



JOURNAL OF THE ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY

Volume 10 (1978)

ISSN 1351–3095

Addenda to the Survey of English Place-Names: personal names in field and minor names

John Insley (pp. 41–72)

This article is from the *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, an annual peer-reviewed journal issued free to members of the Society. The *Journal* welcomes contributions of articles and notes on subjects of relevance to English place-names.

The English Place-Name Society (EPNS) was established in 1923 to conduct a county-by-county survey of the place-names of England. To date, the Survey has produced 90 volumes. Almost all English counties have been surveyed, at least in part, and work to complete the Survey is ongoing. The Survey is used by researchers, academics, and those interested in the origins, meaning, and significance of English place-names.

The research work and the publication of the Survey are financed by the annual subscriptions of members of the Society, with the help of grants from the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the British Academy. Since the progress and success of the Survey depend largely upon the strength of the membership, the Society always welcomes new members, both personal and institutional.

In return for the annual subscription, members receive free of charge the current issue of the *Journal* as well as the volume of the Survey allocated to that year's subscription. They are entitled to order, in addition, any available volume of the Survey at a concessionary price. Associate Members pay a reduced subscription, for which they receive the *Journal*.

Annual subscription prices (correct as of August 2022):

Within the UK

£40 (full)

£15 (associate)

Outside the UK

£45 (full)*

£18 (associate*)

*increased prices reflect increased postage cost.

For further details or to join the Society, please contact:

Mrs Christine Hickling
English Place-Name Society
School of English
The University of Nottingham
NG7 2RD

Tel: 0115 951 5919
Email: name-studies@nottingham.ac.uk

ABBREVIATIONS OF COUNTIES AND EPNS COUNTY SURVEYS

Co	Cornwall
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
K	Kent
La	Lancashire
Nb	Northumberland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somerset
Wt	Isle of Wight
CPNE	<i>Cornish Place-Name Elements.</i>
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN BdHu	<i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire.</i>
PN Brk	<i>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Bu	<i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire.</i>
PN Ca	<i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely.</i>
PN Ch	<i>The Place-Names of Cheshire, Parts 1–5.</i>
PN Cu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN D	<i>The Place-Names of Devon, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Db	<i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire, Parts 1, 2 and 3.</i>
PN Do	<i>The Place-Names of Dorset, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Du	<i>The Place-Names of County Durham, Part 1.</i>
PN Ess	<i>The Place-Names of Essex.</i>
PN ERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York.</i>
PN Gl	<i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, Parts 1–4.</i>
PN Hrt	<i>The Place-Names of Hertfordshire.</i>
PN Le	<i>The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Li	<i>The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Parts 1–7.</i>
PN Mx	<i>The Place-Names of Middlesex (apart from the City of London).</i>
PN Nf	<i>The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1–3.</i>
PN Nt	<i>The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire.</i>
PN NRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire.</i>
PN Nth	<i>The Place-Names of Northamptonshire.</i>
PN O	<i>The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN R	<i>The Place-Names of Rutland.</i>
PN Sa	<i>The Place-Names of Shropshire, Parts 1–9.</i>
PN Sr	<i>The Place-Names of Surrey.</i>
PN St	<i>The Place-Names of Staffordshire, Part 1.</i>
PN Sx	<i>The Place-Names of Sussex, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN W	<i>The Place-Names of Wiltshire.</i>
PN Wa	<i>The Place-Names of Warwickshire.</i>
PN We	<i>The Place-Names of Westmorland, Parts 1 and 2.</i>
PN Wo	<i>The Place-Names of Worcestershire.</i>
PN WRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Parts 1–8.</i>

ADDENDA TO THE SURVEY OF ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES
PERSONAL NAMES IN FIELD AND MINOR NAMES

The number following each field or minor name indicates the page upon which it appears in the appropriate volume.

Cases in which the second element of a field name are bracketed indicate that the original form of this second element is not given in the volume but that a form which it is assumed corresponds to this original has been supplied here in lieu of it.

An asterisk after a field or minor name indicates that the etymon of the first element given here differs from that contained in the volume. Elsewhere the etymons given follow those in the volumes, or, where the volumes give no etymon, have been supplied here.

A cross following a field or minor name denotes that there are good reasons for believing that the personal name which forms the first element of this name has here the function of a surname or of a byname but not that of an independent personal name.

A question mark following a field or minor name denotes that it is uncertain whether this name contains the personal name to which it is grouped.

An asterisk preceding a personal name denotes that this personal name is not recorded in independent use.

In cases where a field or minor name still exists the modern form is given here. For earlier forms see the entry in the volume where both early and modern forms are given.

Other symbols and abbreviations follow EPNS usage.

For bibliographical details see the bibliographies contained in the volumes, in Ekwall DEPN and in Reaney, *A Dictionary of British Surnames* (2nd ed. with additions and corrections by R. M. Wilson, London 1976).

VOLUME XII
THE PLACE-NAMES OF ESSEX

A. OLD ENGLISH

Æðelgifu (f) (*Aileueaker* 574); *Æðelwine* (Great, Little Aylands 626); *Ælflæd* (f) (*Affeney Common* 648); *Ælgār* (Little Algar⁺ (?) 613).

Babba ((Lower) *Babylon* 611); *Bealding* (*Baldingeswrth* 595);¹ *B(e)alluc* (*Bullocks Cross Wood* 622); *Bica* (*Bigdens (Grove)* 645); **Blīð* (*Blythesbrom* 575, *Blytesbroom* 609); **Blunt* (*Bluntesholme* 582); *Bota* (*Butneys Field* 635); *Brūn* (*Brounysquarter* 580); *Brūning* (*Brounynggesslade* 590).

**Cobb* (*Cobbesleegh* 621); **Cobba* (*Cobbs Croft* 637); *Cōena* (*Kenyngton* 592); *Cusa* (*Cuss Croft* 646); *Cynesige* (*Kensingsbrade* 575); *Cyneweald* (*Kenewaldewik* 594).

**Dægga* (*Dagenhale* 620); *D(e)alla* ((Great and Little) *Dallow* 629); *Dēoring* (*Deryngstyle* 590); *Dēorlufu* (f) (*Dierluueriding* 582);² *Dodd* (*Doddeswich* 594); *Dod(d)a* (*Doddebroke* 575, *Doddenhill Close* 646); *Dunning* (*Dumnyngeswich* 594).

Ēadgār (Little *Agers*⁺ 613); *Ēadgifu* (f) (*Editthedane* 578); *Ēadhelm* (*Eadelmes dic* 578); *Ēadmār* (*Edmeresdon* 578); *Ēadnōð* (*Ednothescrouch* 577); *Ēadwīg* (*Edwiesthorn* 591); *Ēadwine* (*Edmondsea Mead* 602); *Ēadwulf* (*Eduluerede* 588); *Ealdgār* (Little *Algar*⁺ (?) 613); *Eddi* (*Eddestune* 591).

Glædwynn (f) (*Gladewenneskot* 576);³ *Glor* (Great, Little *Gloretts* 631); *Goda* (m) or *Gode* (f) (*Godington* 592); *Godgifu* (f) (*Godyevedell* 578); *Godwine* (Upper, Lower *Goldfinches* (p) 617); *Godwynn* (f) (*Goodens* 602); *Goldwine* (*Golden Staples* 641).

H(e)afoc (*Hawkes Ley* (?) 649);⁴ *Helm* (*Helmeslon* 591); **Help* (*Whelpstones* 644).

Inga (*Ink Field* (?) 613).

1. For this f. n. and the pers. n. see von Feilitzen, *NoB* 33 (1945), 73.

2. For this f. n. and the pers. n. see von Feilitzen, *NoB* 33 (1945), 77.

3. For this f. n. and the pers. n. see von Feilitzen, *NoB* 33 (1945), 81.

4. The appellative OE *heafoc* 'hawk' is equally possible here (PN Ess loc. cit.)

Lēofcild (*Lefchildshalfyerd* 580); *Lēofmæ̃r* (*Lemonds Land* 602); *Lēofsige* (*Leofsiges mad* 585); *Lēofwine* (*Lewis Field* 626–627, *Lewsay Field* 628); *Lilla* (*The Lilla* 643); *Lulla* (*Lullewelmede* 630).

* *Pæmpel* (*Pamplingwrth* 595); *Passa* (*Pasfield* 638); *Pinc* (*Pincey Mead* 603); **Possa* (*Poseborough Wood* 615).

Sægār (*Sagorstrete*⁺ 607); *Sæmann* (*Semans ffenne* 624, *Salmons Hill* 641); *Sigegār* (*Siggers*⁺ 645); *Sigemann* (*Simons Field*⁺ (?) 639); *Spilemann* (*Spelmans*⁺ 641); **Stūlheard* (*Stothardesgroue* 580).⁵

Wærburg (f) (*Warburleg*⁺ 585); *Wīgbeorht* (*Great, Litle Wiberd* 604); *Wīgburg* (f) (*Wybers lxii*); *Wine* (*Wyneston* 591); *Wulfgifu* (f) (*Wluiueland* 584); *Wulflāf* (*Wullafes leage* 585); *Wulfmæ̃r* (*Wlmeresland* 584);

B. SCANDINAVIAN

Bersi (*Bersiestona* 592); *Bolli* (*Bollesbrok* 575).

Grímr (*Grimes* 633).⁶

Inga (f) or *Ingi* (m) (*Ink Field* (?) 613).

Ketill (*Old Kettle*⁺ 618, *Kettles Field* 619, *Kettle Field* 638); *Kollungr* (*Collins Field* 643); *Krókr* (*Crocesporne* 591).

Mōthir (f) OEScand (*Modershope* 582).

