ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY. VOLUME V

THE PLACE-NAMES
OF THE
NORTH RIDING
OF YORKSHIRE

By
A. H. SMITH

ENGLISH PLACE NAME SOCIETY
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GENERAL EDITORS’ PREFACE

HITHERTO the county-volumes of the English Place-name Survey have either been almost entirely the work of the Editors themselves, as was the case with volumes II and III, or else, as in volume IV, they wrote the volume on the basis of collections, identifications, and various topographical enquiries made by a collaborator. The present volume is the first in which the whole of the primary task of collection, identification, and interpretation has been undertaken by another scholar, working on the lines laid down for the Survey generally and under the general supervision of its Editors. Their part in the preparation of the volume and their interpretation of their editorial responsibility can best be explained by quoting briefly from the memorandum issued to all scholars preparing one of their volumes:

"The functions of the General Editors would seem to be (i) to see that the volumes in their general form follow the lines laid down by the promoters of the Survey, (ii) to place at their disposal such comparative material as they may have at their command, (iii) to see, so far as possible, that no interpretations, either general or particular, are offered which seem faulty in themselves or inconsistent with the general principles of place-name interpretation as the Editors conceive them."

Those functions have been exercised freely in the present volume. Without in any way detracting from the excellence of much of Dr Smith’s work, it should be said that the volume as now published differs widely in detail, and at times in general ideas, from the manuscript submitted to them at various stages. At the same time, the editors desire to pay high tribute to the skill and energy of Dr Smith in collecting materials, more especially from unpublished sources, to the linguistic acumen which
has led him to some brilliant solutions of problems, and to the
unfailing readiness with which he has listened to their criticisms
and accepted their suggestions. The task of the editors in
volumes produced under the conditions which govern the Place-
name Survey might not be an easy one. It is pleasant to record
that on the first occasion on which they have carried out that
task it has been entirely free from difficulty.

A. M.
F. M. S.

In die S. Johannis de Beverlaco,
1928
AUTHOR'S PREFACE

I WISH to express my deep gratitude to my old teacher and friend Professor E. V. Gordon. It is true that there are few direct references to his name in the following pages, but the obligation I owe him is in his untiring and illuminating assistance over a period of five or six years in reading through this work as it progressed, in pointing out valuable sources of material, in making corrections to my work, and giving me the benefit of his own researches.

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Others I can but refer to in the alphabetical order of their names:


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A. H. SMITH
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MAP

Map of the North Riding . . . . . . . In pocket at end
INTRODUCTION

In two respects the district now entered upon by the Survey differs widely from those which have already been dealt with. The North Riding of Yorkshire includes a vast region of high moorland which could not be occupied at an early date, and in which only scattered settlements could arise at a later time. In the second place, the Riding underwent in the ninth and tenth centuries a Scandinavian settlement of exceptional thoroughness, which has left innumerable traces in the local nomenclature of the present day.

The North Riding is an important agricultural region. Its production of oats and barley is considerable, in view of the limited area available for their growth. In sheep farming it comes third or fourth amongst English counties. This agricultural variety is due to the geographical structure of the region. The Vale of York (roughly Bulmer, Birdforth and Allertonshire wapentakes) is a broad plain connecting the Trent valley with the north. It rises nowhere (even at the Tees-Ouse watershed) to more than 200 ft. and its southern portion is covered with glacial deposits which make rich agricultural land. The southern part of the Vale was formerly covered by the Forest of Galtres. The Derwent valley (comprising the wapentakes of Ryedale, Pickering Lythe, and part of Whitby Strand) includes the small agricultural region known as Pickering Vale, which was apparently the bed of an old lake before the Derwent cut through into the Vale of York by the Kirkham Gorge. Pickering Vale is covered with alluvial deposits, and though formerly very marshy it has been turned by extensive drainage into the second productive area of the riding. The Vale of Pickering has a further importance in that it connects the Vale of York directly with the sea. The north-eastern part of the Riding is occupied by the Hambleton and Cleveland Hills which extend from the Kirkham Gorge in the form of a crescent to the north-east coast. The hills themselves are high and are covered with bleak moorland which offers pasture for many sheep. The lower parts of the valleys, many of which find direct outlet into the little bays
of the precipitous coast, are covered with boulder clay which makes the valleys themselves fertile. In the extreme north, the discovery of iron ore, the presence of limestone, and salt-workings have facilitated the development of an industrial region round Middlesborough (the population of which in 1827 was 40). On the west of the Vale of York is the extensive Pennine region of which the portion included in the North Riding is nearly identical with Richmondshire. On the Westmoreland border there are lofty fells from which streams flow down to the main valleys of the Ure, the Swale, and the Tees. The scenery is typical of a mountain limestone district—steep hillsides often scarred, numerous potholes, and precipitous waterfalls. In the lower reaches of the rivers, where they approach the Vale of York, the land is arable and fairly well wooded, but in the upper reaches the arable land disappears and in its place there is pasture land which stretches far up the fell sides. As on the Cleveland Hills this permanent pasturage permits of sheep farming on a great scale, and most of the sheep of the Riding are to be found in these western dales.

As the term riding is of Scandinavian origin the division of Yorkshire into ridings must be later than the Danish settlement of 876. The ridings of Yorkshire are parallel to those of the ancient kingdom of Lindsey. There, as in Yorkshire, there was no attempt to secure equality of area or assessment in the ridings. In Yorkshire, the riding boundaries converge on the city of York. The East and North Ridings are separated by the Derwent, and the West and North Ridings by the Ouse and the Ure-Nidd watershed. The boundary between the North Riding and Westmoreland is the Pennine watershed, but the boundary was long uncertain and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were several attempts to define it. In 1338, for example, because of the “great disputes touching the confines thereof” a commission was made “to define by a

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1 Cf. F. M. Stenton, Essays presented to R. Lane Poole, 147.

2 This was possibly the boundary between Deira and the old British kingdom which had its centre in Elmet. The existence of such a boundary would be confirmed if, as is probable, the names of two places near Ripon (YWR), Markington and Markenfield (Mercingatun, c. 1039 YCh 7, Mercinton, 1086 DB; Merchefeld 1086 DB, Merchingfeld 1135–53 YCh 64), are geonymics derived from OE mearc ‘march, boundary.’
perambulation the metes and bounds between those two counties”. The northern boundary of the Riding is the river Tees, separating it from Durham, which according to Symeon of Durham was a barren waste and formerly considered to be the natural boundary between the ancient kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira.

The materials which are collected in this volume give little evidence of the survival of a British population in this region. This evidence is confined to some eight place-names, to half-a-dozen names which possibly contain OE *Wealh*, and to a dozen river-names. Of the eight place-names, Alne, Glaisdale, and Leeming are old river-names, Crayke refers to the precipice on which the village is built, Dinnand and Penhill are old hill-names, and Catterick alone is the name of a British settlement. British place-names are no less rare in the East and West Ridings. This rarity, however, does not necessarily prove a scanty British population, for there is good independent evidence of the survival of a British kingdom till well into the seventh century in the Leeds district, where there is similarly little evidence for it in place-names. On the contrary, it only serves to show how thorough were the later Anglian and Scandinavian settlements. Many British names which survived the Anglian settlement may afterwards have been displaced in the twofold settlement of Danes and Norwegians. This settlement affected even river-names, such as Wiske, Swale, Bain, and Greta, conservative though such names usually are. When compared with Durham and Northumberland we find in those counties a larger number of Celtic names than in the North Riding. But this disproportion is not necessarily due to the survival of a larger Celtic population north of the Tees but rather to the fact that the displacement of Celtic by Scandinavian names was far less extensive there than in Yorkshire. Conditions were different across the Pennines in Lancashire, where the British population survived in small well-defined islands of territory and in the hills. It would, therefore, be dangerous to draw conclusions as to the survival of the British population from the British names of the North Riding. Nevertheless, the persistence of the district name *Deira* as the name of an Anglian

1 Pat. 186. 2 SD (Rolls ed.), i. 339. 3 v. IPN 21.
kingdom and the distribution of such British names as survived the Anglian and Scandinavian settlements may indicate that the surviving Britons were not driven to the west but remained in their original homes in the more fertile parts. On the coast there is Wapley and in Eskdale there are Glaisdale and Dinnand; in Pickering Vale there is Wardle Rigg and in a fertile part of Ryedale the lost Walton. In the Vale of York there are Alne and Crayke in Bulmer wapentake and further north there are Leeming, Catterick, and the adjacent Walburn, and Walmire a little distance across the Swale. Only Penhill and Walden in Wensleydale are in any way isolated from the rest. It is an important fact that such British names as survived occur in fertile parts like the Vale of York, and it shows that the surviving Britons were not isolated by natural obstacles nor on the other hand did they survive in isolated groups as in Lancashire.

The evidence of place-names is, however, too scanty for us to determine whether the Britons lived apart from the Angles or in close contact with them. The view that the Britons lived side by side with the Angles and perhaps mingled freely with them is supported by the use of British personal names amongst the Angles of the North Riding. Thus, Cædmon, the name of the Christian poet of St Hild’s monastery at Streonæshalch, is from British *Catumannos; Ceadda and Ced(di), the names of the Abbot of Lastingham, later Bishop of Lichfield, and his brother the Bishop of the East Saxons, represent hypocoristic forms of late British *Caduc (Old Welsh Catuc). In this respect the North Riding is similar to Durham and Northumberland, where the use of British personal names in Old English is shown by such names as Arthan, Coluduc, Cundigeorn and Unust.

The first specific reference to the Angles in Northumbria is the tradition that Ida began to reign at Bamburgh in 547. From

1 There is, of course, no reason to suppose that the Britons of the North Riding lived with the Angles in anything but a state of subjection to them.
2 Cf. RNY 5. The forms of these pers. names and p.n.’s show that they were borrowed in sixth and seventh century British forms: e.g. Brit ‘soft-mutation’ of t to d as in Cædmon and Ceadda by the side of Catterick, of b to f as in Leven (Brit *libna), Dove (Brit *dubo-); Brit ‘affection’ of a to e as in Crayke (OE Crec) which in other spellings also shows the later Brit change of e to ai (for further illustrations v. RNY 9 ff.).
3 Förster, Keltisches Wortgut 62 ff.
this and other evidence it would seem that the Anglian settlement of Bernicia was at least a century later than that of the south and east of England. The settlement of Deira had apparently begun before the middle of the sixth century, and archaeological evidence, such as urn-burials found at Saltburn, points to a date about 500. Heathen burial-grounds which must be earlier than the reception of Christianity after the baptism of Edwin in 627 occur in the North Riding at Hob Hill near Saltburn and Robin Hood’s Bay not far from Fylingdales, both on the coast, and finds of early sixth century brooches suggest that they once existed at Bulmer, and at Thornbrough near Catterick. In the rarity of heathen Anglian burial-places the North and West Ridings stand in contrast to the East Riding, where such sites are numerous. It is safe to argue from this that the Angles did not advance to occupy the north and west of Yorkshire until they were well established in the east.

The distribution of names in -ing and -ingaham suggests the same conclusion. The existence of these names should not be rigorously interpreted in Yorkshire as proving settlement before the year 600. The first Anglian settlement in Airedale, represented by names like Bowling, Cowling and Manningham, could not have taken place before the fall of the kingdom of Elmet during the reign of Edwin. This suggests that names in -ing and -ingaham were still living types in Yorkshire in the first half of the seventh century.

The distribution of these names throws some light on the extent of the original Anglian settlement of the North Riding. In Bulmer wapentake in the Derwent valley there are East and West Lilling not far from the supposed burial-ground at Bulmer; in Ryedale there are Gilling, Hovingham and Lastingham, and further east in the low-lying land of the Derwent valley is Pickering. On the coast is Fylingdales, near the Robin Hood’s Bay burial-ground. Other names of this type are Kiplin, Gilling in Richmondshire, and Barningham. These and the burial-ground at Thornbrough are all on or near the great Roman road, known as Leeming Lane or Watling Street, which passes

1 VCHY, ii. 72.
2 It is by no means certain that either Bowling or Cowling is a plural name in -ingas. v. Ekwall, PN in -ing 92.
through the Riding. The burial-grounds at Saltburn and Robin Hood's Bay and the name Fylingdales are probably due to settlers entering the country immediately from the North Sea, but most of the settlements in the Derwent valley should be regarded as extensions of the early Anglian settlements in the northern parts of the East Riding. The group of early names along Watling Street bears out the archaeological evidence that the Angles did not avoid Roman roads in Yorkshire and the north as they generally did in other counties to the south. These two groups in the Derwent valley and in the Vale of York were probably connected with each other, for Gilling in Ryedale has its counterpart in Gilling in Richmondshire. The settlements, as already indicated, cannot have been as extensive in the North Riding as they were in the East, but geographical factors are partly responsible for their comparative rarity. The hilly country of Cleveland and the western dales, and the great forest of Galtres which covered the district north of York must have been unattractive to early settlers. To a certain extent, too, this rarity of ancient Anglian names may be explained by the thorough nature of the Scandinavian settlement. The element *word*, for example, which probably became obsolete soon after the Anglian settlement, is common both in the south-east of the West Riding and in Durham (where Scandinavian influence was slight), but is found only once in the North Riding at Heworth in the extreme south, and once in the East Riding at Luddith. The absence of the element in the North Riding, which lies between Durham and the West Riding, must be explained as due to the replacement of names containing *word* by Scandinavian names rather than by the assumption that *word* was never used in this district. There may be a similar danger in drawing inferences from the present distribution of names in -ing and -ingaham.

The varying fortunes of Northumbria in the seventh century have left no marks on local nomenclature. The fall of the British kingdom of Elmet and a partial colonisation from Mercia of that district, which possibly extended to the borders of the

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2 *v.* EPN s.v.
3 A. Mawer, *Yorkshire History* (Leeds, 1924), 43.
North Riding (cf. xiv supra note), did not extend to the North Riding itself. The Anglian place-names of this Riding are all Northumbrian in form and include such distinctively Northumbrian types as böðltān (v. Bolton in Index). All we can say is that in the seventh century extensions must have been made from settlements already established. Gillamoor, for instance, appears to be an offshoot of the settlement of Gilling in Ryedale, and Hoveton must be connected with Hovingham. In the process of time farms would spring up in the neighbourhood of the original settlements and the land would be gradually cleared of forest and cultivated. It seems probable that places with Anglian names mentioned in Domesday Book and found in the neighbourhood of places with names in -ing or -ingaham belong to this period. Thus, in Bulmer there is mention in Domesday Book of some 45 manors with English names (besides 30 with Scandinavian) and of these 28 are names in tun, 2 in wic and 2 in burh. Fifteen are coupled with personal names, some of which, such as Wippede (in Wide Open Farm) and Ėsa (in Easingwold), are found only at a very early date. The use of hypocoristic personal names in place-names also points to early settlements, for it was only at an early date that names of this type were common among the landed aristocracy whose members were likely to give their names to places. In Bulmer wapentake Benningbrough and (possibly) Harton contain hypocoristic names of this type and both these are on the banks of rivers not far from York, whilst Strensall, which is identical in form with Bede’s Streonæshalch, contains a very ancient personal name.

Similar considerations apply to other districts of the Riding. In the Derwent valley Ryedale and Pickering Lythe include several place-names in -ing and in this district Domesday Book shows more Anglian than Scandinavian names. Other personal names which point to early settlement are Nunna (Nunnington), Fadda (Fadmoor), and Hōfa (Hovingham and Hoveton) in Ryedale and possibly Hāb(b)ā (Habton) and Ėadēn (Edstone) in Pickering Lythe. Few Anglian names have survived in Whitby Strand, for, though Fylingdales, and the ancient Hackness and Streonæshalch occur here, Scandinavian names outnumber

¹ Redin, 187 ff.
Anglian by two to one. A similar proportion is found in the wapentakes of Langbargh East and Langbargh West. Moreover, in Langbargh West the name Ingleby occurs three times and must indicate that distinctively Anglian survivals amid the Scandinavian population were sufficiently rare to find record in place-names. In the Vale of York (Birdforth and Allertonshire wapentakes) Anglian and Scandinavian names are found in approximately equal numbers, and only a few of the former, such as Rainton, Fawdington, Yearsley, Coxwold, Kilvington, Otterington, Northallerton, Winton and Harlsey, contain personal names. Most of these are near the river Swale or its affluent the Wiske. The western dales were rough woodland and poorly accessible. Only occasional names like Witton, Wensley and Bolton (in Wensleydale) and Reeth, Fremington, Hudswell, and Downholme (in Swaledale) survive from the Anglian settlement in these parts, but within a few miles of Watling Street which runs along the foot of the dales there occur many Anglian names such as Kirklington, Tanfield and Burneston, Masham, Ellington, Bedale and Hunton, Finghall and Gilling, Moulton, Whashton, Barningham, and Mortham.

This distribution shows that Anglian names were most persistent in the fertile river valleys and along the central Roman road. Here, as indicated by names in -ing and -ingham and heathen burial-grounds, the original settlements took place. From such centres the settlers expanded into the surrounding districts, chiefly by clearing forest land, as in Wensleydale or in the district round Hackness, where there are two well-defined groups of names containing OE leah 'forest clearing'.

Scandinavian raiders had touched the Northumbrian coast before the end of the eighth century, but it was not till 867 that Northumbria was invaded in force. In that year "the marauding army (here) crossed the Humber estuary from East Anglia to York in Northumbria"\(^1\), and captured York. These invaders were undoubtedly of Danish origin. The great Scandinavian army which had landed in the previous year came from Denmark under the leadership of the sons of the famous Danish Viking, Ragnarr Loðbrók. This is important, for it points to the Danish

\(^1\) ASC s.a. 867.
origin of the army which was to colonise Yorkshire in the next
decade.

In 875 this army, which had wintered at Repton in Derby-
shire, divided its forces. One part under Guthrum moved
southwards to Cambridge, and the other under Healfdene re-
turned to the north. After spending the winter by the Tyne
Healfdene proceeded to attack the Picts and the kingdom of
Strathclyde. There can be little doubt that the enterprise was
intended, as Lindkvist suggests, to secure a peaceful colonisa-
tion of Yorkshire in the following year.

"In 876 Healfdene portioned out the land of the North-
umbrians and they (the Danes) tilled it and made a livelihood
by it."1 This is the first recorded settlement of Scandinavians
in England and, as already pointed out, it was effected by a
Danish army. Its extent was limited on the north by the broken
country which forms the modern county of Durham, for it is
only in the extreme south of this county, in Upper Teesdale,
that place-names point to a Scandinavian settlement. In York-
shire, place-names2 indicate that the Danish settlement was
confined to the most fertile parts of the county, including the
East Riding, the eastern parts of the West Riding, and the
central and southern parts of the North Riding.

Early in the next century a new Scandinavian invasion began,
this time of Norwegians from Ireland. There had been intimate
association between the Irish and the Norwegian settlers. The
Irish had adopted a number of Scandinavian words and names
such as Glumieran3, and the Norwegians had borrowed Irish
names (infra xxvi ff.) and words such as Middle English kapall
'horse' and perhaps cros, and their sculpture frequently betrays
the influence of Irish fashions. The Norwegian settlements in
Northumbria had probably begun before 915. There is evi-
dence of piratical descents on the North-West during the epis-
copate of Cuthheard, Bishop of Chester le Street (c. 899–915)4,
and this movement culminated in 915 in the capture of York by

1 ASC s.a.
2 Such as those containing thorp, bōd, hulm, brink, personal names such as Ėsi, Ėskell, Frithi, Malti, etc., and place-names such as Danby. v. IPN 60 ff.
3 Adapted from ON járkné.
4 Cf. E. V. Gordon, Scandinavian influence on Yorkshire Dialects (YDS) 7.
Ragnall mac Bicloch, who was the first of a series of Irish Viking kings of York which lasted for thirty-five years, during which intercourse must have been maintained between Ireland and Yorkshire. The evidence of place-names\(^1\) goes far to show that the Norwegians entered Yorkshire from the North-West. Names of Irish-Norwegian type are especially well represented in Craven in the West Riding, the western dales of the North Riding and in Lower Teesdale, and in the Cleveland district, where the Scandinavian place-names strikingly resemble those of the Lake District through which most of these new settlers presumably came.

The effects of the Scandinavian settlement of Yorkshire were manifold. The county was divided into Scandinavian ridings, the ridings were divided into Scandinavian wapentakes, and the Vikings set up meeting-places for their own things on such sites as Thingwall and Fingay Hill (infra 128, 213). The characteristic Scandinavian type of place-name ending in -by probably belongs in the main to the earlier, Danish, settlement. There are over 150 names of this type in the North Riding and more than 100 of these contain a personal name as their first element. These new names must often have replaced earlier Anglian names. Later, the fusion of Angles and Scandinavians was such that an Anglo-Scandinavian dialect appears to have been spoken for a time\(^2\). Crosses at Skelton and Thornaby on Tees\(^3\) bear Anglo-Scandinavian inscriptions, such a place-name as Loskay House (ON *lopt i skógi*) contains Scandinavian expressions, and hybrid place-names such as Osmotherley (infra 213) form perhaps the clearest evidence of amalgamation. The common use of Scandinavian or Irish personal names such as *Arkil, Asbœrn, or Grim*, and *Coleman, Ghile, Ghilander, Melmidoc, or Patric*\(^4\), patronymics of a Scandinavian type such as *Orm Gamalsuna* on the Kirkdale

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\(^1\) Such as those which contain *brekka, slakki, foss, gil, or skáli*; types such as *Normanby, Irby*; place-names in which the order of the elements is reversed according to Irish methods of nomenclature; names containing *erg* and OIr personal names such as *Colman, Finegal, Maelmuire*, etc. v. IPN 32 ff., 60 ff., and more especially in relation to Yorkshire v. Revue Celtique, XLIV. 34 ff.


\(^3\) Cf. W. G. Collingwood, *Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding* (YAJ, xix), 386, 402.

\(^4\) v. NP, ZEN, and *Revue Celtique*, XLIV. 40 ff.
inscription (infra 66) and *porcetel Unbainasu(na), Raganald Asbeornnas suna, and Hálwærð Sæfugalasuna in the list of Alfric’s festermen¹, and the use of women’s names of Scandinavian origin in place-names such as Helperby, Hindershelf, or Whenby, indicate still further the closeness of the fusion. Finally, spellings show the frequent substitution of Scandinavian for English forms in Anglian names which survived the settlement. Such are Newton and Newsham, where ON nýr ‘new’ is occasionally substituted for the more common OE nīwe, Ousey Carr and Ovington, where OE initial w- is lost under the influence of ON útilr, and the very interesting case of Rawcliff Bank (infra 146), where ON rauðr is substituted for OE rēad.

The evidence of place-names is borne out by that of archaeology, with regard not only to the fusion of Angles and Scandinavians, but also to the distribution of Norwegian settlers in the North Riding. Besides the Norse crosses at Skelton and Thornaby on Tees, for example, there is also at Kildale a burial-ground which contains typical Viking burials². Crosses of the Viking Age, carved according to Irish fashions of ornamentation, are found in Ryedale, Cleveland, the northern part of Allertonshire, the east of Hang East, and the eastern part of Gilling West in Teesdale³. Such types of carving were undoubtedly introduced by Norwegians who had been in contact with Ireland, and the distribution of these crosses agrees closely with the distribution of place-names of a Norwegian character.

A late connexion with Scandinavia seems to be indicated by the forms which some of the Norwegian place-names take. Shunner Howe arose from the late Old Norwegian form Sjónar- by a sound change somewhat analogous to that found in Shipton, whilst Old Norwegian stress-shifting appears in Yarna Beck and the lost place-names Hyarlsholm, Yernekeldale, Jukeleholm, and Jatstaineswad⁴. Goathland has been influenced by the ONorw change of d to th. Old Norse u-mutation of a to o is found in

¹ YCh 9.
² VCHY, ii. 96.
³ From ON Jarl, *Járnhettill, Jókell and *Játstetinn, which is a Scandinavianised form of OE Ēadstān parallel to ON Játvarðr and Játmundr, found in Egils Saga as forms of OE Ēadweard and Ēadmund, the names of AS kings.
such words as *hold, hófuð*, of which the mutated forms sometimes appear in place-names such as *Holdlythe*, Middle Head, and in the personal name *Svarthófuð*¹. Similarly, the words *brekka, slakki, foss*, and the curious form *Son-* in South Otterington, which exhibit Scandinavian consonant assimilation, are due to a Scandinavian sound-change which took place about 1000 A.D. The Domesday Book form *Locte-* for Old Norse *lopt* (in Loft Marishes) seems to indicate that the bilabial nature of Old Norse *ð* was partly preserved in England and the history of the name Snilesworth shows that Old Norse -g- between front vowels had already been palatalised.

The general distribution of Danish and Norwegian settlements is clearly marked by the distribution of place-names. The settlement of the Danes was far greater in the south of the Riding than in the north. In Bulmer wapentake there are a number of *thorps, Fornthorpe, Ganthorpe, Mowthorpe, Tholthorpe, Towthorpe* (from Danish *Tofi*), and *Wiganthorpe*, whilst *Rice Lane* in its original form contains Danish *kunung*, and Claxton contains a distinctively Danish personal name. This group of Danish names extends from the south of Ryedale where we find Howthorpe, Coneysthorpe (from Danish *kunung*), Easthorpe and Laysthorpe, and Fryton (from Danish *Frithi*). In Pickering Lythe, further along the Derwent valley, the line of Danish settlements seems to be continued. In the western and central parts there are *Kingthorpe* and *Kettlethorpe*, Foulbridge and *Sil Howe* containing Danish personal names, Beedale and the lost *Bothum*² (from *bōð*), and in the extreme east in Cayton parish there is a group of *thorps* on the coast, Gristhorpe, *Esterthorpe, Roberthorpe* and *Scawthorpe*. There is thus a line of Danish settlements running across the south of the Riding into Bulmer, whence it proceeds still further west. In the south of Birdforth there are *Ellenthorpe* and Langthorpe and the lost *Easby* (Old Danish *Ési*). In the neigh-

¹ This change shows a late connexion with Scandinavia as the older sound usually appears in English as *a* in those words where it was mutated to *o* in late ONorw; cf. Howden (YER) which appears in the late tenth century as *to Haafuddæne* (YCh 4), but in DB as *Houedene*, where OE *heafod* was replaced by ON *hófuð* in its mutated form.

² For lost places mentioned hereafter v. Field and other minor names *infra* 324 ff., s.v. *bōð, brekka, klint, gil, skáli, slakki*, etc.
bourhood of Thirsk, itself possibly a Danish name, there are Ravensthorpe, Brink Hill, and Crafclynt (Old Danish klint) in Byland, besides a number of names containing specifically Danish personal names as Dowber Lane, Cold Kirby, Fridebi, the old name of Felixkirk, Kepwick, Silton. Such personal names also appear in the names of a number of lost places as Esebrygg (Danish Esi) in Wildon, Eskeldic (Danish Eskel) in Boltby, and Fulkeholm (Danish Fulk) in Thornton le Beans, and in Bullamoor, the latter in the adjacent part of Allertonshire. In Halikeld and the neighbouring parts of Hang East there are Allerthorpe, Carthorpe, Holme (Danish hulm), Exelby (Danish Eskel), Firby and Hornby, of which the last three contain Danish personal names. Danby on Ure in the east of Hang West and Danby Wiske in the south of Gilling East probably represent the western extremity of this Danish settlement. In Bulmer as we have no distinctively Norwegian names we may safely ascribe Scandinavian names such as Wigginton, Helperby, Dalby, Whenby and Skewsby to the Danes. The same may be said of the Scandinavian names in the south and central parts of Birdforth and to a certain extent in Halikeld, where there are few traces of Norwegian settlement. In Ryedale and Pickering Lythe, however, there are very definite examples of Norwegian influence and other Scandinavian place-names may be Danish or Norwegian in origin. In Whitby Strand it is known traditionally that the Danes Ingwar and Ubba destroyed the monastery of Streonæshalch\(^1\), but the Danes do not seem to have settled there to any great extent. Silpho in the south of the wapentake and Sneaton and Wragby contain Danish personal names. Danby in Cleveland, the only other name pointing to Danish settlement, though in Langbargh East, belongs to the geographical district of Eskdale, and if the name Danby has any racial significance it suggests that the Danes were only present there in small numbers. In Whitby Strand, therefore, the very high proportion of Scandinavian names must be due to Norwegian influence. In the north of the Riding there are a few traces of Danish colonisation. Near the coast in Langbargh East there are a couple of thorps, Ugthorpe and Roskelthorpe. Further inland, there are Linthorpe (thorp), Easby, Maltby, and

\(^1\) *Whitby Cartulary*, 1.
Lonsdale containing Danish personal names, and Dromonby (infra 168).

From this survey it will be seen that the Danish settlements in the North Riding were in three groups, the first and most extensive stretching from east to west across Pickering Lythe, the south of Ryedale, and Bulmer wapentake, and terminating in the wapentake of Hang East in a few sporadic settlements, the others being isolated settlements in Whitby Strand including Eskdale, and in Cleveland. The first is probably due to Healfdene's apportionment of the land of Northumbria in 876 and is inseparable from the Danish settlement in the East Riding; the others are probably independent settlements made by Danes who invaded the respective districts directly from the sea.

The material available for determining the presence of Norwegian settlements is more complete than that for the Danes, because the tests of Norwegian influence are more numerous. In Bulmer wapentake there is no trace of Norwegian influence either in place-names or archaeological material. In Ryedale there are many names of Norwegian and Irish-Norwegian origin, including Laskill Pasture which contains Old Norwegian skali, Dowthwaite, Appleton le Moors, and Colthmanelandes which contain Irish personal names, and Normanby, all north of the river Rye. Airyholme, the lost Ircroft (Old Norse Íri) in Helmsley, and Oswaldkirk, which in early forms sometimes has its elements reversed according to the Irish fashion, point to a small Norwegian settlement on the south of the river, in a district which had already been populated by Angles and Danes (supra xix, xxiv). Many of the Scandinavian names in the upper part of the valley are probably Norwegian, though there is nothing to prove it except the entire absence in these parts of names of specifically Danish origin. Irish influence has been observed on the crosses at Stonegrave, Amotherby, Hovingham, Lastingham, Kirkdale, Kirkby Moorside, and Helmsley.

In the adjacent parts of Pickering Lythe there are many Norwegian names, such as Scarf Hill and West Gill, Mulfoss (Norse foss) in Hartoft, Westslak (Norse slakki) in Kingthorpe and Hyndeslak in Thornton Dale. Ghilander (cf. Gaelic Gilleandrais) is the name of a local tenant in 1066 and crosses at Sinnington, Ellerburn, and Levisham show Irish influence.
In the extreme east of the wapentake the name Irton points to a small Norwegian colony amid the Danish *thorps*, whilst Scarborough was founded by the Norseman Thorgils *Skarthi* (*infra* 105-6).

In Whitby Strand, where there was little Danish settlement (*supra* xxv), place-names show many Norwegian features, such as *Burstadgile* (Norse *gil*) in Suffield and *Waterslakgille* (Norse *slakki*, *gil*) in Thirley Cotes, *Breck*, *Normanby* and *Airy Hill*. Many of the common Scandinavian names like Whitby and Gnipe How, should, therefore, probably be ascribed to the Norwegians.

In Langbargh East and Langbargh West, where Danish influence was not extensive, there are indications of a thorough settlement by Norwegians, especially round Guisborough and the district to the west. Norwegian influence is evident in such names as *Scalebrec* in Liverton, *Burnolfscales* in Guisborough, *Raufscales* in Kildale, *Scalestedes* in Tocketts, *Stainschale* in Upleatham, Scale Foot and Scaling (all containing *skali*), *Endebrec* in Guisborough, *Bakestanbrec* in Tocketts and *Likkebreke* in Coatham (containing *brekka*); Coldman Hargos (*erg*) and Commondale contain the Irish personal name *Colmán. Patricius* (Old Irish *Patric*) and *Magbanet*¹ are the names of early tenants, and crosses at Easington and Skelton exhibit Irish forms of decoration. A little to the west occur *Normanby*, *Airy Holme*, *Lackenby*, and *Hilbraith*, whilst *Dunlangabrotes* in Great Broughton contains the OIr personal name *Dunlang*, and *Colman* is the name of an early tenant. The series is continued further west in the northern parts of Allertonshire and Birdforth, by Fowgill, Blow Gill, Irby and *Irton*. Sawcock is an Irish-Norwegian inversion compound (*v. supra* xxii, n. 1), and Birkby probably refers to a village of Britons or Brito-Scandinavians who had joined the Norwegians as they were passing through Cumberland. *Melmidoc, Gilemicel, Dughel*, and *Malgrin* are Irish names borne by local landholders in 1066. Irish forms of carving are found on crosses at Birkby, Northallerton, Brompton, and Osmotherley all in the north of Allertonshire, and at Crathorne and Kirk Leavington in the adjacent part of Langbargh West.

In Richmondshire Norwegian influence was very strong, and the large proportion of local Scandinavian names, not in themselves distinctive, must be due almost entirely to Norwegians, for, except in the wapentake of Halikeld and the east of Hang East, there are no definite traces of Danish influence. In Halikeld, the great Danish colonisation seems to have ended; we find Gatenby, the lost Normanby, mention in Domes-day Book of a man called Sudan (Old Irish *Suthan), and at Pickhill a cross bearing traces of Irish influence. These few pieces of evidence seem to show that Halikeld was the eastern limit of the very strong Norwegian colonisation of Hang wapen-take. In Hang East, south of Catterick, there was a large settlement, as indicated by such names as Scalerig in Hudswell and Scaleflath in Colburn (containing skáli), Leveracgille near Miregrim, Thieves Gill, Helegile and Wythegile (containing gil), all near Hipswell. Patrick Brompton, Arrathorne, Oran, and Miregrim are examples of Irish influence, whilst Ghille (Old Irish Gilla) was the name of a local tenant in 1066. In Hang West there are far more Scandinavian than English names, and as many of these are certainly Norwegian in origin it is probable that most of the others are Norwegian also. Specifically Norwegian are Gammersgill, Scalestedes in Wensley, and Skell Gill (containing skáli), Ulegile in Wensley, Wantegile in Castle Bolton, Thwertlanggille in West Bolton, High and Low Gill, Howgill, Ackegile and Stiwardgile in Widdale, and Hell Gill (containing gil), Hungrebrekes in West Bolton (brekka), Fossdale (foss), and the river-name Bain (from Old Norwegian beinn ‘short, quick’). Cragdale possibly contains Old Irish creag, which must have been introduced by Norwegians from Ireland, and Irish personal names are found in Paterik-keld in Harmby, Melmerby and Carperby, and as the names of early tenants such as Glunier, Gilmychel, Ghilpatric, Colman, and Meriaduc. At Finghall, Thornton Steward, Middleham and Wensley crosses have been found which show Irish influence. In Swaledale the traces of Scandinavian settlement are not so frequent as in Wensleydale, but in Swaledale the evidence of Anglian settlement is stronger. Crin is the Irish name of a local landowner in 1066, and Skaleflat (Norse skáli) is found in Feetham. The few traces of Scandinavian influence in south and upper Swaledale suggest
that the Scandinavian settlement of those parts was slight compared with that on the north side of the valley, but that the few Scandinavians who did settle were Norwegians rather than Danes.

In Gilling East the Norwegian settlement seems to be closely connected with that of the north of Allertonshire and Cleveland. *Brekelandes* (Norse *brekka*) in Jolby, Eryholme, Brettanby, and the Irish name *Finegal* borne by a local tenant are all in the north of the wapentake. In Gilling West there are many Norwegian names, including Priest Gill, Faggergill, *Waltergille* in Arkengarthdale, William Gill, and Easegill in Swaledale, and Scargill and Wemmergill in Teesdale (all containing *gil*), Scales, Hang Bank (which in one of its forms contains *brekka*), Melsonby and *Finegalgraft* (Old Irish *Finngail*) in Easby, both containing Irish personal names. Kilmond in upper Teesdale is an interesting name of Gaelic origin and was perhaps introduced at this time. Irish influence has been noticed on the crosses found at Croft, Stanwick, and Wycliffe.

The general conclusion as to the distribution of the Scandinavian element in the North Riding is that the Danes settled chiefly in the south of the Riding in the level fertile valleys of the Derwent, Rye, Ouse, in the lower parts of the Ure valley and in Birdforth in the central Vale of York. The Norwegians settled chiefly in Ryedale, Whitby Strand, Cleveland and Teesdale and in Richmondshire. Whereas the Danes and Norwegians indifferently occupied districts already settled by Angles, the distribution of place-names suggests that the Norwegian settlers tended to avoid the districts occupied by the Danes in the previous century. Most of the Danes undoubtedly moved out from the centre of their kingdom at York; others entered the Riding independently. The Norwegians as a whole came over the Pennines from Cumberland, occasionally bringing with them Britons from that district, although the name Scarborough points to incursions of Norwegians from the North Sea, which probably explains the settlements in Pickering Lythe, Ryedale and Whitby Strand.

The materials on which the following pages are based differ from those used in other volumes in this series in that they include hardly any Old English forms. The Domesday Survey
is generally accurate, and the inaccuracies which occur are usually explicable. Under these conditions the Domesday forms become unusually important. To some extent the rarity of Old English material is counterbalanced by a large mass of twelfth century material drawn chiefly from the published Cartularies of Rievaulx, Whitby, and Guisborough. From the Cartularies which are not published separately many twelfth century charters are printed in the late Dr Farrer’s *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Material has also been drawn from several unpublished cartularies, such as those of Malton, Kirkham, St Leonard’s York, Easby, and the *Magnum Registrum Album* of the Minster Church of York. The Assize Rolls provide valuable forms for the thirteenth century, whilst the series of Forest Rolls relating to Galtres and the Pleas of the Forest entered in the *Great Coucher Book of the Duchy of Lancaster* have been invaluable as sources of material for a slightly later time.
NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF THE NORTH RIDING
AS ILLUSTRATED BY ITS PLACE-NAMES

Professor G. H. Cowling’s *The Dialect of Hackness* covers the problems of the dialect of the North Riding in a very adequate manner, and in every instance the place-names bear out the results achieved by that book. The actual sound-changes between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries may be dated more precisely by the p.n. material.

Unlike the other counties already covered by the Survey, the North Riding belongs to the Northumbrian group, and in modern times to the Northern area.

OE, ON *a* usually remains, but Breckenbrough, Eppleby show a modern dialectal variant [ɛ].

OE, ON *al* (which remained unfractured in OE) became *au* in the middle of the sixteenth century and later [ɔː], as Scawton, Cawton, Cawthorne, Atherlands; Swaledale, Scalby, Salton, etc. preserve the older spelling. The spelling of Wardle Rigg is noteworthy.

OE *a* before nasals is invariably preserved.

OE, ON *ā* was raised to [eː], when it was diphthongised to [ia], as in Blea Wyke, Bluewath Beck, Breaday, etc. and initially this new diphthong became [jæ], as in the pronunciation of Ayton [jætn], Acomb [jækəm], Oak Dale [jægdəl], etc. The actual line of division in the ME development of *ā* passed a little to the south of the Riding.

OE *i*-mutation of *a* before *l* + a consonant resulted in *æ* in parts of Mercia and there are evidences for the Mercian form in YWR. In YNR, however, it invariably became *e*, as in wella, Eldmire and Ellermire containing ONb *elfitu* (= southern OE *aelbitu*). The pers. name *Ella* (Ellington) occurs only in ONb area, but the forms *Ælla*, *Ælle*, are found in OE texts from the midlands and south.

OE, ON *au* usually becomes [ɔu] in the dialect, but it has become [a] in Marsett, Addlebrough and Laskill.

OE *æ* became *e* in parts of Mercia, but it was always retained in YNR, as in Masham, etc., usually as [a].

OE, ME *er* became *ar* by the middle of the fifteenth century.
and with loss of r it had become [aː] by the end of the sixteenth, whence such forms as Maske for Marske, Wath Cote, etc.

OE, ON i was lengthened in an open syllable and lowered to [eː], when it fell in with early modern English [eː] and became [iː], as in Cleveland, Feetham, Healam Beck, Kirkleatham, Reeth, Skeebey, Smeaton, and Upleatham.

OE, ON i and y followed by r often became er in ME and together with ur and sometimes er (as in Borrowby) it ultimately became [ɔr] or [ɔː(ː)], as in Worton, Storthwaite, Borrowby, Burneston, Cock Flat, and Irton (olim Urton), Irby, and Girlington, etc.

OE, ON i or y preceded by r often became [u], as in Ruddings, Ruswarp, Ruswicke, Runswick.

OE, ON ol followed by a consonant had become [ou] or [ɔu] by the middle of the fifteenth century, as in Howthorpe, Colburn, etc.

OE, ON ð became ME [ou], [eu] (Cowling, op. cit. 49, 159) and in the early modern period it became [iu] (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). This has remained in some parts of the Riding, whilst in others it has further developed to [ia], as in Beadlam and Beedale. Other examples of the earlier stage are Aiskew, Cotescue and other names containing skogr, Huby, etc.

OE, ON ā has remained in the dialect, as in Booze.

OE, ON ul followed by a consonant fell in with ME ol and became [ou], as in Ovington, Oulston, Bowforth, Owlands, Ousey Carr, Mowthorpe, and in the pronunciation of Holme (Halik), Bulmer, and Mulgrave.

ME s has in a few cases become [ʃ], as in Dishforth and Whashton and the pronunciation of Exelby.

OE t has become [ð] in Gatherley and Sutherland and in the pronunciation of Catterick. OE d in ford became [ð] during the fifteenth century.

ME ks often became z, s (with loss of k) as Exelby, Aiskew, Aysgarth, etc. From confusion of [z] from this source with z from other sources there have been curious unetymological back-formations in the spellings of Coxwold, Moxby, Throxbenby, Roxby, etc.

OE hw, ON hv usually preserved their aspiration during
the ME period, when there are sporadic instances of over-aspiration as represented by Qu-, as in the spellings of Whitby, Whinholme, and Falsgrave. The North Riding was, therefore, rather to the south of the Qu-area. In the modern period, however, aspiration was lost (with the extraordinary exception of Falsgrave) and confusion of Qu- which represents over-aspiration with Qu- which is etymologically correct led to some of the latter being included in the change, as Whaw, Whenby, and Quernhow in some of its spellings.

Initial [j] has developed in Yafforth, Yearby, Yearsley, Yedmandale, and in some of the forms of Everley.
ABBREVIATIONS

Abbr
Placitorum Abbreviatio, 1811.
AD
Catalogue of Ancient Deeds. (In progress.)
Add
Additional MSS in the Brit. Museum.
Allert
Allerton wap.
AN
Anglo-Norman.
Angl
Anglian dialect of OE.
AntIt
Itinerarium Antonini Augusti (MHB).
Archd
Registers of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, an Abstract made by M. Hutton, Harl. 6978 (18th cent.).
ASC
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
ASCand
Anglo-Scandinavian.
Ass
Yorkshire Assize Rolls (YAS 44).
Ass
Yorkshire Assize Rolls, unpublished (PRO).
Baildon
W. P. Baildon, Monastic Notes (YAS 17).
Banco
De Banco Rolls (PRO Lists and Indexes no. 32).
BCS
Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum, 3 vols., 1885-93.
Bede
Bede's Historia eccles. gentis Anglorum, 1896.
BedeOE
The Old English Bede, ed. Miller (EETS) 1890.
Beds
Bedfordshire.
Birdf
Birdforth wap.
Bk
Buckinghamshire.
BM
Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum, 2 vols., 1900-12.
Bodl
Yorkshire Charters (unpublished) in the Bodleian Library.
Bridl
Bridlington Cartulary, ed. Lancaster. (Privately published.)
Brid
Bridlington Cartulary.
Bulm
Bulmer wap.
Burton
Burton's Monasticon Eboracense, 1758.
ByID
Byland Cartulary, Dods. 63, 91, 94.
ByIE
Byland Cartulary, Egerton 2823 (MS t. Hy 4).
C
Cambridgeshire.
Cai
Admissions to Gonville and Caius College, ed. Venn, 1887.
Ch
Calendar of Charter Rolls. (In progress.)
Ch
Cheshire.
ChR
Rotuli Chartarum, 1837.
Cl
Calendar of Close Rolls. (In progress.)
CIR
Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum, 2 vols., 1833-44.
Cockers
Cartulary of Cockeram (Chetham Soc.) 1898-1909, MS 18th cent.
Cover
Collections relating to Coverham, Sloane MS 4934 (MS late).
Crawf
The Crawford Charters, 1895.
Cu
Cumberland.
Cur
Curia Regis Rolls. (In progress.)
Cur
Curia Regis Rolls. (PRO, unpublished.)
D
Devonshire.
DB
Domesday Book.
Db
Derbyshire.
dial
dialect(al).
Dods
Dodsworth's MSS in the Bodleian Library (17th cent.).
Du
Durham.
Dugd
Dugdale's Monasticon, 6 vols. in 8, 1817-30.
### NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dunelm</td>
<td>Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense (Rolls Series), 4 vols., 1873–8.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Easby</td>
<td>Easby Cartulary, Egerton MS 2827. (MS compiled c. 1281, with additions from late 13th and 14th cents.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ebor</td>
<td>Registers of the Archbishops of York: Surt 56, 109, 123, 128, 137</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ebor</td>
<td>Registers of the Archbishops of York. (Unpublished.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDD</td>
<td>English Dialect Dictionary.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EETS</td>
<td>Early English Text Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPN</td>
<td>Chief Elements in English Place-Names, 1923.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>Englische Studien. (In progress.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ess</td>
<td>Essex.</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>feminine.</td>
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<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>Feudal Aids, 6 vols., 1899–1920.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fabr</td>
<td>Fabric Rolls of York Minster (Surt 35).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farrant MS</td>
<td>Transcripts of Y. documents by the late Dr W. Farrer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>Yorkshire Feet of Fines (YAJ, xi, Surt 94, YAS 2, 5, 7, 8, 42, 52, 53, 58, 62).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fine</td>
<td>Calendar of Fine Rolls. (In progress.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>Forest Proceedings, unpublished (PRO).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ForP</td>
<td>Pleas of the Forest, PRO Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Books, vol. 1 (MS late 14th cent.).</td>
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<td>Förstemann</td>
<td>Altdeutsches Namenbuch, 2 vols. in 3, 1901–16.</td>
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<td>Förster</td>
<td>M. Förster, Keltisches Wortgut, 1921.</td>
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<td>Fount</td>
<td>Memorials of Fountains Abbey (Surt 42, 67).</td>
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<td>FountA</td>
<td>Fountains Cartulary, Add MS 37770 (15th cent.).</td>
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<td>FountT</td>
<td>Fountains Cartulary, Cotton MS Tiber. C. xii (15th cent.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>French.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gael</td>
<td>Gaelic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GillE</td>
<td>Gilling East wap.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GillW</td>
<td>Gilling West wap.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Godr</td>
<td>De vita S. Godrici (Surt 20).</td>
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<tr>
<td>GP</td>
<td>Rygh, Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne, 1901.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guis</td>
<td>Guisborough Cartulary, Surt 86, 89 (MS 15th cent.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ha</td>
<td>Hampshire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hailstone</td>
<td>Hailstone MSS in the Minster Library, York.</td>
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<td>Halik</td>
<td>Halikeld wap.</td>
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<td>HangE</td>
<td>Hang East wap.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HangW</td>
<td>Hang West wap.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HCY</td>
<td>Historians of the Church of York (Rolls Series), 3 vols., 1879–94.</td>
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<td>He</td>
<td>Hereford.</td>
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<td>Heal</td>
<td>Cartularium de Parco Helagh, Cotton MS Vespas. A. iv (MS c. 1498, fols. 175–189 d mid. 16th cent.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSC</td>
<td>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto in SD infra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>Huntingdonshire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Icel</td>
<td>Icelandic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ipm</td>
<td>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem. (In progress.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPN</td>
<td>Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names, 1923.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
ABBREVIATIONS

Ir

Irish.

Jerry

Charter of Jervaulx Abbey, MS Harl. 1808 (late 14th cent.).

K

Kent.

KCD


KF

Knights' Fees 1303 (Surt 49).

KF

Feoda Miltitum 1316 (Library of the Dean and Chapter, York, MS Zouch L. 2. 2).

KI

Kirkby's Inquest 1285 (Surt 49).

