s.v. holy<sup>5</sup>*), 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 *þa halgan æc* (BCS 883), and *quendam fraxinum quem imperiti sacrum vocant* (ib. 476).

2. LEVEN [levən, li:vən] is *Leuen(e)*, *Leven(e)* 1086 DB, 1172 (*et freq*) *Meaux*, late 12th *Nunkeel*, 1205 ChR *et passim* to 1840 Poulson, *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 Λιβνίος), 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 *bærs* '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 Bristhil(l), Brystyl*) 1172, 13th *Meaux*, 1205 ChR, *Hayholm(e)* 1150-60 (*et freq*) *Melsa*, 1276 RH, 1293 QW, 1349 *Meaux*, *Heayholme* 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]

*Catinuic, Cotingeuic, Catingeuic* 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, *Cathwic* 1160-80 YCh 1323

C-, *Katwic, -wyk(e)* 12th, 13th *Nunkeel*, 1259 Ass *et passim*  
to 1531 Test, (*in Holdernesse*) 1391 ib.

C-, *Cattingwic, -wyk, -yng-* 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.

## Brandesburton

## I. BRANDESBURTON [branzbōtn]

*Bur-*, *Bortun* 1086 DB, *Burton* 1228 Ebor

*Brantishburtune*, *-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 [bōsil]

*Bristehil* 12th *Nunkeel*, c. 1200, 1293 *Meaux*

*Bri-*, *Brystil(l)*, *-yl(l)* 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 ‘landslip’ or ‘broken land’ which lies behind OE *eorþ(g)ebyrst* (BCS 1240), *eorþgeberst* (ib. 801), and *eorðbriste* (ib. 816) and probably *on þonæ byrstæ 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. hyll*. For a similar name cf. OE *broccenan 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"), BRANDESBURTON 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 [stiæz]. 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 *Engsker*. THE MOOR (6")<sup>1</sup> is *mora(m)* c. 1200 YD, *La More* 1348 Ipm. v. mor. STAR CARR is *Starker* 13th *Meaux*, *-car* 1632 Poulson. From OS cand *storr* 'sedge' and *kiarr*. Cf. Danish *Starkær* (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, *Frohingeham* 1115 ib.  
 1304, *Froingheham* 1160-2 ib. 1307  
*Frodigham* 1138-54 YCh 1305  
*Froþingham* 1210-8 *BodlCh*, *Frothingham*, *-yng-* 1285 KI.  
 (*North-*) 1292 Ebor *et passim*  
*Frothingeham* 1246 Ass  
 (*North*) *Froddingham* 1521 Test, 1650 ParlSurv

<sup>1</sup> Difficult to distinguish from Moor Grange *infra* 76.

*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 [bi:fəθ]

*Biuorde* 1086 DB

*Beford(e)* 1147-54 Bridl, c. 1160 Dane, 1249 FF *et passim* to 15th *Sawley*, (*in Holderness*) 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 Abbey<sup>1</sup> (*v.* North Grange *supra* 44). The moor itself (*v. mor*) extended over Brandesburton (*v.* The

<sup>1</sup> 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 [dunitən]

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

*Dudingtun*, -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 ParlSurv

'*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 '*Krāki'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 ParlSurv

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 [biuəm]

*Begun* 1086 DB

*Begum* 12th *Nunkeel*, 1175-85 YCh 1068 (p), t. *John StoweCh*, 1260 *Rental*, 1290 YI

- Beghum* 1144-54 (*et freq*) *Nunkeel*, 1159-81 YCh 1336,  
 c. 1265 KF, 1276 RH, 1285 KI, 1303 YI, 1336 Ch, 1339  
*Extent*, 1349 Ipm  
*Bechum* 1175-85 *Nunkeel*  
*Beghom* 13th *Nunkeel*, 1297 LS, 1415 YI, *-home* 1401 YI  
*Beighum* 1201 FF, *Beyom* 1316 NomVill  
*Bogholme* (sic) 1286 Ch  
*Begham* 1349 Ipm  
*Beaughom* 1419 YI, 1431 BM, *-ham* 1430 ib.  
*Bewham* 1510 FF, *-home* 1526 FF, *-holme* 1541 FF, *MinAcct*  
*Baygh Home* 1537 FF

Phonologically it is possible for Bewholme to be derived from OE *bēagum*, dat. plur. of *bēag* '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 iv<sup>2</sup>, 8), *Esbjuk* 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, -*ingge* 1297 LS

*Kelyng(e)*, -*inge* 1543 *MinAcct*, (*Nun-*) 1521 *Test*, 1558 NCWills, (*Non-*) 1548 FF, *Nunkeelinge* 1650 *ParlSurv*

'*Cylla and his people*,' v. *ing*. On OE *Cylla* cf. *Kilnwick infra* 160, 179, and *Kilburn* (PN NRY 196). v. also *Killinghurst* (PN Sr 190). 'Nun' from the Benedictine Nunnery founded here c. 1150. Cf. a similar prefix in *Nunburnholme infra* 180.

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

ATWICK [atik]

*Attingwik(e)*, -*wyk(e)*, -*wic(k)* 1114-24 *Bridl*, 1155-7 YCh

1148 *et passim* to 1592 YD, (*in Holderness*) 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*

*Ergum* 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

'At the shielings' from *ergum*, dat. plur. of *erg*. Cf. Argam, Arram *infra* 108, 190, and *v. Introd.* xxiv.

#### SKIRLINGTON [skelitøn]

*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,

*Schirlinton'* 1194 P (p)

Probably '*Scirela's* farm,' *v. ingtun*. The pers. name *Scirel(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

#### I. BONWICK [bōnik]

*Bounewich*, -wik 12th *Nunkeel*, 1339 *Extent*

*Bonnewik*, -wyk 13th Bridl, c. 1265 KF, 1269 FF, 1297 LS,  
1333 Ch, 1349 Ipm, 1367, 1374 FF

*Bonewic*, -wyk' 1205 OblR, 1316 NomVill, 1333 SR

*Bounzwyk* 1268 FF

*Bonniwyk* 1285 KI

*Bounzwyk*, -wik 1349 Ipm, 1359 SR, *Bowenewyk* 1375 FF,

*Bownwyk* 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

*Drenghou* 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*

*Dreyngo* 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 *Dreng* 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, castrum de Skypse* 1150-60 Melsa, (*de Skypse*) 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

*Browghe* 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

*Ski-*, *Skypse* 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

*Scipse* 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 OS cand *skip* and OE *sǣ* or OS cand *sǣr* 'sea, lake.' Cf. *Skipatjom* (Kalund i, 586), 'tarn of the ships' and *v. Kilnsea supra* 15, Skipsea Mere *infra*.

CLEETON (6")<sup>1</sup> is *Cletun(e)* 1086 DB, *Cleton(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*.

NEWHYTHE or HYTHE (lost)<sup>2</sup>

*le Neuwe Hithe*, *Newehithe* 1260 *Rental*

*Neu-*, *Newhiithe*, *-y-* 1260 YI, 1299 Pat, 1316 NomVill

*Noua Hida*, *-y-* 1336 Ch, 1339, 1341 *Extent*

*Hyth(e)* 1401, 1416 Melsa

'New landing-place,' *v. niwe*, *hyð*. Cf. *Hive infra* 247.

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* (OS cand *marr*) 'pool.'

WITHOW HOLE (6") is *Whythow* 13th *Meaux*, *marra de Whythowe* 1310-39 Melsa, *Whithouker* 1339 *Extent*, *With'ker* 1209 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

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> Washed away by the sea; it was a member of Skipsea (NomVill 303).

Poulson. *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

#### 1. BARMSTON [ba:ms(t)ən]

*Berneston(a)*, *-tun(e)* a. 1080 Whitby, 12th *Nunkeel*, t. Hy 2, Whitby *et passim* to 1420 Test, (*iuxta Bridlyngton*) 1368 YD, *Bernestowne* 1475 Pat

*Benestone*, *-tun* 1086 DB

*Bærnest'* 1166 P (p)

*Bernistone* 1281 Ebor (p), *Bernston* 1368 FF, 1410 YI

*Barneston* 1441 Test, (*in Holdernes*) 1494 ib.

*Barnston* 1512 FF, 1531 Test, *Barmeston* 1561 FF

'*Beorn's* farmstead,' *v. tun*. The pers. name may alternatively be OScand *Björn* (older *Bjarn-*) and this would perhaps better account for the open vowel suggested by the spelling *Bærnest'*.

HARTBURN (lost)<sup>1</sup> 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)<sup>2</sup>

*Winchetone*, *-tona* 1086 DB, 1155-7 YCh 1148, t. Hy 2 Bridl  
*Wi-*, *Wyncton(a)*, *-k-* 1127-40, early 13th, 1299 Bridl, 1332 SR

<sup>1</sup> Now washed away by the sea. A toft in *Hartburn* was described as being *super ultimum. . . angulum de Holdernesse super le Erledyk*, 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."

<sup>2</sup> 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  
*Wyneketon'* 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 Water-*  
*mylne Close, the Watermylne* 1597 YD.

2. ULROME [u:ɔrəm, ulrəm]

*Ulfram, Ulreham* 1086 DB

*Uleram* 12th YD (p), *Ulleram* 1279 YI, 1297 LS, 1375 FF  
*U-*, *Vlram* 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

*Obram* 1150-70 YCh 1395

*Ultram* c. 1150 *Dane* (p)

*Vlran* 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(l)-*.  
'*Wulfhere's* homestead.' On the later forms *v. Introd.* xxxi.

CRIFTINGS (6") is *Cristhing* (sic for *Crifthing*) 13th Bridl.  
*v. Criftins supra* 70.

#### IV. DICKERING WAPENTAKE

(*wap', wapentac' de*) *Di-*, *Dykering*, *-yng* 1166, 1200 P, 1204  
*Ass et passim* to 1353 *lpm*, (*decanatus de*) 1275 (*et freq*) *Ebor*  
(*capitulo de*) *Dicaringa* 1170-85 YCh 1065, *Dicheringa* 1180-  
90 *ib.* 1070

*Di-*, *Dykeringe* (*wapentacum*) 1180 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*)<sup>1</sup>, 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 *Dikering*, 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, *Terbar* or *Torbar* in the north, and *Burton* in the

<sup>1</sup> 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*.

west and centre. *Hvntov* is now represented by Huntow in Buckton (*infra* 103). *Turbar* does not survive; it is probably a compound of OS cand *Púr* or *Púri* and *beorg* 'hill' (*v.* Anderson 12). *Burton* is named from Burton Agnes *infra* 88.

### Carnaby

#### 1. CARNABY [ka:nəbi]

*Cherendebi* 1086 DB, *Kerendebý* 1155-7 YCh 1148, *Kerandebý* 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

*Kernedby* 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 OS cand nick-name formed from the present participle of some verb like *keyra* (OES cand *kōra*) 'to drive,' etc. *Keyrandi* (*Kōrandi*) 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, *Hangandebý* 1230 Percy, *Haganebi* 1267 *Healaugh*. In Carnaby there was metathesis to *Kernedby* and then the suffix was confused with names from OE -*nōð* (*Leofnōð*, 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 OS cand *Kērandi*, from the pres. part. of *kēra* 'to prosecute at law' and this is equally possible; he also compares the by-name *Kærir* 'prosecutor, litigious person.'

BRIDGE FARM (6"). Cf. *Brigesik* 1225 Bridl. 'Bridge stream,'

*v. sic.* FLASH DALES (6") is *Flaiskedaile* 1306 Bridl. 'Strip(s) of land in the marsh,' *v. flasshe*, deill. TOFTS (6") is *le Toftes* 1306 Bridl. *v. topt*.

2. FRAISTHORPE [fræ:zθrəp]

*Frestint(h)orp* 1086 DB, 1212 Cur, *Fresting-* 1212 ib., 1274 Ebor

*Fraisting(h)orp* (-ay-, -ei-, -ey-) 12th YD, 12th, 13th (*freq*)  
Bridl *et freq* to 1226 Bridl

*Fraistingethorp* t. Hy 2 Bridl

*Frastintorp* 1219 Ass, *Fraistingthorp* 1312 Bridl

*Fraist(h)orp* (-ei-, -ey-, -ay-) 13th Bridl, 1280 Misc, 1285 KI  
*et passim* to 1828 Langd

*Frastroph* 1561 FF, *Frasthorp* 1420 Test, 1542 NCWills,  
*Frastrup*, -*thrup* 1650 ParlSurv

'*Freisting*'s village,' *v. þorp*. An OS cand pers. name *Freistingr* is not actually recorded, but Lindkvist (45) suggests that such a name might well have existed as a by-name, 'the venturesome one,' from OS cand *freista* 'to try, venture.'

AUBURN<sup>1</sup> [ɔ:bən]

*Eleburne* 1086 DB

*Alburn(ia)*, -*burne* 1135-40, 13th Bridl, 1285 KI *et passim* to  
1446 Ch, *Alburun* 14th Percy, *Alborn(e)* 1402 YI, 1448  
Bridl

*Audeburn*' 1208 FF, *Aldeburn* 1333 FF

*Aleburne* 1246 Ass, late 13th Misc, 1300 YI

*Olburn* 1413 BodlCh (p)

*Azoborn* 1461 Pat, 1542 NCWills, *Azoburne* 1557 FF, *Auburne*  
1650 ParlSurv

'Eel stream,' *v. æl* (replaced after DB by the cognate OS cand *ál*), and *burna*.

<sup>1</sup> Depopulated. The site of the village is known (O.S. 6"). In 1731 the township of *Azoburn* 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<sup>1</sup> [wilsθrəp]

*Wiflestorp* 1086 DB, *Wifelestorp* 1166 P (p)

*Wiulestorp* 1086 DB, *Wiuelesthorp* 1154-91 Bridl, *Wyveles-*

1155-7 YCh 1148, *Wiwels-* 1304 YI, *Wyvel-* 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,

1446 Ch

*Wilsthorpe* 1595 FF, 1828 Langd

'*Wifel's* village' from OS cand *Vifill*, found in DB as *Wifle*, a tenant TRE in Tibthorpe. *v.* þorp. Cf. Wilsthorpe (WRY), *Wiules-*, *Wilestorp* DB, Wilsthorpe (L) and Dan *Vilstrup* 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 [bɔtn (agnəs), bɔʔn]

*Bortona* 1086 DB

*Burtun(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, *Annesey* 1301 Abbr, *Anneise* 1355 Ipm, *Annes* 1481 Test, and, as prefixes, *Anes* 1506 Test, *Annas* 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 [gransmɔ]

*Grentesmor(a)*, *Grenzmore* 1086 DB

*Grancemor(e)* 12th, 13th Bridl, 1212 Cur, 1240 FF, 1265 YI

<sup>1</sup> Formerly in the township of Hilderthorpe and parish of Bridlington (Langd).

*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 OS cand 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 [ɛ̃<sup>2</sup>sθrɛp]

*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. þorp.* The pers. name *Haskel* is to be derived from OWScand *Hǫskollr* (*v.* LindN s.n. *Hǫskuldr*); in OSwed *Hoske* we may have an OES cand 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. HARPAM [(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

*Harpaim* 1160-70 YCh 1405 (p), 1197-1206 ib. 989 (p),  
1246 *Ass*, *Harpaim* 1190-1206 YCh 989

*Herpham* 1206 ObIR

*Harcham* (sic) 1212 Cur

*Harepham* 1240 FF (p)

*Harp*-names are always difficult. There is no reason here to assume OE *herepæð* 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 [brɛ.sjbrɪg] 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 [θɔnəm]

*Thirnon*, *Tirnu'* 1086 DB

*Tirnum* 1190 P (p), *Tirnum* 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  
ParlSurv

*Thorn(e)holme* 1546, 1604 FF, (-garth) 1616 FF

'At the thorn-trees,' from OE, OScand *þyrnum*, dat. plur. of *pyrne*. 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

*Brichæm, Brichem* 1194 P

*Bri-, Bryggeham* 1200 P (p), 1206 Cur (p), 1297 LS, 1300 YI,

*Brigeham* 1205 Cur (p)

*Brigtham* 1238 Cl

*Brigheym* 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), *Foscetun* 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 *Fōt* (from the OS cand by-name *Fōtr*), *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 OS cand gen. *Fōts*. *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

'*Gemela* 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

*Chelc, 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 *Kælcacæster*. 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 KELK<sup>1</sup> 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 origin<sup>2</sup>. The word *ærn* 'house' is generally compounded with a signi-

<sup>1</sup> Extra-parochial.

<sup>2</sup> Arden (Wa) is of different origin; *v. PN Wa 11-2.*

ficant word and in Arden this may well be OE *earð* 'earth, land, dwelling-place' (cf. OE *earðian* 'to dwell, inhabit'), used in such compounds as OE *earðrice* 'habitation,' *earðstede*, *earðwic*, etc. 'dwelling.' A compound of *earð* and *ærn* would similarly signify 'a dwelling-house,' as distinct from a *hord-ærn* 'store-house,' etc.

### Lowthorpe

LOWTHORPE [lɔuθrɒp]

*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

*Lawthorp(e)* 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 OS cand pers. name *Lagi*, which appears to be of OES cand provenance; it is found in OWScand, but there it is a loan from Danish (LindN). It is hardly likely to be OS cand *lōgr* (*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 *Luue-* 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:tl riəstɒn]

*Roreston* 1086 DB

*Ruston* 1167 P, 1306 BevAct, (*Little-*) 1583 FF, (*upon le Wolde*) 1600 FF, (*Parva*) 1828 Langd

*Rouston* 1206 FF, 1227 Percy

*Roston(a)* 1219 Percy, 1227 FF *et passim* to 1375 FF  
*Ruyston* 1546 FF

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), *Rocestun(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 OS cand *Hróarr*, *Rōar*, with the diphthong simplified to *ō* as in late OE *Rold* (BCS 1052, DB) from OS cand *Hróaldr*. 'Roar's farmstead,' *v. tun.* Ekwall (DEPN s.n. Rorrington, Sa) suggests the possibility of an OE pers. name *Hrōr* from OE *hrōr* '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, *Natferton* 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, *Naffereton* 1361 *Meaux*, *Nafraton*  
 1502-8 BM

'*Nattfari*'s farm,' *v. tun.* This OS cand pers. name *Náttfari* '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 Weaverthorpe *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 OS cand *Holfr*, a by-form of *Holmr*<sup>1</sup> (which would be the source

<sup>1</sup> Dr G. Knudsen suggests that *Holfr* is more probably a by-form of *Hálfr*.

of the modern form with assimilation of *m* to *n* before *d*) and *dæl*.

## 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.* *þorp* 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. Loftsom *infra* 243.

GREEN DIKES (6") is *Grededikes* 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.* *þorn*, *stig*.

## 2. WANSFORD [wanzfæd, wanzwæθ]

*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 *Wændel*, 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 [θɔnəm] is *Thornholm* 12th Bridl, 1303 *Meaux*, 1336 FF, 1348, 1423 YD, *Thornolm* late 13th YD, *Thorenholme* 1312 Bridl, *Thorneholm in Wandesforth* 1423 YD<sup>1</sup>. 'Water-meadow with a thorn tree,' *v. þorn, holmr.* Cf. Danish *Tornholm* (DaSN(F) 154).

#### Garton on the Wolds

GARTON ON THE WOLDS is *Gartun(e)*, *-ton* 1086 DB, *-ton(a)*, *-tun*, *-tone* 12th *Kirkham*, 1156-7 YCh 354 *et passim* to 1518 FF, (*in Waldo*) 1208 FF, (*super Waldas*) 1301 YI, (*in Wald*) 1347 BevAct, (*juxta Wetewang*) 1376 FF, (*on the Wold*) 1538, 1559 FF, (*le Woold, in le Woold*) 1610 FF. *v. Garton* and *The Wolds supra* 58, 13<sup>2</sup>.

WANDELS (field) is *Wandales* 12th *Kirkham*, *Wandailes* 1336 Ch. *v. Wandale infra* 107.

#### I. COTTAM

#### Langtoft

*Cottun* 1086 DB, *Cuthuna*<sup>3</sup> 1128-32 BM, *Cutona* 1155-7 YCh 1148

*Cotum* 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.*

<sup>1</sup> Some of these spellings have been wrongly identified with *Thornholme supra* 90.

<sup>2</sup> The road from Sledmere was called *Gartongate* 1336 Ch (*v. gata*).

<sup>3</sup> 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, *Langetoft* 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*, *topt*. 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 [kiləm]

*Chillum*, *Chillon* 1086 DB, *Chillū* 1160-7 P, *Chill'* 1166 P,

*Chillum* 1179-95 P (*freq*)

*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, *Killun* 1200 ObIR

*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 spellings<sup>1</sup>. *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*<sup>2</sup> 12th, 13th *Bridl*, 1227, 1233 FF, 1246 *Ass*,

1276 RH

<sup>1</sup> 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 Chill* (Dunelm iii, 50), the origin of which is obscure.

<sup>2</sup> The editors of *Bridl* and RH read *Swane-*.

*Suapethorp, Suaipetorp* 1160-70 YCh 849  
*Swathorp(e)* 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 *Sváfa* 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 *Sváfi* 'the Swabian' (ZEN 81-2). Swaby (L) also probably contains this name. 'Suave's village,' *v. þorp*.

SPITTLE GARTH (6") is *Spyttlegarth* 1546 YChant and is named from the *Hospitale de Killum* 1333 Deod.

## Rudston

RUDSTON [ruds(t)ən]

*Rodestan* 1086 DB, 1276 RH, *-stein* 1086 DB, *-stain, -y-* 1086 DB, 1265 YI, 1292 Ebor, 1295 Pat, 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-yard<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *ō* 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 *o*, which would arise from the shortening of OE close *ō*, and it may have been made further possible by the existence of such pairs as OWScand *būð* by the side of OEScand *bōð*.

## CAYTHORPE

*Caretorp*, K- 1086 DB, 12th YD, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch, 1219 Ass, 1296 YI, *-thorp(e)* 1122-37 *MaryR*, c. 1265 KF *et passim* to 1342 SR, (*iuxta Rudderstan*) 1347 Bridl  
*Carthorp(e)* 1100-15 YCh 1001, 1237 Bridl *et passim* to 1581 FF

*Carathorp* 1285 KI

*Cathorp* 1347 FF, *Cathrope* 1606 FF

'*Kári's* village,' *v. þorp* and cf. Carthorpe (PN NRY 226).

THORPE HALL is *Torp* 1086 DB, *Thorp(e)* 1285 KI *et passim* to 1333 SR, (*near Rudderstan, Rudston*) 1352 Ipm, 1584 FF, (*juxta Boynton*) 1376 FF, *Thorpe-Hall* 1828 Langd. *v. þorp*.

## Boynton

## BOYNTON

*Bouinton(e)*, *-tona*, *Bov-* 1086 DB, *Bouinton(a)*, *-v-* 1114-24 Bridl, 1128-32 BM, 1135-9 (*et freq*) Bridl *et passim* to 1249 Ch  
*Bouington(a)*, *-tun*, *Bovyng-* 12th, 13th Bridl (*freq*), 1230 P *et passim* to 1353 Ipm, *Bovincton* 1298 YI (p)

*Boventon(a)* 1180-90 YCh 1070, 1200 Cur (p)

*Buvinton'* 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

*Bovyngeton* 1300 YI (p)

*Bonyngton* (sic) 1352 Ipm

'*Bofa's farmstead*,' *v. ingtun* and cf. *Bovington* (PN Ess 413). The early loss of *f* (ME *v*) is noteworthy.

### Bessingby

BESSINGBY [beznbi]

*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 OS cand 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 elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. The former may be from OE *Bassa* or OS cand *Bassi* (ZEN 23), the latter from OS cand *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 [bɒlɪtən]

*Bretlinton* 1086 DB, *Brettlington'* 1195 P (p), *Bretlingt'* 1197 P

*Bredlinton(a)*, -*(e)* a. 1080 (13th) Whitby, 1125-30 Bridl, 1146-  
53 BM, 1172-5 Riev, c. 1280 Bridl, *Bredlington(a)* 1081-96  
(15th) Whitby, 1120-9, 1147-56 Bridl, 1185-95 YCh 1218,  
1618 YD

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Besignab* 12th *Nunkeel*, *Besingnab*, -*yng*- late 12th ib., 1249-69 *Melsa* (an unidentified place in Wawne); the second element is ME *nabbe* (OS cand *nabbr*) 'promontory, hill, summit.'

*Brellingtona* 12th YD, *Brellintun*, *-ton(a)* 1119-35 (*et freq* to c. 1280) Bridl, t. Hy 1 (1312) Ch, 1128-32 BM, c. 1135 BevAct, 1138 (1392) Ch, 1160 BM, 1160-75 YCh 826, 1312 Ch, *Brellincton* 1155-70 YCh 1361

*Bridlington(a)*, *-yng-*, *-in-* 1119-30 (*et freq*) Bridl, c. 1130 Whitby, 1201 Cur *et passim* to 1828 Langd, *Bridlinton* t. Hy 3 *StoweCh*

*Bridelin(g)ton(a)* 1119-24 Bridl, c. 1135 BevAct, c. 1190 *Bardney*, 13th Percy *et passim* to 1446 Ch

*Brilinton'* 1135-54 Bridl

*Brillintona* 1138-54 YCh 1146, *-ing-* 12th YD, 13th BM

*Britlintona* 1147-54 YCh 1147, *Britlingtuna* 1274 Ebor

*Berlinton(a)* 1147-54 YCh 1158, 1170-85 ib. 1065, *Byrlyngton* 1541, 1577 FF, 1581 BridlCh, *Burdlington* 1650 ParlSurv, *Burlington* 1651 Deposition

*Brenlintona* t. Hy 2 Bridl

*Brelint(ona)* 1160-81 *RegAlb*, 1170-84 YCh 1141

*Bridlinget'* 1201 Cur

*Breddelington* 1203 Ass

*Briddelington(a)* 1235, 1268 FF, 1280 Misc, 1297 LS, 1299 Ebor, YI

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 *Brād(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 *Brehtel* or *Brihtel*<sup>1</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> There is some evidence for this pers. name in ERY in the unidentified Pocklington field-name *Brettelswayt quam Brettel tenuit* (v. p̄veit) 12th *RegAlb*.

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 \*vis*, 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 *Broc-tun*, 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, *Suinlinton* 13th YD, etc. *Byrlington* and *Burlington* are metathesised from *Brillington* and have undergone the dialectal change of *ir* to [ɔ] (cf. Introd. xxix). 'Berhtel's farmstead,' *v. ingtun*.

NOTE. APPLLEGARTH LANE. Cf. *Appelgarthdaile* 1262 Bridl, cf. Applegarth *infra* 165. KIRKGATE is *Kirkgatestrete* 1539 *MinAcct.*, *v. kirkja, gata*. ST JOHN'S STREET is *S' Joh' gate* 1539 *ib.* WESTGATE is so named in 1539 (*ib.*).

Among unidentified street-names we may note *Fiskergate*, from OScand *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 [ildəθrəp]

*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. *þorp*.

BRIDLINGTON QUAY (6") is *Bridlington Key(e)* 1610 Speed, 1651 Deposition, 1695 Morden, -*Quay* 1828 Langd<sup>1</sup>. BUTT HILLS. Cf. *Keldebottes* 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 [buktən]

*Bocheton(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 origin<sup>2</sup>. v. *Dickering Wapentake supra* 84-5.

RAINCLIFF (6") is *Rauen(e)sclif, Rauencrif* 12th (freq) Bridl,

<sup>1</sup> Bridlington Quay was the port of Bridlington and is now included in the town. Bridlington itself is now represented by OLD TOWN.

<sup>2</sup> 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

*Grededala, -dale* 1166 P, 1285 KI

*Gryndale* 1333 SR, *Gryndall(e)*, *-i-* 1541, 1577 FF, 1650 ParlSurv

'Green valley,' *v. grene, dæl*. Cf. Grinkle (PN NRY 140).

5. SEWERBY [siuwæbi]

*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

*Sewerby* 1205 Cur (p), *Sewerby* 1552 FF, *Sewarby* 1554 YD

*Seuerdby, -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 OS cand *Sigvordr*, 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 *spræc*, *spæc* (ONb *sp(r)ēc*) '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 [fle:mbɒrə]

*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<sup>1</sup>

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 Þorgils 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,

<sup>1</sup> *Flemmingeburg* (*sic* for *-burgton*) 1243 Ebor is probably for Burton Fleming *infra* 112. *Burch* 12th Bridl is probably Flamborough.

brother of Þorgils 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 mediæval 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 OS cand *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 *Flenø* (DaSN(F) 150) we have an example of ODan *fĕn* in the sense 'spit of land, tongue of land'<sup>1</sup>.

'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, *Flambrough 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, *Flambrough Head* 1651 Deposition. SAND HOLE (6") is *Sandhouleghs* 1309 Bridl. *v. holh, leah*.