Övin AScand < *Auċunn* (*Odenesfeld* 579).

Sæbigrn (*Saborns* 609); *Sigmundr* (*Simons Field*⁺ (?) 639); *Sveinn* (*Swenesbrade* 575, *Swans Field* 637).

Tōli OEScand (*Tooleys* 637).

5. For this f. n. and the pers. n. see von Feilitzen, *NoB* 33 (1945), 89.

6. The ON personal name *Grímr* is to be preferred to the goblin name *Grim* here. The second element of the field name here is OE *croft* (see PN Ess, *loc. cit.*), an element which is often compounded with personal names (see EPN s. v.). See also below, n. 10.

þorcytel AScand < *þorketill* (*Thorcetelestone* 592); *þurkil* OEScand⁷ (*Great, Little Turtles* 635); *þurstān* AScand < *þorsteinn* (*Thurstones* 634-635).

Vfarr (*Great, Little Withers* 640); *Vikingr* (*Wickensale Common* (?) 649).

C. GOIDELIC

Donnchad OIr (*Dounconnisherne, Donnkothesherne* 647).

D. MIDDLE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

Acelin, Ascelin OFr < OG *Azelin* (*Astlings* 613); *Adam* (*Adaumesreden* 612, *Adams Croft* 635); *Alexander, Alisaunder* (*Holmum Alexandri* 582, *Alexanders Field*⁺ 613); *Alice* (f) OFr < OG *Adalhaid* (*Alice Ley Mead* 602); *Arnold* OG (*Great, Little Arnolds* 608, 637, *Arnolds* 617, *Arnolds*⁺ 641-642); *Asketin* AN < ON *Ásketill* (*Askeleneslond* 584).

Bacun OFr (*Baconnesredene* 604, *Bacons Meadow*⁺ 622); *Bagge* (byname) (< ME *bagge* < ON *baggi* 'bag', used as a byname with the sense 'large, lumpish fellow') (*Baggesheldewyk, Baggesgrove* 647); *Baldwin* OG (*Baldewyns Lane*⁺ 632, *Baldwins Ley* 640); *Basile* (f) OFr (*Baysland Field* 630, *Baslard Field* 642); *Beneit* OFr (*Great, Little Bennetts Land*⁺ 609); *Bernard* OG (*Barnards Ley* 632, *Barnards Rice*⁺ 638); *Bigot* (byname) OFr (*Bigodestockyng* 590); *Budde* (byname) (< OE *budda*, ME *boude, budde, bodde* etc. 'beetle' (*Buddeshegh* 580).

Col(le), pet form of *Nicholas* (*Collesmeade* 629).

Dawe, pet form of *David* (*Dews Garden* 633).

Elis (*Ellysweyre* 594); *Eustace* (*Eustaceslond* 584).

Fulco OG (*Fulkes* 644).

Geffrey > OFr *Geuf(f)roi* or OFr *Jefroi* (both OG) (*Jeffreys Croft* 603); *Gerard* OG (*Great and Little Garrods*⁺ 633); *Germain* OFr (*German Skillets, Tenement Germa(i)n(e)s* 646); *Gernon* (byname) OFr (*Gernonsbroke* 575); *Gervais(e)* OFr (*Gerueyshopat, -hopet* 582);

7. PN Ess 635 takes this pers. n. to be AScand but it is a common OEScand variant.

Gibb, pet form of *Gilbert* (Gibbs Field lxii); *Gipp*, pet form of *Gilbert* (Gibbs lxii); *Godard* OFr < OG *Gotahard*, *Godhard* (*Godardeshant* 581, *Godardyspool* 587); *God-*, *Gothild* (f) OG (*Godehildethorn* 591); *Godin* OFr, diminutive of OFr (OG) names in *God-* (*Goodwins Wells* 603); *Goscelin*, *Gosselin* OFr < OG *Gautselin*, *Gauzlin*, *Goz(e)lin* (*Gosselyniscrofte* 647); *Grigg(e)* (byname) (< ME *grigg(e)* 'diminutive person, dwarf') (*Griggs Field* 644); *Guillemin* OFr, diminutive of *Guillaume* (*William*) (*Gilman Shaw*⁺ 608).

Hamond OFr < OG *Hamon* (*Hamondisteile* 590, *Hamondesgrove* 619); *Harry* < OFr *Henri* < OG *He(i)nrīc* (*Harrieshalfyerde* 638); *Haueis* (f) OFr < OG *Hadvid* (*First, Further Haws* 633); *Haukin* either a variant of ME *Havekin*, a diminutive in *-kin* formed from OE *H(e)afoc*, or a diminutive in *-kin* of ME *Hal*, a pet form of *Harry* (*Henry*) (*Hawkins Marsh* 606, *Houkins Hall*⁺ 633); **Haucock*, a pet form in *-cock* derived either from OE *H(e)afoc* or ME *Hal* (*Haukokesquarter* 580); *Havelok* (*Havelokesdoun* 578); *Her(e)mar* OG (*Harmers* 642); *Hildegger*, *Hilger* OG (*Ilgeresweyre* 594); *Hobb*, pet form of *Robert* (*Hobbysdon Stall* 592, *Hobbysherde*, *Hobbessgardyn* 611, *Hobbessbregge* 625, *Hobs Ley* 633, *Hobbs* (Pasture) 648); *Hubert* OFr < OG *Hugibert* (*Hubbards lxii*, *Hubbards Bushes* 604).

Jakeman (byname) (*Jackmans* 632); *Jo(e)l(l)in*, diminutive of *Joel* (*Joleynesaker* 613).

Marlin (*Martinesford* 579, *The Martins*⁺ 605, *Martins Field* 612, *Martins* 627); *More* < OFr *Maur* (*Long Moor* 628); *Mor(e)kin*, diminutive of *More* (*Mawkins Grove*⁺ 603).

Pain OFr (*Great Pains Mead*, *Little Pains Field* 608); *Pasques*, *Paque* OFr (*Pakeswey* 593); *Pele* (byname) OFr (*Pale Marsh* 606); *Per(o)nel(l)(e)* (f) < Lat *Petronilla* (*Great Parnells Spring* 609); *Philipol*, diminutive of *Philipp* (*Upper, Lower Philpotts* 612); *Pollard* (byname) or *Pollhard* (*Policy Field, Meadow* 631); *Pol(e)kin*, diminutive of *Pott* (< OE *pott* 'pot') (*Podkins* 622); *Prat(t)* (byname) (cf. OE *prætt* 'trick, ruse') (*Pratt Ley* 622).

Raimond OFr < OG *Raginmund* (*Great, Little Rayments* 609); *Randulf* OG (*Randulueshamstal* 581); *Ric(h)ard* OFr (OG) *Ricardisland* 584, 636); *Robinel(t)*, double diminutive of *Robert* (*Great, Little Robbetts* 624); *Romeyn* OFr (*Roman Hill Field* 617); *Rumbold* OG (*Rumballs Garden* 640).

Saier AN (Sayers Croft 622); *Sa(u)nder*, short form of *Alexander*, *Alisaunder* (Saunders Field 626); *Serlo* OFr < OG *Sarilo*, *Serilo* (*Serleshopat* 582); *Sibilie* (f) < Lat *Sibilla*, OFr *Sibille* (Sibley Mead 606); *Skil(l)(e)man(n)* (byname) (< ON *skilamaðr* 'trustworthy man')⁸ (*Second Skirmish*⁺ 618); *Sorel* (byname) OFr (*Sorells* Field 603, *High Sorells* 611, *Sorells Pasture* 635).

T(h)ierri, *Terri* OFr < OG *Theuderic* (*Terry Pightle*, *Terrys Piece Wood* 635); *T(h)om(e)lin*, diminutive of *Thomas* (*Thomelynswyke* 594); *Tiphaine* (f) OFr (*Tyffaynys Schlow* 590); *Troussel* (byname) OFr (*Trussells* 612).

Uuicon OBret (*Widgeons* 645, *Wickensale Common* (?) 649).

Walahram, *Walaram* OG (Upper, Middle War Field 635);⁹ *Warengar* OFr < OG *Weringer* (*Walengereshopat* 582);

Wil(e)cock, pet form in *-cock* of *William* (ONFr *Williaume* < OG *Willihelm*) (Upper Wilcocks 611); *Wil(e)kin*, diminutive in *-kin* of *William*, probably of Flemish origin (*Little Wilkins* 627); *Wil(l)(i)mot* ONFr, diminutive of *Williaume* (*William*) (*Wilmotts* 618; *Wiot*, ONFr diminutive of *Wido* (OG) (*Halfpenny Marshes*⁺ 606).

Yves OFr (*Ives* 604).

8. See Reaney s. n. *Skillman*.

9. Early forms are: *Warefeld Wilram*, *Walram*, *Walerand* 1220-1256. *Walram* was a 13th century tenant of the knights Hospitallers (PN Ess *loc. cit.*).

VOLUME XIII
THE PLACE-NAMES OF WARWICKSHIRE

A. OLD ENGLISH

Æðelmæ̃r (*Eylmeresdole* 324); *Æðelræ̃d* (*Ailredeshavedlond* 327); *Æðelweard* (*Aylwardesclyf* 323); *Æfflæ̃d* (f) (*Alfladehamme* 327); *Ælfræ̃d* (*Alfredes(croft)* 323); *Ælfrīc* (*Aelfrices brycge* 322).

Basing (*Basingewonge* xxii); *Beornweald* (*Beornwealdeshlawe* 328); *Beornwulf* (*Bernulfsty* 322); *Billing* (*Billings Field* 362); *Boia* (*Upper, Lower Bybridge, Byburge Mead** 356); *Brūn* (*Brunesbrugge* 322); **Brūnhild* (f) (*Brunildeshaga** xxiii).