Kirkham

Kirkham Cartulary, Bodl. Fairfax vii.

Kirkst

Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey (Thoresby Soc), 1904.

L

Lincolnshire.

La

Lancashire.

LangE

Langbargh East wap.

LangW

Langbargh West wap.

Lat

Latin.

LDD

Lincoln Diocese Documents (EETS), 1914.

Lei

Leicestershire.

LGerman

Low German.

Leon

Registrum Cartarum Hospit. St Leonardi Ebor. MS Cotton Nero D. iii (MS 15th cent.).

Lib

Calendar of Liberate Rolls. (In progress.)

LindN


LindBN

Lind, Norsk-Islandska Personbinamn, 1920-1.

Lindkvist

Lindkvist, Middle English Place-Names of Scand. Origin, 1912.

LS

Yorkshire Lay Subsidy 1301 (YAS 21).

Lundgren-Brate

M. F. Lundgren and E. Brate, Personnamn från medeltiden, 1892 ff.

LVD

Liber Vitae Dunelmensis, facsimile ed. Surt 1921.

Malton

Malton Cartulary, Cotton MS Claudius D. xi (mid 13th cent. with 14th cent. interpolations).

Marrick

Marrick Cartulary (Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal. no. 820, v), London, 1838.

MaryH

Cartulary of St Mary's York, MS Harl. 236 (early 14th cent.).

MaryY

Cartulary of St Mary's York, MS Dean and Chapter, York (15th cent.).

ME

Middle English.

Merc

Mercian.

MH

Monumenta Historica Britannica, 1848.

MHG

Middle High German.

MIr

Middle Irish.

Misc

Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 2 vols., 1916.

MLG

Middle Low German.

ModEng

Modern English.

Mx

Middlesex.

Naumann

Naumann, Altnordische Namenstudien, 1912.

Nb

Northumberland.

NCW

Wills of the Northern Counties (Surt 1, 26, 112).

NED

New English Dictionary.

NELv

Rygh, Norske Elvenavne, 1904.

Nf

Norfolk.

NG

Rygh, Norske Gaardnavne, 18 vols., 1897-1919.

Nielsen

Nielsen, Olddanske Personnavne, 1883.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NoB</td>
<td>Namn och Bygd. (In progress.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norw</td>
<td>Norwegian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nostell</td>
<td>Nostell Cartulary, Cotton MS Vespas. E. xix (principally 13th cent.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Björkman, Nordische Personennamen, 1910.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>North Riding Record Society Publications, 1st series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRS</td>
<td>North Riding Record Society Publications, 2nd series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nr</td>
<td>Nottinghamshire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nth</td>
<td>Northamptonshire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Oxfordshire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OblR</td>
<td>Rotuli de Oblatis, 1835.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODan</td>
<td>Old Danish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>Old English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OEScand</td>
<td>Old East Scandinavian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFr</td>
<td>Old French.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OHG</td>
<td>Old High German.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Olcel</td>
<td>Old Icelandic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ON</td>
<td>Old Norse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONb</td>
<td>Old Northumbrian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONorw</td>
<td>Old Norwegian.</td>
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<tr>
<td>O.S.</td>
<td>Ordnance Survey.</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSwed</td>
<td>Old Swedish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>OWSScand</td>
<td>Old West Scandinavian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Pipe Rolls (Pipe Roll Society (in progress), Great Roll of the Pipe for 26 Hy 3, ed. Cannon, 1918).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap</td>
<td>Calendar of entries in Papal Registers. (In progress.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pat</td>
<td>Calendar of Patent Rolls. (In progress.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PatR</td>
<td>Rotul. Litt. Patentium, 1835.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percy</td>
<td>Percy Cartulary (Surt 117).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pers. name</td>
<td>personal name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pick</td>
<td>Pickering Lythe wap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.n.</td>
<td>place-name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pont</td>
<td>Pontefract Cartulary (YAS 25).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrN</td>
<td>Primitive Norse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QW</td>
<td>Placta de quo Warranto, 1818.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redin</td>
<td>Redin, Uncompounded Personal Names in OE, 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>Review of English Studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich</td>
<td>Extent of Knights’ Fees in Richmond, PRO, Exch. TR, Books 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RichReg</td>
<td>Registrum Honoris Richmondiae, Cotton MS Faustina B. vii (15th cent. transcript).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RichWills</td>
<td>Wills of Richmond (Surt 28).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riev</td>
<td>Rievaulx Cartulary (Surt 83, MS 16th cent.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ripon</td>
<td>Memorials of Ripon (Surt 74, 78, 81, 115).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNY</td>
<td>E. V. Gordon and A. H. Smith, River-Names of Yorks (YDS xxvi), 1925.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RotDom</td>
<td>Rotuli de Dominabus et pueros et puellis (Pipe Roll Soc. 35), 1913.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSE</td>
<td>Received Standard English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryed</td>
<td>Ryedale wap.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.a.</td>
<td>sub anno.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Shropshire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saints</td>
<td>Die Heiligen Englands, ed. Liebermann, 1889.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABBREVIATIONS

Sanct  Sanctuarium Dunelm. et Beverlac (Surt 5).
Saxon  Saxton's Map of Yorkshire, 1577.
Schoenfeld  Schoenfeld, Werterbuch der Altermanischen Personen- und Volker-namen, 1911.
SD  Symeon of Durham (Rolls Series), 2 vols., 1882-5.
Searle  Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum, 1897.
Speed  Speed's Map of Yorkshire, 1610.
St  Staffordshire.
Surt  Surtees Society Publications.
SurvDu  Survey of Durham (Surt 32).
Swed  Swedish.
Sx  Sussex.
Test  Testamenta Eboracensia (Surt 4, 30, 45, 53, 79, 106).
Thorpe  Thorpe, Diplomatarium Anglicanum, 1865.
Var  Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls, 1912.
VCHY  Victoria County History of Yorkshte, 3 vols. and index, 1907-25.
VE  Valor Ecclesiasticus, 6 vols., 1810-34.
Vill  Nomina Villarum, 1316 (Surt 49).
Visit  Heraldic Visitations of Yorks (Surt 36, 41, 122, 127).
W  Wiltshire.
Wa  Warwickshire.
wap  wapentake.
WCR  Wakefield Court Rolls (YAS 29, 36, 57).
We  Westmoreland.
Whit  Whitby Strand wap.
Whitby  Whitby Cartulary (Surt 69, 72, MS 15th cent.).
Wo  Worcestershire.
WSax  West Saxon.
YAJ  Yorkshire Archeological Journal.
YAS  Yorkshire Archæological Soc., Record Series.
YCh  Farrer's Early Yorkshire Charters, 3 vols., 1914 ff.
YChant  Yorkshire Chantry Surveys (Surt 91, 92).
YO  Yorkshire Deeds (YAS 39, 50, 63, 64).
YDS  Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society.
YER  East Riding of Yorkshire.
YI  Yorkshire Inquisitions (YAS 12, 23, 31, 37, 59).
YNR  North Riding of Yorkshire.
YWR  West Riding of Yorkshire.
ZEN  Bjorkman, Zur Engelische Namenkunde, 1912.

Reference is made to the various county place-name books already published (v. summary bibliography in Chief Elements in English Place-Names) by using the abbreviation PN followed by the recognised abbreviation for the county, e.g. PN Gl for Baddeley's Place-Names of Gloucestershire.

Reference is made to the parish register of any particular parish by giving the name of the parish in full, e.g. 1663 Pickhill indicates a form found in the Pickhill Parish Registers, s.a. 1663.
**PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN TRANSCRIPTION OF PRONUNCIATIONS OF PLACE-NAMES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td><em>pay</em></td>
<td>Harwich (hæridʒ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td><em>bay</em></td>
<td>Shrewsbury (ʃrouzbəri, ʃruːbəri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td><em>tea</em></td>
<td>Beaulieu (bjuːli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td><em>day</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td><em>key</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td><em>go</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td><em>win</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td><em>foe</em></td>
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<td>v</td>
<td><em>vote</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td><em>say</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td><em>zone</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

Harwich (hæridʒ), Shrewsbury (ʃrouzbəri, ʃruːbəri), Beaulieu (bjuːli).
NOTES

(1) The names are arranged topographically according to wapentakes, and the parishes within the wapentakes are similarly arranged. Within the parishes the townships are arranged in alphabetical order, and the place-names within each township are similarly arranged. The only exceptions to this rule are that river- and road-names are taken at the beginning, whilst district-names are taken at the beginning of the wapentake in which they are found.

(2) Every township name is preceded by a figure (its number in the parish), and after every township name will be found the reference to the sheet and square of the 1-in. O.S. map (Popular Edition) on which it may be found. Thus, 2. Saltburn 16 C 5. With the exception of Kirkdale and Mashamshire, the parish name is also a township name and the parish name is therefore dealt with in its proper order within the parish, or as in the case of Kirkdale within the township in which it is situated.

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

(4) 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.

(5) The local pronunciation of the place-name is given, wherever it is of interest, in phonetic script within squared brackets, e.g. [jægdil].

(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. Clifton, v. clif, tun. As the place-names are derived from Anglian forms without OE fracture this is indicated by putting the e representing fracture 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.
(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. 1280 Ass denotes a form derived from a MS authority in contrast to 1259 Ass which denotes one taken from a printed text.

(8) Where two dates are given, e.g. 1285 (16th), 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. For most of the cartularies only one date has been given, but the date of the cartulary itself will as a rule be found in the list of Abbreviations.

(9) Where a letter in an early place-name form is placed within brackets, the forms with and without that letter are found, e.g. Hot(t)une means that the forms Hottune and Hotune are alike found.

(10) All words are quoted in their West-Saxon form (cf. note 6 supra) or their OIceI form unless otherwise stated. ON personal names are quoted in the forms under which they will be found in LindN and LindBN.

(11) No explanation of a name is added when its meaning is obvious.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

[For numerous corrections of detail we are indebted to the watchful kindness of Mr Geoffrey Marsland.]

VOL. I, PART I

p. 148. Dr Ritter (ES 62, 109) has an interesting note on the element cistel, ce(a)stel, castel in OE charters. *stan cistel* in BCS 282 is given as the name of *uno acerbo lapidum* and he suggests that this should be connected with ON *histr*, 'heap,' rather than with Lat *castellum*, such an etymology agreeing closely with its actual usage in the one passage which is in any way helpful as to its meaning.

VOL. I, PART II

p. viii, l. 6, for '1913' read '1916.'

s.v. bi(g). Dr Ritter (ES 62, 108–9) suggests with much probability that this element in English place-names should be interpreted as a prefix rather than as a preposition which has coalesced with the following word. He quotes Germanic parallels for such a usage both in common nouns and in place-names, where the prefix denotes 'surrounding.' Thus he would render Bythorne as 'encircling thorn-hedge,' Bygrave as 'surrounding thicket.' This is no doubt the best solution for a good many of the names in question but is hardly applicable to them all. It will not fit Byford; Byfleet is 'by' a stream but there is no 'surrounding stream' here. So also Bywell is difficult to interpret in this way.

p. 37, s.v. hlinc. Delete 'Liscombe (Bk).'

s.v. holecn. Delete 'Holdfast (Wo).'

s.v. hop. Delete 'It seems...Thames.'

p. 40, s.v. hwæte. Whaddon (W) is the Whaddon near Salisbury.

p. 44, s.v. læfer. Delete 'Livermere (Sf).'

p. 63, s.v. wad. Whaddon (W) is the Whaddon near Melksham.

p. 66, s.v. woh. Delete 'Wooburn (Bk).'

VOL. II

p. 26, WILLEN. Professor Zachrisson (ES 62, 97) calls attention to the omission of the 12th cent. form Wilinges (France). This is an AN spelling of the name.

p. 102, s.n. POLLICOTT. Mr P. H. Reaney calls attention to the form Polingtote (sic) found c. 1150 (France). This confirms the Poling- derivation suggested in the text.

p. 151, HAMmDEN. Mr M. W. Hughes suggests with a good deal of likelihood that the first element may be OE *hamm* referring to the curved shape of the valley at this point, hence 'valley suggesting the shape of the ham.'

p. 155, HALEACRE. Mr M. W. Hughes calls attention to another Haleaker (c. 1200) in Chesham in the Missenden Cartulary, which makes the suggestions put forward for this name impossible.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

HYDE. This is the 'Hida predictorum canoniceorum que dicitur Hunfridi' of the Missenden Cartulary (12th cent.). This Humphrey was a brother of Walter de Broc and great-uncle of Elias de Wymburyville. (M.W.H.)
p. 159, DINTON. Mr M. W. Hughes quotes a form Donentona (c. 1180) from the Missenden Cartulary.
p. 170, RISBOROUGH. Professor Zachrisson (ES 62, 96) calls attention to some important additional OE forms, viz. Hrisanbeorgen, dat. pl. KCD 721, 1012 (13th), at Risenburga KCD 689, Risberhe KCD 690, 995 (12th), Hrisbeorgan, dat. pl. KCD 1321, 1336, 1033 (12th) and suggests that the first element in some of the forms may be an unrecorded OE hrise, 'land covered with brushwood' and in others the ordinary hris.
p. 198, GLORYHILL. It should have been made clear that this contains the same pers. name as Glory Fm (PN Bk 230). The etymology given is not that of the place-name but of the name of the family after which it was called. An earlier reference to Gloryhill is the holding of John de Glorie in Wooburn in 1242 (Fees 875).

VOL. III

p. 4, l. 4. The 'v. Addenda' should be transferred to p. 2, l. 12 from bottom.
p. 55, a.n. BASMEAD. Mr P. H. Reaney calls attention to an interesting series of names in which final d has been lost, viz. Hullasey (Gl), DB Hunlafsed (from hid), Coxtie (Ess), Cocstede (1286 Ch), Sugstys Green (Ess), Sucksted in 1523, so that possibly the forms without final d may really be from earlier ones with a d which has by chance survived in the modern form.
p. 89. Delete ' In this case...difficulties' at the end of the first full paragraph.
p. 129, SEWELL. Professor Zachrisson points out that the pers. name Seofa is on record in the Latinised form Sefus in the Hyde Liber Vitæ, v. Searle 575.
p. 137, HERNE. Professor Mansion (English Studies 10, 14) points out that Dutch haar, 'height covered with wood,' does not actually exist. The definition is an attempt by Jellinghaus to interpret a place-name element of which the exact meaning is unknown.
p. 138, s.n. WADLOW. Mr P. H. Reaney calls attention to the forms and phonetic development of Weybridge (in the same volume, p. 232) which make it quite possible that the original first-element was weald.
p. 150, l. 11 from bottom, for '64' read '65.'
p. 227, l. 6. For 'Wardington' read 'Warrington.'
p. 272, l. 4 from bottom, for 'relation' read 'relation.'
p. 310, Index, s.n. Godmanchester. Delete ref. to p. 152.
p. 311, s.n. Yelling. For '276' read '275.'

VOL. IV

p. 12, HONEYBROOK, etc. Mr C. A. Seyler suggests with a good deal of likelihood that the application of the term 'honey' to streams may have arisen from the fondness of bees for swarming in pollarded willows by the side of a stream.
p. 60, MAMBLE. The Rev. J. B. Johnston kindly calls attention to the omission of the DB form Mamele for this name.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 75, ll. 6-7 from bottom. Delete the reference to Harpsford (S). Mr Gerdström calls attention to a form Harpedesford which shows that this is a compound of herepæð. This is of special interest as Harpsford was by Virginia Water, where the Roman Road from Silchester to Staines crossed a small stream (VCH Sr i. 358, iii. 420, iv. 355). We may note further Harpford (S), Herpæfesford in KCD 816 at an important ford across the Tone.

p. 78, SHRAWLEY. Mr F. T. S. Houghton calls attention to a very pleasant illustration of the use of OE scræf in p.n.'s. In Aston by Birmingham (Wa) there is a Salford Bridge, of which the early forms are Straford, Schrafford, clearly 'ford with one or more examples of a scræf by it.' Close at hand is a Scrave medwe (1319) and, much more significant, Dwarfeholys (1490). It is clear therefore that these particular 'caves' or 'dens' were known in popular phrase as 'dwarf-holes.' The building of modern Birmingham alas makes it impossible to find just what they were like.

p. 100, l. 7. Delete 'Ess.'

p. 154, l. 8 from bottom. For '197' read '198.'

p. 156, REDMARLEY D'ABITOT. The Abbetot from which it is suggested that Urse derived his family name is the one for which we have a form Apetot in 1198 (Fabricius, Danske Minder i Normandiet 313). The Rev. J. B. Johnston calls attention to an Abetot in a Norman Charter of the 11th cent., which may or may not be the same place. If it is, the first element would be a pers. name Abbe rather than Api or the common word Æble.

p. 216, l. 2 from bottom. For 'above' read 'below.'

p. 221, l. 9 from bottom. Mr Gerdström rightly points out that pedanhrycg is to be identified with Petridge in Horley (Sr) and not with Pettridge (K).

p. 254, l. 11. For the pers. name Wraha, Mr P. H. Reaney calls our attention to Rapton (Sf) which is Wrabetun in the 12th cent. (BM) and to William Wrabbe in 1256 Ass (So).

p. 264, l. 8. For '11' read '12.'

p. 286, l. 6 from bottom. For '13th' read '15th.'

p. 304, l. 13 from bottom. After tun add 'and porp.'

VOL. V

p. 51, s.n. SCACKLETON. Mr F. H. Marsden calls attention to a word [fekal] which he has heard used in YNR of a kind of circular depression in the limestone districts caused by subsidence of surface earth into small cavities underground. This word may possibly enter into some of the Shackle-names.

p. 123, s.n. SHAWM RIGG. Professor Ekwall points out that a 'straw' name is very unlikely at this particular spot and suggests that the halm-form offers no difficulty as ON hjalmr would, at an early date, have such a form as healm and that the substitution of ONb halm for this would be quite natural.

p. 131, s.n. CLITHERBECK. Professor Ekwall would prefer now to associate these names with Swed dial. klådra, klera, 'song-thrush,' going back to earlier *klihra.

p. 172, s.n. SEAMER. Add the lost DB manor of Bergulesbi or Bergolbi containing the ON pers. name Bergulfr (LindN).

p. 181, s.n. LECKBY. Professor Ekwall suggests that a weak *Ljóti or fem. Ljóta (LindN) would better explain the early forms.

p. 275, s.n. AINDERBY STEEPLE. The important form Enderdeby (1280 Ipm) should be added.
p. 305, s.n. Rere or Rey Cross. Professor Ekwall calls attention to the article by Mr W. G. Collingwood in the *Cu. and We. Arch. Soc. Trans.* (27, i ff.) in which he gives an early form *Redecros* (sic) (1314) and points to the parallel of Rear or Ray Crag on the old boundary of Coniston. Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element is OScand *hreyr*, ‘cairn,’ still used in Swedish (in the form *röd*) of a boundary-mark, often in the combination *rå och rår*. In Rey Cross, as in Rey Crag, the final *r* was occasionally lost owing to dissimilation, but it is also possible that the name varied between *hreyr-kros* and *rå-kros*. Both would mean the same thing. Rere Cross is on the Yorkshire-Westmoreland boundary.
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

on Eoferwicscire 1055–64 Thorpe 391, 1066–9 ib. 438
Eboracensisira 1061–5 YCh ii; -schira 1089–95 RegAlb i. 62, 12 ib. i. 36 d
Euroicscira 1066–90 (1433) PatR
Euruic-, Eurewicscire 1086 DB, etc.
le Counte d’Everwyk c. 1416, 1456 Fount
the Counte of Yorke 1456, 1538 Fount
Yorkshire 1577 Saxton, 1610 Speed
Nort Treding 1086 DB
Nortrithing’ 1198 Fees, 1233 Cl
Nortriding 1235, 1237 Cl
Northrithing’ 1240 Lib, 1279–81 QW
Nordriding’ 1235–6 Fees
(Weststriding et) Nortstriding 1287 Ebor
Northridding(e) 1285 KI, 1296 YI

The etymology of the name is OE, ON nora, ‘north,’ and ON þríðjungr ‘third part,’ late OE þriding. On the form of the second element v. IPN 109 ff. For the origin of the Riding name v. Introduction xiv, xxii.

NORTH RIDING ROAD-NAMES

LEEMING LANE

This is the name of the great Roman road which crosses the North Riding from Borough Bridge to Catterick and the north. In the 16th cent. it was called Watling Street (cf. Healam House 220 infra and Watling Street infra). v. Leeming 227 infra.

WATLING STREET

ad magnam stratam 12 Easby 57
Watlinge Stre(e)te 1613 NR, 17 Felon Sew of Rokeby

This is the name sometimes applied to that part of the Great North Road in Gilling West wapentake; its southern part is

1 The names of York and other places within the city will be dealt with in the West Riding volume.
known as Leeming Lane 1 supra, whilst that part which runs through Allerton Bywater (YWR) is referred to in the 13th cent. as *Watlinge Strete*. For the etymology of this name v. PN BedsHu 5–7.

**NORTH RIDING RIVER-NAMES**

The forms of the river-names, so far as they are found in early documents, are as follows. For their interpretation reference may be made to the *River-Names of Yorkshire* (YDS 1925), by E. V. Gordon and A. H. Smith, and to the forthcoming volume upon the *River-Names of England* by Professor Ekwall.

**BAIN, R., an affluent of the Ure**  
Bayn(e) 1153 Dugd v. 573 et passim  
Baine, Bein 1218 FF  
Cf. the river Bain (L), Beinam 12, 13 BM. v. RNY 17, and Bainbridge 262 infra.

**BALDER, R., an affluent of the Tees**  
Balder 13 YD  
Bauder flu’ 1577 Saxton, 1626 Drayton (*Polyolbion*)  
A back-formation from the name Baldersdale (v. 306 infra).

**BURN, R., an affluent of the Ure**  
Brunne 12 Fount, 1330 Ch  
v. RNY 17 and brunnr, burna.

**COD BECK, an affluent of the Swale**  
Cotesbec 13 Riev  
Codbek flu’ 1577 Saxton

**COSTA BECK, an affluent of the Derwent**  
aquam de Costa c. 1180–1212 YCh 394, 1189 Riev et passim  
Costham (Latinised) 1189 Riev, 1252 Ch  
Costey 1536 YChant  
Costtow flu’ 1577 Saxton

**COVER, R., an affluent of the Ure**  
Couer 1279 Ass, 1577 Saxton Cover 1336 Pat.  
The Cour 1565 FF
Also found in Coverdale:

Coverdale 1202 FF, 1270 YI et passim
Coverdale 1543 FF

The name is found in Coverham 254 infra. It should be compared with OE Coveresgiet BCS 912 (in Brockenborough W), OE on cofer fros BCS 1056 (Cornw), and OE on cofring treow BCS 1051 (in Clere, Ha).

Crambeck, an affluent of the Derwent


Derwent, R., an affluent of the Ouse

Deruuentio, Doruuentio 8 Bede
Deorwentan (acc. and dat.) 959 YCh 4
Derewent(a-m) a. 1133, 1154–89, 1199 Whitby et passim to 1339 Percy
Derwent 1177 HCY, 1225 FF et passim
Derwynte 1322 NRS
Darwent 1448 Test
The Darwen 1573 FF, 1619 NRS

From Romano-British Deruuentio, -a, the name of a Roman station on the Derwent in the East Riding. The name is paralleled by the other Derwents (e.g. Db, ea Deorwentan 10 Saints) and probably by the Darenth (K), OE Diorente 822 BM, Darente 1345 BM. The etymology is discussed in RNY 21.

Dove, R., an affluent of the Rye

Dune 1100–3 YCh, 1227 Riev, 13 Malton 115
Duua, Duva, Duve 1207 FF, 1255 Ch, 1308 Ch
Dovve 1306 NRS
Dow 1577 Saxton, 1626 Drayton (Polyolbion)
Dovebeck 1614 NR

Cf. Dove, R. (Db), an dufan 951 BCS 890 and v. RNY 22.

Esk, R.

Esch 1109–14 YCh 865, a. 1133, 1154–89, 1199 Whitby
Esc 1129, c. 1199 Guis
Esk(e) 1204 ChR, 1279–81 QW, 15 Whitby et passim
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Foss, R., an affluent of the Ouse

Foss(e) 13 Kirkham 9, 1227 Ch, 1228 Lib et passim

The name of this river is found in Fossgate (York), Fossegate 13 Leon 126 d, and a parallel name is that of the river Foss, an affluent of the river Wharfe near Tadcaster, aque de Fosse 1230, 1250 Percy. The river flows through the city of York through a cut channel, cf. Lat. fossa, ‘ditch.’

Greta, R., an affluent of the Tees

Great' flu' 1577 Saxton Greta 1606 NR

Cf. the name of the river Greet (Nt), OE Greetan (acc., dat.) 958 RegAlb i. 58, and le Grayegrete, the name of a lost place in Bowes, 13 RichReg 127 d. v. RNY 12.

Keas Beck, an affluent of the Derwent

Kesbek 1335 ForP 211 d
v. Kneasbeck (Whit) 114 infra.

Kyle, R., an affluent of the Ouse

Ki-, Kyle 1289, 1293–5 For (passim), 1316 For
Kyle was also the name of a bailiwick in 1317 etc. (For).

Leven, R., an affluent of the Tees

Leuen(e) 1218–31 Heal 113, H3 BM, 1293 YI, 1301 LS
Leaven 1615, 1621 NR
v. RNY, p. 12, and Castle Leavington and Kirk Leavington 173 infra.

Lune, R. [liun], an affluent of the Tees

vallem de Loon 1201 ChR Lune 1561 FF, 1577 Saxton
This name is found in Lancashire (v. Ekwall, PN La) and its etymology is further discussed in RNY 11. Cf. Alne 21 infra.

Murk Esk, R., an affluent of the Esk

Mirchesc 1230 Whitby Mirkhesk 1231 Ass
Mirke Eske 1252 YI, 15 Whitby, 1619 NRS
v. RNY 14.
OUSE, R. [uːz]¹

andlang usan 959 YCh 4, 963 RegAlb i. 56 d
Use 1066 ASC et passim to 1308 Ch
Huse 1286 Ebor
Ouse 1314 Fount
Ouze c. 1314 Fount, 1626 Drayton (Polyolbion)
Usa 13 Fagrskinna and other Scand sagas

This river-name is often found elsewhere in England.

RICCAL, R., an affluent of the Rye

Ricalf 1086 DB (then a manor), 1293 QW
Richale 1227 FF
Ricolf(e) 1283 YI, 1293 QW
Riclofe, Riclose 1285 KI
Ricolf 1301 LS
Rycal 1316 Vill, etc.
Rycolf 1418 YI

The river-name is also found as
Rycaluegy (? = -greynes), Ricolvegreines 1251, 1333 Riev

The DB form, the KI forms and one or two others refer to a lost vill which may have stood near to Riccal Moor and Riccal House on the north bank of the river Riccal in the south-east of Harome township. It should be noted that for 6 or 7 miles from its mouth the Riccal is never more than a mile distant from the Rye. On the etymology of the name v. RNY 23.

Ricolvegreines contains an additional element, ON greinn 'a branch' (here applied to the river); the following references apply to the Riccal valley: Graynes 13 Kirkham 2, þe graynes 14 ib. 50.

RYE, R., an affluent of the Derwent

Rye 1181 BylE 103 d, 1282 Malton 102, 1577 Saxton

Found also as the first element of Rievaulx, Ryton 73, 76 infra, and the river Riccal supra. This name should be compared with the river Ryburn (YWR); v. RNY 20, 21.

¹ For Dr Grundy's identification of this river with the rusan of BCS 875 v. Overton 15 infra note.
SKITTERICK (lost), an affluent of the Derwent (in Pick.)

Sciteric 1201 ChR, 1204 Riev  Skyterik 1328 Banco

Both these references are to a stream, and should be compared with Schiterike 1313 WCR, the name of a lost place (or stream) in Wakefield (YWR), and possibly with Skitter (L), earlier Schitere, Scitra, c. 1150–5 BM. Cf. Shatterford, PN Wo 32.

SEPH, R., an affluent of the Rye

Sef 1170–85 YCh 1845, 1201 FF
Cepht 13 Kirkham 51 d  Cepth 1260 Riev
On the etymology of this name v. RNY 23.

SEVEN, R., an affluent of the Rye

Si-, Syvene 1155–8 Mary Y 179, 1204 ChR et passim to 1306 NRS
Sivena 1180 YCh 352, 1308 Ch, 1339 PatR
Sivona 13 Whitby
Si-, Syven 1290 Baildon, 1326, 1577 NRS
Seven 1577 Saxton
Cf. Sinnington 76 infra and RNY 22.

SWALE, R., an affluent of the Ouse

Sualua, Swalwa 8 Bede
Swalwan, Swalewan, Swealwan, Swealewan 10 BedeOE
Swale 1157 RichReg 82 d, 13 ib. 127 d et passim
Suale c. 1205 FountA 25
Swalle 1219 Easby 11, 1442 NR
Swaill 1654 Grinton
cf. also Swaledale 269 infra.

The name is paralleled by Swalecliff (K), OE et Swalewanclife BCS 874, near the Swale (K), OE sualwa (gen.) BCS 353, Suuealwe fluminis BCS 341, and by Swallow (L), Sualue 1203–6 BM, Swalough 1395 BM. v. RNY 15.

TAME, R., an affluent of the Tees

Tame 1129 Guis

This name is identical with the river-names Tame (St, Wa) and Thames, with Welsh Taff and the old Indian river-name Tamassa. v. RNY 13 and cf. Tanton 170 infra.
TACKRIVELING (lost), an affluent of the Derwent

Tacriveleng 1157–8 YCh 402, 1176–9 YCh 406, 1201 ChR

Cf. Rivelingdale 1231 Guis, the name of a lost place in Guisborough. v. RNY 25, s.n. Rivelin, R. (YWR).

TEES, R.

Teisa, Teysa  c. 1130 SD, 1166 P (p)
Tesa  c. 1130 SD, 1162 P, 1204 ChR
Taisa, Taysa  c. 1130 SD, 1192–9 Guis, 14 Whitby
Teysiam 1139–57 Guis, c. 1230 Bodl a. i. 57, 1239–57 Guis
Theise, -am  c. 1160 Riev, 1170–80 YCh, 1204 ChR; Theyse 13 BylE 38 d
Teyse 1177 HCY, 1229 FF, 1237 Cl, 1252 Ass, 1268 Abbr
Tayse 13 Easby 40
Tésa 13 Knýtlinga Saga
Tese 13 Easby 243, 1279–81 QW, 1300 RichReg 97
Tees 1348 FF, 1404 Yl, 1577 Saxton
These 1396 Pap

The name also appears in Teesdale 279 n. infra. The etymology of this name is discussed in RNY 11.

THORDISA (lost), a stream flowing to the sea in Whit.

Thordeisa 12 Whitby
Thordisa 1108–14, R 1, 1204 Whitby, 1279–81 QW
Tordisa c. 1166 Whitby, 1204 ChR, 1308 Whitby
Tordesay 1282 Whitby
Tordsaybek  E 2 Whitby

TILLA BECK (lost), an affluent of the Derwent

Tillabek 1222–4 Whitby, -bec(k) 13 Percy, 1619 NRS
Tyllaybeke 13 Whitby

URE, R., an affluent of the Ouse

Earp (? for earp) late 10 Saints
for(e) 1142–96 Dugd v. 596 et passim to 1314 Fount
Yor 1175–1203 YCh, 1280 Ass, 1300 Yl
Yhor 1202 FF
Gior 1199–1210 Abbr
Your(e) 1295 Ch, 1314 Fount, 1577 Saxton
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

3uram 1465 YD
Yeure 1530 Visit
Cf. RNY 17, and Jervaulx 250 infra.

Wiske, R., an affluent of the Swale
Wisca 1088 LVD 50 d
Wi-, Wysk, Wisc 1157 RichReg 82, 1210 Abbr et passim to 1483 Test
Wyx 1281 Ebor
Wi-, Wyske late 13 BM, 1371 FF

The river in its upper course is also referred to as foulbroke in 1508 Guis. On the etymology v. RNY 16.

I. BULMER WAPENTAKE

Bolesford Wapentac 1086 DB
Wap' de Bulem' sur' 1166 P Bulmer 1219 Fees, 1231 Ass, 1252 YI, 1285 KI, 1286 Ebor
Bullemere 1226–8 Fees
Bulmer 1231 Ass, Fees et passim
Bulmers(c)hire 1238 Guis et passim to 14 Kirkham 24 d

The name of the wapentake at the time of the DB survey is derived from that of Bulford, a lost place (v. 13 infra). The site of the meeting-place was probably not far from the Forest of Galtres, for the forest mill (Buleford) is named as standing on the SE boundary of the forest and its position may be exactly determined from a list of bounds of the forest in 1316 (Dunelm): “and by the same river Foss...and so to le Brendmilne de Ferlinton and then along the aforesaid river to the mill of Bulford and so to Strensall.” Bulford, therefore, seems to have been a ford across the river Foss somewhere in Strensall parish, practically in the centre of the wapentake.

After the 12th cent. the wapentake is named from Bulmer 39 infra. For the suffix v. scir.

GALTRES [gɔːtriz]

Galtres is the name of the old royal forest which covered a great part of this wapentake. Its existence is still perpetuated
in the additional *le Forest*, etc. in some of the place-names within its area.

*Galtry*, -*ris* 1155–89 *Kirkham* 5, 1171, 1179 *P*, 1222 *ClR et passim* to 1451 *Test*

*Galtry* 1177 *HCY*, 1226–9 *RegAlb* ii. 39 *d et passim* to 1577 *NRS*

*Galteriz* 1222 *Pat*, 1223 *ClR*; -*ris* 1227 *Cl*

*Gautric* 1227, 1229, 1233 *Cl*

*Gaut(e)ris* 1227, 1230 *Cl*, *Ch*, 1236 *Cl*, 1250 *Pat*, 1296 *YI*

*Gautres* 1270 *YI*, 1290, 1310 *Ch*, 1577 *Saxton*

*Gawtrees* 1416 *YD* 1510 *Sanct*

This interesting name is a compound of ON *goltr* (*PrN* *galtuR*), ‘boar,’ and *hris*, ‘brushwood.’ Turberville tells how boars when being hunted make for the thickest brushwood they can find. “Bores lie most commonly in the strongest holdes of Thornes and thicke Bushes” (*The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting*, Oxford ed., p. 151).

**Holtby**

1. **HOLTBY 27 F 9** [autbi]

*Boltebi* (sic) 1086 *DB*

*Holteby* 12 *RegAlb* i. 67 *d et passim* to 1316 *Vill*

The persistence of medial -*e*- in the spellings shows that the first element had an originally inflected form (gen. sg.). ‘Holti’s farm’ from the ON personal name *Holti* and by.

**Osbaldwick**

1. **HEWORTH 27 F 8**

*Heuuerde*, -*uuarde* 1086 *DB* 1177 *HCY*

*Heword(e)* c. 1148–59 *YCh* 1060, 1294, 1335 *Ch*, 1295 *For Heworth(e)* 1244 *Ass* 1285 *KI et passim*

*v. heah, worð*. Heworth is on low-lying ground and the meaning must, therefore, be ‘chief enclosure’ rather than ‘high, lofty enclosure.’ Cf. the common use of *High* in *High Street*. There are other instances of OE *hēah* used in this sense, as in Broad Hinton (Berks). Heworth is the only name in the North Riding containing the element *worp*. *v.* Introd. xviii.
2. **MURTON** 27 F 8
   
   Mortun, *-ton* 1086 DB *et passim* to 1295 *For Murton* 1391 Test
   
   ‘Farm on the mor,’ *v.* tun.

**Tang Hall**

*Tange* 1219 *Ass, 1279 YI* *The Tanghawle* 1519 *Fabr*

*v.* tang. The second element is from ME *hall*, ‘hall, residence.’ Tang Hall stands on the south bank of a stream now called Tang Hall Beck, and the name probably refers to the spit of land formed by the confluence of Tang Hall Beck and Osbalducke Beck.

3. **Osbaldwick** 27 F 8 [*œzbœwik*]

   *Osboldewyke* 1086 DB
   *Osebaldewyke* 1198–1216 *RegAlb ii.* 54 *d*
   *Osbaldewyke* 1199 *RegAlb i.* 38, 1316 *Vill, 1330 For Osbaldewyk(e) 1280 Ebor
   *Osebaldewyke* 1280, 1289 Ebor, 1354 Pap, 1416 *Fabr Osberwick* 1577 Saxton

   ‘Osbald’s dwelling place,’ *v.* *wic.* The first element is the OE (Angl) personal name *Ösbald*.

**Gate Helmsley**

1. **Gate Helmsley** 27 E 10 [*get emzla*]

   *Hamelsec* 1086 DB
   *Hemlesi* 1145–53 *Leon 35*
   *Hemelesay* *H 2 Leon 3 d; *-eia* 1199 *RegAlb i.* 38
   *Hemelsay, -ey* 1177 *HCY, 1198–1216 RegAlb ii.* 54, 1285 *KI, 1287 Ebor, 1300 YI Hemilsay 1295 *For Hemelsay c.* 1200 *For Helmyslay* 1418 YI
   *Gatehemelsay* 1438 Baildon *Gaythamulsay* 15 *VCH ii.* 139
   *Gethemsley* 1574 FF *Gate-hemlsley* 1577 Saxton

   ‘Hemele’s eg.’ The OE personal name *Hemele* is also found in Hemsworth (YWR) (*Hamelesuurde* 1086 DB, *Hemeleswrthe* 1288 Ebor) and Hemlington 170 *infra.* The prefixed element
Gate- refers to the Roman road from York to Malton on which Gate Helmsley stands. ON gata is used instead of the more common OE stræt. OE eg is used in its broader sense here.

The modern form of the name is due in part to metathesis of Hemelsay to Helmyslay and in part to the analogy of Helmsley (Ryed) 71 infra.

2. Upper Helmsley 27 E 10

*Hamelse(h)* 1086 DB

Other forms follow those of Gate Helmsley. First distinguished as *Over* in 1301 LS. *Over*, as usual, is later replaced by *Upper*.

Upper Helmsley stands on higher ground than Gate Helmsley. v. ufera.

3. Warthill 27 E 9 [wathil]

*Wardhilla, Wardille* 1086 DB

*Warthill(e), -hil, -hyll* 1194–8 Dods vii. 168 et passim to 1416 Fabr

*Wartheshill* 1295 For

*Warthull* 1330 Ch

*Warthell* 1536 YChant

*Wathell* 1574 FF

'Beacon hill,' v. weard or varða, and hyll. The 1295 form is slightly in favour of Scand varða as against OE weard.

Stockton on the Forest

1. Stockton on the Forest 27 E 9

*Stochun, Stochetun* 1086 DB

*Stocatuna* 1145–53 Leon 35

*Stoke-, Stoceton* 1170–88 Leon 288 et passim to 1316 Vill

*Stoc(k)ton* 1218 Pat, 1316 KF, (on the more) 1577 Saxton

'Stockaded enclosure,' v. stocc, tun. The early forms clearly indicate that the original form of the first element was the OE gen. plur. stocca.
CARLTON

Careltone, -tun 1086 DB  C-, Karleton' 1167 P et passim
v. karlatun.

SANDBURN HOUSE

Sābura 1086 DB  Sandeburn 1269 Ch, etc.
Self-explanatory.

Huntington

1. EARSWICK 27 E 8 [i:əzwik]

Edresuuic, Edresuic 1086 DB
Ethericewyk  e. 13 RegAlb ii. 47 d
(H)everswyk' 1292, 1295 For, 1301 LS
Herswyk 1295 For
Etheriwike 1316 KF
Etherswik 1322 Abbr
Ereswick 1577 Saxton
Erswick 1665 Visit

This is a compound of wic and the common OE personal
name Æhelric, early reduced to Æheric.

The later forms of the name in Ever- are due to the common
interchange of th and ð as in fever for feather. Cf. also the change
of initial th to f in such names as Throstenby, Fingay Hill
110, 213 infra.

2. HUNTINGTON 27 E 8

Huntindune 1086 DB
Huntingtuna 1145–53 Leon 35, 1308 Ch
Hunting-, Huntyngdon 1159 YCh 1059; 1266, 1286, 1295,
1317 For
Huntendune c. 1160 Whitby
Hunting-, Huntyngton(a) H 2 MaryH 6 d et passim
Huntinton(a) c. 1180 Whitby, 1231 FF, 1237 Cl, 1294 Ch
Huntingedon' 1187 P
Huntin-, Huntyndon 1241 Cl, 1536 YChant
OE Huntingdān, with the same pers. name Hunta as in
Huntingdon (PNBedsHu 261). v. ingtun, dun.
3. **TOWTHORPE 27 D 8 [touθərp]**

*Touetorp* 1086 DB
*Touthorp(e)* c. 1157–70 YCh 1084 *et freq* to 1310 Ch
*Thouthorp(h)* 1280–c. 1280 YCh 65, 1280 Ebor, 1295 *For*
*Towethorp* 1372 FF *Towthorpp* 1419 YI; *-throppe* 1316 (Eliz) *KF*

'Tofi's farm,' *v. porp.* The name *Tofi* though found once in Iceland and also in late Norwegian is by Lind and Björkman (NP 142) considered to be originally Danish. Cf. ODan *Towi* (Nielsen). It is found also in Towthorpe (YER), *Touetorp* 1086 DB. Cf. the name *Toui* (LVD) and the common use of *Toue* in the medieval Danelaw.

**Strensall**

1. **STRENSALL 27 C 8**

*Strenshale* 1086 DB
*Strensale* 1127–8 YCh 785 *et freq* to 1319 *For*
*Strenehal* 1167 P
*Streneshal(e)* 1222 Pat, 1251 Ass (p), 1252 Ass, 1281 Ebor
*Strenesale* 1286, 1292 *For*, 1299 Ebor, 1302 Ebor 196 d
*Strensall* 1316 Vill, 1451 Test

'Streon's nook of land,' *v. h(e)alh.* The name *Strēon(a)* is found in Bede's *Streoneshalch* (*v. Whitby 126 infra*), and in two lost places in Wo, (1) in *Streoneshalh* (KCD 1358) near Bengeworth and (2) on *streon halh, be streonen hales* (BCS 1139) near Wick Episcopi. It appears as a name-element in OE *Streonbercht* (LVD) and as a by-name in *Godric Strēona*. Cf. Stevenson's note in *The Academy* (July 11, 1885, 29).

**BULFORD** (lost)

*Bulleford(a)* 1145–53 Leon 35, 1154–89 ib. 3 d, 12 MaryH 6 d, 1231 Ass, etc.
*Bulforthtoftes* 1286 *For*

'Bull ford,' *v. bula, ford* and Bowforth 64 *infra.* On the identification of Bulford with the site of the wapentake meeting place *v. 8 supra.*
Wigginton

1. Haxby 27 D 7

_Haxebi_, -by 1086 DB, 1177 HCY, 1223 CIR, et passim to 1319 For, _Axebi_ 1167 P

_Haxby_ 1317, 1330 For et passim

_v._ by. The personal name which forms the first element is recorded in Lincs in the early 13th cent. in the form Haac, and goes back to ON Hákkr, used as a by-name. On the form Haxe-_, which represents the ON gen. sg. in -s, _v._ IPN 62

2. Wigginton 27 D 7

_Wichistun, Wichintun_ 1086 DB

_Wi-_, _Wyginton_’ 1231 Ass, 1295 YI, 1301 LS, 1317, 1330 For, 1337 Ch

_Wi-_, _Wyginton_’ 1291 YI (p), 1293, 1330 For

_Wiggenton_ 1579 FF

The forms are difficult but are perhaps most easily explained if we take the name to be derived from the ON personal name _Vikingr_ (LindN) and tun. The voicing of intervocalic _k_ is evidenced in many other English place-names. Cf. Wiganthorpe 35 _infra_ and Wigston Magna (Lei), DB _Wichingestone_.

Corbourn Lane (6")

_Coteborne, -burun_ 1086 DB; _-burn_’ 1295 For

_Corteburc_ 1155-c. 1170 YCh 422

_Cortburne_ 1343 PatR, 1409 YI

_Coriburne_ 1363 PatR

_v._ burna. The first element is obscure, but may contain the same element as Courteenhall (Nth), _Cortenhale_ 1086 DB, _Curtenhale_ 1328 Banco, and a lost place in Surrey, OE _curten stapele_ (BCS 34). The common element is probably a personal name _Curta_ or _Corta_, possibly identical with PrGerm _Crotus_ (given by Werle, _Die ältesten germanischen Personennamen_) with metathesis. If this is correct the name must have existed in PrOE to have given the OE derivative names _Cyrtel_ (found in Kirklington 220 _infra_) and _Cortela_, as in Costock (Nt), _Cortelingstocke_ 1302 FA.
Overton

1. Clifton 27 F 7
   Cliftune 1086 DB, etc.
   Self-explanatory.

2. Overton¹ 27 E 5 [əʊtən]
   Ovre-, Overtun 1086 DB, Ouerton 1086 DB et passim
   Orton 1327 Ch
   ‘Farm on the bank (overlooking the river Ouse),’ v. ofer, tun.

Morton (lost)
   Mortune 1086 DB; -tona 1292 For
   ‘Farm on the mor,’ v. tun.

3. Rawcliffe 27 E 6
   Roud(e)clif 1086 DB
   Rout(h)ecliu, Routhecliu 1170 P (p), 1208 FF, e. 13 RegAlb
   ii. 47 d, 1294 Ch; -klif 1295 For; -clyff 1301 LS, 1323 Pat
   Roufclif 1295 For
   Roucliff, -clyf(f) 1309 Dugd iii. 565, 1318 Pap, 1330 For,
   1342 Test, 1364 FF
   Roclyff 1540 Dugd iii. 570
   ‘Red cliff,’ v. rauðr, klif. The name refers to the high reddish
   bank of the Ouse at this point.

4. Shipton 27 D 5 [ʃiptən]
   Hipton 1086 DB
   Hepeton’ 1167 P
   Hieptuna 1154–89 MaryH 6 d, 1308 Ch, Hyepton (Yheptona)
   1176 P
   Yhupton 12 RegAlb ii. 16 d Hupton’ 1231 Ass, 1244 Fees
   Supton’ 1244 Ass

¹ Dr Grundy (Arch. Journal, 76, 247) identifies at Ofertune, to ofertune
(BCS 875) with this place on the ground that both places are on a river Ouse
(Wusa in the charter) and the charter is witnessed by the Archbishop of
York. This evidence is hardly sufficient to counterbalance the difficulties
on the other side, namely, how a charter dealing with land in Yorkshire
got into a Winchester cartulary, and how King Eadred could have made a
grant of land in Yorkshire at all in the troublous years to which this charter
belongs.
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Sc(h)upton 13 MaryH 122 d et passim to 1541 Dugd iii. 570
Scupperton 1295 YI
Schipperton 1295 YI
Shipton 1328 Banco, 1522 FF, 1577 Saxton
Schiptun 1405 HCY

The etymology of this name is OE heope 'briar, bramble,' and tun; cf. Heptonstall (Moorman, PN YWR s.n.).

The phonology of this name is peculiar and the problem is treated more fully in RES i. 437 ff. There it is shown from other place-names such as Shap (We), Shawm Rigg 122 infra, etc. that OE hēo- and hēa- in certain cases became ME she- or shō-. In addition there is a Y dialect-word shoop, 'dog-rose,' which is derived from OE hēope. So far the evidence seems to indicate that the change took place only in Scandinavian England but how far it was due to Scandinavian influence it is impossible to say. It certainly cannot be explained by the later Norw sound-change of ON hj- to sh-, for that did not take place till long after Scandinavian connexions with England had ceased. The phonetic development of the name is that OE hēo- became hyē-(or with stress on the second element of the diphthong hyō-), and that hy-, being acoustically near to sh-, became sh in the 13th cent. The variant forms Shup- and Ship- are due to shifting of the stress from one element to the other of the original OE diphthong ēo, hēo giving Shi- and heō- giving Shu-. Shipton (YER), Epton 1086 DB, Shupton 1316 Vill, is probably of the same origin.