## Bempton

### 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 Bridlyngton*) 1376 Percy

*Bemton(a)* 1128-32 BM, 1145-53 Bridl, 1285 KI

*Bemeton* 1404 YI

<sup>1</sup> A similar explanation has been suggested for *Flensburg* (Schleswig), but Mr K. Hald suggests that this place-name probably contains a pers. name *Flen*, 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.* æcer, 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<sup>1</sup> 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 *vōndr* '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

REIGHTON [ri:tən]

*Ri-*, *Rycton(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-*, *Ryghton* 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

<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>1</sup> [arəm]

*Ergone* 1086 DB

*Ergum* 1162-75 YCh 1246, late 12th, 1204 Cur (p), 1219 *Ass*, 1257 *Bardney*, 1270 Ebor, *Ergom* 1170-5 Bridl

*Ergum* 1285 KI, 1292 Ch *et freq* to 1402 YI, *Ergom* 1292 Ebor, 1297 LS *et passim* to 1518 Test, *Ergum* 1650 ParlSurv

*Herghum* 1290 Ebor, 1343 FF (p)

*Ergom*, -um 1304 YI, 1330 FF

*Arholme* 1525 FF, *Argam* 1549 FF *et freq*

'At the shielings,' *v. Arram supra* 79.

2. FORDON [fɔdn] 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. norð*, west (compar. *westerra*), *dæl*. Cf. *Westerdale* (PN NRY 134).

#### 3. HUNMANBY [unənbi, umənbi, uməbi]

*Hundmanebi* 1086 DB, -*bi*, -*by* c. 1135 BevAct, 1197 P (p), 13th Font, 1205 Cur *et freq* to 1331 Ch, *Hundmanebi* 1241 FF

<sup>1</sup> Extra-parochial. Argam was formerly one of the chapels of Hunmanby.

- Hunmanby* c. 1130-40 YCh 102, 1281, 1297 Ebor, 1294 Abbr, 1519 FF  
*Hundemannebi*, -by 1142-7 LeonardR, 1147-66 YCh 175, 1147, 1195-6 P (p), 1204 Cur, 1246 Ass (p), *Hundemauneby* (sic) t. Ric 1 (1252) Ch  
*Hundemanbi(a)*, -by 12th Riev, *Bardney* (freq), t. Hy 2 LeonardN, 1270-1304 Ebor et freq to 1414 Test  
*Hundmanby* 1155-65 (et freq to 1312) Bridl, 1259 AD iii (p) et passim to 1514 FF  
*Hun(n)emaneby* 1215 CIR, *Hunemanneby* 1276 Pat, *Hone-man(e)by* 1276 ib., RH, 1286 Ebor  
*Humanby* 1286 Abbr, (als. *Humandby*) 1540 FF, (als. *Hudmanby*) 1596 FF, *Hummonby* 1535 FF  
*Hundmandby* 1316 NomVill, -mond- 1560 NCWills, *Hunmandby* 1403 YI, 1531 Test  
*Hunnanbye*, -on- 1569 FF, 1610 Speed

The first element is OScand \**hunda-maðr*, 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<sup>1</sup>

- 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, *Bartondail* 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 *Björnkarl*, a dithematic name made up of the common OScand pers. name elements *Berg-* or *Bjarn-* (*Björn-*) 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.

<sup>1</sup> Depopulated.

THE DAMS, DAM LANDS (6"). Cf. *Damside* 1302 YI. This name, like The Dams *infra* 111, 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, *Fowthorpfyld* 1544 FF. 'Foli's hamlet,' from the OS cand 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*, *-garþe* 1302, 1303 YI, 1352 Ipm, from ME *castel* and *garðr*. There are remains of old earthworks (cf. Langd). CROOK LANE (6"). Cf. *Crochedale* 13th *Bardney*. *v. krokr*, *dæl*. 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*, *dæl*. WAN DALE (6") is *Wandailes* 13th *Bardney*. *v. Wandale supra* 107.

### Filey

FILEY [fa:lə, fa'lə]

*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-*, *Five-*, *Fyuele* 12th, 13th Bridl (*freq*), 1256, 1258 Pat, 1276 RH *et passim* to 1402 YI, *Fyuelee* 1316 NomVill

*Phyvelay* 1139-47 YCh 1137, 1301 Ch

*Fifle* 1148 *LeonardN*, 1160-76 YCh 1174, 13th *Malton*, *Fiflea* 1195, 1196 P, *Fiflei*, *-ley* 1156, 1173 *LeonardN*, *Fiflee* late 13th Misc

*Fiuel'* 1160-5 Bridl

*Fiu(e)leg* 1241 FF

*Fixweley* 1278 YI

*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,' Forehoe (Nf) 'four mounds' as wapentake-names, Middendorff notes under the different OE numerals names like *to ðam twam stane* 'two stones,' *to þrim þornan* 'three thorns,' *on sex þorn* '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 *hyll* as in Harthill *infra* 151.

It is much more probable that Filey is a compound of OScand *fifa* or *ftfill* '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 *lēah* 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 BRIGG is *Filey-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

*Muston(e)* 1086 DB, 12th YCh 1180, 1191 P *et passim* to 1525  
FF

*Museton'* 12th *Bardney*, 1201 Cur, *et freq* to 1331 Ch

*Mussetuna* 1160-76 YCh 1174

*Musedon* 1285 KI

*Mosetona* 1297 LS, *Moston* 1304 YI

'Mouse-infested farm,' *v. mus, tun* (cf. Muston, Lei, Muscotes, PN NRY 65, Muscott, PN Nth 27) or 'Músi's farm,' from the OScand nick-name *Músi* (LindB, Nielsen).

### North Burton

NORTH BURTON or BURTON FLEMING [nɔθ bɔtn] 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, Fleming, -yng* 1205 *Nostell*, 1331 *Ch, Flammyng* 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 *Stodefald* 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

THWING [θwiŋ, wiŋ]

*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*

*Thwyng* 13th *Healaugh, Twyng(e), -i-* 1268 *FF, 1360 Ipm, 1534 FF, (upon the Walde)* 1582 *FF*

*Thwying(e)* 13th *Healaugh*, 1352 *Ipm*, 1516 *FF*

*Tweyng* 1244 *Ass*, *Thweyng(e)* 1540 *MinAct*, (*upon the Wold*)  
1547 *FF*

*Thewyng* 1448 *Bridl*, 1481 *Test*

Thwing is derived from OS cand *þwengr* or OE *þweng* (*þwænga*, *ðuencgu*, plur.), a Northumbrian *i*-mutated form of OE *þwang*, *þwong* 'thong, strap,' which occurs in Uppertdong and Netherthong (WRY), *Thwng* 1274, *Thoung* 1275, 1307, *Uuerthwong* 1297, *Overthwonges* 1314 Wakefield Court Rolls, *Tong* 1252 *Ch*, etc. OE *þwang*, *þweng*, OS cand *þwengr* 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.' Uppertdong 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 *twing* 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<sup>1</sup>

*Ocheton* 1086 *DB*, *-ton(a)*, *-tun* c. 1180 *LeonardR*, 1180-90

*YCh* 1070, c. 1200 *Dods*

*Occatuna* 1156, 1173 *LeonardN*, *Occetonia* 1194 *Meaux*,

*Ocketon* 1303 *KF*

*Ocatuna* 1170-85 *YCh* 1065, *Oketun*, *-ton(a)*, *-c-* 12th *Nunkeel*,

1155-70 *YCh* 1361, 1175-85 *ib.* 1068 *et passim* to 1401  
*Melsa*

<sup>1</sup> There is an unidentified place called *Octonholm* (*-tun-*, *Ok-*) 1308 *BevAct*, 1404 *YL*, 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 *Meauxc*,  
*Octon-Grange* 1828 Langd. *v. North Grange supra* 44. It was  
a grange of Meaux Abbey. PADDOCK HILL (6"). Cf. *Padocdailes*  
c. 1180 *LeonardR*, *Paddochedeiles* 1185-1205 *Dods*, from ME  
*paddocke* 'toad' (evidenced from c. 1350, NED) and deill 'strip  
or plot of land.'

### Wold Newton

WOLD NEWTON [wɔ: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 was  
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, butθərik]

*Butruid* 1086 DB

*Butreuic*, *-w-* 12th, early 13th *Whitby*, *Butrawic* 1156-7 YCh  
354, t. Ric I (1308) Ch, *Buterewich* 1195 P (p)

*Butterwic*, *-wyc*, *-k(e)* 1120-35 YCh 1072-5 *et passim* to 1370  
Pat, (*in Crendale*) 1344 FF

*Butheruic* c. 1160 *Whitby*

*Buterwic(h)*, *-wyk(e)*, *-cke* 1161-84 *StoweCh*, 1184-90 *MaryR*,  
1246 *Ass et freq* to 1573 FF, (*in Crendale*) 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), *-hollys* 1519 *FF*, *-hallis* 1531 *Test*  
*Foxola* 1161-84 *StoweCh*, *Foxoles* 1276 *RH* (p) *et freq* to 1316  
*NomVill*  
*Fouxholes* 1448 *Bridl*  
 'Fox-earths,' *v.* *fox-hol*.

BOYTHORPE [bɔiθrɒp] 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.* *þorp*. On this late OE pers. name which is thought to  
 be of Continental origin *v.* *Boycott*, *PN Bk* 48, and more par-  
 ticularly *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 [faʊtn]

*Fulcheton* 1086 DB, *Fulketuna*, *-ton*' 1162-7 *Riev*, 1220 *Ass*  
*Folchetun* 12th *Riev*  
*Folketun*, *-ton(a)* 12th *Bridl*, 1243 *Abbr et passim* to 1418 *YI*,  
 (*in Hertforthlith*) 12th (1447) *YCh* 1180  
*Folktonie*, *-ton* 1153-86 *Riev*, 1349 *FF*, 1828 *Langd*  
*Folkinton*' 1230 *P* (p), *Folkeston* 1336 *FF*  
*Folton* 1525 *Test*, *Foulton* 1650 *ParlSurv*, *Fowlton* 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* 1153-80 Riev. This is a compound of OE *dēad* '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, 269-70.

FLIXTON is *Fleustone* 1086 DB, *Flixton(a)* 12th YCh 1180, 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

*Flotemanebi* 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 *flótta-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*, *holm*r. 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

#### WILLERBY

*Wi-*, *Wyllardebi*, *-by* 12th Riev, 12th, 13th Bridl (*freq.*) *et passim* to 1446 Ch, *Villardeby* 1452 Ch

*Willerdebi* 1125-30 YCh 1135

*Wi-*, *Wylardebi*, *-by* 1128-32 BM, 1135-9 Bridl, 1157 YCh 1148, 1203 Cur, Ass, 1205-46 FF (*freq.*)

*Wil(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

'Willard's farm,' from OE *Wilheard* and *by*. Cf. Willerby *infra* 218.

#### BINNINGTON

*Binne-*, *Bigneton* 1086 DB

*Benington'*, *-yng-* 1194 P (p), early 13th Bridl, 1316 NomVill, 1332 SR, 1404 YI, 1555 BM, *Benigton* 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 *hæfer* 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, *Stawxston* 1565 FF. '*Stakk's* farmstead,' *v.* tun. The first element is the OS cand 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 OS cand 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 Cliue* 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 Galampton* 1828 Langd. '*Galma's* farmstead,' *v.* tun. Cf. Ganthorpe (PN NRY 34).

POTTER BROMPTON

*Brunetona* 1086 DB, *Brunton* 1169 Malton

*Brumton* 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

*Potterbrouton* 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 *ō* 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 *pēac* 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.

POTTER BROMPTON WOLD is (*in*) *Waldo Brumton* 13th Bridl. *v.* The Wolds *supra* 13. GANTON DALE. Cf. *Ganton Dale Inn* 1828 Langd. THE GRITS is *Gretes* late 12th Bridl. Probably from OS cand *grjot* 'stones' rather than OE *groot* 'gravel.' Cf. Swedish *Gryt*, *Grytorna* (SvON ii, 69-70). OWLET DALE (6") is *Wlflachadale* 12th Bridl. *v. dæl*. The first element is probably a pers. name in *Ulf-* or *Wulf-*, such as OS cand *Úlfliótr*. WINTER BECK HOLE (6"). Cf. *Winterdalheuedland* 12th Bridl. 'Valley with a stream in winter,' *v. winter, dæl, bekk*.

## 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

*Mucroswapentaco*, *Muscrowap* 1195, 1196 P

*Bukeros* 1245 Malton, 1275 Ebor, *Bucceros* 1316 NomVill

*Bokros* 1309 Ipm

*Bucceros* 1316 NomVill, *Buckrosse* 1336 Deod, 1695 Morden,  
*Bugcros* 1365 Pat

'*Bukki*'s cross,' *v. cros.* An OS cand *Bukki* is not on record in OWScand, but such a weak form of the recorded OS cand *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, *Hacla*, 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* (OS cand *skarð* 'cleft in the hills') and *Toreshou* ('Thor's mound,' from OS cand *Þórr* or *Þórrir* 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 *Reg Alb*, 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 Hareforthlith*) 1293 *QW*

*S(c)hir-*, *Shyreburn(e)*, *-born(e)* 12th *Bridl*, 1285 *KI et passim*  
 to 1531 *Test*, (*in Harforthlith*) 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*

'The bright, clear stream,' *v. scir* (partly influenced by OS cand *skirr*), burna. Cf. *Hertfordlythe supra* 13.

### Yedingham

#### 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 *Ēada* 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.

YEDINGHAM BRIDGE. Cf. *Yeddingham-Bridge-Inn* 1828 Langd.

### West Heslerton

#### I. EAST HESLERTON

*Esrelton, Haslintonis* (sic) 1086 DB, *Haslintunæ* 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, -ion* c. 1150, c. 1180 Riev, 1164-6 P

(*Est*) *Heselerton(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 *hæselar* 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-*

arton *Mere* c. 1362 Works. *v. kiarr.* EAST HESLERTON WOLD (6") is *Waldum* c. 1180 Riev. *v. The Wolds supra* 13.

## 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. *kyminum de Oustby* 13th *Malton*. *Oustby* ('east farm, village,' *v. austr, by*) does not survive, but it may refer to East Heslerton; Lat *kyminum* 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 *CIR 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 *Hom*. 'Luda's farm,' *v. tun*, and cf. *Lutton*, PN Nth 204.

HAYER DALE (6") is *Hauerdale* 13th *Malton*. From OE *hæfer* 'he-goat' or OScand *hafri* 'oats' and *dæl*.

## 2. WEAVERTHORPE [wi:əθrəp]

*Wifretorp* 1086 DB, *Wyferthorp* 1235 FF (p)

- 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*  
*Wivelthorp* 1180-5 *Bridl*  
*Wi-*, *Wyverunestorp* 1228 *Pat*  
*Wiverestorp* 1249 *Ebor*  
*Wyret(h)orp* 1269 *Nostell*, 15th *Sawley*  
*Wyrthorp(e)* 1304 *BevAct*, 1306 *YI et freq* to 1389 *Ch*, -*trop*  
 1344 *FF*  
*Werthorp(e)* 1355 *Ipm*, 1407 *YI*, (*als. Warthorpe*) 1553 *FF*,  
*Werethorp* 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 *Viðfari* 'the far-traveller' (LindN), a name of the same type as that found in *Nafferton supra* 94. *Viðfari* occurs in OE as *Widfare* and in DB and ME as *Wifare*, etc. (NP 175). 'Viðfari's village,' *v. þorp*. The later spellings *Wyrthorp* and *Weverthorp* 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. þorp*. On the OScand woman's name

*Hjálp*, gen. *Hjálpar*, cf. Helperby, PN NRY 24. For *Crandale* v. Grindalythe *supra* 12.

### 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-*, *Dyvelgebi* 1204 Ass,  
 1241 FF, *Diuelkeby* 1246 YI  
*Dukelby* late 12th Malton  
*Deuegilby* early 13th Malton  
*Diugelebi* 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, *Duggelby* 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

*Kirkebi*, -by 12th *Malton et passim* to 1623 BM

*Ki-*, *Kyrkby* 1187-91 *Kirkham et passim* to 1601 FF

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 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.

'Church village,' v. *kirkja*, by. On the distinguishing elements v. *Grindalythe*<sup>1</sup> and *The Wolds supra* 12, 13.

MOWTHORPE [mɔuθrɛp]

*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 *Múli* cf. *Mowthorpe*, PN NRY 35 and *Dan Mullerup*.

THORALBY (lost)<sup>2</sup> 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 [θɔtlbi]

*Turgislebi* 1086 DB, -by 1109-19 *RegAlb*, 1193-1205 YCh 1079, 1228 FF, *Turgesleby* c. 1225 *Wollaton*, 1228 FF

<sup>1</sup> There is a field in this township called *Low Grindel*.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

*Turgilebi* 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 Hom, *Thirkilbye upon the Wolde* 1601 FF

The first element is OScand *Dorgils*, with variants *Dorgisl*, *Durgisl* (LindN), common all over Scandinavia and in England (NP 156). A parallel is found in Swedish *Torgilsbyn* (ON på *-by* 66). *Thirtleby supra* 51, with similar later spellings is of different origin. *v. Grindalythe and The Wolds supra* 12, 13.

### Cowlam

COWLAM [kauləm]

*Colnun* (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  
*Colum* 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 *Colnun*.

BURROW HOUSE (6") is *Burrehou* 1285 YI. The first element is doubtful, the second is *haugr*; there are several tumuli here.

### Sledmere

SLEDMERE

*Slidemare* 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  
*Sledmer(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. slæd, mere* (influenced by OScaud *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 *slæd-mere*<sup>1</sup>. 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

*Croun* 1109-19 *RegAlb*, *Croum* late 12th *Malton*, 1268, 1333 FF, *Crou'* 1204 Ass (p), *Croume* 1348 *Kirkham*

*Crohum* t. John BM, 13th *Bridl*, 1259 Ass *et passim* to 1336 Ch, *Crohoh* 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 Middendorff (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 Middendorff (as MLGer *krōch* 'a nook of land,' etc.), to which may be added OScaud *krá* 'corner.' In Croom it would clearly have reference to several deep short valleys round about. 'At the nooks of land.' See, further, Ekwall, *Studies*<sup>2</sup> 166 ff.

YORK ROAD (6") is *Yorkestret* 13th *Byland*; it is the name of a Roman road from York. *v. stræt*.

<sup>1</sup> One of these pools is referred to in the name of Martin *Attemar* (1297 LS 145).

## Wetwang

## 1. FIMBER [fimə]

*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. 628,  
1154-61 ib. 630

*Finmar(r)a* t. Hy 2 *MaryH*, 1156-7 YCh 354, t. Ric 1 (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 *fingræs* '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 *Boghlangate* 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, wetwaj]

*Wetw-*, *Wetuuangha*' 1086 DB, *Wetwanghe* 1164-78 *LeonardR*  
*Wetewang(e)* 1113-14 Selby, c. 1155 *AddCh*, 1194 P *et passim*  
to 1376 FF, *Wetewanghe* 1145-56, 1164-78 *LeonardR*

*Wetewong(e)* 1191, 1197 P, 1233, 1310 Ebor, *-weng*' 1201 P

*Wetewong* 1196 P, *-wang(e)* 1334 *BevAct*, 1461 *Test*

*Wetwang* 1207 LS, 14th *Sawley*, 1333 *Deod*, 1492 FF

*Weatewange* 1585 FF

*wang* as the second element in place-names is almost certainly of Scand origin and Lindkvist (35) rightly takes it to be a loanword 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 OS cand legal term *vætt-vangr* (*véttvangr*) '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 [fraidaθorp, fra-dəθorp]

*Fridag(s)-, Frida(r)storp* 1086 DB

*Fridait(h)orp*, -y- 1196 P, 1216-55 *Reg Alb 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 *Frigedæg* in certain names in OE charters (v. PN Sr 278, 410). Here we have that name or the corresponding unrecorded OS cand *Frijádagr*. Hence, 'Fridag's village,' v. *porp*.

### 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 Hundoldale* 1303 Ebor, 1366

Pat

(*in Hundoldale* 1254, 1302 Ebor, *in Hondeldale* 1273 ib.,

*in Hundeholedale* 1342 SR, *Hundale* 1286, 1300 Ebor,

*Underdale, under Dale* 1542 FF, 1650 ParlSurv<sup>1</sup>

'Church farm,' v. *kirkja*, by. v. *Hundle Dale infra* 131.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also y<sup>o</sup> *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 [garəbi]

*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)<sup>1</sup>. 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 OS cand gen. sg. *Gervard̄s*. *v. Addenda* lix.

## HANGING GRIMSTON

*Grimeston* 1086 DB, -ton(a), -tun 1088-93 YCh 350 *et passim* to 1263 Baidon, (*Hengande-*) 1300 ib.

*Grimiston* 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* (OS cand *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).

<sup>1</sup> The two themes *Ge(i)r* 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)rvarðr*.

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 OS cand *Hundólfr* and *dæl*. Cf. OE, ME *Hundulf* (NP 70) also from OS cand.

PAINSTHORPE [penzθrəp]

*Torfe, Thorf* 1086 DB

*Painesthorp*, -ay-, -ey- t. Wm 1 (1297) Pat, 1088-93 YCh 350, 1203 Dods, 1254 FF, 1333 SR, -trop 1263 Baildon

*Paynthorp* 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 OS cand \**Hūnkell* (*Hūnketill*) or \**Hundkell* (NP 70).

BAFFHAM is *Baffam* 1828 Langd. BROWN MOOR is *Brounmore* c. 1412 *Kirkham*. DEEP DALE (6") is *Depedale* 1184 Dods, *Deepdale* 1828 Langd, *Dipdale* 1836 TA. FITTESSES (6"). Cf. *Fyttie lands* 1590 *Terrier*<sup>1</sup>, from OS cand *fit* 'grassland' (*v.* The Fitts, PN NRY 127). FORDHAM is *Firthholm nab* c. 1250 *Kirkham*. 'Meadow by the wood,' *v. fyrhþ*, *holmr*; *nab* is OS cand *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 OS cand *þvert* and *sik*. Cf. also *Sykelands* ib. STONE DALE (6") is *Stayndale* c. 1250 *Kirkham*. *v. steinn*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ex inf.* the Rev. Canon W. R. Shepherd.

STONE 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 [rɛ:zθrəp]

*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

'*Hreiðar*'s village,' v. þorp. The pers. name is OS cand *Hreiðarr* (OSwed *Redhar*, ODan *Rethær*), 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 *healh* '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 *Newhill* near *Wath* (WRY), *Newhalle*, *Niwehalla* 1086 DB, *Neuehalla* t. Hy 2 (1316) Ch, *Newhall* 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 [θisəndil]

*Sixte(n)-, Xistendale* 1086 DB

*Sextenesdala* 1123-8 (1336) Ch, 1145-60 *MaryR*

*Si-, Syxtendale, -dala* a. 1139 Riev, 1161-84 *MaryR*, c. 1250

*Kirkham*, 1333 *SR*, 1413 *Kirkham*, *Sixtene-* 1156-7 *YCh*  
354, *Sixteen-* 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*

*Thixendale, -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 *Systylldall* (c. 1250 *Kirkham*)<sup>1</sup>. On medial *x* becoming *s* in the 16th century *v. Intro.* xxxi.

PLUCKHAM (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd). WORM DALE (6") is *Wormedall'* c. 1250 *Kirkham*. 'Snake valley,' from OE *wyrm* and *dæl*.

<sup>1</sup> 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 [tɔuθrɛp]

*Touetorp* 1086 DB, *-thorp* 1231 Ass, FF, *Thouetorp* 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, *Tolthrope upon the Wold* 1564 FF

'Tove's village,' *v.* þorp. The pers. name *Tove* is common in ODan as *Tufi*, *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 Towthorpe. Towthorpe *infra* 232 is of different origin, but the phonetic development of the two names accounts for the inverted spelling *Tolthrope* for this place-name.

## 4. WHARRAM PERCY [warəm piəsi]

*Warran*, *Warron* 1086 DB

*Wharrom* 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,

*Qwarrumperc*y 1372 Percy

*Sowth Warhom* 1285 KI

*Warrom Percy*, *Suth Warrom* 1297 LS, *Warum* 1413 Kirkham

*Wharhom Percy* 1385 YD, *Wharrome Percy* 1508 Test,

*Wharame Percy* 1572 FF

*Wherumperc*y 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 *hwær*. 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 *Bækkevar*, as well as in Wharfe (WRY)<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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, *Quarrum* 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 pasturæ spinosæ vocatam le Lound* 1356-67  
*Melsa*. Originally 'thorn wood,' *v.* *þorn, 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 Herfordliith*) 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 OScaud  
 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 OScaud *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, (*iuxta Wyntringham, -i-*) 13th Malton, 1332 SR, *Neueton(a)* 1155-7 YCh 1148, 1303 KF, *Niwe(n)tun, -ton'* 1166, 1167 P (p), *Newton near Wyntryngham 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 *pomerium*<sup>1</sup> *W. de Plax* (Malton 249 d).

### Thorpe Bassett

#### THORPE BASSETT

*Torp* 1086 DB, 1200 FF, (*iuxta Wintringham*) 13th Malton  
*Thorp(e)* 1204 FF, 1336 Ch, (*in Hauerfordlyth*) 13th Malton  
*Thorphelis, -ys* 13th ib. (*freq*), *Thorp El(e)ys* 1251 FF, 1285  
 KI, 1303 KF, *Elisthorpe* 13th Kirkham

*Thorp Basset(t)* 1267 Ebor *et passim* to 1608 FF, (*als. Thorpe Ellys*) 1572 FF, *Thorpepassett* 1565 FF, *Thorpasett* 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 *ūtgang*, OScaud *ūtgangr* 'the way out (of the village).' Cf. *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> An error for *pomarium* 'orchard.'

## Rillington

## 1. RILLINGTON

*Redlinton(e), Renliton* 1086 DB

*Rilligt'* 1166 P (p)

*Rillintun, -ton(a), -y-* 1175-84 YCh 631, 1228 Pat *et freq* to 1268 Ebor

*Ridlin(c)ton* 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 *Rēdliŋgtūn*. An OE pers. name *Rēdel* is not actually recorded in that form, but this would be the normal Anglian equivalent of the recorded *Rædel* and the vowel would be shortened to *e* before *dl*. Karlström (125) brings together various place-names containing this pers. name, as Ringwoud (K), Ridlington (R), Redlingfield (Sf), all with similar spellings, and to these may be added Ridlington (Nf), DB *Ridlinketuna*, Riddlesworth (Nf), DB *Redelesuorda*, and Riddlesden (WRY), 1086 DB, 1226 FF *Red(e)lesden(e)*. 'Redel'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

*Scanton'* 1193, 1194 P

*Scameliston'* 1202 FF, *Skameleston'* 1244 Ass

*Scameton* 1229 Ebor

*Scham(e)ston* 1276 RH, 1342 SR, *Sc-*, *Skampston* 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 *Skamnr* 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 [skaglθrəp]

*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. þorp.* The pers. name is OScand *Skakul* (OWScand *Skøkull*, 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

*Setrington* 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 *seohtre* 'drain, ditch.' *v.* ingtun.

#### BUCKTON HOLMS (6")<sup>1</sup>

*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.* fyrhð, 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. *Milneholm* 1252 *Malton.* *v.* myln, holmr. NORTON PARKS (6") is *Park* 13th *Malton*.

<sup>1</sup> 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.

*v. pearroc.* WHITEWALL HOUSE (6"). Cf. *Whitewall-Corner* 1828 Langd.

### Langton

#### I. KENNYTHORPE [keniθrəp]

*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<sup>1</sup>

The first element is probably OS cand *kennari* 'teacher,' no doubt used as a nickname. *v. þorp.*

2. LANGTON is *Lanton* 1086 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 *Grimston(e)* 1086 DB, *Gri-*, *Grymston(e)*, *-tun* 12th, 13th *Malton et passim* to 1404 YI, (*iuxta Setrington*) late 12th *Malton*, *Grimetona* 1086 DB, *Gri-*, *Grymston(e)* 1086 DB, 1154 *Meaux et passim*, (North) 1574 (*et freq*) FF, (*Aclyn*) 1582 FF, *Gri-*, *Grymmeston(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*. WANDALES (6") is *Wandail* 13th YD. *v. Wandale supra* 107.

### Birdsall

#### BIRDSALL [bɔdsəl]

*Briteshale*, *-hala* 1086 DB

*Brideshal(a)*, *-hale* 1086 DB, 1108-14 *Reg Alb et passim* to 1300 Hom, *Bridis-* t. Ric I (1308) Ch

<sup>1</sup> *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, *Bridsal(l)e* 1238 Ch,

1241 Ebor, 1285 Abbr, 1355 Ipm

*Bredessale* 1175-95 YCh 33, *Bredeshal* 1216 CIR, *Breydis-*

1268 YI

*Briddehale* 12th Malton

*Briddeshal(a)*, *-hale* 1190-4 P (p), 1200 ChR *et freq* to 1336

Ch, *-hall(e)* 1240 FF, 1285 KI, *Briddishal'* 1220 Ass, 1268

Malton, *Briddeshaghe* 1332 Deod

*Briddesal(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. Byrдыshall 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 *slétta* '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 wood-

land, 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

### BURYTHORPE

*Berguetorp* 1086 DB, *Bergetorp* 1086 DB, 1198 Cur, 1219 Ass,

*-trop* 1191-1201 *Dods*, *-thorpe* 1318 *Kirkham*

*Bergert(h)orp* 1180-90 YCh 623, 1268 FF

*Berkerthorp* 1199 YCh 624<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably Dodsworth's confusion of Burythorpe with Barthorpe *infra* 148.