Codd (*Coddesthurn* 333); *Copp* (*Coppice Well* 374); **Cort* (*Cortesmershe* 376); *Cott(a)* (*Colhill** 358, *Cotenhulle* 376); *Cynefrið* (*cyneferðes pyl* 332).

Dodd (*Doddesleye* 330); *Dod(d)a* (*Doddanhlæw* 328).

Ēadmund (*Edmonds Hill* 357); *Ēadrīc* (*Edrichesgrene* 326); *Ealhmund* (*Almundeslowe* 328, 359); **Earm* (*Ermestofl* 333).

Glor (*Gloriesput* 332); *Godgifu* (f) (*Godyve(croft)* 323); *Godwine* (*Godwineslowe* 328).

Hengest (*Hengestesbroc** 322); *Hereweard* (*Herewardeshey* 326).

Lēofcild (*Lunechild aker* 321); *Lēofing* (*Levynges medewe* 331); *Lēofrūn* (f) (*Leverunburne* 371); *Lēofweard* (*Leuwardessiche* 332); *Lēofwine* (*Louweynesclive* 323, *Lewynneslane* 330, *Great, Little Lewins** 362).

**Pæ̃gel* (*Pailleston* 333); *Pāwa* (*Pauenhale* 327).

Rēad* (*Red Hill* 377); **Rōta* (*Rotton Hill 358).

**Sceld* (*Seldesheved, sceldes heafda* 372); *Scot(t)* (*Scotch Hill* 354); **Scytta* (*Shuteslade* 360); *Sigemæ̃r* (*Symeresbuttes* 322); *Snell* (*Snellesgrove* 326).

Tottel (*Totlesmor* 379).

Wig(g)a (*Wignalls** 371, *Wignel Meadow** 373); *Wigmund* (*Wymundeslane* 330); *Wine* (*Wynsepole*, *Wynspole medowe* 345); *Wulflāf* (*wullafes wællan* 334); *Wulfmæ̃r* (*Wolmeres(croft)* 323).

B. SCANDINAVIAN

Arnketill (*Arketelesford* xxii); *Áskell* (*Askeleshull* xxiii).

Frāni (*Franehul* xxiii).

Gamall (*Gamelesheth*, *Gamulescroft*, *Gamelescroft* xxiii); *Grímr* (*Grimehill Field* (?) 343, *Grims Hill* (?) 378);¹⁰ *Gunnhildr* (f)

10. PN Wa 343 is uncertain whether the first element of Grimehill is a personal name or *Grīm* as the name of the devil. Both Grimehill and Grims Hill have a topographical term (OE *hyll*) as second element and this would make *Grīm* with the function of a goblin name plausible as the first element. Hills were not infrequently associated with supernatural beings in the OE and ME periods, cf. Eldon Hole PN Db 160 (OE *ælf*, *elf* 'elf' + OE *dun* 'hill, expanse of open hill country'), *Pookehill* PN Sx 562, *Puxhill* PN Db 737 (OE *pūca* 'goblin' + OE *hyll* 'hill'), *Shuckburgh* PN Wa 143-144 (OE *scucca* 'goblin' + OE *beorg* 'hill, mound'). Where elements denoting supernatural beings occur in p. ns. and f. ns. in OE and ME they invariably occur as the first elements of compounds whose second element is a topographical term (see EPN s.vv. *draca*, *elf*, *grīma*, *grīming*, *hob*, *pūca*, *pūcel*, *scinn(a)*, **scratta*, *scucca*, *skratti*, *purs*, *þyrs*, *wyrn*).

OE *grīma* 'spectre, goblin', which is etymologically related to ON *Grímr* occurs in several English p. ns. whose second elements are topographical terms, including Grimley, Greenhill and *Grimenhille* Wo. These Wo p. ns. are incorrectly taken by PN Wo 127 to contain an OE pers. n. **Grīm(a)* based on the substantive *grīma* and cognate with ON *Grímr* and OG *Grim(o)*. Ekwall *Selected Papers* (Lund, 1963), 80-81, regarded the numerous examples of Grim's Ditch (Dyke) and Grimes Ditch (Dyke) found in southern England as containing an OE **Grīm*, a byname of Wōden which would correspond exactly to ON *Grímr* in its function as a byname of Óðinn. Where *Grim(e)s-*, *Grym(e)s-* occurs in ME f. ns. compounded with topographical terms it is likely that *Grīm* has here become a goblin name, analogous perhaps to the later Puck of Pook's Hill, though probably with more sinister implications which could have survived from its original function as a Woden name. The influence of OE *grīma* probably facilitated the survival of *Grīm* in the form of a goblin name. It is impossible that *Grīm* as a Wōden name could have formed the first element of ME f. ns. but there are no objections to regarding it in such cases as a goblin name.

It should be noted that in certain cases where *Grim(e)s-* occurs as the first element of f. ns. in which the second element can denote a piece of property (*acer*, *croft*, *feld* etc.) the ON pers. n. *Grímr*, denoting the name of an owner, is probably to be preferred to the goblin name as the etymon of the first element. Ambiguities, however, are frequent and in many cases it is impossible to decide between the pers. n. and the goblin name. See also above, n. 6, below n. 14, n. 20, n. 27, n. 49.

(*Gunildehous* xxiii, *Gunnildeleg* xxiii, 330).

Ketill (*Keteleston* xxii, 333, *molendinum Ketelli* xxiii, *Ketelesham* xxiii, 327, *Ketelesheth* xxiii, *Ketelmede* 345, *Kettels grove* 345, 348); *Kolbrandr* (*Colbrondesacre* xxii, 321).¹¹

**Orma*, apparently a late OE weak derivative of ON *Ormr* (*Orman ho* 328); *Ormr* (*Ormesgreve* xxiii, *Ormes Greve* 326).

Steinn (*Steyn(es)well* xxiii); *Sveinn* (*Sweineswonge* xxiii, 333, *Sweynesforlong* xxiii, 366).

Tōki OEScand (*Thokyes Mulne* xxii); *Tum(m)i* OEScand (*Tommelond* 368).

Þorlákr (*Thorlakeshurst* xxii, *Thorlokeshurst* 329).

C. GOIDELIC

Muiredach OIr (*Murdakesacre* 321).

D. MIDDLE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

Andrew (*Andrewesthynke* 333); *Ansfrid* OG (*Aumfreisacre* 321); *Anketil* AN < ON *Ásketill* (*Anketelleswelle* xxiii).

Baldwin OG (*Baldewinesclive* 323); *Ballard* (byname) (*Ballardescroft* 323); *Basset* (byname) OFr (*Basseleswaste* 333); *Bernard* OG (*Bernardes cros* 365); *Blondel* OFr (*Blundeles close* 323).

Clarice (f) (*Clarissewelle* 334).

Davy OFr < *David* (*Davysfeld* 362).

Gibb, pet form of *Gilbert* (*Gib Hall Meadow* 371); *Giles* (*Gilesbrigge* 322, *Gylespece* 345); *Griffin*, diminutive with the Romance suffix *-in* formed from OWelsh *Grifud*, MWelsh *Gryffud* or its OBret Cognate (*Griffynestede* 332).

Haueis (f) OFr < OG *Hadvid* (*Hawys(croft)* 323); *Herbert* OFr

11. Bruce Dickins suggested, however, that *Colbrondesacre* might take its name from the giant *Colbrond* who appears in *Guy of Warwick* rather than from the name of an actual settler (PN Wa xxii).

< OG *Hariberct* (*Hereberdes Slade* 332); *Hudde*, pet form of *Hugh* (*Huddesford* 345, *Huddesford's Close* 347, *Hatspits* 369); *Hukin*, diminutive of *Hugh* (*Hukyns* 345).

Janin, diminutive of *Jan* < OFr *Johan* (*Janynsfeld* 378).

Katherine (f) (*Katherineslade* 355).

Luce (f) (*Lousey Field* 351).

Magot (f), diminutive of *Margaret* (*Magotesheld* 327); *Mahieu* OFr (*Mayoweslond* 365); *Mansel* OFr (*Maunselsaker* 321); *Maurice*, *Morice* < Lat *Mauricius* (*The Moors* 377); *Mopp* (f), pet form of *Mabel* (*Moppesthyng* 333).

Nicholet(t), diminutive of *Nicholas* (*Nicholettesacre* 321).

Randulf OG (*Randulvesmore* 321); *Reinald* OFr < OG *Raginald* (*Reynaldeshomme*, *Reignaldeshale* 327, *Reinaldesmethe* 332); *Rossel*, *Rousel* OFr (*Russels croft* 340).

Thancard OG (*Tankardes(croft)* 323); *T(h)omkin* diminutive of *Thomas* (*Tomkynshey* 326).

Unicon OBret (*Wiggins Ground* 357).

Wil(e)kin, diminutive of *William* (*Wylkynsland* 377).

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

A. OLD ENGLISH

Æðelstān (*Adestanslac* (?) 328); *Ælfwine* (*Elewine-eng* 322, *Elwynlond* 326).

Bōthild (*f*) (*Botildehau* 324).

Cynebeald (*Kimbaldlane* 40).

Ēadbeorht (*Edbrict(holm)* 325); *Ēadstān* (*Adestanslac* (?) 328).

**Galma* (*Galmanhowe* (lost) 288);¹² *Godwine* (*Godwynmarres* 327).

Ōsweald (*Oswaldgale* 197).

Sigewine (*Sywinlending* 292).

Wulflāc* (*Owlet Dale 119).

B. SCANDINAVIAN

Áslákr (*Aslacke* 325).