5. SKELTON 27 E 6

Sc(h)eltun 1086 DB
Escheltona 1090-5 (1433) Pat
Skelton 1181-4 YCh 423, 1244 Ass et passim
Schelton 1248 Ebor, 1289, 1295 For; -tunam 1308 Ch

Skelton is a common name in Yorkshire; there are two more in the North Riding, and others in the East and West Ridings. The spellings in each case are identical and the places are on or near streams, but there is some doubt as to the etymology of the first element. There are two possibilities.
The first is that the name is of the same origin as several English Sheltons, which contain OE *scelf*, 'shelf, shelving terrain of land' (v. scylf). There is, however, only a slight rise of land at Skelton and it is doubtful if this could be called a *scelf* when compared with the ledges of land which are certainly referred to in this word, as at Raskelf. Skelton in LangE (145 infra) is in the valley-bottom, whilst Skelton in GillW (293 infra) may well contain OE *scelf*. If this is the correct etymology, there is no difficulty over the phonology, for -f was lost at an early date in Raskelf 26 infra. Initial Sk- (for Sh-) is due to Scandinavian influence. It has been observed however that there is difficulty in the topography of this Skelton, and, as in the case of Skelton (LangE) and Skelton near Leeds (YWR, Sceltune 1086 DB, Scheltunam 1154-66 YCh 1770), standing on the bank of the Aire, there is more likelihood of the alternative explanation being the right one.

In addition to the parallel names already cited we must take into consideration the name of the river Skell near Ripon (YWR), Schelbec 1170–5 RegAlb i. 72, Scheldene 1179 ib. i. 71 d, Scheldale c. 1200 Fount, and Skelfleet, the name of a stream near Broomfleet (YER), Skelflete in the 17th cent. From this it appears that Skell was a river-name and in some cases such as the present Skelton, Skelton (LangE), and Skelton near Leeds, this river-name may form the first element. This Skelton stands a little distance from a stream which rises at Skelton Spring, Skelton (LangE) is by Skelton Beck, and Skelton near Leeds is on the Aire. On the river Skell near Ripon is another Skelton (olim Schelton). Probably the river-name Skell is identical with the Norw river-name Skjellaen, from ON skellr, 'clatter, splash,' being related to the ON verb skalla, 'to clatter' (cf. NEIv 219); the Norw stream-name Skjelle, evidenced in ONorw as *i Skælli* (NG i. 85) is of the same origin.

The probability is that Skelton in this case means 'farm near the river Skell' and the river-name has not survived independently. *v. tun.*

**Wide Open Farm**

*Wibedstune* 1086 DB  
*Wipetune* 1086 DB, 1429 IpmR  
*Wipetuna* 1308 Ch
The modern name is not a derivative of the early forms, unless by popular corruption. The early forms themselves are not conclusive, but probably point to 'Wipped's farm,' v. tun. The pers. name is identical with the first element of Wippedes-fleote (ASC), named from Wipped(e) who was slain there. Wide Open Farm may be the same place as the OE pibustun1 socn of BCS 1279.

Sutton on the Forest

1. Huby 27 B 6 [iubi]

_Hobi_ 1086 DB, 1167, 1172, 1178, 1179 P
_Hoby_ 1135–54 Kirkham 5 d, 1180–1 YCh 420 et passim to 1399 Pat
_Houby_ 1326 NRS
_Huby, -bie_ 1398 Pat, 1571 FF, 1577 NRS
_Hewby_ 1538 Dugd iv. 567, 1614 NR

Lindkvist is mistaken in his etymology of Huby; there probably was no hór (= ON hár) in Anglo-Scandinavian. Hoby (Lei) appears as Houcbig 1066 Thorpe, Houbia 1086 DB, Hou(e)by 1326, 1349 Cl, 1407 Pat, and the first form gives the clue to the etymology. Both names mean 'farm on the spur of land,' v. hoh, by, and are to be compared with the numerous Huttons (passim). Huby is also the name of a little village near Harrogate (YWR), which stands on a ridge of land similar to that at the present Huby.

Kelsit Grange

_Chelestuit, Chelesterd (sic) _1086 DB
_Kelst(h)wait_ 1300 Leon 6 d, 1338 Ch
_Kel(e)thwait_ 1317, 1330 For

'Kel's enclosure' v. pveit. A pers. name Kel(le) is best explained as a short-form of such an ON name as Grimkell or Úlfkell from earlier names in -ketill. Cf. Kelle found in Lincs in 1219. Cf. also Björkman, ZEN 52.

1 Birch reads pibustan, but Miss F. E. Harmer has kindly collated the MS and says that the vowel may be a u and the reading in the Harleian copy is a u.
LAUND HOUSE

*le Londe* 1404 YI

*v. land, ‘land, cultivated land,’ later influenced by launde.*

2. SUTTON ON THE FOREST 27 B 7

*Su(d)tune, Sutton* 1086 DB
*Suttune* 1145–53 Leon 35, 1252 Ch
*Sutton(e)* 1166 YCh 777, 1167 P *et passim (sub (in) Galtris)*
1242 Ebor, *(in the Forest)* 1577 Saxton

In the 13th and 14th cents. it is sometimes distinguished as:

*Onegatesinton’ (sic)* 1229 Cl
*Ouergate Sutton’* 1231 Ass
*Ougate Sutton’* 1301 LS, *Sutton Ouvgate* 1316 For

‘South farm’ *v. sup, tun.* If the form *Onegatesinton’* is correct, its origin is probably an OE *sūpingatun*, ‘farm of the dwellers south (of Stillington)’; cf. Westonby 130 *infra.*

On the common addition *v. Galtres* 8 *supra.* The prefixed name *Ougate* appears independently as *houergate* 1246 *RegAlb* iii. 2, and there is no doubt that it contains ME *over*, ‘upper,’ and *gata*, ‘road.’ The spellings with *Ou-* arise from the omission of the diacritic used in 13th cent. handwriting to denote *er.*

GREENTHWAITE [grinfit]

*Grenthwayt, -thwait* 1226–9 *RegAlb* ii. 39 d, etc.

*v. grene, pveit.*

Newton on Ouse

1. BENINGBROUGH 27 D 5

*Benniburg* 1086 DB
*Bennigburg* 1160–70 *Bodl* a. i. 105 (p)
*Beninburc(g)* 1167 P, 1293 *For*
*Bening-, Benyngburg(h)* 1180 YCh 550 *et passim* to 1317 *For*
*Beningeburg* 1223 *FF*
*Benigburgh’* 1301 LS

‘Benna’s fortified place’ *v. ing, burh.* For this personal name *v. Bengeworth, PN Wo 95.*
2. **Linton upon Ouse 27 D 4**

*Lingtona* 1086 DB  
*Lin-, Lynton* 1176 P *et passim, (super Usam) 1336 Ch*

v. tun. The origin of the first element is not clear; but it is probably OE *lin*, 'flax,' and so 'enclosure where flax is grown.' It can hardly be OE *hlynn* (= Lat *torrens*, as pointed out in PNS II. xxxii), for the river Ouse cannot be termed *torrens*.

3. **Newton upon Ouse 27 D 4**

*Neuton* 1086 DB  
*Neweton(e) 1086 DB, 1231 Ass, 1330 For  
*Nivecenton* 1167 P  
*Niweton* *super Vsam* 1176 P, etc.

‘New farm’ v. niwe, tun. The form *Niwenton* presupposes an OE *æt þæm* niwan *tūne*, an inflexional form one would not expect in the North.

**Niddermyn (lost)**

*Nidderminne* 1294 Ch

‘Confluence of the river Nidd (and the Ouse),’ v. mynni. On the etymology of Nidd v. RNY 18. The river Nidd joins the Ouse in this parish. The actual form of the river-name here contains the ON genitive in *-ar*, also found in Nidderdale (cf. RNY 18).

**Alne**

1. **Aldwark 27 C 3 [ɔːdwaːk]**

*A(Ð)deuerc* 1086 DB  
*Aldwerc* 1176 P  
*Aldewerc(e) 1175–1203 YCh 797 et passim to 1410 YI  
*Audewerk* 1224, 1230 FF  
*Aldewark* 1316 (Eliz) Vill, 1399 Test  
*Oldewarke* 1536 YChant

‘The ancient fortification,’ v. (e)ald, weorc. Similar names are Aldwark (Db) and a lost *Aldwark* in York, found in ‘regiam stratam de Aldewerk’ in 1331 (*Leon* 75). There are now no traces of fortifications of any kind at Aldwark.
Rice Lane

Probably preserves the second element of the lost Cuningesris 1175–1203 YCh 793.

'The king's brushwood' v. konungr, hris. The form Cuning- is from ODan kunung.

2. Alne 27 B 4 [ɔ:n], [ə'n]

Alne, Alna 1086 DB, c. 1130 SD et passim
Auina 1167 P
Aune 1237 Ebor
Alen 1316 Vill
Avne 1402, 1454 Test, 1577 Saxton, 1581 FF

Alne stands on the river Kyle to which the name must have referred originally. It is derived from some British name similar to Ptolemy’s Alauna (= Allen, Scotland) or Alauunos (= Alne, Nb), which sometimes appears as OE *lôn (v. RNY II).

3. Flawith 27 B 3 [flawiθ]

Flathwayth c. 1180–94 YCh 796
Flathewath(e) 1207 Easby 256 d, 1251 Ass, 1252 Ass, 1259 Ass, 1282 YI, 1301 LS
Flapewath 1295 For
Flathewat' 1295 For
Flatwath 1316 Vill
Flawythe, Flawith 1316 (Eliz) KF, 1582 FF

The second element is ON vað, 'ford.' Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element is the same word as Norw flade, Sw dial. flada, 'flat-meadow.' The whole name would then mean 'ford by the flat meadow-land.' Dr Lindkvist notes evidence for Norw *flað- with the same meaning as flat-, in Fladkar (Rygh, NG xiv, 323).

4. Tholthorpe 27 B 3 [θouθərəp]

Thurulfestune 972 (11th) BCS 1279
Turulfestorp 1086 DB
Turoluestorp 1086 DB
Turold' Torp 1176 P (p)
Toraldethorpe 1282 YI, 1292, 1293 For
Thoraldethorp 1285 KI, 1316 Vill, 1328 Banco
22  NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Thoralthorp' 1295 For
Thoraldesthorp 1337 Ch
Thoraldthropp' 1316 (Eliz) KF
Thorlothorpp’ 1301 LS
Tholthorp 1505 Test; -thropp 1614 NR

‘Thurulf’s village’ v. þorp. The name Thurulf is from ON þórólfr, ODan Thorulw. A similar change of -ulf to -ald is noticed in Inglethwaite 25 infra, Barnoldswick (YWR), Bernulfeswic 1086 DB and in Gonalston (PN Nt 56), and is due to the weakening of the stress on -ulf. The OE form þurulfestune is of interest as it shows that the OE tun might be replaced by Scandinavian þorp.

5. TOLLERTON 27 B 4 [toulætan]
Toletun 972 (11th) BCS 1279
Tolentun, Tolletun 1086 DB
Tolereton’ 1167 P
Tolreton 1230 Ebor
Tollerton’ 1256 RegAlb iii. 55 d, 1291 Ch et passim
Tollirton 1289 For
Tolnorton 1292, 1293 For Tolnertona 1293 For

v. tun. The first element can hardly be identical with Toller (Do), Tollor in KCD 1322. In this case it is probably from OE tollere, ‘tax-gatherer,’ perhaps used as a man’s second name. The Tolner- forms are from the OE by-form tolnere. Both Toller and Tolner are still used as surnames (v. Harrison, Surnames of the United Kingdom, s.n.).

6. YOULTON 27 C 4 [jœltan]
Ioletun, Loletune 1086 DB
Yolton’ 1295 For, 1301 LS, 1330 For, 1369 FF, 1508 Test
Yiolton’ 1301 LS
Yquel-, Youlton 1574 FF, 1666 Visit

The first element is the pers. name Yol, found in Lincs and Yorks in the 12th cent. and in Yawthorpe (L), LindsSurv jollorp, Liber Niger Goletorp. This must be a short form of such an ON pers. name as fólgirr (LindN). Geola, the name of an 11th cent. moneyer at York, must be an Anglicised form of it.
Myton on Swale

1. **Myton on Swale** 27 B 2 [miton]

   *et nydtune (sic) 972 (11th) BCS 1278
mytun 972 BCS 1279 Mitune 1086 DB

   *My-, Miton(e) c. 1100–6 YCh 791, 1130–5 YCh 792 et passim
Mitton 1247 Pap, 1344 Ebor 9, 1406 Test
Mytoun 1375 Barbour’s *Bruce* xvii. 1. 536

   ‘Farm at the confluence’ v. *myde*, tun. Myton is half a mile from the meeting of the river Swale and the Ure, and the site of the White Battle in 1319, mentioned by Barbour, is said to have been at the confluence, on the land between the two rivers.

**Brafferton**

1. **Brafferton** 27 A 2

   Brad-, Bratfortune, Bratfortone 1086 DB
Bradfortonam c. 1180–94 Mary Y 138

   Brafferton 1226 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1290 Ebor, 1316 Vill, 1451 Test
Brafferton’ 1292 For, Pap et passim
Brauerton’ 1295 For
Braffirtton’ 1301 LS, YI

   ‘Farm near the broad ford’ v. *brad*, ford, tun. Brafferton is near the river Swale. The name is also found in Durham (PN NbDu s.n.).

**Pilmoor**

Pilemor 1254 YI

   ‘Pila’s mor.’ The name *Pil(a)* is not adduced in independent use, but it is found in a number of place-names: Pilsworth (PN La 54), Pilsgate (Nth), *Pilesgete* BCS 1128, and Pilsbury (Db), *Pilesberie* 1086 DB. A weak form *Pila* enters into Pilham (L).

2. **Helperby** 27 A 2

   Helperby 972 (11th) BCS 1278, 1177 HCY et passim

   *et heolperbi* 972 (11th) BCS 1279
(H)ilprebi 1086 DB
Helprebi, -by 1086 DB, 1109–19 RegAlb i. 68 d, 1166 P (p),
1202 FF (p)
Helparby 1576 FF

'Hjalp's farm' v. by. The ON woman's name Hjälp, gen. Hjálpar (LindN) is also found in Helperthorpe (YER), Elpetorp 1086 DB, Helprethorp 1109–19 RegAlb i. 69. Cf. Norw Jerberg (Hiolperbergh) and ONorw Hialparsteinn (NG i. 98). The inflexional -er and the presence of a woman's name in a by-compound are noteworthy.

3. Thornton Bridge 22 J 2
Torenton(e) 1086 DB
Thornton(a) 13 BylA 32 et passim, (brigge) 1576 FF
Thornton on Swale 1275 YI

Thornton is a common name in Y. It means 'enclosure made of thorn bushes' and is parallel to such compounds as Stockton, Stanton (Stainton), 'enclosure made of stocks (stone).’ v. porn, tun.

Easingwold

1. Easingwold 27 A 5 [i:zinzud]
Eisicewalt, Eisincewald 1086 DB
Esing-, Esyngwald 1167, 1177 P, 1187 Leon 5 d et passim to
1451 Test
Eisingwald(e) 1169 P, 1218 FF, 1230 Cl, 1247 YI
Hesiwald' 1179 P
Hesingewald' 1187 P
Esingaud 1208 FF
Eisingwaud 1219, 1231 Ass, 1221 ClR, 1232, 1236 Cl, 1236
Lib, 1269 Ebor
Eisingwaud 1220, 1222 ClR, 1247 Cl, 1250 Pat
Hesingwaud', -woud' 1236 Cl
Easingwould 1666 Visit

'The high land of Esa and his followers’ v. w(e)ald. The pers. name Esa is adduced by Redin and is of common appearance in place-names (cf. Easington 140 infra). v. ing.
BULMER WAPENTAKE

ALWALDTOFTS (lost)

Alwald(e)toftes 1292 Pat, 1295 YI, 1330 For
Alwald(e)cotes 1295 Fine, 1318 For

v. topt. The first element is a personal name derived from OE Ælfwald or Æpelwald or from ON Ólvaldi (LindN), ODan Alwaldi (Nielsen). There was an alternative form with OE cot 'cottage.'

HAWKHILLS

Houkeshill 1226–9 RegAlb ii. 39 d

'Hawk's hill' v. hyll. The ME personal name Hauk, common in the Danelaw, is derived from the ON name Haukr (LindN), OSwed Høk (Lundgren-Brate). Originally the name here may have been OE Heafoc (v. Hauxwell 269 infra).

INGLETHWAITE (lost)

Inguluestuet 1086 DB
Ingolthweyt, -thwait(e), -t(h)wayt 1236 Cl, 1318 For et passim to 1411 Pat
Ingoluet(h)wayt 1292, 1293 For
Ingoldethwayte 1295 Fine
Ingold-, Ingaldtweyt 1295 For, YI
Ingoltwayt 1295 YI

'Ingulf's clearing' from ON Ingólfr and þveit. On the Ingolde- forms v. Tholthorpe 22 supra.

LEXMERE (lost)

Lexemer' 1187 Leon 5 d, 1248 Cl

'Salmon pool' from OE leax, 'salmon,' and mere. Normally OE leax appears in ME as lax, in the same way as OE feax appears as ME fax, but there is an example of lex cited by Stratmann-Bradley (ME Dict. s.v. lax from a 12th cent. version of Ælfric's Grammar, etc.). For the e-vowel cf. also DB Lexintune, Hy 3 Ipm Lexinton, now Laxton (Nt).

THE LUND

le Lound 1280 ClR

v. lundr.
The first element is probably ra, 'roe.' The second is more difficult. Final -f is organic but was lost early in certain forms. The original form would be skelf which appears again in Hinder-skelfe 40 infra and in Ulleskelfe (YWR), Oleschel 1086 DB. It is either from ON skjölf, 'shelf, seat' (used here in the sense of OE scelf, 'shelving terrain of land') or a Scandinavianised form of that word. Raskelf is on a jutting ridge of land overlooking the river Kyle. v. ra, scylf.

This must be the same name as the lost Balshaw (PN La 7), earlier Balghscha (1296) which Ekwall connects with ME balgh, 'rounded,' used in Sir Gawayne in the phrase a balgh ber3 (l. 2172), 'a rounded hill.' The second element is OE sceaga, 'wood.' In the later forms this has been Scandinavianised.
Thormothby 1295 For, 1316 KF, Vill
Thormanby 1481, 1491 Test, 1577 Saxton
Thornamby 1541 Dugd v. 355

‘Thormoth’s farm’ v. by. The personal name is from ON þórmóðr, found also in Thurmaston (Lei), Thrumpton (Nt), Thornaby 172 infra and in Tremauville and Turmauville in Normandy.

Stillington

1. Stillington 27 A 6

Stiuelinctun 1086 DB
Stiuelinton’ 1176 P
Stiuill(lyington) 1242 P, 1301 LS
Sti-, Styvelington(e) 1280, 1286 Ebor et passim to 1351 Pap
Stillyngton 1371 Baildon, 1442 Test

‘Styfel(a)’s farm’ v. ingtun. The first element is a personal name Styfel(a), not actually on record, but a derivative of the OE personal name Stuf (ASC). It enters also into Stillingfleet (YER), Steftingefled 1086 DB, Stvelingflet 1208 Ass, 1252 Ch.

Crayke

1. Crayke 22 J 6 [kreak]

Crec 685 (17th) BCS 66 (? spurious; cf. YCh 918)
(on) Creic c. 980 (10th) BCS 1255, c. 1000 LVD 43 d, 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 50 d, et passim to 1229 Ch
Creca, Cric c. 1130 SD
Craic, Crayk 1176 P, 1346 Test, 1435 NCyWills
Cre(c)k 1227, 1236, 1237 Cl
Creik, Creyk 1227 Pat, 1244 Cl, 1295 Pat, 1309 Pap, 1349 Test, 1364 FF
Crake 1440 Test, 1470 Pat, 1577 Saxton
Creake 1530 Visit

The name is of Celtic origin, from Brit *krakio, which became OW craig, ‘a rock.’ The word appears to have been borrowed in two forms, one with Celtic ‘affection’ giving *kraik-, the other without, giving krek by OE mutation. There is a very steep cliff at Crayke, on which is built Crayke castle.
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Brandsby

1. Brandsby 22 J 7
   Bransbi 1086 DB
   Brendesbi 1167 P
   Brandeby 1224–30 Fees
   Branceby 1231 FF
   Brandesby 1221–5 Reg.Alb ii. 56 d et passim to 1458 Test
   Brandsby 1316 KF, 1665 Visit
   Bransby 1316 KF

   'Brand's farm' v. by. This personal name, common in the
   Danelaw, represents ON Brandr. The form Brance- represents
   the ON gen. sing. in -s (cf. Haxby 14 supra), as in Bransby
   (L), Braunceby 1243 Cl, and some forms of Bransdale 65 infra.
   Other forms are due to the substitution of the OE gen. -es,
   voiced in ME to [z].

FOULRICE

   Fulryse 1301 LS  Fowlerice 1538 Dugd iv. 567
   'Foul brushwood,' probably referring to 'a miry place over-
   grown with brushwood,' v. ful, hris.

STEARSBY

   Estires-, Stirsbi 1086 DB
   Stiresbi c. 1110–25 YCh 1094, 1308 Ch
   Steresbi, -by 1167 P, 1251 Ass, et passim to 1399 YI
   Sterisby 1285 KI, 1316 KF

   'Styr's farm' v. by. The ON personal name Stýrr, ODan
   Styr is found in DB as Stir, and enters into Starston (Nf),
   DB Sterestuna, Streethorpe (Y), c. 1170 Wollaton MS Stires-
   torp, Sturston (Db), DB Sterstune.

   Marton le Forest

1. Marton in the Forest 27 A 7
   Martun 1086 DB
   Marton(a) 1160–75 YCh 656 et passim; (in Galtres) 1278
   Baildon
   Maretun’ 1167, 1172, 1178, 1179 P

   The name Marton is of frequent appearance in Y. On
   phonological (and in many cases topographical) grounds the
first element cannot be identified with OE *mere,* ‘pool,’ which in DB and 12th and 13th cent. sources would scarcely appear as *Mar-* and in many cases there is no evidence for the presence of a pool. There is, however, a Yorks dialect word *mar* (EDD) used of ‘marshy land, sodden or reedy ground,’ a sense which would suit the topography of the Yorkshire Martons. Zachrisson (*PN in Ing* 113, 114) derives this word from Scandinavian and compares Swed *mar* (from OSwed *mar,* ‘sea’) which has the meaning of ‘marsh’ in some dialects, and Dan *mar,* ‘fen, marsh-land.’ If so, the first element of Marton is from an ON *marr,* ‘fen, marsh,’ and the name means ‘farm in the marshy land.’

**Moxby** [mouzbi]

*Molzbi, Molscebi* 1086 DB  
*Molesby, -bi* 1158 YCh 419, 1161, 1165, 1167 P, 1318 Ch  
*Molebi* 1172, 1178, 1179 P  
*Molsby* 1234 Ebor, 1242 P, 1248 HCY, 1268, 1281, 1284, 1287 Ebor, 1301 LS, 1345 Pap  
*Molsby* 1538 Dugd iv. 567

*v. by.* The first element is probably a personal name. The DB forms imply some such form as *Mold,* gen. sing. *Molds.* An ON weak personal name *Moldi,* gen. *Molda,* existed in Scandinavian (LindN), and a strong form *Moldr,* gen. *Molds,* is not an unlikely supposition; cf. Mouldsworth (Ch) from an OE *Mold* and *v.* Mildenham PN Wo 112. The place-name would, therefore, mean ‘Mold’s farm.’

The modern form of the name offers some difficulty. The development of ME *Mols-* in the local dialect would be *Mouz-,* and this too is the form we should get if the ME form had been *Mox-,* association of the two has probably led to confusion in the modern English spelling. In fact, *x* appears to have been inserted for NEDial *z* in other cases, such as Roxby (Pick), Throxenby, and Coxwold 90, 110, 191 infra.

**Dalby**

1. **Dalby** 22 J 8 [dɔːbi]

*Dalbi, -by* 1086 DB, 1154–89 MaryH 6 d  
*Dalebi, -by* 13 Malton 99, 1283, 1287 Ebor, 1308 Ch
'Valley farm' v. dæl (ON dahr), by. Cf. OSwed Dalby (Hellquist, ON på -by, 6).

Fornthorpe (lost)

Fornetorp 1086 DB, 13 Malton 95 d Fornthorp 1301 LS
'Forni's village' v. porp. The ON personal name Forni (LindN, Nielsen, etc.) enters into the Norw place-name Fornebu (NG ii. 134) and is adduced in independent use in English as Forne (c. 1200 For).

Skewsby [skiuzbi]

Scoxebi 1086 DB
Stoggesbi (sic) 1167 P
Scog(h)esby 13 RegAlb ii. 47 d, 1328 Banco
Scousby 1226 FF
Schouse-, Shouesby 1295 YI
Sc-, Skouesby 1299, 1310 YD, 1354 FF
Scoseby 1301 LS
Scewysbye 1316 (Eliz) KF
Skuesby 1408 YI, 1611 NR Skewsby 1666 Visit

Skewsby is identical in form with the Swedish place-names Skogsby and Skogby (Hellquist, Svenska ON på -by, 13), and all three may mean 'farm in the wood' v. skogr, by. The gen. form of the first element is a type frequently met with in Scandinavian place-names, e.g. Swed Brunnsby by the side of Brunnby, Hogsby by Högby, etc. (op. cit. passim). The normal gen. sing. of ON skógr, was skógar, but a gen. in -s is often found in OSwed and in Old English poetry.

It is at least equally possible that the first element is the ON by-name Skógr, gen. Skógs (LindBN).

Whenby

1. Whenby 27 A 8 [wejni]

Quennебi 1086 DB
Quenebi, -by 1202 FF et passim to 1333 Ch
Quenby 1338 Baildon, 1394 Test
Qwheneby 1408 YI
Whenby(e) 1316 (Eliz) KF, 1454 Test, 1530 Visit
v. by. The first element is ON kona, 'a woman,' gen. plur. kvenna. Cf. Swed Kvinnieby, OSwed Quinnæby from the same OSwed kona (Hellquist, Svenska ON på -by, 72). Hence, 'women's farm.'

The modern form with loss of initial k- arises from (1) the falling together of ON (OE) cw- and the over-aspirated OE hw-(ME qwh-), and (2) subsequent loss of aspiration, a regular feature in the dialect. Cf. Wheldrake (YER), earlier Queldryk 1285 KI, Wheldryke 1519 Test, and Quernhow and Whaw 224, 296 infra.

Sheriff Hutton

1. Farlington 27 A 7

Ferlin-, Farlintun 1086 DB
Ferlinton(a) 1167 P, 1170–85 YCh 1055, 1310 Ch
Ferlington 1249 Heal 127 (p), 1285 KI, 1286, 1295 For, 1295 YI, 1301 LS, 1316 KF
Farling-, Farlyngton 1316 KF, 1400 YI
Farrellyngton 1536 YChant

This name is of the same origin as Farlington (Ha), Ferlington 1231 Cl, and Farleton (We), Fareltun 1086 DB, and in each case the first element is a personal name Færela, which is not adduced in independent use in OE. It is a diminutive in -ela (cf. IPN 171) of the OE personal-name theme Fær, found in OE Wilfær (evidenced in Bede's OE Uilffaresdun, YNR, 'Wilfær's hill') and in a patronymic form in a 12th cent. Ferlingus (Sumner, Gavelkind 1726 ed. p. 175) and in Fringford (O), Feringeford 1086 DB1. ‘Færela's farm’ v. ingtun.

2. Sheriff Hutton 27 B 9

Hotun(e), -ton(e) 1086 DB, 1154–60 YCh 1052
Shi-, Shyref-, Schirefhoton 1199–1213 YCh 1054, 1244 Ass, et passim
Hoton(e) Vicecomitis, Vescunt 1281 For et passim, (Neville') 1281 Ebor
Hotonscireve 1282 YI

1 Possibly it is a surname in Ricardus Ferling (13 Kirkst 166 n.).
S(c)erif-, Sheryf-Hoton (Huton) 1316 KF, et passim to 1572 FF
Sherofhooton 1505 Test
Shereshoton 1548 YChant
‘Farm on the spur of land’ v. hoh, tun.

MedLat vicecomes and AN vescent are both equivalent to OE scir-gerefa, ‘sheriff,’ and the land was held originally by Bertram de Bulmer, the Sheriff of York, who died in 1166. Through the marriage of his daughter Emma to Geoffrey de Neville, the land passed into the hands of the Nevilles, who in the 13th cent. became Sheriffs of York.

CORNBOURGH
Corlebroc 1086 DB
Cornbirc, -burgh 1154-8 Kirkham 94, 1166 P (p), 1213 Abbr, 1316 KF, 1317, 1330 For, 1333 Riev (p)
Corneburc(h), -burg(h) 1167 P, 1204 Ass, 1219, 1231 Ass, 1285 KI, 1289, 1295 For, 1301 Abbr, LS, 1316 Vill, 1333 Ch, 1372 FF, 1391 Test
Cornishbour’ 1295 For
Corneborowe 1537 Dugd vi. 199

Names with initial Corn- are always difficult. Some may contain OE *corn, ‘crane, heron’ (cf. Cornwood, PN Wo 54) but it is difficult to believe that such a compound could be formed with burh. Cornbrough is not on a stream, so DB -broc is probably an error for -borc from a Scandinavianised form in borg.

CRANBERRYMOSS (lost)
mora de Cranberimos 1155-89 YCh 421
Tranberimose 1235 Cl

v. cran, mos. The first element is probably Engl cranberry, ‘peat bog where cranberries abound.’ The form Tran- arises from interchange of OE cran and ON trani.

3. WEST LILLING 27 B 8, EAST LILLING
Lilinge, -inga 1086 DB
Lilling(a) 1167 P, 1202 FF (p), 1295 For; West Lillinge 1282 Y1, Estlillyng 1317 For etc.
'The settlement of Lilla and his dependants,' the name being originally a family name based on the OE personal name *Lilla*; v. ing. There is here no evidence for an OE form *Lillingas*, 'the Lillings,' but in Yorkshire the nom. plur. ending -*as* in *ing*-names of this type fell into disuse at an early date. That this took place is clear from such names as Gilling (Ryed) and Pickering53, 85 infra. These names are much better evidenced in early spellings than Lilling and in them we have definite traces of the survival of the OE plur. ending -*as* as ME -*es*. The absence of this ending may be due to a certain extent to the original OE form of the name being in the dat. plur. -*um* as in Bede's *Ingetlingum*.

4. **Stittenham 27 A 9** [stitnám]

*Stidnum* 1086 DB  
*Stitlum* 1185 P (p), 1208 Riev, 1295 For  
*Stiklum* c. 1260 Malton 39  
*Sti-*, *Stytel(l)um* 1275 YI, 1284 Ebor (p), 1289 Ebor  
*Stitelom* 1301 LS  
*Stitnum* 1250 Riev, 1310 Ch, 1333 Riev  
*Stytenom* 1316 Vill  
*Stytnam* 1316 KF, 1443 Test, 1615 NR

The difficulty of interpreting this name is largely brought about by two facts, (1) that *c* and *t* are in the court hand of the 12th and 13th cents. scarcely distinguishable, and (2) that *c* and *t* often interchange phonetically in ME, so that it is almost impossible to say whether we have here to deal with an original *Stitlum* or *Sticlum*. Most of the *Stitlum*-spellings may therefore represent *Sticlum*; the form *Stiklum*, however, is orthographically unambiguous, and it points to an original *Sticlum*. There is no evidence for a word like *stitel* or *stitle* which we should have to assume if the original form were *Stitlum*, but OE *sticol* (adj.) is frequently used in place-names in the sense 'steep,' and the meaning of Stittenham may, therefore, be 'at the steep (places)' from the dat. plur. *sticulum*. As a matter of fact this meaning may well be applied to Stittenham, for the village stands on the top of a very steep hill, surrounded on three sides by valleys; the hill rises in places more than 150 feet in a third of a mile.
Professor Ekwall suggests that we may have to do with a noun-derivative *sticete*, formed from *sticol*, meaning ‘steep place’ or the like. The topography is so striking that a name which refers to it is antecedently probable.

On the interchange of *c* and *t* before a following *l*, cf. Kirklington 220 infra. The later change of *l* to *n* is evidenced also in Hinderskelfe and Hinderwell 40, 138 infra. The DB form with *-n-* should be explained according to Zachrisson (IPN 106 ff.) as due to AN interchange of *l* and *n*, and no conclusions should be drawn from this name, as by Goodall (NoB v. 102) as to the use of the ON suffixed definite article in English place-names.

**Terrington**

1. **GANTHORPE 22 J 10** [gænθɔrəp]

   *Gameltorp* 1086 DB  
   *Galmestorp* 1169 P  
   *Galmethorp* 1202 FF, 1290 YI, 1301 LS, 1344 FF; *-tomp* 1244 Ass  
   *Gametorp* 1200 Cur  
   *Gaumisthorp* 1202 FF  
   *Yalmethrope* 1316 KF  
   *Ganthorp(e)* 1577 Saxton, 1665 Visit

   ‘Galm’s village’ v. *torp*. The ON personal name *Gálmr* (LindN) is found also in Ganton (YER), *Galmeton* 1086 DB, 1207 FF. In both names the phonetic change is that *-alm-* became *-awm-* and *m* became *n* through the influence of the following *t*. The DB form is due to confusion with the common Anglo-Scand *Gamel*.

2. **TERRINGTON 22 J 9**

   *Teurinton(e), Teurin(c)ton(e)* 1086 DB  
   *Thiverinton* 1202 FF  
   *Tivering-, Tyverington* 1226 FF, 1261, 1275 YI, 1287 Ebor, 1288 YI, 1301 LS, 1302 Ch, 1316 Vill, 1367 FF  
   *Tyuerinton* 1233 Ebor, 1244 Ass  
   *Teverington* 1275 Fine  
   *Tyrriington* 1316 (Eliz) KF, 1536 YChant  
   *Teryngton* 1495, 1496 Test, 1545 NCyWills, RichWills
The first element of this name is doubtful, but it is a personal name, and certain other place-names should be taken into account: Teversham (C), Teuresha' 1086 DB, Teversall (Nt), Teureshalt 1086 DB, 1204 FF, Tiuresheult, Tyversalt 1297 Ebor, and Tyersall (YWR), Tyversolde 1280 Ebor, Teversholte 1535 VE. There is in each case variation between forms with Tev- and Tiv-. Tev- forms are always earlier than Tiv- except in Tyersall where none of the forms are really early. The name then probably goes back to an earlier Tefringtun, and e became i before the following labio-dental f.

There is an OE (Anglian) pers. name Teoful (v. Bede, ed. Plummer ii. 391) which suggests a name-theme Tēof. There may well have been an r-derivative of this theme (cf. Pickering 85 infra), and a name Teofer would explain all the above names which, it may be noted, are confined to Anglian territory.

MOWTHORPE [mouθorfep]

Muletorp 1086 DB, 1167 P, 1244 Ass
Mulethorp 1227, 1238 Cl
Multhorpe 1235 Kirkham 13, 1219 Fees, 1275, 1288 YI, 1316 Vill
Molthorpe 1235 Kirkham 13, 1284, 1288 YI
Molthrop 1316 (Eliz) KF
Mowthropp(e) 1571 FF, 1615 NR

‘Muli’s village’ v. porp. Björkman (NP) notes that Múli is adduced in OEScand sources only, but LindBN cites Múli from OWScand sources and notes in addition the ONorw place-name Mulaþorp. In LVD mention is made of þorkitell Mule, and another example of its use in English is the place-name Mowthorpe (YER), Muletorp 1086 DB. Cf. also Muneville (Normandy), earlier Muleville.

WIGANTHORPE [wιŋθorfep]

Wichingastorp 1086 DB
Wyrgenthorpe 1275 YI
Wyginthorpe 1284, 1288 YI Wygenthorpe 1316 Vill
Wykenthorp 1304 Ch
Wiging-, Wygyngthorp(e) 1497 Test, 1530 Visit
Wiginthropp 1316 (Eliz) KF

‘Viking’s village’ v. porp and Wigginton 14 supra.
Bossall

1. Bossall 27 C II [bossæl]

Boscele, Bosciale 1086 DB
Boz(h)al(e) 1225 Ebor, 1226 RegAlb ii. 56, 1238, 1289 Ebor
Boszale 1257 Ch
Bosehale 1265-78 Riev (p)
Boscale, Boschale 1269, 1289 Ebor
Bossal(e) 1295 For, 1301 LS, 1346 Test, 1416 YI
Bossall 1316 KF, 1397 Pap Boshal 1336 Ch
Bosschall 1404 Pap

ME sc, z were AN devices for representing the sound ts; early forms like Boszhale, therefore, indicate an OE form Bōtesh(ale), meaning ‘Bot’s nook of land’ from the OE personal Bōt and h(e)alh. The early loss of medial e is probably due to Scand infl. where the gen. is simply s; cf. Cossall (Nt) which not infrequently appears as Cozale though DB has Coteshale, and Foston 39 infra.

Barnby

Barnebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1416 YI
Barnby(e) 14 Kirkham 23, 1316 KF

This name, together with Barnby (135 infra), other Barnbys in YWR and two in Nt, offers difficulties. There is an ON pers. name Bjarni but this should appear in ME as Berne. Nielsen gives a reconstructed Danish *Barni but it is doubtful if we should use such to explain so common a p.n. and for the moment judgment must be reserved as to the precise name involved.

Buttercrambe

Butecram(e) 1086 DB, 1234 Cl
Botercram(e) c. 1150-60 YCh 828, 1282 YI, 1301 LS, 1416 YI
But(t)er cram 1208 FF, 1228 Ebor, 1276 YI, 1282 Fine
Butercram 1308 Ch
Buttercramp 1316 Vill; Botter- 1365 FF
Buttercramm 1344 Ebor 9, 1396 Pap
Butercrambe 1350 Test

The meaning of the name is ‘rich piece of land in the bend of the river (Derwent)’ v. butere, and cf. Crambe 38 infra.
2. **Claxton 27 D 10**

*Claxtorg* 1086 DB

*Claxton(a)* 1282 YI *et passim*

*Clauston* 1295 *For*

The first element is probably the OEScand name *Klak*, recorded in Swedish runes as *KlakR* and as the ODan personal name *Klak* (Nielsen), gen. *Klaks*. The one example of the name recorded by Lind in West Scandinavia is a *Klakkr*, reconstructed from *Reider Klagsson*, but this man is said to have come from Bohuslän, which then bordered on and is now part of Sweden. This would suggest that the name *Klak* (commonly found in the Danelaw) is a definite test of East Scandinavian settlement. The form *Clacc* is found in *clacces wadlond* (BCS 216) in the bounds of an Oxfordshire charter dated 774. These bounds are certainly not original and probably belong to the 11th cent. by which date an Anglo-Scand personal name might well be found in Oxfordshire.

3. **Flaxton 27 C 9**

*Flaxtune, -ton(a)* 1086 DB, 1129-35 YCh 1056 *et passim*

*Flastun, -tona* 1086 DB

*Flacstune* 1147-63 Riev

*Flasse-, Flaxeton’* 1295 *For*

The first element may be the Scandinavian pers. name *Flak*. It is found as a by-name in ON (LindBN), and as the word now means ‘fool’ in Norw it is the kind of name which would thus have been used in earlier times. *v. tun*. One might also suggest ‘flax farm’ from OE *fleax* and tun but the form *Flacstune* is against this.

4. **Harton 27 C 10**

*Heretun(e)* 1086 DB

*Harton(a)* 1293 *For, et passim*

*Haretona* 1308 Ch

*V. tun*. The first element is not clear. One possibility is that the first element is OE *here* ‘marauding band of more than 35 men.’ In this case Harton would indicate an enclosure which had been or might be frequented by such a band.
In view of the rarity of compounds with here we should consider the second possibility that the first element is a personal name of some form like Her(r)a, a possible hypocoristic form of a personal name such as OE Hereric, Herred, etc.

5. **Sand Hutton 27 D**

\[\text{Hot(t)un(e) } 1086 \text{ DB}\]
\[\text{Hoton(e) } 1086 \text{ DB, 1228 Ebor, 1399 Yi}\]
\[\text{Sandhoton' } 1231 \text{ Ass, et passim to 1498 Test}\]
\[\text{Sandhuton' } 1577 \text{ Saxton}\]

‘Farm on the sandy spur of land’ v. hoh, tun.

**Crambe**

1. **Barton le Willows 27 C**

\[\text{Bartun } 1086 \text{ DB}\]
\[\text{Barton' } c. 1280 \text{ Kirkham 15 et passim, (in Bulmer(e)schir) 14}\]
\[\text{Kirkham 24 d, (in the Willos) 1574 FF}\]

v. beretun. The regularity of Bar- forms for this and other Barts in the North Riding in DB and other early sources points to an OE side-form Bæretūn (cf. OE bærlc ‘barley’); indeed there is no case which can safely be ascribed to the more common form OE beretūn. The affix le Willows is from the OFr definite article le and ME willugh, ‘willow tree,’ and indicates the proximity of Barton to willow trees, cf. Zachrisson in *Anglia*, xxxiv. 336.

2. **Crambe 27 B**

\[\text{Crambom, Cranbon(e) } 1086 \text{ DB}\]
\[\text{Crambum } 1086 \text{ DB, c. 1145–80 YCh 691 et passim to 1391}\]
\[\text{Test}\]
\[\text{Cranbu' } 1168 \text{ P}\]
\[\text{Crambom } 1301 \text{ LS, 1336 Ch}\]
\[\text{Crambumb' } 1303 \text{ Ebor}\]
\[\text{Cramhomon } 1316 \text{ Vill}\]
\[\text{Cramb(e) } 1577 \text{ Saxton, 1578 FF}\]

This name seems to contain ME crome, cromb, ‘hook, crook’ (found post 1400), from OE *cramb, cromb* (v. NED s.v. crome); cf. OE crumb, cromb, ‘crooked, bent.’ The ultimate origin of
this seems to be a Germanic word cognate with Brit *krumbos, later evidenced as W crum, crom, Ir crom, OGael cromb, ‘bent, crooked.’

The original form of the name Crambe is OE (æt þæm) crambum, ‘at the crooks,’ and the crooks must refer, as in the case of Buttercrambe supra, to the serpentine bends of the river Derwent in the midst of which both places are situated. See also Croome, PN Wo 118, for a similar type of name.

3. WHITWELL ON THE HILL 27 B 11

Foston

1. FOSTON 27 B 10

    Fostun(a) 1086 DB, 1167 P
    Foston(e) 12 Mary Y 168, 1145–61 YCh 1050 et passim
    Fotestun 1231 Ass
    Fotston 1233 Pat

v. tun. This name is identical with Foston (Lei), Hy2 Ch Foteston, which contains a personal name Fōt, not adduced in independent use in OE. For loss of t cf. Bossall supra.

2. THORNTON LE CLAY 27 B 9

Thornton le Clay le Clay

Bulmer

1. BULMER 27 A 10 [bʊmə]

    Bolemere, Boleber 1086 DB
    Bulem’, Bulemer’ 1159, 1160, 1165 P, et freq to 1285 KI
    Bulmer(e) 1190 Guis et passim
    Bolmere 1335 For
Boulmere 1350 Test (p)
Bowmer(e) 1577 Saxton, 1610 Speed


2. HINDERSKELFE (6”) [indæskal]

Hildreschelf, Ilderschelf 1086 DB
Hi-, Hyldreskelf 1159-81 Kirkham 94, 1167 P
Hi-, Hylderskelf 1207 FF, 1253 Ch, 1259 Ass, 1301 LS, 1336 Ch, 1418 YI
Hyldyrschelf c. 1280 Kirkham 15
Hi-, Hynderskelfe 1316 KF, 1483 Test
Hilderskilf 1344 FF
He-, Hyldresskelf 1436 NCyWills
Hilderskill 1577 Saxton, 1610 Speed

This is probably a purely Scandinavian name, the first element being Hildar, the gen. of ON Hildr, a woman’s name, and the second being ON skjálf, ‘shelf, seat.’ The latter element no doubt refers to the small plateau in the west of the township. For the change of l to n cf. Stittenham 34 supra and Hinderwell 138 infra.

CASTLE HOWARD

The modern mansion was built by the Howard family (VCH ii. 107). The name is gradually displacing the name Hinderskelfe, which is now only the name of the township.

3. WELBURN 27 A II

Wellebrun(e) 1086 DB, 1251 Ch
Welbrun 1243 Fees
Welleburn(e) 1167 P, 1279 YI, 1310 Ch
Welburn(e) 1301 LS et passim

v. w(i)ella, burna, and cf. Welburn (Ryed) 66 infra. The forms with -brun are due to the influence of the cognate ON brunnr. Cf. Welbourne (L).

Huttons Ambo

1. HIGH HUTTON 27 A 12

Hotun 1086 DB
Bardolf Hoton 1186–1202 Malton 68, Hoton (Bardolfi) 1202 FF, Hotton Bardouf 1226 FF
The three Huttons (Huttons Ambo refers to High and Low Hutton) in this parish may all derive their names from a single hoh. High Hutton and Hutton Hill stand on small ridges of land, but Low Hutton is on the bank of the river Derwent. A ridge of land traverses the parish from north to south and juts into a bend of the Derwent in the shape of a tongue. This spur of land may have given rise to all three Hutton names. v. hoh, tun. The Bardolfs held land in this district in the 12th and 13th cents.

**Low Hutton**

*Hotun* 1086 DB, 1250 Fees  
*Houton* 1304 Ch  
*Huton* 1316 KF, 1581 FF

The distinguishing name Colswain occurs frequently in combination with *Hoton*, in the earlier instances it follows, but in later cases it precedes *Hoton*:

-Colsuain, -sweyn, -swayn 1227 Ch et passim; Colswan 1279 YI;  
-Colsuen 1282–6 Malton 68 d; Colesweyn 1285 KI

The name is later

*Hoton upon Derwent* 1316 Vill

v. High Hutton *supra*. Colswain from OWScand *Kolsveinn*, ODan Kolswen (NP) is the name of the first tenant of this manor of whom there is any record (VCH ii. 150). The name is ill-recorded in Scandinavia but is common in England (L, W, Wa, etc.).

**Hutton Hill**

*Hoton* 1086 DB  
*Minchon Hoton* e. 13 Kirkham 27, Minechunhoton 1286 Malton 68 d  
*Hoton Mynchon* 1294 Malton 74 d; Minchun 1303 Abbr  
*Hoton on the Hill* 1581 FF

v. High Hutton *supra* and myncen, ‘nun.’ There is no recorded tenure of land here by nuns.

**Musley Bank**

*Musecluie, -clyve* 13 Malton 78, 14 Kirkham 25  
*Musecleue* 13 Kirkham 59 d
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

‘Musi’s bank’ v. clif. There is a steep declivity here. Cf. ON Mósi in LindN. The name Muse is recorded in Lincs in 1207.

STONE CLIFF WOOD (6")

*Staynecliuue 13 Kirkham 26 d*

Self-explanatory. v. steinn, clif.

II. RYEDALE WAPENTAKE

All the parishes of the modern wapentake except Lastingham which was in *Dic* (now Pickering Lythe wapentake), were in 1086 in the wapentake known as

_Maneshou wapentac 1086 DB_

‘Man’s mound’ v. haugr. The meeting place was a hill or tumulus which cannot now be identified. The first element is a personal name such as OE Mann, ON Mani, ODan Man. The same name enters into Mansergh (We), Ekwall, Scandes. and Celts 77.

In the 12th cent. the name of the wapentake was changed to Ryedale:

_(wapentagium de) Ri-, Rydal(e) _c. 1160–75 YCh 195, et pas-sim to 1298 YI_

_Ry-, Ridall(e) _1283 Ebor, 1508 Test, 1619 NR_

The wapentake lies in the valley of the river Rye. v. Rye 5 supra and dæl.

HOLDLYTHE (lost), a district, probably embracing the south of the wapentake judging by the name *Apelton in Holdelithe* (v. Appleton 46 infra)

_Holdelith, Holdelythe _c. 1160–85 Leon 10 d, 1287 YI_

The first element is probably ON _holdr_, the name of a class, corresponding generally to the English _hegn_, (from PrN *haluðr*, cognate with OE _hældr_ and Germ _held_, ‘warrior’). This is a form which exhibits Scand _u_-mutation, and examples of this change are rare in English loans from ON. The form _hold_ occurs in independent use in OE (ASC and Laws), and Scand
u-mutation of a to ð is also found in examples of ON hofud. An interesting case in this light is Howden (YER), which appears in OE as set Heaufuddene (BCS 1052), but later forms such as DB Houedene show that OE hëafod was in the 11th cent. replaced by ON hofud, the u-mutated form. The second element of Holdlythe is hlið, ‘a slope.’ Hence ‘slope of the holds.’