- Berglestorp* (sic) 1205 *Nostell* (p)  
*Bereweithorp* 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, *Berghe-* 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, þorp*. Against this, however, it should be noted that *þorp* 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 *Björg*, 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<sup>1</sup> [θɔnθrəp]

- 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, *Thurghgrymthorpe* 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 OWScand *Þorgrímr*, ODan, OSwed *Thorgrim*, and *þorp*. *Thorganby infra* 263 has undergone a similar reduction.

Kirkham

KIRKHAM [kəkəɪm]

- Cherchan, Chercha', Chirchan* 1086 DB, *Cherc(he)ham* 1123-8  
 (1336) Ch

<sup>1</sup> 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 [edlθrəp]

*Guduuales-*, *Geduuales-*, *Eduardestorp* 1086 DB

*Edelestorp* 1221 FF

*Edelthorp(e)*, *-il-* 1297 LS *et passim* to 1422 YI

*Hedelthorp* 1342 SR

*Edlethorpe* 1574 FF, *-throp* 1587 FF

'*Eadwald*'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 *Iátvaldr*, similar to OScand *Iátmundr*,  
*Iátvarðr* (for OE *Ēadmund*, *Ēadward*). 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 *Eadwulf*  
 would of course formally explain the later forms of the place-  
 name.

EDDLETHORPE GRANGE (6") is *Eddlethorpe grainge* 1666 Deposi-  
 tion.

#### 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

*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  
*Menythrop* 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 interpretation 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*, *How-* 1297 LS, 1303 KF *et passim* to 1542 NCWills

*Howshom* 1414 Test, *Howseham* 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

*Screingeham* 1157 YCh 354, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch, 1208, 1268 FF

*Screaingesham* 1165-75 YCh 1225 (p)

*Screhingham* 1230 P (p)

*Sc-*, *Skraingham* 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

*Scraikingham* 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), *Screinga* 1158 BM, *Scrainghe* 1212 RBE, *Screinges* 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 *skrå(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), *Skraastadir* (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 *skræða* 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 *Skraæða*) and his people,' *v. ingaham*. On the question of Scandinavian *ing*-names *v. Skeckling* and *Skeffling supra* 34, 20 and *Introd. xix*.

TOFT FLATS (6"). Cf. *toftum quod fuit Bruning* 1208 FF. *v. topt*.

### Acklam

#### I. ACKLAM [aklæm]

*Aclun* 1086 DB, *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-*, *Acklom* 1290 Ch, 1297 LS *et passim* to 1546 FF

*Aiclom* 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 *oklum*, dat. plur. of OScand *okull* '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 OWScand 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*.

## BARTHORPE BOTTOMS [ba:θrəp]

*Barchetorp(e)* 1086 DB, 1166 RBE (p)

*Barchertorp* 1086 DB, *Barkerthorp* 1232 FF

*Berchethorp* 12th Malton, *Berkeþorp*, -t(h)- 12th, 13th ib.,  
1204 Ass, 1246 Ass, *Derke-* (sic) 1308 BevAct

*Barcthorp*, -k- 1176 Meaux, 1252 FF *et passim* to 1422 YI

*Barkethorp* 1185-90 RegAlb, 1208 FF *et passim* to 1316  
NomVill

*Berthesthorp* (sic) 1198 Abbr, *Berkestorp* 1237 Nostell

*Barkest(h)orp'* 1208 FF, 1219 Ass

*Barthorp(e)* 1355 Ipm *et passim* to 1525 FF, -thorp 1606 FF,

*Berthorp* 1530 Test.

'Bark's village,' *v.* þorp. *Bark* (cf. *Barch* DB) is from OScand *Borkr*, gen. *Barkar*. The ME spellings fluctuate between this OScand gen. form, a ME gen. in -es and an uninflected genitive (cf. *Burythorpe supra* 142).

## 2. LEAVENING

*Ledling(h)e* 1086 DB<sup>1</sup>

*Leyingges* 1242 Fees, *Leghing*, *Leying* 13th Bridl, *Leghingge*  
1297 LS

*Levingg* 1242 Fees

*Leghening'* 1246, 1279 Ass, t. Ed 3 AD i

*Lethenyng* 1280 Ass

*Leu-*, *Leavening(e)*, -yng 1284 Abbr, 1285 SR *et passim* to 1549  
FF, *Leaveninge* 1604 FF

*Lewenyngge* 1296 YI (p)

*Leguingge* 1297 LS, *Leghueng* 1334 FF

<sup>1</sup> 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 *ð* 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 NRY 12). The pers. name *Leden* is probably a shortened form of OE *Lēofðegn* or the like.

### Bugthorpe

BUGTHORPE [bugθrəp]

*Buchetorp* 1086 DB, 1194-8 YCh 1082 (p)

*Bughetorp* 1086 DB

*Bugetorp* 1086 DB, 1166 RBE, 1191-9 P (p), 1206 Cur (p),

OblR (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

*Bogethorp* 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 OS cand 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.

THORALBY HALL is *Turalzbi* 1086 DB, *Toraldebi* 1175-86 YCh

838, *Thoroldeby* 1219 Ass, *Toraldeby* 1246 YI, *Thuraldeby* 1285

SR, *Thoraldeby* 1285 KI *et freq* to 1316 NomVill, *Thoraldby* 13th

*Kirkham*, 1313 YD, (*als. Thorwoldbye*) 1615 FF, *Tharaldeby*

1293 QW, *Thoralby* 1365 Pat, *Thorleby* 1398 AD iii. '*Thorald's*

village,' *v. by*. On the pers. name and particularly the form

*Tharalde-*, *v. Tharlesthorpe supra* 25.

## Skirpenbeck

SKIRPENBECK [sköpmbek]

*Scarpinberg* 1086 DB*Scarpenbec* 1086 DB, *Scarpinbec*, *-bek* t. Hy 2 *MaryH*, 1156-7 YCh 354, t. Ric 1 (1308) Ch*Scerpinbec*, *-en-* a. 1080, 1165-80 Whitby, t. Hy 2, 1207 BM, 1160-80 YCh 839, 1192 P, 1247 Ch*Scripenbec* 1150-60, c. 1180 Whitby*Scirpenbec(h)*, *-k* 1150-61, c. 1180, c. 1200, 1385 Whitby, 1194 P, *Ski-*, *Skyrpenbec(k)*, *-yn-*, *-bek(e)* 1207 FF, 1274 Ebor, 1285 YI *et passim* to 1579 FF*Scirpinbec* 1160-75 YCh 834, *Skirpyngbeke* 1304 YI*Scridenbek* 1160-75 Whitby*Scherpenbec*, *-in-* 1160-80, c. 1190, c. 1195 *Reg Alb*, 1180-94 YCh 842*Skerpenbec*, *-in-*, *-bek* 1180-90 YCh 841-3, 1210-2 RBE, 1230, 1231 FF, 1246 *Ass* (p), 1274 Ebor, *-yn-* 1342 *SR*, *-un-* 1203 FF, *Sck-* 1231 FF*Scerpingbec*, *-k* 12th Whitby, 1156-7 YCh 354, *Sch-* 1161-72 Whitby, *Sk-* 1219 *Ass*, 1246 YI, 1267 Ebor, 1293 QW*Schi-*, *Schyrlenbec*, *-in-*, *-be(c)k* 12th Whitby, 1197, 1199 P, 1285 *SR**Scirkenbech*, *-pech* 1194, 1199 P, *Schirkinbech* 1195, 1196 P*Schirkpinbec* 1197 P*Scorpenbek* 1230 FF*Skerbinbec* 1246 YI*Scerkyngbech* 1251 FF, *Skerkenbeke*, *-beck* 1298 YI, 1301 Ebor, *-beks* 1308 *BevAct**Ski-*, *Skyrkenbec(k)*, *-bek(e)* 1268 YI, 1293 QW, 1300 Ebor *et freq* to 1546 FF, (*als. Skirpenbeck*) 1584 FF*Skertynbek* 1415 Whitby, *Skirtenbe(c)k(e)*, *-yn-*, *Sky-* 1446 Whitby *et freq* to 1554 FF*Skyrthyngbecke* 1567 FF

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 *scorrnedd* '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 *droupnyng* 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 *droukyng* 'crouching,' related to the previous word, occurs in *Promptorium Parvulorum* and again one manuscript (Harley) substitutes *droupyng*. 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 *Skjerp* (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<sup>1</sup>. 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. bekk*. 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<sup>2</sup>

(*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

<sup>1</sup> The late Professor R. E. Zachrisson also considered an OE \**scearping* 'rough ground' possible.

<sup>2</sup> *Bainton Devison* 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

*Herthull* 1285 SR, KI, 1289 YI, 1306 BevAct

Harthill Wapentake is named from an unidentified place called *Hertle* 1170-82 YCh 49, *Hertille* 1199 Cur, *Herthull'* 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 *Herthull* 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 *Hertil* (*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 Driffeld* 1190 etc. P, *socha de Driffeud* 1276 RH, *soccagio 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 Hundret* 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.

*Poclington Hundret*, 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 Poci'ton* 1086 DB, *soca de Poclington* 1226 FF, etc.).

*Wigston, Wicstun Hundret*, formed the east of Holme Beacon Division and part of Hunsley Beacon. Cf. Market Weighton *infra* 229.

*Cave Hundret*, 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.

*Sneculf(s)cros Hundret* 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 *Suecolfros Hundred* (sic) 12th Sanct. 'Snecolf's cross,' *v. cros*. OS cand *Snækólfr* occurs independently in England as *Snaculf* (NP 125).

*Welleton hundret*, 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 hundret*, presumably named from Hessle *infra* 215, occupied the south of Hunsley Beacon Division, with a detached portion in the south of Holme Beacon.

*Hoveden hundret* included Howdenshire and the south of Ouse and Derwent Wapentake. *v.* Howdenshire Wapentake *infra* 225.

## Great Driffield

### I. GREAT DRIFFIELD [drifil, dōrifil]

(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

*Driffeud* 1118-35 *Reg Alb*, 1227 YD, 1238 Cl, 1244-6 *Ass*,  
1268 YI

*Dridfeld* 1165 P

*Dreffelde* 14th *Sawley*, *Driffyld* 1519 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, emzəl]

*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<sup>1</sup>, with forms and meaning as for Great

<sup>1</sup> *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.

Driffeld *supra* 153, is distinguished as *Parva* 1290 YI, *Lit(t)le* 1367 Pat *et passim*.

## KELLEYTHORPE

*Calgestorp* 1086 DB

*Kelingtonp*, *-thorp(e)*, *-yng-* 1180-90 YCh 623, 1297 Baildon  
*et freq* to 1332 SR

*Kelling(e)torp* 1190-2 P, *Kellyngthorp* 1518 FF

*Kelint(h)orp'* 1200 P (p), 1231 Ass

*Kelethorp* t. Hy 3 Ipm

*Killingthorp* 1233 Lib, *Kylyngthorpe* 1406, 1415 YI

*Kelithorp* 1268 YI, *Ki-*, *Kellithorp(e)* 1592 NCWills

*Kellengthorp als. Kellethorp* 1543 FF

'*Kel(l)ing's* village,' *v. þorp*. *Kel(l)ing* is possibly a derivative of some OS cand pers. name in *Ketil-* (*Ketilbjorn*, etc.) or OS cand *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

## 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*

*Skirin*, *-y-* 13th *Percy*, 1246 Ass (p), 1294 YI, 1390 *Meaux*,  
*Sck-* 1304 YI

*Skiron'* 1293 QW

*Skeren* 1409 AD ii, *Skern(e)* 1531 Test, 1545 FF

*Skyerne* 1423 YD

*v. Skerne Beck supra* II.

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*.

## Hutton Cranswick

## I. HUTTON CRANSWICK

*Hottune* 1086 DB, *Hotton(e)* 1280 Ebor, 1506 NCWills  
*Hoton(e)*, *-tona*, *-tun* 1086 DB, 1100-15 YCh 1001, 1190 ib.  
 1105, 1222 FF *et passim* to 1526 *Bev*  
*Hutton* 1521 Test, *Huton* 1554 FF, *Hewton* 1577 FF  
 'Farmstead on the end of a hill,' *v.* hoh, tun.

It is variously distinguished as *et (cum) Cra(u)nsewyk(e)* 1210-20 Melsa, 1316 NomVill, *Craunsewyk*, *-wik* 1197-1210 Melsa *et passim* to 1419 YI, *by Craunsewyk* 1310 Ch, *Cra(u)nsewyk* 1344 Baildon, 1479 *Bev*, *Crawnsewik* 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]

*Cranzwic*, *-vic* 1086 DB, *Cranzwick* 1200-16 YCh 1265  
*Crancewic*, *-wik(e)* 12th YD, t. John *AddCh*, 13th YD (p),  
 1202 FF, 1219 *Ass*  
*Cranke-*, *Cranchewic* 1166 P (p)  
*Crantewich* 1193 P (p)  
*Cranewich'* 1194 P (p)  
*Cranswic* 1228 Pat, *Cransewic* 1231 *Ass*  
*Craunsewik(e)*, *-wyk(e)* 1235-49 Melsa, 1280 *Ass et passim* to  
 1492 FF, *Craunzwyk* 1279 YI  
*Grancewik* 1260 Baildon  
*Cransewyke* 1356 FF, *Craneswi(c)ke* 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*<sup>1</sup>. 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 *cranoc* 'crane', used as a proper name, is just possible.

EDDLEMERE LANE (6") is *Edermar*, *Zehele-*, *Yehele-*, *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.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gransmoor *supra* 88.

CORPS LANDING is so named in 1828 (Langd). It is on the river Hull. SOUTH HALL is *Sowthall* 1569 FF.

## 2. ROTSEA [rɔtsə, ratsə]

*Rotesse* 1086 DB, 1285 KI, 1509 Test

*Rotese* 13th, 1348 Guisb, 1290 YI (p), *Rotesse* 1285 KI

*Rottese* 1204 Ass (p), t. Hy 3 BM, 1260 Ch *et passim* to c. 1362 Works

*Rotse* 1210-20 Melsa, 1378 Baildon, 1408 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, *Raasjøen*, NoGN ii, 393)<sup>1</sup>, 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 *fjōðr* '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*, *Wycheker* c. 1300 Guisb. v. *kiarr*.

## 3. SUNDERLANDWICK

*Sundreslanwic* 1086 DB

*Sundrelanuic* 1086 DB, *-wik* 1387 BM

*Sunderlandwic(k)*, *-wik*, *-wyk(e)* 1120-41 *MaryR*, late 12th

*Nunkeel et passim* to 1652 Deposition, *-ir-* 1366 FF

*Sundarlandawic* 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

<sup>1</sup> Rygh connects all these names with an OScand \**rota*, cognate with *hrjóta* '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<sup>1</sup>.

POUNDSWORTH MILLS is *Pouzthuat* 1175-83 YCh 1116, *Pouncewath* 1339-49 Melsa. *v.* *vað* 'ford.' The first element is obscure.

### Watton

WATTON [watən, wa?n]

*Ueta dun* c. 730 (8th) Bede

*Guetadun uel Wetadun* c. 730 (13th) Bede (MS O<sub>14</sub>, Plummer i, 432)

(*nunmynstre þæt is genemed*) *Weatadun* c. 1000 OE Bede, *wæta dūn*, *wetadun*, *wetadūn* (11th) ib. (MSS B, O, Ca)

*Watun*, -ton 1086 DB, *Watun*, -ton 1161-75 YCh 681, 1178-90 *LeonardR*, 1351 Ipm

*Wattune* 1086 DB, *Wattun(a)*, -tune, -ton(a) 12th Dugd, 1150-3, 1170 YCh 1108-10 *et passim* to 1520 Test, *Vatton* 1304 BevAct

*Wadton* 1229 FF

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) *uēta dūn*, 'wet, saturated hillside,' *v.* *wæt*, *dun*<sup>2</sup>. The OE spelling *wæt* shows the substitution of WSax *wæt* for Nb *wēt*, and *weata* (which can hardly be a Mercian back-mutated form) is very likely a mistake for *waeta*, 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 OS cand *vātr*, Northern ME *wate* 'wet' (cf. *Intro.* xxii), as well as the assimilation of *td* to *tt*.

<sup>1</sup> There is a Sunderland (6") in Roos *supra* 56, but no forms have been found for it.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Watton id est humida villa* (*Hist. Angl. Script. Antiq.* 415).

BURN BUTTS [bɔnbutʃ] is *Burn(e)butts* 1551 *MinAcct*, 1650 *ParlSurv*, 1828 *Langd*. Possibly from *brende* 'burnt' and *ME butte* 'tree-stump.' Cf. *Burn Stocks infra* 239.

CAWKELD [kɔ:kəl] is *K-*, *Cald(e)keld(e)* 1160-75 *Dods*, 1210 *Abbr*, 1306, 1308, 1316 *BevAct*, *Kaldehelde* 1210 *Abbr*, *Keldehelde* (sic) 1300 *Ebor*, *Caukhill* 1650 *ParlSurv*, *Cawkill* 1828 *Langd*. 'Cold spring,' *v.* *cald*, *kelda*. Dr Knudsen points out that *Koldehilde* occurs frequently in Denmark.

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]

*Baseuic*, *-wic* 1086 *DB*

*Besewic*, *-wik(e)*, *-wyk(e)* t. *Ric* 1 *Cur*, 13th *YD*, 1219, 1231

*Ass*, 1233 *FF et passim* to 1406 *YI*

*Besewyck(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

(*æt*) *Bracenan* c. 972 (c. 1200) *BCS* 1279

*Brachen(e)* 1086 *DB*, 12th *YD* (p)

*Braken(e)* 1195 *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 [kilik]

*Chileuuit*, -uuid 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*Killincwic* early 13th YD, *Killigwic*, *Killinwic* 13th YD*Ki-*, *Kylnewic*, -wyk 13th YD, 1226 FF, 1231 *Ass*, 1240 YD,  
1279 YI*Ki-*, *Kylingwyk* 1373 Pat, (*juxta 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.*  
Intro. 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 [ləkitən]

*Loche-*, *Lecheton* 1086 DB, *Loketon* 1305 Ebor*Lokintun*, -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 1100 (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* 1828 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 Berghie 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*<sup>2</sup> 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 *bjúgr*, 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, *Wymund(e)thorp* 1247 FF, 1419 YI, *Wyntorp(e)* 1279, 1414 YI, (*Great, Little*) 1571 FF, *Wingesthorpe* 1285 Abbr, *Wymthorp(e)* 1299 YI, 1328 Ch. *v.* þorp, 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 [sko:brə]

*Scogerbud* 1086 DB

*Scurebregg*' 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

*Scouresburgh* 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*<sup>1</sup>

Lindkvist (15) derives Scorborough from OWScand *skógar-búð* 'a booth built in a wood,' *v.* skogr, 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 [sko:]. Lindkvist further suggests that the final element *búð* was replaced by burh when the local castle<sup>2</sup> was built after the conquest.

SCORBOROUGH INGS (6") is so named in 1650 (ParlSurv). *v.* eng.

<sup>1</sup> Confused with Scarborough, PN NRY 105.

<sup>2</sup> The principal evidence for such a castle is the survival of a moat.

## Holme on the Wolds

## HOLME ON THE WOLDS [ɔum]

*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

*Houum*, *Howum* 1202 FF, 1210-20 *Dugd et freq* to 1309 Ch,

*Houuum* 1301 Ebor

*Howom* 1249 Ch, 1379 Poll, *Houn* 1276 RH

*Holme super Wolde* 1578 BM, (*on the Woulds*) 1650 ParlSurv

OScand *i haugum* 'on the hills,' dat. plur. of *haugr*, or OE *hōhum*, dat. plur. of *hoh* 'spur of land, hill,' as in Howe Bridge (PN NRY 44). Cf. Dan *Hygum* (1231 *Hōghum*). *v.* The Wolds *supra* 13. The modern spelling arose when ME *holm* lost its *l* by vocalisation, and fell in with *houm*.

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 *dæl*.

## Lund

## LUND [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 1 Cur (p), 1190-1210 YCh 1104 *et passim* to 1583 NCWills, (*subtus Brek'*) 13th Percy, (*sur, super le Wald(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, *Emphorp(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-*, *Lairehil* 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<sup>1</sup>.

### Middleton on the Wolds

#### 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 Baildon, *Kybelleng-* 1308 BevAct

*Ki-*, *Kybb(e)lingcotes* 13th *Warter*, 1281, 1287 YI, 14th Percy

*Kiblingecotes* 1279 YI, *Kybelingekotes* 1287 YI

*Kyp(p)lyngcote* 1301 Baildon, *Coottes* (*super le Wold*) 1549

YD, *Kyp(p)lyncotes* 1565, 1575 FF

*Kobelyngcotes* 1333 FF

<sup>1</sup> *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 weordig* (BCS 455) and Kibblesworth (PN NbDu 126). It is a diminutive of the OE *Cybbā* 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 *Bæga* or *Bēga* 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, *Appil-* 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

*Nesseuic* 1086 DB, *-wich* 1191, 1192 P, *-wyk, -wik* 1365 Pat,  
1376 FF, 1401 YI, *Nesewic* 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 [kəkɒn, kərɒn]

*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.* *brunnr* 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 [*tibθrɔp*]

*Tipetorp* 1086 *DB*, 1166 *P*

*Tibetorp* 1086 *DB*, *Ti-*, *Tybethorp(e)* 1274, 1301 *YI*, 1339 *FF*,

1352 *Ipm*, 1362 *Extent*

*Ti-*, *Tybothorp(e)* 1285 *KI et passim* to 1543 *FF*, *-throppe* 1565

*FF*

*Tybbethorp(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 [dɔltn] 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, *Nordalton* 1190-1220 YCh 589, 1206, 1229 FF, *Nordalton* 1205 ChR, 1231 FF. 'Valley-farm,' *v. dæl, tun.* 'North' in relation to South Dalton *infra* 190.

DIKER'S LANE (6"). Cf. *Dikesgate* 1190-1220 YCh 589. *v. dic, gata.* EASEDALES (6") is *Houstdayles* 13th YD. 'East shares of land,' *v. austr, east, deill.* NORTH DALTON GRANGE is *grangia de Daltona* 1235-49 Melsa. Cf. North Grange *supra* 44. STONE PIT FIELD (field) is *Stainpittes* 1190-1220 YCh 588. *v. steinn, pytt.*

## Warter

WARTER [wa:θə]

*Warte* 1086 DB

*Wartre* 1086 DB, 12th *Warter (passim)*, 1156 *Meaux*, 1165 P *et passim* to 1542 NCWills

*Wartria* 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 *wearg* 'felon' and *treow* 'tree,' used of a gallows or gallows-tree. *Worgret* (Do) is a similar compound of *wearg* 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 garbled 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 OS cand 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

(*grangiam de*) *Blanchemarl(e)* 1153 YCh 1383, 1172 *et freq* to  
1303 *Meaux*, 1205 ChR  
*Blanch(e)* 1156, 13th *Meaux*, (*alias Blanche Marle*) 1614 FF  
*Blaunch* c. 1200 *Meaux*

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. dæl*. 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-*, *Haymderesdun(e)* *ib.* 'Dēor's hill,' *v. dun*. The prefixed elements are ME *utter* 'outer, more distant,' and OScaud 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)  
*Gildhowesdal'* 1293 QW, *Gildesdale* 1316 NomVill<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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 *kjóss* (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 ridge<sup>1</sup>.

YEADON 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 *Yea-* 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*

<sup>1</sup> Kalkar, *Ordbog til det ældre danske sprog*, records ODan *skede* in the sense 'boundary.' It may also be noted that OWS cand *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.).

1272 ib. 'Rock hill,' *v. carr*, *dun*. COATGARES FARM (6") is *C-*, *Kotegarthes*, *-garþes* 1240, 1272 ib. 'Cottage enclosures,' *v. cote*, *garðr*. COLD WOLD [kɔ:d wɔ:d] is *Caldwald* c. 1185, 13th ib., *Kaldewalde* 1256 YI. 'Cold, exposed hill,' *v. c(e)ald*, *w(e)ald*. DALTON GATES is *Daltongate* c. 1185, 13th *Warter*, *viam de Dalton* 1199 ib. *v. North Dalton supra* 168 and *gata*. DEEP DALE (6") is *Depedale* 13th *Warter*. DUG DALE (6") is *Ducdale* 1272 *Warter*. Probably 'duck valley,' from OE *dūce* and *dæl*. GILL PIT (field). Cf. *Gillefeld* 12th ib. HUNGER HILL (6") is *Hungerhil*, *-hyll* 12th, 13th *Warter*. *v. Hungerhills supra* 49. LAIRS is *Layrhil(le)* 13th *Warter*. Possibly *leirr* 'clay,' but cf. *Lair Hill supra* 164. There are no traces of burial mounds here. LOANINGDALE is *Laningdal* 12th *Warter*, *Lonningdale* 13th ib. 'Valley with a lane,' from ME *laning* (a derivative of *lane*) 'lane,' first evidenced independently from 1324 (NED), and *dæl*. LONG LANDS (field) is *Langlandes* 13th *Warter*. LUDHILL SPRING (6") is *Ludewelle* 13th *Warter*. 'Loud, noisy spring,' from OE *hlūd* and *w(i)ella*. Cf. *Ludwell* (PN Nth 32). MILL LANE (6"). Cf. *le Estmilne (molendinum)* 1309 *Warter*. RINGLANDS (6") is *Wrangland* 12th *Warter*. 'Crooked land,' *v. wrang*, *land*. The OE vowel has been lengthened to *ā* which becomes dialect [iə]. SAINTOFTS (6") is *Sintoftes* early 13th *Warter*. Possibly of the same origin as *Saintofts* (PN NRY 87), from OE *sænget* and *topt*, 'clearing made by burning.' STONEHOW (field) is *Staynhou* 12th *Warter*. *v. steinn*, *haugr*. THORN DALE (6") is *Thornedale* 12th ib. THORNY BUSH (field) is *Thorenhou* 12th ib., *Thornhouwes* 13th ib. *v. haugr*. WAN DALE (6") is *(le) Wandayles* 1199, 13th *Warter*, *Wandaylls* 1537 *MinAcct*. *v. Wandale supra* 107. WARTER WOLD is *Walda* 1150-60 *Melsa*. *v. The Wolds supra* 13. WELL DALE (6") is *Quelledale* 1199 ib. 'Circle valley,' *v. hweol*, *dæl*. The course is circular.

## 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

*Hugaht* 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*

*Heugate* 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 OS cand *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.<sup>1</sup> 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,

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the spelling *u* for OE *ō* is commoner at an early date in ERY, but it does not occur with such regularity elsewhere as it does in Huggate.

*Hugby* c. 1260-70 *Bodl*, *Hugheby* 13th Font (p), *Hueby* 1279-81 QW, *Heuwy* 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* (*Sverris Saga*, cf. Heggstad s.v.), a mutated form occurs in the Norw place-name *Högi*, 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 *Thorshughle* (cf. Hellquist, ON på -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 *Houwald* 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.* *Painsthorpe supra* 131) and *slakki*, here used of a small valley.

HALL SLACK (6") is *Halleslac* 1200-20 YCh 1264. 'Hall valley,' *v.* *heall*, *slakki*. HUGGATE WOLD is *Waldo* 1200-20 YCh 1264. *v.* The *Wolds supra* 13. HUGGATE WOLD Ho (6") is so named in 1828 (Langd). MIDDLEHAM PLANTATION. Cf. *Middelholm Clif*, *Midel Holclif* 1178-93, 1184-1200 YCh 1256 f., *Middelhom* 1200-20 YCh 1264. *v.* *middel*, *holmr*. OXLANDS (6"). Cf. *Oxeholm* 1200-20 YCh 1264. *v.* *holmr*. WATERMAN HOLE (6") may be connected with *Waterinar* (sic) 1200-20 YCh 1264. YORK LANE (6") is *via regia in Hugat'* 1276 RH. Cf. *York Road supra* 127.

### Bishop Wilton

#### I. BOLTON

*Bodelton* 1086 DB

*Bouelton* 12th *Warter* (p), *Boveltona* 1210-20, c. 1400 *Melsa*,  
*Bowelton'* 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.* boðltun.

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 ObIR, 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 OS cand pers. name *Bjalcki*, 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 OS cand *Belgr*, a nickname formed from OS cand *belgr*, gen. sg. *belgjar*, 'bellows, etc.,' as in *Bellerby* (PN NRY 252). '*Belg*'s village,' *v.* porp.

GREENWICK is *Greneuic* 1086 DB, *Greenwick* 1828 Langd. 'Green dairy-farm,' *v.* grene, wic. Cf. *Greenwich* (KPN 238).

3. YOULTHORPE [jɔuθrɔp]

*Aiul(f)torp* 1086 DB

*Hieltorp* 12th Font, *Hiolt(orp)* 12th, late 12th ib.

*Jol(l)etorp* 1166 RBE (p), *Yoletorp* 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)

*Yeolthrop* 1563 FF<sup>1</sup>

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* 181). The DB forms probably therefore represent 'Eyyjolf's village.' The ME spellings contain a man's name *Yole*. This pers. name is probably a shortened form of OS cand *Jólgeirr* 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 OS cand stress-shifting, would be a rather late borrowing from Scandinavian. On initial *J* cf. *Yapham infra* 182.