Galmann (*Galmanlythe* (lost) 288);¹³ *Grīmr* (*Grymeshou* 324);¹⁴ *Gunnarr* (*Gunerheld* 326).

Hundólfr (*Hundolfgat* 324).

Iarl (*Yerleshow* 324);¹⁵ **Iárnkólfr* (byname)¹⁶ (*Yarcolfsike* 327).

12. PN ERY 288 derives *Galmanhowe* and *Galmanlythe* from OScand *Galmann*. Ekwall (quoted PN ERY 1x) suggested that *Galmanhowe* contains OE **Galma* and took *Galmanlythe* to be a compound of *Galmanhowe* and OE *-hlīð*. There is, however, no need to connect the two p. ns. The forms suggest they are separate and belong to different etymons.

13. See the previous note.

14. The second element of *Grymeshou* is ON *haugr* (PN ERY loc. cit.), which is often found compounded with personal names in the Danelaw (EPN s. v). It is thus much more likely that *Grymeshou* contains the ON pers. n. *Grīmr* rather than *Grīm* as a goblin name or as a byname of Woden/Óðinn. See also above, n. 10.

15. The OScand appellative *jarl* 'earl' is also possible here.

16. See G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1968), 155.

Ketill (*Ketelisriding* 325); *Kolgrímr* (*Colgrimdale* 321);
Kolsveinn (*Colsuainhaghe* 324).

Magnús (*Magnusdayle* 321); *Móðólfr* (*Modoluessik* 327).

Ösgot AScand < *Ásgautr* (*Ösgoteland* 38).

Sumarliði (*Sumerlede(holm)* 325).

Þurkil OEScand (*Turkyl(holm)* 325); *Þurstān* AScand < *Þorsteinn*
(*Thurstaneng'*, *Thurstanland* 257, *Thurstanflat* 322).

Úlfr (*Vluesthorp* 328).

C. GOIDELIC

Muiredach Oir (*Murdocflat* 322, *Murdackelde* 326).

D. MIDDLE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

Alain, *Alein* OFr (*Alayn(holm)* 325); *Arnald* OG (*Arnal(le)kerre*
50, *Arnaldowtgange* 323).

Baldric OG (*Baldricsik* 327); *Bretel*, diminutive of OFr *Bret*
(*Brettelswayt* 328).

Daniel (*Danyellstathe* 328); *Dreus* OFr < OG *Drogo* (*Dreusgate*
323); *Durant* OFr (*Durantcroft* 321).

Daniel (*Danyellstathe* 328); *Dreus* OFr < OG *Drogo* (*Dreusgate*
323); *Durant* OFr (*Durantcroft* 321).

Eliot OFr, diminutive of *Elias* (*Eliotdyk*, *Eliotbryg* 3); *Eustace*
(*Eustacelond* 326).

Galfrid OFr (OG) (*Galfr'riding* 325); *Godefroi* OFr < OG
Godefred, *-frid* (*Godefrey(holm)* 325); *Guimund*, *Wimund* OFr < OG
Wi(d)mund (*Thorpe** 162); *Gundradu* (f) OG (*Gundredesty* 328).

Humphrey < OFr *Onfroi* < OG *Hunfrid*, *Humfrid*¹⁷ (*Humfraislac*,
Vmfraithorp 328).

17. For ME *Humphrey* see PN⁺Cu 506, Reaney s. n. *Humphrey*.

Mald (f) < *Matilda* < OG *Mahthild* (*Maldecroft* 321).

Picot OFr (*Pigotclose* 320).

Reinald OFr < OG *Raginald* (*Reynaldgarght* 323); *Ro(d)ger* OG
(*Rogerkelde* 326).

Saier AN (*Sayercryk* 210).

VOLUME XV
THE PLACE-NAMES OF HERTFORDSHIRE

A. OLD ENGLISH

Æðelflēd (f) (*Aylfladesrugge* xxi); *Æðelgifu* (f) (*Aileuedene* 253, *Aylevemere* 294); *Æðelsfān* (*Astaneshulle* (?) 256); *Ælfflēd* (f) (*Alfladesfilde**, *Alfladecroft** xxi); *Ælfrīc* (*Alrichesfeld* 254); *Ælfwine* (*Alfwinesfrid* 254, *Alfwinesweie* 260).

Babba (*Babbedell* 252); **Bæddi* (*Bats Grove* 310); **Belel* (*Bettlespole* etc. 278); **Blocc* (*Block Mead* 293); *Brūn* (*Brouneslowe* 279); *Bucga* (*Bugwood Common* 298).

Cnebba (*Knebbedich* 254); **Cufel* (*Cowditch* 265).

Dēorwine (*Derewynes(lond)* 257).

Ēadsfān (*Astaneshulle* (?) 256); *Ēadweard* (*Edwards Eye* 292); **Enna* (*Enneworth* 260).

Goda (m) or *Gode* (f) (*Godbury* 286); *Godwine* (*Godwynesdune* 254, *Goodwynestyle* 259); *Golda* (m) or *Golde* (f) (*Goulds Ley* 298).

**Hund* (*Hounsflows* (?) 274).¹⁸

Lēofing, *Lȳfing* (*Lyvnyngesdone* 253); *Lēofmann* (*Lemannesfeld* 307)¹⁹; *Lēofmāer* (*Leumaresfeld* 307);¹⁹ *Lēofwine* (*Lowynesyryth* 254).

Manning (*Mannicotts* 287).

Ord māer (*Ordemareshulle* 256); *Ōsmund* (*Osmonds Well* 297); *Ōsweald* (*Oswoldeslyghe* 257).

**Pipp* (*Pipwell*, *Pippeswell feild* 307).

Sēmān (*Samannes(lond)* 257); *Scol(t)* (*Scotch Danes* 294, *Scotteslane*, *Scottescroft* 295); **Selewine* (*Selewynslond* 269); *Sib(b)a* (*Sibdale* 302); *Sprunt* (*Springs Ditch* 293); **Stærling* (*Starlingesden*

18. OE *hund* 'dog' is equally possible here (PN Hrt *loc. cit.*).

19. PN Hrt 307 links both these field names to the modern Lemon Fd with the comment: 'from some early owner *Lēofmāer* or *Lēofmann*.' There is no reason, however, why the two medieval forms should not represent two different field names.

295); **Sunningifu* (f) (*Songyves(croft)* 252).

Wilhere (*Wheelers Ley* 305); *Winebeorht* (*Wyneberdesworth* 260);
**Wyngyð* (f) (*Winney Fd* 390).

B. SCANDINAVIAN

Ásketill (*Asketillesdal* xx, 252).

Brandr (*Brondeslond* 252).

Dūsi ODan (*Dorsemoor* 278).

Grímr (*Grimswood* (?) 305);²⁰ *Gunnarr* (*Gonnerestone* xx);
Gunnhildr (f) (*Gunnildecroft* xx); *Gunni* (*Gunnelond* xx).

Hrólfr (*Rolphescroft* 286).

Ketill (*Ketelescroft* xx).

Ōsgod AScand < *Ásgautr* (*Hosgodeshamstall* xx, 255,
Osgodes(dich) 254).

Tōki OEScand (*Tokyeslond* xx, 257); *Turk(a)* AScand, short form
of OEScand *þurkil* (*Turkesfeld* 288).²¹

Þóraldr (*Thoraldesheth* xx, *Tureldeswik* xx, 260, *Tyrrells* 312);
þurbern AScand < *þorbiörn* (*Thurbernescroft* xx, 252).

C. MIDDLE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

Alain, *Alein* OFr (*Alleyns croft* 307); *Alice* (f) OFr < OG
Adalhaid (*Alice Croft* 310); *Ambroise* OFr (*Aumbreslond* 285);
Andrew (*Andrewesleese* 256).

20. Probably *Grīm* as a goblin name is to be preferred here to ON *Grímr* pers. n.. The second element of Grimswood is OE *wudu* in the sense 'grove, woodland' etc. See above, n. 10.

21. For AScand *Turk(a)* see Reaney s. n. *Turk* and O. von Feilitzen in *Personnamnsstudier* 1964, *tilläggnade minnet av Ivar Modéer* (1904-1960) (*Anthroponymica Suecana* 6) (Stockholm 1965), 66. Note also that OFr *turc* 'Turk' is used as a byname in ME from the 12th century onwards (E. Ekwall, *Early London Personal Names* (Lund, 1947), 170, Reaney s. n. *Turk*). OE **Turec* which forms the first element of Torksey L (DEPN s. n.) probably not be considered here.

Bacun OFr (Bacon Fd 286).

Chinne (byname) (< OE *cinn* 'chin') (Chinswick 310); *Clarice* (f) (*Clariceaker* 250); *Cl(o)ut* (byname) (< OE *clūt* 'patch, piece of cloth') (Clouts 310); *Colin*, diminutive of *Col*, a pet form of *Nicholas* (*Colynscroft* 263).

Dabb, side form of *Dobb*, a pet form of *Robert* (Dabs 309); *Dadd*, ME side form of OE, ME *Dodd* (*Daddysley*, *Dadsley* 271); *Dawe*, pet form of *David* (Daws Close 307); *Dolfin* < 1. ME *dolfin*, *dolphin* < ME *dalfin* < OFr *dalphin*, *daufin*, *dofin* etc. < Lat *delphinus* 'dolphin' (*Dolfynesdole*).²²

Eliot OFr, diminutive of *Elias* (*Eliotes(croft)* 252).

Gerard OG (*Gerardeswyk* 260, Garretts Fd 305); *Grimbald* OG (*Grimbaldesmede* 307); *Grubbe* (byname) (ME *grub* 'short, dwarfish fellow'²³) (*Grubbs Grove* 279).