Malton

1. Old Malton 22 J 13 [ɔd mætən]

   Maaltun  c. 1130 SD
   Maltune  1086 DB, 1160–80 Riev
   Malton(e) (Veteris) 1173 YCh 1888, 1219 Ass et passim, (Ald) 1399 YI
   Mealton  1191 P
   Miauton  1200 Cur
   Mialton  1204 Ass
   Meautun, -ton  1218 ClR, FF, 1221 ClR, 1227 Ch, 1231 Ass, 1253 Ch
   Mealtune  c. 1270 Gerv
   Mauton  1218 FF, 1244 Fees, 1260 Baildon
   Mauton  1250 Fees, c. 1260–7 Malton 34 d
   Melton  1294 Ch

This name should be taken together with the Madaltune found in a charter of 1148 (YCh 179). It would seem to be beyond question that in that name we have a compound of OE mædel, ‘speech,’ used especially of formal speech in council. The same compound here would explain all the forms, their great variety being due to loss of inter-vocalic th. The name would mean ‘discussion-village’ and would refer to the holding of some moot here (cf. Matlask in IPN 65). Madaltune refers beyond question to Melton-on-the-Hill al. High Melton (YWR), which appears in DB as Medeltone, Middeltun, Mideltone, as Methyleton in 1252 and as Meuton in 1269 (Ch). This has commonly been interpreted (PN YWR 130, PN SWY 212) as ‘middle farm,’ from ON medal, but the 1148 form makes this less likely and we should probably explain the DB forms as due to confusion between Methel from OE mædel and ON medel, OE midel. In that case Melton has the same meaning as Malton.
ACOMB [jækəm]

*Acum* 1222 FF

'At the oaks' v. ac.

GREENGATE (6'), a street

*Grengate* 1323 YD

'Green way' v. grene, gata.

HOWE

*How(e)* 1322 Malton 53 d, et passim

HOWE BRIDGE (Fm)

*ponte de Hou* 12 Malton 7, 37 d, c. 1260–7 ib. 48; *ponte de How* 15 Whitby

*ponte de Holm* 1157–89 Malton 28 d

*ponte de Houm* 1169 Malton 7 d

The repetition of the *Hou*-forms in this cartulary, the appearance of *How* in the Whitby Cartulary, the modern form of the name, and the forms of Howe *supra* seem to show that *Hou* is the original form of the name.

Howe and Howe Bridge are within half a mile of each other and contain the same element. Howe Bridge crosses the river Rye at the northern extremity of a piece of land round which the river flows, whilst Howe is further south on a spit of land similarly encircled by the river. The meaning of the names, therefore, is clearly 'spur of land.' v. hoh.

Howe is from the OE dat. sing. *höhe*, and Howe Bridge from the OE dat. plur. *höhum* (as well as *Hou, How* from the dat. sing. *höhe*). This will explain the discrepant *Hou* and *Houm* in the forms of Howe Bridge. In addition to this *Houm* also became *Holm* on the analogy of the common ON *holmr*. In the same way Holme on the Wolds (YER), which appears variously as *Hougon DB, Holm* 1279–81 QW, and *Howm* 1303 KF, has an intrusive *l*. That name may be derived from the dat. pl. of ON *haugr* rather than OE hoh, but the topography of Howe and Howe Bridge makes derivation from hoh more likely for those names. Variation between the dat. sing. and the dat. plur. is noticed in Wykeham, Newsham and Downholme 45, 270 *infra*, and in Blubber houses (YWR), earlier
Bluberhusum 1172 YCh 511, Bluberhous 1195–c. 1210 YCh 512, and Woodhouse near Leeds (YWR), Wdehuse c. 1160–74 YCh 1562 and Wdahusum 1165–75 YCh 1567.

New Malton, commonly called Malton
Maltune 1086 DB
Further forms as for Old Malton 43 supra. First called Nova in 1301 (LS).

Wykeham [waikəm]
Wich, Wic(h)um 1086 DB
Vycum, Wicum 1268 Malton 48, 1301 LS
Wycom 1322 Malton 53 d, 1387 Bodl a. i. 68
Wycomb 1399 YI
'(At) the dwellings' v. wic. All forms except the first are from the OE dat. plur. wicum.

Appleton le Street

1. Amotherby 22 H 12 [æməbi], [eməbi]
Aimundrebi, Edmundrebia 1086 DB
Eimundrebi, -by e. 13 Malton 86 d, 1240 ib. 90
Aymunderby e. 13 Malton 76 d, 1226 FF, 1242 P et passim to 1415 Fabr
Aymundresby 1308 Pat
Aymoonderby 1368 FF
Amonderby 1614 NR
'Eymund’s farm’ v. by. The ON personal name Øymundr, gen. Øymundar (LindN), ODan Ømund (Nielsen) is found in Norfolk records of the 12th cent. as Eimund.

Newsham
Newwehusum, Neuhuse, Niehusum 1086 DB
Neusum 13 Malton 95 d et passim
Newesum 1300 Baildon
Neusom 1301 LS, 1368 FF
'(At the) new houses’ from OE (æt þæm) niwum hûsum. v. niwe, hus. Ekwall (IPN 68) suggests that the DB form Niehusum may contain ON nýr, 'new.'
NORTHERN RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

2. APPLETON LE STREET 22 H 11

Apleton, Apeltun 1086 DB
Aplet(on) 13 Malton 47 et passim; (in Holdelithe) 1349
NRS; (in Rydale) 1369 FF

v. æppel, tun. The termination le Street is of late appearance,
as in the case of Barton le Street 47 infra. It refers to a supposed
Roman road (6" OS sheet 123 NE 4), on which Appleton and
Barton stand. v. stræt. On the element le v. Barton le Willows
38 supra. For Holdelithe v. 42 supra.

EASTHORPE [jæstrəp]

Estorp 1086 DB, 1227, 1241 Ebor
Esttorp 1182 P
Easthorpe 1231 FF
Estthorp 1280 Ass, 1377 Test
Esthorpe 1288 YI

This seems to be the original form of the name but there
is also another series of a different type. There can be no
doubt of the identification, for the types are found indifferently
in parallel documents (e.g. 1275 and 1288 YI). Examples of
this type are as follows:

Jarpesthorp 1201 ChR  Iarpestorp 13 Malton 71, 71 d, 73 d
Yarpestorp', Yarpestrop 1243 Fees, 1259 Ass
Yarpesthorp 1275 YI, 1279 Malton 74, 1301 LS, 1304 Ch,
1369 FF
Yaresthorp 1285 (16th cent.) KI
Yaistropp 1621 NR.

The Estorp forms are the earlier and denote ‘east village,’
v. east, porp. It is not phonetically possible to derive the
obviously later Yarpesthorp forms from this. This must be
‘Yarp’s village.’ Cf. the lost Iarpestune in the Norfolk DB.
The personal name Yarp is from the ON personal name Iarpr
(LindN), from jarpr, ‘brown of hair’; cf. OE Earp (Redin 65,
s.n. Eoppa).

3. BROUGHTON 22 J 12 [brɔutən]

Broctun(e), Brostone 1086 DB
Broctuna, -ton 1145–53 Leon 35 et passim to 1285 KI
Brockton 1258 Ch
Broutton 1301 LS
Broghton 1328 Banco, 1369 FF
'Farm by a stream' v. broc, tun.

4. HILDENLEY 22 J 11
(H)ildingeslei 1086 DB
Hildingle 13 Malton 87, 1336 Ch Hildinglaye 1344 Test
'Hilding's clearing' v. leah. The name Hilding is based on the common OE name-theme Hild. A similar formation Hildingr is recorded in ON but in view of the English second element an English pers. name is the more likely.

5. SWINTON 22 J 12
Suintun(e) 1086 DB
Swin-, Swynton’ 1219 Ass, et passim
'Pig farm' v. swin, tun.

BRAYGATE STREET (6")
Braipagate 13 Kirkham 59 d Breyegate 13 Malton 87
'Broad way' v. breiðr, gata. Cf. the common ONorw Breidgata.

Barton le Street

1. BARTON LE STREET 22 H 11
Bartun(e), -ton(e) 1086 DB; (in Rydale) 1280 Ebor; (in le Strete) 1614 NR
v. bere-tun; and cf. Barton le Willows and Appleton le Street supra.

2. BUTTERWICK 22 G 11
Butruic 1086 DB
Buttrewyc, But(t)erwic, -wyk(e) 1145–8 Whitby, 1227 FF et passim
Buttirwyk 1279 YI
Butrawic 1308 Ch
Botrewyk 1399 YI
'Dairy farm with rich pastures' v. butere, wic. Butterwick is by the river Rye and the land is very fertile. Cf. Butterwick (YER, Buterwic c. 1260 Malton 95 d).
Brockton 1258 Ch  
Brouton 1301 LS  
Broghton 1328 Banco, 1369 FF  
‘Farm by a stream’ v. broc, tun.

4. HILDENLEY 22 J II  
(H)ildingeslei 1086 DB  
Hildingle 13 Malton 87, 1336 Ch  Hildinglaye 1344 Test  
‘Hilding’s clearing’ v. leah. The name Hilding is based on the common OE name-theme Hild. A similar formation Hildingr is recorded in ON but in view of the English second element an English pers. name is the more likely.

5. SWINTON 22 J 12  
Suintun(e) 1086 DB  
Swin-, Swynton’ 1219 Ass, et passim  
‘Pig farm’ v. swin, tun.

BRAYGATE STREET (6")  
Braiðgate 13 Kirkham 59 d  Breyegate 13 Malton 87  
‘Broad way’ v. breiðr, gata. Cf. the common ONorw Breiðgata.

Barton le Street

1. Barton le Street 22 H II  
Bartun(e), -ton(e) 1086 DB; (in Rydale) 1280 Ebor; (in le Strete) 1614 NR  
v. bere-tun; and cf. Barton le Willows and Appleton le Street supra.

2. BUTTERWICK 22 G II  
Butruic 1086 DB  
Buttrewyc, But(t)erwic, -wyk(e) 1145–8 Whitby, 1227 FF et passim  
Buttirwyk 1279 YI  
Buttrawic 1308 Ch  
Botrewyk 1399 YI  
‘Dairy farm with rich pastures’ v. butere, wic. Butterwick is by the river Rye and the land is very fertile. Cf. Butterwick (YER, Buterwic c. 1260 Malton 95 d).
3. **Coneythorpe** 22 J 10 [kunistræp]

Coningistorp, Coungestorp 1086 DB
Cunighestorp 1125 YD
Cuningestorp 1167 P, 1204 Ass
Cunningestorp 1200 Cur
Coninges-, Conyngesthorp 1251 Ass, 1252 Ass, 1316 Vill, 1327 Baildon, 1436 NCyWills
Cuningthorp 1254 Pat
Conis-, Conyngesthorp 1285 (16th cent.) KI, 1577 Saxton
Conistropp 1615 NR

'The king's village' v. porp. The first element is ODan *hunung* (= ONorw *konung*). The Danish form is also found in Coneythorpe near Knaresborough (YWR), Cunningesthorp 1293 QW, Conyngesthorp 1316 Vill, and in several other Yorkshire place-names, e.g. Conisborough (YWR), Cunugesburh KCD 1298, Cuningesburg DB, Coney Street (York), Cunyngestrete 1150–61 YCh 232, and Cold Coniston (YWR), Cuningestone DB. v. Introduction xxiv.

**Slingsby**

1. **Slingsby** 22 H 10

Selungs-, Eslingesbi 1086 DB
Slengesbi, -by 1161–84 Whitby, 1164–72 YCh 882 et passim to 1403 YI
Eslenggesbi 13 Malton 83 d
Slengeby 1203 Whitby, 1226 FF, 1251 Ass, 1282 YI
Lengesbi, -by e. 13 Malton 96 d, 97
Lengeby 1224–30 Fees, 1251 Ass, 1280 Ebor
Slengebi 1155–65 Whitby, 1167 P
Sli-, Slyngesby 1202 FF et passim to 1578 FF
Selingsby 1347 Pap
Slingesby 1402 Whitby

The persistence of *Slenges-* forms (approximately in the proportion of 2 : 1 to the *Slings-* forms) shows that we have to deal with an original *Sleng*. Zachrisson (*Some English Place-Name Etymologies, 142*) suggests OWScand *Slyngr* (LindBN) rather than the hypothetical ON *Slongr* or *Slengr* (ZEN), suggested as the first element of Slingley (PN NbDu s.n.). ON
Slyngre will not, however, explain the Slenges- forms of the place-name, whereas if the first element be taken as Sleng we can explain the Slinges- forms as due to the ME sound-change of eng to ing (cf. Ingleby 167 infra) which took place in the 13th cent., if not earlier. Further, it will be seen that whilst no Slenges- forms are found after the 13th cent. the majority of Slinges- forms are of the 13th and following cents. The DB form Eslinges- cannot be taken seriously as in that source there is frequent interchange of e and i. Slingsby, therefore, means 'Sleng's farm.' v. by. The name Sleng appears in the surname of Robert Slenge (1298 WCR). For loss of s- and spellings with Est-, Sel- v. IPN 103.

**THE FIRTH WOOD (6")**

*le Frythe 1301 YI*

'The wood' v. fyryhp.

**THURTLE WOOD**

*Thurkelwode 1301 YI*

'Thurkel's wood' v. wudu. Thurkel is a common ME name from ODan Thurkil, etc. For interchange of t and k before l cf. Kirklington 220 infra.

**Hovingham**

1. **Airyholme 22 J 9**

*Erghum 1138 Dugd v. 350 Ergum 1218 FF, 1236 Cl (p)*

'(At) the shielings' v. erg. The word is derived ultimately from OIr airgh 'a place for summer pastures in the mountains,' and as Airyholme stands on the top of a hill overlooking Wath Beck in the hilly district south of Hovingham, it seems probable that the meaning of the name is 'summer pastures.' The phonology of this word is of interest; the MIr form was airge but this does not indicate a diphthong; medial -i- is here used to indicate the palatal quality of OIr a, whilst gh represents a spirant consonant aspirated from original stopped g between vowels. The pronunciation, therefore, of OIr airgh would be [әә̂rә̂]. This would normally develop into [әә̂рә̂м] in Yorkshire.
HOWTHORPE [howθərəp]

*Holtorp* 1086 DB, 1167 P, 13 YD, 1244 Ass

*Holethrop* 1166, 1167 P (p)

*Holthorp(e)* 13 RegAlb ii. 47 d, et passim to 1399 YI

‘Village in the hollow’ v. hol, porp. Howthorpe is in a slight depression on rather high ground.

2. COULTON 22 H 8 [kəutən]

*Cole-, Coltun(e)* 1086 DB

*Colton* 1086 DB, 1208, 1223 FF et passim to 1399 YI

*Colton* 1167 P, 13 Malton 101, c. 1285 ib. 99

*Cowlton* 1578 FF

The rarity of medial -e- in early forms is against a derivation from the OE pers. name *Cola*; the first element is more probably OE *col* ‘charcoal.’ ‘Farm where charcoal was burnt’ v. tun.

STOCKING

*Le Stockinges* 1333 Riev

v. stocking.

3. FRYTON 22 H 10 [fritən]

*Frideton, Fritun* 1086 DB

*Friton(a), Fry*- 1086 DB, 12 BylE 43 d, 1224-30 Fees, 1244

*Malton* 65, 1251 Cl, 1300 Ch, 1301 LS, YI

*Firton* 1577 Saxton

‘Frithi’s farm’ v. tun. The first element is ODan *Frithi* (Nielsen) as in *Fridebi*, the old name for Felixkirk 199 *infra*, and Freeby (Lei), DB *Fredebi*.

4. SOUTH HOLME 22 G 10

*Holm(e)* 1086 DB, *Southholme* 1301 YI

v. holmr. The name refers to the low-lying land between Hole Beck, the river Rye and Wath Beck. “South” in relation to North Holme 59 *infra*. 
5. **Hovingham** 22 H 9 [ƿvin Gum, ƿuinGe]

_Hoving-, Hount-, Hovyngham_ 1086 DB, 1142–50 YCh 638, et passim

_Hovingeham_ 1157 YCh 354, 1228 Cl, 1308 Ch

Ekwall (PN in _ing_ 148) suggests that the first element is derived in some way or other from OE _hof_ ‘temple.’ It would seem probable that there is some connexion between this name and the lost _Hoveton_ 66 _infra_, which can only have been some six miles to the north. If that is so, the further probability is that we have to do with a pers. name in both cases, and if so it is difficult to keep these names entirely apart from Hoveringham (Nt), _Houringam_ (p), c. 1160 Db Charters no. 1397 and _Houeringeham_ 1167 P. This latter name can only be explained on the basis of a name-theme _Hof_, to which _Hofer_ would stand in the same relation as the _Picer_ of Pickering 85 _infra_ to the recorded _Pic_. For the use of _hof_ ‘temple’ as a name-theme we may compare the common use of _Ealh-_ in OE, of which the earliest sense was also ‘temple.’

6. **East Ness** 22 G 10, including West Ness

_Ne(i)sse_ 1086 DB, _West-_ 1243 Fees, _Est_ 1416 YI

v. _næs_. Both these names refer to the east end of a ridge of land enclosed between the river Rye and Hole Beck. Cf. Norw _Nes_ used with this sense of ‘headland’ (NG i. 90, etc.).

**Waterholmes**

_Waterholm(e)_ 1243 Fees et passim

From OE _wæt _‘water’ and holtmr.

7. **Scackleton** 22 J 8

_Schachelden(e), Eschalchedene_ 1086 DB

_Skakilden_ 1138 Dugd v. 350, 1243 BylE 81 d, 1408 YI

_Sakeldana_ 1142–50 YCh 638

_Skakelden(a)_ 1154–89 MaryH 6 d, 1231 Ass

_Scakelden_’ 13 BylE 70 d, 1244 Ass, 1247 Ch, 1328 Banco

_Schacheldene_ 1308 Ch

v. _denu_ ‘valley.’ The first element may be a Scandinavianised form of OE _se(e)acol_ though in what sense is not clear. The
same element occurs in two OE field names in Berks, on sceaceling ðære (BCS 971) and on sceaceling æcer (BCS 1002), in Shacklecross (Db), Shakelcros 1235 Ch, Shackleford (Sr), Shakelford 1355 Pat, Shackleton (YWR), v. Goodall s.n., and a lost place in Shackleton (YWR) called Schakelhull 1219 Ass. Shacklecross possibly indicates that OE sceacol (the only recorded meaning of which is ‘shackle, fetter’) could also mean ‘pole to which shackles were attached,’ like ON skgkull and Swed skakel. If this is correct, Shackleford would be ‘a ford indicated by a pole,’ Shackleton would be ‘a farm by a pole’ (cf. such names as Stapleton, Rounton 217, 283 infra) and the lost Schakelhull ‘a hill with a pole on top.’ Similarly Scackleton would be ‘a valley in which a pole, used as a landmark, was a prominent feature’; initial sk- in this case would be due to the substitution of ON sk- for OE sc-. v. Addenda xlv.

8. Wath 22 H 9 [wæθ]

Wad 1086 DB
Wath 1224-30 Fees
‘The ford’ v. wað. Wath stands at the point where the supposed Roman road (v. Appleton le Street 46 supra) crosses the stream now known as Wath Beck. There is also a lost place near here called

Hawade 1086 DB

Probably it was in this township (possibly in Wath Wood higher up the stream) and means ‘high ford’ from ON hår ‘high’ and wað.

Gilling

1. Cawton 22 H 8 [kɔtən]

Caluetun, -tone 1086 DB
C., Kalueton(a) 1160-75 Dods vii. 116 d, 1167 P et passim to 1416 YI
Calton 1316 (Eliz) Vill, 1393 Test
Caulton 1418 YI
Caw(e)ton 1538 Riev, 1579 FF, 1665 Visit
‘Calves’ farm’ from OE calf and tun. Cf. such names as Swinton, Shipton, Cowton. A similar combination is Calverton, Callerton (PN Nt, NbDu s.n.), from the OE gen. plur. calfra.
This is the normal form of the gen. plur. of calf. Cawton, however, seems to be from an OE gen. plur. calfa, which is found in Challock (K), OE cealfa locum BCS 378, and in the name of a lost place near Alton (Ha) called in OE cealsa mere (BCS 390).

2. **GILLING 22 H 7**

Ghellinge, Gellinge 1086 DB
Gy-, Gilling' 1135-47 Mary 215, 1167 P et passim
Gillinges 1239 Reg Alb iii. 34
Gillingaridale 1308 Ch (= "in Ryedale")

Cf. Gillamoor and Gilling (GillW) 64, 288 infra. It is of the common OE -ingas type of place-name and indicates the settlement of some man and his dependants. The ultimate origin of the first element, which is of course a personal name, is open to doubt. Professor Zachrisson (*Some Yorkshire Place-Names*, 39 ff) thinks that Givendale (YWR, OE Gyinga deal, Gydlinga-dale, c. 1020 YCh 7), Givendale and Gillamoor 94, 64 infra and the two Gillings in the North Riding all contain the same personal name, an OE patronymic Gyjiling formed from Gūda with i-mutation of u to y due to the patronymic suffix -ling (op. cit. p. 41). Early forms with ge- he explains as being the regular AN rendering of OE y, i. All this is quite true for Givendale (YWR), but the early forms leave it uncertain how far it may be accepted for the North Riding Gillings.

A second possibility is that the personal name found in Gilling and Gillamoor is either an OE pers. name Getla derived from WGerm *Gautila* (a diminutive of the name-theme found in ON Gautar, the Gētas of Beowulf) as suggested by Ekwall (*PN in -ing* 94) or an OE cognate of the recorded Germanic name Gattila (Schönfeld) which is the base of OSwed Geit/it/at (Hellquist, *Svenska ON på Inge*, 34).

This name is certainly the basis of Bede's Ingetlingum (Bede iii. 14), the Ingatlinguin of the Historia Abbatum and the Tanner MS of the OE Bede and probably also of Gilling 288 infra and of Yetlington (Nb). In that case OE initial palatal g (= [j]) has been replaced by Scand velar g. For e > i, cf. Zachrisson, *PN in *Vis, *Vask* 54.
3. GRIMSTON 22 H 7

Gri-, Grymeston(a) 1086 DB, 1166 P (p) et passim

‘Grim’s farm’ from the common ON personal name Grimr and tun. Grimston is a common name, found in YWR and four times in YER, once in Lei and once in Nt.

Stonegrave

1. NEWTON 22 G 8

Newentune, Neutun, Neweton 1086 DB
Neutone) 1086 DB, 1268 Ch et passim
Nissen' 1167 P


LAYSTHORPE [leasθɔrap]

Lechestorp 1086 DB
Leisthorp 1170–83 Dods vii. 148 d
Lai-, Laystorp 1219 Ass, 1293 QW
Laysethorp 13 ByI E 55
Lai-, Laysthorpe) 1266 Baildon, 1285 KI, 1316 Vill
Lasthorpe 1301 LS

‘Leik’s village’ from the ON personal name Leikr (LindN); cf. the ODan weak form Leki (Nielsen). DB often represents ON ei by e; cf. Laceby (L), DB Leuesbi, from ON Leifr (LindN). v. porp.

2. NUNNINGTON 22 G 9

Nonnin-, Nonninc-, Noning-, Nunnige-tun(e) 1086 DB
Nunintun, -ton’ 1167 P, 1257, 1308 Ch
Nunnington 1169 Riev, 1295 YI

‘Nunna’s farm’ from the OE personal name Nunna and ingtun.

3. STONEGRAVE 22 G 9

Staine-, Stein(e)-, Stanegrif 1086 DB
Steingrave c. 1150 RegDun
Staingrave 1190 Bodl a. i. 48
Stay-, Staingreue 1200–10 Bodl a. i. 50, et freq to 1301 YI
Ste-, Steyngreve 1242 P, et freq to 1306 Pap
Staynegrive 1251 Ass (p), 1301 LS
Steiner, Steyngrave 1267, 1269 Ebor, 1277 Pat, 1279–81 QW
Stangrevé 1418 YI, 1483 Test
Stan(e)grave 1508 Test, 1613 NR

v. steinn, gryfja. Griff is still used in the YNR dialect for a small steep-sided valley. The application to the topography of Stonegrave is not very clear. In the modern form of the name the earlier steinn has been replaced by Standard English stone as in Stony Keld etc. 305 infra.

Interesting problems are, however, raised, by the mention in BCS 184, in the same letter in which Coxwold 191 infra occurs, of a monastery at Staningagrave. Is this an earlier form of Stonegrave and was the name later Scandinavianised? The form in Reginald of Durham suggests that the form of the second element may once have been OE grafa or græfe or græf and the latter would readily account for the numerous -greve forms later. The interpretation in that case would be ‘copse or thicket or quarry of the people of a man called Stan’ with later substitution of ON steinn for OE stan and of Anglo-Scandinavian grif, grive for OE graf or græfe.

Oswaldkirk

1. Oswaldkirk 22 G 8
Oswaldescherca 1086 DB
Villa tota de Scó Oswaldo 1167 P
Oswaldkirke c. 1170 Riev, etc.
Chirch-, Ki(e)rkos(e)wald 1201 ChR, 1214 Abbr, 1239 RegAlb iii. 34
Oswoldchurch 1613 NR

‘The church dedicated to Saint Oswald’ v. kirkja and cf. Felixkirk and Romaldkirk 199, 309 infra. On the form Kirkoswald v. Introduction xxvi. The St Oswald referred to in this place-name is probably the well-known Archbishop of York, who was regarded as a saint in OE times (cf. Saints: ‘ponne resteð sanctus Oswaldus arcebiscop on Wigeraceastre’) and whose name is found in the dedication of Worcester Cathedral. This identification of St Oswald in the place-name is supported by the fact that part of the land of Oswaldkirk was held by the Archbishops of York.
West Newton Grange

*Neutun(e), Newetune* 1086 DB  *Westneuton*’ 1228 Pat

Self-explanatory.

**Ampleforth**

1. Ampleforth 22 G 6

*Ampleforde, Ambreforde* 1086 DB

*Ampleford* c. 1142 Dugd v. 352, 1290 Ebor, 1323 BylE 4, 1414 YI, 1444 NCyWills

*Ampleford* 1167, 1187 P, 1202 FF, 1327 Banco

*Amphelford* 1221–5 RegAlb ii. 56 d., 1247 Ch, 1284 YI, 1285 KI, 1301 LS, 1316 Vill, 1347 Pap

*Amphersford* 1243 Fees *Ampilforth* 1472 Fabr

_v. ford._ Probably the first element of Ampleforth is OE *ampre* ‘dock, sorrel’ and the forms with -l- are due to AN interchange of _l_ and _r_ (v. IPN 107). Hence, ‘ford where sorrel grows.’ Cf. Clatford (W) from clate and Larford and Ribbesford (PN Wo 34, 68).

**Drakedale (6")**

*Drakedalehevid* 1376 Dugd v. 348

The first element is OE *draca* ‘dragon,’ found in Drakelow (Db), DB Drachelauue and Drakenedge (Wa). _v. dæl, heafod.

**Holebeck, Hole Beck, a stream**

*Holebec(k)* 1154–63, c. 1170 Riev *Holbek* 1418 YI

‘Stream in the hollow’ _v. hol, bekkr._ Cf. also the name of a lost road in Gilling near this stream called *Holegate* c. 1170 Riev.

**Scawton**

1. Scawton 22 E 5 [skɔtən]

*Scaltun* 1086 DB, 1154–60 YCh 1830, c. 1155 Riev, 1181 BylE 103 d

*Sc-, Skalton(a)* 1189 Riev _et passim_ to 1414 YI

*Scaulton* 1328 Banco  *Scawton* 1575 FF

‘Farm in the hollow’ from ON *skál* ‘hollow’ (cf. Rygh, *NG Indledning* s.v.) and tun. Scawton lies in a short but steep-sided valley.
Antofts

_Aldwinetoftes, Aldenetoftes_ 1193–1203 Riev

‘Aldwine’s fields’ from OE _Aldwine_ and topt.

Brock Hill (6")

_Brochesholes_ c. 1150 Riev

_v. brocc-hol._

Bungdale [bɔndil]

_Brunesdale_ c. 1150, c. 1170 Riev

‘Brun’s valley’ _v. dæl_. The first element is the OE personal name _Brun_ which also enters into a lost place in this valley called _Brunescale_ 1181 _BylE_ 103 _d_ (from skali). The modern form offers some difficulty but its phonetic development was probably _Brunsdale > Burndale > [bɔndil];_ the last stage represents the regular development of NE _ur_ in the dialect (_v. Introd. xxxii)._ 

Stocking House

_Stocking_ 1249 Baildon

_v. stocking._

Salton

1. Brawby 22 G 11 [bro:bi]

_Bragebi, Braceby_ 1086 DB _Brahebi_ 1165 YCh 778

_Brahy_ 1301 LS (p) _Braby_ 1577 Saxton

‘Bragi’s farm’ from the ON personal name _Bragi_ and by.

2. Salton 22 F 10 [sɔ:tən]

_Saletun, -ton_ 1086 DB, 1167–80 YCh 415 (p)

_Salton_ 1285 KI, 1396 Pap, 1536 YChant

_Saulton_ 1286 Ch _Sauton_ 1577 Saxton

‘Enclosure of or by the willows’ _v. s(e)alh, tun_. The early forms suggest OE _s(e)ala-tun_ from the gen. plur. _s(e)ala._

Normanby

1. Normanby 22 F 11

_Normanbebi, -by_ 1086 DB, c. 1200 _For, 1204_ (1433) Pat

_1308 Ch_

_Northmannabi_ c. 1130 SD
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Normnebi 1167 P
Normanby 1147-61 YCh 414, 1154–89 MaryH 6 d
North(e)manby 1285 KI, 1301 LS
Normannebi 1308 Ch
‘Village of the Norwegians’ from OE Norþman (gen. plur. Norþmanna) and by. v. Introduction xxvi.

Rook Barugh [riukba:f, riukbaro]

Rochesberc, -berg(e) c. 1140, c. 1180, 1333 Riev
Rocheberch 1160 Riev Rokeberg 1301 LS
Rogeberg 1201 ChR
‘Rook’s hill’ from the ON personal name Hrókr or OE Hroc and berg. The spelling Roge- is probably to be explained in the same way as Wigginton 14 supra.

Great Edstone

1. Great Edstone 22 E 10

Micheledestun 1086 DB
Edestun 1140, 1333 Riev
Edeston’ 1167 P, 13 Malton 115, 1201 YCh 598, 1285 KI et passim
Edneston’ 1231 Ass
Ed(d)iston’ 1202 FF, 1285 KI
Heddestone 1276 YI

Cf. also the spellings of Little Edstone 76 infra.

Professor Stenton (IPN 171, note 5) discusses a type of OE personal name derived from a single theme and extended by the addition of an -n suffix. Taking the P form Edenston’ (Little E) and the later forms Ed(d)is- it is clear that we have here an OE personal name Æaden, an n-derivative of the name-stem Æad-. Hence ‘Eaden’s farm.’ v. tun.

Cowldyke [kouldaik]

Coldic 1154–63, 1333 Riev

The first element seems to be ON kola, a common Scand stream-name meaning ‘coal-black river’ (from ON kol and á) (Rygh, NElv 30). It is probably a stream-name in this case, for
Cowldyke stands very near to the river Dove (which actually means ‘black’) and to a stream (possibly identical with the river Dove) called Colebecke (13 Malton 115). v. dic, bekkr.

**WANDALES**

_Sanwandeiles_ 1333 Riev

Lindkvist (PN Scand Origin 35, n. 2) notes the survival in NE of _wandale_ ‘a share of the large open arable land of a township’ (cf. EDD s.v.) and the existence of ODan _wang_ in the special sense of ‘cultivated field in which all the villagers hold a share.’ From this evidence Lindkvist suggests that the first element of _wandale_ is ON _vangr_. There are objections to this: (1) none of the spellings of _wandale_ (either in the YNR or frequent examples elsewhere) ever exhibits a form _wangdale_, and the loss of -_g_ - in that position is unlikely as it is usually preserved in such names as Langdale, etc.; (2) there is a form _wanndayles_ (v. Wandale, LangE 157 infra) which points to an original first element _wand_. ON _vondr_ ‘a twig’ etc. is used in the compound _vand-balkr_ to denote ‘a wall of wands’; the meaning of _wandale_, therefore, is probably ‘a share of the common field fenced off with wands or stakes.’ The final element of _wandale_ is either OE _dal_ ‘share’ or ON _deill_. The distinguishing element in this name is _sand_.

2. **NORTH HOLME 22 F 10**

_Holm(e), Hom_ 1086 DB, 1154–63 Riev  
_Northholm(e) 13 Malton 115_  
_v. holmr and South Holme 50 supra._

_Lastingham_

1. **APPLETON LE MOORS 22 D 11**

_Apelton 1086 DB Duueld’ Apelton’ 1301 LS_  
_v. æppel, tun and cf. Appleton le Street 46 supra._ The element _Duueld’_ is difficult but it is possibly from the OIr personal name _Dubhgal_ (cf. Revue Celtique, XLIV. 46), found as the first element of Duggleby (YER) and independently as _Duuegald_ (12 YCh 217), a man of York. The name was borrowed through a Scandinavian source (v. Introd. xxvi); LindN adduces Scand
forms Dugal, Duggal, from the same OIr name. The affix le Moors indicates the proximity of Appleton to the moors (cf. Barton le Willows 38 supra).

2. HUTTON LE HOLE 22 C 10

Hotun 1086 DB
(Hege)hoton 1204 Ass, (subtus le Hegh) 13 Dugd iii. 560,
(Underheg) 1285 KI
Hewton under Heighe 1579 FF

‘Farm on the projecting ridge of land’ v. hoh, tun. The added element heg(e) denotes land enclosed for hunting; v. (ge)hæg. The modern affix is simply hole or hollow (cf. Barton le Willows 38 supra for the element le).

DOUTHWAITE HALL

Duvanesthwat c. 1154–63 Riev Duthethwayt 1276 YI
Dowthwayte, -thwait 1540 Dugd iii. 570, 1613 NR

‘Duvan’s clearing’ v. ðveit. The first element is from the OIr personal name Dubhan, v. Revue Celtique, XLIV. 47 and Introduction xxvi.

3. LASTINGHAM 22 C 11

læstinga-, lestinga eu, laestinga-, laestenga eu (ig), læstingw,
læstinga æi, lestinga ei 8 Bede
Læstinga ea 10 BedeOE
Lestingaheu, Lestingaea c. 1130 SD
Lestingay 12 Dugd i. 343

All other post-Conquest spellings are of the ingaham type:
Lesting(e)ham 1086 DB
Lesting-, Lestyngham 1086–9 MaryH 1, et freq to 1665 Visit
Laystyngham 1285 KI
Lasting-, Lastyngham 1393 Test, 1396 Pap, 1508 Test

Ekwall (PN in -ing 148) supposes that there was an OE personal name equivalent to the ON by-name Leistr (LindBN); this would be a name Läst, which in the -ing forms might be mutated to OE Lästing-. Lastingham, therefore, means ‘the settlement of the Lästingas (or of Läst and his dependants).’ v. ing, ham.
The explanation of the two forms eu and ig in the suffix of Bede's forms seems to be this: the PrGerm nominative was *auhwi and the oblique cases were formed with *auhwoj-. Apparently eu comes from the PrGerm nominative *auhwi and ig from the PrGerm oblique *auhwoj-. OE ei, wi are for eg, another Anglian form from the PrGerm oblique *auhwoj-. There can be no doubt that these are different forms for the same word, for eu is regularly translated by Bede as insula 'island' in such names as Heroteu. The site of the abbey at Lastingham is on the west bank of the river on a piece of land round which Hole Beck flows. v. eg.

The form ea in the OEBede is probably due to confusion, since OE éa 'a river' (from PrGerm *ahwa, cf. Latin aqua) can hardly have had such a form as eu.

Anserdale Lane, a road

Hansterdaile 1336 Ch

Dr Lindkvist suggests that the first element may be ON omstr (amstr), 'heap (of corn or dung).’ The whole name would probably mean deill or dole of land marked by a dung-heap. The h is clearly inorganic and ms has become ns by dissimilation.

4. Spaunton 22 C 11 [spɔntɔn]

Spantun(e) 1086 DB
Spaunton(a) 1086–9 MaryH 1 et passim
Spantona 1154–6 MaryH 6 d, 12 Cur 46, m. 3 d, 1225 Baildon, 1285 KI, 1308 Ch
Spawnton 1665 Visit

‘Farm with shingle tiling’ (or 'farm where shingle for tiling was obtained’) from ON spann and tun. v. Lindkvist 196. For -aun- v. IPN 105.

The Lund

Lund(e) 1154–63, c. 1170 Riev
v. lundr.
Kirkby Moorside

1. Fadmoor 22 D 9

Fademor(a) 1086 DB, 1221 FF, 1231 Ass
Faddemor c. 1150 Riev, 1185–1201 Dods vii. 179, 1201 ChR, 1219 Ass
Fadmore 1285 KI, 1301 LS, 1399 YI, 1462 Test
Fadymor 1301 LS

v. mor. The first element is probably a personal name but its source is uncertain and it is almost impossible to do more than speculate amongst possibilities. As the neighbouring Gillamoor is of very early origin it is probable that this name belongs to the same period. There is an ON by-name Faddi (LindBN) which Lind suggests is a short form of ON faðir, but it may be of common Germanic origin: cf. O Germ Fato, Fadiko (Förstemann, NP 492), Fadi (Fick, Wörterbuch der Indo- german. Sprachen, iii. 168), all cognate with Gothic -fafs 'man, warrior.' Fadenus is adduced from a Latin source as being similar to OHG Fadi (Werle, Die ältesten german. Personen- namen, 36); it is probably Fadi extended by an -n suffix. An OE example of this common Germanic name is, therefore, not improbable, especially if we take Fadmoor to be an early name. Its form would be Fad(d)a, and further evidence of this pers. name is found in the OE pers. n. Fadol and in the p.n.’s Vaddicott (D), Faddecote 1212 and Faddeley (Ch), Faddelee 1259.

Loskay House

Loftischo 1282 YI Loftisco 1332 Pat (p)


Sleightholme Dale [sleitumdil]

Sleholme 1301 LS (p)
Sletholme 1386 Riev (p)
Sl(e)ghintholme(d)e 1538 Riev, 1621 NR

‘Flat ground near water’ v. sletta, holmr, and cf. Barnby Sleights and Sleightholme 135, 305 infra.
The first element is from early ON *sleht- (which later became sléttta), and the normal development of this in the dialect would be [sliːtː] (v. Sleightholme 305 infra). The modern pronunciation [skit] is irregular, and, as Cowling (§§ 149, 172, 226) suggests for some other word, it is a borrowing from RSE.

Sleights House [sleɪts uːs]

*Slectes* 1154–63 Riev

*ut supra* and cf. the Latin form *in parvis slectis* in a West Lincs charter of c. 1160. The context suggests that it refers to marshland (*AD*, AS 280).

2. Farndale 22 ABC 9

*Farnedale* c. 1154–63 Riev, 1276, 1416 YI

*Farendale, -dal(a)* late 12 Cur 46, m. 3 d, 1201 ChR, 1229 Cl, 1255 Ch, 1286 For, 1301 LS

*Farndale(e)* 1279–81 QW, 1301 LS, 1371 Baildon, 1577 Saxton

‘Fern valley’ v. fearn, ðæl.

Harland

*Harlonde* 1282 YI

Harland is on the top of a hill and in the neighbourhood are a large number of tumuli. With this in view it is possible that the first element is an OE *har* meaning apparently ‘a rock, tumulus, heap of stones’ (cf. PN BedsHu 137). Harome 70 *infra* seems to contain the same element.

Middle Head

*Middelhoved* 13 Riev

v. middel, hɒfʊð.

Swinacle 22 B 8

*Svenekeles* 1282 YI

This name is probably identical with the Norw place-name *Svinekle*, which Rygh suggests is from ON *svín* and ONorw *ekla* ‘want’ (NG i. 47). Hence, ‘place where pigs are lacking.’
3. **GILLAMOOR 22 C 9 [giləmʊə]**

*Gedlingesmore* 1086 DB
*Gillingamor* late 12 Cur 46, m. 3 d
*Gillingemor* 1231 Ass
*Gilling-, Gillyngmore* 1195–1200 Guis, 1285 KI, 1301 LS, YI, 1399 YI
*Gillemore* 1282 YI *Gillmore* 1577 Saxton

'The open expanse of land belonging to the *Getlingas.*' If this is the folk-name which lies behind Gilling 53 *supra* there may actually be a reference to the same folk. *v. mor.*

4. **KIRKBY MOORSIDE 22 D 10**

*Chirchebi* 1086 DB
*Ki-, Kyrkebi, -by (Moresheved)* c. 1170 Riev, *et passim* to 1391 Test
*Kirkebymoreshede* 1399 YI *Kirkeby Moresyd* 1489 Test

'Farm by the church' *v. kirkja, by.* The termination Moor-side means 'head of the moor' *v. mor, heafod.*

**BOWFORTH** [bʊfəf]

*Buleford(e)* 1154–63 Riev, 1167, 1175 P, 1278–84 *Malton,* 109 (p), 1333 Riev
*Bulford(e)* 1301 LS, YI, 1302 Baildon, 1328 Banco
*Bouforth* 1538 Riev

'Bull ford' *v. bula, ford* and Bulford (Bulm) 13 *supra.*

**HAGG FARM**

*Hagh* 1414, 1421 YI *unius copicii sive le Hagge* 1538 Riev *v. hɒgg.*

**KELDHALME**

*Keld(e)holm* 1170–86 *Dods* vii. 157, 1201 ChR *et passim*

'Water-meadow near the spring' *v. kelda, holmr.*

**RAVENSWYKE**

*Revenwich* 1201 ChR

'Raven's nook in the hills' from the ON personal name *Hrafn* and *vik.* The name refers to the steep-sided valley of the river Dove.
Kirkdale

1. Bransdale 22 ABC 8

Brannesdale c. 1150 Riev Brauncedale 1276 YI, 1301 LS
Brandesdal’ 1279–81 QW Bransdale 1577 Saxton

‘Brand’s valley’ from ON Brandr (v. Brandsby 28 supra) and dæl.

2. Muscoates 22 F 10

Musecote(s) 1154–63 Riev, 1198–1214 RegAlb ii. 62, 1227 FF, 1282 YI, 1333 Riev
Muskote c. 1260 Malton 39; -cotes 1385 Baildon, 1416 YI
Mouscotes 1293 QW
Mosekotes 1301 LS; -cotes 1301 YI
Muscoites 1417 YI

‘Musi’s cottages’ v. cot. The ON name Músi (LindBN, Nielsen) is from ON mús ‘mouse’ and enters into Muscote (Nth).

3. Nawton 22 E 9 [nɔːtən]

Naghelton, Nageltune, Nagletune, Nageltune 1086 DB
Nagelt’, -ton 1160–5 YCh 164, c. 1160 Riev, 1190–1200 Bodl a. i. 30
Nathelton c. 1160 Riev
Naw-, Nawelton 1170 Riev, 1202 FF, 1285 KI, 1298 Abbr
Nalton(a) 1301 LS, 1316 Vill, 1333 Riev
Nawton 1665 Visit

‘Nagli’s farm,’ from the ON personal name Nagli (LindN) and tun. On the form Nathel- cf. Fearby 232 infra.

Nawtondale (6")

Nageltundale c. 1170 Riev

4. Skiplam 22 D 9

Skipenum c. 1150 Riev
Sc(h)-, Skipnum c. 1160, c. 1180 Riev, 1259 Ass, 1268 Ch, 1293 QW, 1333 Riev
Skiplom(e) 1526, 1538 Riev Skiplam 1577 Saxton
'(At) the cowshed' v. scipen with substitution of Scand sk- for Engl. sh-. The modern form with -lam probably arose under the influence of the neighbouring Beadlam 67 infra.

5. WELBURN 22 E 9
   Wellebrune 1086 DB
   With the same run of forms and meaning as Welburn (Bulm) 40 supra.

HOVETON (lost)
   Houetune 1086 DB Houeton 12 Riev, 1252 Ch
   v. tun. Identical with Hoveton (Nf), DB Hovetuna. For the first element v. Hovingham 51 supra.

KIRKDALE
   Kirkedale 1202 FF
   Kirkdale 1518 Test Kyrkdayle 1572 FF
   'Church valley' v. kirkja, dæl. A church existed here before the conquest for "Orm Gamalsuna bought the church of St. Gregory when it was badly in disrepair and ruinous, and he had it rebuilt from the ground for Christ and St. Gregory in the days of king Edward and the earl Tosti." (Inscription translated from OE on the famous dial-stone at Kirkdale Church 1055–65.) The same church is recorded in DB, where the place is called Chirchebi; v. kirkja, by. Like the name of the place, the name of the man who built the church is of Scandinavian origin; Orm is from OWScand Ormr and Gamal from OWScand Gamall, whilst the patronymic Gamalsuna is of a Scandinavian type.

SUNLEY HILL
   Sunnolvehou 1192–9 Riev Suneley 1572 FF
   'Sunnolf's mound' v. haugr. The first element is the ON pers. name Sunnolfr found independently as ME Sunnulf (LVD 14).

WALTON (lost)
   Waletun, -ton 1086 DB
   'Village of the Britons (or serfs)' from OE W(e)alk, gen. plur. W(e)ala 'Briton, foreigner, Welshman' and tun. (v. IPN 18.)
6. **Womboleton** 22 E 9

*Winbel-, Wilbetun* 1086 DB  
*Wimbaltuna* 1145–53 *Leon* 35  
*Wimbeltun* c. 1159, 1154–63 *Riev*, 1190–1200 *Bodl* a. i. 30, c. 1250 *Malton* 108 d  
*Wi-*, *Wymbelton(a)* 1231 *Ass*, 1233 *Cl et passim* to 1385 *Baldon*  
*Wimbil-, Wymbilton* 13 *Malton* 242, 1285 *KI*, 1417 *YI*  
*Wimilton* c. 1260 *Malton* 39  
*Wimilton* 1301 *LS*  
*Wymbulton* 1399 *YI*

From the OE personal name *Wynnbeald* or *Winebeald* and tun. The modern form is due to the development of *i* to [u] in the neighbourhood of *r* and *w* as in such names as Ruddings, Runswick, Ruswarp and Ruswick 85, 121, 139, 191 *infra*.

**Helmsley**

1. **Beadlam** 22 E 8 [biədəm]  
*Bodlun* 1086 DB  
*Bodlum* 1086 DB, 1201 *ChR*, 1202 *FF*, 1285 *KI*; -*lom* 1336 *Ch*  
*Bothlum* c. 1170, 1333 *Riev*  
*Bothelum* 1259 *Ass*  
*Bolum* 1259 *Ass*, 1260 *Riev*, 1285 *KI*  
*Bodelum* 1301 *LS*, 1316 *Vill*; -*lom* 1328 *Banco*  
*Budelom* 1414, 1421 *YI*  
*Beldlum* 1578 *FF*; -*lam* 1613, 1614 *NR*  
*Beaudlam* 1616 *NR*

'(At) the buildings' v. boöl; the name is from the OE dat. plur. bōdlum. The modern form of the name has arisen from the dialectal change of OE ð to [iu] and later to [iə] in this part of the North Riding. The modern form with -*d-* has come from an AN form *Bodlum* (v. *IPN* 110).

2. **Bilsdale** 22 ABC 6  
*Bi-*, *Byldesdale* (-a) 1153–9, 1180–5 *Riev et passim* to 1316 *Vill*  
*Bilsdale* 1577 *Saxton*  
‘Bild’s valley’ v. dæl. The first element is the ON pers. name *Bildr* as in Bildeston (Sf), Bilsthorpe (Nt) and Bilstone (Lei).
Broad Fields

Bradfelde 1301 LS
v. brad, feld.