GOWTHORPE [gɔ:θrəp]

*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 OS cand *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).

<sup>1</sup> *Golthorp* c. 1265 KF, 1287 Ebor, 1296 Hom 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

- I. GREAT GIVENDALE [gindəl, giɪndəl, geldən]  
*Geuedale* 1086 DB, *Gevedale* 1212-7 RBE  
*Ghiuedale* 1086 DB, *Giuedal'* 1231 Ass  
*Geuel-*, *Geveldal(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  
*Gevedale* 1210-2 RBE  
*Gi-*, *Gi-*, *Gyueldal(e)* 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. Geldale*) 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, however, 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 \**gefl*, later \**gifl*. If we could assume that the stage \**gifl* 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 *gjǫfli* 'the generous one,' or even OScand *gjǫfull* '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., *Gjønnes*, 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-*, *Grymt(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]

*Mil(l)eton(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, *Millington* 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 Geuedale* 1342 SR, *Little Geoydale* 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

KILNICK PERCY [kilik piəsi]

*Chelingewic, Chileuic, Chilleuinc* 1086 DB

*Kyllyngwyc(h), -wyk(e), -i-* 12th YD, 1160-5 *RegAlb*, 1208

FF *et passim* to 1301 Ebor, (*Perci*) 1303 KF, (*juxta*

*Pokelington*) 1385 YD

*Kylingwic* early 13th *Warter*

*Killingewic, -wik* 1218 FF, 1246 *Ass*, 1300 Ch

*Kiuillinwic* (sic) 1231 FF (p)

*Kylnewyke Percy* 1519 FF

*Kyl(l)wike 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 Collendean (PN Sr 293). This place was associated with the *Percy* family from the 12th century (cf. YCh 749).

## Nunburnholme

NUNBURNHOLME [nunb'ɔnəm]

- Brunha'* 1086 DB, *Brunham* 1285 KI  
*Brunum* 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  
*Brum* 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 OS cand (*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 *Northwald* 13th *Warter*. *v.* The Wolds *supra* 13.

## Burnby

BURNBY [bɔmbi]

- 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 på *-by* 21), and Dan *Brøndby*. *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

#### 1. OUSETHORPE [u:θrəp]

*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, *Oulstrophe* 1650 ParlSurv

*Ousethorpe* 1542 NCWills, *Owstroppe* 1563 FF

*Ianulf* in the DB spellings is an Anglo-Scandinavian pers. name from OE *Ēanwulf* (cf. OScand *Iátmundr*, *Iátvarðr*, etc., from OE *Ēadmund*, *Ēadweard*). *Ulf* in the later spellings is the common OScand pers. name *Úlfr*. 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 uncommon<sup>1</sup>. 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 *Þorleifr*, etc. *v. þorp*. On the later development of the name *v. Intro.* xxxi.

MILL HO (6"). Cf. *Walkemulne* 1241 Lib. 'Fulling-mill.' The compound is otherwise first recorded from 1344 (NED *s.v.*).

<sup>1</sup> If this is correct we may compare the Dan place-name *Ulstrup* (DaSN(F) 145).

## 2. POCKLINGTON [pɔkɫɪntən]

*Poclinton* 1086 DB, 1177-1230 P (*freq*) *et freq* to 1276 RH, *Poc-*, *Poklington(a)*, *-y-* 13th *Warter et freq* to 1524 Test

*Pochelinton* 1100-8 *RegAlb*, *Pokelinton(a)*, *-yn-*, *-tun* 1115-29, 1138 *RegAlb*, 1169-96 P (*freq*) *et passim* to 1303 Ch, *-yng-*, *-ing-* 1107-39, 1120-35 (*et freq*) *RegAlb et passim* to 1418 YI, *Pockelington* 1260 YI

*Pocalintona* 1100-15 *RegAlb*

*Poglynton* late 12th YD, *Poghelington* 1539 NCWills

*Puk(e)linton'* 1205, 1277 CI (p)

'*Pocela's farm*,' *v. ingtun*. On the OE pers. name *Pocela*, an unrecorded diminutive of *Poca*, *v. Pockley*, PN NRY 72.

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 YI, 1285 KI *et freq* to 1537 FF

*Wappelington* 1280 YI

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 *wapol* '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 Waplinton. 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 [japəm]

*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

YI, *Yaphum* 1293 QW, *Yapom* 1280 YI *et freq* to 1316  
NomVill, *-oun* 1359 Ipm, *-on* 1372 FF

*Japun* 1200 Abbr, Cur, FF, *-um t. Ric 1* (1308) Ch, 1202 FF,  
1219 *Ass et freq* to 1373 FF

*Jabum* 1231 *Ass*

*Yapam* 1276 RH, 1530 FF, 1546 YChant, *Yapham* 1451  
Test, 1565 FF, *Yapeham* 1550 FF

OE *gēap* 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. *gēapum*, 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 *geāp* with stress-shifting as in *Yapham*) is used of 'a slope of land.' There was in *Yapham* parish a field called *Yapecroft* 1316 YD.

## MELTONBY

*Meltebi, Metelbi* 1086 DB

*Meltemebia* 1120-9 YCh 449

*Meltenebi, -by* 1170-80 YCh 444, 1212 FF, Cur, 1234 FF,  
1279-81 QW, *Meltheneby* 1204 ChR

*Meltaneby* 1203 FF, 1205 OblR, *Melthaneby* 1228 Dugd

*Meldoneby* 1226 FF

*Malteneby* 1231 *Ass*

*Meltonneby* 1256-69 BM, *Meltonby* 1297 YI *et freq* to 1563 FF

*Meltenby* 1259 *Ass* (p), 1260 *Rental et passim* to 1373 FF

*Meltyaby* 1316 NomVill, 1350 YD, 1499 FF

It is difficult to come to any satisfactory solution of this name.

We may have as first element an Anglo-Scandinavian pers. name *Mel-*, *Mjølþegn* 'meal-man,' equivalent in meaning to OScand *mjølkarl* 'one who deals in meal' and paralleled in form by such names as *Farþegn*, *Herþegn*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

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*.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Knudsen points out that *mjølþegn* would be an unusual compound of *þegn*, which denoted a man of authority.

## Thornton

## I. ALLERTHORPE

*Aluarestorp* 1086 DB

*Alwardthorp* 1235 FF, *Alwardethorp* 1246 Ass (p), 1285 KI

*Alverthorp* 1252 Ebor, *Averthorp* 1316 NomVill

*Alwarthorp* 1311 Ch, 1342 SR

*Allerthorp* 1492 Sanct, *Aler-* 1650 ParlSurv

'*Alfward's* village,' *v. þorp*. 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*, *Alfgerðr*, etc.). An OScand *Alfvarðr* 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 *Alfvarðr*, 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 Spaldingemor*) 1290 Pat, *Torenton* 1336 Ch, *Thoriton in Spaldingmore* 1360 Ipm. 'Thorn enclosure' or 'farm by a thorn tree,' *v. þorn*, *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 *Reg Alb*, 1200 Cur, FF *et passim* to 1336 Ch, (*in, upon the More*) 1371 FF, 1650 ParlSurv

*Barnby* 13th *Kirkham*, (*super Moran*) 1498 Test, 1542 FF

*Barneby* 1285 KI, *Barnby super Moran* 1492 Sanct, *Barnebye 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

#### 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

*Fangfosse* 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-Spittel* 1370 FF, *Spittle* 1620 FF. ME *spital*, an aphetised form of *hospital*. SPITTAL BRIDGE (6") is *Damalicebrig (pons)*<sup>1</sup> 1369 Works, *Spitelbrig* 1371 ib.

### Full Sutton

FULL SUTTON is *Sudtone* 1086 DB, *Suttune, -ton(a)* 1156-7 YCh 354 *et passim*, *Sotton'* 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. suð, tun. The prefix is ful 'foul, dirty.'

HUNLAND FIELD is *Hunland* c. 1180 Whitby.

<sup>1</sup> Probably built by *Alice*, wife of Robert de Pothou (cf. Works, *loc. cit.*).

Low Catton<sup>1</sup>

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 *Cattune* 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.
- FURLONG BALK (6"). Cf. *Amtornfurlanges* 13th Percy. WATH LANE (6"). Cf. *Suttunewath* c. 1180 Whitby. *v. vað* 'ford.'
3. STAMFORD BRIDGE EAST
- Stanford brycg* c. 1075 (s.a. 1066) ASC (C), *-brig(ge)* 1219 *Ass et freq* to 1475 Pat, *Stanfordbridge* 1304 Abbr
- Stemfordbrycg* c. 1100 (s.a. 1066) ASC (D)
- Stængfordesbrycg* c. 1150 (s.a. 1066) ASC (E)
- Steinesfordbrige* 12th HH
- Stanford* 1206 OblR, 1219 *Ass*
- Steinfeld* 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)brige* 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

<sup>1</sup> High and Low Catton together are called *both Cattons* 1650 ParlSurv.

*ad Pontem de Bello* c. 1174 Whitby

*Ponterbell* 1259 AD iii, *Pontbell'* 1276 RH, *Pontebell'* 1285 KI

*Punt de la Bataill(e)* 12th Gaimar, *(le) pount-* 1234 Dunelm,  
14th, 1331 Percy, *Pundelabataille* 1251 Cl

In Scandinavian sources the name is *Stanfordabryggjur* (Heimskringla), (*frá*) *Stannforðebryggiu* (Fagrskinna), (*við*) *Stafnnfurðubryggiu* (Orkneyingasaga), (*til*) *Steinforðubrygju* (*er nu er kallað Stamford*) (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 *Derwentione* (*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—hramn*). 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* (*hólmr*), 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 *Stafforth-* 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 here<sup>1</sup> in 1066, when Harold of England surprised and defeated Earl Tosti and Harold Sigurdson of Norway. These names may be purely

<sup>1</sup> 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.

BURTON FIELDS is *pratis de Burtuna* 12th YCh 910, *Burton* 1285 KI, 1293 QW, *Burton-House* 1828 Langd. *v.* burhtun.

FLAWITH (6") is *Flagdithewat* 1175-86 YCh 838, *Flathwath* c. 1265 KF, 1287, 1301 Ebor, 1302, 1306 Hom. The first spelling suggests association with ME *flazt* 'turf' (related to OS cand *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.* vað. 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, *Neu-*, *Newton* 13th Kirkham, 1233 Ebor *et passim* to 1504 FF, (-*iuxta Derewent*) 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* 1148 YCh 179, 1156 ib. 186, *Wilburch-* t. Hy 2 (1464) Pat, *Wilburgfosse* 1201, 1204 ChR, 1231 FF

*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* 1346, 1398 Test, *Wilbirfosse* 1402 ib.

'*Wilburg's* ditch,' from the OE woman's name *Wilburg* and *foss* (cf. Foss Beck *supra* 3).

MILL FIELD (6"). Cf. *Milneholm* 1228 Dugd, 1231-5 Percy. *v.* holmr. SAILS (6") is *toftum juxta salices* 13th Percy. From OE *sealas* (Angl *salas*) 'willows,' plur. of s(e)alh. WHINBERRY HILL (6") is *Winbry-Hill* 1828 Langd.

## 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 þer Derewent* 1276 RH, *on Deruwent* 1280 Ebor, *sub Derewent* 1300 YI, *on Derewynt* 1305 Ebor. 'South farm,' *v. suð, 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*, *Woodehows* 1540 *MinAcct*, *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 [lekənfild]

*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

*Lek-*, *Lecingefeld* 1218 CIR, FF

*Legenfeld* c. 1230 Percy

*Lekinfeud* 1251 FF, 1259 YI, *-yn-*, *-feld* 1305 BevAct, 1329

Deod *et freq* to 1461 Pat

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 [arəm] is *Erghum* 13th Percy (*freq*), 1293, 1349 *Meaux*, (*super Hull*) c. 1294 Percy, *Ergum* 1205 ChR, *Erghom* c. 1200 *Meaux et freq* to 1376 Percy, *Herghum* 13th, 1251 ib., 1251 FF, (*super Hull*) c. 1250 Percy, *Arrun*, *Arruners* 1462 Pat, *Arrham* 1613 FF. v. *erg* and Arram *supra* 79.

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. *dæl*, *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 *Ēata* as suggested for Etton, PN Nth 234. *v. tun.*

### Cherry Burton

CHERRY BURTON [tʃeri bɔtn] 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, *Cheri-*, *-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, *Gherthum* 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 OS cand *gerði*, 'fence, enclosure' (cf. DEPN *s.n.*) which also enters into *la Gerthe de Hugath* (13th Warter) and *Gerth* (1309 Font).

NEWTON (lost)<sup>1</sup> 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.*

### RAVENTHORPE<sup>2</sup>

*Rag(h)eneltorp* 1086 DB, *-il-* 1189-1212 YCh 1106, *Raganilthoft* (sic) 1130-40 Bridl

*Ragniltorp(e)* 1135-47 YCh 104, 1327 Dugd

*Ragnildtorp* 1190-1211, 1195-1211 YCh 1102, 1117, *Raghenildetorp* 1202 FF

*Reinoldetorp* 1202 FF, *Ranaltorp* 1327 Dugd

*Rauenesthorp(e)*, *-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, *-throppe* 1613 FF

*Raynthorp* 1519 FF, *Ranethorppe* 1578 FF

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 [biʃi bɔtn] 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*, *Bishopes-* 1376 FF. *v.* *burhtun*. 'South' in relation to Cherry Burton *supra* 191. 'Bishop' (*v.* *biscop*) 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., *Kinewaldesgrave* 1195 P, 1307 Ebor, *Kenewaldegrave(s)* 1268 Ebor, *Kyn(e)-* 1300 Baildon, 1544 FF, *Kinaldegrave* 1301 Ebor, *Kenygraves* 1521 Test, *Killwallg'uys* 1532 NCWills, *Killinge-greaves* 1650 ParlSurv. 'Cynewald's copse (*v.* *grafa*) or trench (*v.* *græf*).<sup>1</sup> 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. Mariæ Magdalenæ* 1327 Dugd. STUMP CROSS (6") is *Stumpe cross* 1579 BevRec. Cf. William *at Crosse* 1379 Poll. *v.* *cro.* 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<sup>1</sup> [bevələ, bevlə]

*monasterii quod uocatur Inderauuda* c. 730 (8th) Bede<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 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).

<sup>2</sup> *Inderauuda* is discussed under *Deira supra* 12.

- (in) *Beoferlic* c. 1150 (s.a. 721) ASC (E), *Beofor-* c. 1100 ib. (D), *Befer-* c. 1025 (11th) Saints, *Beuer-*, *Bever-* c. 1066 Folcard, 1066-9 (1310) YCh 89, c. 1085 (12th) Saints, 1108-14 *RegAlb*, *Beuerlik(e)* (in rime with *Euerwike*) (14th) BCS 339
- (æt) *Beferlict* 1055-64 (1310) YCh 87
- Beureli*, -v- 1086 DB, *Beuerli* 1135-47 YCh 104, *Beuerlye* (riming with *clergy*) 13th Langtoft
- Beverlec* 1115-23 *RegAlb*, 1202 FF
- Beuirleg'* 12th *RegAlb*, *Beuerlege* 1102-9 ib.
- Beverlesa* 1163 (1347) YCh 349
- Beu-*, *Beverlei(a)*, -*lai(a)*, -*y* 1166, 1167 P, 1293 QW, 1318 Abbr, 1353 FF *et passim* to 1828 Langd
- Beurlea* 1190, 1194 P (p)
- Beu-*, *Beverl'* 1191-3 P, 1206 ObLR *et freq* to 1347 ib.
- Beu-*, *Beverle* 1196 FF, 1200 Cur *et freq* to 1476 ib., *Beverle* 1409 AD ii
- Beverlac'* 1200 ObLR, 1201 ChR, 1203 Cur *et freq* to 1406 *Nunkeel*, -*lac* 1413 *Bodl*, 1521 Test *et freq* to 1530 *Bev*, -*lacq* 1566 FF
- Beverlee* c. 1279 *BevDoc*, 1338 *Hosp*

The usual Latin forms are *Beverlacum* (12th *Malton*, 1164-70 *RegAlb*, etc.), *Beverlaci* (1136-40 ib.), *Bever Lacy* (1308 Abbr), *Beverlaco* (1066-9 YCh 88, 12th *Riev*, 1102-6 YCh 90, etc.). The Latin adjectival form is *Beverlicensis* (c. 1066 Folcard), *Bev-*, *Beurlacensis* (1115-28 YCh 95 *et passim*).

The problem in this name lies in the origin of the second element, for there can be little doubt that the first element is 'beaver.' (The bones of the beaver have been found at Wawne nearby.) The various spellings of the suffix are in part to be explained through confusion with the common element *leah* which normally appears in ME documents as -*lay* (-*ley*, etc.), -*leg*, -*le*, -*l'*, etc.; others like -*lac* and -*lacq* are due to the Latin *Beverlacum*. The latter is probably a piece of monkish etymologising<sup>1</sup>, 'lake of the beavers,' and whilst there may be

<sup>1</sup> 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 *lah* (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 *beofor* 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 *\*bebrollicos*, 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 church 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 CHURCH<sup>1</sup> 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 Kyrkleas* 1519 HMC(Bev), *Holmechurcheleyes* 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

<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesia parochialis 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*, -*ynge*- 1221-35 *Melsa et passim* to 1699 *BevRent*, *Flemmyngate* 1313 *Ebor*, 1407 BevDoc, *vicum Flandrensiu(m)* 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. 1130 BevDoc, (*Gilda Aula de Beverlaco ex antiquo vocata*) *le Hanshou* 1359 *ib.*, *the hancehouse* 1578 BevRec, *le Gildehall* 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 1462 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*. KELGATE 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), *Laith-*, *Laythgat(e)* 1367 (*et freq*) BevDoc, 1379 Poll *et passim* to 1498 Test, *Leth-* 1437 HMC(Bev), *Lairgate* 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, *Frere-lane* 1578 BevAct. LURK LANE is *Lortegate* 1306, 1319 BevAct, *Lortlane* 1578 *ib.* 'Dirty street,' v. *gata*, *lane* and *Loatlëys infra* 207. THE MINSTER is *monasterium* 1367 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-*, *Mynstermor(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 *Markytmoorgate* 1417 BevAct and *Fischemarketmoorgate* 1344 YD. MINSTER YARD is *cimiterium ecclesiae Beati Johannis Beverlacen(s)is* 1306 BevAct, *Minstergarth* 1669 BevRec. v. *garðr*. NEWBEGIN is

*Niwebigginge* 1190, 1191 P, *Alde Newebigging*, -*neu-*, -*y-* 1340, 1345 Percy, *Newbiggyng* 1444 Test, -*bigge* 1577 BevRec, -*biggin* 1633 *BevRent et passim*. 'New building,' *v.* niwe, bigging. Cf. Newbiggin Street in Richmond (PN NRY 287). *Barram de Newebygyng* 1443 HMC(Bev), 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 *Saterday Market* 1577 BevRec, *Saturday market place* 1661 ib. Cf. Wednesday Market *infra*, and *Thursday Market* in York *infra* 299. 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 *magnum fossatum uille Beuerlaci* 13th YD, *fossatum villæ quod vocatur Barredic* 1247 Ebor, *le Barredyk* 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 Trinities* 1706 *BevRent*. VICAR LANE is so named in 1633 (*BevRent*). WALKERGATE is so named from 1327 (*Dugd et passim*). 'Street of the cloth-fullers,' from OE *walcere* and *gata*. There was a ditch nearby called *Walkerbek* 1355 YD *et passim*. *v.* bekkr. WEDNESDAY MARKET is *Wedynsday market* 1467 HMC(Bev), *le Wednysdaye Markt* 1537 *MinAct*, *Weddensday-* 1579 BevRec. Cf. Saturday Market *supra*. WOOD LANE is *Wodelane* 1439 HMC(Bev), *Wodd-* 1498 Test, *Wood-* 1578 *BevAct et passim*.

Other names of interest which have not survived include: *Aldegat(e)* 1371 BevDoc, 1438 HMC(Bev) is 'old street,' *v.* eald, *gata*<sup>1</sup>. *Bakhouslane* 1439 ib., 'street with a bake-house.' (*Constabularia de*) *Barliholm(e)*, -*y-* 1365 ib., 1379 Poll *et passim* to 1577 BevRec. 'Field where barley was grown,' from OE *bærlic* and *holmr*. Nearby was a field called *Mautholm* 1417 BevAct, 'malt field.' *The Bedern* (1306 Ebor) is generally *Bederna* (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(Bev) 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. *venellæ juxta Briddal myddyng* 1437 HMC(Bev), *Burdatt(t) midding Lane* 1633 *BevRent*, 1681 BevRec, from ME *midding* 'midden, refuse heap' (Dan *mødding* 'muck-heap,' cf. *Dings infra* 197). *Cokwald Strete* 1435 HMC(Bev) from ME *cukewald* 'cuckold.' (*constabularia*) *Kutstulpyt* (sic) 1379 Poll, (*le*) *Cukstol(e)pit(t)* 1392

<sup>1</sup> Dr Knudsen points out that *Algade* is a common Danish form of *Adelgade*, from ODan *adal* '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 *kukstole* and *pytt*. *the Cockpit* 1594 BevRec, where cock-fighting was held. *Couperlane* 1439 HMC(Bev) from the coopers. (*le*) *Crosse-*, *Crosbrig(g)* 1324, 1342 YD, 1444 Test *et passim*, *ad pontem crucis* early 14th YD, 1449 HMC(Bev). (*le*) *Cros(s)-*, *Crossegarth(e)s* 1376, 1385 YD, 1399 HMC(Bev) *et passim* to 1666 BevRec. 'Enclosure with a cross,' *v. garðr*. *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 OS cand *dyngja* 'dung, dung-heap', which occurs in some Norwegian names such as *Dingsøren* (NoGN xii, 282) and probably in English *midden* (cf. *Burdatt myddyng supra* 196). The Archbishop of York had a tenement here called *Byscopinge* 1282 Ebor, *Bishopdyngs* 1284 HMC(Bev). *Fismarketegat* 1307 BevAct, *Fyshmarketgate* 1379 Poll is named from *Fi-*, *Fys(s)hmarket(t)* 15th BevDoc *et passim* to 1577 BevRec, *Fish Shambles* 1689 ib. Cf. also *Fischemarketmoregate* 1344, 1350 YD, *Markytmoorgate* 1417 BevAct (*v. Minster Moorgate supra*). *Gilegate* 1202 FF is named from the Hospital of St Giles (cf. St Giles Croft *infra* 199). *Goodechepelane* 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 *mercere* '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, *Moregatelane* 1439 HMC(Bev) is 'road to the moor,' *v. Minster Moorgate supra*. Cf. also *Suthmorgate* 1323 BevAct. *Noutdrilane* 14th, 1366 YD is 'cattle dung lane,' from OS cand *naut* 'neat, cattle.' *Oswaldgate* 1327 Dugd *et freq* to 1557 HMC(Bev), later called *Hayrarlane* 1402 YD. *Podynglane* 1439 HMC(Bev) is probably 'puddly, muddy street' or 'street where beast entrails were sold.' *Pottergate* 13th, 1347 YD is from the pot-makers. *Ryngandlan* 1417 BevAct, *Ryngoldlane end* 1435 HMC(Bev), possibly a 'winding lane,' from *ringand*, pres. part. of ME *ringen* 'to encircle.' *Spetyll in the Stret* 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). *S(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 cobblers 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). *Fægang* 'cattle-track' is a common Dan term and, as noted by Dr Knudsen, often occurs in Dan place-names.

GROVEHILL [grɔvəl]

*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, *Seintgilocroft* 1413 YD, *Geli-* 1439 HMC(Bev), *Seyntgeli-* 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 *Saynt-gilyenge* 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)<sup>1</sup> is *la Wudhall(e)* 1279 YI, 1285 KI (p), *Wode-* c. 1265 KF, 1287 Ebor (p), 1343 Hom, 1347 Ipm, (*iuxta Beverlacum*) 1327 Dugd, *Woodhaille* 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 OScaud *eski*.

<sup>1</sup> 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  
*Mollescroit(e)* c. 1120 (1398) Dugd, 1130-40 Bridl (p), 1180-  
 97 Melsa, 13th *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 *Intro.* xxx.

PIGHILL (6") and PIGHILL LANE (6"). *Pighell* 1598 FF, 1698 YD, *Pighill als. Piggill* 1606 FF, *Pighill Lane* 1633 *BevRent*. The modern pronunciation [pigəl] 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 significant 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. iv<sup>2</sup>, 134; v, 86, etc.), *Struksanden* near a stream *Struka* (ib. xv, 25). These names are related to OScand *strjuka* 'to strike,' *strykr* 'strong wind,' Norw *stryk* (masc.), *strok* (neut.) 'strong current.' The last goes back to an OScand \**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, OScand *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 *gastaurknan* '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 OScaud \**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 [θæn, θɔn]

*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 thortree,' v. þorn.

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 fluvii de Hullo* 1150-60 Melsa, *Waghensfery* c. 1362 Works, *Wauinfery* 1435, 1437 HMC(Bev). v. Wawne *supra* 44 (on the other side of the river Hull) and *ferja*.

6. TICKTON is *Tichetone* 1086 DB, *Ti-*, *Tyketon(a)* 1297 LS, 1304 BevAct, 1402 FA, *Tycke-* 1311 BevAct, *Tyhton* 1310 Ebor

*et freq* to 1436 Baildon, *Tickton* 1566 FF. 'Tica'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, *Hulbrig*, *-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*

*Wiell* 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 *hallgarth* '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 *sǣ* 'pool'; the absence of a medial *e* which one would expect in a genitive and the fact that the nearby *Sicey (supra 201)* contains *sǣ* suggests the latter.

BEVERLEY PARKS is *parcum de Beverlaco* 1267, 1309 *Ebor*, *le West-park* 1309 *Ebor*, *parcum Beverlaci* 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 [diə] for *door*.

HAMPSTON HILL is *Hamtoneng*, *Hampston* 1309 Ebor. QUEENSGATE (6") is *Quenegate* 1435 HMC(Bev), *Queensgate* 1673 BevRec. *v. gata*. The first element may be OE *cwēn* 'queen'

### Walkington

WALKINGTON [wɔ:kɪtən]

*Walkintun(a)*, *-ton(a)*, *-yn-* 1080-6 YCh 974, 1109-28 ib. 967  
*et passim* to 1374 FF, *-yng-*, *-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

ROWLEY<sup>1</sup>

*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*.

<sup>1</sup> 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(r)eslege* 1086 DB, *Hundeslai, -lei(e), -ley, -le* 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 'Hund'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

*Rippingha'* 1086 DB, *Rippingham* 1349 Ipm

*Ripplingeham* 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 *pá -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 Riplingham *supra* 204) or the association of *ryð* with the cognate OSCand *rjóðr* 'clearing.'

## LITTLE WEIGHTON [la:tl wɪt:n]

*Widetone* 1086 DB

*Wi-*, *Wytheton(a)* c. 1207 YD, 1276 Ch *et passim* to 1428 FA

*Witton* 1276 RH, *Witthon* 1308 BevAct

*Wychton* 1285 KI, *Wycheton* 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. *Birkynt* 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

## I. COTTINGHAM

*Cotingeham* 1086 DB, 1166 RBE (p), 1227 Ch, 1244 *Ass*

*Cotingha'* 1086 DB, *-yng-*, *-ham* 1150-60 Melsa, 1201 Cur  
*et passim* to 1523 NCWills

*Cettingaham* (?) c. 1125 SD

*Cottingham* 1156 *Meaux*, 1196 P (p), *et passim*

*Cothigham* 1175-84 YCh 48, *Cothingham* 1270 YD

*Cottingeham* 1197 P (p)

'Homestead of *Cot(t)a*'s people,' *v. ingaham*, and cf. *Cottingham*, PN Nth 163. The same pers. name is found in *Cottingwith infra* 237 and *Cottingley*, PN SWY 108.

NOTE. BECK BANK is *Bekbanke* c. 1325 Dugd. NEWGATE STREET is *Newgate* 1546 FF. *v. gata*.

DERRINGHAM BANK is *Deringham* 1261 Selby, *Suthe-*, *Northe-*, *Little Deringham* 1282 YI, *Daringhamwells* c. 1325 Dugd, *Ley-*, *Wel-*, *Eng-*, *Sene-dernyngham* 1408 YI, *Weldernyngham*, *Dernyngham Well* 1447 (1462) Pat.

DERRINGHAM DIKE (6") is *Deringamdike* 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 *Dēornōð* (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 OScaud *sef* 'sedge.' The prefixing of words of this kind is unusual, but we have another example in *Hollows supra* 171.

DUNSWELL is *Doncevale* 1349, 1353 Ipm, *Dounceuall* c. 1362 Works, 1408 YI, *Downeswall* 1546 FF, *B(e)arhouse* 1610 Speed, 1695 Morden, *Dunswell or Beer-Houses* 1828 Langd.