Hagen(h)ild (f) OG (*Hawenildesaker* 250); *Haueis* (f) OFr < OG *Hadvid* (*Hawysedell* 252); *Herman(t)* OFr < OG *Her(e)man* (Armons Fd 276); *Hick*, pet form of *Ric(h)ard* (*Hyckesbrache* 250, *Hikkeshulle* 256, *Hick Sheppards* 294); *Hobb*, pet form of *Robert* (*Hobbescroft* 294); *Hogge*, pet form of *Roger* (Hogs Wick 278); *Humphrey* < OFr *Onfroi* < OG *Hunfrid*, *Humfrid*²⁴ (*Homfreysmad* 258); *Huwelot*, double diminutive of *Hugh* (*Howletts* 278).

Isabel (f) (*Ysabelesbrach* 250).

Lambert OG, OFr < OG *Landbert* (*Lambardesmad* 257).

Miles(s)ent (f) OFr < OG *Milisindis*, *Milesindis*, -*sendis* etc. (*Milsenteswyk* 260).

Nichol, short form of *Nicholas* (*Nicholesfeld* 254).

22. Cf. OFr *Dalfin*, which is also known from 12th century English sources (O. von Feilitzen in *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. M. Biddle (Oxford, 1976), 154). ON *Dólgrinnr* does not come into question as a possible etymon of the first element of *Dolfynesdole*.

23. See von Feilitzen in *Persönlichkeitsstudien* 1964 (as in n. 21), 56.

24. For ME *Humphrey* see the references given in n. 17.

Patrik < OIr *Patraicc* (*Patrikesfeld* 254); *Peter* (*Petresleye* 257); *Peurel* (byname) OFr (*Peuerelesdole* 252); *Phelip*, side form of *Philipp* (*Phelippes(holm)* 256).

Ric(h)ard OFr (OG) (*Rychardesbrade* 250); *Robin*, diminutive of *Robert* (*Robyneslond* 289); *Ro(d)ger* OG (*Rogeresdon* 277).

Salomon OFr (*Salmon Common and Fd* 267, *Salmannecroft* 307); *Soul* (*Souls Fd* 289); *Silvester* (*Sylvestres(lond)* 257); *Steven* (*Stevenes(dich)* 254).

Walbrun OG (*Warbins* 309); *Warin* OG (*Warineshache* 255).

VOLUME XVI
THE PLACE-NAMES OF WILTSHIRE

A. OLD ENGLISH

Abba (*Abbenbeorg* 423); *Acca* (*Arkells* 459); *Æðelgifu* (f) (*Ayllyvemade* 441); *Æðelweard* (*Ailwardesbrugge* 424); *Ælfræd* (*Alfredthesgrave* 433); *Ælfrīc* (*Alverychesgrove* 432, 469); *Ælsige* (*Alsiesheth* 433); *Ælstān* (*Elstanforlong* 431); *Ælweald* (*Alwoldescumb* 429).

Babba (*Babbaborrowe* 481); **Bēac* (*beaceshlawe* 236); **Bealdwine* (*balduwineshealh* 435); **Bealdwynn* (f) (*Baldewenemed* 441); **Beocc* (*Beoccesheal* xix, 354); *Beowa* (*beowan hammes hecgan* 435); **Bida* (*bidan ham, bydan hamm* 433); **Blunt* (*Bluntesheth* 433); **Bodda*, *Budda* (*Bodenhulle* (p), *Budenhulle* (p) 510); *Brūning* (*Brouning bergh* 423); *Bubba* (*Bubbethorne* 461).

Cēolweard (*Chillison* 464); *Cēolwine* (*Chelewyneslynche* 436); *Cola* (*Cole Croft* 473); *Cūðheard* (*cuðhardespæð* 442); *Cūl* (*Couleslowe* 436); *Cypping* (*Kyppyngesballe* 422).

Dodd (*Dead Pits* 456, *Dodsill* 470, *Doddismede*, *Dodesmere* 478); *Dod(d)a* (*Dod Mead* 487); *Dod(d)ing* (*Doddingesdone* 460); *Dud(d)a* (*Dudleys* 474).

Ēadbeald (*Edbaldesthrop* 448); *Ēadgýð* (f) (*Edytheslese* 438); *Ēadstān* (*eatstanes landscare* 440); *Ealdfrið* (*Aldefrythesdich* 429); *Ealhhere* (*Ealhæræs byrgelse* 425, *Ealcheres dic* 429); *Ēangýð* (f) (*eaangýð ehlew* 436); *Ēastmund* (*Eastmans Wells, estmondestone* 465).

**Filica* (*filican slæd*).²⁵

Goda (m) or *Gode* (f) (*Goodley Hill* 471); *Goding* (*Goddistingstiche* 447).

Headda (*headdan dune* 458);²⁵ *Hēahstān* (*Hestanesholt* 437); **Hōc* (*Hoces byrgels* 425).

Lēofhere (*leofheres garan* 432); *Lēofhild* (f) (*Lyvyl deweye* 449); *Lēofsige* (*lefsiges get* 432); **Loda* (*Leaden Hill* 458); *Luda* (*Ludanbeorh* 423); *Lulla* (*Lullowe* 436); **Lutt* (*Lutteweye* 449, *Luttewell* 509).

25. PN W 458 takes *filican slæd* and *headdan dune* to be early forms of the modern minor names *Filks* and *Haddington*.

**Mocc* (Moxome 478); *Mocca* (Mokenhull(e) 457).

Occa (Ochre Ridge (?) 494);²⁶ *Ōsweald* (Oswaldes bergh 423).

**Pīc* (Pikesworth 459); **Poss* (posseshlæwe 436).

Sēmān (Semannescroft 428, Semannesheye 433); *Sigemund* (Simundes acre 422); *Smēawine* (Smewynescroft 428).

Tāla (Tatan edisc 430); *Tīdfriȝ* (Titferȝesgeat 432); **Trottuc* (Tricketts Hill 482).

**Uggede* (Uggedeslinche 436).

**Wifel* (wifiling falod 431); *Wine* (wines hlinc 436); *Wulfhere* (wulfheres clif 426); *Wulfrūn* (f) (Wulvruneimere 441); *Wulfsige* (Wulsiescroft 428, Wolsyngeswelle*, Wolsyngeshulle* 307).

B. (ANGLO-) SCANDINAVIAN

Sveinn (Swaynesfeld 509).

þurkil OEScand (Turtle Bridge (?) 461).

C. MIDDLE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

Alain, *Alein* OFr (Annaslade 469); *Amice* (f) or *Amis* (m) OFr (Amyseplace 443); *Ansger* OG (Angereslangaker 493).

Bacon OFr (*Baconsleyn* 439).

Davy OFr < *David* (Davy Hay 494).

Gourdon (byname) OFr (*Gurdaneslake* 438).

Hanelot (*Hanelotesbrugge* 434); *Hick*, pet form of *Ric(h)ard* (*Hikkestenement* 448); *Houuel* OBret (*Howeleshey* 433); *Hudde*, pet form of *Hugh* (*Hitchcombe* 480); *Huddel*, diminutive of *Hudde* (*Hurdles* 484); *Hugin*, diminutive of *Hugh* (*Huginesmad* 441).

Isambert OFr < OG *Isanbert* (*Isomberdesmylle* 442).

26. OE *āc* 'oak' is equally possible as the firstelement of Ochre Ridge (PN W loc. cit.).

Mahieu OFr (*Mahewesmelne* 442); *Martin* (*Martines acre* 422).

Pegg (f), pet form of *Margaret* (*Peggeshey* 433); *Peter* (*Petreswelle* 450); *Poul(e)* (*Powells Croft* 460, *Pauls Dean* 508); *Prat(i)* (byname) (cf. OE *prætt* 'trick, ruse') (*Prattespull* 445).

Radger OG (*Radgaresmede* 441); *Randulf* OG (*Randolvestrenche* 448); *Reinald* OFr < OG *Raginald* (*Cock Renals* 476); *Reiner* OFr < OG *Raginhari* (*Reynersclive* 426); *Ro(d)ger* OG (*Rogers plott* 444); *Rollant* OFr < OG (*H)rōdland* (*Roughlands* 492); *T(h)om(ε)lin*, diminutive of *Thomas* (*Tomlynspece* 442).

Vincent (*Vincentlesmede* 441).

Walter OG *Waltereslake* 438).

VOLUME XVII
THE PLACE-NAMES OF NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

A. OLD ENGLISH

**Blocc* (*Blokesholm* 285); *Bōlhild* (f) (*Botildcrosse* 278).

Cud(d)a (*Cut Hill Wong* 320); *Cyneweald* (*Kinewaldesmers* 287).

Dæda (*Dadnel* 316); *Dēormund* (*Dermundheved* 284); *Dodd* (*Doddesbroc* 276); *Dunn* (*Dumesacre* 275, *Dansbridge* 312, 314).

Ēadmund (*Eadmundeswong* 292); *Ēadric* (*Ederecheswelle* 293); *Ēadwine* (*Edwynesholmes* 285); *Earnwīg* (*essartum Ernui* 275); *Ecgi* (*Eggesore* 288).

Glædwine (*Gledewinshawe* 283, *Gladewinesnape* 290); *Godwine* (*Godwinridding* 289).

Ōsmund (*Osmundeholme* (?) 285); *Ōswulf* (*Osolfhil* (?) 316).

Sigeward (*Sywardakyr* (?) 275, *Siwardesholm* (?) 285, *Sywordþlas* (?) 288); **Sōtsumu* (*essarla Sotsuni* 275); *Sprow* (*Sprowesmerhull* 287).

ȝēodbeald (*essartum Theodbaldi* 275).