Cock Flat

Kyrkflat 13 Kirkham 50d
‘Church field’ v. kirkja, flat. Probably ‘land held by the church of Kirkham.’ The modern form Cock is phonetically derived from ME kyrk. The normal development of kirk in the dialect is [ko’k]; this is near enough acoustically to be confused with cock.

Cold Moor

Kaldmore 14 Kirkham 51d
Self-explanatory.

Crosslets

Kirkesletes 1260 Riev Kirkeslectes 1333 Riev
v. kirkja, sletta.

Ellermire

Elvemire 1260 Riev Eluitemercote 1301 LS
‘Swan pool’ from OE elfitu and myrr. Cf. Eldmire 184 infra and Elvet, PN NbDu s.n.

Fangdale

Fangedala c. 1160 Riev, 1170–85 YCh 1845
‘Fangi’s valley’ v. dæl. The first element is a personal name Fangi of Scandinavian origin. A personal name Fangulf (from ODan Fangulf) is evidenced in medieval Nf records and in York records of the 12th cent. (e.g. Walerio filio Fannulf 1164–75 YCh 282, filio Faganulph 1170–6 YCh 225), and enters into Fangfoss (YER), Frangefos (sic) 1086 DB, Fangelfosse 1200 Cur (p), Fangefosse 1208 FF, 1260 YI. A short form Fangi would be normal and this enters into Fangdale.

Fangdale Beck

Flandgedalebecc (sic) 1201 Riev
Garfit

*Garthwayt* 13 Kirkham 51  *Garthpheit* 13 Kirkham 52

*Garthwat* 1335 Kirkham 53

'Clearing with a garth on it' v. garðr, þveit.

Howl Beck (6")

*Holbek* 14 Kirkham 51 d

v. hol, bekkr and Holbeck 56 *supra*.

Raisdale [ræzdil]

*Riedesdal' 1204 FF
Reydhesdale 1246 Riev
Raythesdale 1268 Ch, 1273 Riev, 1293 QW
Reythesdal' 1259 Ass (p)
Raies, Raysedale 1301 LS, 1377 Baildon
Raysdale 1538 Riev

'Reith's valley' v. dæl. The first element, Lindkvist suggests, is an ON personal name *Hreiðr*, probably a short form of ON *Hreidulf* (LindN). There are, however, Norw place-names *Rosæk* (ONorw i *Røydesæk*) and ONorw i *Røydisøim* (Rygh, NG i. 121), and from these cases its original form seems rather to have been *Røyðr* or *Røyðir*, an i-mutated form of the well-evidenced ON pers. name *Rauðr* (LindN).

Smiddales (6")

*Smidhesdala* c. 1180 Riev

'The smith's valley' from OE *smid* and dæl.

Staindale

*Steindal(e) 1247, 1260 Riev

'Rocky valley' v. steinn, dæl.

Stonehouse Cote

*Staynhouse* 14 Kirkham 51 d

'Stone house' v. steinn, hus.

Tripsdale

*Thriplesdala* c. 1180 Riev

v. dæl. Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element may be connected with OE *þripel* 'instrument of torture,' which has
yielded dial. *thripple* ‘movable framework fitted on a cart.’ In that case we have a genitival compound and the meaning of the whole name would be ‘valley marked by a *prépel,*’ whatever the exact sense of the word in this context may be. The Anglian form would be *prépel,* but we may assume early shortening and raising of the vowel to *i.*

**URRA**

*Horhowe* 1301 LS  *Orrow(e)* 1377 Baildon, 1382 *Kirkham* 55

_v. haugr._ The first element is OE *horh* ‘filth’ as in *Horcum* (Pick) 91 _infra._

**William Beck**

*Willelmesbec(h)* 1160, c. 1180 Riev

*Williambek* 1192 *Kirkham* 70 _d,* 14 ib. 50 _d,* 100 _d*

*Wyłszambek* c. 1250 *Kirkham* 101

‘William’s stream’ _v._ *bekkr.*

3. **Harome** 22 F 8

*Harun, Harem, Harum* 1086 DB

*Harum* c. 1170 Riev, 1192 *Kirkham* 70 _d,* _et passim_ to 1471

 _Test*

*Harom(e)* 1301 LS, 1572 FF

*Haram* 1336 Ch, 1614 NR

*Harom* 1572 FF

*Harome* is probably derived from OE dat. pl. *harum* ‘amongst the stones’ from OE *har,* _v._ *Harl* 63 _supra._

4. **Sproston** 22 F 7 [*sprɔʃtɔn*]

*Sprostune* 1086 DB

*Sproxtun(a)* 1165–75 YCh 410, 1192 *Kirkham* 70 _d,* 1202 FF

*Sprocton* 1186 P (p)

*Sproxtun(a)* 1226 FF, 1228 Pat, 1252 Ass, 1285 KI, 1298 YI, 1301 LS, 1308 Ch, 1417 YI

_v._ *tun._ For the first element the following names should be compared: *Sproston* (Lei) and *Sproxtune* (13 Easby 142 _d,* the name of a lost place in Crakehall (HangE) _infra_. Professor Ekwall suggests that it is the same as the OSwed pers. name
Sprok found in Sproxstatha (1376) recorded by Lundgren-Brate. This pers. name is probably to be associated with OFris, LGerm sprock ‘brittle.’

5. HELMSLEY 22 E 7 [emzla]

Elmeslac, Almeslai 1086 DB

Helmeslac(h) 1155 Riev, 1165–75 YCh 410, 1170–85 YCh
1845, 1189 Riev, 1252 Ch

Helmesleia, -ley, -leigh, -lay c. 1170 Whitby et passim

Helmele 1251 Ass

Hemesley 1548 YChant, 1597 NR Hemsley 1602 NR, 1665 Visit

The following spellings also occur:

Hamylac 1133–9 Riev

Hamelac 1229 Pat, 1230 Riev; -lak(e) 1231 Ebor et freq. to
1414 Y1; -lek 1251 Ass

Haumelak 1232 Riev; -lake 1283 Y1; -lac 1336 Ch

Heaumelle 1231 Ass; -lake 1258 Baildon

The meaning of the name is clearly ‘Helm’s forest-clearing’ v. leah. The OE pers. name Helm is only adduced in independent use in Widsith and in a Lincs Ass Roll of 1202, but it enters into Helmdon (Nth), Hemswell (L) and Helmingham (Nf, Sf).

The secondary forms are all due to French influence; as late as Camden’s time we are told that there were two pronunciations of the name Helmesley and Hamelack and the barony of Roos of Hamlake only became extinct in 1632. OE Helm- became heaume- or haume- by AN influence. At the same time a + nasal was often written au (v. IPN 105, 4). The form Hame-, therefore, is due to confusion of aum representing AN vocalisation of l before m, and aum arising by nasalisation from earlier am, which was also still written am in many cases. Hamelac is therefore an inverted spelling for Haumelac. The pronunciation of the final element as lak is shown by the orthography and is further confirmed by Gaimar’s rime Helmeslac–Espac. It may perhaps be best explained as an AN pronunciation of late Nthb lāh, shortened in the unstressed syllable (cf. IPN 113, 3). An AN pronunciation of the name of a famous barony is very natural. Cf. also the DB form for Pockley 72 infra in the immediate neighbourhood.
72 NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

CARLTON

K-, Carlton  e. 13 Kirkham 2, 13 ib., 1414 Yi  
Carletona  1301 LS  
v. karlatun.

PLOCKWOODS [plokudz]

Plocw(o)de  1232, 1251 Riev  
v. wudu. The first element is not clear, but Professor Ekwall notes *plock* ‘block of wood, log,’ *plockwood*, the same (EDD).

ROPPA [rɔpɔ]

Rauthepathe  1160 Riev  Raudepade  c. 1180 Riev  
‘Red path’ v. *rauðr, pæð*. The soil is here of a reddish hue.

6. LASKILL PASTURE  22 C 6

Lauesc(h)ales  1170 Riev, 1200 FF, 1201 Riev  
Laygskales  1301 LS  

HAGG END

Haghe  1285 Yi  
v. hɔgg.

7. POCKLEY  22 E 8

Pochelaf, -lac  1086 DB  
Pokelai, -lay  1184–98 Riev, 1279–81 QW; -le  1232 Riev, 13 Kirkham 1; -ley(e)  1282 Baildon, 1301 LS  
Pockeley(a)  1252 Ch, 1259 Ass  
Poklee, Pockele  1285 KI

‘Poca’s forest-clearing’ v. *leah*. The name *Poc(e)a* is not adduced in OE, but it may be assumed from Pockthorpe (YER), *Pochetorp* DB, (Nf, 4 examples) and Pocklington (YER), *Poclington* DB, which contains *Pocela*, a derivative in -ela of *Poca*. It is probably connected with OE *pocc* ‘small-pox.’ For the DB form v. Helmsley 71 supra.
8. Rievaulx 22 E 6 [rivis, rivæz]

Rievalle, Ry-, Rievalle 1157 YCh 401, et freq. to 1202 FF
Riesuals 1161 P
Ri-, Ryvall(e) 1204 Ass, 1226 FF et freq. to 1299 YI
Rivallis 1228 Pat
Ri-, Ryevallis 1252 Ch, 1285 KI
Ryvaus 1301 LS, 1324, 1326 NRS, 1491 Test
Ryvaus 1301 LS, c. 1310 Bodl a. i. 58
Riveus, Ryfuowis 1375 Barbour’s Bruce
Ryvaux 1390, 1486, 1497 Test

‘The Rye valley’ from the river-name Rye (v. 5 supra) and OFr val-s. Cf. Jervaulx 250 infra. The name is of AN origin and was applied to the monastery here in the first place.

Abbot Hag

Hagg c. 1180 Riev
v. hogg. The land here belonged to the abbot of Rievaulx.

Cringle Carr (6")

Krynglecarre 1538 Riev

Griff Farm

Grif 1086 DB et passim to 1301 LS
Griff(e) 1229 Pat, 1333 Riev
‘Narrow valley’ v. gryfja.

Newlass

Newlathes 1301 LS

Stiltons Fm

Tilstun(e) 1086 DB
Thilleston’, Thyllestonam c. 1180 Riev, 1252 Ch
Tyleston 1229 Pat
Tilston’ 1230 Cl
Tylleston’ 1293 QW
The origin of the first element is open to speculation, but the best suggestion seems to be the OE personal name *Tili* or *Tilli*. Interchange of initial *t*- and *th*- is noticed in other names such as Thirlby, Thirsk and Theakston infra. Initial *s* may possibly be due, as Dr Lindkvist suggests, to prefixed *east* or *west*.

### III. PICKERING LYTHE WAPENTAKE

*Dic wapentac* 1086 DB  
*Pikiringelit* 1135–55 YCh 377  
*Pikeringelid, -lith* 1158 YCh 403, 1252 Ch  
*Pykeringlidh, Pykerynglyth* c. 1169–85 YCh 196 *et freq* to 1485 Test  
*wap' (wapentacco) de Picheringe* 1166 P *et passim* to 1301 LS  
*Pikringliith* 1172–9 YCh 379  
*Pikaringalith* 1176–9 YCh 406, 1201 ChR

*V*. Pickering 85 *infra* and hilð. The original name of the wapentake, *Dic*, probably refers to one of the numerous dykes in the district which would be the wapentake meeting-place, *v*. dic. Dykes were frequently the sites of the meeting-places of the hundreds, as in Wrangdike Hundred (R), Flendish Hundred (C), DB *Flamingdic*, and Abdich Hundred (So).

The later name of the wapentake is taken from some slope near Pickering, but this cannot now be identified.

**Kirby Misperton**

1. **Great Barugh, Little Barugh 22 G 11** [baːf]  
*Berg(a)* 1086 DB, 1170 P, 1285 KI  
*Berch* 1086 DB, *(magna, parva)* c. 1200 *For*  
*Bergh(e)* 1219 *Ass, et passim* to 1409 *YI*  
*(Great)* *Bargh(e)* 1526 NRS

‘The hill’ *v*. beorg.

2. **Great Habton, Little Habton 22 H 12**  
*Habetun, Ab(b)etune* 1086 DB  
*(parva)* *Habeton* c. 1163–85 YCh 781, c. 1200 *For*, 1201 ChR, 1219 FF
Habbeton 13 Malton 97, 1231 Ass, 1285 KI, 1301 LS, 1333
Riev
Habbenton 1231 FF
Great, parua Habton 1365 FF
Great Hapton 1368 FF

‘Hab(b)a’s farm’ v. tun. The first element is a hypocoristic pers. name Hab(b)a from some OE pers. name such as Heah-beorht or Heardbeorht. Cf. Hapton (Nf), Habetuna DB. A pers. name Habe is recorded (L) in Danelaw Charters 573, possibly derived from ON Hábjorn, which would also suitably explain the first element of Habton.

3. Kirby Misperton (Kirby Overcarr) 22 G 12

In DB survey Kirby and Misperton are separate manors. In all later records they are joined together under the common name of Kirby Misperton.

Chirchebi 1086 DB
Kî-, Kyrkêby, -bi 1094–9 YCh 601 et passim to 1408 For
Kirkabi 1308 Ch, Kirkby 1414 Test, Kirby 1665 Visit
Mispeton 1086 DB
Mi-, Mysperton(a) 1137–61 YCh 602 et passim

In the 16th and 17th cents. it is also called
Kirkebye Overkare 1549 YChant  Kyrkby Overcarr 1573 FF

‘Farm by the church’ v. kirkja, by.

The first element in Misperton is not clear but Dr O. K. Schram suggests that there may have been an OE word mispel or mispeler denoting the medlar-tree. LL mespila is found in LG and HG as mespel (OHG mespila) and there is a side-form mispel from MHG mispel(e). Both forms are found in the LG dialects, and Frisian mispel(beam) is well-evidenced.

LL mespilarius var. mispilarius appears in Dutch and Flemish as mespelare and is found in the Belgian p.n. Mespelaere in the form Mespilarios in 899. (Vincent, Les noms de lieux de la Belgique, § 181.)

Hoops (Waldbäume 606) suggests that there may have been an OE form of LG mespila. The word actually occurs in late ME as mespile, by the side of mespiler (NED s.v.) but these are probably late borrowings from Latin itself.
OE *mespiler-tun* might readily become *misp(l)erton* and if that is the history the name means 'farm with the medlar-tree.' Such might well grow in the low-lying ground, or *carr*, from which the place takes its alternative appellation. *v.* *kjarr*.

4. **RYTON 22 H 13**

*Ritun, Ritone* 1086 DB  
*Ri-, Ryton* 1282 *Malton* 102 et passim  
*Rihtona* c. 1145 Riev  
*Rictona* 1189 Riev  
*Rigeton* c. 1200 For  

‘Farm by the river Rye’ *v.* Rye, R. 5 *supra* and *tun*.

**LUND FOREST**

*Lund(e)* 1176–9 YCh 406 et passim  
*Lond* 1184 P  
*Loundhouse* 1577 Saxton  

*v.* *lundr*. There is now no wood at Lund, but in 1335 Richard de Breus had enclosed his wood at Lund (*ForP* 251 *d*).

**Sinnington**

1. **LITTLE EDSTONE (6") 90 NE 7**

*Parva Edestun* 1086 DB  
*Edenston*’ 1167 P  

For meaning and further forms *v.* Great Edstone 58 *supra*.

2. **MARTON 22 E 11**

*Martun, Martone* 1086 DB  
*Marton*’ 1167 P, c. 1200 *For* (on *Syuen*) 1290 Baildon et passim  

*v.* Marton le Forest 28 *supra*. Marton is on the Seven R.

3. **SINNINGTON 22 E 11**

*Sivenessintun, Sevenichtun* 1086 DB  
*Siuerninctune* 1086 DB  
*Siuilintone*’ 1167 P, c. 1200 *For*  
*Sivilington* 1183–93 YCh 595, 1201 ChR  
*Siv-, Syvelington, -thun* 1185–1205 YCh 597 et passim to 1327 Banco  

*Synnyngton* 1580 FF  
*Sinnington* 1665 Visit
This p.n. is probably derived from the name of the river on which it stands, \textit{v.} Seven, R. 6 \textit{supra}. One would have expected ME \textit{Siueningetune}, with inflexional \textit{e}, at least in a few forms, going back to OE \textit{Syfeningatun}, ‘farm of the dwellers on the Seven’ (\textit{v.} \textit{ing}). The forms as they are actually on record point to OE \textit{Syfeningtun}, ‘farm having to do with or belonging to the R. Seven.’ For this general sense, \textit{v.} \textit{ingtun}, and for a similar use of \textit{ing} cf. Tavistock (D), \textit{Tauistoce} (KCD 629), \textit{Tefingstoce} (997 ASC), which is on the Tavy.

4. \textsc{Thornton Riseborough} (6") 90 SE 12

\textit{Tornitun, Torrentun} 1086 DB
\textit{Torinton'} 1167 P
\textit{Torneton sub Riseberg} c. 1200 \textit{For}
\textit{Torenton (voc. Riseberge)} 1310 Ch
\textit{Thornton under Isbergh} 1406 YI

\textit{v.} \textit{porn, tun} and Riseborough \textit{infra}. It is interesting to compare the form \textit{under Isbergh} with the later forms of Roseberry and Newton under Roseberry 163–4 \textit{infra}.

\textbf{RISEBOROUGH HILL}

\textit{Ri-, Ryseberg(h)', -berch} c. 1200 \textit{For, (in Aselakeby)} 1260 Ch
\textit{et passim} to 1318 Ch
\textit{Reysebergh} 1293 QW

Lindkvist (134) on the evidence of the QW spelling derives the first element from ON \textit{hraes}i ‘cairn.’ It should, however, be noted that in the other cases of ON \textit{hraes}i cited by Lindkvist there is not a single instance of ON \textit{hraes}i appearing as ME \textit{rise}. More probably the name should be connected with Risborough (PNBk 170) and a lost place called \textit{Riseberga} 1158 YCh 419 from OE \textit{hris} ‘brushwood’ and \textit{beorg}.

\textbf{Middleton}

1. \textsc{Aislaby} 22 E 12 \[ezlæbi\]

\textit{Aslache(s)bi} 1086 DB
\textit{Aselachi} c. 1160 Riev
\textit{Aslakebi, -by} 1167 P \textit{et passim} to 1303 KF
78 NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Aselakeby c. 1200 For, 1244 Fees, c. 1250-63 Malton 3, 1260 Ch
Aslakesby 1253 Pap
Aslachby 1285 KI, 1299 Baildon, 1316 Vill, 1519 FF
Asle-, Asleyby 1536 YChant Aslabye 1572 FF

'Aslak's farm' v. by. The ON pers. name Áslákkr is found in the similar Norw place-name Åslaksby (Rygh, NG i. 30, GP 17), in Aislaby (Du) and Aslackby (L), Aselachebi 1086 DB, locally called [eizalbi].

2. Cawthorn 22 D 12

Caltorn(e), -torna 1086 DB, c. 1200 For
Calthorn(e) 1175 P (p), c. 1190 Guis et passim to 1572 FF
Kaldthorn 1202 FF
Cawuthorne 1561 FF Cawthorne 1571 FF

'Cold thorn' v. cald, porn. OE cald is coupled with a tree-name in Chold Ash (D). Cawthorne (YWR), for which Moorman suggests OE calu, is probably identical with this name. OE calu 'bare' would however give ME Caluethorn from the dat. calwe.

3. Cropton 22 D 12

Cropton(e) 1086 DB, 1167 P
Cropton(a) c. 1200 For et passim
Cropetun c. 1260 Malton 3
Croppenton 1260 Ch

Cropton is near the summit of a hill, and probably the meaning of the name is 'hill-top farm.' The earliest spellings of the name do not suggest any connexion with Cropthorne (Wo), which contains the OE pers. name *Croppa, found also in OE Croppanhulle BCS 112 now Crapnell (Ha). We should rather compare it with Crofton in Orpington (K), OE Croptunes gemæro KCD iii. 465, which stands on a well-marked hill, and Cropwell (Nt), Crophille 1086 DB. v. tun.

Beckhouse

(le) Bekhus early 13 Malton 98, 1260 ib. 3

Self-explanatory.
Leaf Howe

_Lefehowe_ 1335 _ForP_ 224

The name of a tumulus, _v._ haugr. The first element is probably a pers. name, such as ODan _Lefi_ (Nielsen).

Sutherland and Sutherland Beck

_Suterlund_ 1334 _ForP_ 304
_Soter-, Souterlund, Suterlundbek_ 1335 _ForP_ 218 _d_, 219 _d_

‘Sutari’s wood’ _v._ lundr. The first element is the ON by-name _Sútari_ from Latin _sutor_ ‘shoe-maker’; the word was borrowed in ME from ON (_v._ Stratmann-Bradley _s.v._ _sátare_). The change of intervocalic _t_ to _th_ is seen in other place-names, _e.g._ Catterick 242 _infra_, and Souther Scales (YWR), _Suterscales_ 1214 _Abbr_, which contains the same element.

4. Hartoft 22 B 11

_Haretoft_ 1316 _Vill_, 1335 _ForP_ 246, 1349 _IpmR_  
_Hartoft_ 1335 _ForP_ 244, 1408 _For_

_v._ topt. For the first element _v._ Harome 70 _supra_. ‘Messuage by the stony or rocky place.’

Grundstone Wath (6")

_Grunstan Wath_ 1334 _ForP_ 304  
_vadum de Grindstone wath_ 1619 _NRS_

‘Ford made of ground-stones’ _v._ _vað_. The first element is OE _grund-stān_, glossing Latin _cementa_, _i.e._ _petre_ which is well evidenced and survives in NEDial _ground-stone_ ‘foundation stone’.

Hancow Ho

_Anchou_ 1210 _Dugd iv_. 317

Possibly ‘Haneca’s spur of land’ _v._ _hoh_. The OE pers. name _Haneca_ is not found in independent use in OE, but it is the first element of Hankerton (W), _Hanekyntone_ BCS 589, Hannakin (Ekwall, _PNLa_ 218), and OE _Hanecanham_ BCS 821–2, now Hankham (Sx). One may also note the Anglo-Scand pers. n. _Hanke, Hanc._
5. Middleton 22 E 13
   Mid(d)e|ltun(e) 1086 DB
   *middel, tun. Middleton is the centre of other Anglian
farmsteads in the district, such as Edstone, Nunnington, Salton,
Sinnington and Wrelton.

6. Rosedale 22 A 11 [ro:zdil]
   Russedal(e) 1130-c. 1158 (1201) ChR, 1155-70 Mary Y 179
   Rosedal(e) 1186-95 YCh 694 et passim to 1541 Dugd iii. 570
   Rossdale 1328 Ch
   Rosedale, -dall 1376, 1390 Test, 1408 YI, 1420 Test
   Rosedalaie 1561 FF
   Rosdale 1416 YI, 1577 Saxton
   ‘Russi’s valley’ from the ON by-name Russi (LindBN); most
of the dale-names in this part of the Riding have a pers. name
as their first element. The long vowel in Rose- is quite a late
phenomenon and is due to folk-etymology, as in Roseden
(PN NbDu s.n.). *dæl.

Alder Carr (6")
   Ellerker 1537 Dugd iv. 319
   Self-explanatory.

Aymot (lost)
   Amoth 1210 Dugd iv. 317
   ‘River-meet’ *a, mot. Cf. Beckermonds (YWR), Becker-
motes 1241 Percy, and the ONorw Bekkiarmote (Lindkvist 6,
note 2). The streams referred to are the river Seven and
Northdale Beck.

Hamley, Hamley Beck
   Hamclife 1201 ChR Hamcliebek 1335 ForP 211 d
   Possibly ‘scarred cliff’ *hamel, clif, bekkr. For the change
from clif to -ley cf. Crunkly 133 infra, Cronkley, Aycliffe (PN
NbDu s.n.), Hockliffe (PN BedsHu 126).

Loose Howe (tumulus) [lu:so:] 15 Whitby Lowsehowes 1619 NRS
Cf. OE *lusebyrge* (Herts) BCS 745, *Lusabeorg* BCS 699, and *lusdun* BCS 1020, which all contain OE lús ‘louse.’ v. haugr. ‘Louse mound.’ One should also note the ON name *Lúsi* (LindBN) from ON lús. Perhaps here a pers. name would give the better sense.

**Middlehead (6")**

*Middleheued* 1334 *ForP* 304

‘Middle hill’ v. middel, heafod.

**West Gill (6")**

*Westgill* 1335 *ForP* 205 d

v. west, gil.

**William Howes (6")**

*Willelmi howes* 15 Whitby

v. haugr. Cf. William Beck 70 *supra*.

7. **Wrelton 22 E 12**

*Wereltun* 1086 DB

*Wrelton* 1282 YI, 1285 KI *et passim*

*Wherlton* 1316 FA

*Wrelleton* 1301 LS, 1303 KF, 1416 YI

*Wrielton* 1526 FF

This is a difficult name but, as Professor Ekwall suggests, the first element may be OE wearg-hyll, ‘felon-hill,’ found in Wreighill (PN NbDu s.n.), pronounced [riːhil]. The whole name would mean ‘farm by or on the gallows-hill.’

**Pickering**

1. **Goathland 16 J 9 [goːdlænd]**

*Godeland(ia)* 1108–14 Whitby, 1109–14 YCh 396, 1201, 1205

*ChR*, 1240 Lib

*Golanda* c. 1170–88 YCh 393

*Gotheland(e)* c. 1180 *Add* 4715 f 98 *et freq* to 1408 *For*

*Gothe-, Goðelaund* 1297 YI, 1301 LS

*Goodland* 1497 NRS

*Gotland* 1576 FF

*Goteland* 1577 NRS, 1612 NR

*Goutland* 1613 NR
Goda's land' v. land. The OE pers. n. e Gada here appears to have undergone a Scandinavian sound-change from d to ð (v. IPN 65). For the form Golanda v. IPN 110.

**ALLAN TOPS (6")**

*Aleinetoften 1204 ChR; -toftes 1286 ForP 194
All(l)antoftes 1408 For, 1619 NRS*

'Allen's enclosures' v. topt. The name *Allen*, earlier *Alain*, was brought into England by the Normans; its origin is OFr *Alain*. It enters also into Alain Seat (near Barnoldswick, YWR), Alainesete 13 Kirkst. Allan Tops is the name of a hill on the top of which are a number of ancient enclosures. The alteration of *toft* to *top* is due to the fact that these enclosures are on the top of the hill.

**BLAWATH BECK (6")**

*Blawath 1334 ForP 304 Blawoth 1619 NRS*

'Dark or black ford' v. *blar*, *vað*, bekkr.

**BRAINTWAITE**

*Braghtwaht 1335 ForP 223 d*

'Broad enclosure' v. *breiðr*, *pveit*.

**BROCKA BECK**

*Brocholebec(h) 1109–14 YCh 865*


**ELLER BECK**

*Helrebec 1201 ChR
Ellerbe(c)k 1335 ForP 204 d, 205, 217 d, 1619 NRS*

'Alder stream' v. *elri*, bekkr. The initial *h-* of the first spelling is inorganic.

**HAWTHORN HILL**

*Houghton Hill 1619 NRS*

v. *hyll*. Hawthorn is a corruption of the common *Hutton* or *Hoton* 'farm on the hoh or hill.'
Hunt House

_Huntereshuses_ 1252 YI

_v. hus._ The first element is ME _huntere_, ‘hunter.’

Rudmoor

_Rotemur_ 1334 ForP 304  _Rotymyr_ 1335 ForP 223

From ON _rotinn_ ‘rotten, putrid,’ and _myrr_, later replaced by _mor_. ON _myrr_ would normally become [mœr] in the dialect.

Sil Howe

_Si-, Sylehou_ 1108–14, a. 1133, 1154–89, 1199 Whitby, 1204 ChR, 1314 NRS
_Silhou_ 1308 Whitby  _Sill howes_ 1619 NRS

OE _syle_ ‘miry place’ would hardly suit topographically. We should rather connect the first element with ODan _Sile_ (Nielsen) and OSwed _Sil_ (Lundgren-Brate). ‘Sile’s mound’ _v. haugr_.

Simon Howe (6")

_Simondeshou_ 1335 ForP 206

‘Sigemund’s mound’ _v. haugr_.

Waits House (6")

_don’ le Weyte_ 1296 YI  _Whaytes_ 1322 NRS

The name probably means ‘watch house’ from NFr *wait ‘watch’; cf. NE _wait_ used in the sense of ‘watch’ and Waytail Gate 142 _infra._ _v. hus._ The form _don’_ = Lat. _domus_.

2. Kingthorpe 22 E 14

_Cinadorp_ 1086 DB
_Ki-, Kynthorp(e)_ 1139 RegAlb ii. 11 d, 1198 Fees _et passim_ to 1577 Saxton
_Ki-, Kyn瓚r_ 1176 P (p), c. 1200 For, early 13 _Malton_ 96 d, 1226–8 Fees
_Kynestorp_ 1205 ChR
_Kynethorpe_ 1322 NRS

‘Cyna’s village’ from the OE pers. name _Cyna_ (Redin 47), or ‘royal village’ from OE _cyne_ ‘royal.’ The change from _Kin-_ to _King-_ is due to folk-etymology and parallels are found in Kingthorpe (L) DB _Chinetorp_ and Kingsbury (Wa) DB _Chinesburie_, 1322 BM _Kinesbury._ _v. Ðorp_.

3. Marishes 22 G 14

Marishes parish includes a great part of the very low-lying land in the south of the wapentake and takes its name from the extensive marshes which it embraced till the land was drained. v. merse. These probably included *Aschilesmares, Aschelesmere 1086 DB* (from ON *Askell*), *Chiluesmares, Chiluesmarsc 1086 DB*, *Kilverdesmersh 1152–6 Riev*, *Culverthesmersch 1160 Riev* (cf. *Killerby 103 infra*), *Maxudesmares, Maxudesmersc 1086 DB* (first elements possibly being, as suggested by Dr Lindkvist, the ON pers. n. *Mäkr* (LindN) and wudu), *Odulfesmare, Ouduluesmersc* (from ON *Auaulfr*) and *Theokemaraïs 1189 Riev*, 1252 Ch, -*mar 1201 ChR*, in which the first element is perhaps an unrecorded ON by-name *pjokka* (gen. *pjokku*) ‘thick’; v. LindBN s.n. *pjokkubæinn* ‘thick leg.’ The suffix in some of these forms has been influenced by OFr *marais*.

**Bellyfax Grange**

*Bellyfaxe (pasturis) 1538 Riev*

This name is of peculiar interest as apparently it contains the same final element as Halifax (YWR). This, as Mr Goodall (*PN SWY* s.n.) suggests, is OE *feax* ‘hair,’ used of ‘(a place covered with) shrubs and rough grass,’ a meaning paralleled by Norw dialect *faks* ‘coarse-grass’ and South German *fachs* ‘poor mountain grass.’ This is probably the meaning also in OE *to feaxum* (BCS 880). The material is insufficient to allow of any explanation of the first element.

**Kekmarish (lost)**

*Kekemar(r)ays 1206, 1241 Riev, 1301 LS*  
*Kekmar(r)eyes 1335 ForP 216, 260, 1369 Riev*  
*Kekmaresse 1538 Riev*

‘Kekkja’s marsh’ v. merse. The first element is probably the ON by-name *Kekkja* (LindBN).

4. Newton 22 C 13

*Neuton, Newetone, Newetune(e) 1086 DB, 1242 P*  
‘New farm’ v. *niwe, tun.*
HOWLGATE (6")

Holgate 1335 ForP 235
‘Road through the hollow’ v. hol, gata.

NEWTON Beck and NEWTONdale

Neutonebekke 1240 Riev, Neuton(e)dale 1322 NRS

RUDDINGS (6")

le Ridding 1262 Malton 4 d

SCARF HILL

Scarthougill 1335 ForP 205 d
‘Ravine near the mound in the mountain pass’ v. skarô, haugr, gil. For the cf. Earswick 12 supra.

5. PICKERING 22 E 13

Pickering(a) 1086 DB, 1165 P (p), 1173–88 Riev
Pic(h)rinch 1109–14 YCh 397
Pikeringes 1109–14 RegAlb ii. 12, 1120–5 ib. ii. 10 d, 1138
ib. ii. 11 d, 1234 Cl; Pykerynges 13 Leon 10 d
Pikaringes 1119–35 RegAlb ii. 5 d
Pikering(a-m, -e) 1157 YCh 401, 1157–89 ib. 408, 1160 Riev
et passim
Pekeryng 1579 FF
‘The settlement of Picer and his dependants’ from OE Piceringas. The base of the place-name is an OE pers. name Picer, not adduced in independent use in OE. It is found also as the first element of Pixham (PN Wo 225). v. ing. In the name Pickering there is some evidence for the survival in ME of the OE plur. -ingas.

BIRDGATE (6") [bôrgat]

Burghgate 1408 For
‘Road to the stronghold’ (i.e. Pickering Castle). v. burh, gata.

BLANSBY

Blandebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1335 ForP 219
Blaundebey, -bi 1251 NRS, 1297 YI
Blandesby 1408 For Blansby 1577 Saxton
'Blanda’s farm' v. by. The ON by-name Blanda (gen. Blöndu) is adduced by Lind(BN) and means ‘one who mixes his drinks.’ For Blaundebi cf. Spaunton 61 supra. For Blansby cf. Baldersby 182 infra.

Broates

Brootes, Broettes 1538 Riev

The name occurs elsewhere in the North Riding, in Broats in Dalton 183 infra and as a field-name, and it is the same as the Norw p.n. Braaten (Rygh, NG Indledning 45 and NG passim and particularly i. 17, ii. 116) which is derived from ON brotī ‘a heap of trees felled in a wood’ and so ‘a clearing in a wood.’ Cf. Fenbrotes, Lang(e)brotes, Morbrotes, Smalbrotes, Dunlangabrotes as 13th cent. field-names.

Edymarsh (lost)

Eduemersh, -mersc c. 1160, 1189 Riev
Ediue-, Edyuemersc(h) 1238 Malton 38
Eduemerske 1333 Riev Edymarsh 1619 NRS

‘Edive’s marsh’ from the OE woman’s name Ēadgifu and mersc.

Farwath

Ferwath 1334 ForP 304 farr-, farewath(e) 1619 NRS

Possibly ‘distant ford’ from OE feor ‘far’ and vað. Professor Ekwall would take the first element to be ON færr, ‘easily passable.’

Friar’s Ditch

Freredik 1334 ForP 304 Freeredike 1619 NRS

ME frere ‘friar’ and dic.

Grenegeate

Grenegate 1335 ForP 212

‘Green road’ v. grene, gata.

Gundale

Gundale 1335 ForP 206 d, 1619 NRS Gonddale 1503 NRS

‘Gunni’s valley’ v. dæl. ON Gunní is found also in Gunby (YER), Gunnebi DB.
Killing Nab Scar (6")

*Killyngnебbesker* 1335 *ForP* 213 d

On the first element *v.* Lindkvist 201, note 5. The probability is that *Killing* is a pers. name derived from ON *Kyle* (LindBN). *Nab* is ME *nebbe, nab* ‘projecting point of a hill’ (ultimately from OE *nebb* ‘beak’). The final element is ON *sker* ‘rock.’

**Little Dale**

*Liteldale* c. 1180–1212 YCh 394

Self-explanatory.

**Midsyke Drain**

*Midsic(h), -syk* c. 1160, 1189 Riev

‘Middle stream’ from OE *midd* and sic.

**Pickering Beck**

*aqua de Pykeringe* c. 1180–1212 YCh 394, etc.

*v. bekkr*.

**Pickering Vale**

*valle de Pykerynge* 1248 Whitby

*Vale* is from OFr *val* ‘valley’ (cf. Rievaulx supra).

**Potterhill** (6")

*Potterhill* 1408 For

OE *potere* ‘potter’ and hyll.

**Rawcliff**

*Rouclif, -clyff* 1334 *ForP* 304, 1408 For

*Rocliffe* 1619 NRS

This is probably the same as Rawcliffe (Bulm) 15 supra.

**Saintoft**

*Centoftdikes* 1335 *ForP* 213 d, (-heued) ib. 235

*Sentoftheued* 1335 *ForP* 254

Probably ‘clearing caused by burning’ *v.* topt. The first element is identical with that of Sundridge (K), OE *sænget hryg* BCS 506, Syntley (PN Wo 36) and St Chloe (Gl), being a noun-derivative of OE *sengan* ‘to burn.’
WARDLE RIGG [wɔːdrɛlɪg]
  Waldalerigg 1252 YI
  Possibly 'ridge above the valley of the Welshmen' v. w(e)ala, dæl, hrycg.

WATERPOOL (6")
  Wadelespole 1335 ForP 211 d
  'Wædel's pool' v. pol. This contains an OE pers. name Wædel recorded in the form Wadell as the holder (TRE) of Wadelscota, now Waddlestone (D) in Lew Trenchard. It is found also in Woodluston (Sa), Wadelestun DB, and in a weak form in Wattlehurst (Sr), earlier Wadlehurst. The modern spelling is due to folk-etymology.

YATTS (6")
  Yates 1335 ForP 237 d  Yattes 1497 NRS
  v. geat.

Thornton Dale

1. THORNTON DALE 22 E 14
  Torentun(e), Torentona 1086 DB
  Thornetun, -ton 1157–8 YCh 402, (in vallem de Pykerynge)
  1248 Whitby et passim
  With the same run of forms and meaning as Thornton Bridge 24 supra. The suffix Dale refers to the valley in which the village stands.

DALBY and DALBY BECK
  Dalbi, -by 1086 DB, 1408 For, (rivulum de) 1619 NRS
  Daleby 1251 NRS, 1279 YI
  Dawby 1500 NRS
  'Valley farm' v. dæl, by and Dalby (Bulm) 29 supra.

ELLERBURN
  Elreburne 1086 DB, 1225 Ebor
  Elrebrune 1086 DB
  Elraburna 1145–53 Leon 35
  Alrebrune 1155–67 YCh 380, Hy 2 Leon 4 d
  Ellebrone c. 1200 For; -burn(e) 1227 Pat, 1231 Ebor
  Ellerburn(e) 1252 Ebor, 1275 YI et passim
'Alder stream' v. elri, burna. There is indecision in the early forms between OE alor and ON elrir and between OE burna and ON brunnr. All these forms have their parallels in Y. In the light of the early forms quoted this place cannot be identical with OE æt Helifyrnum (ASC 778 E). Cf. Brandl Festschrift i. 48 on this identification.

Elliker (6°)

Helaghker 1335 ForP 208

'Marsh near the high forest-clearing' v. kjarr and cf. Healey 232 infra.

Farmanby

Farmanesbi 1086 DB
Farmanesbi, -by 1155–65 Whitby, 1210 Dugd iv. 318
Farmanby Hy 2 Leon 4 d, 1155–67 YCh 380 et passim
Feremannebi 1170 P
Feramanneby 1225 Ebor, 1242 P, 1280 Ass
Faremanby 1231 Ebor

'Farman's farm' v. by. The ON pers. name Farmann, ODan Farman appears in OE as Fareman, the name of the priest who glossed the Rushforth Gospel of St John, and in ME as Fareman (12 Easby 13).

Flax Dale

Flaxdale 1334 ForP 252 d Flaxedale 1619 NRS

'Flak's valley' or 'valley where flax is grown' v. fleax, dæl. On the first element v. Flaxton 37 supra.

Heck Dale

Ekkedale 1335 ForP 252 d

v. dæl. The first element is probably ME hekk. v. hæcc.

Kettlethorpe (lost)

Chetelestorp 1086 DB, c. 1250 Malton 118

'Ketill's village' v. porp. A common Scand pers. name.

Lidyate Way (6°)

Lydeyate 1335 ForP 222 d Lidgate 1619 NRS

v. hlid-geat.
Newstead

*Neustede* 1335 ForP 260
*Newstede in lex Marres* 1534 Riev

'New place' v. *niwe, stede*. Newstead is in Pickering Marishes. *Marres* is from Fr *marais* 'marsh.'

Roxby [r3uzbi]

*Rozebi, Rosebi* 1086 DB
*Roucesby* 1250 Fees (p), 1301 LS, 1335 ForP 207, 253 d, 1408 For
*Roxbie* 1577 Saxton

'Rauth's farm' from the ON pers. name *Rauðr* (LindN) and by. Cf. Roxby (LangE) 139 *infra*. The spelling *Rox-* is due partly to influence of genuine Roxbys (from ON *Hrókr*) and partly to an inverted spelling arising from the change of ME *x* to *z*, which has confused the spelling of *z* from other sources in the dialect, cf. Moxby 29 *supra* and Coxwold 191 *infra*.

Selley Bridge

*Selibrigg* 1301 LS *Selybrygge* 1349 NRS

'Bridge by the willows' v. *brycg*. The first element is ON *selja* 'willow.' A field in this district was called *Seliflat* in 1201 ChR.

Thornton Beck

*Thorntonebech* 1167–79 Riev, etc.

2. Wilton 23 F 1

*Wiltun(e)* 1086 DB, 1247 Dugd iv. 276, 1247 Ch
*Wilton(e)* 1167 P, 1180 YCh 610 et passim
*Willetton* 1301 LS

There is another Wilton in LangW 159 *infra*, which is found in DB as *Wiltuna* and *Widtuna*. Bishop's Wilton in YER also has a form *Widtone* in DB. These forms suggest that the true form of the name at the time of DB was *Wildetuna*, in which presumably the first element is the common adj. *wild*, referring to the original state of the site. Cf. Wildon (193 *infra*) and the use of Wildbrook (twice in Sussex) to describe marshy uncultivated land, a name going back to medieval times.
Lockton

1. Lockton 22 C 14

Lochetun 1086 DB
Loketon 1167 P et passim to 1303 KF
Lokeintun 1170–88 YCh 398
Lokin-, Lokytont(e) 1198, 1250 Fees, 1322 NRS
Locinton 1226–8 Fees
Locatun c. 1250 Malton 118
Lok-, Loction(e) 1285 KI et passim to 1577 FF

‘Loca’s farm’ v. ingtun. The name Loca is a weak form of the OE pers. name Loc adduced by Ekwall (PN in -ing 70). Derivation from a pers. name explains the forms Lokinton (from an OE by-form Lokingtun, by the side of Locantun). Cf. also Lockington (YER), Lochetun DB, Lokyntong 1285 KI, 1316 Vill.

CROSSDALE

Crossedale 1335 ForP 216, 253
Self-explanatory. v. cros, dæl.

HORCUM, HOLE OF HORCUM [ɔ:kəm]

Hotcumbe c. 1250 NRS
Holcumbe 1322 NRS
Horcumbe, Horcombe 1326, 1619 NRS
Horkome 1500 NRS

The first two spellings are probably erratic; the first is not supported by the later forms and the second would have become modern [ɔukəm]. The first element is probably identical with that of Urra 70 supra. v. horh, cumb. Horcum is at the head of a very deep valley.

SALTERGATE

Saltergate 1335 ForP 211, 214, 1619 NRS

v. gata. The road referred to is that over the moors from Pickering to Whitby. The first element is OE saltere ‘a salter’ which occurs in other place-names. Cf. the full account of these names in PNWo 4 ff. Note also Saltergate near Harrogate (YWR) and Salterhebble near Halifax (cf. RNY s.n. Hebble).
Mr W. B. Crump suggests to me that many of the Salter-names in YWR and La probably indicate roads along which salt was carried from the Cheshire mines. In the North Riding the name is possibly connected with the salt (or alum) mined in the Cleveland district (cf. Saltburn, etc. 143 infra).

**Staindale**

*Staindal* 1185-95 YCh 392  
‘Rocky valley’ v. steinn, dæl.

**Thack Sike (6")**

*Taksyk* 1335 ForP 204 d  *Thaksyk* 1335 ForP 205  
v. sic. The first element is ON þakk ‘thatch’ (cf. Thackthwaite Beck 266 infra). ‘Stream by which thatching material grew.’

**Levisham**

1. **Levisham** 22 C 14 [liusæm, levisæm]  
*Leuæcen, Lewecen* 1086 DB  
*Leuæzhæm* 13 Malton 116 d, c. 1230 ib. 117, 1226–1257 Ch,  
c. 1250 NRS  
*Leuæsam, Leuesam* 1231 Malton 29 d  
*Leu-, Levæshæm* 1242 P et passim to 1619 NRS  
*Leuæscem* 1250 Malton 118  
*Leuæshæm* c. 1250 Malton 118  
*Levest-, Leuæszæm* 1252 YI  
*Levishæm* 1289 Ebor, 1297 YI  
*Levesam* 1301 LS  
*Leveyshæm, Leuæsam* 1577 FF  
*Leas(h)æm* 1577 Saxton, 1610 Speed  

The DB spellings and others with z, sc, st, and sz show that the name is of the same origin as Ledsham (Ch), *Leuætesham* DB, ‘Lœofgœat’s homestead’ v. ham. The spelling *Leuæshæm* has been influenced by ON heimr.

**Hawdale (6")**

*Haghdæle* 1335 ForP 223 d  
‘Enclosure-valley’ v. haga, dæl.
Ness Head (6")

_Undernesheued_ 1335 _ForP_ 223 d

‘Under the promontory head’ _v._ næs, heafod.

Rhumbard Snout (6")

_Rumboldlyngeweit_ 1335 _ForP_ 255

The preit must have been near the snout. The first element is a pers. name _Rumbeald_ and the second is _lyng_.

Yorfalls

_Yorcfal_ 1335 _ForP_ 255

Yorfalls was an enclosure in the Forest of Pickering. The second element is ON fall, ‘place where trees have been felled.’ The first is possibly adopted from the city of York or, as Dr Lindkvist suggests, may be the ON pers. name _jórekr_.

_Allerston_

1. **Allerston** 23 F 2 [claston]

_Alurestan, -stain, Aluristan_ 1086 DB

_Alvestain, -stein_ 1154–74 YCh 387, 1160 Riev, 1167 P, 1227 FF, 1233 Cl

_Al(l)verstain, -stain, -steyn, -stein_ 1086 DB, c. 1190–1214

_YCh_ 389, _et freq_ to 1335 _ForP_ 252

_Alverstan(e) 1219 Ass, et freq_ to 1335 _ForP_ 214 d

_Auverstan_ 1259 Ass _Alvestane_ 1322 NRS

Some of the early spellings have _tun_ in the second element:

_Aluvestune_ 1086 DB _Alvestan, -tun_ 1160 Riev, 1218 FF

Later forms include:

_Allerstane_ 1285 _Kl_ 1, 1408 _For_

_Alistan_ 1316 Vill _Allestan_ 1329 Ch

_Allerston, Allarston_ 1518 FF, 1577 NRS, 1665 Visi

_Ollerston_ 1577 Saxton

The original form of the name seems to have been OE _Ælfheresstan_ ‘Ælfhere’s stone’ _v._ stan. Forms like _Alve-_ (with loss of _-r_) may represent a pet form _Ælf_ or a substitution of ON _Alfr_ (LindN).
The second element fluctuates between OE stan and ON steinn. OE tun in the second element appears to be of early origin. The best explanation of this is to suppose that at an early date a farmstead was built in the neighbourhood of the *stan* and Ælfhere’s name was applied to it also. *v.* tun.

**Allerston Beck**

*Alvestain(e)bec 1189 Riev Aluerstanbek 1335 ForP 260, etc.*

**Blakey Moor, Blakey Topping**

*Blakehou 1223 FF Blakhouloundes 1335 ForP 210 d Blakay more 1577 Saxton*  
‘Black mound’ *v.* *blæc, haugr, lundr.*

**Craikethorn (6")**

*Craikethorn 1218 FF*  

**Cross Cliff**

*Crosseclif, -clyff 1335 ForP 205, 217 d*  
*v.* cros, clif. The reference may be to some cross used as a boundary mark.

**Derwent Head (6")**

*Derewentspring(es) 1201 ChR, 1335 ForP 213*  
‘The source(s) of the river Derwent’ *v.* spring.