EPPLEWORTH is *Eppelwrth* 1349 Ipm, *-wyth* 1353 ib., *Eppilworth* 1408 YI. 'Apple wood,' from OScaud *epli* and *viōr*. Examination of the MS of the 1349 Ipm has shown that the true reading is *Eppelwith* and not *Epplewrth* 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 Hull* 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 OS cand *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.* *wiöig*.

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. COWCROFTS (field) is *Coltcroft* 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.* *fyrhþ*. GENGS (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 *Hauerflat* 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 *Northous(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 *Lefwinus 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, *Suth(e)wod(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. þveit* 'enclosure.' VINE GARTH (6") is *Wyndgarthe* 1282 YI. 'Exposed enclosure,' from OE *wind* (cf. *Windersome supra* 95) and *garðr*. THE WOLDS (6") is *Walda* c. 1270 *Meaux. v. The Wolds supra* 13.

## 2. HALTEMPRICE [ɔ:təmpraiz]

*Haltanþrys* 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

*Haudenþrys* 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*)<sup>1</sup>. 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 Wyllardby*) 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

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dugd. vi, 519-20. *Villæ de Newton quæ nunc Hawtemprice vocatur* (c. 1325 ib. 520).

*Skitby* 1359 SR, 1613 FF

*Skipbie* 1546 YChant

*Sc-*, *Skidby* 1566 FF *et freq* to 1828 Langd

Probably 'Skyti's farm,' from the OScand by-name *Skyti*. It might also be 'dirty farm,' from OE *scite* with Scand *sk* in later forms. *v.* by.

### 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 Hull<sup>1</sup>

KINGSTON UPON HULL, usually HULL [ul]

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*) *Hul'* 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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<sup>1</sup>, 1314 BevAct, (*super, on, upon, Hul(l-e)*, etc.) 1275 *Meaux*<sup>1</sup>, 1294 *ib.*, 1299 BM *et passim* to 1548 YD

*Kingston super (uppon, 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 opon Hull* 1487 Test

*Kynston uppon 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 Kyngestonomam 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 OS cand *kriki*, cf. *Pottercrike* 12th Malton. *Sayer* may have been the man who also gave his name to *mariscum Saieri* (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<sup>2</sup>: 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 Friars Gate* 1610 Speed, from the Dominican order of Friars Preachers whose house was here. BLANKET ROW with

<sup>1</sup> These documents were obviously written after 1292, when the town assumed the name of Kingston.

<sup>2</sup> Mr L. M. Stanewell has given much help with these names.

Blackfriargate formed *Monkgate* (*infra*). CARR LANE. Cf. Stephen *del Ker* 1305 *Rental*, *le Carr de Miton* 1605 FF, *v. kiarr* and *Myton infra* 213. CHAPEL LANE is (*the*) *Chappell La(u)ne* 1550 NCWills, 1610 Speed. Formerly *Aton Lane* 1347 *HullRental*, so called from the *Aton* family who had property here. CHURCH LANE is *Kirk(e)lan(e)* 1321 *Rental*, 1348 *et freq* to 1415 *BenchBook*, 1433 YD, *le Kyrkelane* 1342 *BenchBook*, *Aldkirkelane* 1415 *ib.*, (*le, the*) *Church(e) Lane* 1546 YChant *et freq* to 1602 FF. DAGGER LANE is *Daggardlane* late 14th *BenchBook*, *Dagger laine* 1595 YD. 'Street where daggers were made or where such were used,' from early English *dagger*, *dagard*. It was formerly *Champaine Street* (*infra*). FINKLE STREET is *Fynkelstrete* 1415 *BenchBook*, *Fenkilstrete* 1443 *ib.* Cf. Finkle Street in York *infra* 286. It was formerly *Hale Street* (*infra*). THE GUILD HALL was *le Courthalle* 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(e)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 *Humbre-, Humberstrete* 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 *Mytongate* 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 STAITH is *Rotynheryngstathe* 1443 *BenchBook*, a landing-place (*v. stæð*) named from the family of John *Rotenhering* (1348 *BenchBook*, etc.). *v. Addenda lx*. SALTHOUSE LANE is *Soduse Lane* (*sic*) 1610 Speed. It was formerly *Polestrete* 1347 *BenchBook*, named from the great family of *de la Pole*. SCALE LANE is *Sc-, Skailane* 1415, 1431, 1443 *BenchBook*, named from the family of Richard *Skayll* (1342, 1415 *ib.*). VICAR LANE is *Uykerlane* 1342 *BenchBook*, *Vicarlane* 1415 *ib.*, formerly *Bed,ordlane* 1342, 1415 *ib.*, from the family of John *de Bedford* (1342, 1348 *ib.*). WHITEFRIARGATE is *Whitefreregate* 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)gat(e)* 1301, 1303 YL, 1321 *Rental*, 1342 *BenchBook*, 'old street,' *v. gata* (now represented by Whitefriargate, Silver Street and Scale Lane); *Beuerle(y)-strete* 1321 *Rental et passim* to 1610 Speed, leading to Beverley (now Trinity House Lane, King Street, Fish Street, Sewer Lane and Land of Green Ginger); *Bishopgate* 1342 *BenchBook*, from the Archbishops of York (cf. Bishop Lane *supra*), now represented by Bowlalley Lane and Bishop Lane; *the Buchery* 1443 *BenchBook*, *the Bochery* 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.' *y<sup>e</sup> Charterhowse, -house* 1444 *Test et freq* to 1529 *ib.*, also called *la Maison dieu* 1379 *Dugd*, from ME *chartrouse* (Ofr *chartrouse, maison Chartreuse* 'Carthusian house') used of a Carthusian monastery (*v.* NED *s.v.* *charterhouse*); *Halestrete* 1321 *Rental (freq)*, *Hallestrete* 1333 *BenchBook*, *Haillestrete* 1415 *ib.*, probably named from an unidentified place called *les Hales* 1305, 1307 *Rental*, 1348 *BenchBook*, 'the nooks of land,' *v.* *healh*; it is now Finkle Street. *Hesillygates* 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-, Lilestrete* 14th *Guisb*, 1321 *Rental*, 1342 *BenchBook (modo vocat' Mitongate)* 1415 *ib.*, *Lillestrete* 1321 *Rental*, *Lilistrete* 1348 *BenchBook*, *the Lyllie Lane* 1550 *NCWills*, from the family of John Lily (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 Markett Streete* 1577 *NCWills*, from ME *marked* 'market'; *Milkestrete* 1341, 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 rove or Cannon rove* 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*, *-phull* 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*

*Dreypole, -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

*pul(e)* are from 14th- and 15th-century manuscripts and represent a common Northern spelling of OE *ō* (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*<sup>1</sup>. For this name Dr G. Knudsen suggests a compound of an OS cand 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), Ingleby (NRY), etc.

MARFLEET [ma:flit]

*Mereflet*, -*flot* 1086 DB, *Mereflete in Holderness* 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.* *myðe*, *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*, *mersc* (with Scand *sk* for English *sh*).

<sup>1</sup> *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

*Sculcote(s)*, -*cottes* 12th Riev, 1160-80 Melsa *et passim* to 1376 FF

*Scolecot(es)* 1269 Ebor, 1282 YI, *Scolcotes* 1295 Ebor

*Scoulecotes* 1295 YI, 1301 AD ii, 1359 Ipm, *Scoulcotes* 1301 AD ii, 1356 FF

*Scowscotes als. Sculcotes* 1583 FF, *Scowlcotts* 1594 FF, *Skoucotes* 1610 Speed

'*Skūli*'s cottages,' *v. cote*. The OS cand pers. name *Skūli* 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. *Intro.* 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

*Sutcot(t)es*, -*k-* 1235-49 Melsa, 1303 YI, 1478 YD *et passim* to 1536 FF, -*cottys* 1527 FF, -*coytts* 1558 FF, -*coytys* 1582 FF

*Sutecotes* 1292 YI

*Suttecotes* 1293 *Meaux*, *Suttcotts* c. 1400 Melsa

*Sottecotes* 1297 LS, *Sottcotes* 1356 Ipm

*Sothecotes* late 13th *StoweCh*, 1294 *Meaux*

*Soddecotes* 13th YD, late Hy 3 *StoweCh*

*Sodcotes* 1303 Ch, *Sodecotes* 1349 *Meaux*

*Sudcot(tes)* 1365 Pat, 1613 FF

*Suddecotes* 1415 YI

The first element is the OS cand pers. name *Sóti*. At a later stage in the history of this name, when *Soti* had developed to *Sute*, confusion with names in *suð* took place. '*Soti*'s cottage(s),' *v. cot(e)*.

STONEFERRY [stīanferi, stuānferi] is *Stanfery* 1349 Ipm, 1381 AD i *et freq* to 1527 FF, *Staneferi*, -y 1418 YI, 1435 AD ii, 1563

FF, *-ferrye* 1613 FF, *Stonferry* 1349 Ipm, 1536 FF, *Stoneferry(e)* 1541, 1604 FF, *Staynfery* 1542 *MinAcct.* 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)<sup>1</sup> 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 OS cand *sumar* and OE, OS cand *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

HESSLE [ezl]

*Hase* 1086 DB

*Hesel(l)* 12th *Bardney*, Guisb, 1156-7 YCh 354 *et passim* to

1488 *Bev.*, (*on Humbre*) 1340 FF, *Hesell(i)a* 1180 *et freq* to

1400 *Melsa*, *Heselle* 1239 Guisb, 1268 FF, *Hesele* 1282 YI

*Hasla* 1180-90 Guisb, *Hasel(l)* 1180-95 Guisb *et freq* to 1561

FF, *Hasele* 13th *Meaux*

*Hesil(l)*, *-y-* 1252 FF, 1276 YI *et passim* to 1578 BM, *Hesyllle*

1416 *Melsa*

*Hessell*, *-yll* 1285 KI, 1303 YD, 1461 Pat, (*on Humbre*) 1479 YD

*Hezell* 1502 Sanct

<sup>1</sup> 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 12th *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 *på* -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

#### I. ANLABY

*Um-*, *Unlouebi* 1086 *DB*

*Anlachbi* 12th *Bardney*, *Anlakeby* 1240 *FF*, 1270 *YD*,

*Anlachby* 1284 *Baildon*, *Anelachby* 1303 *Ebor*

*Anlauebi*, -by 1203, 1205, 1212 *Cur* (p), *Anlaweby* 1234 *Cl*,

*Anlauby* 1279 *YI*

*Andlaueby* 1204 *Ass*

*Aulenaby* 1205 *ObIR*

*Anlofby* 1210-20 *Melsa*, *Anloby* 1303 *YI*

*Anlagheby* c. 1240 *YD*, 1306 *BevAct*, 1316 *NomVill*,

*Anlaghby* 1303 *KF et passim* to 1371 *Works*, *Anelaghby* 1303

*Ebor*, *Anlahby* 1309 *ib*.

*Anloweby* 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 OS cand *f* (cf. a similar variation between OS cand *p* and *k* in Skirpenbeck *supra* 150), or they may be inverted spellings which could arise when OE or OS cand *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 OS cand *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 OS cand *Ófeigr* and *Unspac* from OS cand *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)

*Anuele* 1265-75 BM

*Esteluella* 1305 YI

*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)<sup>1</sup>. 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.

<sup>1</sup> It should be pointed out that one of the tenants here TRE was called *Aluain* (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, *Wulferton* 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-*, *Wlfre-* 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, *Westeluete, -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, *Swanysland* 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 *Svanr*, 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<sup>1</sup>

1. MELTON is *Metheltun* 1207 YD (p), *Melleton* 1332 SR, *Melton* 1214 Abbr, 1316 NomVill *et passim* to 1828 Langd. 'Middle farm,' *v. meðal*, 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

<sup>1</sup> A detached part of Howden Wapentake.

*Welton* 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. *wælla*), 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 [elətn]

*Elgendon* 1086 DB

*Elgedon* 1185, 1196 P, *Helgedon* 1196 P, 1216 *RegAlb*

*Ellegton* 1191 P, *Elegeton* 1195 P

*Helgeton* 1200, 1201 P, *Elgeton* 1259 FF (p), 1285 KI

*Elveton, Elvhetona, Helvehet'* 1233 Ebor

*Elgton* 1290 Ebor, *Elgh-* 1339 BevAct

(*H*)*elgheton* 1303 KF, 1316 NomVill

*Elyton* 1379 Poll

*Eleghton* 1381 Ebor, *El(l)ughton* 1381 ib., 1528 Test, *Eloughton* 1544 FF

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 [wɔ:dbi]

*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.

### Brantingham<sup>1</sup>

1. BRANTINGHAM

*Brentingeha'* 1086 DB, -ham' 1167 P (p), 1202 FF, *Brentengeh'*,

*Brentinkeha'* 1166 P (p)

*Bredingha'*, *Brendingham* 1086 DB

*Bretingha'* 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

*Brentinham* 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 iv<sup>1</sup>, 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

<sup>1</sup> 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. Intro. 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, *Thorpbrantingham* 1572 FF. *v.* *þorp*, here 'an outlying hamlet belonging to a larger place.'

COCKLE PITS (6") is *Cockefeld* 1226 FF<sup>1</sup>. Probably 'heap field,' from ME *cocc* 'heap'; cf. Ekwall, *Studier tillägnade Axel Kock* 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 [eləkə]

*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

*Brungarflet* 1154-60 *RegAlb*

*Brügaresfleta* 1200 ChR

<sup>1</sup> DB *Totfled* 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 *fled* is occasionally spelled *fled* in DB.

*Brungelflet* 1155, 1199 *Leonard*N  
*Brung(e)flete* 1294 Ch, 1379 Poll, *Brunkeflet* 1300 Pat  
*Brounfleet* 1322 BevAct, *Broun(e)-*, *Brown-* 1379 Poll, 1417  
 BevAct *et freq* to 1600 FF  
*Brumflet(e)* 1322 BevAct, 1600 FF, *-flett* 1617 FF  
*Bromefflete* 1543 *MinAcct et passim* to 1587 FF, *Brom-* 1610  
 Speed

'*Brungar's* stretch of the river (Humber),' *v. fleot*. *Brungel-*  
 is an AN variant (cf. IPN 107).

## 2. SOUTH CAVE

*Cave*, *Caue* 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 *cāf* '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,

*Wetheley* 1601 FF, *Weadley* 1650 ParlSurv. 'Willow clearing,'  
*v. wiöig*, *leah* and cf. *Weethley*, PN Wa 227. *v. Introd.* xxix.

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 *Easthall* 1594, *East-  
 Hall* 1828 Langd, which has since disappeared.

### 3. FAXFLEET

*Flaxflet(e)* 1185 Templar, 1202, 1552, 1559 FF

*Faxflet(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 OS cand 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. fleet.* *v. Addenda* lx.

OXMARDIKE is *Oxmerdicke* 1650 ParlSurv. 'Ox pool dike.'  
 SLEIGHTS (6") is *Scelctis* (sic) 1219 FF. *v. sletta* 'level field.'

## North Cave

I. NORTH CAVE is *Cave*, *Caua* 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)

*Droutun, -ton* 1166 P (p), 1195 (1335) Ch, 1246 Ass

*Dreueton* 1204 Ass (p), *Dreweton* 1280 Ass, 1296 Pat, 1410 YI

*Dreuton(a)* early 13th YD, 1200 Cur (p), 1206 FF *et passim*  
 to 1401 YI, *Drewton* 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 OblR, 1285 KI, 1287 Abbr *et passim* to 1401 YI,  
*jurethorp* 1252 Ch

*Yuetorp* 1200 OblR, P, *Iveltorp* 1204 OblR (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, *Kettlesthroppe* 1589 FF

*Ketolthorp* 1285 KI, *-il-* 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 *Clive* 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

*Hodhu'* 1086 DB, *Hodhum* early 13th *StoweCh*, *Hodum* 1166

P (p)

*Hothum* 1153-66 YCh 971 *et passim* to 1401 YI, *Hodum* 1167 P (p)

*Houthum* 1203 Cur

*Hodham* 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. *hodum* 'at the shelters.' The spelling *Hoothome* (and the modern pronunciation) suggest a ME long vowel *ō*. Medial *th* for OE *d* is a fairly well-evidenced Scandinavian sound-substitution.

HOTHAM CARR is *Hotham-Carrs* 1828 Langd. *v.* kiarr.

### North Newbald

#### I. NORTH NEWBALD [niubɔ:d]

*to msebotle* (*sic* for *to nipebotle*) 963 (14th) *Reg Alb*

(*æt*) *neowe boldan* 972 (c. 1200) BCS 1279

*Niuuebold*, *Niwebolt* 1086 DB

*Neu-*, *Newbald* 1154-86 *Reg Alb et passim* to 1524 *Bev*, *Neue-*,

*Newebald* 1285 KI *et freq* to 1371 FF, (*North*) 1348 Ch *et freq* to 1828 Langd

*Neue-*, *Neubaud* 1268 FF, Ebor

*Newball* 1569 FF

'The new building,' *v. niwe, boðl*, 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 *þone 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 *Clīue* 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 [santøn]

*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

*Sainton, -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*, *Heselescof* 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 *hōfe* 'ale-hoof'). v. *tun*.

ASH HILL (6"). Cf. *Hesselskugh Ashe* 1610 Speed. NORTH HALL (6"). Cf. *Hall Ings* 1650 ParlSurv. v. *eng*.

## IX. HARTHILL WAPENTAKE

## HOLME BEACON DIVISION

*Holme Deuision* 1610 Speed, *Holme Beacon* 1664 Deposition. v. Harthill Wapentake *supra* 151 and Holme upon Spalding-moor *infra* 234.

## Market Weighton

## 1. SHIPTON

*Epton* 1086 DB

*Hyepton* 1176 P (p)<sup>1</sup> (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.

<sup>1</sup> Identified with *Shipton* (NRY) in PN NRY 15.

2. THORPE LE STREET<sup>1</sup>

*Torp(i)* 1086 DB, *Thorp* 1226 FF *et passim* to 1284 Ch  
*Rud(e)torp* 1086 DB, *Ruththorp* 1275 Ebor, *Rowthorpe als.*  
*Thorpe in the Stre(e)te* 1551, 1577 FF  
*Thorp 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  
*Thorp Hersewell'* 1303 KF, 1333 SR  
*Parua Thorp* 1334 FF, 1342 SR, 1365 FF, *Littelthorp* 1359  
 Ipm, *Littlethorpe* 1620 FF

There were apparently two DB manors in the neighbourhood, one *Torp* in Weighton Hundred, the other *Rudetorp* in Pocklington 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.* *stræt*). The first element in *Rudetorp* may be OScand *rud* 'clearing' or a pers. name *Ruddi* or the like. *v.* *porp*.

## 3. MARKET WEIGHTON [ma:kitwi:tən]

*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* 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, *Whigton* 1334 *BevAct*, *Wygthon* 1333  
 YAJ xi  
*Whyton* 1268 FF, 1300 Ebor, *Whythton* 1285 YI  
*Wicthton* 1279-81 QW, *Wytthton* 1285 YI  
*Wyth(e)ton(e)* 1281 Ebor, 1338 FF, 1356 Ipm  
*Wython, Withone* 1285 YI  
*Market-Weighton* 1828 Langd

<sup>1</sup> 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*, *Erevhes* 1253 Ch, *Erchys* 1260 FF, *Erghes* 1268 FF *et passim* to 1391 *BevDoc*, *Erghus* 1465 Pat, *Arows 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 [gudmødəm]

*Godmund(d)ingaham* c. 730 (8th) Bede, c. 1000 OEBede

*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*

*Godmund(e)ham* 1225 FF *et freq* to 1297 Ebor, *Gode-* 1376 Test

*Cuthmundham* 1231-5 *RegAlb*, *Gudhmundham* 1316 NomVill

*Gothmund(e)ham* 1262 FF, *Gothe-* 1281 Ebor, 1303 KF, *Godth-* 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. fleet* 'stream.'

### Londesborough

LONDESBOROUGH [lɔnzbrə]

*Lodenesburg* 1086 DB

*Landenesburgh* 1108-14 *RegAlb*

*Loenesburgh* 1136-9 *RegAlb*

*Lonesburgh* 1136-9 *RegAlb*, 1275 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1343 FF, *-boroughe* 1595 FF, *Lonsborough* 1466 NCWills, *-brough* 1569 YAJ xi

*Lonnersburg* 1279-81 QW

*Lonnesburg(h)* 1279-81 QW, 1289 Ebor *et freq* to 1356 Ipm, *-burgh* 1285 KI, 1300 Ebor, Hom, *-burch* 1312 BevAct

*Lounesburg(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

*Louneburgh* 1389 Ch

*Londesburgh* 1521 Test, *Loandesburgh* 1608 FF

'*Lothen's* fortification,' *v. burh*. For the OScand pers. name *Lodim*, ODan *Lothæn* (late OE *Loden*, ASC s.a. 1046) cf. *Lonsdale* (PN NRY 165) and for the loss of *th* and the development of a diphthong cf. *Roseberry Topping* (*ib.* 164). A lost place called *Lothenhaues*, *Lodhenhawes* (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 *Clewinde*, *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 Coniston *supra* 47).

EASTHORPE [i:sθrəp] 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, *Esthrope* 1569 FF, *Eastropp(e)* 1591 FF, 1650 ParlSurv. 'East village,' *v.* east, þorp.

TOWTHORPE [təuθrəp]

*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, *Towthrope in the Thystelles* 1546 YChant

'*Toli*'s village,' *v.* þorp. 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 *Tollerød* (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

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 *wrið* '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. WANDALES (6") is *le Wandayles* 13th *Warter*. *v.* *Wandale supra* 107.

### Everingham

#### EVERINGHAM

*Yferingham* c. 972 (c. 1200) BCS 1279

*Euringha'* 1086 DB

*Hever(h)ingham* 1166 RBE (p), 1170-82 YCh 49, 1201 ChR, 1252 Ch, c. 1253 *Malton* (p)

*Eu-*, *Everingeham* 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 *yrcebiscope* for *erce-*, *ærcebiscope* in the same document (*Harl* 55) and by other OE spellings such as *Cnyllingatun* for *Knedlington infra* 253, *yr* for *eor* or the like (R. Aire, WRY) in YCh 4. The spelling *y* for Anglian *e(ö)* 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.* *ingham*.

BRAITHWAITE FARM (6") is *Bredeweit* 1191 P. *v.* *Braffords supra* 219. SOUTH INGS (6") is *Southenge* 1338 FF. *v.* *eng*.

## Harswell

HARSWELL [a:swəl]

*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

HOLME UPON SPALDING MOOR [ɔum]

*Holm(e)* 1086 DB, 12th Selby, late Hy 2 Gilbert, 1201 ChR *et passim* to 1316 NomVill, (*juxta Everyingham*) 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 *Spawdymore* 1554 FF

*v.* holmr and Spaldingmoor *supra* 13. The spelling *Hulm* is from the OEScand variant *hulm*.

BURSEA [bɔsi] 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 *sæ* 'sea, pool' (cf. *Kilnsea supra* 15). *Bursea* is in the marshy land near the river Foulness.

WHOLSEA is *Walsay* 1285 KI, 1338 Hosp, *Whalsey* 1505 Test, 1582, 1585 FF, *Wholsea* 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

from OE *Wealingfen*, 'the marshland of *Wealh*,' with connective *ing*.

ARGLAM is so named in 1828 (Langd). BRIDGE CARR (field) is *Risebriggker* 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 *Wellambriggs* 1537 *MinAcct, Welham-Bridge* 1828 Langd, and is named from (John) *de Wellum* (c. 1260 *Malton* 39), who came from Welham *supra* 140. WOOD HO, WOOD LANE. Cf. *bosci de Hulmo* 1208 Cur.

### Seaton Ross

#### 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

*Sei-, 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 *Prestwyk* 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*.

### Thornton<sup>1</sup>

#### 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

*Medelbornne* 1285 YI, *-burn* 1350 Ipm

*Meldeburn* 1285 Baildon

*Mel(l)eburn* 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 [stōrəd]

*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 *Storþweyt*) 1285 YI

*Storwhait* 1303 KF, *Storwhatt* 1461 Pat

*Tortawhayte* 1305 YI

*Strothwayth* 1309 Font

*Stortwhayte* 1557 FF, *Storthwhate* 1575 FF

*Storhwood* 1610 Speed, 1828 Langd

OScand *stórr* '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 *þveit* 'enclosure.'

<sup>1</sup> 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

*Achton* 1266 Pat, 1279 YI, 1308 BevAct

*Auchton* 1266 Pat

*Aghton* 1288 Abbr *et passim* to 1493 FF

*Ayketon juxta Elreton* 1298 Abbr

*Agton'* 1342 SR

*Askton otherwyse called Aughton or Acton* 1507 Test<sup>1</sup>

*Augh-*, *Awghton* 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. 'Cot(t)a's dairy-farm,' *v.* wic. For the replacement of OE wic by OScand viðr '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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Ipm*Lathom* 1199-1211 YCh 1133 *et freq* to 1539 FF*Laytham* 1562 FF, 1582 YD

'At the barns,' from OScand *hladum*, 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, 1198Abbr *et passim* to 1298 *ib.*, (*super Derwentam*) 1180-1200

YCh 1173

*Ellerton* 1199-1210 *Reg Alb*, 1225 FF *et passim* to 1426 Test,(*in Spaldyngmore*) 1331 FF, (*on Derwent*) 1344 FF, (*Abbey*)

1494 Test

*Hellerton* 1226 FF*Elerton* 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 com-  
pound 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 *laðung* '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 *Ellertonriding* 1227 FF, *Rydyng* 1252 FF. *v.* *hryding* 'clearing.' LUND BRIDGE (6"). Cf. *Syolfund* 1258 FF. '*Sige-wulf's lundr.*' SNAPES (field) is *Northsnapp* 1252 FF. ME *snap* 'winter-pasture,' a word of Scandinavian origin (*v.* PN La 17, and cf. *Snap*, 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 [breit̃ən]

*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]

*Gunelby* 1066-9 Selby, *Gundeby* 1070-83 ib.

*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 [bubiθ]

*Bobewyth* 1066-9 Selby, *-wid* 1226 FF, *Bobwyth* 1268 FF

*Bubuid*, -vid 1086 DB, -wit t. Hy 2 Gilbert, -wyht 1246 FF,  
-with, -wyth(e) 12th *Byland*, 1140-2 *RegAlb et passim* to  
1573 *NCWills*

*Bubbewith*, -wyth(e) 1206 *CLR*, 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. viðr. 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 Northduffield* 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, *Fulkertorp* 1333 *SR*

*Folkwarethorp* t. Hy 2 *MaryH*, *Folcwarethorp* 1156-7 *YCh*  
354, t. Ric 1 (1308) *Ch*

*Folkertorp(e)* 12th (*et freq*) Selby, 1258 *MaryChron et passim*  
to 1493 FF, -thorppe 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 OS cand *Folkwardr*, found also in *Fockerby* (WRY), *Fulwardby* 1164-77 *YCh* 487, etc. The spellings in *Fulc-*, *Fulk-* may be OES cand 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 OS cand *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

*Herlesthorp(ia)* 1150-60 Melsa, 1160-80 ib., t. John *AddCh*,  
1285 YI

*Herlethorp(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)

*Haddlethorpe* 1568 FF, *Hartlethorp al. Hadlethorpe* 1621 FF

'Herel's village,' *v. þorp*. For the pers. name *Herel(e)* cf. Harlington, PN BedsHu 123, Harlsey, PN NRY 212-3, Harlesthорpe (Db). We should also consider the possibility of a shortened form of some OScand pers. name *Herlaugr*, *Herleifr*, etc., which, as Dr Knudsen suggests, would lie behind *Hellestrup* (in Holbæk Amt, Denmark), *Herlwestorp* 1370.

## 6. SPALDINGTON [spærətən]

*Spellinton* 1086 DB

*Spaldi(n)ggetun* 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. WILLITOF T

*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

*Wilwetoft* 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, *Wyllytoft*, *-i-* 1534, 1567 FF

'Willow field,' *v. welig* (*wilig*), *toft*.

## Wressell

WRESSELL [ræzl]

*Weresa* 1086 DB

*Wresel(l)* 1183 P (p), 1226 FF *et passim* to 1468 Pat, *Wesele* (sic) 1190-1 P, *Wresele* 1253 Ch, *Vresel* 1267 Ebor

*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 *\*wræsel*, a derivative of OE *wrāse* 'knot, lump' and connected with OE *wrāsen* 'tie, band,' *wriðan* 'to twist,' and *\*wræst* used of 'twisted, contorted land' in Wrest (PN BedsHu 162). OE *wrāse* 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 *wræsel*

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

*Lofthus* 1208 FF, *Lusthus* (sic) 1226 FF  
*Lofth(o)usum* 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 OScaud *i lopthusum*, dat. plur. of *lopthus*. The name is fairly common in Yorkshire. On the loss of the medial syllable cf. Goxhill *supra* 66.

NEWSHOLME is *Neuhusa'* 1086 DB, *Neuhus* t. Hy 2 Gilbert (p), *Niwehus'* 1190, 1191 P, *Newesum* 1202 FF, 1303 KF, -om 1376 Percy, *Neusum* 1244 *Ass*, 1348 FF, 1360 Ipm, -om 1276 RH *et freq* to 1432 YD, (*in Spaldingmor*) 1301 YI, *Newsome* 1523 Test. 'At the new houses,' *v.* *Newsome supra* 27.