**Wifel* (*Wiveleswelle* (?) 293); *Wulfnōȝ* (*Wlnathwro* 292); *Wulfrīc* (*Wlfrikkhou* 284, *Wolrichemedwe* 287); *Wulfsige* (*Wlsicroft* 278).

B. SCANDINAVIAN

Ása (f) or *Ási* (m) (*Asecroft* 278); *Áskell* (*Askylwong* 292); *Ásmundr* (*Osemundeholme* (?) 285); *Ásúlfr* (*Osolfhil* (?) 316).

Blesi (*Blesedale* (p) 310); *Buggi* (*Buggewant* etc. 316).

Gamall (*Gamelstubbyng* 291); *Gildi* OEScand (*Gildetoft* 291); *Grímr* (*Grimisdale* (?), *Grimisdik* (?), *Grymesdyke* (?) 279,

Grimeshill (?) 285, Grim's Wong 324).²⁷

Hrosskell (*Roskelholm* 285).

Ingialdr (*Ingolscar* (?) 286); *Ingólfr* (*Ingolfacre* 275, *Ingolscar* (?) 286).

Ketill (*Keteleswang* 292); *Kolbeinn* (*Cobie Furlong* 320);
Kolsveinn (*Colsuaincroft* 278, *Colsweinholm* 285).

Langlíf (f) (*Leavingrey Furlong* 320).

Ösb(e)arn AScand < *Ásbiörn* (*Osebarnewong* 292); *Ösgot* AScand
< *Ásgautr* (*Osgoleloft* 291).

Sighuvarth OEScand (*Sywardakyr* (?) 275, *Siwardesholm* (?) 285,
Sywordplas (?) 288); *Skeggi* (*Schegecroft* 278); *Skopli* (*Scofthowe* 284);
Steinn (*Suaynes Gores* 282).

Tōki OEScand (*Toukebutte* 277, *Tokehegge* 284, *Tokestord* 291).

Þōri OEScand (*essartum Thori* 275); *þórir* (*Thoreslound* 287);
Þurstan AScand < *þorsteinn* (*Thurstanhaie* 283, *Thurstanwelle* 293).

Ulf (*Vlviswelle* 292).

Vífill (*Wiveleswelle* (?) 293).

C. MIDDLE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

Adam (*Adamhegge* 284); *Albert* OG (*Alberdesbuske* 277,
Alberllond 286); *Arnald* OG (*Arnaldeswang* 292); *Astulf* OG

27. Since Nt lies in the area of Scand settlement in England the position with regard to *Grim* in f. ns. is more complex than it is in the southern counties. The editors of Pn Nt believed that the Nt *Grimesdik* and *Grymesdyke* probably have none of the mythological associations of the southern English Grim's Ditch and may contain ON *Grímr* pers. n. (PN Nt 279). The other f. ns. grouped above in the Nt list, s. n. *Grímr* are also taken by PN Nt to contain the pers. n. In the case of Grim's Wong this is probably so, since ON here the second element, could denote a piece of landed property and was quite frequently compounded with pers. ns. (see PN Nt 292 for examples). The other f. ns. given above in the Nt list, s. n. *Grímr*, however, all contain topographical terms and might equally well contain *Grīm* as a goblin name. See also above, n. 10.

(*Hastolfbuskes* 277); *Aub(e)ree* (f) OFr < OG *Alb(e)rada* (*Auberaiacre* 275); *Aub(e)ri* OFr < OG *Alberic* (*Aubericlose* 277).

Baldwin OG (*Baldewineshale* 284), *Baldeswynesmere* 287); *Brian* OBret (*Brianheie* 283); *Boselin* OFr (OG) (*pratum Buselini* 305).

Colin, diminutive of *Col*, a pet form of *Nicholas* (*Colynlandes* 286); *Col(e)man* OG (*Colmanshaye* 283); *Custentin* OBret < Lat *Constantinus* (*Costentymsmethe* 290).

Dionysia (f) or *Dionysius* (m) (*Dionysbutt* 277); *Dobb(e)*, pet form of *Robert* (*Dobbe pyngyll* 307).

Florence (m) or (f) < Lat *Florentius*, *Florentia* (*FlorencePlace* 288); *Franceis* OFr (*Fraunceysland* 286).

Gerard OG (*Gerardestoft* 291); *Gilbert* OFr < OG *Gisilbert* (*Sarta Gileberti* 275); *Gillot* OFr, diminutive of *Gille* (*Giles*) (*Gillotholm* 285); *Goscelin*, *Gosselin* OFr < OG *Gautselin*, *Gauzlin*, *Goz(e)lin* (*sarta Gocelini* 275).

Helbold OG (*Helebaldeswang* 292).

Jurdain OFr (*Jurdainintak* 286).

Lambert OG, OFr < OG *Landbert* (*Lambardestorth* 291).

Mabel (f) (*Mabilewong* 292).

Pain OFr (*Paynrydyng* 289, *Peineswong* 292); *Picot* OFr (*Pigotacre* 275).

Radulf OG (*sarta Radulfi* 275); *Randulf* OG (*Randolfwelleforlang* 301); *Rau(l)f* AN, ME < OG *Radulf* (*Raufcroft* 278); *Robert* OFr (OG) (*sarta Roberti* 275); *Robin*, diminutive of *Robert* (*Robynhill* 285).

Sabina (f) Lat (*Sabinetoft* 291); *Silvester* (*Silvesterewong* 292).

VOLUME XVIII
THE PLACE-NAMES OF MIDDLESEX

A. OLD ENGLISH

Ælfgār (*Algaresgrave* (?) 199); *Ælfrīc* (*Alfrichesburi* 196).

Bēdgār (*bedegares spicleage* 221);²⁸ *Beorhtigifu* (f) (*Brihteuefeld* 198); *Billing* (*Billyngeswelle* 204).

Cott (*Cotteshyrst* 201); *Cyneweard* (*Kenewardesshop* 200).

Dēoring (*Deringespictel* 202); *Dēormōd* (*Dermodeswican* 204, *Deormodes wican* 221); *Dodd* (*Doddeshurst* 201); *Dud(d)a* (*Duddemede* 202); *Dud(d)ing* (*Duddingespōnd* 203); *Dunnic* (*Donkescrouche* 197).

Ēadbeorht (*eadbryhtes hlāw* 200); *Ēadgār* (*Adgoresgrene* 199); *Ēadmær* (*Admerslese* 201); *Ēadrīc* (*Ēdrichesmad* 202); *Ēadweard* (*Edwardespyghtell* 202); *Ēadwine* (*Edwynesgardyn* 199); *Ealdgār* (*Algaresgrave* (?) 199).

Herefriȝ (*Herefreȝinglond* 201); *Hereweald* (*Herewoldysgrene* 199); *Hrōȝwulf* (*Rothulvespōnd* (?) 203).

Lēofgār (*Levegareslond* 201); *Lēofrīc* (*Leuerichescroft* 211); *Lēofsige* (*Lefsiesdon* 197).

Ordmær (*Ordmaresgerd* 199).

Sægār (*Sagoresfeld* 198); *Sæwine* (m) or *Sæwynn* (f) (*Sawynghescrouche* 197); *Sigemund* (*Simondesselme* (?) 198, *Symondeshawe* (?) 199); *Stānheard* (*Slonardesfeild* 213).

Tāta (*tate burnan* 219, *tatanburnan* 220); **Toll* (*Tolleslond* 201)

Wulfrīc (*Wlfrichescot* 196, *Wlfrichescroft* 197).

B. SCANDINAVIAN

Gunnhildr (f) (*Gunnildeshawe* 199).

28. The f. n. form should be corrected to *bedegares styuic leage* (C. Johansson, *Old English Place-Names and Field Names containing LĒAH* (Stockholm 1975), 126).

Hróðulfr (*Rothulvespond* (?) 203).

Sigmundr (*Simondesselme* (?) 198, *Symondeshawe* (?) 199);
Sveinn (*Sweynespond* 203).

C. MIDDLE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

Anne (f) (*Anmers* 212); *Arnold* OG (*Arnoldeshawe* 199).

Ballard (byname) (*Balardesschottes* 203); *Berner* OG
(*Bernerfeld* 198); *Bernard* OG (*Bernardeslond* 201).

Col(e)man OG (*Colman Hedge Fd* 216).

Gubb(e), ME short form of OFr *Gubiun* (*Gubbesgrene* 199,
Grubb's Croft 209).

Johan OFr (*Johanhawe* 199).

Lambert OG, OFr < OG *Landbert* (*Gara Lamberti* 199);
Ludewart OG (*Ludwardeseye* 197).

Nichol, short form of *Nicholas* (*Nicholes Pichtel* 202,
St Nicholas Field 217).

Pain OFr (*Payneslond* 201); *Per(o)nel(l)(e)* (f) < Lat *Petronilla*
(*Pernelwyk* 204).

Samson, *Sanson* OFr (*Samsonesloghe* 204). *Samsonesho* 200);
Savari OFr < OG *Savaric* (*Savoriesrudinge* 203); *Sibilie* (f) <
Lat *Sibilla*, OFr *Sibille* (*Sibilespleyne* 203).

T(h)om(e)lin, diminutive of *Thomas* (*Thomelines croft* 197).

Vitalis Lat (*Vitaliscroft* 197).

Walter OG (*Walterescroft* 197); *Warin* OG (*Warynstaple* 204);
Watt, pet form of *Walter* (*Wattescroft* 197).