**Givendale [gi:ndil]**

*Gindala 1160 YCh 386, c. 1160 Riev Geveldale 1227 FF, 1301 LS (p) Geuendale 1231 FF Gwynendale 1323 NRS Gyndale 1500, 1619 NRS Geyndell al. Gyuendale 1536 FF*  
This name possibly derives from a lost river *Gifle* found in Ivel (PN BedsHu 8), with Northern velar *g*. Cf. Zachrisson in NoB xiv. 52 f. on Givendale (YER). If so, we must explain the numerous *n*-forms as due to common AN confusion of *n* and *l* (cf. IPN 108).
LOFT MARISHES

Loctemares, -mersc 1086 DB
Loftmarays 1241 RegAlb ii. 13  Loftmarreys 1335 ForP 260
Loftemarres 1301 LS

'Marsh near the loft' v. loft, merse. The DB Locte- probably indicates that the bilabial quality of ON *p (= f) was preserved to a certain extent in the Anglo-Scand dialect of Y.

MAY MOSS

Mawemose 1335 ForP 205 d

v. mos 'a peat bog.' The first element is perhaps the ON by-name Magi (LindBN), which appears in ME as Mawe c. 1100 (Danelaw Ch 37) and Maue c. 1245 (Selby Cart. i. 374).

MOOR HOWE (6")

Morhou 1154-74 YCh 387
v. mor, haugr

WATER FLASH

Flashes 1335 ForP 204 d

'Water pools' v. flashe.

YARNA BECK (6")

Yarnolfbek 1324 NRS, 1335 ForP 216 d
Yorney beck 1619 NRS

'Yarnolf's stream' from ON jarnólfr (LindN) and bekkr.

Ebberston

1. Ebberston 23 F 2

Edbristun(e) 1086 DB
E-, Ædbric(h)teston 1163, 1167 P (p), 1167, 1187 P
Edbriston 1185-95 YCh 390, 1219 Malton 130 d, 1301 LS
Edbreston 1254 RegAlb ii. 17, 1259 Ass
Ehreston(a) 1114-9 YCh 371, et freq to 1359 FF
Ebriston(e) 1202 FF, 1322 NRS
Eberston 1316 Vill, 1408 For

'Eadbriht's farm' from OE Eadbriht and tun.
Bickley

_Biggelea_ 1185 P
_Bickele_ 1326 NRS
_Bikle_ 1335 ForP 252 _Byklay_ 1408 For _Byckley_ 1566 FF

‘Bica’s forest clearing’ _v._ leah. The first element is the OE _Bica_ (Redin 85). For _-gg-_ cf. Wigginton 14 _supra._

Deep Dale

_Depedale_ 1335 ForP 215 _d_

Self-explanatory.

Little Marish (6")

_Littlemersk_ 1247 Dugd iv. 276

_v._ lytel, mersc.

Stockland

_Sto(c)k(e)lund_ 1335 ForP 219 _d_, 257 _d_

‘Wood from which trees have been cut (leaving only the stocks)’ _v._ stocc, lundr

Welldale Beck, Ho

_Queldale_ 1322 NRS _Weledale_ 1335 ForP 291

_v._ hweol, _dæl_. The sense in which OE _hweol_ is here used is not clear. In Wheeldale 131 _infra_ it certainly refers to the circular course which the valley takes. There are in this neighbourhood a number of dikes and the meaning of _hweol_ may be ‘circular dike’ (cf. Ekwall, _PN La_ 132, s.n. Wheelton).

Brompton

1. BROMPTON 23 F 4 [brumptan, bromptan]

_Brunton(e)_ 1086 DB, c. 1170 Riev
_Brunton_ 1086 DB, _et freq_ to 1665 Visit
_Birunton’_ 1167 P
_Brumton’_ 1219 Ass, 1245 Malton 41 _d_, 1301 _YI_
_Brumpton(e)_ 1253 Ch, _et freq_ to 1399 _YI_
_Brompton(e)_ 1285 _KI et passim_
The name Brompton occurs elsewhere in the Riding and in YER as Potter Brompton, Bruneton DB, (Potter)-brumton 1285 KI, 1306 Bridl. Most of the early spellings have Brun- and to explain this we must suppose either that the ME nasal sign ’ or − should be interpreted as m and not n (as is usually done) or that n later became m, a change which is unlikely before t. The reverse process is more probably correct and if we take the first element as being originally Brum- we can explain the n forms as due to the influence of the following t. A similar change of m to n at an early date is found in Bromley (K), OE Bromleag BCS 506, Brunlei in DB, and Bromley (St), OE Brom-leage, c. 1096 FW, but Brunlege DB.

The origin and meaning of the first element are open to speculation, but the most likely explanation is the OE word brom ‘broom,’ which enters with certainty into many English place-names, such as the two Bromleys already noticed, Brumdon (Do), Bromdun KCD 1322, Broomhope, Broomley (PN NbDu s.n.), etc. The word seems to have become brum at an early date, as shown by the spellings of Broomley (Nb, Brunleg 1255) and the two Bromleys. If this is correct Brompton means ‘enclosed piece of land overgrown with gorse’ v. brom, tun and cf. Brampton 180 infra.

Row Howes

Ruchou c. 1242 Malton 141
‘The rough mound’ v. ruh, haugr.

Sawdon [sɔːdɔn]
Salden(e) early 13 Malton 138 d, et passim to 1562 FF
Sawden 1569 FF
Sawdon 1570, 1578 FF Saudon 1577 Saxton
‘Willow valley’ v. s(e)alh, denu.

2. Snainton 23 F 3 [sneːəntɔn]
Snechintun(e), -ton(e) 1086 DB, Snechint’ 1166 P (p)
Sneing-, Sneyston 13 Percy, 1237 Malton 41
Snain-, Snaynton 13 Malton 137, 1204 Ass et passim
Sneyston 1304 BM, 1335 ForP 252
Snenton 1577 Saxton
No satisfactory solution of this name can be offered.
DARNCOMBE

_Dernecombe_ 1335 _ForP_ 252

‘Hidden valley’ _v._ _d(i)erne, cumb._ This is quite apt.

Foulbridge [foubrig]

_Fuchebruge_ 1178 _P_  _Fuchkebrige_ 1179 _P_

_Fulkebrig(e)_ 1182, 1184 _P_

_Fukbrigg_ 1285 _KI, 1325_ _Ipm_  _Foukebrigge_ 1301 _Ebor_

_Foulbrigg_ 1577 _Saxton_

_v._ _brycg._ The local pronunciation of the name presupposes
an original _-ul-_ in the first element (_v._ _Introduction_ xxxii), which
is probably the pers. name _Fulk._ This is _OEScand_ _Fulke_ (Lund-
gren-Brate), cognate with _OWScand_ _Folki_ (_LindN_). If the
original form were _ON_ _Folki_ it has been influenced by the
Norman name _Fulk_ (1124 _ASC_), which was a loan from _OHG_ _Fulco._ The name enters also into _Folkton_ (YER), _Fulcheton_ DB, and _Fulkeholm_ 1208 _ChR_, in _Thornton le Beans._

Wydale [widil]

_Wyddale_ c. 1242 _Malton_ 141

‘Wood-valley’ _v._ _viør, dalr,_ and cf. _Widdale_ 267 _infra._

3. _Trouts Dale_ 23 D 3 [tru:tsdil]

_Trusstal_ 1086 _DB_

_Trucadal(e)_ 1314 _Percy, 1335_ _ForP_ 206 _d, 1619_ _NRS_

_Trowt(t)esdale, Troutesdale_ 1497 _NRS, 1562_ _FF, 1619_ _NRS,_

_1665_ _Visit_

‘Trut’s valley’ _v._ _dæl._ It is reasonable to suppose that _Trut_
is from the ON by-name _Trútr,_ gen. _Trúts_ (_LindBN_). The
early spellings with _z, c_ represent the ON gen. form _-s_ (_v._
_Haxby_ 14 _supra_).

Backleys (6")

_Baklaus_ 1335 _ForP_ 252

The forms are too few for any satisfactory explanation.

William’s Cross (6")

_cruce_ Willelmi 1335 _ForP_ 207 _d_

_v._ _cros_ and _William Howes_ 81 _supra._
Wykeham

1. **Wykeham** 23 E 4 [waikəm]

   *Wicam* 1086 DB
   *Wic-, Wi-, Wykham* 1086 DB, c. 1125–35 YCh 762 et passim to 1408 *For*
   *Wicheham* c. 1180 Whitby  *Wi-, Wyckham* 1201 Dugd v. 670, 1286 Ebor, 1301 LS, 1665 *Visit*
   *Wykkam* 1244 *Fees*, *Wickeham* 1295 YD
   *Wykeham* 1285 KI, 1375 FF
   *Wyc-, Wykam* 1328 Banco, 1423 Test

   v. wicham. The significance of the first element here is not clear.

**Barley (6")**

   *Berlagh* 1335 *ForP* 209 d, 210, 210 d

   ‘Forest clearing used for growing barley’ v. bere, leah.

**Beedale** [biːdɪl]

   *Boddale* c. 1153 Dugd v. 670  *Bodale* 1259 Ass
   *Budells* 1619 NRS

   The phonetic history of the name is parallel to that of Beadlam 67 *supra*, and the original vowel must have been ð. The first element is perhaps ODan boð. Hence, ‘booth-valley.’

**Hipperley**

   *Hepperle*, *HiPERle* 1335 *ForP* 210, 210 d

   The first element of this name is undoubtedly identical with the p.n. Hipperholme (YWR), *Hy-, HipERum* DB, 1266 YI, 1286 WCR. There is a dialect word hipper ‘osiers used in basket making’ adduced from La, but its origin is obscure. v. leah.

**Langdale**

   *Lang(e)dale* 1335 *ForP* 207

   ‘Long valley’ v. lang, dæl.
THE PARK

_Ludeparc_ c. 1190–9 YCh 381

‘Luda’s park’ *p(e)arroc.* Cf. the pers. name _Luda_ (Redin 67).

RUSTON

_Rostun(e) _1086 DB, 1208 Ass (p)
_Ruston_ 1167 P, 1393, 1450 Test
_Roston(a) _c. 1190–9 YCh 381, 1226–8 Fees *et passim* to 1408 _For_
_Royston_ 1287 Ipm

Professor Ekwall suggests that this name contains OE _hröst_, ‘roof-beam,’ but the sense of the compound is obscure. *v.* _tun._

HIGH (LOW) WOOF HOWE (tumuli)

_Woulfhow_ 13 Whitby  _Wolfhow_ 1446 Whitby
_Wulhow, North-_ , _Southewulfehow_ 1619 NRS

‘Wolf-mound’ *v.* _wulf_, _haugr._

Hutton Buscel

1. WEST AYTON 23 E 5 [jætən]

_Aton(e) _1086 DB
_Aton(e, -a) _1200–10 Whitby *et passim* to 1385 YD
_Vestheton_ 1393 Test
_Ayton_ 1555 BM, 1562 FF

‘River-farm’ *v.* _a, tun, and cf. Norw _Aaby_ (Rygh, _NG_ ii. 158). West Ayton, like East Ayton _infra_, is on the river Derwent: _Aton’ ex parte occident. aque_ (1408 _For_).

PRESTON ING (6")

_Preste-enge _1323 Whitby

*v.* _preost, eng._ The land here was in the possession of Whitby Abbey. The modern form arises from association with the neighbouring Preston Hill _infra_.

YEDMANDALE [jedmændil]

_Yedmundale _1335 _ForP_ 209 d

*v.* _dæl_. The first element is the OE pers. name _Eadmund_. On the _y-_ form _v._ Yearsley 193 _infra_.
2. Hutton Bushell (Buscel) 23 E 5

*Hotun(e)* 1086 DB, and with the same run of forms as for Sheriff Hutton 31 *supra*. The suffix appears as *Bussalle* 1280 Ebor, *Bussel(l)* 1282 Ebor, *Buscel(l)* 1284 YI, *Bus(s)hell* 1493 Test

*v. hoh, tun.* It was held in the 12th and 13th cents. by the family of Bushell (*v. YCh 371, Whitby *passim*).

**Preston Hill (6")**

*Presteton, Prestetune* 1086 DB *Preston* 1259 Ass *et passim* ‘Priests’ farm’ *v. preost, tun.*

**West Croft (6")**

*Westcroft* 1135–55 YCh 373

Self-explanatory.

**Seamer**

1. East Ayton 23 E 5

*Atun(e)* 1086 DB

Forms as for West Ayton 100 *supra*.

**Hill Grips (6")**

*Ildegrif* 1086 DB

*Hildegrif(e)* 1086 DB, 1303 Percy

*Hildegrippe* c. 1260–70 Bodl 123.

The DB names have usually been identified with Hilla Green in Hackness but the other references here given and the fact that in DB *Hildegrip* is mentioned between *Iretune* (Irton *infra*) and *Atune* (East Ayton) seem to show that the place referred to was in East Ayton. Hill Grips is, therefore, more likely.

The first element is OE *Hild* (f). The second element is probably connected with ME *grip* ‘furrow, ditch,’ cf. OE *grype* and MDu *grippe*.

2. Irtton 23 E 6 [*orton*]

*Iretun(e)* 1086 DB, 1170 P

*I-, Yrtton(a)* c. 1223 Whitby *et passim*

*Hi-, Hyrton(a)* c. 1223 Whitby, 1244 Percy, 1301 LS

*Urton* 1572 FF
'The Irishman's or Irishmen's farm' v. tun. The first element is the ON fri, gen. sg. or pl. Tra, used of a Scandinavian who had been in Ireland. v. Introduction xxvii.

3. Seamer 23 E 6

Semr 1086 DB
Semere(e) 1086 DB et passim to 1534 Bodl i. 84
Samale, -mara 1090–6 YCh 855, 13 Percy, c. 1200 Whitby, 1224 Pat
Semr(e, -a) 1155–65 Whitby, c. 1160 BylE 22 d et passim to 1529 NCyWills

Cf. Seamer (LangW) 172 infra, and Semer (Sf), Semere (Nf), always with mere. The first element is OE sœ ‘sea, lake.’ The second is OE mere ‘pool.’ The significance of the name is not clear; in fact there is some doubt as to the meaning of the individual elements and apparently there is some confusion between OE mere ‘pool’ and ON marr. But it seems possible that, as Gothic sai-w-s meant ‘marsh’ (besides ‘sea’) and the cognate OHG gi-sig meant ‘ponds, marshes,’ the OE word sœ could also mean ‘marsh’ in addition to ‘sea, lake.’ What makes it likely that the element is OE mere is the fact that a piece of land SW of the village is called The Mere and judging from the number of drains running in various directions across it it has every appearance of having formerly been a pool. If we start with ON marr as the original form it is hardly possible to explain the -mere forms which appear in the 13th cent. Whereas if we start with mere, the earlier -mær, -mar forms can be explained as due to an ONb by-form mær (v. EPN s.v. mere). ‘Marshy pool,’ probably indicating ‘a partially drained pool.’

Crumb Carr (6")

Crumker 1337 Percy
‘Crooked marsh’ v. crumb, kjarr.

Raincliffe

Ramescliu 1170–80 YCh 412
Ravenesclifi(e) 13 Percy, 1252 Pat; -clive 1252 NRS
Raveneclyff c. 1250 Whitby
Ravenclyf 1335 ForP 209 d, 1337 Percy
Rancleiff 1405 Pat Reyn-, Raynclyf(e) 1461, 1475 Pat
'Raven's cliff' v. clif. The ON pers. name Hrafn had various forms for the gen., Hrafns, Hramnes, Hrams (LindN), and it is from the latter that the first spelling Rames- is derived.

Cayton

1. Cayton 23 E 7
   Caitun(e), Caimton(a) 1086 DB
   Chaituna a. 1087 Whitby
   C-, Kaiton(a), C-, Kayton 12 Dods vii. 146 et passim

'Cæga's farm' v. tun. For the OE pers. name Cæga v. IPN 180 and PN BedsHu 15, 147. Cf. also Cayton (YWR), Caitun etc. 12 YCh (passim).

Deepdale

Depedale (-am) 1086 DB et passim to 1572 FF
Dipedall' 1242 P Deepdale 1555 BM

'Deep valley' v. deop, dæl.

Killerby

Chilveretebi, Chiluertesi 1086 DB
Kilverdebi, -by 1155-65 Whitby, 1231 Ass
Kilwardby 13 BylE 20 d
Kilwardeby 1247 Ch
Kelwardeby 13 Percy
Ki-, Kylward(e)by 1285 KI et freq to 1487 FF
Kilwerbye 1572 FF

The first element is without doubt identical with the pers. name Chiluert which is found in DB. It enters into Kilverstone (Nf), and a lost Kuluertesuna, Culuerdestuna (DB) in Colneis Hundred (Sf), one of the forms of Marishes 84 supra, Killerby 245 infra, Killerwick (PN La 205), and a lost Killerby in Lei (IPN 86). Björkman (NP 81, ZEN 54, Loanwords 25) supposes that it is a hybrid pers. name of which the themes are ON Ketill (frequently reduced in Scand dithematic names to Kil-) and the common OE theme -weard. The persistence of -verd forms, however, may occasion some doubt as to the correctness of Björkman's suggestion, and one may suggest that

1 A detached part of Whitby Strand Wapentake.
the name is from an OE compound name Ceolfrīþ, Ceolferð, composed of the very common themes Ceol- and -frīþ, or an ON name *Ketilferð composed of the themes Ketill- and -ferð. Later forms however show confusion with OE -weard. v. by.

OSGOODBY

Asgozbi 1086 DB
Angotby c. 1160 BylE 22 d
Angoteby 1206 FF, 1247 Ch, 1268 Ebor
Osgotby c. 1160 BylE 22 d, 1285 KI, 1301 LS, 1408 For
Osgodebi c. 1170, 1252, 1333 Riev
Osgoby 1301 LS (p) et passim
Osgarby 1577 NRS

‘Asgaut’s farm’ v. by. The first element is the ON pers. name Asgautr, on the various forms of which v. NP 14 ff. Forms with An- are due to AN substitution of a continental form, and those with Os- to the substitution of the OE pers. name-theme Os- which was cognate with ON Ás-.

2. GRISTHORPE 23 F 8 [gris0rørp]

Grisetorp 1086 DB
Gris-, Grysthorp(p) 1175-89 YCh 370 et freq
Gri-, Grysethorp 1181 BylE 103 d et freq

‘Gris’s village’ v. ðorp. The first element is the ON pers. name Griss, from ON griss ‘a pig,’ found also in Grishwaite and Girsby 186, 280 infra.

ETERSTORPE (lost)

Eterstorp 1086 DB

The first element is a pers. n., possibly ON Eitri (LindN), found also as the first element of Eiresghilebec (13 Riev) in Middleton in Teesdale (Du). v. ðorp.

NEWBIGGIN

Niwebigginge 1187, 1190 P etc.

‘New building’ v. niwe, bigging.

ROBERTHORPE (lost)

Rodebestorp, Roudeluestorp 1086 DB Rodberthorp 1328 Banco

The evidence is too conflicting for any certainty to be possible.
SCAWTHORPE (lost)

Scagestorp, Scagetorp 1086 DB

'Skagi's village' v. porp. Cf. ON Skagi (LindBN), ODan Skaghi (Nielsen).

3. LEBBERSTON 23 F 8

Ledbestun, Ledbestun 1086 DB
Ledbrihtun 1181 BylE 103 d
Ledbreston(a) 1190-1227, 1251 Riev
Ledbriston 1206 FF
Ledbriston 1208 FF, 1251 Ch
Ledberstona 1257 Riev
Lebreston 1285 KI, 1301 LS, 1303 KF, 1408 For
Lyberston 1550 FF

'Leod briht's farm' from OE Léodbeorht adduced only in ONb and tun.

Scarborough

1. SCARBOROUGH 23 D 6, 7

Escardeburg 1155-63 YCh 364, 1256 Pat
Scardeburc(h), -burg 1159-1190 P (passim) et passim to 1505
Scardeborc c. 1200 For
Scartheburg(h) 1208 Ass et freq
Scarburgh 1414 Test Scarbrugh 1538 Riev
Scarborough 1573 FF

The name also appears in Scandinavian Sagas as

Skardaborg Kormakssaga, Flateyarbok; Skardabork Orkneyingasaga

'Skarthi's stronghold' v. burh (ON borg). The history of this name is fully dealt with in a paper by Professor E. V. Gordon in *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, i. 320 ff. The following is a summary of Professor Gordon's account of the foundation of the borough.

Kormakssaga tells us that "the brothers Thorgils and Kormak went harrying in Ireland, Wales, England and Scotland, and were accounted the most excellent of men. They were the first men to set up the stronghold which is called Scarborough"
(Kormaks Saga, Reykjavik, p. 64). It seems probable that the place takes its name from Thorgils, for we know from two poems which his brother Kormak addresses to him under his by-name (op. cit. 44, 45) that he was nick-named Skarði 'the hare lip.' This account of the foundation of Scarborough must have been widely known, for Robert Mannyng of Brunne (The Story of Inglande, ed. Furnivall, Rolls Series, ii. ll. 14816 ff.) gives the summary of a story told by Mayster Edmund (not extant):

When Engle had þe londe al þorow,
He gaf to Scardyng Scardeburghe—
Toward þo northe, by þe see side,
An hauene hit is, schipes in to ryde.

The date of Thorgils' harrying of England can be approximately determined. According to the saga, the brothers had joined the service of king Harald Gráfeld of Norway (king 960–965) and had accompanied his expedition to Bjarmaland (= Permia in North Russia) which took place in 966, and as the expedition to England took place immediately after this and as Kormak died in 967, the foundation of Scarborough as a centre of Scandinavian influence dates from 966–7.

Burton Dale (6")

Burtondale(e) 1210 Dugd iv. 319, 1298 YI, 1329 Percy
v. burhtun, dæl.

Dumple Street, a street (6")

the Dompyll 1500 Test

This name should be compared with Dumplington (PN La 38) which Professor Ekwall derives from an unrecorded OE dympla 'a small dent in the earth,' cf. OHG dumphiolo. The word is probably the origin of the English word dimple, the earliest recorded sense of which is 'a small hollow in a plump

1 Among Scarborough street-names, in addition to Dumple St supra, we may note Cartergate (id. 1252 Riev) and Sandgate (id. 1333 Riev, Portum Sabulonis (ib), 'Carter's road' (v. gata) and 'road to the sands.' Newbrough St takes its name from the Novo Burgo (1333 Riev), referring probably to Scarborough Castle.
part of the human body’ (NED from 1400). The later meaning ‘a dip in the surface of the earth,’ judging from the cognate words, is in reality probably earlier. The actual word *dumple* found in this place-name is hardly a direct descendant of OE *dympla*, but must be from an unmutated OE *dumpel* from a Germanic base *dump-; cf. ON *dump* ‘pit, pool,’ Germ dialect *dumpf, dümpel* ‘a deep place in flowing or stagnant water’ (Grimm), and the modern dialect (YNR) *dump* ‘a deep hole in the bed of a river or pond’ (Atkinson, *Cleveland Glossary*), *dumble* (Nt) ‘stream with steep sides.’

**Falsgrave** [fɔːzɡrɪf]

- *Wallsgrif, Walesgrip* 1086 DB
- *Walesgraue, -grave* 1169, 1190 P et freq to 1619 NRS
- *Hwallisgrave* 1170 Riev
- *Hwalleesgraue* 1181 BylE 103 d, 1334 ForP 318
- *Walegrave* 1175–89 YCh 370
- *Wallesgrave* 1201 ChR, 1228 Lib, 1275, 1298 YI, 1312 Ch
- *Walegrave* 1231 Fees *Whalegrave* 1237 Cl
- *Quallegrave* 1242 P
- *Whallesgrave* 1259 Ass, 1304 Abbr, 1312 ForP 377 d, 1487 FF
- *Walsgrave* 1575 FF, 1577 Saxton
- *Faulesgrave* 1568 FF

*v. gryfja* ‘pit,’ cf. Griff Farm and Stonegrave 54, 73 *supra*. The first element is the ON pers. name *Hvalr*, gen. *Hvals* (LindN). The change of *hw- to f- is peculiar, but is probably due to over-aspiration, in the same way as in some Scottish and Northern Irish dialects *what* has become ‘fat.’

**Sandpits (6")**

- *Sandepittes* 1298 YI

*v. sand, pyt*. There is a large number of sand-holes in the parish.

**Scalby**

1. **Burniston** 23 B 6 [bɔnɪstɔn]

- *Brinctun, Brinninston, -tun* 1086 DB
- *Brinigstun* 1091–5 YCh 863, 1109–14 YCh 865
- *Brinigstona* 1185–95 YCh 369
Brineston(a) 1108–14, 1145–8, 1155–65 Whitby, 1314, 1322 NRS
Bruneston 1150–60 Whitby
Bernestona 1161–84 Whitby
Bri-, Bryningeston(a) 1224–38 Whitby, 1279–81 QW, early 14 Whitby, 1408 For
Brinneston 1259 Ass (p)
Bryneston’ 1301 LS
Bernestona 1314 NRS Brenston 1395 Whitby
Byrnyngeston’ 1408 For
Burnysshton 1550 FF
Burston 1577 Saxton
‘Bryning’s farm’ v. tun. The name Bryning (an ing-formation from OE Brån) is found independently in OE (v. Redin 165) and as Bryningr in ON (LindBN); cf. Burneston (Halik) 226 infra. The modern form of the place-name is due to metathesis of Brin- to Birn-, which later became [bon] in the dialect.

2. Cloughton 22 B 6 [kloutan]
Cloctune, -ton(a) 1086 DB, 1195–1225 Dods vii. 244, 1230 Whitby, 1235 Ch
Clochton 1231 Ass Cloghton 1368 FF, 1408 For
Clouchetone 1322 NRS Cloughton 1577 NRS
Clawghoton 1619 NRS
‘Valley farm’ v. cloh, tun.

Ellis Croft (6")
Elsicroft, Elsy- a. 1133, early 14 Whitby, 1204 ChR
Elliscrofte 1619 NRS
‘Elsi’s croft’ v. croft. Elsi (cf. DB Alsi) is from OE Ælf- or Æhel-sige.

3. Scalby 23 C 6 [skɔ:bi]
Sc-, Skallebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1400
Sc-, Skalebi, -by 1086 DB, 1169 P et freq to 1280 Ch
Escaleby 1251 Cl
Scalby 1322 NRS, 1376 FF, 1408 For, 1508 Test, 1665 Visit
Sc-, Shawby(e) 1570, 1575 FF, 1577 NRS
'Skalli’s farm’ v. by. The first element, as in Scawby (L), is the ON pers. name Skalli, gen. Skalla (LindN); cf. the Swed place-name Skålby, OSwed Skallaby (Hellquist, Svenska ON på -by, 37).

**Coldy Hill (6")**

Caldhou 1244 Percy
‘Cold mound’ v. cald, haugr.

**Cooms (6")**

Cumbis 1252 Pat Cumbes 1252 NRS
‘The valleys’ v. cumb.

**Cross Sike (6")**

Crossik 1244 Percy
‘Stream near the cross’ v. cros, sic.

**Hatterboard Hill (6")**

Hatterberga 1167 P
Haterberg(e, -h) 1218 FF et freq to 1304 NRS
Hatherbergh 1327 Banco
Atterbergh 1550 FF
Haterbargh 1577 NRS

v. berg. The first element is the ON by-name Hattr (Hettr), gen. Hattar (LindBN).

**Newby**

Newby 1244 Percy et passim
‘New farm’ v. niwe, by.

**Northstead**

Nort(h)stede 1550 FF, 1619 NRS
‘North place’ v. norp, stede.

**Scalby Hay**

haia (haya) de Scallebi 1190 P, 1201 ChR

Swinesale [swinsəl]

Swinstischal 1109–14 YCh 865
Swi-, Swyn(e)stischage, -schache a. 1133, 1154–89, 1189
Whitby et freq to 1308 Whitby
Swinsey 1619 NRS

‘Wood near the pig-sty’ v. swin, stigu, sceaga. The final element offers some difficulty. The -schall forms in ME should probably be regarded as orthographic variants of the -schaghe forms, due to the development of a diphthong -au- from OE -ag-, which was similar in sound to the diphthong -au- from OFr -al-; the latter was often written al by French scribes after the Conquest, even though its phonetic character had changed. Apparently Norman scribes represented the ME au (from OE ag) in the same way as OFr au. OFr al had certainly become au soon after the Conquest (Schwann-Behrens, Altfranz. Gram. § 174) and the new diphthong was frequently written al (op. cit. §§ 174, 233). The probability that ME au (from OE ag) was sometimes represented by al in AN orthography is borne out by the evidence of other place-names. Oakenshaw (YWR), Akanescale 1255 YI, Okeneschagh 1355 YD. (from acen and sceaga); cf. also the DB form of Aiskew (HangE) 236 infra, and Vinehall (Sx), earlier Fynhawe.

Throstenby [θrɔsənbi]

Tstanebi 1167 P
Thurstanby 1276 Percy et freq to 1475 Pat
Thorstanby 1301 LS, 1379 IpmR, 1417 YI
Throssenbye 1537 FF Frostenby 1577 Saxton

‘Thorstan’s farm’ v. by. The ultimate origin of Thorstan is ON þóristeinn (LindN, Nielsen, etc.), with the OE name-theme -stan substituted. For the modern pronunciation and the last two spellings cf. Thrussington (Lei) from the same pers. name. The x in the modern spelling is probably explained in the same way as in Moxby and Roxby 29, 90 supra and Coxwold 191 infra. For F- in the last form cf. Fingay Hill 213 infra.

4. Staintondale 23 A 5
Steintun 1086 DB Staynton Dale 1562 FF
v. steinn, tun, dæl.
BLEA WYKE

*Blauwich* 1108–14 Whitby
*Blawic, -k, -wic* 1109–14 YCh 865 *et passim* to 1314 NRS
*Blawick* 1619 NRS

'Exposed, cheerless sea-creek' v. blar, vik. Blowick near Southport (PN La 126) is an exact parallel.

Hayburn

*Hay-, Hayburn(ia)* 1135–54 YCh 362 *et passim*

The name referred originally to Hayburn Beck, v. burna. As Hayburn was within the bounds of the forest of Scalby (a royal hunting ground, cf. Cl and P *passim*) the first element is probably ME *hay* 'part of a forest fenced off for hunting'; hence 'brook by the hunting enclosure' (cf. Scalby Hay 109 *supra*). v. (ge)hæg.

Ravenscar

*Rauenesere* 1312 *ForP* 378

'Hrafn's scar' from ON *Hrafn* and ON *sker* 'rock, skerry.'

IV. WHITBY STRAND WAPENTAKE

*Wytebistrand* 1200–22 Guis, 1294 Ebor
*Libertate de Whiteby* 1231 Ass

'Whitby shore' v. Whitby 126 *infra* and strand. Whitby Strand was a liberty and at the time of the DB survey all its parishes were in the wapentake of Langbargh except Hackness which was in Pickering Lythe. As late as the end of the 13th cent. the lord of Aislaby manor (in Whitby parish) did suit at the wapentake court of Langbargh (cf. Whitby 718). Whitby Strand (the older name of the district) was first called a wapentake in 1316 (Pat).

Hackness

1. *Broxa* 23 C 4 [brɔksə]

*Brokesay(e), -eye* 1090–6 YCh 855 *et passim* to 1335 *ForP*
*Brochesei* 1155–65 Whitby
*Broxhay* 1335 *ForP*
*Brokessay* 1395 Whitby
'Brocc's hunting enclosure' v. (ge)hæg. The position does not admit of a second element eg. For the possibility of such a pers. name, v. MLR xiv. 235.

LANGDALE SIDE

Langadale c. 1200 Whitby
v. lang, dæl.

2. Hackness 23 C 4

Hacanos 8 Bede  Heaconos 10 BedeOE
Hagenesse 1086 DB  Haganes 1176 P
Hakenesse c. 1081–5 LVD 48 d et freq to 1354 Whitby
Hachanessa 1091–2 YCh 863, 1133 Whitby
Hakanes 1108–14 Whitby
Hakeness(s) 1114–40, 1145–8, 1149–53, c. 1180 Whitby, 1227
FF, 1234 Cl
Hachanes 1155–65 Whitby
Hakanessham 1314 NRS
Hakenasse 1385 Whitby  Haknas 1472 Test

The forms of this name, apart from those in Bede, offer no great difficulty. They may be interpreted as the 'næss or headland of one Hac(c)a.' The form in Bede suggests that there was an earlier form of the second element, and Professor Ekwall suggests that there may have been an OE nōs, cognate with Scand nōs (cf. Torp, Nynorsk Etym. Ordbog, s.v. nōs) bearing the same sense as næss. Hackness lies at the foot of a very prominent ridge projecting between the Derwent and Lowdales Beck.

FLOCK LEYS (6")

Flok Leiz 1540 Whitby
‘Sheepflock clearings’ from OE flocc or ON flokkr and leah.

HARD DALE (6")

Haradale 12 Whitby  Haredale c. 1265–78 ib. Hardale 1286 ib.

These spellings have been taken to refer to the modern Harwood Dale 113 infra but the site of the place, so far as can be ascertained from the bounds in the Whitby Cartulary, is
here rather than at Harwood Dale, and the latter name can scarcely be a direct descendant of the above spellings. The first element is perhaps OE *hara* 'hare.' *v. dæl.*

**Hilla Thwaite**

*Thwayte, Thwaite* 1372 IpmR

*v. ðweit.*

**Holl Gate (6")**

*Holgate* 1268 Whitby

*v. hol, gata and cf. Howlgate 85 supra.*

**Langdale End, etc.**

*Langedalebek* c. 1265–72 Whitby

**Low Dales, High Dales**

*Dales* 1155–65, c. 1265–78, 1395 Whitby

Self-explanatory.

3. **Harwood Dale 23 B 4 [æraddil]**

*Harewode* 1301 LS, 1385 Baildon (p)

*Harwod* 1301 LS, 1395 Whitby

*Harwoddale* 1577 Saxton

*v. Hard Dale 112 supra. The first element is doubtful. It may be OE *hara* 'hare,' hence 'hare wood.' It is possible however that we may have OE *har* 'rock,' *v. Harome 70 supra*, which would certainly conform with the topography of Harwood Dale. Finally it might be OE *(æt þām) hāra(n) wuda* '(at the) grey wood.' Equally ambiguous is Harewood (YWR), ONb *æt Harawuda*, where Færeman Glossed the gospel of St John.*

**Bloody Beck**

*Bludebec* 1268 Whitby

*Blode-, Blodybek* 13 Add 4615 f 96 d

*v. bekkr. The first element is from OE *blōd* 'blood' or OE adj. *blōdig* ‘bloody.’ The significance of this element in the place-name is not clear.*
Cop Keld Brook (6")

Coppekeld(e)broc(h) 1108–14 Whitby et freq
Copcheldebroc 1109–14 YCh 865
Copkeldebroc, -brok 1199 Whitby, 1204 ChR, 1279–81 QW
Cocheldbrok 1308 Whitby

‘Stream which flows from a spring on the top of a hill’
v. copp, kelda, broc.

Dry Heads (6")

Drye Hede 1540 Whitby

Self-explanatory.

Gatela Road (6")

Gaytelaye, Gaitelei 1145–8, 1155–65 Whitby
Gatelaw 1619 NRS

‘Goats’ clearing’ v. geit, leah.

Keesbeck

Kesebec, -bek 1155–65 Whitby, 1231 Ass, 1395 Whitby
Kesbek 1175–98 Whitby

The first element is ON kjóss ‘a small creek, valley, recess,’
which enters into a number of Norw place-names (cf. Rygh, NG
Indledning 60); v. bekkr.

Kirkless

Kirkelach 1108–14 Whitby, 1204 ChR, 1308 Whitby
Kirkelac, -lak 1109–14 YCh 865 et freq to 1314 NRS

‘Church clearing’ v. kirkja, leah. On the form -lac(h)
v. Helmsley 71 supra.

Murk Head

Myrke Hede 1540 Whitby

‘Dark hill’ v. myrkr, heafod.

Thirley Cotes [ðorlæ]

Tornelat, -lay, Torneslag 1086 DB, 1204 ChR
Thornelay(e) 1109–14 YCh 865 et passim to 1314 NRS
Thornelac 1199 Whitby
Thirley 1619 NRS

‘Thorntree clearing’ v. porn, leah.
4. **Silpho** 23 C 4 \([\text{silф}a]\)
   
   *Silfhou* (sic) 1145–8 Whitby
   *Silfhou*, *-how* 1155–65, 1230, c. 1265–78, e. 14 Whitby
   *Silfo* 1231 Ass
   *Silfow(e)* 1301 LS, 1395 Whitby *Silfey* 1577 Saxton
   
   *v.* haugr. The first element is probably the ODan pers. name *Sylve* (Nielsen). Cf. Silton 201 *infra.*

**Breaday Heights** \([\text{brйдe}e]\)

   *Bradeie, Braday* c. 1200, 1286 Whitby
   *Braderheved* c. 1265–78 Whitby

   ‘Broad eg’ *v.* brad. The modern form is regularly developed from OE *а*. The ‘broad eg’ was no doubt the level tract of land between Whisperdale Beck and Breaday Gill, bounded on the north by the end of the ridge now called Breaday Heights, formerly *heued* (*v.* heafod).

**Whisperdales**

   *Whitspotdale, Wytspotdale* 12, c. 1200, 1286 Whitby

   ‘White spot valley’ *v.* dæl. For *spot* cf. Ekwall, *PN La* 59 (s.n. Spotland).

5. **Suffield** 23 C 5

   *Sudfelt, Sudfeld* 1086 DB *Suffeld* 1108–14 Whitby
   *Suthfeld* 1155–65 ib.


**Everley** \([\text{jйдла}, \text{евала}]\)

   *Eurelai, Eurelag* 1086 DB
   *Euerlaye* 1090–6 YCh 855
   *Everle* 1177–89 FF *et passim* to 1328 Banco; *-lac* 1314 NRS
   *Yereley* 1577 Saxton

   ‘Wild boar clearing’ *v.* eoror, leah. On the modern form cf. Yearsley 193 *infra* and for *lac* *v.* Helmsley 71 *supra.*

**Northfield FM**

   *Norfel, Nordfeld* 1086 DB *Norflid* 1108–14 Whitby
   *Northfeld* 1155–65 Whitby

   *v.* norð, feld, and Suffield *supra.*
Thieves Dikes

_Theovesdiches_ 1108–14, a. 1133, 1154–89 Whitby, _Theofvesdikes_ 1204 ChR, 1314 NRS, _Theofesdikes_ 1308 Whitby, 1314 NRS, _Thevisdykes_ 15 Whitby

v. dic. The earthworks to which the name refers are still extant. The element OE þeof ‘thief’ enters into several OE names, e.g. _to þeofa dene_ near Hallow (Wo), BCS 356. Cf. Thieves Gill 246 infra.

Fylingdales

1. **Fylingdales** 16 H 12

_Figeline, Northfigeline_ 1086 DB
_Philince_ 1114–40 Whitby
_Figelingam_ a. 1133 Whitby; -inge c. 1175 YCh 366
_Fielding(eam) 1133, 1155–65, 1222–7, 1308 Whitby
_(Tribus) Figelinges_ 1181 P
_(North)filing(e), -fylyng(e) c. 1280 Whitby et freq, _in valle de_ ib.
_Ffilingdales_ 1395 Whitby

‘The settlement of the people of Fygela’ v. ing. The district included by the settlement was probably the series of small valleys which meet the sea in Robin Hood’s Bay. The pers. name _Fygela_ is not adduced in independent use in OE, but it may be assumed (as by Ekwall, PN in -ing 93) from the place-names Figheldean (W), Fillingham (L), _Figelingehal_ DB, _Filgrave_ (PN Bk 15). v. dæl.

**Biller Howe**

_Bilrod_ 1145–8 Whitby _Bilroche_ 1155–65 Whitby

The second element is possibly OE rod, ‘clearing.’ If so, the -roche is an error for -rothe, a Scandinavianising of rod under the influence of ON riðr. Dr Lindkvist suggests ON _Bili_ or _Bil_ (fem.) as the first element.

**Bownhill**

_Bownehalle_ 1236 Whitby _Bownelle_ 1540 Whitby

‘Buna’s hall’ from the OE pers. name _Būna_ and _h(e)all_.

Fyling Thorpe

This should be identified with the *alias Fielingam* (1133 Whitby), *Sutfieling* (1140-65 ib.), i.e. South Fyling, of early sources. Other spellings agree with those of Fylingdales *supra*. In the 13th cent. the name is sometimes *Prestethorpe* (1280 Whitby). Here porp is used in the sense of ‘outlier.’ The land was held by the monks of Whitby. *v. preost, porp.*

Green Dyke (6")

*Grenedic(h) 12 Whitby (passim) Greene dikes 1619 NRS*

‘Green (grassy) dyke’ *v. grene, dic.* The dyke is still extant.

Helwath Beck

*Helewath 1231 Ass Helwath 1369 Whitby*

‘Ford made with flat stones’ from ON *hella* ‘flat stone’ (cf. Rygh, *NG Indledning s.v.*) and vað. Cf. a lost *Hellawath* in Glaisdale (1119, 1129 Guis).

Lilla Cross, Lilla Howe, tumulus

*Lillacros(se) 1108-14 Whitby et passim to 1314 NRS*

*Lilehaucros 1154-89 Whitby*

*Lillehowes 15 Whitby crucem de Lilhow 1619 NRS*

‘Cross on Lilla’s mound’ from the OE *Lilla* and *haugr* and *cros.* Such a hybrid formation offers difficulties but seems here to be beyond question.

Normanby

*Normanneby c. 1110 YCh 857 Northmanbi 1224 Whitby*

This name has the same run of forms and meaning as Normanby (Ryed) 57 *supra.*

Ramsdale

*Ramesdale 1210 Dugd iv. 319, 1240 FF*

*Rammesdale 1240 FF*

The early forms suggest that we have here OE *hramse, ramese* ‘garlic, ramson,’ as in Ramsey (Hu), *v. PN Wo xli.* Alternatively we may have OE *ramm,* hence either ‘garlic valley’ or ‘ram’s valley.’
Robin Hood’s Bay

Robin Hoode Baye 1532 Whitby

The name is not found before the 16th cent. and probably arose from the popular ballads.

Row

Fyling Rawe 16 Whitby

v. raw ‘a row of houses, hamlet.’

STOYPE BROW [stoup bru:]

Staupe 1133 Whitby
Stoup(e) 1155–65 Whitby, 1301 LS
Stowpe Browe 1540 Whitby

From ON stuap ‘a steep declivity, precipice’ (cf. Lindkvist 165) and OE brū ‘brow.’

WRAGBY [ro:bi]

Wrauby 1344 Test Wragby 1476 Test, 1540 Whitby

‘Wragi’s farm’ from the ODan pers. name Wraghi (Nielsen), found as the first element of ODan Wraghæthorpe and of Wrawby (L), Waragebi DB, and Wragby (YWR), Wraggeby 1308 WCR. v. by. The g in this name is purely a spelling survival.

Sneaton

1. Sneaton 16 G 11

Snetune, Sneton 1086 DB et passim to 1665 Visit
Snetton’ 1163, 1167, 1181 P
Ouersneyton’ 1231 Ass

‘Snjo’s farm’ from the ODan Snjó (Nielsen); cf. OIce Snær and the ON name-theme Snær- (LindN). v. tun. Called Ouern- because it is on higher ground than Sneaton Thorpe 119 infra.

Catwick

Kattewich 1214–22 Whitby Catwyk 1576 FF

Possibly ‘Kati’s vik.’ ON Káti is adduced by LindBN, but the tt is difficult. Further forms are needed. ON vik seems to be used here of a nook or corner in the hills (v. EPN 62). Catwick stands on the side of a narrow valley.
Scograineshoues (lost)

Scograineshoues 12 Whitby (passim), 1177–81 YCh 871
Scogreineshoues 1109–14 YCh 865, 1308 Whitby
Scogranehouuis 1199 Whitby
Scogreneshoghes 1314 NRS
Skoggat howes 1619 NRS

Lindkvist (78) suggests that the first element is an unrecorded ON pers. name Skóga-Hreinn “from skógr ‘a wood’ prefixed to the man’s name Hreinn and referring to the abode or usual whereabouts of the person in question.” Such a type of pers. name is not without parallel; other cases are Tungu-Karl, Tungu-Oddr, etc. (LindBN). It should also be noted that frequently in this district ON haugr is coupled with a pers. name. v. haugr.

SNEATON THORPE

Sneton et Thorpe 1349 Whitby

This was formerly a hamlet attached to the larger village of Sneaton. v. porp.

Whitby

1. AISLABY 16 G 10 [æzalbi]
   Asulue(s)bi 1086 DB
   Assulueby 1215 CLR Asolvebi 1222–7 Whitby
   Aselby c. 1300 Whitby et freq to 1339 Pat
   Assulby 1487 Ip
   Ayslabye 1556 NCyWills
   ‘Asulf’s farm’ v. by. ON Asulfr (LindN) occurs independently in English as Asulf, Asolf on OE coins (NP) and in the Yorkshire DB as Asulf, Asul.

BRIGGSWATH

Briggswoth 1230–50 Guis
‘Bridge ford,’ i.e. near a bridge, v. brycg, vað.

2. ESK DALE (SIDE) 16 G 9, 10
   Eschedale, -dala 1086 DB
   Aeschedale c. 1150 Godr
   Eskedall(a) 1175–85 YCh 673 et passim Eskdale 1336 Ch
   v. Esk, R. 3 supra and dæl, sid.
Flat Howe

*Flathou* 1252 YI; *-how* 1619 NRS

'Flat mound' v. flqt, haugr. There is a tumulus here.

Grosmont

*Grosmunt* 1226–8 Fees
*Grosmont* 1540 Dugd iv. 75, 1665 Visit
*Grandimont(e)* 1228 Ebor, 1287 Guis
*Grauntmount* 1301 LS
*Gromunde* 1301 LS *Gromo(u)nd* 1469 Baildon, 1615 NR
*Growmand* 1557 Saxton

Grosmont was a priory founded by John Fossard in 1200. He gave to the Prior and Brothers of the order of Grandmont near Limoges a mansion and land in the Forest of Egton (Dugd vi. 1025). Grosmont takes its name from that of the mother priory of Limoges. The meaning is 'big hill.' Cf. Grosmont (Mon), *Grosmont* 1232 Pat, so named for a similar reason.

Iburndale

*Iburne, Yburn(e)* 1258–65, 1270, 1308, 1311 Whitby
*Iborne* 1382 Whitby
*Iburndall* 1349 Whitby *Ibornedale* 1573 FF

v. burna, dæl. The first element should be compared with OE *on yburnan* BCS 1290 (Mx), Iden (Sx), DB *Idene*, and Ifield (Sx). DB *Ifelt*. Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element is OE *iw* with loss of *w* before the following labial, at least in Iburn and Ifield.

Lythe Beck (6")

*Lithebec(h)* 1109–1114 YCh 865 *et passim* to 1314 NRS
*Lythebeck(e)* 1335 ForP 212 d

v. hlið 'slope' and bekkr.

Sleights [sli:ts]

*Slechtes* c. 1223 Whitby
*Sleghtes* c. 1223, c. 1300 Whitby, 1347 Baildon, 1429 Test

v. sletta and cf. Sleightholme Dale and Sleights 62–3 *supra*. 
UGGLEBARNBY [ugolba:nbi]

*Ugleberdesbi* 1086 DB
*Ugelbardeby, Ugle-* 1100–c. 1115 YCh 857, 1177–89, 1222–7 Whitby
*Uggelbardebi, -by* 1145–8 Whitby, 1301 Abbr
*Ucchelbardebi* 1155–65 Whitby
*Vgulbardebi* 1181 P
*Ugelbardby* 1270 Whitby
*W-, Ugelardby* 1310 Whitby, 1335 ForP
*Oggelberdesby* 1314 NRS
*Ugglebarnby* 1613 NR

‘Farm of a man nicknamed “Owl-beard”’ from ON *Ugglubarði* (cf. Lindkvist lxii, and NP, ZEN s.n.) and v. by. The change of -bardby to -barnby is due to association of the name with Barnby across the river Esk.

3. HAWSKER 16 G 12 [ɔskæ]

*Houkesgart(h)* c. 1100–c. 1125, c. 1110 Whitby, 1181 P, 1226 FF
*Haukesgard* c. 1115–35 YCh 859, a. 1133, c. 1230–40 Whitby
*Houkesgard* 1145–8 YCh 872, 1222–7 Whitby
*Hoches-*, *Hokesgard* 1163, 1167 P
*Haukesgard*, *Haukesgarth(e)* 1176 P (p), 1284 YI (p), 1298 YI, 1308, 1351 Whitby
*Hakisgarth* 1330 Whitby
*Housegarth* 1577 Saxton
*Harrsker, Horskarse, Haskerth* 1611, 1613 NR

‘Hawk’s enclosure’ v. garð. The first element is the ON pers. name *Haukr*. Cf. Lindkvist 143.