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. HOWDENSHERE WAPENTAKE

*Hoveden hvdret* 1086 DB, *wapent' de Houed'* 1231 *Ass*,  
*libertas de Houeden* 1306 *Dunelm*  
*Houeden(e)sire*, -syr(a), *Hov-* 1153-90 Riev, 1165-85 YCh  
 988, 1199 FF, 1239 *Lib*, -syr(e) 1189-95 YCh 987, 1280  
*Ebor*, -s(c)hyre 1269 FF *et passim* to 1471 Pat

*Huuedensyre* late 12th *Malton*

*Houendenesir*' 1186-94 YCh 988, 1000

*Hodenshire* 1229 FF

*Hogdonesyr* 1237 Cl

*Hou-*, *Howdenshire* 1303 KF *et passim* to 1486 Test, *-shyer*  
1518 ib.

*Howdenschir*' 1314 Dunelm

*Hau-*, *Hawdens(c)hire* 1379 Poll, 1402 FA

*Holdenshir(e)* 1465 Pat, 1504 NCWills

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)<sup>1</sup>. 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, *Blaketoft 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, *Staddlethropp* 1604 ib.

<sup>1</sup> In 1285 (KI) Ouse and Derwent Wapentake is included in Howdenshire and in 1305 Howden Liberty is described as *Houedeneshyr in Herthill* (*Ass* 1108, m. 13 d); cf. also 1230 P *wapentacum de Hertle cum parte de Houedene*.

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), *Scal(l)ebi* 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*, -eic 1202, 1208 FF, -hayk, -i- 1276 RH, 1316 NomVill, -ayk(e) 1294 YI *et passim* to 1349 FF, *Greneyak*

1379 Poll, *Gren(e)ake* 1379 ib. *et freq* to 1556 FF, *-hak(e)* 1416 YI, 1548 FF, *Grenoake* 1615 FF. 'Green oaktree,' *v. grene, eik*, the latter being replaced by OE ac, StEngl *oak*. Cf. Greenoak Goit *supra* 6.

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

*Eastringatun* 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

*Hestrindon* 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. *ēasterra* 'more easterly.' *v. ing, tun* and cf. Karlström 89. The spelling *Aistrin-* may have been influenced by OS cand *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 otherwise called* the manor of Eastington 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*) *Cærholme* 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

*Hyðe* 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4

*Hidon* 1086 DB, *Hid* 1212 Cur (p), *Hyda* 1240 FF

*Hithe*, -y- 1231 FF, 1285 SR et *passim* to 1563 FF, *le Hythe* 1294 YAJ xi, *Hyeth* 1444 ib.

*Ive* 1511 YAJ xi, *Hyve* 1562, 1612 FF

*v.* *hyð* '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 *Steenhice*).

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 [ɔuzθrɒp]

*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*, *þorp*. DB *Duues* 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*, *ingtun*, or 'Port(a)'s farm' from an OE pers. name *Port(a)*, for which cf. Portslade, PN Sx 289.

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-*, *Kaywill(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 influence<sup>1</sup>.

5. WALLINGFEN is *Walefen* 1228 Pat, *Walingfen* 1228, 1300 Pat, *Wallyngfen* 1556 FF, *Wallenfén* 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*.

## Howden

### 1. ASSELBY

*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

'*Askell's* farmstead,' *v. by*. OS cand *Áskell*, ODan *Ēskel*, was common in England (*v. NP* 16 ff., ZEN 16-7). Cf. *Exelby*, PN NRY 226.

<sup>1</sup> The surname of Tomas (etc.) de *Caiuill'* (1194 P), de *Cauuill'* (1197 P), de *Kaivilla* (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, *Nuland* 1334 FF. 'New, reclaimed land,' *v. niwe, land*.

### 3. BARMBY ON THE MARSH

*Bærnabi, Barnabi* c. 1050 *YCh* 9

*Barnebi, -by* 1086 *DB et passim* to 1379 *Poll*

*Barnby* 1342 *SR*, (*by Howden*) 1510 *YD*

*Barmebie* 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 OS cand *Beli*, gen. *Belja*, is possible (cf. *Bielby supra* 232), but it leaves us with *ll* unexplained. An OS cand 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 [ɔudn]

(*Æt, to*) *Heafuddene, -dene*<sup>1</sup>, *Hwafuddene* 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4  
*Hovedene, Houeden(e)* 1086 DB

*Houe-, Hoveden(e), -dena* 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), -dena* 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

*Hocden* 1204 ChR

*Houden* 1231 FF, 1279 Ebor *et passim* to 1424 NCWills,  
*How-* 1403 Test *et passim* to 1828 Langd

<sup>1</sup> The spelling *Heofuddene* usually cited from YCh 4 is incorrect according to the MS (Society of Antiquaries lx).

*Howeden* 1238 Ebor, 1314 Dunelm *et freq* to 1569 FF

*Haweden* 1249 Cl

*Hawden* 1402 FA, 1407 YD

*Howlden* 1583 FF, *Holden* 1522 (*et freq* to 1608) FF, 1525  
AD iii

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 OScaud *hōfuð*, and the spelling *Huwedensyre* for the wapentake name (*supra* 244) has OEScaud *hwuþ*. The origin of the *Hoven-* spellings is obscure. The spellings *Hocden* (and *Hogdonesyr* for the wapentake) are inverted spellings which could arise when early ME *hoc-*, *hog-* and *hov-* had fallen together as *how*<sup>1</sup>. 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 Loftsom 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 east<sup>2</sup>. 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, *Berneheldt*, *-held* 1086 DB, *Bernhill*, *-hyll* 1199 FF, 1294 YI (p), 1342 SR, 1379

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *Buttfeilde* 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 *heremitaie de Ryngstanhyrste* 1391 Test. *v.* Ringstone Hurst *supra*. YARM-SHAW (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

*Cnyllingatún* 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 *Cnyllingatún* 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 *Brodde* 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

*Laxingetun* 1199 FF

*Laxin(g)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, mi:ðəm] is *Metham* 1268 Misc (p), 1291 Dunelm (p), 1316 NomVill *et passim* to 1828 Langd, *Meteham* 1432 YD. Probably 'mean, poor homestead' from OE *mæte* 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. SALTMARSH

*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)mersk(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

*Schelton(a)* 1175-85 YCh 983, 1259 Ass

*Skylton* 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 *scylf* (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. *Sandahall* 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.

NEWCLOSE PLANTATION (6"). Cf. *New-Fields* 1828 Langd.

14. THORPE LIDGET is *Þorp* 959 (c. 1200) YCh 4, *Torp* 1086 DB, *Thorp(e)* 1199 FF *et passim* to 1576 NCWills, (*in the More*) 1399 YI, (*juxta Houeden*) 1411 BM, (*Lidget*) 1828 Langd. *v. þorp*, 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

*Jeochehled* 1199 ObLR

*Huickeflete* (*sic* for *Hiucke-*) 1199 FF

*Jokesflied, Yokesfliet* 1199 P, *Yukesflet* 1231 FF

*Iukeflet* 1200 Cur

*Icleflet* (*v.l.*), *Ykefflet* 1200 Cur, *Ucceflete* 1313 YearBook

*Yockeflet* 1201 FF

*Yukeflet* 1240, 1252 FF, 1246 Ass

*Yhucflet* 1246 Ass (*p*)

*Yuc-, Yukflet(e)* 1246 FF, 1300 Pat *et passim* to 1498 FF

*Jokflet* 1281 Pat

*Youcflet* 1353 Ipm (p), *Yowkflete* 1537 FF

*Yewk(e)flete* 1562, 1570 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 *ō*, 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 OS cand pers. name *Jókell*, with early reduction to *Jóke*, 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). Yokefleet 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, (*foresta*)  
 t. John Font, 1230 P, (*terras*) 1234 Dunelm, *wap'* (*inter Use*)  
 1268 *Ass*, (*wapentagium inter*) *Ouse and Derwent* 1301 LS  
*Owse 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

#### I. 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 *heafod* '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. Angram (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*, *fleet*. INGS ROADS (6"). Cf. *Thurstaneng'* 13th Selby. *v. eng*. The pers. name *Thurstan* (OScand *Dorsteinn*) is also found in another local field-name *Thurstanland* 13th ib.

## 2. BRACKENHOLME

*Brachenholm* 111th (? spurious) YCh 990, 1195 (1335) Ch, -hol' 1167 P (p), *Brachene(l)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  
*Brakneholme in Spaldyngmore* 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.

BAETHORPE is *Babetorp* 1086 DB, -*thorp* 1285 KI, *Babbethorp* 1190-1225 YCh 997, 1313, 1314 Dunelm, *Babthorp(e)* 1285 KI *et freq* to 1828 Langd, -*throppe* 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)thorp* 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 *Hakarap*, 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(f)*, -y- 1195 (1335) Ch, 1200 Cur *et passim* 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 *Boulondewra* 1251 Ass. *v.* land, *vra* and *boga*, 'bow.'

LUND is *Lund(e)* 1066-9 (14th) Selby, 1154-81 *Reg Alb*, 1165-75 *Leonard R et passim* to 1342 *SR*, *Lont* 1086 DB, *Lownde* 1488 FF, *Lounde* 1546 YChant. *v.* *lundr* 'grove,' and cf. *Lund supra* 163.

NEWHAY is *Nova haia*, *-haya* 12th Selby (*freq*), 1196 *Bodl*, 1246 *Ass*, 1250 Cl, *Lanouehaie* 1311 Ch, *Newhack'* 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

*Turneham* 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

*Turmanhall* 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 Haggas* 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-* 1280 Ass, *Duffeud* 1246 Ass, *Suth-doffeld* 1337 FF. 'Tract of land frequented by doves,' from OE \**dūfe* (*v. NED s.v. dove*) and *feld*. Cf. North Duffield *infra* 262 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, -*boroughe* 1542 NCWills, -*browghe* 1571 FF

*Hamiburg* 1086 DB, 1476 Pat

*Hemmingburch*, -*y-* 111th (? 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, *Hemigburg* 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 OS cand 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 Jónsborg Viking, Jarl Hemingr, who captained the northern detachment of the famous *þingamannið*. 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 *þingamenn*, 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)ingaburh*, 'stronghold of *Hemma* and his people,' which accords with many of the early spellings.

6. MENTHORPE [menθrɒp] 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 OS cand *Menni* or a woman's name *Menja*. v. þorp.

BOWTHORPE [bɔuθrɒp]

*Boletorp* 1086 DB, 1199 FF, *-thorp* 1241 FF

*Buletorp* 1200 Cur

*Bolthorp(e)* 1285 KI *et passim* to 1379 Poll

*Bollethorpe* 1311 Ch

*Bowthorp(e)* 1398 AD iii, 1585 FF, *-throppe* 1571 FF

'*Bula's* or *Bulli's* village,' v. þorp. For an OE pers. name *Bula* we may compare Bullington (PN Sx 491), etc. If the pers. name is Scandinavian it is OS wed, 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.

WILLOW GARTHS (6"), WILLOW COTTAGE (6"). Cf. *ye Wilowes* 1379 Poll.

7. OSGODBY [ɔzgəbi]

*Ansgote(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

*Osgotby* 13th Selby, 1280 Ch

*Osgodeby* 1330, 1337 FF, *Osgodby* 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 *Ōs-* for OScand *Ās-* cf. *Osgodby*, PN NRY 104, and NP 14. It may be added that examples of the name with a nasalised *ā* occur in Danish runes (cf. DaPN 66).

### 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 [skipiθ]

*Schipewic*, -uic 1086 DB, *Schipwic* 1203 Cur (p)

*Scipe-*, *Scypwiz* 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

- Scypwic*, *Skipwik(e)*, -y- 1121-8 YCh 936, 1206 Cur (p), 1280 Ass, 1282 YI, -wych 1254 Abbr  
*Skipwith*, -y- 1080-6 YCh 974, 1276 RH *et passim* to 1541 FF  
*Scip(p)ewic* 1199 P, FF, *Skypewic*, *Skyppewyk* 1254 Abbr  
*Schitwic* 1200 Cur  
*Sepewich* 1202 FF  
*Scape-*, *Skapwic* 1231 FF  
*Scipwid'* 1242 Cl  
*Skypewhyt* 1251 Ass, *Scipwhit* 1280 Misc  
*Skypewith* 1251 Ass, *Skippewyth* 1350 Ipm, 1366 Malton  
*Sepwith* c. 1293 Malton

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 *scip*, 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 *viðr* 'wood' for *wic*. Similar examples are provided by *Monkwith*, *Cottingwith* *supra* 57, 237. Cf. also IPN 64.

PITHILL CLOSE (field)<sup>1</sup> is *Pichel* 12th Selby. *v. pightel*.

### Thorganby

THORGANBY [θɔgəmbi]

*Turgisbi* 1086 DB

*Turgimebi* 1192 P, *Turgrimesbi* 1194-1201 P

*Thorgremby* c. 1200 For

*Torgramebi* ib., *Turgramesby* 1230 P

<sup>1</sup> On a map of 1768 (*ex inf.* Rev. W. Wainman).

*Turgraneby* 1228 FF

*Thurhamby* 1268 Ebor, *Thorgamby* 1295 YI, 1407 YD, *Thur-*  
1599 NCWills

*Thurgramby* 1271, 1311 Ebor, 1355 Ipm, *Thor-* 1276 RH  
*et passim* to 1406 YI

*Thorgand(e)by* 1285 KI

*Thorganby* 1420 YI, 1540 FF, *Thorgonby* 1539 FF

'*Thorgrim's farm,*' v. by. On OS cand *Þorgrímr* cf. Thornthorpe *supra* 143. Cf. also the Swed place-name *Torgrimsbryn* (ON pá -by 65).

WEST COTTINGWITH is *Coteuuid* 1086 DB, *Cotingwith* 1100-15 YCh 1001, c. 1200 *For et passim*, (*West-*) 1309 Font, -*wit*' 1180-1203 YCh 1132, -*wode* 1276 RH, *Cottungwith* 1204 YCh 1131, *Cottingwic* 1214 Abbr, *West Cottingwyth* 1252 FF, with other forms and meaning as for East Cottingwith *supra* 237.

#### 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 *þicce* '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 Ingg* t. Hy 8 Dugd. v. eng. CRINGLETY'S WOOD (6"). Cf. *Cringle* 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 *roþ*, '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 *Skower Flattz* t. Hy 8 Dugd. Probably 'dung fields,' *v.* scearn (with OScand *sk*) and flat. 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

#### 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, *-hall* 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., *Welehou* 1363 ib., *-hows* 1525 Test, *Welle* 1750 Bowen. 'Hall or house near the river-deep,' from OE *wæł* (cf. *Weel supra* 202)<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Skjálgr*, 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

OE (Angl) \**celc*, as in *Kelk supra* 92, and *feld*. Cf. *Kelfield* (L), *Calkefeld* t. Hy 2 BM, *Kelkefeud* 1281 ib.

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, *Steflinflet* 1086 DB, *Steulingeflet* 1190,

1191 P (p)

*Stiulingflet(e)*, -y-, -v- 12th Selby, 1231 *Ass et passim* to 1416

YI, -*fleot'* c. 1200 For, -*fled* 1275 Ebor, -*feld* 1303 Abbr,

*Stifelingflet* 1237 Ebor

*Stiueligflet* 1202 FF

*Stiuellinkeflet* 1231 FF, *Styvelingeflet* 1285 YI

*Stelingflet(e)* 1269 FF, 1371 Works

*Stillingflet(e)*, -y- 1330 Ch *et passim* to 1568 FF

*Stilingeflet* 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 flet* 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 pā -by 11).

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.

### Escrick

#### 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

*Escris* 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, *Sandrikkroft* 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 *ræcan* '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, vað. *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

*Querdriche* 1198 P (p)

*Qu-*, *Qweldrik(e)*, *-ric*, *-y-* 12th *Warter*, Font, 1190-3 P, 1208

Ass *et passim* to 1400 Test, *-rick* 1246 FF, 1272 *Warter*

*Queldrix* c. 1200 For, *Queldrig* 1289 Ebor

*Cloderic* 1214 Abbr

*Coudric* 1218, 1219 FF

*Coldrig* 1221 FF

*Codrix* 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), *morð crundel* (ib. 1216) 'murder pit,' *cwealmstowe* (ib. 479) 'place of death or execution,' etc.<sup>1</sup> 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 *kvæl(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 *Whenby* (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*.

<sup>1</sup> 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 *hwæl* or *cwell(a)* with *dæ*l.

HIGH MARR, LOW MARR (6") was originally *Alemar(e)* (a fishery) 13th Font (*freq*), 1218, 1219, 1252 FF. 'Eel pool,' from OScand *ál* '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 *Rodvatnet* (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 Halle* 1464, 1467 Pat, *Roshall* 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.* *stǫng* 'pole, stake.' HORSE COURSE (6"). Cf. *Horsmersk(e)* 13th Font, -*merk* 1290 ib., -*mersc* 13th *Warter*. *v.* *mersc* (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 *rud* 'clearing' and *holmr*, with dialectal *f* for *th*. SOUTH RUDINGS (6") is *Suthriding* 1287 *Warter*. Cf. also *Norþeriding* 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

## ELVINGTON

*Aluinton*(e) 1086 DB

*Eluinton*, -v- 1176 P (p), 1228 Pat *et freq* to 1279-81 QW,

*Eluenton* late 13th Font

*Elhington*(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<sup>1</sup>

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 *Kēk*, gen. *Kēks*. 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). '*Kēk's* farm' or 'farmstead overgrown with *kex*.'

CARR WOOD (6") is *Ker* 1228 Pat. v. *kiarr*.

Gate Helmesley<sup>2</sup>

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, *Neuhag* 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

<sup>1</sup> Low Catton (*supra* 186) is itself in Wilton Beacon Division of Harthill.

<sup>2</sup> 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 OIcel as one of the names of Othin. The assimilation of *rn* to *rr* has been assisted by the existence of the more common OS cand *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<sup>1</sup>

#### 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 KI

*Heslington, -y-* 1348 FF *et passim* to 1561 FF

<sup>1</sup> *The parysche church of Saynct Lawrence without Walmegate Barr* 1546 VChant. It is a parish in York.

'Farmstead near the hazel wood,' from the OE *hæsling* '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. OUT GANG (6") is *the Outgang* 1721 *HouseBk.* *v. Outgang supra* 137.

### St Denis, York<sup>1</sup>

#### NABURN

*Naborne* 1086 DB, 1503 Test, 1538 FF

*Naburn(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 *\*náhwa* was not completely lost, this would account for the spellings *Nau-* and *Nei-*. Otherwise the name is a compound of OScand *nár* '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,

<sup>1</sup> *The parysche church of Seynt Dymmys* 1546 YChant.

*Lingcroft* 1828 Langd. 'Flax enclosure,' *v. lin*, croft, later *Ling-* through association with *lyng* 'heather.' MAUDS RIDDING (6") is *Maudriding* 1632 YAJ xi. *v. hryding*. NABURN MOOR (6"). Cf. *Morland* 13th YD. NABURN WOOD is *Norþhwde* 13th YD.

### Fulfords Ambo<sup>1</sup>

#### 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, *Overfolforth* 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

Ἐβόρακον c. 150 (c. 1200) Ptolemy

Ἐβνοσηκίης (rect. Ἐβορακηνης) 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

<sup>1</sup> So called in 1828 (Langd).

- BedeCM, c. 800 (11th) HistBrit, Asser, 1086 DB, 12th Malton, 1154 Pont, 1176 BM *et passim* to 1428 FA
- Ebor-, Eburaca(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 Ælfric, c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 1125), Eforwicceaster c. 893 Orosius, Euorwic c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 1138), Eforwicingas c. 1050 ASC(C) (s.a. 918, 'the men of York,' v. ing)
- Eforwic 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)
- Eoferwic 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)
- Heoforwic c. 1100 ASC(D) (s.a. 948)
- Eaforwic c. 1100 ASC(D) (s.a. 1065)
- Eofor-, Eoferwicceastre c. 895 ASC(A) (s.a. 644, 738, 867), c. 1000 OEBede, c. 1000 ASC(B) (s.a. 971), c. 1150 ASC(E) (s.a. 869), Eoferwic 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 RG<sup>1</sup>, 1322 Abbr, thereafter mainly in French documents, as 1332 Kirkstall, 1335 *For et freq* to 1415 Ripon
- Euruic 1086 DB
- Ewerwic' 1176 P (p)
- Eoboracum 1251 Ch
- Evewic (rime: *Edelfriz*) 12th Gaimar 1005
- Eoverwic 13th Lazamon<sup>2</sup>, 13th HH

<sup>1</sup> *And suth me clefeth Euerwicke this ilke toun ywis, And York also, thorgh light speche, yhote also hit is.*

<sup>2</sup> Lazamon, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, says that Ebrauc built a city which was called *Kaer Ebrauc* and afterwards *Eborac*; then came *uncude* men and it was then called *Eoverwic*, and northern men *thurh ane unþewe* called it *Seorc* (the later MS reads *Sorc*). Lazamon'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 *Euroic*. 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).

*Ȝeorc* 13th Lazamon, *Yerk* (rime: *clerk*) 14th Havelok  
*Ȝorc* 13th Lazamon, *Ȝork(e)* c. 1330 Manning, 1343 Whitby,  
 early 15th MetrCuthbt, 1421 YD, NCWills  
*York(e)* late 13th RG, 14th Trevisa, 1344 YD, t. Ed 3 Riev,  
 1381 AD i, 1428 MiscEngl *et passim*  
*Yhorke* 1393 Test, *Yourke* 1536 NCWills, *Yarke* 1619 NRS

In Welsh sources York is called *Cair Ebrauc* c. 800 (11th) HistBrit, *Urbs Ebrauc* 866 (12th) Annales Cambriae, *Chaer Effrawc*, *Kaer Efracw* 14th Red Book of Hergest, *Euroacum urbs* 12th Life of St Cadoc, and Modern Welsh *Caer*, *Efracw*, *Caerefrog*. This Welsh form is the source of Geoffrey of Monmouth's and Lazamon's *Kaer Ebrauc* and so ultimately of the artificial *Cair Ebrauc* in the York Pageant (1487 MiscEngl).

In OS cand the name is recorded as *Jórvik* 9th (14th) Egils Saga (*passim*), c. 1040 Knútsdrápa (assonance: *skorit*), 13th Orkneyingasaga, early 13th Heimskringla, and *Jórk* early 13th ib. (*passim*).

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 Ἐβόρακον 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 *Eburos* (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 *Eburos* 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 *Eburivos* 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* 'birch,' *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 *eburos* 'yew-tree' (which is actually the origin of the pers. name *Eburos* already referred to). The common noun *eburos* 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 *Ebuovices*, 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 *eburos* (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 *Jórk* must have been current.

During the Scandinavian settlement the name underwent a further change and OE *Eoforwic* was adapted to OS cand *Jórvik*: medial *f* before *u* (OS cand *o*) was lost as in OS cand *bjórr* 'beaver' (= OE *beofor*), *sjú* '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 OS cand *Eórvik*, and later, as evidenced in the Sagas, *Jórvik* and *Jórk*.

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 OS cand *gata* 'street' or OWScand *geil* '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 *geil* 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<sup>1</sup>. The city itself was in early mediæval 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). Marketshire (and probably Bishophill) refer to the old division of York into *shires* or wards, which together with Layerthorpe and Clementhorpe (*infra* 292, 284), Bishophorpe, Middlethorpe, etc. in the Ainsty (WRY) suggest smaller colonisations from the city.

Many of the street-names reflect the mediæval 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 *Diolinstones*, Jubbergate, Patrick's Pool, and perhaps

<sup>1</sup> 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, Mediæval 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 Mediæval 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.

Hungate are enough to confirm the close connexion between the Scandinavian kingdoms of York and Dublin.

ALDWARD is *regiam stratam de Ald(e)werk(e)* 12th *Reg Alb*, 13th *Nostell*, 1209 YCh 291 *et passim* to 1469 Fabr, *Aldward(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 Elenæ in Aldewerk* is also referred to as *Sancte Elene at Wallys* (1428 FA) and as *St Elen in le Werkedikes* (1282 Ebor), in *Werk(e)dyke* (1367 YD, 1428 Fabr), in *Warkdyke* (1424 *ib.*); the latter place is independently called (*vetus fossatum regis...*) *Wirchedic* in 1161-84 YCh 276, that is 'ditch near the fortification' (OScand *virki*, OE *geweorc*)<sup>1</sup>. This ditch probably extended to the north-east of Bootham, whence another ditch ran towards the Ouse, called *fossatum de Keningdik'* late 12th *Mary Y*, *le Kenyndyke* 1373 YorkMem, *the kingesdyke* (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 (Veuz) Baill(e)* 13th, 1336 Selby, 1296 Pat, *le Bayle* 1296 YL. 'The bailey' or 'the old bailey,' from ME, OFr *baille*. 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 *Reg Alb et freq* to 1546 YChant, *lez Bedryn* 1498 Test, *The Bedderne* 1506 *ib.*, (*the college called*) 1600 YD. 'The prayer-house,' from OE *gebod*

<sup>1</sup> 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 *skelder*, 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)<sup>1</sup> 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. biscop*. 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.

<sup>1</sup> *Buchehill* 12th Dugd, 1141-4 YCh 358, refers to *Buckhill* in *Southall* (Nt).

## BLAKE STREET

*Blaicastret* 1108-14, 1150-60 Whitby

*Blaikestret(a), -strete, -y-* 1189-95 YCh 253, 1194-9 ib. 255,

13th *LeonardN et freq* to 1311 YD

*Blekestrete* 13th *LeonardN*

*Blakestrete* 1232 Ebor, 1546 YChant

This is possibly either 'white street' (referring to the paving) or '*Bleiki*'s street,' from the OS cand nickname *Bleiki*. *v. stræt*. 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 *Blegstræde*, 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, *Plouswayn-* 1276 *LeonardN*, *Plughswayn-* 1421 YI, *Ploxwaingate* otherwise called *Blossomgate* 1624 Davies. 'The ploughswain street,' *v. gata*. The first element is a compound of OS cand *plógr* and *sveinn* (Lindkvist lxi), found independently as *ploughswain*<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>2</sup>. 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 OWScand *búðum*, dat. plur. of *buð*; 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

<sup>1</sup> *Ex inf.* Professor F. M. Stenton.

<sup>2</sup> *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 *bōth*, 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*, *Bouthumlith* 13th *LeonardN*, *portam de Buthum* 1299 YI, *Bouthumbarre* 1373 FF *et freq*, *Bowthombar* 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 *Bouthumlith* contains OScand *hlið* 'a gate, gateway,' found also in *Lounlithgate* and *Micklegate Bar infra* 294.

CARGATE (*olim*, 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, *Cargatelane* 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* 1466 AD i, the water-mills near York Castle.

CLEMENTHORPE is *Clementesthorp* 1070-80 *RegAlb*, 1154-91 *ib.*, late 12th *Nostell*, *Clementhorp* early 13th *RegAlb*, 13th *LeonardN et passim* to 1535 Dugd, *Clemythrope* 1546 YChant. So called from the Benedictine Nunnery and Church dedicated to St Clement (cf. Dugd. iv, 325). *v. porp*.

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 *coliere* 'char)coal maker or dealer.'

## CONEY STREET

*Cuningstret(a)*, -y- 12th *Kirkham*, 1206 ChR, OblR, -*strat*  
1213 ChR

*Cuningestrete* 1150-61 YCh 232

*Cuningstrete*, -*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, *Kunigstrete* 1191 P (p),  
13th YD

*Conigstrete* 12th *RegAlb*, 1280 Pat

*Cunigstrate* 1204-9 YCh 246, *Cunighgestrete* c. 1220 *Nostell*,  
*Cunegestrete* 1240, 1241 FF

*Cony(e)strete* 1535 *Dugd et freq* to 1579 FF, *Conistreete* 1597  
FF

*Olde Coneystreete* 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 *Litle Conyestrete* (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 OS cand *koppari* 'joiner, turner.'

DAVYGATE is *in uico de Dauidlardiner* 12th *LeonardN*, *in uico David le lardiner*, *Dauidgate* 12th ib., *Dau-*, *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)<sup>1</sup>. 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-*,

<sup>1</sup> *Ex inf.* Mr C. T. Clay.

*Dyvelinstaynes* 1256 *RegAlb*, 1446-58 FountBurs, *-stones* 13th, 1402 Font, 1366 Cl, (*les-*) 1376 YorkMem. 'Dublin stones,' *v. steinn, stan*. The first element is OWScand *Dyflinn* 'Dublin,' and the name as a whole was no doubt coined by Vikings who came from Ireland (cf. IPN 35 and Intro. xxv). A famous Dublin *steine* is that in the *Song of Dermot* (ed. Orpen), 167.