VOLUME XIX
THE PLACE-NAMES OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE

A. OLD ENGLISH

Æðelflæd (f) (*Ailfledeshauedlond* 329); **Æðelgēat* (*Ailetes Aker** 311);²⁹ *Æðelgifu* (f) (*Aileuebuttes* 314, *Adyeleuelowe* 331); *Æðelstān* (*Athelstanestan* 344); *Æðelweald* (*Adthelwoldesdelf* 319); *Æðelwine* (*Aylwyneslane* 50);³⁰ *Ælfgar* (*Algareshe* (?) 322, *Algarsmede* (?) 338, *Algarridi* (?) 342);³¹ *Ælfgifu* (f) (*Alueue(croft)* 317, *Aluiuelane* 337); *Ælfræd* (*Aluuredessnode*, *Alwredessnote* 344); *Ælfstan* (*A(l)stonestrow(es)* (?) 347); *Ælfweald* (*Alwoldinge(were)* 350); *Ælfiwig* (*Alviesdam* (?) 319, *Elvystathes* 344); *Ælfwine* (*Alwineslane* (?) 50, *Alwinesden* (?) 320);³² *Æscwīg* (*Aschwiesheuedland* 329).

Babbing* or **Bæbbing* (*Babbinges(haveden)* 329); *Beonna* (*Benning(were)* 350); **Blæc* (*Blakeswey* (?) 349); *Beorhtnōð* (*Brihtnothesfeld* 323); *Beornwulf* (*Bernuluesdiche* 321); **Blunt* (*Bluntesdich* 169); *Brūn* (*Brun(n)eswold*, *Brounesweld* 246, *Bruneshalk* 328); **Brūnhild* (f) (*Brunilde Cruch xx, 317); **Bucc* (*Bokkyngweye* 173).

**Centing* (*Kentynggesput* 341);³³ *Cēolhelm* (*Chelmes-*, *Vltrechelmes(were)* 350); **Cobba* (*Cobbecote* 316); **Cræla* (*Cratendune* etc., *Craten(h)e(e)* etc. 93);³⁴ **Cūla* (*Culanig* etc. 322).

29. PN C 311 incorrectly suggests that the etymon of the first element of this f. n. is OE *Ælfgēat*.
30. *Aylwyneslane* appears earlier as *Alwineslane* (PN C *loc. cit.*). There appears to have been some confusion here between ME *Ailwine* < OE *Æðelwine* and ME *Alwine* < OE *Ælfwine* or *Ealdwine* (Angl *Aldwine*). O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), 142 included the possibility that DB *Al-* could represent OE *Æðel-* but Ekwall, *Early London Personal Names* 5, 183, showed that *Ail-* is the normal form of OE *Æðel-* in ME. Ekwall (*ib.* 5) specifically states that ME *Algar* cannot stand for OE *Æðelgār*, since OE *Æðelgār* would have become *Ailgar* in ME.
31. PN C gives the etymon of the first element of these f. ns. as OE *Ælfgār* but OE *Ealdgār* (Angl *Aldgār*) is also theoretically possible (see Ekwall, *Early London Personal Names* 5). See also the previous note. The rare Scand *Alfgeirr* probably need not be considered here.
32. PN C 319 takes OE *Ælfiwig* to be the first element of *Alviesdam*, but OE *Ealdfiwig* (Angl *Aldfiwig*) should perhaps also be considered here.
33. For this f. n. and the pers. n. see von Feilitzen, *NoB* 33 (1945), 76.
34. For a full discussion of these names see PN C 93-94 and the references given there.

Dægga* (*Dagenhale 330);³⁵ *Dēornōð* (*Darnodes(welle)* 351);³⁶ *Dodd* (*Doddes(hide)* 330); *Dod(d)a* (*Doddle Fd* 363); *Dod(d)ing* (*Doddin's Field*⁺ 287, *Doddingesdale* 318); *Dud(d)a* (*Dudenho* 331); **Dudewynn* (f) (*Dudewenehel* 333);³⁷ *Dunn* (*Dunsley Cross Rd* 132); *Dunning* (*Dunnyngislede*⁺ 345, *Dunni(n)g(es)were* 350).

Ēadgār (*Adgeresdale* 318, *Adger(is)stou(u)kroft* 346); *Ēadgifu* (f) (*Ediuebroc* 314, *Edyuelode* 335); *Ēadmār* (*Admarshale* 330); *Eadrīc* (*Edricheloue* 344); **Ēaduc*, diminutive of names in *Ēad*- (*Edix Hill Hole* 71);³⁸ *Ēadweald* (*Edwoldesheyrne* 333); *Ēaldgār* (*Algareshe* (?) 322, *Algarsmede* (?) 338, *Algarridi* (?) 342);³⁹ *Ealdrēd* (*Aldredecote* 316); **Ealdrīc* (*Aldricheswey* 349); **Ealdstān* (*A(l)stonestrow(es)* (?) 347); *Ealduīg* (*Alviesdam* (?) 319);⁴⁰ *Ealdwine* (*Alwineslane* (?) 50, *Alwinesden* (?) 320);⁴¹ *Ealhmund* (*Alemunde(welle)* 351); *Ealhstān* (*A(l)stonestrow(es)* (?) 347).

Goda (m) or *Gode* (f) (*Goodwood Fd* 363); *Godgifu* (f) (*Godyeuesleyr* 249, *Godgive(dole)* 319); *Godmann* (*Godmannes(den)* 320).

Hereward (*Herewardisbeche* 312); *Hēring* (*Herrings Meer* 368); **Hræfn* (*Raueneshelhe* (?) 333);⁴² **Hunt* (*Huntesgrene* 328); *Hwelp* (*Weltmore Fm* 228).

**Lēofel* or **Lēofling* (*Leflinghauellond* 329); *Lēofmann* (*Lemanespichtel* 340); *Lēofrīc* (*Lefricheshegg* 330).

35. PN C 330 gives the etymon of the first element of this f. n. as **Dæcca*, obviously drawing a parallel with Dagenham Ess (PN Ess 91), but since there is only the single form it seems best to regard the base as OE **Dægga*. See above s. n. **Dægga* in the Ess list for an identical f. n. from Ess.
36. Reaney, *Studier i Modern Språkvitenskap* 18 (1953), 88, gives the full form of this f. n. as *Darnodeswell*.
37. For this f. n. and the pers. n. see von Feilitzen, *NoB* 33 (1945), 77.
38. The early spellings of Edix Hill Hole indicate that the first element was a pers. n. taking the form *Edok* which Bruce Dickins suggested might have been a diminutive of Edward (PN C loc. cit.). A ME spelling *Edok* would correspond to an OE **Ēaduc*.
39. See above, n. 31.
40. See above, n. 32.
41. *Alwineslane* appears later as *Aylwyneslane* (see above, n. 30).
42. PN C 333 regards **Hræfn* as the base here but ON *Hrafn* should also be considered.

**Mēoc* (*Mekesbroc*burn 314).

Norȝmann (*Normannes*(dole) 319, *Normannes*(welle) 351).

**Obba*, hypocoristic form of *Ōsbeorht* (*Obbeleie* 337); *Ordmaēr* (*Ormmeressnote* 262); *Ōsmund* (*Hosmundeshou* (?) xx, 329,⁴³ *Osemundesdale* 319, *Osemunde*(welle) 351); *Ōsweald* (*Oseualdes*(heuedland) 329, *Osewoldespit* 341).

Sāemann (*Semansgole* 327); *Sāweald* (*Sewalesclote* 315); *Seaxfriȝ* (*Sexferes*(done) 322);⁴⁴ *Sigegār* (*Sigares*(broc) 314, *Sigereston* (?) 347);⁴⁵ *Smēawine* (*Smewynisheued* 329); *Sprow* (*Sprawsdens* 367).

Tīdbeorht (*Tidbrihtwic* 350); **Topp* (*Toppes*(broc) 314).

pēodbeorht (*Tedbricles*(croft) 317).

Weȝer (*Wedrescroft* (?) 317);⁴⁶ *Wibba* (*Wybbecote* 316); **Wifel* (*Wivelesdale* 318); *Wīgfriȝ* (*Wiuerdes*(den) 320); **Willuc* (*Wullockesthre* 347); *Wilmund* (*Willemondesdelle* 320);⁴⁷ *Wine* (*Wymesmerehille* 366); **Wit(t)el* (*Wittisoo* 98); **Wrab(b)a* (*Wrabelowe* 331); **Wrenta* (*Wrenthelle* 333); *Wulfgār* (*Wlgares*(were) 350); *Wulfgifu* (f) (*Wlueue*(croft) 317); *Wulphere* (*Wolveres*(croft) 317); *Wulfmāer* (*Wolmerystrete* 31, 32, *Wlmerysdych* 32, *Wolmereshaslond* 199, *Wulmerford* 324, *Wolmerehauedyn* 329); *Wulfmann* (*Wlfrmannes*(mede) 338); *Wulfrīc* (*Wolfrichesbrade* 313); *Wulfrūn* (f) (*Wlfrunesgores* 326); *Wulfsige* (*Wlslis*(croft) 317, *Wlfsis*(haveden) 329); *Wulfstān* (*Wlstonhegge* 330); *Wulfwīg* (*Wlwysdick* 321, *Wlfysstede* 345).

43. PN C xx, 329, takes ON *Ásmundr* to be the first element of *Hosmundeshou*. However OE pers. ns. do occur as the first elements of compounds whose second element is ON *haugr*, e. g. *Dollyth Ho ERY* (PN ERY 125), *Candlehoe L* (DEPN s. n.), and while it is possible that the first element of *Hosmundeshou* is an Anglicized form of ON *Ásmundr* it is equally likely that it is OE *Ōsmund*.

44. PN C 322 takes the first element here to be either *Seaxferȝ* (i. e. *Seaxfriȝ*) or *Seaxfer*. An OE *Seaxfer* is not on record and there is no need to consider it as a possible alternative here.