COCK MILL

*Kocche-milne* 1155–65 Whitby *Cokmylne* 1395 Whitby

Possibly ‘cock mill’ from OE cocc; though one may have rather to deal with OE *cocc* used as a pers. name. *Cocc(a)* is found in Cockbury (Gl), OE *Coccanburh* (BCS 246) and Cogshall (Ch), DB *Cocheshull*. Cf. Sawcock 217 infra.
GNIPE HOWE

*Gchinpe* 1086 DB *Gnip(e)* c. 1110, 1145–8, 1155–65 Whitby

From ON gnipa ‘a steep rock or peak,’ probably referring to the high peak overlooking the sea-cliffs on which Gnipe Howe stands. *v.* haugr. There is a tumulus here.

HAWSKER BOTTOMS ['easkə bɒdəmz]

*Bothem* c. 1230–40 Whitby *Bothome* 1396 ib.

*v.* botm.

LARPOOL HALL

*Lairpel, Layrpel* 1145–8 YCh 872, 1301 LS

*Leirpel* 1155–65 Whitby


*Larepoole* c. 1540 Whitby *Lirpoole* 1622 NR

The first element is leirr. The second is more difficult. Lindkvist (71, n. 2) suggests that it is OE pyll. The history and forms of Marple (Ch), *Merpille* in 1285 (Ass) and so generally, do not make this very likely. Professor Ekwall suggests that the second element is the Norse word from which comes Norw *pøyla*, ‘pool.’ This would suit the phonology and fit a Norse first element better.

LING HILL (6")

*Lingehou* c. 1230–40 Whitby

*v.* lyng and haugr.

RIGG

*le Rigge* c. 1175–98 Whitby

*v.* hrycg.

SALTWICK

*Saltewicke* 1540 Whitby

From OE s(e)alt (*v.* Saltburn 143 infra) and ON vik ‘creek.’

SHAWM RIGG (6")

Ekwall (IPN 92) makes the interesting suggestion that this name exhibits a development in sound of the Scand dialect in England; he suggests that the first element is ON *Hjalm-* and that *Sh-* was substituted for this. Though this form would explain the later development to *Shalme-*, the earliest form could hardly arise from it. It is more probably OE *healm* ‘straw, stubble’; the form *Halme-* is from the regular unfractured Anglian form *halm*; the *Shalme-* form must have arisen from confusion with ON *hjalmr*, ‘helmet,’ suggested by Professor Ekwall. On the change of *Healm* or *hjalm* to *Shalme-* v. Shipton 16 supra and Addenda xlv.

**Spital Bridge (6")**

*Ad pontem Hospitalis* c. 1175–98 Whitby  
*Spittalle-brigge* 1540 Whitby

v. brycg. The first element is ME *spital*, an apheticised form of OFr *hospital*. There is still a farm called *Hospital* in the district.

**Stainsacre**

*Stainsaker* 1090–6 YCh 855  
*Stainsecre, -echer, Staynseker* c. 1110 Whitby, 1145–8 YCh 872, e. 14, 1395 Whitby  
*Steinsecher Steinseker* 1155–65 Whitby, 1181 P  
*Stanesacher* 1177 P (p)  
*Stanseker* 1611 NR

‘Stein’s field’ from the ON pers. name *Steinn* and akr. ON *ekra* (a by-form of *akr*) occurs in some of the spellings.

**Whitby Laithes**

*Whitebi-lathes* 1351 Whitby  
v. *hlaða* ‘a barn’ and Whitby 126 infra.

4. **Helredale (6") 32 SE 11**

This is now the name of a township formed out of Hawsker. The name had fallen into disuse but has now been revived. The small valley originally called *Helredale* is now called Spital Vale (cf. Whitby Cartulary ii. 428).
Hellerdale 1145–8 Whitby Helredale 1155–65 ib., 12 Leon 66 d
Ellerdale 1351 Whitby

v. dæl. The first element is possibly ON hella, gen. hellur, 'flat stone, tableland of rocks,' common in Norw place-names, cf. Helwath Beck 117 supra.

5. NEWHOLM 16 F 10

New(e)ham 1086 DB Neweham c. 1100–1125 Whitby


DUNSLEY

Dunesla 1086 DB
Dunesle 1086 DB, 1219 Ass, 1227 Whitby, late 12th Malton
137 d, -lea(m) 1139–48 Whitby, 1181 P
Duneslac 1100–c. 1115 YCh 857, 1133 Whitby
Doneslac 1136 YCh 868, 1314 NRS
Dunslea 1145–8 YCh 872

Further forms are without interest.

'Dun's forest clearing' from the OE pers. name Dun and leah. For -lac v. Helmsley 71 supra.

GRAYSTONE

Graistan 1190–1206 YCh 725

'Grey rock' v. græg, stan.

RAITHWAITE

Raithwait 1351 Whitby Rathwayte c. 1540 Whitby

v. pveit. The form Rai- is at first sight against Lindkvist's suggestion of derivation from ON rd 'landmark' (p. 119, n. 4, 5) but too much stress should not perhaps be laid on a form which first appears in 1351. It is worth noting also that in a Danelaw charter of c. 1190 (ed. Stenton no. 529) land lying compactly is contrasted with land described as lying rai a rai. It would seem that this can only mean 'strip by strip' and if so it is difficult to think that we have any other word than ON rd 'boundary-mark.' The spelling is exceedingly difficult but it is possibly an inversion due to the fact that OE ā alternates with ON ai, ei, so that ON ā might possibly have been spelt ai on occasion, in an area where OE long a was preserved.
Swarthoe Cross (tumulus) (6")

Swarthouethcroes 1108–14 Whitby  Swarthovthescroes 1204
ChR  Swarthouchescroes (= -houthes-) 1314 NRS

'Swarthead’s cross’ v. cros. The first element is the common
ON pers. name Swarthof[a], -a (LindN), found also in the name
of a lost place in Tolsby, Swarhovedwath 12 Whitby.

6. Ruswarp 16 F 11 [ruzarp]

Risewarp(e), Ryse- 1145–8 YCh 872 et passim to 1351 Whitby
Riswerp 1316 Vill  Ruswarpe 1665 Visit

Ruswarp is on the north bank of the river Esk, and this fact
must be taken into consideration in deciding the etymology of
the second element. A dialect word warp ‘the sediment de-
posited by a river, an accumulation of mud checking the flow
of a river’ is found in the North Riding (EDD), and a compound
warp-land ‘land formed by the silt of a river’ is adduced from
the East Riding (EDD); this is the meaning required by the
geographical situation of Ruswarp. These two words and the
second element of the place-name are identical in form with
ON varp (neut.), varpa (fem.), found in the Norw place-name
Varpet (Rygh, NG i. 218, etc.), and the root idea of the whole
series is ‘something cast up’ from varpa ‘to throw, cast.’ The
meaning of Ruswarp is therefore ‘silt-land overgrown with
brushwood’ v. hriss.

The change of Rise- to Rus- is probably due to the influence
of w especially in the neighbourhood of r; cf. Ruddings 85
supra and Ruswick and Runswick 241, 139 infra.

Ruswarp Carr

(bosco qui vocat’) Le Ker 1282 Whitby Ruswarp Carr
1623 NR

‘Ruswarp marsh’ v. kjarr.

Stakesby

Staxebi 1086 DB
Stachesbi, -by 1090–6 YCh 855, 1133, 1155–65 Whitby,
1314 NRS
Stakesbi, -by 1100–c. 1115 YCh 857 et passim
Stakiisby 1395 Whitby
'Staki’s farm’ v. by. The first element is probably the ON by-name Stáki (LindBN) with genitival -s substituted for -a (the weak form), rather than the by-name Stakkr, gen. Staks (LindBN) which would have become Stax-.

UPGANG

le Umgange 1540 Whitby

‘Road or path leading up (from the sea shore)’ from OE up and OE gang (cf. gang in EDD).

7. WHITBY 16 F 11 [widbi]

Witebi, -by, Wytebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1298 YI
Wyttbeia, -bey 1138 Dugd iii. 545 passim

Aspirated forms appear in the 12th cent. and are practically the only forms found after the 13th:

Whitby 1138 Whitby et passim
Whi-, Whyteby c. 1150–60 YCh 828 et passim to 1361 FF

Over-aspirated forms are of sporadic appearance:

Quiteby 1218 FF (p), 1267 Ebor Qwyteby 1423 Baildon

The name appears also in the Heimskringla as Hvítabýr.

‘Hviti’s farmstead’ from the ON by-name Hviti (gen. Hvita) and by.

Whitby was by early tradition identified with the Streanæshalch of Bede (cf. Simeon of Durham, Hist. Dunelm. Eccles., Rolls Series, i. 111). Variant forms of the name in Bede are Streaneshalh, Streonæshalch, Streaneshalh, Streneshælc. The OE Bede has Streoneshalh, Strineshalg, whilst the ASC (s.a. 68o) has Streonesheal. For this name v. Strensall 13 supra. Bede translates the name as sinus fari, which offers difficulty. The best explanation seems to be to look upon Bede’s fari as a mistake for fare or farae, from Medieval Latin fara ‘strain, descent,’ which is, of course, the meaning of OE streon, here used as a pers. name, while healh is rendered by sinus.

AIRY HILL

Ergum 1090–6 YCh 855 et passim to 1314 NRS
Hergum 1155–65 Whitby

v. erg and cf. Airyholme 49 supra.
Baldby Fields (lost)

Baldebi, Baldeby 1086 DB, 1133, 1155–65 Whitby, 1280 Ass

‘Baldi’s farm’ from the ON pers. name Baldi (LindN) and by. For the site v. Whitby Cartulary 118, n. 9.

Breck (lost)

Breche 1086 DB
Breccam(m) 1086 DB, 1100–c. 1115 YCh 857, 1133 Whitby

‘The slope’ v. brekka and Introduction xxvii.

Church Street (6")

Kirkgate 1318 Whitby
v. kirkja, gata.

The Fitts (6")

Fyths 1395 Whitby

‘Luxuriant grasslands on the bank of a river’ from ON fit, which enters into a number of Icel place-names (cf. Landnamabók) and into such Norw place-names as Fiane, Fijdane (Rygh, NG Indledning 49). Cf. Feetham 271 infra.

Flowergate, a street (6")

Floran 1086 DB
Flore 1086 DB, 1145–8 Whitby (passim), 1280 Ass
Floram 1133 Whitby, 1314 NRS
Floregate 1313 Whitby

‘(At) the cow stalls’ from ON flórum (dat. plur.) or flóri (dat. sg.) of Oñ flórr. v. gata. Cf. Skiplam 65 supra, which is a name of the same significance.

Prestby (lost)

Prestebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1345 Whitby

‘Priests’ farm’ v. preost, by. Cf. Norw Præstby (Rygh, NG i. 66). SD and the Memorial of the Foundation of Whitby Abbey (Whitby Cartulary, p. 1) both say that Prestebi was the old name of Whitby. But the above references and spellings show that the name was in use in the 12th cent., contemporaneously with Whitby, and certainly not to refer to the same area as Witebi.
Sowerby (lost)

*Sowrebi, -by* 1086 DB *et passim* to 1354 Whitby
*Saurbi, -by* 1145–8 YCh 872, 1148–75 Whitby, c. 1170–9 YCh 861

The name Sowerby is common in the north of England and that is identical with Norw *Sörby* (ONorw *i Saurby*, Rygh, NG ii. 88, etc.) ‘swampy farmstead.’ An interesting explanation of the Icel name is found in the *Landnamabók*: Steinolf built a farm and called it *Saurbæ, því at þar var myrlent mjök*, i.e. ‘because it was very swampy there.’ *v. saurr, by.*

Thingwall (lost)

*Thingaval* 1145–8 YCh 872  *Thingwala* 1155–65 Whitby

*v. pingvóllr*. The name is undoubtedly that of the moatstead of a very strong Scand colony in Eskdale. There is no clue to the site. Cf. Fingay Hill 213 *infra.*

V. LANGBARGH EAST WAPENTAKE

*Langeberg(e) Wapentac* 1086 DB *et passim* to 1339 Guis
*Wap’ de Lankeberga* 1166 P
*Langebrigg’* 1226–8 Fees
*Langebergh(e) 1231 Ass et passim* to 1335 Guis
*Langeberewe* 1273 YI
*Langbarriffe* 1599 NR  *Langbarghe* 1612 NR

Langbargh Wapentake (now in two divisions East and West) takes its name from a hill called Langbaurgh in Great Ayton 165 *infra*, practically in the centre of the whole wapentake, of which it was the meeting-place. Part of the wapentake was taken for the formation of the wapentake of Whitby Strand and now the remainder goes by the general name of Cleveland.

Cleveland [kliːvland]

*Clive-, Clyveland(a)* 1104–14 YCh 932, c. 1130 SD *et passim* to 1452 Test
*Clieveland* 1304 Dugd v. 508
Clifland bi Tese side 14 Horne Child (l. 54)
Cleueland c. 1270 Heal 103 et passim Cleiveland 1621 NR

In the Orkneyinga Saga (c. 49) it is called Klifland.

‘Steep, precipitous district’ v. clif, land. One glance at the map will show the appropriateness of the name.

To explain the modern form we must assume that the original form of the name had a gen. plur. clif-land ‘district of cliffs,’ for the short vowel -i- has undergone a lengthening which usually took place only in open syllables. Cf. Upleatham 153 infra.

Egton

1. Egton 16 G 8

Egetune, -ton 1086 DB, 1284 YI, 1291 Pap
Egeeton’ c. 1170–95 YCh 1041, 1181 P et passim to 1410 YI
Egton 1285 KI

‘Ecgas farm’ from the OE Ecg and tun. Cf. Egton (La).

Arnecliff

Erneclive 1223 FF

‘Eagles’ cliff’ v. earn, clif.

Bluewath Beck

Blawyth a. 1133 Whitby Blawath 13 Guis (3 X), 1252 YI

‘Dark, (possibly) cheerless, exposed ford’ v. blar, vað and cf. Blawath 82 supra. The modern form arose from the dialect change of ON ð to [iæ] and then from the development of a glide-vowel [u] before the following w.

Bridge Holme [brigoum] (6”)

Brigholme 1301 LS (p)

v. brycg, holmr.

Lease Rigg

Lecerigge 1301 LS

From OE læs ‘pasture’ and hryc.

Newbegin

Neubiggin 1310 Ch

‘New building’ v. niwe, bigging.
Short Wait

*Shortwaite* 1619 NR

'Short enclosure' *v.* sceort, þveit.

Shunner Howe [*junərəu*

*Senerhou* 13 Guis (2), 1223 FF

*Shonerhom* (sic) 1252 YI  *Shonerhowes* 15 Whitby

*Shenerhoues* 1619 NRS

'Sjon's mound' *v.* haugr. The first element is ON *Sjónr*, gen. *Sjónar* (LindN), which enters into the parallel Norw place-name *Sjonhaug* (ONorw i *Siónarhaugi*, Rygh NG i. 10): Ekwall (NoB ix. 162) would derive the name from ON *sjón* and explain it as 'look-out hill' and compares it with Shunner Fell (not evidenced in early documents) in Wensleydale.

The modern form of the name *Shunner* is borrowed directly from the late ON form *Sjónar*, for initial *sh-* can in this case be derived only from the acoustically neighbouring sound [sj], a tendency in sound development which is reflected in such modern English words as *sure*, *sugar* (18th cent. [səʊə, səʊə]). The earlier forms *Sener-* are what we should normally have in English for ON *Sjónar* (PrN *séonaR*). The phonetic history of this name and possibly of Shunner Fell indicate a late connexion with the Scandinavians (*v.* IPN 92).

Westonby House

*Westingebi* 1254 Pat

*Westingby* 1279 YI, 1301 LS

*Westynby* 1413 YI

'Farm of the western men' *v.* west, by. The hamlet lies in the west of the township. The use of *ing* in compounds of this type to indicate relative position is discussed by Zachrisson (*English Place-Names containing PrGerm** *vis, *vask, 8 ff.*), where a number of parallels are cited.

Wheeldale and Wheeldale Rigg

*Wheeldale, Welledale* 1252 YI

*Weledale* 1335 ForP 218 d, 15 Whitby

*Weledalerygge* 1335 ForP 213 d
The first element is from OE *hweol* ‘a wheel’ and the valley derives its name from the fact that its course forms a large arc of a circle; *v.* *hweol, dæl, hrycg,* and cf. Wheelden (PN Bk 212) and Welldale (Pick) 96 *supra.*

**Danby**

1. **Danby** 16 J 5

*Danebi, Daneby* 1086 DB *et passim* to 1328 Banco

*Danby* 1285 KI *et passim* *Danby-Forest* 1665 Visit

‘Village of the Danes’ *v.* by. For the significance of this name, *v.* Introd. xxv.

**Botton Cross, Botton Hall and Botton Grove (6")**

*cruce de Bothine, le cuvert de Bothine, bosci de Bothine* 1234,
  *c.* 1200, 1223 Guis

This may be ON *botn* used of the bottom of a valley but Professor Ekwall suggests that *Bothine* is an inexact rendering of *Bothme* from OE *bødþm* for the more usual *botm.* Cf. Dial. *botham.* The change from *m* to *n* would then be due to assimilation or to the influence of the common Scand word just mentioned. Cf. further Botton (PN La 182).

**Castleton**

*Castro de Daneby* 1242 Guis *Castleton* 1577 Saxton

‘Castle farm,’ named from Danby Castle.

**Clitherbeck**

*Clitherbec* 1273 YI

Clitherbeck should be compared with Clitheroe (La), early *Cliderhow, Clitherow,* (PN La 78) from *clider, clither,* probably identical with dial. *clitter* ‘a pile of loose stones or granite debris’ (EDD, from D), and possibly connected with OE *clidren(n)* ‘clatter, noise.’ Clitherbeck is a fast-flowing stream with a rocky bed. *v.* *bekkr* and Addenda xlv.

**Danby Lawns**

*Laundis in foresta de Daneby* 1242 Guis

*v.* *launde* and cf. Lawn of Postgate 133 *infra.* Lawns is within the bounds of the old Forest of Danby.
DINNAND (6")

le Dynant 1273 YI

This is the name of a boundary stone on the hills in the north of Danby parish. Possibly we have here to deal with a Celtic name, for the name is not of a Germanic type. If this surmise is correct the name is no doubt from Brit din 'hill, fort' (cf. Welsh din 'hill,' Cornish din 'a fort') extended by a suffix -ant, which also enters into the name of the old Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia (Brit *Brigantia) and the tribal name Brigantes.

FRYUP [friup]

Frehope 12 Guis, 1301 LS Frihop(p) 1223, 1234 Guis

v. hop, here used of a small valley branching off from Eskdale. The first element offers some difficulty, but the modern pronunciation and spelling indicates ME -it-. It is possibly an OE pers. name Friga, a hypocoristic form of some OE pers. name such as Frigas.

HOLLINS

Hollenges 1230–50 Guis

v. holegn.

SOWERBY BOGS (6")

Souresby 1242 Guis

Cf. Sowerby (Whit) 128 supra.

TROUGH HOUSE

Troch c. 1200, 1223, 1234 Guis Trochsich 13 Guis

v. trog, sic. Trough is a small valley branching off Fryup.

2. GLAISDALE 16 H 7 with GLAISDALE BECK

Glasedale 12 Whitby, c. 1200, 1223 FF, Guis, 1224 Pat, 1665 Visit
Glasedalebech 12 Guis
Glasdale 1223 FF, 1227 Guis, 1369 FF
The modern form Glais- indicates that the ME vowel in the first element was long; the name may, therefore, be compared with Glazebrook (Ekwall, PN La 94) which is perhaps from the British word found in Welsh glas 'blue, green' etc. v. dæl.

Bainley Bank

*Bainwith(e)lith* c. 1200, 1223 Guis

'Holly bank' from ON hein-viðr 'the common holly' and hlīð. Cf. Lindkvist 24, note 1.

Busco

*Birkescoht, -scog(h)* 1200, 1223 Guis, 1223 FF

'Birch wood' v. birki, skogr.

Crunkly Gill

*Crūbeclif, Crūbeclive, -cliva* 1086 DB

'Ravine by the crooked cliff' v. crumb, clif, gil and cf. Cronkley, PN NbDu s.n. and Hamley 80 supra.

Grey Stone House (6")

*Graystanes* 12 Guis  *Graistan* 13 BylE 19

'Grey stone' v. græg, stan.

Lawn of Postgate

*la launde de Postgate* c. 1200 Guis

v. Danby Lawns 131 supra and Postgate 134 infra.

Lealholm [li:əm]

*Lelun, Laclum (sic)* 1086 DB

*Lelum(e) 1273 YI, 1301 LS  Lellum 1299 YI*

*Lelhom(e) 1273, 1410 YI  Lelom 1301 LS (p), 1349 Test*

*Leleholme 1579 FF*

'This name is probably derived from the dat. pl. of OE lǣl(a) '(amongst the) twigs' (v. Ritter 58, 207). Cf. Rysome (YER) from OE hrīsum (v. hris) and Snaizeholme 267 infra.

Moss Beck (6")

*Mosebec(k) c. 1200, 1223 Guis, 1223 FF, 1234 Guis*

'Stream through the swamp' v. mos, bekkr.
POSTGATE

Postgate 12 Guis, 1223 FF, Guis Postgate c. 1200 Guis
‘Road marked by posts’ from OFr poste and gata.

STONEGATE, BECK, WOOD

Stai-, Stayngateside 12, 1223 Guis, 1223 FF
Staingatelith 1233 Guis
‘Hill-side along which the stone(-paved) road runs’ v. steinn, gata, sid. Cf. Stonegate (York), Staingate 1118–35 RegAlb ii. 5 d, etc. Staingatelith contains hlíð.

WESTERDALE 16 G 4

Westerdale, -dala 1154–81 Riev et passim
Westerdaill 1285 (16) KI, 1582 FF
‘More westerly valley’ v. west, dæl. Westerdale is one of the western valleys of Eskdale.

BAYSDALE and BAYSDALE BECK

Basdale 1189–1204 YCh 564, 1301 LS
Basedale c. 1230 Guis et passim to 1400 Test
Basedalebec 1236 Dugd v. 508
Bosedal 1236 Ch
Bassedale c. 1291 Tax, 1390 Test
Baisedale 1483 Test Baisdell 1561 NCyWills, 1578 FF
‘Cow-shed valley’ from ON *báss, OSwed bás (equivalent to OE *bòs, which has become YWR dial. boois, YNR dial. [bòs]); cf. Björkman, Loanwords 99. The Ch form Bosedal contains OE bòs. The modern forms of the place-name are due to the regular Northern ME raising of OE, ON á.

ESKLETS

Eskeletes 1154–81 Riev
The first element is the name of the river Esk which rises in the vicinity. The second element is difficult to determine but it is probably OE (ge)læte, the reference being to the junctions of the three streams here which form the river Esk.
HUNTER'S STY (6")

_Hunterstye_ 1301 LS (p)

‘Hunter’s path’ from ME _hunter_ and _stig_.

RALPH CROSSES

_ crucem Radulphi_ c. 1200 Guis

_v. cros._

WAITES HOUSE


_v. pveit._ The first element is uncertain but one may derive the name from the OE pers. name _Ogga_ (Redin 103). The form _Hogarthetaitth_ is of secondary authority. On the loss of the first element cf. Keld, _Thwaite_ (HangW) 260, 272 _infra_.

WHYETT BECK (6")

_Whitethwayt_ 1539 Dugd v. 510

_v. pveit._ The first element is OE _hwit_ or a pers. name, ON _Hviti_ (cf. Whitby 126 _supra_).

WOODALE BECK (6")

_Wulvedalebec_ 1154–81 Riev

‘Stream through the wolves’ valley’ _v. wulf, dæl, bekkr._

Lythe

1. BARNBY 16 E 9

_Barnebi_ 1086 DB

With the same range of forms and interpretation as Barnby 36 _supra_.

SLEIGHTHOLME (lost), identical with BARNBY SLEIGHTS (6")

_Sletholm(e)_ 12 Guis, c. 1175–98 Whitby, 1279 YI

_v. Sleightholme_ 62, 120 _supra_.
2. Borrowby 16 D 7 [boräbi]
   Bergebi, Bergesbi 1086 DB
   Berg(h)by 1279 YI, 1327 Banco
   Berygby 1301 LS
   Barube 1483 Sanct
   Boruby, Borabye 1415 YI, 1513 FF
   'Hill farm' from berg, by. Borrowby is on a hill. Cf. Borrowby (Allert) 205 infra and Norw Berby (ONorw i Bærghabo, NG i. 97), and Swed Bergby (OSwed Bærghby, Hellquist, Svenska ON på -by, 5).

Grimsby (lost)
   Grimesbi 1086 DB
   'Grim's farm' from the common ON pers. name Grímr and by.

3. Ellerby 16 E 8
   Elwordebi, Alwardebi 1086 DB
   Elverdeby c. 13 Whitby, 1279 YI, 1316 Vill
   Elferby 1252 Ass
   Eluerdeby 1254 Pat
   Elred(d)eby 1301 LS, 1316 Vill Elred-, Elleredby 1303 KF
   Ellerby 1369 FF
   'Ælfweard's farm' v. by, and cf. Ellerby(YER), DB Aluuardebi.

4. Hutton Mulgrave 16 F 9
   Hotune, Hotone 1086 DB, etc.
   'Farm on the ridge' v. hoh, tun. Hutton is near Mulgrave.

Briscoe
   Bircschoke 1279 YI
   'Birch wood' v. birki, skogr.

Cucket Nook [kukit niuk]
   Cukewaud 1223 FF; -wald 1279 YI, 1301 LS
   Kukewaud 1228 FF
   Kokuewald 1265 Whitby Cokewalde 1301 LS
   'Cuca's woodland' from the OE pers. name Cuca. It closely resembles Coxwold 191 infra but the latter probably contains Cuha rather than Cuca. v. w(e)ald.
5. LYTHE 16 E 9

Lid 1086 DB, 1201 Cur, 1210 Abbr
Liz 1181 P
Li-, Lyth(e) 1201 Abbr et passim to 1508 Test
Leth 1401 YI  Lieth 1623 NR
'The slope' v. hlið. The reference is to a slope which borders on the sea-coast north-west of Whitby. For the form Leth cf. Upleatham 153 infra. The common form [laið] is from ON hlið (which had a long vowel).

GOLDSBOROUGH

Golborg 1086 DB
Goldeburg(h-e) 1080 DB, 1279 YI, 1301 LS
Goldesburgh 1303 KF, 1402 Test
'Golda's burh' from the OE pers. name Golda. For the intrusive -s- cf. Blansby 85 supra.

MULGRAVE [mœugriv]

Grif 1086 DB
Mulegrif, -grive 1155–65, 1222–7 Whitby
Mul(e)greve 1224 Pat, 1268 Ebor, 1414 Test, 1415 YI
Mulgrif 1303 KF
Mulgrave 1285 (16) KI, 1335 ForP 203 d
Moulgrae 1577 Saxton
Mowgrave 1577 FF, 1613 NR
'Mul's valley' v. gryfja, here applied to the steep-sided valley in which Mulgrave stands. Cf. Mowthorpe 35 supra.

SANDSEND

Sandes(h)end(e) 1254 Pat, 1279 YI, 1301 LS
'The end of the sands' v. sand, end.

6. MICKLEBY 16 E 8

Michelbi 1086 DB
Miclebi c. 1185–90 YCh 1046
Mikelby 1247 Ch et passim
'Large farmstead' v. mycel, by. Cf. Norw Nøkleby (ONorw i Myklabæ), Rygh, NG ii. 33, etc., and Swed Myckleby (OSwed Myklaby), Hellquist, Svenska ON på -by, 49.
7. **Newton Mulgrave** 16 D 8

*Newetune, Neutone* 1086 DB etc.

It is near Mulgrave.

8. **Ugthorpe** 16 F 8 [ugθɔp]

*Ug(h)etorp* 1086 DB

*Uggethorp(e)* 1161 YCh 619 *et passim* to 1242 P

*Ugthorpe* c. 1180 Percy, 1285 KI, 1665 Visit

*Hugethorpe* 1262 Guis

‘Uggi’s village’ from the ON by-name *Uggi* (LindBN) and *porp*.

**Biggin Houses**

*Percybigginge, -byggyng* 1262, 1280 Guis

*v. bigging*. The Percy family held land here (cf. references cited).

**Wood Dale House** (6")

*Woluedale* 12, 13 Guis, 1279, 1293 YI

*v. Woodale Beck 135* supra.

**Hinderwell**

1. **Hinderwell** 16 D 8

*Hildre-, Ildrewelle* 1086 DB

*Hilder-, Hylderwell(e)* 1139–48 YCh 906 *et passim* to 1475 Pat

*Hildrewell* 1347 Pat, 1348 FF, 1404 YI

*Hynderwell, Hinderwell* 1468 Test, 1490 Ipm, 1573 FF, 1665 Visit

‘Hild’s well’ *v. w(i)ella*. The name was probably originally OE *Hildewella*, containing the name of the famous Saint Hild of *Streoneshalch*, whose monastery was a few miles to the southeast of Hinderwell. The present form of the name, however, points to a Scandinavianising of the name on the analogy of ON *Hildr*, gen. *Hildar*, found in Hinderskelege 40 *supra*. There is still a well at Hinderwell called St Hilda’s Well. Cf. also a lost *Hildekelde, fons sancte Hilde* (12 Guis) in Guisborough.
Runswick Bay [runzik]

Reneswike, Reneswyk 1273 YI, 1348 FF
Ri-, Rynneswyk 1293 QW, 1407 YI
Remmeswyk 1327 BM
Ryneswyk 1404 YI
Runswick 1577 Saxton

Perhaps 'Rægen's creek' from OE Rægen or ON Hreinn which appears as Ren- in Rainton 185 infra, and vik. On the phonology of this name v. Introduction xxxii.

Seaton Hall

Scetun(e) 1086 DB
Seton 1279 YI et passim to 1412 YI Seaton 1571 FF

'Farm by the sea' from OE sæ and tun.

Staithes [stiəz]

Setonstathes 1415 YI Stathes 1577 Saxton, 1665 Visit
Stease 1686 Marske

v. stæp. Staithes is a little fishing village built in a creek on the sea-coast.

2. Roxby 16 D 7 [rouzbi]

Roscebi, Rozebi 1086 DB
Raucebi 1145–8 Whitby
Rauceby 1285 KI, 1301 LS, 1346, 1425 Pat
Rotseby 1311 Ch
Rouseby 1415 YI Rousby 1577 Saxton
Rokesby 1575 FF

'Rauth's farm' from the ON pers. name Rauðr, gen. Rauz.

v. Roxby 90 supra and by, and cf. Rauceby (L).

Scaling

Skalynge, Skalinge 12 Guis, 1301 LS, 1577 Saxton
Scalingis 1243–73 Heal 43 d
Estskaling 1415 YI

'Shieling, pastureland, or a roughly built hut (near such a piece of land).’ The etymology of this word is probably ON *skåling (v. NED s.v. shieling), a derivative of skali. The same element is found in Scale Foot 148 infra.
Easington

1. Easington 16 D 6

Easington, -ton 1086 DB
Easting 1119, 1129, a. 1199 Guis
Easington(a) 1154–61 BM, 1160–75 YCh 656, 1228 Lib, 1292 Pap, 1369 FF
Easing-, Esyngton 1154–81 Guis et passim to 1371 NCyWills, etc.
Easington 1575 FF

‘Esa’s farm’ from OE Ėsa (v. Easingwold 24 supra) and ingtun. Easington is found also in YER and Du.

Boleby [bɔuli]

Bolli, -by 1086 DB, 1262 BM, 1279 YI, 1303 KF, 1363 FF
Boleby, -by 1086 DB, 1204 FF (p), 1285 KI
Bolby 1407, 1412 YI
Boleby 1575 FF, 1665 Visit

‘Bolli’s farm’ from the ON pers. name Bolli, gen. Bolla (LindN) and by.

Loftus

1. Loftus 16 D 6

Loftus(h)um, Locthusum 1086 DB
Loftus 12, 13 Guis (9 X), 1155–65 Whitby et passim to 1303 KF
Loftus 1160–75 YCh 656, a. 1199 Guis Loftous 1285 KI
Loftuses, -houses 1295, 1300 Ebor, 1301 LS Lofthouse, Lofthoue 1316 Vill, 1334, 1339 Guis, 1369 FF, 1464 Test

v. lopthus. The DB form represents the ON dat. plur. lopthúsun, as in Lofthouse near Harewood (YWR), DB Locthus-hun. For Locte- v. Loft Marishes 95 supra.

Handale, Grindale (lost)

In early times the priory is referred to under both these names; there is no doubt about the identification, for in Malton 67 Grendale is found and Ha is written in the same hand above the Gr. The name Grendale is possibly preserved in Grinkle, a little distance to the east of Handale in Easington parish.
Handale c. 1180 Percy et passim
Littlehandales c. 1200 Riev
Handale-Abby 1666 Visit

The first element is probably OE hān ‘rock.’ It can hardly be a pers. name Hana for in the spellings there is no trace of a medial -e- representing the OE gen. sing. -a(n). ‘Rocky valley’ v. dæl.

Grendale 1254, 1280 Guis, 1268, 1296 Ebor, (alias Handale) 1315-8 Whitby, 1329 Baildon Grendall 1319 Abbr
Gryndale 1395 Whitby Grindell Felde 1540 Dugd iv. 76

‘Green valley’ v. grene, dæl. If Grendale is to be identified with Grinkle the modern form is due to the interchange of t or d and k before l. Cf. Kirklinton 220 infra.

Roskelthorpe (lost)
Roscheltorp 1086 DB
‘Roskel’s village’ v. porp. The first element is ON Hrossketill, which is found as Roscytel the name of one of Alfric’s festermen (YCh 13), and as Roschel in DB.

Upton
Upton 1442 Test
‘High farm’ v. upp, tun.

Wapley House [wɔ:pɛl hɔs]
Walepol 1226–8 Fees
Walpolhou 1231 Ass
Walplehous 1231 Fees
Wapel(h)ou 1287 Ebor, 1301 LS
Wayplay 1540 Dugd iv. 75 Wapley 1577 Dugd iv. 75
‘Howes near Walpole,’ which itself probably means ‘Britons’ pool’ v. pol, haugr. The first element is OE W(e)alh, gen. plur. W(e)ala (v. IPN 18). On the modern pronunciation v. Introduction xxxi; ey represents the reduction of unstressed -hou.

Liverton

1. Liverton 16 D 5
Liuretun 1086 DB
Livertun 1165–75 YCh 890, p. 1180 Whitby
Li-, Lyverton(a) 1175–80 YCh 889, 1181 P et passim
Leverton c. 1200 BM, 1300 YI, 1571 FF, 1577 Saxton

With this name cf. Liverpool (Ekwall, PN La 117), Liversedge (YWR), DB Liuresech, and Livermere (Sf), Liuremere 12 BM, Lyvermere 1224 C1R. The first element is probably in each case a stream-name which Professor Ekwall connects with OE lyfrig(-blōd), ME livered 'coagulated, clotted.' The Norw river-name Levra, earlier Lifr- 'stream with thick water' (Rygh, NElv 145, s.v. Lifr-) is a parallel to the stream-name contained in these English place-names. Liverton stands on Liverton Beck. v. tun.

Waytail Gate (6")

Waytehil p. 1180 Whitby

'Watch hill' from OFr wait 'watch' (cf. Waits House 83 supra) and hyll. Waytail is near the sea-coast.

Brotton

1. Brotton 16 C 5

Broctune, Brotune 1086 DB Brocton 1273 YI
Brotton' 1181 P, 1279 Ch Brottun 1185–96 YCh 667

v. broc, tun. Cf. Broughton (Ryed) 46 supra. In this name [χ] from c was assimilated to following t as in Latton (W) from OE lac(u)tan; cf. IPN 113, 5.

SKINNINGROVE

Scinergreve 1273 YI
Skynnergreve 1301 LS, 1404 YI; -gryf 1348 FF
Skin(n)ergrive 1273 YI, 1279 Ch
Skinngref(myll) 1407 YI
Skyningrave, Skynnygrave 1285 (16) KI, 1579 FF

v. gryfja. Skinningrove is a small valley which runs down to the sea-coast. The first element is the ON by-name Skinnari (LindBN) from ON skinnari 'a tanner.' The pers. name is found in Norw place-name Skinnerbogen (Rygh, NG i. 156) and Skininnerthorpe (YWR), Schinertorp 1297 LS. Forms with -in- for -er- are due to the analogy of numerous -ing- names.
2. SALTBURN 16 C 5 [sɔːtbrən]

_Salteburnam_ 1180–90 YCh 767, 1293 QW

‘Salt stream’ _v._ s(e)alt and burna. The reference is probably to the alum which is found in this district.

Hazel Grove

_Heselgrive_ 13 VCH ii. 401

‘Hazel valley’ from ON hesli ‘hazel’ and gryfja.

Skelton

1. KILTON 16 D 5

_Chilton, -ton_ 1086 DB

_Chiltona_ a. 1157 Percy

_Ki-, Kylton_ 1219 Ass (p), 1292 Ch, Percy _et passim_

It is very difficult to come to any conclusion with regard to this name and Kildale 166 _infra_. For Kilton Professor Ekwall suggests a Scand form of OE cilda-_tun_ (cf. Chilton) _v._ cild, tun, whilst the first element of Kildale he suggests is possibly ON _kill_ ‘a narrow bay,’ well-evidenced in Norw p.ns. In the latter case it is not quite certain what the semantic development of _kill_ must have been that it could be applied to a place inland. In Norw dialects it has the meaning ‘narrow triangular piece’ and in Dan _kil_ the meaning ‘a narrow strip of land.’

Kilton Thorpe

_Torp_ 1086 DB, _duas Chiltonas_ a. 1157 Percy

_K. et Thorp_ 1257, 1292 Ch, 1292 Percy

_Thorphkilton, Kyltonthorp_ 1406, 1407, 1409 YI

‘The hamlet belonging to the village of Kilton’ _v._ porp and cf. IPN 58.

2. GREAT (LITTLE) MOORSHOLM 16 E 5

_Morehusum_ 1086 DB

_Mores(h)um_ 12 Guis, 1328 Banco

_(Magna, parva) Morsum_ 13, 1222–40 Guis, 1257, 1292 Ch, 1273 YI, (petit) 1404 YI

_(Parva, Little, Great) Morsom_ 1285 KI, 1301 LS, 1348 FF, 1404 YI
Moresham

(A) the houses on the mor. v. hus.

AVENS HOUSE, AVENS WOOD

le hauenes 1273 YI

'The havens' from OE hæfen; the sense in which the word is used is not clear but it is probably 'refuge, shelter' (cf. NED s.v. haven).

GIRRICK, GIRRICK RIDGE

Gren(e)rig(g)e, -ryg 1273 YI, 1280 Ch, 1293 QW, 1407 YI
Gericke 1575 FF  Girricke 1616 NR

'Green ridge' v. grene, hrycg. The modern form arises from the metathesis of Grenr- to Gern- with later loss of -n-.

HAREDALE (6")

Hardale 1273 YI


SKEATE BECK (6")

Skaytebec 1271 YI, 1272 Cl
Sketebec 1271 YI
Skeyte-, Scaitebek 1272 Cl

Lindkvist (135) is probably correct in deriving this name from ON skøyti, a mutated form of ON skaut. ON skøyti is only recorded with the meaning of 'shaft, missile' but it may also have had the meaning of skaut 'nook, bend' (cf. Rygh, NElv s.v. skaut-). Skate Beck is a stream with many twists and turns in its course. 'Twisted stream' v. bekkr. We probably have a parallel in Staitebec (sic), the name of a tributary of the Wharfe (1310 Ch).

SWINDALE HOUSE

Svyn-, Suindale(wra) 12 Guis

'Swine valley' v. swin, dæl.
SWINSOW [swinsɔ] (6")
Swineswithne 13 Guis
Professor Ekwall suggests ‘burnt clearing where pigs are
turned out to forage’ v. swin and swithen (EDD).

3. SKELTON 16 C 4
Sc(h)eltun 1086 DB, 1130–5 YCh 671
Later forms are the same as for Skelton (Bulm) 16 supra.
The interpretation is discussed under that name.

BAG DALE (6")
Bagdalesclose 1407 Yl
‘Baggi’s valley’ v. dæl. The first element is the ON pers.
name Baggi.

BOROUGHGATE LANE (6")
Burghgate 1407 Yl
‘Road to the castle (of Skelton)’ v. burh, gata, and cf.
Birdgate 85 supra.

BOOSBECK [biuzbek]
Bosbek 1375 Barbour’s Bruce
‘Stream near the cowshed’ from OE bōs(ig) and bekkr.

COLD KELD (6")
Kaldekelde 12 Guis
‘Cold spring’ v. cald, kelda. This name is fairly common
in Y: it appears as Cawkill (YER), Caldekelde 1328 Banco, as
the names of places (now lost) in Ampleforth, Caldkelehill
c. 1226 RegAlb ii. 56, and in Easby, Caldekeld(e) 1160 Easby 4,
12 d, etc.

GLAPHOWE (6")
Glaphou 12 Guis (p) Galaphoue 1279 Yl Claphow 1404 ib.
‘Glappa’s mound’ v. haugr. On the OE pers. name Glappa,
Glappa which enters also into Glapthorn (Nth), Glapethorn
John BM, Glapwell (Db), DB Glapewelle, and OE Glappan-
felda BCS 1295, v. Redin 96; there is variation between G-
and C- in the OE forms of the pers. name, as also in Glapthorne
(Nth).
Halligill Cote (6")

_Halikeld Cote_ 1301 LS

'Cottage near the holy well' v. halig, kelda, cot. Cf. Halikeld wap., Hallikeld House, and Hallikeld Spring 212, 218–9 _infra._ For medial _g_ cf. Wigginton 14 _supra._

_How la Hay_

_Haia, Haya_ 1129, 1239 Guis

'Mound near the hunting enclosure' v. haugr, (ge)hæg. For _la_ cf. Barton le Willows 38 _supra._

Millholme (6")

_Milnholm_ 1407 YI

'Mill field' v. myln, holmr.

Rawcliff Bank

_Readercliff_ 1043–60 (12) SD

_Roudeclif, Roudcliffe_ 1086 DB _Routheclyve, -clive_ 1190, 1242 Guis

_Roucliff (flat)_ 1407 YI, _Roclliff_ 1582 FF

This name is of great interest as showing what must have repeatedly happened in Yorkshire place-names, viz. the replacement of an OE name by a Scand cognate. The SD form _Readercliff_ is from OE _read_ 'red,' whilst later forms show the substitution of ON _ræðr._ v. _clif._

_Skelton Beck_

_Skelton bek_ 1407 YI

_v. bekkr_ and cf. Skelton 145 _supra._

Wand Hills

_Wandale (flat)_ 1407 YI

Cf. Wandales 59 _supra._

4. Stanghow 16 D 4 [stæŋou]

_Stanhou_ 1273 YI

_Stanghou, -houe_ 1280 Ch, 1293 QW, 1301 LS, 1575 FF

_Staynghou_ 1301 LS
'Howe marked by a pole' v. stɔŋ, haugr. Cf. the lost Stangerhou in Ravensmeols (PNLa 250). The spellings Stane-, Stayng- are due to the influence of OE stan and ON steinn.

Aysdale Gate
Asadale 1119, 1129 Guis Aisedale 1239 Guis
Hasdale 1273 YI
‘Asi’s valley’ from ON Ási (LindN) and dæl.

The Black Howes
tres Hoggae c. 1200 Guis
v. haugr.

Camisedale (6")
Camisedale 1086 DB (? identical) Camdale 1407 YI
If the DB form is to be identified with this place the first element is the ON by-name Kámsi or Kámr (LindBN). This identification is, however, doubtful and it seems more likely that the first element is OE camb or ON kambr ‘comb, crest, ridge’ (cf. Cam 196 infra). v. dæl.

Combe Bank
The Combes 1407 YI
‘The hollows’ v. cumb.

Kateridden [ke:t ridin]
Kateriding 1273 YI Cadringe 1301 LS
‘Kati’s clearing’ from the ON pers. name Káti (LindBN) and hryding. The LS form is erratic.

Lockwood
Locwyt 1273 YI
From OE loc ‘enclosure’ and viðr, which was later replaced by OE wudu. Cf. Lockwood (YWR).

Slaipwath (6") [slaipwaθ]
Slaipwath 1200–22 Guis Slaypewath 1222 Guis
‘Slippery ford’ from ON sleipr and vað.
TIDKINHOW [tɪdˈkɪnəʊ]

Tidkinhowe 1575 FF

v. haugr. The first element is a late pet-form of some such personal name as OE Tydi, Tidi.

Guisborough

1. COMMONDALE 16 F 4

Colemandale 1273 YI
Colmandale 1539 Dugd vi. 275, (al. Comondale) 1583 FF
Colmendall 1573 FF

‘Colman’s valley’ v. dæl. The name Colman (which is also found in Coldman Hargos infra) is of Irish origin, from OIr Colmán, a shortened form of OIr Columbán (v. Revue Celtique, xliv. 41). v. Introd. xxvii.

COLDMAN HARGOS (6")

Colemanergas 1119, 1129 Guis
Col(l)emanhergas 1170–90 YCh 659, a. 1199, 1239 Guis

‘Colman’s shielings’ v. erg, and Commondale supra.

DIBBLE BRIDGE

Dephil 1119 Guis
Dephil 1129, a. 1199, 1239 Guis, 1170–90 YCh 659
Depilbrigge 1301 LS Dybell Brigge 1539 Dugd vi. 275

‘Bridge near the deep pool’ v. deop, hylr, brycg.

MADDY HOUSE

Mady House 1539 Dugd vi. 275

SCALE FOOT (6")

Schalingthawythe 1301 LS
Skalethwayte 1539 Dugd v. 510
Scalethwayte al. Scaylthat 1573 FF

‘Enclosure with a small shed or shieling,’ cf. Scaling 139 supra, and v. þeit. The final element þeit has undergone a dialectal sound-change of th to f (cf. Garfit 69 supra) and popular etymology has connected the word with foot.
SKELDERSKEW

Schelderscoh 1119, 1129, a. 1199 Guis, 1170-90 YCh 659
Skelderschog 1239 Guis
Skelderschuthe 1285 KI
Skelderskayg 1301 LS
Skilderskew 1577 Saxton
Skelderskew 1623 NR

The first element is probably the ON pers. name Skjöldr, gen. Skjaldr (LindBN). v. skogr.

SLEDDALE

Sleddal Cote 1301 LS Sleddalle 1539 Dugd vi. 275


TOD HOWE

Todhou, -how 1200-22 Guis

v. haugr. The first element may be the common word tod ‘a fox’ or it may be the ON pers. name Toddi (LindBN). As haugr seems to be most frequently coupled with a pers. name the latter alternative is preferable.

WAYWORTH

Wayewathe 1301 LS Whawathe 1539 Dugd vi. 275
Wayworth 1615 NR

‘Ford where the road crosses’ v. weg, vað.

2. GUISBOROUGH 16 D 2 [gizbra, gizbra]

There is variation in the forms of Guisborough between -burn and -burgh; -burn forms predominate but do not seem to be the original ones:

Ghiges-, Gighes-, Chigesburg, -burc, -borc 1086 DB
Gisburham 1104-8 SD
Giseburg(h) 1130-5 YCh 671 and 9 examples noted before 1410 Guis
Giseburg(h) 1155-1210 YCh 654, 1189-1214 YCh 564
Gi-, Gysburgh 1285 KI, and 7 examples noted before 1577 Saxton
Gisseburgh c. 1291 Tax
Gysborow, -borough 1530 Visit
The following references are to -burn forms:
Giseborne 1086 DB
Gi-, Gyseburn(e) 1119 Guis, and 27 examples noted before 1430 Bodl a. i. 63
Gisbourne c. 1180 Percy
Gi-, Gysburn 1228 FF, and 7 examples noted before 1483 Test
Guiseburna early 14 Whitby; Guysborn 1504 Test; Guisburne 1531 NCyWills

This is a difficult name of which the interpretation is not made easier by Simeon of Durham’s Gisburham. There is a rare ON by-name Gigr (LindBN) which would account for the DB forms, of which a diminutive seems to occur in Giggleswick (PN YWR 77). If this is correct the second g was early lost from the combination gsb and Simeon’s form can only be explained as a case of suffixed ham; cf. DB Breilesfordham for Brailesford (Db). For the fluctuating final element v. Cheeseburn, Newburn and Sockburn (PN NbDu s.nn.). Gainsborough (L) and Scarborough 105 supra are further examples of burh-names compounded with a Scand by-name.