FEASEGATE is *Fesegayt* (sic) 1259 YD, *-gayle* 1370 YorkMem, *-gate* 1376 ib., *Feisgaill* 1529 Test, *Feessegate* 1546 YChant, *Feesgale als. Feesgate* 1585 FF. 'Cow-house lane,' from a contracted form of OScand *fé-hús, fjós* (cf. Figham *supra* 198) and OWScand *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 *Felteryayl(e)* 13th Benson, *Felteryate* 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 combined with *stræt*, for Finkle Street is a frequent Northern street-name; cf. *supra* 211 and Finkle Street in Southwell (Nt), *Finkell streete* 1665 SR. Formally we might have the word *fenkel*, a variant of *fennel* (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 development of *w* to *f* may have been assisted by the association of Finchale [fɪŋkəl] (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*

*Fischeregata, -gate* c. 1090 Dugd, 12th *LeonardN*, 1201 ChR

*Fi-, Fyschergate* 12th Whitby (*passim*), YD, 1201 OblR *et freq* to 1339-49 Whitby, *Fis(s)her-* 13th *MaryY et passim* to 1561 FF, *Fis(s)er-* 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 *Fotlousegyle* 13th *LeonardN*, *Fotelousegate* 1377 ib., *Fotelesgeyle* 13th ib., *-gale iuxta portam aquaticam* 15th ib., *Fotesgayl* 14th ib. 'Footless lane,' from OScand *fót-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, *Fossebri(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.

FOSSGATE is *Fossagata, -gate* 1120-33 YCh 168, 1122-37 ib. 310, 1145-61 ib. 312, *Fosseagata, -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 *á* '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 þam mynstre æt*) *Galmanhó* c. 1055 ASC(C) (s.a. 1055), *æt 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 OS cand *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* xlv, 48 n.). The final elements are respectively hoh 'a hill' and OS cand *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, *Saint-geligate* 1356 *LeonardN*, *Jely-*, *-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.

GIRDLESGATE (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*, OS cand *gyrðill* '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

*Gutherungata*, -gate 1154-86 *RegAlb*, 12th *Malton*, 1256-8

*RegAlb*, *Gudherune*- 1191-4 *YCh* 345

*Guth(e)rumgate* 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 *Gudrun*, *Gudrum* (cf. NP 48-9).

GRAPE LANE is *Grapelane* 1370 *YorkMem*, 1546 *YChant*, *Grapecuntlane* 1376 *Pat*, *Graplane* 1485 Test, *Grooplain* 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 Grene* 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 *Legergildegarde* 1070-80 *RegAlb*<sup>1</sup>, which may be identical with *les Gilgarthes* 1377 *YorkMem*, *Les gyldgarthes* 1426 *YAJ* xviii (OScand *gildigarðr* 'enclosure belonging to the guild').

HARTERGATE (later Far Water Lane, now Friargate) is *Herteregate* 1175 *YCh* 359, *Hertegate* 13th *MaryY*, *Herteregate* 1226 *FF*, 1314 *Pat et freq* to 1546 *YChant*, *Hattergate* 1546 *ib.*, *Hatterlane* 1593 *FF*. '*Hert*'s street,' from the OScand pers. name *Hjortr*, gen. *Hjartar*, and gata.

<sup>1</sup> The usual reading of this spelling is *les Gildegarde* (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-gildegarde*, 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 *hæfer*, OScand *hafr* (cf. *Hungate infra*, *Swinegate infra* 298) or 'Hafr(i)'s street,' from the OScand pers. name *Hafr* or the nickname *Hafri*.

HAYMONGERGATE (lost, part of the Shambles) is *Haymongeregat*e 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 *hoimangari*) '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)potlane* 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* 1373 FF, -*rawe* 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, *Hundgate* 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 mediæval 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*<sup>1</sup>, are certainly of the same origin.

JEWBURY is *le Jubyry* 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.

<sup>1</sup> *Ex inf.* Miss K. Major. Cf. also J. W. F. Hill, *The Manor of Hungate in the City of Lincoln (passim)*.

## JUBBERGATE

*Brettegata*, -gate 1145-55 YCh 324, 12th YD, 13th *LeonardN*  
*et passim* to 1322 YD

*Bretegate* 1180-90 YCh 317, 1219 FF (p), 1251 Font

*Bregate* 1256-8 *RegAlb et freq* to 1543 Fabr

*Jubret(e)gate* 1356 Pat, 14th YorkMem, *Jeu-* 1356 *LeonardN*,

*Jou-* 1357 *ib. et freq* to 1415 Fabr, *Jubertgate* 1459 FountBurs

*Jubergate* 1443 Fabr *et freq* to 1575 FF

*Joopergayte* 1550 NCWills, *Juobergate* 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 *Jewe* '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*, *Kytomongargate* 1546 YChant. As suggested by Lindkvist (lx), this is 'the flesh-seller street,' from OScand *kjøt-mangari*, a word corresponding to OE *flāsc-mangere*. Cf. *Købmagergade* (*olim Kød mangergade*), 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*, *Conyngesgarth* 1313 *YorkDeed*, 1379 YorkMem, *Con(n)yingarh* 15th *ib.*, 1518 Test, *Curia Regis* 1509 Test, *Kings Court* 1597 FF. 'The king's residence,' from OScand *komungs-*

*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 *stæð* '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 OS cand *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*, *Knaves-* 1542 *Dugd*, 1721 *HouseBk*. 'Knar's marsh,' from the OS cand 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

*Legeraþorp* (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 OS cand *leira* 'clayey place' or *leir* 'clay.' *v.* *þorp*.

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*.

LENDAL BRIDGE. Cf. *Ould Connystrete alias Lendinge Street* t. Chas I Deed<sup>1</sup>. *v.* 292 *supra*.

LOP LANE (now Duncombe Place) is *Loplane* 1198-1212 YCh 206, 13th *LeonardN*, 1404 Fabr, *Loppelane* 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 Lownelid* 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 OS cand *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 OS cand *hlið* 'gateway' (cf. Bootham Bar *supra* 284). There may have been a street in the vicinity (*v.* *gata*), but *lityate* looks as though *hlið* alternated with *hlideat* 'swing-gate.'

MARKETSHIRE (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 pauimentum* 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

<sup>1</sup> *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. mersc*. 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, *uico 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 *Galmanhowe supra* 288, where Earl Siward founded the Church of St Olave (*Ólafr*) 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 hlið* (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 Yearde* 1606 YD. It is by the Minster.

MONK BAR is *Munkgatebarre* 1373 FF, *Munkbarr* 1419 *MiscEngl*, *Monk(e)barr(e)* 1478 YD, 1535 Dugd, 1610 YD, *Mongbarre* 1546

YChant. Named from Monkgate *infra*. Cf. Bootham Bar *supra* 284.

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.

NESSGATE (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*, *Newbygyng* 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 *HouseBk*.

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 (*HouseBk*). *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 *NCWills et freq* to 1506 FF, *Use-*, *Ouse brigg* 1486 *MiscEngl*, *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

*Usgata*, *-gate* t. Hy 2 *MaryH*, t. Hy 2 (1294) Ch, 1155-8 YCh 173

*Ouse-*, *Owsegate* 1254 Percy, 1346 *LeonardN et passim* to 1624 YD, (*Nether-*) 1373 FF, 1410 YI, (*Ouer-*) 1575 FF

*Owzagate* 1727 *HouseBk*

'Street leading to the Ouse,' *v.* River Ouse *supra* 9. On the spellings (*H)usa-* cf. *Fossgate supra* 287.

PAINLEY CROFT (lost)<sup>1</sup> is *Paynescroft* late 12th *MaryY*, *les Paynlathes* 1376 YorkMem, *Paynlath Crofte*, *le Panelaycroftes* 1444, 1478 YD. 'Crofts near *Payn's* barn,' *v.* hlaða, croft, and cf. *Painsthorpe supra* 131.

PATRICK'S POOL is *Patrigpole* 12th *Byland*, *Patrikpol(e)*, *-c-* 1190-1210 *LeonardN et passim* to 1360 ib., *Patrickpoole* 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*) *pauimentum* 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 Y et passim* to 1578 FF, *Petre*- 1391 Test, 1410, 1415 YI. 'Street near St Peter's' (i.e. the Minster)<sup>1</sup>.

PETER LANE (lost)<sup>2</sup> is *Petirlane* 1370 YorkMem, *Peterlane* 1390 Test, 1546 YChant. Cf. *Petergate supra*.

ST ANDREW GATE 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 SAVIOUR GATE is *Seynt*-, *Saintsavourgate* 13th *Leonard N et freq* to 1477 YD, *Saviour* 1594 FF, *Seynt Savvours 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 N*, *le Littel Flesshamels* 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 is *Sc*-, *Skeldergate* 12th *Whitby (freq)*, 1170-80 *Malton*, 13th *Mary Y et passim* to 1559 FF, *Sk*-, *Sceld(e)regate* 1170-80 *Malton*, 13th *Selby*, *Skeldir*- 1373 FF. 'The shield-maker street,' from OS cand *skjaldari*.

SKELDERGATE POSTERN is *posterno de Hingbrigg* 1370, 1376

<sup>1</sup> *Potergate* 1312 Fine, 1338 Pat may be an error for *Petergate*. If not, it is a lost street, 'the potters' street,' from OE *potere*.

<sup>2</sup> *Peterlane Little* (*Peter lane lytle* 1580 FF) was apparently a church (also called *Petirkyrk litill* 1359 *Byland*), for in 1550 Miles Newton of York left to his son Myles Newton "the church gronde, church yard, and the wallles of the late dissolvdy church 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 draw-bridge, by which the city-moat could be crossed at this end of the wall (cf. Davies 190). *Hingbrig* is a compound of ME *henge* 'hang' and *brycg*.

SPEN LANE is *Ispingail* 12th *MaryR* (marg. *Ympyngail*), *Ispingayle* 13th ib., *Ispynlane* 1376 YorkMem, *Spelayne* 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 *Litle 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 *Swinegale* 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 10.

THRUSLANE (lost, now Middle Water Lane) is *Thurs(e)gayle* 1191-1210 *LeonardN*, (*super Use*) c. 1300 Guisb, *Thursegehele* 13th *MaryR*, *Thurcelane* 1370 YorkMem, *Thruslane, -layn* 1376 (*et freq*) ib., 1546 YChant. From OScand *þurs* '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 *MaryY*, 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 *RegAlb*, *Walbagata* 1175-90 YCh 315, 12th Whitby *Walmegate* 1145-8 Whitby, 13th *MaryY*, 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 *Walmegatebarr(e)* c. 1150-60 YCh 329, 1373 FF *et freq* to 1546 YChant, *barra(m) de Walmegate* 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, *Hatterlane als. Waterlane als. Cargayte* 1593 FF, *Myddle 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 Hatterlane 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 *wap*, *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: *Berkergate* 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 OS cand *drit* 'dirt'; *Herlothill* 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*; *Nedellergate* 1430 Test, from ME *nedeler* 'needle-maker'; *Nowtgate* 1612 Drake, 'cattle lane,' from OS cand *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.  
 ærn Arden Hills, The Bedern, *The Bedern*.  
 æsc Eske. al OScand (n) Auburn, Marr.  
 alor Aldro. \*anger Angram Lane.  
 austr Easedales, Eastburn, East Riding, Owsthorpe, *Owstmark*,  
 Owstwick.  
 bærs 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.  
 bekkr Beck Close, Beck Side, Stream Dike, (a) Aike, Bealeys,  
 Bessingby, Beverley, Bielby, Cave, Hornsea, Mill, Scampston  
 and Skerne Beck, Skirpenbeck, West Beck (2), Winter Beck  
 Hole.  
 beorg OE, berg OScand, Barf Hill, Barrow Fields, Brandes-  
 burton 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 OS cand (n) Bow Bridge, *Bowbriglane*, Bowland  
 Ho, Bowlands, (a) *Mynstirbowe*, Stonebow Lane.  
 bondi Bond Burstwick.  
 boð Scarborough. \*boðl, bold Newbald. \*boðltun Bolton.  
 brær 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, Layer-  
 thorpe, Ouse and Score Bridge, Sheriff Highway, Skelder-  
 gate Postern, Spittal, Stamford, Stock and Wood Bridge,  
 Stockbriggs, (b) Welham Bridge, (c) Barbriggs.  
 bryggja OS cand (n) Filey Brigg.  
 bucc(a) Buckton (2), Bug Dale (?) (2). buge ME (n) *Buge Row*.  
 bune OE (n) Bonwick. bur Boreas Hill.  
 burh 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, Ox-  
 bourn, Sher-, South-burn, (b) Battleburn. v. brunnr.  
 butere Butterwick. buð Bootham.  
 butte ME (n) The Butts, *Buthil*, *Buttegate*, Butt Field, Hill(s),  
 Lane, (a) Burn Butts.  
 by Newlands, (a) Burnby, Coniston, Ferri-, Flotman-, Hunman-,  
 Kir-by (2), More-, Ris-, Wauld-by, (b) Anla-, Assel-, Bagga-,  
 Barl-, Barm- (2), Bel-, Bessing-, Biel-, Carna-, Duggle-,  
 Eller-, Fir-, Garrow-, Gun-, Melton-, Osgod-, Scal-, Score-,  
 Sewer-, Skid-, Thirkle-, Thirtle-, Thor-al-by, *Thoralby*,  
 Thorgan-, Tran-, Uncle-, Willer- (2), (c) Kex-, Northolm-by.  
 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*.  
 \*celc ONb (n) (cf. cealc) Kelfield, Kelk.  
 celf ONb (n) (cf. cealf) Kilpin.  
 champayne ME (n) *Chaumpaynstrete*.

- chartrouse OFr (n) *Charterhowse*. clæg Cleeton.  
 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) Cowcrofts,  
 Thorney Crofts.  
 \*croh OE (n) Croom, Crow Grange.  
 cros Crossham, (a) Stump Cross, (b) Buckrose, *Sneculfscros*.  
 \*cryfting OE (n) Criftings, Criftins.  
 cylvn Kilham, Kilnsea.  
 dæl, dalr North and South Dalton, (a) Brig Dale, Brockham-  
 dale, Crook Lane, Deep Dale (5), Dug Dale, Gilders-, Great  
 and Little Given-, Grin-dale, Haver Dale, Holme-, Ken-,  
 Loaning-dale, Middle, North, Old and Raven Dale, Scarn-  
 dale, Stone Dale, Sud Hill, Thorn, Well and West Dale,  
 Winter Beck Hole, Worm Dale, (b) Bartin and Blakes Dale,  
 Houndale, Hundle and Owlet Dale, Thixendale, (c) Bug  
 Dale (2), Cansdale Farm.  
 damme ME (n) Damlands, The Dams (2).  
 dead OE (n) Deedle Hill.  
 deill (a) Cotton Dale, Easedales, Flash Dales, Humber Dale,  
 Lambert Dale, Longdales, Mill Field, Paddock and Stong  
 Hill, Thorn Dale, Turmers, (b) Reckondales.  
 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,  
 Gilbertdike, Dunning Dike, (c) Bulldike Drain, Settings Dike.  
 dreng Dringhoe. drif OE (n) Driffield.  
 \*dufe OE (n) Duffield.  
 dun (a) Carden, Cowden, For-, He-don, Watton, Yeadon, (b)  
 Dearsden.  
 \*dymbel OE (n) Dimlington.  
 dyngja OS cand (n) *Dyngs*, (a) *Byscopdinge*, (b) *Burdatt Midding*.  
 ea Emmotland, (a) Foulness, Gipsey Race, Mickley Dike.  
 eard OE (n) Arden. eik Greenoak.  
 elgr OS cand (n) Elloughton(?). elri Ellerker, Ellerton.  
 eng Inn Carrs, (a) Benningholme, West Cottingwith, Duffield,  
 Hall, Nun and Ottringham Ings, Saltings, Scarborough,

- 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.
- fifa, fifill OScand (n) Filey.
- \*finn OE, OScand Fimber. fit OScand (n) Fitteses.
- fjǫðr OScand (n) Feather Holm.
- flaga OScand (n) Flawith. flasshe Flash Dales.
- flat The Flats, (a) Haverflatts, Scarnflat, (c) Lincoln Flats.
- fleinn OScand (n) Flamborough.
- fleot, fljot Fleetbeck Lane, Fleet Drain, (a) Beer Fleet, Fax-, Mar-fleet, Mickley Dike, Old Fleet, *Orwithfleet*, Patrington Channel, *Paul Fleet*, Skelfleet Drain, *Withfleet*, (b) Bagletts, Broomfleet, Fleet Lane, Stilling-, Yoke-fleet.
- flint OE (n) Flinton.
- \*flot(i)-maðr, flotta-maðr 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. fore 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.
- fyrhð Firths, Forkers. gafol OE (n) Toll Gavel.
- gagn OScand (n) Ganstead.
- gang OE, OScand (n) Figham, Gengs, Summergangs (2), *v. utgang*.
- garðr (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*,

- 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), Jubber-, 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-, Goodram-gate, *Hartergate*, Mary-, Peter-, St Andrew-, St Saviour-, Walm-gate, *Wyndgate*, (c) Whip-ma Whop-ma Gate.
- geap OE (n) Yapham. geat *Hesillyates*.
- geil OScand (n) Feasegate, Felter Lane, *Footlessgale*, *Glover Lane*, Spen Lane, *Swinegate*, *Thruslane*.
- gerði 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.
- grjot The Grits. grof OScand (n) Grovehill.
- (ge)hæg Newhay. hænep OE (n) Hempholme.
- hæsel Hesse. \*hæseler OE (n) East and West Heselton.
- \*hæsling OE (n) Heslington.
- hæð Great and Little Hatfield, Hedon.
- haga, hagi Haugh Closes, (a) Punda, Salthaugh, Stother Closes.
- ham, heim Brig-, Fos-, Hals-, Harp-ham, Hollym, Kirk-, Met-ham, Waxholme, (b) Ulrome. *v. ingaham*.
- \*har OE (n) Harland Rise.
- haugr Hawold, Holme on the Wolds, Howe Hill (2), (a) Aldro, Breckney, Caddy Barf, Dringhoe, Keasey, Scratters, Spell Howe, Stonehow, Thorny Bush, Trusey Hill, Westhow Field, Withow Hole, (b) Dollyth House, *Toreshou*, (c) Burrow House, Huntow.
- heafod Howden, (a) Thicket, Turn Head.
- h(e)alh Hail Farm, *Halestrete*, (a) East Hill, Grovehill, Riccall, Ruler Moor, (b) Bibbill Farm, Birdsall, *Roshall*, (c) Arnold.
- h(e)all Burstwick Hall Garth, Hall Garth (3), Hall Slack, Hoggard House, (a) Burdale, The Guildhall (3), Kirkham, Sand, Seaton 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.  
hlaða Lairgate, Laytham, (b) *Painley Croft*.  
hlaw Rowley. hlidgeat *Lounlithgate*.  
hliö Grindalythe, *Hertfordlythe*, Smylet Hall.  
hliö OScand (n) (a) *Lounlithgate*, Micklegate Bar, (b) *Galmanlythe*.  
hod OE (n) Hotham. hofe OE (n) Houghton.  
hofuð Howden.  
hogg The Haggs, Upper Haggs.  
hoh *Hutton*, Hutton Cranswick, (b) *Galmanhowe*.  
høldr OScand (n) Holderness.  
holh Hollym, The Howle, Old Dale, (a) Hollows.  
holmr Carr Lane, Holme Flat, Holme on Spaldingmoor,  
Holmpton, (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, Peaseholme 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.  
hring Ringbrough, Ringstone Hurst, (a) Bull Ring, Dickering-  
hris Rise, Risholme Carr, Long Riston, Rysome Garth.  
hruör OScand (n) Routh. hrycg Reighton (?), Riggs.  
hryding Riding Fields, (a) Aughton, Ellerton and South Rudd-  
ings, (b) Gill Rudding, Mauds Ridding, Ruddings.  
\*hugr OScand (n) Huggate. humlok ME (n) Holmedale.  
\*humol OE, humul OScand (n) Humbleton.  
hus Howsham, (a) Boreas Hill, Feasegate, Fishers Close, Mill  
and Moor House, Newsham (2), Newsholme, Newsome,  
North House, Wheel Hall, Windersome, Woodhouse (2).  
*v. gildihus, loptus.*  
hvarf OScand (n) Wharram (2). hweol Well Dale.  
hyll (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.  
hyð Hive, *New Hythe*. \*imping OE (n) Implings (?).  
ing(as) (b) Fitling, Gembling, Leavening, Nunkeeling, Skeck-  
ling, Skeffling.  
inga (a) Eastrington, (b) Knedlington, Spaldington.

- ing (a) Leconfield, Neswick, Waplinton, (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.
- ingtun (b) Bainton, Binnington, Boynton, Bridl-, Dunn- (2), Eas-, Elv-ington, Laxton, Lepp-, Lock-, Mill-, Pockl-, Rill-, Walk-ington, (c) Port-, Settr-, Skirl-ington.
- 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 Heselton 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 OS cand (n) Keasey.
- kollr OS cand (n) Cowlam.
- konungr Coney Street, Coniston.
- kraka Crake Dikes.
- kriki OS cand (n) (a) Welton Creek, (b) *Sayercryk*.
- kringla Cringley's Wood. \*kveldr OS cand (n) Wheldrake.
- lacu Grey Legs. \*læd OE (n) Leads House.
- 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, Mickleland Field, Newland (2), Newlands, *Newlands*, Newlands Lane, Ox-, Plough-, Ring-lands, Rowland Hill, Weedland, West Lands, Westlands (2), Wranglands, (b) Bennetland, Oxcgodes, *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, *Noudritlane*, *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, *Shomarkettlane*, *Thursday* and Wednesday Market.  
 marr OScand (n) Marr, The Marrs, (a) Marrbottom, Redmere, Withernsea. v. mere.  
 melr Meaux.  
 mere Mar, Marton, (a) Eclmere, Fimber, Hornsea Mere, Igglemire, Langmer, Oxmardike, Red-, Reed-mere, Seggcarrs, *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, *Owstmarsk*, Salt Marsh, Saltmarshe, Slight Marsh, (b) Gunneymarsh.  
 midding ME (n) *Burdatt Midding 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.  
 mos 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, *Noutdritlane*, *Nowtgate*.  
 nest OE (n) Duck Nest. oddr *Ravenser Odd*.  
 økull OScand (n) Acklam. or OScand (n) *Orwithfleet* (?).  
 \*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.

pytt Brock Pits, *the Cockpit*, *Cokestulepitt*, Stone Pit Field, Stonepit Hill.

ragu OE (n) Raywell.

raw *Buge Rowe*, Butcher Row, *Hosier Lane*, *the Lady Rowe*, *Marchants Row*, *Mercere raw*, *Presterowe*, *Smetheraw*.

reyðr OScand (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.

roþ OE (n) Rot Hole(?). \*roth ODan (n) Rot Hole(?).

rudu (n) Rudston(?). ruð OScand (n) Ruffhams.

rydh OEScand (n) Risby.

sæ OE (n), sær OScand (n) Seaton (2), (a) Bur-, Horn-, Kilnsea, Meaux, Pid-, Rot-sea, Sicey, Skip-, Withern-sea, Woodmansey, (c) Wholesea.

sængæt OE (n) Saintofts. sæte Lissett(?).

sand Sancton, Sand Hall, Sandholme (2), Sands Plantation, (a) Paull Holme Sand, Wassand.

sceaga Yarmshaw. sceaþ Skipwith. sceolh Scorece Bridge.

scir Sherburn, North and South Skirlaugh.

scir Howdenshire, Hullshire, *Marketshire*.

scut NE (n) Mill Scut Bridge. sealh Sails.

sef Soffham. (ge)set 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 Scarborough, (a) Hessleskew, Susscarrs.

skrið OScand (n) Mill Screed. slæd 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) *Diolinstones*, Ringstone Hurst, Rudston.

staðr Ganstead, Winestead. steall Burstall.

stede Winestead. stigel *Kyrkestyle*.

- stocc, stokkr** OScand (n) Stockholm, (a) Burn Stocks.  
**stodfald** Maiden's Grave. **stong** High Stang, Stang Hill.  
**\*storc** OE (n), **\*stork** OScand (n) Storkhill. **stow** Westow.  
**stræt** Street Farm, Thorpe and Wharram le Street, (a) *Chaumpayn-*, *Beuerley-strete*, Blake Street, *Cokwald Strete*, Coney Street, Finkle Street (2), *Halestrete*, High Street, *Hullstrete*, Humber and Marsh Street, *Milkestrete*, North Street, *Scolestrete*, York Road, (b) *Lillestrete*.  
**sundorland** Sunderlandwick. **\*swalg** OE (n) The Swallow.  
**\*swin** OE (n) Swine.  
**þak** OScand (n) Thack Carr. **picce** OE (n) Thicket.  
**þorn** Thearne, Thorngumbald, Thornham, (a) Owthorne, Withernsea, Withernwick, (b) Siggleshorne.  
**þorp** 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-, Fogga-, 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-, Sway-thorpe, *Tharlesthorpe*, Thorn-, Tib-, Tow- (2), Weaver-, Wils-thorpe, Wood Hall, Youlthorpe, (c) En-, Gowthorpe Lane.  
**þriðjungr** OScand (n) East Riding.  
**þveit** Thwaite, (a) Braffords, Braithwaite, Storwood.  
**þweng** OE (n), **þvengr** OScand (n) Thwing.  
**þyrne** Thornholme. **þyrs, þurs** *Thruslane*, Trusey Hill.  
**tjorn** (b) Tansterne.  
**topt** 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-, Brompt-, 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, *Myton*, Newton (9), *Newton* (2), Nor-, Pres-, Reigh-, Ris-, Row-, Sanc-, Sea- (2), Ship-, Skel-, Spee-, 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-, Pating-ton. *v. boðltun, burhtun, karlatun.*

- tunsteall Tunstall. turf OE (n) Turf Carr (2), Turmers.  
 tuyere OFr (n) Twyers. ule Oubrough.  
 um (dat. pl.) OE, OScand (n) Acklam, Angram, Argam, Arram (2), Bewholme, Bootham, Cottam, Cowlam, Croom, Gardham, Holme on the Wolds, Hot-, Hows-, Kil-, Laytham, Loftsome, Newsham (2), Newsholme, Newsome, Nunburnholme, Rise, Rysome Garth, Thornholme, Turnham Hall, Welham, Wharram (2), Windersome, Woodhouse, Yapham.  
 urð OScand (n) *Orwithfleet*.  
 ut(e) 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*.  
 viðr (a) Eppleworth, *Orwithfleet* (?), (b) Bubwith.  
 vra Wheldrake Wrays, Wreggets.  
 wæl OE (n) Weel, Wheel Hall. \*wagen OE (n) Wawne.  
 wandale ME (n) Wan Dale (3), Wandales (4), Wandels.  
 wapol OE (n) Waplington.  
 w(e)ald Wauldby, Wold House, The Wolds (2), (a) Cold Wold, Hawold, Potter Brompton, Burnby, Ellerker, East and West Heselton, Huggate, Mowthorpe, Newbald, Nunburnholme, Staxton and Warter Wold, Wold Newton, Foston, Garton, Holme, Lund and Middleton on the Wolds.  
 welig 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-, Elstron-, 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.  
 wif OE (n) Westow, Winestead, Wyton. wild OE (n) Wilton.  
 wind OE (n) Windersome, Winsetts.  
 wið OE (n), við OScand (n) Withernsea, Withernwick.  
 wiðig Weedland, Weedley, Weeton, Weighton, Wises, *Withfleet*.  
 \*wræsel OE (n) Wressell. wrang Ring-, Wrang-lands.  
 wrid 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.  
 yferra OE (n), yfir OScand (n) Everthorpe.

### CELTIC AND FRENCH NAMES

CELTIC. Beverley(?), Craike Hill, *Deira*, Derwent, Humber, Little Humber, Leven, Ouse, Roos, York.

FRENCH. Bellasize, Blanch, Haltemprice, Ridgmont, Twyers.

### 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 *hyll*, though it is on the whole earlier in use than *hyll*. It is mainly confined to the north-easterly parts of the Riding. In NRY *beorg* is more common, but in WRY *hyll* is more common.

*boðl*, *boðltun*. The characteristic northern form *boðl* is found, but there is also evidence for the Mercian *bold*. There is only one *boðltun*.

*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 *þorp* 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.

*dæl*, *dalr* 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 *dalr*, 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 OS cand; of the 7 DB examples 4 have OS cand elements and 3 OE or OS cand. This suggests that we have to deal with OS cand *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).

*erg* occurs 5 times. *v.* *Intro.* xxiv.

*feld*. 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 OS cand. In some cases there is evidence of confusion with OS cand *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.

*sæ*, 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.

*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 Lincolnshire, 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.