45. PN C 347 incorrectly takes the first element of *Sigereston* to be OE *Sigehere*. The correct etymon is ei either OE *Sigegur* or OG *Sig(g)er*. ON *Sigurr* probably need not be considered.

46. The appellative *weȝer* 'wether' is equally possible here (PN C loc. cit.).

47. PN C 320 incorrectly gives *Winemund* as a possible alternative to *Wilmund* as the first element of *Willemondesdelle*.

B. SCANDINAVIAN

Ásmundr (*Hosmundeshou* (?) xx, 329).⁴⁸

Blakkr (*Blakeswey* (?) 349).

Farmann (*Farmansbuttes* 314).

Grímr (*Grimesbrede* 313, *Grimmisdych* (?) 320, *Grimesslad* (?) 343, *Grymesweye* (?) 349, *Grimis(welle)* (?) 351);⁴⁹ *Gunnhildr* (f) (*Gunnildeslake* xxii, 334, *Gunildislake* 291).

Hákun, *-kon* (*Hacunfen*, *Hacounfen* 227, *Hakounis(welle)* 351);
Hrafn (*Raueneshethe* (?) 333);⁵⁰ *Hundi* (*Houndysthofte* 347).

Ingialdr (*Ynggoldesclosse* 315).

Klyppr (*Clippeshull* xx, *Clippescroft* xxi).

Sægrímr (*Segrim(m)eslane* 46); *Sibbi* (*Sipsey Bridge* 116);⁵¹
Snarri (*Snarries(hauedlond)* 329).⁵²

Tōki OEScand (*Thokesdich* xxi, 321, *Tokisdye* 321).

þurgār AScand < *þorgeirr* (*Thurgaresweye* 349); *þursfān* AScand
< *þorsteinn* (*Thurstones(path)* 340).

48. See above, n. 43.

49. PN C takes the pers. n. to be the first element in *Grimesbrade*, *Grimesslad* and *Grimis(welle)* but is uncertain whether *Grymmisdich* and *Grymesweye* contain the pers. n. or *Grīm* as a byname of Wōden. In the case of *Grimesbrade* personal ownership is plausible since the second element is OE *brādu* 'breadth, broad strip' and here the pers. n. is to be regarded as the etymon of the first element. In the other four f. ns., all of which contain topographical terms as the second element, the pers. n. might be theoretically possible but it is perhaps more plausible to suggest that the first element here is *Grīm* with the function of a goblin name. See also above, n. 10.

50. See above, n. 42.

51. PN C 305 incorrectly suggests an OE *Sibbe* as the first element of *Sipsey*.

52. For the pers. n. *Snarri* see von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* 367 and Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* 256.

MIDDLE ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL

Ace OFr < OG *Azo* (*Ace(s)lane* 50); *Adam* (*Adamesaker* 311); *Alain, Alein* OFr (*Allen's Drove* 273, *Aleynesstoke* 345); *Anger* AFr < OG *Ansger* (*Aungerys lane* 50); *Anneis* (f) OFr (*Anneis(welle)* 351).

Baldwin OG (*Baldewynesrode* 342); *Bal(l)* (byname) (< ME *ball* 'ball')⁵³ (*Balescros* 317); *Basset* (byname) OFr (*Bassetteshaveden* 329); *Bernard* OG (*Barsey Fm* (p) 106);⁵⁴ *Bett(e)* (m) or (f)⁵⁵ (*Bettisverd* 327); *Bodin* OFr (OG) (*Boydyneswyke* 350); *Borel* (byname) (< OFr *borel* 'executioner') (*Borlesymham* 193).

Cateline (f) OFr (*Katelines(croft)* 317); *Charles* OFr < Lat *Carolus* < OG *Karl*⁵⁶ (*Charlescrux* 317); *Cholle* (byname) (< ME *cholle* 'throat, gullet; jowl, double chin' etc., probably used as the byname of a person with a double chin) (*Cholleshethe*, -*hithe* 41, *Chollislane*, *Cholleslane* 42).

Eilbern OLG (*Aylbernesgate* 327); *Emm* (f) < AN (OG) *Emma* (*Emesburne* 314); *Evermund* OG, OFr (*Euermundesholm* 332).⁵⁷

Gambon (byname) ONFr (*Gambonesplace* 340); *Gilbert* OFr < OG *Gisilbert* (*Gilberdesdale*, -*dole* 318); *Greg(g)*, short form of *Gregory* (*Greggyshirne* 333).

Haukin, either a variant of ME *Havekin*, a diminutive in -*kin* formed from OE *H(e)afoc*, or a diminutive in -*kin* of ME *Hal*, a pet form of *Harry* (*Henry*) (*Haukins Bytt*, *Hawckinges bytt* 227); *Heilok*, *Heylok* (byname) (< OE (Angl) *hæg* 'hay' + OE *locc* 'lock of hair', probably applied to a person whose hair was similar to hay in colour) (*Heylokesbrade*⁺ 313);⁵⁸ *Hichcock*, pet form in -*cock* formed from *Hich*, a pet form of *Richard* (*Hychecokesdam* 319); *Hildegger*, *Hilger* OG (*Ilgerysdole* 367); *Horel* (byname) (< ME *hōrel* 'fornicator, adulterer' (*Horeldescroft* 331); *Hudde*, pet form of *Hugh* (*Hudestoke* 345).

53. For a discussion of ME *Bal*, *Balle* etc. see Ekwall, *Early London Personal Names* 136-137.

54. PN C 106 incorrectly takes the early forms of Barsey Fm to contain an OE *Beornheard*.

55. For this pers. n. see Reaney s. n. *Bett*.

56. For this pers. n. see Reaney s. n. *Charles*.

57. Reaney, *Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap* 18 (1953), 91, incorrectly takes the f. n. *Euermundesholm* to contain an OE *Eoformund*.

58. Reaney a. n. *Haylock* incorrectly regards ME *Heilok*, *Heylok* as belonging to an OE **Hægluc*.

Jankin, diminutive in *-kin* of *Jan* < OFr *Johan* (*Jankynesfreth*¹ 325); *Jon* < OFr *Johan* (*Ionescruche* 317).

Keverel (byname) (< AFr *keverel*, *coverel* 'small tub or vessel' (*Keverelleshythe* 42).

Lambert OG, OFr < OG *Landbert* (*Lamberdesgrave* 328); *Lug(ge)* (byname) (< ME *lug(ge)* 'stick, pole') (*Lugslow*, *Luggeslonde* 361).

Magg (f), short form of *Margaret* (*Maggeshel* 101); *Magot* (f), diminutive of *Margaret* (*Magotisplace* 340, *Magodespit*, *Magotespyt* 366); *Margery* (f) (*Margery's Croft* 274); *Mariot* (f), diminutive of *Mary* (*Mariotesaker* 311); *Martin* (*Martines(holm)* 332); *Modbert* OG (*Modberdesdale*⁺ 318); *Morulf* OG (*Moruluesdale*, *Morolesdole* 318).

Pain OFr (*Paynes(croft)* 317, *Paynesend* 322); *Petit* (byname) OFr (*Petiteshalvaker* 311); *Picot* OFr (*Spygotesholt*⁺ 332, *Pigates(lond)* 336); *Piers* OFr (*Persespol* 341); *Podeman(n)* (byname) (< ME *pode* 'toad' + OE *mann*, ME *man(n)(e)* 'man') (*Podemansfeld* 323); *Pollard* (byname) or *Pollhard* (*Pollardisbrede* 313, *Pollardeswyke* 350); *Prat(t)* (byname) (cf. OE *prætt* 'trick, ruse') (*Prattesplace* 340).

Quentin OFr < Lat *Quintinus* (*Qwyntynys(croft)* 317).

Rand(e), ME short form of OG *Randulf* (*Rand's Wood*⁺ 123); *Rondel* (byname) OFr (*Rundelespitell* 340); *Rou* AN (*Roueshil* etc. 220);⁵⁹ *Ruggel* (byname) (cf. e. ModE *ruggle* 'a plaything, toy; a species of shell' (NED, q. v.)) (*Ruggelesweye* 349); *Rumpe* (byname) (< ME (ON) *rumpe* 'rump') (*Rumpes(hide)* 330).

Salomon OFr (*Salmans wronge* 352); *Sig(g)er* OG (*Sigereston* (?) 347);⁶⁰ *Sorel* (byname) OFr (*Sorellesdike*⁺ 207); *Stepeman(n)* (byname) (perhaps the first element might be formed from OE *stepe*, *stæpe*

59. PN C 220 takes the first element of *Roueshil* etc. to be 'probably a contraction of a personal name, either OE *Hrōþuulf* or Norman *Rolf*'. The forms of the p.n. suggest that the first element is *Rou*, a Norman of ON *Hrólfr*.

60. See above, n. 45.

'step')⁶¹ (*Stepemanneshil* 333).

Tipp, side form of *Tibb*, a short form of ME *Tib(b)ald*, *Tybaud* < OFr *Tibaut*, *Thiebaut* etc. < OG *Theudobald* etc. (*Typpesmere* 339).

Walter OG (*Walteriscaygges* 113, *Walterisbig* 314); *Wil(e)kin*, diminutive in *-kin* of *William* (*Wilkinesbern* 313, *Willekinsstrate* 346); *Willihard* OG (*Wyllardisbeche* 312).

J. INSLEY

61. PN C 333 suggests that *Stepemanneshil* may contain a pers. n. deriving from OE *stīap* 'of high courage, noble'. OE *stīap* does not appear as a pers. n. element and it might be better to regard *Stepeman(n)* as a ME byname based on OE *stepe*, *stūpe* 'step' or perhaps on the vb. OE *steppan*, *stæppan* 'to step, to trudge, to plod'.