*pveit* 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 *garör* 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 unimportant 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* (Elstronwick), *Ælfweard* (Allerthorpe, Ellerby), *Ælfwine* or *Alfwynn* (f) (Elvington), *Æþered* (Etherd-

wick), *Aldgyð* (f) (Dollyth), *Atta* (Atwick), *Bacga* (Bagletts), *Bēga* (Bainton), *Ben(n)a* (Benningholme, Binnington), *Berhtel* (Bridlington), \**Bibba* (Bibbill), \**Bil(l)a* (Bilton), *Bofa* (Boynton), \**Bordel* (Battleburn), *Bridd* (Birdsall), *Brūngār* (Broomfleet), *Bubba* (Bubwith(?)), *Bucca* (Buckton (*bis*)), *Būna* (Bonwick(?)), \**Cāga* (Keyingham), \**Catta* (Catfoss, Catton, Catwick), \**Cneoddel* (Knedlington), *Col* (Collin Hill), \**Cot(t)a* (Cottingham, Cottingwith), \**Cranoc* (Cranswick), \**Cybbel* (Kipling Cotes), \**Cylla* (Kilwick (*bis*), Nunkeeling), *Cynevald* (Killingwoldgraves), *Dēor* (Dearsden), \**Derna* (Derringham), *Drōwa* (Drewton), *Dud(d)a* (Dudham Well, Dunnington), *Dunna* (Dunning Dike, Dunnington, Duncotes(?)), *Ēada* (Yeddingham), *Ēadwald* (Eddlethorpe), *Earna* (Arnold(?)), *Ēata* (Etton), *Eofof* (Everingham), *Ēsa* (Easington), *Fitela* (Fitling), *Frōda* (Frodingham), \**Gemela* (Gembling), *Gōdmund* (Goodmanham), \**Grant(e)* (Gransmoor), \**Helm* (Elmswell), \**Hemma* (Hemingbrough(?)), \**Herele* (Harlthorpe(?)), \**Her(e)sa* (Harswell), *Hofa* (Houghton(?)), *Hrōc* (*Roshall*), \**Hrōr* (Ruston Parva(?)), *Hunta* (Huntow(?)), \**Lax(a)* (Laxton), *Lēofnað* (Leonard Scales), *Leppa* (Leppington), \**Lēden* (Leavening), \**Loca* (Lockington), *Lūda* (Luttons Ambo), \**Midele* (Millington(?)), *Mil(l)a* (Millington(?)), *Mūl* (Molescroft), *Occa* (Octon), *Oter* (Ottringham), \**Pinnel* (Pennythorpe), \**Poca* (Pockthorpe), \**Pocela* (Pocklington), \**Porta* (Portington(?)), *Rēdel* (Rillington), \**Rippel* (Ripplingham(?)), \**Scīrela* (Skirlington(?)), \**Sigel* (Sigglesthorpe), *Sigewulf* (Lund Bridge), *Sledda* (Sledmere(?)), \**Stýfela* (Stillingfleet), *Tica* (Tickton(?)), *Tila* (Till Mire), *Totta* (Totleys), \**Walba* (Walmgate), \**Walca* (Walkington), *Walþeof* (Ruddings), \**Wandel* (Wansford), *Wealh* (Wholsea(?)), *Wigmund* (Nunburnholme Hill), *Wilbald* (Fleet Lane), *Wilburg* (f) (Wilberfoss), *Wilheard* (Willerby (*bis*)), \**Wineca* (*Winkton*), *Wintra* (Wintringham), *Wulfheard* (Wolfreton), *Wulfhere* (Ulrome).

(ii) *Scandinavian*

\**Alfvarðr* (Allerthorpe), *Anlaf* (AngloScand) (Anlaby), *Ásgautr* (Osgodby, Osgoddes), *Áskell* (Asselby), *Babe* (OEScand) (Babthorpe), *Baggi* (Bagletts), *Bálki* (Balkholme), *Barne* (OEScand) (Barmby (*bis*)), *Belgr* (Belthorpe), *Beli* (Bielby), \**Belli* (Belby), \**Berkell* (Bartin Dale), *Bersi* (Baswick(?)), *Besi* (Beswick), \**Bes(s)ingr* (Bessingby), *Björg* (f) (Burythorpe), *Björn* (Barmston), *Blakki* (Blacktoft(?)), *Bleikr* (Blakes Dale, Blake Street(?)), *Boie* (OEScand) (Boythorpe), *Borkr* (Barthorpe), *Brandr* (Brandesburton, Brans Dale, Bransholme), *Breiðr* (Bracey Bridge), \**Bubbe* (OEScand) (Bubwith), *Buggi* (Bugthorpe), \**Bukki* (Buckrose, Bug Dale (*bis*)), *Bulle* (OEScand) (Bowthorpe), *Bursti* (Burstwick),

*Dūva* (OEScand) (Dowthorpe), *Eyjólfr* (Youlthorpe), *Fangulf* (AngloScand) (Fangfoss), *Fleinn* (Flamborough(?)), *Flik* (OEScand) (Flixton), *Foli* (Fowthorpe), *Folkvarðr* (Foggathorpe), *Fótr* (Foston), *\*Freistingr* (Fraisthorpe), *Friði* (OEScand) (Firby), *\*Frjádagr* (Fridaythorpe(?)), *Fulke* (OEScand) (Folkton), *Gálmr* (Ganton), *Gamall* (Burton Pidsea), *Gaukr* (Gowthorpe, Goxhill(?)), *Gērvarðh* (OEScand) (Garrowby), *Grimr* (Grimston (*quater*), Grimsthorpe, Wood Hall *olim Grimestorp*), *Gripr* (Gribthorpe), *Gunnarr* (Gunneymarsh), *Gunnhildr* (f) (Gunby), *Guðormr* (Goodramgate), *Hafr(i)* (Haver Lane(?)), *Haki* (Hagthorpe), *\*Háskell* (Haisthorpe), *Helgi* (Elloughton(?)), *Hemingr* (Hemingbrough), *\*Herle* (Harlthorpe), *Hildigar* (ODan) (Hilderthorpe), *Hildólfr* (Hilston), *Hjalpr* (f) (Helperthorpe), *Hjortr* (*Hartergate*), *Holfr* (Houndale), *Hrafn* (*Ravenser, Ravenser Odd*), *Hreiðarr* (Raisthorpe), *Hrimr* (Rimswell), *Hróarr* (Ruston), *Hrólfr* (Rolston), *Hunli* (Humbleton(?)), *Hundólfr* (Hundle Dale), *\*Húnkell* (Uncleby), *Ingúlfr* (Inglepool), *Jánúlfr* (OE *Eanwulf*) (Ousethorpe), *\*Játvaldr* (OE *Eadwald*) (Eddlethorpe), *Jókell* (Yokefleet(?)), *\*Joli* (Youlthorpe), *Kári* (Caythorpe), *\*Kæk* (OEScand) (Kexby(?)), *\*Kel(l)ingr* (Kelleythorpe), *\*Kennari* (Kennythorpe), *Ketill* (Kettlethorpe), *\*Keyrandi* (Carnaby), *Lagi* (OEScand) (Lowthorpe), *Lambi* (Langthorpe), *Lodinn* (Londesborough), *Menni* or *Menja* (f) (Menthorpe), *\*Menningr* (Menethorpe), *\*Mjölþegn* (Meltonby), *Múli* (OEScand) (Mowthorpe), *Músi* (Muston(?)), *Náttfari* (Nafferton), *Pen(n)ingr* (*Pensthorpe*), *Ragnhildr* (f) (Raventhorpe), *Sigstēn* (OEScand) (Thixendale), *Siward* (OEScand) (Sewerby), *Skalli* (Scalby), *\*Skammil* (OEScand) (Scampston), *Skokull* (Scagglethorpe), *Skorn* (OEScand) (Scoreby), *Skrá* (Scrayingham), *Skúli* (Sculcoates), *Skyti* (Skidby), *Snækólfr* (*Sneculfscros*), *Snorri* (Sneerholmes), *Sóti* (Southcoates), *Stakkr* (Staxton), *\*Sváfi* (Swaythorpe), *Svanr* (Swanland), *Tannr* (Tansterne), *Þóraldr* (*Tharlesthorpe, Thoralby, Thoralby*), *Þorgils* (Thirkleby), *Þorgrimr* (Thorganby, Thornthorpe), *Þorkell* (Thirtleby), *Þórr* (*Toreshou Þorsteinn* (Ings Roods), *Þúr* (*Turbar Þyrrkil* (OEScand) (Thirtle Bridge), *Tibbi* (OEScand) (Tibthorpe), *Toli* (OEScand) (Towthorpe), *Tove* (OEScand) (Towthorpe), *Trani* (Tranby), *\*Ugla* (Ogleforth), *Úlfjótr* (Owlet Dale), *Úlfr* (Ousethorpe), *Vifill* (Wilsthorpe), *Viðfari* (Weaverthorpe).

## (iii) Irish

*Brian* (OScand *Brján*) (Bryan Mills), *Dubhghall* (OScand *Dufgall*) (Duggleby), *Colman* (OScand *Kalman*) (? *Galmanhowe, Galmanlythe*), *Patraicc* (OScand *Patrekr*) (Patrick's Pool, Patrington(?)).

(iv) *Continental and Middle English*

*Bagot* (Baggaby), *Bardulf* (Barlby), *Ben(n)et* (Bennetland), *Gilbert* (Gilberdike), *Pain* (*Painley Croft*, Pain Slack, Pains-thorpe), *Prat* (Pratwoods), *Richard* (Reckondales), *Saier* (*Sayercryk*).

## 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.<sup>1</sup>

ac (OScand eik). Found in *Lemerac* (13th), 'boundary oak' (v. (ge)mære), *Brendaic* (t. Hy 2), 'burnt oak' and *le Havenayk* (1415), perhaps 'sheltering oak.' *le Gannok* (1372-96) in Sutton-on-Hull is another example of OE *gamen-ac*, 'games-oak.' Cf. PN D i, liii for Gannock (Herts).

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*, *Owsthholm* (13th).

ME *averys* (n), 'eatage of arable land after harvest' is *average* sb.<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Marrebrade* (l. 12th).

breiör is found in Scand compounds as in *Braythsleght* (13<sup>th</sup>) (*v. sletta*) and in hybrids such as *Braidmora* (13<sup>th</sup>).

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), *Staynbreck* (13<sup>th</sup>) 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* (12<sup>th</sup>), *Brotis* (1225). In *Ladhebrote* we have the equivalent of OScand *hlöðu-brot*, 'projecting extension of a barn.' In *le Brotliðe* (13<sup>th</sup>) it probably has the sense 'steep place' recorded for *brot* in *Rygh*, *Indledning*, the second element being *hlið*. This, rather than *broti*, is perhaps the word found in Broates (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* (13<sup>th</sup>), *Scorebuttes* (12<sup>th</sup>) (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* (13<sup>th</sup>) 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 clouse (n) 'dam, sluice' is found in *capita gutturarum dicti clowses* (1407). See NED *s.v. clow sb.*<sup>1</sup>

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. *Westcotgargh* (*sic*) (1339), *Crokidcotgarth* (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 *Cotseteldayle* (t. Ed 1).

croft is very common indeed. It may be qualified by an adjective, e.g. *le communecroft* (1390), *Aldecroft* and *Neucroft* (12th) in Otteringham, *Estcroft* (1219), *Northcroft* (1292),

*Littlecroft* 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), *Lambcroft* (1311), *Oxecrofte* (1303), or to the dwelling to which it is attached as in *Castelcroft* (1327), the common *Hallecroft* (c. 1220), *Kirkecroft* (12th) and the common *Milnecroft* (12th), or to plants as in *Taselcroft* (1225) (where *teazle* grows), *Lincroft* (13th), from lin, 'flax,' *Havercroft* (1301), 'oats croft,' *Nettel Crofte* (c. 1300), to the soil as in *Claycroft* (1309), *Lerecroft* (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 Crofft* (1407) *qui fuit Johannis Bawde*, *Maldecroft* (1296), *Durancroft* (1303).

cumb. Three examples have been noted—*Cumb*, *Bicumbe*, *Northcumbewra* (cf. *vra*) (c. 1250), all in Thixendale with its sixteen valleys (*supra* 133).

dæl (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), *Wetedale* (13th), *Safrundale* (1282) in Cottingham, *Kerlingdale* (12th) from OScand *kerling*, 'old woman,' and several compounded with a personal name as *Colgrimdale* (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 *Oustdayles* (13th), *ful* in *Fuldail* (c. 1280), OScand *vesterra* in *Westerdaile* (t. Hy 2), *Uuerdayle* (12th) 'upper,' *Overmastdayles* (1310) 'uppermost.' Plants are referred to in *Ridayle* (c. 1250), *Thorn-daille* (c. 1280) and *Thacdailes* (13th), situation in *Fordayles* (1253), animals in *Buledayles*, *Cocdayle* and *le Horsdail* (13th). *Mikeldayle(s)* is very common from the 12th century on. We may note *Halvedailles* (13th) and two or three compounds of *høfuð* and *deill* as in *Howed dailes* (t. Hy 2), *Howeð 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 *Magnusdayle* (c. 1230).

ME demming (n) 'a dam' is found in *le demmyng* (1439).

dic compounds are numerous. *Crummedike* (13th) and *Cringeldikes* (c. 1280) (*v. kringla*, 'circle') have reference to shape. *Thwerdic* (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 *høfuð*, '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), *Ovenamhenge* (13th). It is often qualified by adjectives as in *Sudesteseng* (t. Hy 2), *Suthenges* (1339), *Housthengges* (13th) from austr, 'east,' *Holenge* (1210-20), *Bradeng* (1313), *Sidhenges* (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 *comuneng* (14th), *Presteng* (1261), *Provestengys* (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 *lez Englandes* (1407).

*fal(o)d* is occasionally found as in *faldam* (acc.) (13th), *Northfalda* (12th), *Pondfald* (1341) i.e. *pundfald*, 'pin-fold,' *Faldcroft* (1339).

*feld* is fairly common. It is compounded with *Alde* (c. 1160), *Mikel* (13th), *Smythe*, from *smeðe*, 'smooth' (1295), *Wite* (c. 1160), and with adjectives of direction such as *North* (13th). We have the *out-field* in *Vtfeld* (12th), *Falowe 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.

*flasshe* is found in *Flashewell* (1420), the Dan *flask* in *Waterflaskes* (13th).

*flat* is very common. It may be qualified by an adjective such as *Mene* (13th) from OE (*gē)māne*, 'common,' *Scorte* (13th), *Lange*, *Middel* (1225), *Suth* (1280). We may have reference to vegetation as in *Chiriflat* (c. 1210), *Pertreflat* (1282), *Okflat* (1446), *Nuteflat* (l. 12th), *Sedflat*, *Thistleflat* (1338), *Ryeflat* (13th), or to some object on or near it as in *Gateflatt* (13th), *Crosflat* (1225), *Cotflat* (1258), *Gibetflat* (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).

fleet is common, as one might expect in this area, often in the simple form *le Flet* (13th) but also in such compounds as *Langflete* (13th), *Houhflete* (1253) from *hoh*, *crosfleotes* (1033), i.e. marked by a cross, *Touneflet* (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 *Seuenfurlanges* (12th), *Chortfurlanges* (13th) i.e. 'short,' *Tounfurelanges* (13th).

fyrhð '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 *Vtghang* (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 Milnegarth* (1396-9), hlaða, 'barn,' in *þe Ladhegarth* (1314). We may note also *Spittelgarthe* (1546), *Chapelegarth* and *Kilne Garth* (t. Hy 8) and occasional compounds with personal names as in *Reynaldgarght* (1339). *Applegarth* corresponds to English *æppeltun* as in *Provostappylgarth* (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 *Neugate* (1300), *Witegate* (l. 12th), *Holegat* (12th), references to the site or destination in *Dalegate* (1226), *Segate* (13th), *le Moregate* (1341), *Kirckegata* (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 OScaud *naut*, 'cattle'), *Theuesgate* (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 Polyghate* (1396-9), *Coteyate* (13th). It is clearly confused with *gata* in 'regia strata vocata *Pedderyate*' (1371 Works), 'road used by pedlars.'

geiri, still in common use in NCy *gair*, 'triangular land in the corner of a field,' is found in the sg. as in *Gaira* (1199), *Gayre*

(13th), or the plural *Gaires* (13th), *les Gayres* (1260) and the compound *Calugaire* (c. 1280), perhaps from *calu*, 'bare.'

gil 'ravine' has been noted twice, viz. in *Wedyrgyll* (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 *Gategraynes* (13th), perhaps 'road-fork,' *Gatesgraynescales* (c. 1200), *Twyngreyn* (1190), 'double fork,' *Ulegreines*, 'owl haunted greinn,' *Stayngren* (1339).

(ge)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 *Canunthrehoudayle* (l. 12th), *Fourehowes* (13th), *Sevenhouflat* (13th). *Stainhou* (12th) is common and so is *Linghou* (13th), used of one covered with ling. Note also *Brakenhou* (13th). *Coppedhou* (c. 1185) was 'peaked,' *Digerhou* (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), *Grymeshou* (13th), and *Yerleshow* (13th) were perhaps so called from those believed to have been buried there.

*heafod* is found in *Hertesheuede* (1309), *Raveneshed* (1276), *Wandaillheudes* (13th) (*v. Wan Dale supra* 107), *Sprynghedes* (1407), *Twelfheudes* (1408), *Nordscoheued* (1227), *le Gamelhed* (13th).

*hlidgeat* 'swing gate' is occasionally found as in *Lydiathe* (1259).

*hoc* 'hook, corner' is occasionally found as in *le Hok* (12th), *North'hoc* (1392), *Harphoc* (1392) (perhaps from its shape). For *Smerehoke* (1294) cf. *Smerhilles infra* 325.

*hofuð* is very common in the compound *le Houethland* (12th), *Hoffedland*, *Houedland* (13th) corresponding to the common

English agricultural *headland*. Other compounds are *Houeddailes* (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. *Brenkholme* (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), *Nepeholm* (12th), growing turnips, *Thor(e)nholm* (l. 12th). Of animal and bird compounds we may note *Brockes* (13th), *Fueles* (12th), *Gos* (t. Hy 2), *Hauc* (c. 1300), *Hest* (13th) from OS cand *hestr*, 'horse,' *Horse* (c. 1230), *Lambe* (13th), *Ratun* (l. 12th) i.e. 'rat,' *Swynes* (12th). We have reference to neighbouring buildings in *Kirkholm* and *Milneholme* (13th), to a hermit in *Ermytholme* (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 Overridinges* (1321) or with a pers. name as in *Ketelisriding* (1219), *Galfr'riding* (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.

hvammr '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,' *Tothill* (12th).

hylr 'pool' is probably found in *Stonehills* (1258), the name of a fishery.

hyrst 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 *Murdackkelde* (12th), *Gunerkeld* (13th), *Rogerkelde* (13th).

*kiarr* is very common as in *Depeker* (l. 12th), *Litelker* and *Mikelker* (13th), *les Kerres* (1309), *Wald carr* (1568). *Seueker* (e. 13th) is probably a compound of *sef*, 'reed'; *Peteker* (13th) is probably an early compound of *peat*. In *Aslacker* (12th) we have a compound with a personal name.

*klint* 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 *Cringledikes* (c. 1280).

*laes* 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), *Shortlond* (1409), *Langland* (1226) and *Mikelland* (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 *Byrkelond* (13th), *Huetlond* (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), *Fremarland* (13th), *Eustacelond* (1339), *Elwynlond* (12th), to the lack of such in *Namanland* (13th), *Namanesland* (1254), the NCy form of *Nomanland*. *Heuedland* (12th) and *Houedland* (12th) are equally common, cf. *høfuð supra* 324. *Forland* is common from the 12th century on, denoting perhaps the nearest strip. *Scotlandes* (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 *Suthwestlanges* (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), *Vuermare* (13th). The creatures found in or on them are referred to in *Paddemar* (12th), *Swanmar* (1293), *Elmar* (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)mære, 'boundary.'

mor is very common.

OScand munnr 'mouth' (n) is found in *Dalemun* (13th), *Depedalemun* (1256) and *Silfburnedalemun* (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 *Barett nab* (c. 1250), carrying this word back some 200 years. Three of them are in Thixendale.

ME ofnam (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* (c. 13th).

ME parke 'small enclosure' and pasture (n) are common, the latter especially in *Oxpasture* (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), *Kaicsic* (1199) from OScand *keikr*, 'bent,' *Rymand sik* (1339) i.e. 'running,' *Landsyk* (c. 1200), *Fensik* (13th), *Wilgesic* (l. 12th) 'willow sike,' and with personal names *Baldricsik* (c. 1180), *Modoluessik* (from OScand *Móðólfr*), *Yarcólfsike* (c. 13th).

skali 'shieling' is rare as in *Gatesgraynescale* (c. 1200).

skogr 'wood' is occasionally found as in *Norscogh* (1230), and *Swinescogh* (1225).

OScand skora (n) 'cutting' is found in *Wramscore* (13th) and

(compounded with a personal name) in *Syrithescore* (13th), the name of a foss.

*slæd* is very rare. Note *Akirslade* (12th).

*slakki* is fairly common as in *Refholeslac* (c. 1200), *Otereslach* (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 *snape* (n) 'marshy place' is occasionally found.

*stæð* 'landing place' is found in *Aldburghstath* (14th), later *Danyellstathe* (1415).

*stede* is found in *Halestede* (c. 1300) and *Gildehustede* (c. 1275). *steort* 'tail.' In *Gatesterte* (t. John) 'goats' tail of land' we have the same name as *Gastard* (W).

*stig* 'path' is found in *Kirkesti* (13th), *Gundredesty* (1261), *Markett Sty* (1537), *Lingsty* (13th).

stocking and *stodfald* are fairly common.

*porn* is found in *Aynnethornes* (1318) 'lonely thorns,' and *Swykethorne* (13th), perhaps for 'such a thorn.'

*porp*. A few unidentifiable examples have been noted including *Vmfraithorp* (1199), *Harpethorp* (1246), *Vluesthorp* (13th), *Austhorp* (1285).

*purs* 'giant' is found in *Thursmare* (1227).

*pveit* is fairly common as in *Braythwaith* (12th), *Langehwait* (13th), *Litelþwait* (13th), *Bissopestweyt* (1227), *Brakenthwayt* (13th) and (with a personal name) *Brettelswayt* (12th).

*topt* 'toft' is common.

*tunge* (n) 'tongue' is found several times as in *Tunga* (12th), *Lingtunga* (l. 12th), *The Myddle Tongue* (1577), *Tunglande* (13th), *lez Tunge* (1500), *Tonge* (1437).

*tunsteall* is found in *Tunstal flat* (c. 1200).

*vað* 'ford' is found several times as in *Sandwath* (13th), *Suttunewath* (12th), *Thornwath* (13th).

*vra* 'corner' is common as in *Northcumbewra* (c. 1250), *Cancreswra* (13th), *Hauerwra* (1225) from *hafri*, 'oats,' *Os-mundwra* (1327), *Sevenstanges* (12th) is 'seven stakes,' *v. stong*.

ME *wanda(i)le* (n) is very common (cf. *supra* 107).

ME *wending* (n), perhaps 'turning' (in a path or the like), is found in *Nordwendinge* (c. 1185), *le Wending* (1286).

Among miscellaneous names we may note *pasturam voc. Milkky* (1149), *keshous* (1339) i.e. 'cheese house,' *Darycotes* (1600), *Drunkenetoft* (1219), *Fretefrosk* (13th) i.e. 'eat frog,' *le Preist Capp* (1591), *Mills of Twagrynd* (1252), *Wabigan* (13th)

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 Eastriding near Spen Wood (*supra* 246).<sup>1</sup> In the West Riding it is found in Spen Valley, *Spen* 1329 YD, 1379 PT, 1582 FF, Spen Farm in Bramham, *Munkehaidspen*, *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, '*þan ferd þai forþ fra fild to fild & freschly assemblis All at was sperpolid on þe spene & spilt with þe 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 þe last bi a littel dich he lepez ouer a spenne, Stelez out ful stilly bi a strothe rande, Went haf wylt of þe*

<sup>1</sup> 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.

*wode*..., "At the last by a little ditch he leaps over a *spenne*, 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 spreut ouer a spenne to spye þe 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 documents<sup>1</sup>, whilst *spenne* seems otherwise unknown as a spelling 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 *span*<sup>2</sup> 'span' with various extended meanings such as 'stretch out, measure, grasp, join, fasten, twist,' etc., and some of them have in OScaud acquired senses which are possible in place-names. OScaud *spann* 'a pail, a measure' was used of 'a measure of butter' (cf. also Orkney *span* in NED *s.v.*) and in OScaud *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 OScaud *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 *spendills* 'the wooden cross-bars of the shafts of a cart' is probably related in form at any rate. Another derivative Norw *spenning* or *spænding* 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

<sup>1</sup> *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 *Spynnecros* (PN Sr 114). The surname of Gilbert *de Spiney* of Butterwick (L) carries its use back to the time of Henry II (Gilbert), and there is a thirteenth-century example from Brandesburton itself in *Burthonspynay* and *Petri de Spineto de Burton* 1249 *Meaux*. In view of phonological discrepancies between *spen* and *spinney* the appearance of *Burthonspynay* in the same parish as *Spenn Carr* must be regarded as a matter of coincidence.

<sup>2</sup> We may as a matter of fact have several roots behind the different connotations, 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.

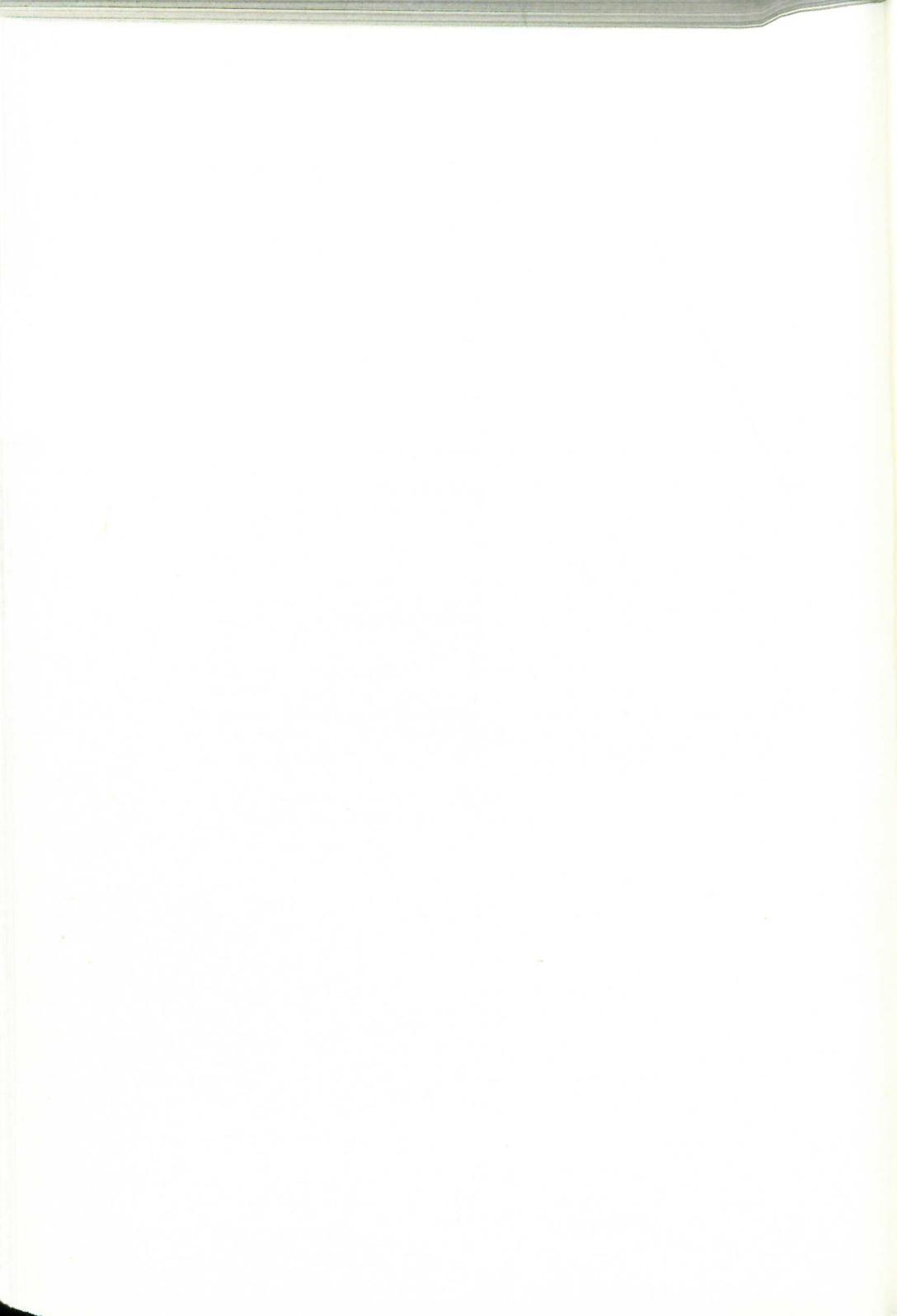
ME *spen*, *spenne* probably belongs to the last group and the most likely OScaud source is the word *spenni* 'clasp, buckle,' which probably developed from the root ideas of 'that which clasps' or 'that which spans or joins' some meaning similar to the other words in the group. Possible senses include '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<sup>1</sup>, 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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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### OF SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT WORDS USED IN PLACE-, FIELD- AND STREET-NAMES

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The primary reference to a place is marked by the use of clarendon type.

Except in the case of certain early examples of *carr*, *ing* and *wold*, no attempt has been made to include in this Index names which at once suggest the township in which they are to be found, e.g. Keyingham Bridge and Marsh can readily be found by turning up Keyingham township.

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