Barnaby
Bernodebi 1086 DB
Bernaldeby 12 Guis, 1155–c. 1170 YCh 752 et freq to 1303 KF
Bernaldeby c. 1190 (p), 1263 Guis
Barndaleby 1285 KI, 1412 YI
Barntby al. Barneby 1285 (16) KI
‘Beornwald’s farm’ from the OE pers. name Beornw(e)ald and by.

Belmangate (6")
Belmundegate 12 Guis via de Belmund 13 ib.
Belmangate 1539 Dugd vi. 275
‘Road to Belmont’ v. next name and gata.

Belmont
Belmund 1185–94 YCh 695, 1230–50 Guis
Baumund 1230–50 Guis
‘Beautiful hill’ from OFr bel and mont.
CARLING HOWE

Kerlinghou 12, c. 1170 Guis  Kerlinhou c. 1176 Guis

‘Old woman mound’ v. haugr. ON kerling ‘old woman’ is used in ON as a by-name (LindBN). There is an unidentified place in this township called Kerlingkelde 12 Guis, ‘old woman spring’ (v. kelda).

HOLMES BRIDGE (6")

Holmes c. 1175 Guis

v. holmr, brycg.

HOWL BECK

Holebec 1119, 1129 Guis et passim Hollebek 1239 Guis

v. Howl Beck 69 supra.

KEMPLAH (6") [kempla]

Kempelive 13 Guis  Kempley 1539 Dugd vi. 275

‘Kempi’s cliff’ from the ON by-name Kempi (LindBN) and clif. For loss of final f cf. Hamley 80 supra.

MOORDALE (6") [mɔd'l]

Moridayles c. 1175 Guis

‘Swampy shares of the common field’ v. deill. Mori is the OE adj. mörig from mor.

OLD SLEIGHTS (6")

Adthewaldeslet c. 1175 Guis  Adalwalslet 12 Guis

‘Athelwald’s level-ground’ from the OE pers. name Æpelwald and sletta. The development to Old must have arisen from loss of medial th and subsequent assimilation of Alwald to Ald and [ɔ:d].

PERCY CROSS

Percycros 1231 Guis

v. cros. The Percy family held land here (v. Guis passim).
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Scugdale

*Scuggedale, Skugge-* 12 Guis, 1185–95 YCh 695, 13, c. 1230 Guis

‘Shady valley’ from ON *skuggi* ‘shadow’ (cf. Björkman, *Loanwords* 35) and dæl.

Waterfall

*Waterfal* c. 1200 G

Westworth

*Westwith* 12 Guis, c. 1170 Riev, 1170–80 YCh 662 *et passim*

‘West wood’ *v.* west, viðr.

3. Hutton Lowcross 16 E 2

*Hotun* 1086 DB, 1170–85 YCh 695

*Hoton(a)* 1189 Guis, (*juxta Gis(e)burne*) 1301 LS

‘Farm on the spur of land’ *v.* hoh, tun and Lowcross *infra.*

Lowcross Farm

*Lowcros* 12, 1218–34, 1230–50 Guis

*v.* cros. Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element is the ON pers. name *Logi* found also in Lowthorpe (YWR).

4. Pinchinthorpe 16 E 1

*Torp, Oustorp* 1086 DB

*Thorp* 1155–70 YCh 752, 1222–7 Whitby

*Pinzunthorp* c. 1195–1210 YCh 753

*Pii-, Pynchunthorpe(e)* 12, c. 1230, 1292 Guis, 1303 KF, 1347 Baildon, 1409 YI

*Pynchonthorp* 1301 LS  *Pynchenthorp* 1316 Vill

*Pyncheonthorp* 1395 Whitby, 1412 YI

*Punchunthorpe* 1406 YI

*Pii-, Pynchinthorp* 1530 Visit, 1577 Saxton

*v.* pörp. The original form of the name means simply ‘village’ or ‘east village’ (DB *Oust-* from ON *austr*). Why ‘east’ is not clear, unless it was an outlying settlement from Newton, a mile to the south-east. The first element is the name of the family of *Pinchun* who held land here in the
12th and 13th cents. (YCh 753). The name is also the first element of *Pinsuncroft* (12 Guis), the name of a lost field in Pinchingthorpe.

5. **Tocketts** 16 D 2 [токитс]

*Theoscota* 1043–60 (12) SD  
*Toscutun, Toscutun* 1086 DB  
*Toucotes* c. 1180 Guis (p), 1404, 1412 YI  
*Tofcotes* 1187 P (p), 1202 FF, 1252 Ass (p)  
*Toscotes* 1202 FF  
*Thoecotes* 1202 FF, 1230–50 Guis, 1279 YI  
*Tokotes* 1301 LS, *Tochotes* 1303 KF, *Tocotes* 1369 FF  
*Toukotes* 1338 Baildon (p)  
*Tocketts* 1665 Visit

v. cot. The forms are too conflicting and uncertain in themselves for any satisfactory solution of the first element to be offered.

**Upleatham**

1. **Upleatham** 16 C 3

*Upelider* 1086 DB  
*Uplyum, Uplium, Uplihum* 1119, 1129, 1230–50 Guis et passim to 1310 Ch  
*Uplithum* 1140–54 Whitby, 13 Easby 247 d, Percy, 1280 Ch, 1308 Whitby  
*Ouerlidun* 1181 P  
*Uppelithum* 1222–40, 1239 Guis  
*Lyum* 1231 Ass, 1257, 1292 Ch  
*Oppelidon* 1314 NRS  
*Uplethum* 1285 (16) KI, 1407 YI *Upleythome* 1581 FF  
*Upledam* 1613 NR *Up-Leatham* 1665 Visit

The upper slopes’ v. upp(e), hlið. The DB form represents the ON nom. plur. hliðir, whilst the remaining forms are from the dat. plur. hliðam. For the P form *Ouer- v. ufera.*

The modern form of the name has arisen as follows:—ME *i* in the open syllable was lengthened to *i* and lowered to *e* (written *e, ey*) in the 15th cent.: this was raised to [i:] in modern times, as also in Cleveland 128 *supra*, Kirkleatham, Healam, Skeebey, Smeaton 155, 220, 288, 211.
Cornegrave

_Cornegrave_ 1273 YI

‘Cranes’ or herons’ pit (or valley)’ from OE *corn* ‘crane, heron’ (v. Cornbrough 32 _supra_) and gryfja. Corngrave Farm is on the slope of a hill, but the name perhaps referred originally to a small valley which lies 200 yards to the south-west.

Dunsdale

_Dunsdale_ 1273 YI

‘Dun’s valley’ _v._ dæl.

Raisbeck (locally Raybeck)

_Rabec_ 12 Guis, 1180–90 YCh 767

From ON ra ‘roe-buck’ (cf. Raskelf 26 _supra_ and Raydale 264 _infra_) and bekkr. The modern form is corrupt.

**Marske**

1. **Marske** 16 B 3 [mask]

_Merscum_ 1043–69 (12) SD _Mersch(e)_ 1086 DB
_Mersc_ 1086 DB et passim to 1223 FF
_Mersk(e)_ 1180 Percy et passim to 1401 Test
_Mers_ 1218–34 Whitby
_Marske_ 1285 (16) KI, 1442 Guis, 1677 Marske
_Mask(e)_ 1577 Saxton, 1581 FF, 1665 Visit, 1685, 1714 Marske

‘The marsh(es)’ _v._ merse, and cf. Marske 293 _infra_. The earliest form is in the dat. pl. After DB the forms show the substitution of Scand _sk_ for Engl _sh_ (cf. Loft Marishes 95 _supra_).

Cat Flats (6")

_Cateflat_ 12 Guis, 1180–90 YCh 767

‘Kati’s field’ from the ON by-name _Káti_ (LindBN) and _flat_.

Fell Briggs

_Alflebrigg_ 13 Whitby _Felebrige_ 13 Whitby

The first spelling is erratic. The second and the modern form suggest that the first element is ON _fjol_ ‘a board’; cf. _Felebrige_ (PN La 253) Felbrigg (Nf) and Fell Beck (YWR), _Felebrigebec_ 1170–9 _RegAlb_ i. 71 _d_, 72. ‘Bridge made of planks’ _v._ brycg.
GILDER FLAT (6"), a field
Gyldhousflat 1407 YI
"Field near the guild-house," from ON gildi-hús (Björkman, Loanwords 154) and flat. Cf. the lost Gildhusmor (e. 14 Whitby) in Middlesborough and Gildusclif (1284 YI) in Scarborough.

MICKLEDALES (6")
Mikeldales 13 Guis Mikeldeldes 1407 YI
"Large shares of the common field" v. mycel, deill. The form deldes arises in the same way that early English vile comes from vile.

MORDALES (6")
Moredeldes 1407 YI
v. mor and preceding name.

Kirkleatham

1. Kirkleatham 16 C 2
Westlidun, -lid(e), Westlde, Westlidum, Westude 1086 DB
LIVum 1221 Guis
LISum 1268 Ebor
Kyrkelidun 1181 P Kirkledom 1491 Sanct
Other forms follow those of Upleatham 153 supra.

It is called Westlidun from its position in relation to Upleatham and Kyrkelidun from its church (of early foundation). For the forms LISum and LIVum cf. IPN 108 ff. Cf. further Upleatham 153 infra.

CRUMBACRE (6")
Crumbaker 1231 Guis Crumbacre 1231 FF
"Crooked field" from crumb and Æcer.

GREENWALL (6")
Grenewall(e) 1231 FF, Guis Grenewalde 1401 YI
Probably "green woodland," v. grene, w(e)ald.
YEARBY [jiæbi]

_Uverby_ 1174–9 Guis, 1539 Dugd vi. 275
_Overby_ 1270, 1395 Guis
_Ureby_ 1579 FF, 1611 NR
_Yerbye_ 1577 Saxton
_Urierby_ 1609 BM
_Eureby_ 1615 NR

‘Upper farm’ from OE _ufera_ and _by._ Cf. _Ovrebí_ (DB) the name of a lost place in Whitby. The development of _Uverby_ to _Ureby_ (= [iurbi]) is due to the vocalisation of medial _-v-_. The change of _Ure-_ or _Eure-_ to _Year-_ is normal in the dialect (v. Introd. xxxiii).

2. REDCAR 16 B 2

_Redker_ 1165–75 YCh 768 _et passim_ to 1422 YI
_Redeker(re)_ c. 1180 Percy, 1198 Fount, 1301 LS, 1333 Riev
_Rideker_ 1271 Ipm
_Redkerre_ 1353 Percy
_Ridkere_ 1407 YI
_Readcar_ 1653 Marske

‘Red marshy land’ v. _read, kjarr_. The land is low-lying and the rocks are of a reddish hue (cf. Rawcliff Bank 146 _supra_).

EAST COATHAM

_Cotum_ 1123–8 Guis, (Est) 13 _BylE_ 19 _et passim_ to 1404 YI
_Oustcotum_ 1181 P
_Cotun_ 1165–76 YCh 657
_Cotom_ 1231 FF, 1443 Test

_v. cot._ East (OE _east_, ON _austr_) in relation to

WEST COATHAM

_Westcotum_ 1181 P, 1237 Percy

SALT SCAR

_Salcker in Clyvelond_ 1281 Pat

_v. s(e)alt, kjarr_. A wreck took place here in 1281.
WANDALE

Wandayles 12, 1230–50 Guis Wanddayles 1175 ib. Wandayll 1231 FF
Wandeldes 1407 YI

WILEY BRIDGE (6") [wiləbrig]
the Wylyes 1296 YI (p) le Wyli(g)es 1300 YI, 1301 LS
Wolley 1571 FF
‘The willows’ v. welig.

VI. LANGBARGH WEST WAPENTAKE

v. Langbargh East Wapentake 128 supra.

Ormesby

1. ESTON 15 H 9

Astun(e) 1086 DB
Eston(a) 1160–72 YCh 772 et passim
v. east, tun. Eston is in the east of the parish.

2. MORTON 15 K 9

Mortun, -tona 1086 DB
v. mor, tun.

3. NORMANBY 15 J 9

Norðmannabi c. 1050 HSC Northmanby 1222–40 Guis
Normanebi 1086 DB et passim to 1252 Ch
Normannesbi 1181 P
Normanby 1191–9 Guis
Cf. Normanby (Ryed) 57 supra.

4. ORMESBY 15 J 9

Ormesbi, -by 1086 DB et passim Ormysby 1414 Test
‘Orm’s farm’ from ON Ormr and by.
Bottoms Farm

*Midel-*, *Litelbothem* 13 Guis
v. botm.

Hambleton Hill

*Hameldune* 13 Guis

‘Scarred hill’ v. hamel, dun and cf. Hamley 80 *supra*. The name Hambleton is a common hill-name in Yorkshire, and most of them are characterised by their scars.

Hillbraith (lost)

*Hillebrait* 12 Guis  *Hille-, Illebrayth* 13 Guis

This name seems to be one of the “inversion compounds” dealt with in the Introduction (xxvii). Hillbraith is ‘Breith’s hill or pool’ from the ON pers. name *Breiðr* (LindN) and either OE, ON *hyll* ‘hill’ or ON *hylr* ‘pool’.

Hunger Hill (6")

*Hunggerhil* c. 1250 Guis
v. hungor and *hyll*, and Field-names, 328 *infra*.

Ladgate (lost)

*Laddegate* 12, 13 Whitby, 13 Guis
v. *gata*. The name occurs elsewhere in this district as Ladgate in Skelton (not adduced from early sources) and seems to be a regular type of name, parallel to *Wayncarlegate* c. 1175 etc. Guis, *Walkarlagata* (Ryd) 1154–63 Riev, each containing ON *karl*. Here the first element is probably ME *lad* ‘lad, boy.’ This is first found in the OE nickname Godric *Ladda* (KCD 1351). It may have had some special meaning in OE besides ‘boy’; the use of the element with *gata* perhaps indicates that a “lad” was one who had to do with driving (cattle or horses).

5. Upsall 15 J 9

*Upes(h)ale* 1086 DB
*Uppesale* 1155–65 Whitby, 1222–40 Guis, 1284 Ebor (p), 1412 YI
*Upsale* c. 1170–95 YCh *et passim* to 1498 Test
*Upsall* 1443 Test
This name, like Upsall (Bird) 200 infra, is the same as the Swed Uppsala, from ON up-salir ‘high dwellings.’ The name is a common Scand type: cf. Norw Opsal, earlier i Vpsalum (Rygh, NG i. 138 et passim).

Dibdale (6")

Depedale 13 Whitby
Cf. Deepdale 96, 103 supra.

6. Wilton 16 C i

Widtune 1086 DB Wiltune 1086 DB, 1155–65 Whitby
Other forms and interpretation are as for Wilton (Pickering) 90 supra.

Lackenby

Lachenebi, Lachebi 1086 DB
Lacnebi, -by 12 Dods xcv. 36 (p), 1308 NRS
Lagenebi 1181 P
Lackenbi, -by 12 Guis, 1202 FF et passim
Lackeneby, Lackebi 1208 FF Lacceneby 1218–33 BM
Lachaneby 1231 Ass
Lakenbei 1297 YI
Lakkingby 1285 KI
Lak-, Lacenby 1310 Ch, 1367 FF, 1406 YI, 1463 YD

v. by. The first element is probably a pers. name; there was an ON by-name Læknir (LindBN) which may have had a weak form Lækni, but from the persistence of -ene and -ane endings in the first element this etymology is extremely doubtful and a more likely derivation is the OIr pers. name Lochan (cf. Revue Celtique, xliv. 49). This pers. name is a diminutive in -an (gen. -ain) of OIr loch ‘black’ (cf. Welsh lluig ‘livid’). The appearance of the OIr vowel o as a in the place-name is not unparalleled and is probably due to the influence of Scandinavians who introduced the name: the OIr pers. name Colmdn, for example, appears as ON Kalman, Combán as Kamban; the place-name Stainpapan (YWR) appears to be derived from a diminutive pers. name *Popan from OIr popa ‘teacher’ (loc. cit. 50, and Ekwall, Scands. and Celts, 47). There is, therefore,
sufficient evidence to account for the OIr *Lochan* appearing as *Lachan* in Scandinavian Yorkshire. Normally in Ir pers. names introduced by the Norwegians into Yorkshire place-names no trace of the OIr gen. *-ain* is preserved, but Ekwall (*op. cit.* 54, note) cites one or two examples which might well be from this form. The early forms of Lackenby with *-ene* should probably, therefore, be regarded as survivals of the OIr gen. ending *-ain*.

**Lazenby** [lezønbi]

*Lesingebi, Laisinbia, Lesighebi* 1086 DB

*Lei-, Leysing(e)bi, -by* 1086 DB, 12 Dods xcv. 36, 1279–81 QW

*Lesingby* 1300 YI

‘Village of the freedmen’ *v. leysingi*, by. Cf. Lazenby (Allert) 210 *infra* and a lost *Laysingcroft* (c. 1180 Percy) in Redcar.

**Moordale Beck, Moordale Bridge (6")**

*Moredale* 1230 Guis

**Scrath (6")**

*Scrith* 13 Guis

Probably connected with ONorw *skrið* neut. or *skriða* fem. ‘(land-)slide.’ Cf. Rygh, *NG Indledning* 76. The modern form of the place-name is perhaps due to metathesis to *Scirth > Scarth*, with later remetathesis to *Scrath*.

**Middlesbrough**

1. **Middlesbrough 15 H 8** [midølzbruf]

*Mid(e)lesburc(h), -burgh* 1114–40 Whitby *et passim* to 1314 NRS

*Middelburg(h)* 1273 YI, c. 1291 Tax, 1613 Dugd iii. 692

*Medellesburghe* 1285 KI, *Medils-* 1395 Whitby

*Middelesburgh, Middlesbrough* 1407 YI, 1665 Visit

*v. burh*. The first element is the OE pers. name *Midele*, not found independently; cf. Middlesmoor (YWR), *Midelesmore* 1346 Percy, and the name of a lost field *Midelesmar* (Percy) near Scalby.
ARNOLDSTOFT (6")

Arnodedestorp 1086 DB Arnaldestofiges 13 Whitby

'Arnald's homestead' from ON Arnaldr and topt. The DB form is probably erratic (cf. Spennithorne 253 infra).

AYREsome (6")

Arus(h)um 1129 Guis, 1218–34 Whitby, 1160–70 YCh 1851
Aresum 1119, a. 1199, 1222–40 Guis
Arsum 1222–40 Guis, 1285 KI, 1303 KF, 1336 Ch, 1412 YI
Arsham 1577 Saxton

'(At) the houses near the river' v. a, hus. The original form of the name is ON í dr-húsun (dr = gen. sg. of á, and húsun = dat. plur. of hús), which is the origin of the Norw place-name Arus (Rygh, NG ii. 23, etc.).

CARGO Fleet

C-, Kaldecotes 12 Whitby et passim to 1301 LS
Caldcotes 1288 YI
Cawkers Nab 1624 Terrier (penes Major R. B. Turton)

For this common type of place-name v. cot. The identification of Caldecotes with Cargo Fleet was first suggested by Canon Atkinson, and it is made more certain by the last spelling provided by Major Turton. The development of Cald- to Caw- is quite regular. Cargo Fleet is near the Port of Middlesborough and the change from Cawker to Cargo arises from the similarity of sound of the two words and from association with the business of the port.

GATERIGG (lost)

Gayteryk c. 1142 Dugd v. 352
Gayteryg, -rig 1160–70 YCh 1851 et passim to 1392 BM
Geytrik 1247 Ch

'Goats' ridge' v. geit, hrycg.

LINTHORPE [linOrap]

Levingtorp c. 1138, e. 14 Whitby
Leving-, Levingthorpe 1160–80 YCh 1852 et passim to 1392 BM
Leuengthorp late H 3 BM
Lessa

Leventhorpe(e) 1301 LS, 1412 YI, 1463, 1482 YD, 1577 Saxton
Leventhrope 1573 FF
Linthropp 1614 NR

‘Leofa’s village’ from the OE pers. name Lœofa joined to torp by the ing found in ingtun.

Longlands (6")

(be) Langelandes 12, 13 Whitby

v. lang, land. An old field-name.

Acklam

1. Acklam 15 J 7 [akläm]

Aclum, Aclun 1086 DB
Acclum 1086 DB, 1129 Guis, 12 Dods xcv. 36, 1202 FF, 1247 Ch
Acclum c. 1142 Dugd v. 352, c. 1170–80 YCh 703 et passim to 1404 YI
Ackelom 1301 LS, 1303 KF
Acclom 1303 KF et freq to 1453 Test
Acclam 1399 YI

Acklam is of the same origin as Acklam (YER), Aclun 1086 DB, Acclum 1223 RegAlb iii. 4, etc. The origin of both names is probably ON i qklam, dat. plur. of ON qkull ‘ankle,’ and later ‘slope.’ The word qkull in the sense of ‘slope’ is found in some Norw place-names (cf. Rygh, NG Indledning 28).

Marton

1. Marton in Cleveland 15 J 8

Martun(e), -ton 1086 DB et passim, (in Cliveland) 1292 Ebor
Cf. Marton (Bulm) 28 supra.

Brackenhoe (6")

Brac(h)anhou 12 Whitby Brachan(e)hoc 1160–76 YCh 1848, 13 Whitby

‘Bracken hill’ v. braken, hoh.
Burtree (lost)

Buirtrekelde 1199–1203 Guis  Birtrestub 12 Whitby
Buirtrestub 13 Whitby

The first element is found fairly frequently in Y; burtrecros 13 Easby 81 d (a lost place in Hornby, GillE), a lost field in Monkby 245 infra called Buyrthwait, Burethwaites, Byrthwait 13 Easby 205, 210, 214, Byrtre c. 1180–94 YCh 796, and Burterssett 267 infra. The ultimate origin of the element is rather obscure, but it is certainly identical with NEDial bottry, ‘aldertree,’ Engl burtree, the earliest recorded instance of which is c. 1450 burtre = hec sambucus (NED s.v. bourtree); cf. Scots bourtree, ‘alder.’

Newham

Newe-, Newe-, Niue-, Neuham 1086 DB Newenham 1201 ChR

Prissick Farm

Prestsic 1199–1203 Guis
‘Priest stream’ v. preost, sic.

Tollesby [touzbi]

Tolesbi, Tolesby 1086 DB, a. 1199 Guis, 1201 ChR, 1206 FF
Tollesbi, Tollesby 1080 DB et passim Tollisbi c. 1130–40
YCh 686
Toulesbi, Toulesby 1166 P (p) et freq to 1310 Ch
Tolebi 1181 P
Towsby 1364 YD Towlesbie 1578 FF
‘Toll’s farm’ from ON Tollr (LindBN) and by.

Newton

1. Newton 15 K 10

Newetun, Nietona 1086 DB
Newetunie sub Ohtnebercg 1140–53 Whitby
Neuton sub Otneberch 1155–65 Whitby
Castell Neuton 1399 YI

Gunregate Lane

Gunregate  1135 Whitby

'Gunnar's road' v. gata. The usual gen. of the ON pers. name Gunnarr is Gunnars, but a form Gunnar is also found (LindN). Dr Lindkvist suggests ON Gunnvgr (f).

Roseberry Topping

Othenesberg, Ohensberg  1119, 1129 Guis
Ohtnebercg  1147–53 Whitby
Otheneberg  1170–90 YCh 659, a. 1199, c. 1210 Guis
Outhensbergh  1239 Guis
Ounesbergh  c. 1303–18 Whitby, -burgh  1409 IpmR
Ouesbergh (sic)  1404 YI
Ounsbery or Rosebery Topping  1610 Camden

The forms with Ou- at first suggest that the first element is the ON pers. name Audunn (LindN), but they are not inconsistent with a more interesting derivation, viz. that Othenesberg is a Scandinavian parallel to the well-authenticated OE Wodenesbeorg (cf. IPN 38) and that this remarkable hill was a centre of the worship of Othin, the Scandinavian equivalent of Woden. There is an exact parallel to the name in the Danish Onshjørg in Samsø, v. Samso Stednavne 48.

The editor of the Whitby Cartulary (Surt. 69, p. 166 note) says that there was an OAngl name Hreosabeorh and that this has given the modern Roseberry. There is no evidence at all for this. The change from Oues- to Rose- is due to metanalysis in the place-name Newton-under-Ouesbergh (v. Newton 163 supra), just as the modern common river-name Ree has come from OE æt þære ða (v. ea), so Roseberry is apparently from the form under-Ouesbergh; cf. further under Thornton Riseborough 77 supra. For the influence of rose on place-names cf. Rosedale 80 supra.

Little Roseberry

Parvi Othensberg  12 Guis

The two Roseberrys are large conical hills. It is chiefly of hills of this shape that topping (from OE top, 'hill') is used.
LANGBARGH WEST WAPENTAKE

Great Ayton

1. Great Ayton 15 L 9 [jætn, kæni jætn]

Atun(a) 1086 DB, c. 1175 Guis, 12 Whitby
Aton(a-m) 12 Guis, Whitby, 1129–35 YCh 866 et passim to 1508 Test, (Magna) 1300 Baildon, (in Cleveland) 1279 Ipm
Etonam c. 1160 Guis
Haiton 1202 FF
Atton' 1226 FF, 1235 Cl, 1252 Ass

'Farm by the river' v. a, tun, and cf. Ayton (Pick) 100 supra. For [jætn] v. Introduction xxxi. The popular appellation "Canny" probably refers to its pleasant situation, as suggested to us by Sir Alfred Pease.

Airy Holme

Ergun 1086 DB Ergum 1282 YI
v. erg and cf. Airyholme (Ryed) 49 supra.

Ayton Scarth (6")

Etunescarth c. 1160 Guis Etonescarth 13 Guis

'Hill-pass near Ayton' v. skarð.

Cliff Ridge

Clyverigg 1350 Ipm
v. clif, hrycg.

Langbarugh

Langberg 13 Guis Langbarge 1572 FF

'Long hill' v. lang, beorg. This hill, which is a long, high, narrow ridge, gave its name to the wapentake of Langbargh, and, being practically in the centre of the wapentake, was a good meeting place. Cf. 128 supra.

Lonsdale (6") [lounzdil]

Lonesdale 1263 Guis
Lonsdayll, Lounesdaill 1285 (16th) KI
Lounesdale 1539 Dugd vi. 275
v. dæl. The first element of this place-name is probably a pers. name and is possibly identical with the first element of Londesbrough (YER), *Lodenesburg* 1086 DB, *Lones-, Lonnes-, Lounesburgh* KF, Vill, from the ODan pers. name *Lothaen* (Nielsen), which appears in OE as *Lothan* (on the dial-stone of Edstone Church, v. Collingwood, *Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding*, 329) and as *Lothen*, the name of a Danish commander (ASC, MS E, s.a. 1046).

2. **Little Ayton** 15 L 10

*Atun* 1086 DB  *Parva Hatona* 1155–65 Whitby  
v. Great Ayton 165 supra.

3. **Nunthorpe** 15 K 9 [nunθɔrəp]  
*Torp* 1086 DB, 1181 P, c. 1196–1210 YCh 753  
*Nunnethorpe* 1301 LS, *Nunthorp(e)* 1328 Banco  
v. porp. Called Nunthorpe from the Nuns of the Church of St James, formerly here (cf. YCh 753).

**Maggra Park** (6") [maˈɡrə]  
*Magerbrigge* 1230–50 Guis  
*Maugrepark* 1407 YI *Maugrey* 1575 FF  
v. pearroc. The form *Maugre-* possibly indicates that the first element is the OE pers. name *Mægelgār*; cf. Meagre (PN BedsHu 264).

**Tunstall** (6")  
*Ton(n)estate* 1086 DB  *Tunstall* 1189 Cur  
v. tun-steall.

### Kildale

1. **Kildale** 16 F 2  
*Childale* 1086 DB  
*Kildalam, Ki-, Kyldale* 1119, 1129 Guis, 1179–90 YCh 659  
et passim  
*Kylldayll* 1285 (16) KI  
*Ki-, Kyldall* 1382 Test, 1418 NCyWills  
v. Kilton 143 supra.
Ingleby Greenhow

1. Easby 16 G 1

Esebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1369 FF
Esby (in Clyveland) 1307 Ch, 1285 (16) KI

'Esi's farm' v. by. The first element is ON Æsi (Nielsen), only found in OEScand (= OWScand Ásí). Note also Easby (Birdf, GillW) 185, 287 infra and cf. OE Æsa as in Easingwold 24 supra.

2. Ingleby Greenhow 16 G 1

Englebi, Engleby 1086 DB, 1203–7 Whitby
(H)engelby 1140–54, 1222–7 Whitby, 1235 Cl
Aengelby 1153–4 YCh 568
Engelby juxta Grenehoue 1285 KI
Ingolby 1291 Ch, Ingleby juxta Grenhou 1301 LS, Ingelby-Grenhowe 1369 FF

'Veillage of the English,' from OE Engle and by. There are three places in this district so called and they probably all denote isolated survivals of English inhabitants amid a prevailing Scandinavian population. For similar types, cf. Normanby and Danby 57, 117, 157, 226 and 131, 249, 276 supra.

Battersby

Badresbi 1086 DB, Baderesby 1236 Dugd v. 508
Batersby 1214–22 Whitby
Batherby 1285 KI, Batheresby 1301 LS, Bathersby 1303 KF, 1369 FF
Bettersby 1577 Saxton

'Bothvar's farmstead' v. by. The ON pers. name Bóðvarr (LindN) is from earlier Norse*Baðu-harir (v. Heusler, Altisländ. Element. § 167, and cf. OE name element Beadu-) and this form without u-mutation as in Dan Bathaer (Nielsen) occurs in the place-name. Cf. the note by the late Mr C. J. Battersby (a model of its kind) on Battersby in PN YWR 215 ff. The change of th to t is modern and is found again in Battersby (YWR), Bathersby 13 Kirkst, and in the use of the NEDial t' for the definite article the.
GREENHOW

Grenehou c. 1175–89 YCh 799
‘Green mound’ v. grene, haugr.

HAGGS GATE (6")

Haggesgata, -gate c. 1175–89 YCh 799
‘Road of, or in, the clearing’ v. høgg, gata. The district is still well-wooded.

KIRBY in CLEVELAND

1. GREAT BROUGHTON 15 M 9

Magna Broctun 1086 DB Mekil-Broughton 1481 Test Great Broughton 1665 Visit

With the same run of forms and meaning as Broughton (Ryed) 46 supra.

LITTLE BROUGHTON

Broctune 1086 DB Parva Brocton(a) 1302 Bodl a. i. 32

2. KIRBY 15 M 9

Cherchebi 1086 DB
Kirchabi, Kirkabi 1140–54 Whitby, 1149–53 YCh 567
Ki-, Kyrkeby (in Cliveland) 1149–53 YCh 878 et passim
‘Church farm’ v. kirkja, by.

DROMONBY

Dragmalebi 1086 DB
Tromundesbi c. 1150 Godr
Dromundby c. 1190 Fount
Dromundebi, -by 1190–1210 YCh 581 et passim to 1310 Ch (p)
Dromondby 1371 Baildon, Dromonby 1285 KI, 1665 Visit

‘Dromund’s farm’ v. by. The first element is the OWScand pers. name Drómundr (LindBN), found as the surname of Henr. Dromund (Guis ii. 302) in Y. The normal gen. in ON would be Drómundar, so that the above spellings without any trace of the gen. suffix -r may arise from OEScand loss of -r- before a consonant (v. IPN 61–2) in such compounds. Cf. Romanby
The DB form is curious. It cannot be brought into relation with the later forms. It should not, however, be dismissed as a mere mistake. In BCS 1052 a man named Dragmel occurs among other Northern witnesses to a Yorkshire charter of King Edgar. Evidently Dromonby was in the possession of one Dragmel before it passed to Drómundr. The Dragmel¹ may even be identical with the witness named above.

Stokesley

1. Great Busby 15 N 8
   Buschebi 1086 DB, 1202 FF
   Magna Buskebi(a), Buskeby 1180–90 YCh 581 et passim to 1327 Fount
   Buskby 1369 FF, Magna Busbye 1581 FF
   ‘Buski’s farm’ from the ON pers. name Buski, a weak form of Buskr (LindN) and by.

Blaten Carr (6")
   Blatun 1086 DB Blatonkerr 1198, 1535 Fount, 1535 VE
   ‘Bleak farmstead marsh’ v. blar, tun, kjarr.

2. Little Busby 15 N 8
   Buschebi 1086 DB
   v. Great Busby supra.

3. Newby 15 L 8
   Neubie, -by c. 1236 Heal 57 (p) et passim to 1463 YD
   ‘New farm’ v. niwe, by.

4. Stokesley 15 M 8 [stōuzlø]
   Stocheslag(e) 1086 DB
   Stokesle(i), -le(y) 1112–22 YCh 559 et passim
   Stokelega 1181 P
   Stocheslei 1189–1204 YCh 564
   Stokelay 1254 Ebor
   Stokeslay 1319 Guis, 1359 FF, 1399 YI, 1461 Test
   Stoxelay 1481 Test, Stoxley 1530 NCyWills

¹ This name may be a by-name from ON drag-mål, ‘drag-speech,’ used of one who speaks with difficulty.
This is a very difficult name. The forms suggest that the first element is OE *stoc* rather than *stocc*, but no local compounds in which stoc forms the first element have hitherto been identified. Further, the element *stoc* is otherwise unknown in this area and a certain difficulty always attaches to genitival compounds of the kind involved in suggesting that Stokesley might mean the leah belonging to some lost *stoc*.

**Tanton**

*Tametun, -ton(a) 1086 DB, Tameton 1170 P (p), 13 Guis, 1208 FF, 1224 Pat*

*Tanton(a) 1203–7 Whitby, 1285 (16th) KI*

*Tampton 1243–73 Heal 43 d et passim to 1418 YI*

*Tamton c. 1280–90 Heal 108, 1312 Ch*

‘Farm on the Tame’ v. Tame, R. 6 supra and tun.

**Stainton**

1. **Hemlington 15 K 8**

*Himelige-, Himelintun 1086 DB*

*Hemelington 1253 Ch, 1301 LS, Hemillington 1279 YI*

*Hemling-, Hemlyngton 13 BM, 1285 KI*

‘Hemela’s farm’ v. ingtun. Cf. Gate Helmsley 10 supra.

**Coulby [kouби]**

*Colebi 1086 DB*

*Colleby a. 1135 Whitby, 1295 YI, 1310 Ch (p)*

*Colby 1292 Heal 166 (p), et freq to 1416 YI*

‘Kolli’s farm’ from the ON pers. name *Kol(l)i* (LindN), found also in the Dan place-name *Kulby* (Nielsen), and by.

2. **Ingleby Barwick 15 K 6**

*Englebi 1086 DB Ingleby 1463 YD*

including

*Caldengilbi (1279 YI), K-, Caldingelby (1283, 1296 YI), Caudhyngilby (1516 Sanct) and Ingelby-Loringe (1285 KI), Engelby-Lorenge (1303 KF), Ingulby Loring (1407 YI), Ingleby Lawrell (1575 FF)*
v. Ingleby Greenhow 167 supra. 'Cold' Ingleby possibly refers to Ingleby Hill rather than to Ingleby Barwick itself. Lorunge refers to the family of Lorenge who held here: the canons of Guisborough held ex dono Willelmi Lorunge tres bouatas terre et tres toftas in Caldengelby'. Barwick from its nearness to

BARWICK [barik]

Berewic 1086 DB  Berewick super Teysa 1219 FF
v. berewic. It is on the Tees.

3. MALTBY 15 K 7 [mɔːtbi]

Maltebi, Malteby 1086 DB, 1176–86 YCh 673 et passim to 1406 YI
Mauteby 1222 FF, 1222–40 Guis, 1239 Ebor, 1240 Cl, 1310 Ch (p)
Mahuteby 1310 Ch (p)
Mawtby 1575 FF
Malthy 1616 NR, 1666 Visit

'Malti's farm' v. by. The pers. name Malti (Nielsen) is adduced in OEScand only. Cf. Maltby (YWR), two Maltbys in L and Mautby (Nf).

SANDBECK (6")

Sandbec 1222 FF

4. STAINTON 15 K 7

Steintun, Esteintona 1086 DB

'Enclosure or farm built of stone' v. steinn, tun.

STAINSBY

Steinesbi 1086 DB

'Stein's farm'; cf. Stainsacre 123 supra. v. by.

THORNTON

Torentun, Tornetun 1086 DB
v. porn, tun.
5. **Thornaby 15 J 6**

Turmozbi, Thormozbi, Tormozbi(a) 1086 DB
Thormodby 1175–1200 BylE 71 d, 1312 Guis
Thormodebi, -by 1202, 1231 FF, 1252 Riev, 1262–80 Guis, 1333 Riev
Thormotebi, -by 1279 YI, 1280 Ch, Guis, 1293 QW
Thormothby 1285 KI, Thormothy 1416 YI
Thormothy 1301 LS, 1369 FF, 1410 Guis
Thornaby 1665 Visit

'Thormoth's farm' v. by. The first element is ON þormóðr found also in Thormanby (Bulm) 26 supra.

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**Seamer**

1. **Seamer 15 L 8**

Semer, Semers (sic) 1086 DB, (in Clevelande) c. 1150 Godr
Samara, Samare 1133, 1140–54, c. 1180 Whitby, 1218 FF

With the same run of forms and interpretation as Seamer (Pick) 102 supra. v. Addenda xlv.

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**Hilton**

1. **Hilton 15 L 7**

Hiltun(e) 1086 DB, 1166 P (p), Hilton(a) 1086 DB, c. 1180 Guis (p) et passim

Self-explanatory.

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**Yarm**

1. **Yarm 15 K 5 [ja:m]**

Gerou (sic), Jarun 1086 DB
Jarum 12 Guis (passim), 1198 Abbr et passim to 1369 FF
Yarum 1182 Guis, 1198 Fount, 1342 Test (passim), 1354 FF, 1407–19 YI, 1436 NCyWills
Garum 1218 FF
Jarrom 1234 Pat
Yarom 1285 KI, 1429 NCyWills, 1464 Test, 1470 RichWills
Yarm(e) 1300 YI, 1530 Visit

From OE gearum, the dative plural of OE gear (found in the compound mulen-gear BCS 984), 'a yair, a pool for catching fish' (cf. Ekwall, PN in -ing 95 note). Yarm is on the river Tees and the name denotes 'fish pools.'
Kirkleavington

1. Castle Leavington (6")", identical with Castle Hill 15 L 6
   Levetona, Lentun(e) 1086 DB
   Levinton, Levynton 1230, 1246 Cl, (Castel) 1219 Ass, 1299
   Fine, 1571 FF
   Levincthon c. 1275 Bodl a. i. 59 (p)
   Castellevington 1293 QW, 1299 YI, 1301 LS, 1378 YD
   ‘Farm by the river Leven’ (later distinguished by its castle).
   v. Leven, R. 4 supra and tun.

Holdenfield
   Holdene 1270 Pat
   v. hol, denu.

2. Kirk Leavington 15 L 6
   Levetona, Lentune 1086 DB
   With the same run of forms as for Castle Leavington and
   first called Kirkelevingtona in 1230–50 Guis. Kirk Leavington
   is distinguished by its church, which stands prominently in the
   highest part of the village. v. kirkja.

3. Picton 15 M 5
   Pike-, Pyketon(a), -tun c. 1200 BM et passim to 1310 Ch
   Pickton 1285 KI, 1565 FF
   Pykton 1301 Abbr, 1354, 1369 FF, 1435 Baildon
   ‘Pica’s farm’ v. tun. The first element is probably the weak
   form of the OE pers. name Pic (Redin 22), cf. Pickhill 224
   infra and Pickenham (Nf), DB Pichenham.

4. Low Worsall 15 L 4 [worsal]
   Wercesel, Wirceshel, Wercheshal(e) 1086 DB
   Wi-, Wyrkeshale 1154–81 Guis et freq to 1335 Ch, Estwirke-
   shala 1181 P
   Werkeshal 1201 ChR
   Wirkesale, Wy- 1285 KI, 1303 KF, 1367 FF, (Parva) 1301 LS
   Wirkesall 1285 KI, 1316 Vill
   Wirsal(e) 1316 (Eliz) Vill, 1369 FF
   Parva Worsall 1483 Sanct
The first element is an OE pers. name Wyrc not found independently in OE but inferred from numerous place-names. v. Warkworth in PN NbDu 207. The second element probably refers to the nook of land enclosed by the river Tees. v. h(e)alh.

**Appleton Wiske**

1. **Appleton Wiske** 15 N 4  
   Ap(p)elton(a), Apletune 1086 DB  
   v. æppel, tun. Appleton is on the river Wiske.

**Crathorne**

1. **Crathorne** 15 M 6  
   Gratorne (sic), Cratorne 1086 DB, 1279–81 QW  
   Crathorn c. 1160–75 YCh 688 et passim  
   Creythorne 1575 FF  
   The second element is porn. The first element is not certain but it may be ON krá, 'nook, corner;' hence, 'thornbush in the corner of land.' It lies by a bend in the Leven.

**Rudby**

1. **Hutton Rudby** 15 M 7  
   Hotun, -ton 1086 DB et passim to 1412 YI, Guis  
   Hottona juxta Rodeby 1204 YCh 787, Hooton Rudbye 1582 FF  
   'Farm on the spur of land' v. hoh, tun. Rudby infra is on the opposite bank of the river.

2. **Middleton upon Leven** 15 L 7  
   Mid(d)eltun, -tone 1086 DB  
   Midetun in Cliveland 12 Dods xcv. 36  
   Mydilton juxta Leuene 1218–31 Heal 113, etc.

3. **Rudby** 15 M 7  
   Rodebi 1086 DB  
   Rudebi, -by c. 1150 RegDun, 12 Guis, 1189–99 YCh 800,  
   c. 1225 BM, 1228 Ch, Cl  
   Ruddeby c. 1190 Guis, et freq to 1402 Test
Rudby 1285 KI et passim
Ruthby 1489 Sanct

‘Rudi’s farm’ v. by. There is a rare ON name Rudi which Lind (s.n. Ruði) thinks should be spelt Ruði.

4. Sexhow 15 M 7

Sex(h)ou c. 1160–80 YCh 692, c. 1280–90 Heal 108 (p), Sexhowe 1285 KI, 1303 KF, Sexho 1665 Visit
Saxhow 1404 YI, 1478 Test, Saxo 1483 Test

‘Sek’s mound’ from ON Sekkr (LindBN) and haugr.

5. Skutterskelfe 15 M 7

Codreschelf, Codreschef, Codeschelf 1086 DB
Scuderschelf 1176 P (p) Sc-, Skutherskelf c. 1236 Heal 57 (p), c. 1290 Heal 108, 1292 Heal 166
Sc-, Skotherskelf(e) 1301 LS, 1303 KF (p), 1316 Vill
Scutherscelf 1310 Ch
Scuderskelf 1310 Ch (p) Scuiperskeelf 1350 Pap
Scoterskelf 1285 (16) KI, 1481 Test
Scutterskelf 1529 NCyWills Scuterskil 1577 Saxton

The first element is probably the ON by-name Skvaðra, which also had a form Skoðra (LindBN). Lind supposes that this was an old place-name but it seems more likely, as Professor Ekwall suggests, that Skvaðra is an old by-name derived from skoðra, in the sense of ‘chatter, talk.’ The second element is ON skjalf, ‘shelf, seat,’ v. Raskelf 26 supra.

Braworth

Breydewad 1240–50 Bodl a. i. 88
Brathwaith 1285 KI, Brathewheyt 1327 Ipm
Braythwayth 1299 KI, Braithewath 1300 YI, Braythwat 1350 Cl

‘Broad ford’ v. brenr, vað. Braworth lies near a ford across the Leven. The various forms waith, wheyt are due to confusion with pveit as in Flawith 21 supra.

Thoraldby

Turolodes-, Toro(l)desbi 1086 DB
Thoroldeby 1219 Ass
Thorald(e)by c. 1280–90 Heal 108 d, 1292 Heal 166, 1310 Ch Thoralby 1285 (16) KI

‘Thorold’s farm’ v. by. The first element is ON þorvaldr (LindN, Nielsen); cf. Swed Tolleby (OSwed þoralderby), Hellquist, ON þå-by 107.

Carlton

1. Carlton 15 N 8
   Carletun 1086 DB
   v. karlatun.

Whorlton

1. Faceby 15 N 8 [fæsbī]
   Feisbi, Fezbi, Foitesbi 1086 DB
   Fayzeby, Fayseby 12 Guis, 1340 Pat
   Fayceby c. 1160 Riev et passim to 1367 FF
   Faicesby 1208 FF
   Faceby 1285 KI, 1399 Archd 19

   ‘Feit’s farm’ v. by. The first element is derived from ON feitr ‘fat’ used as a pers. name in the OIcel place-name Feitsdal (Landnamabók). A weak form of the pers. name, Feiti, is adduced by LindBN.

   The DB form Foites- is satisfactorily explained by Lindkvist (43, note 1) as due to a Central French scribe, whose language would contain OFr oi instead of Northern Fr and AN ei. The ON gen. -s is preserved in this name (cf. Haxby 14 supra).

2. Potto 15 N 7
   Pothow(e) 1202 FF et freq to 1385 Baildon
   Pottowe 1285 KI, 1354 FF, Potto 1548 YChant, 1575 FF

   ‘Hill near the small valley’ v. hoh and cf. Pott Hall 234 infra.

Goulton [goutan]

Goltona, Goutun, Gotun 1086 DB
Gouton 1202 FF, 1301 LS (p), 1303 FF, Gow(e)ton 1285 KI, 1548 YChant

   Perhaps ‘Golda’s farm’ from the OE pers. name Golda and tun.
3. WHORLTON 15 O 7

Wirveltun(e) 1086 DB
Wewelthun, -ton 1189–99 YCh 800 et freq to 1294 Ebor
Qwerlton 1198 Fount
Wheruelton 1202 FF
Wherfletun, Wherfelton 1259 Ass
Werleton 1279–81 QW
Werleton 1299 YI, 1323 Abbr, 1354 FF
Werelton 1301 LS
Warleton 1285 (16) KI
Whorl(e)ton 1399 Test, 1412 YI, 1470 Test, 1575 FF

‘Farm near the Whorl Hill.’ No early spellings are adduced for Whorl Hill, but there is no doubt that whorl is from OE hwyrfel or ON hvirfill. The Whorl Hill is a high hill with a rounded top. Cf. Whorlton (PN NbDu 215).

HUTHWAITE [iuθwit]

Hogthuet 12 Cur No. 46, m. 3 d, Hogtweit 1207 FF, Hothwayt 1350 Cl

The first element of this name is probably OE hoh and not ON haugr or ON hör ‘high’ as suggested by Lindkvist (111). Modern [iu] points to an OE or ON ő (v. Introduction xxxii) and we are probably right in taking the first element to be OE hoh ‘spur of land’ for this would normally become [iu] (as in Huby 18 supra) and it suits topographically, for Huthwaite is on a long narrow ridge of land overlooking Crook Beck. v. Hveit.

SCARTH WOOD, LEES etc.

Scarth 1189–99 YCh 800, Scearthwood 1616 NR

v. skarð. The scarth here is the long narrow pass running through the Cleveland Hills.

SCUGDALE (6")

Schugedale 1228 Cl

v. Scugdale 152 supra.
Swainby

Swayne(s)by late 13 BM, 1313 Pat
Swaneby 1314 Pat
Swainby 1367 IpmR, 1616 NR

Possibly 'Swain's farm' from the ON pers. name Sveinn
(LindN) and by, but cf. Swainby 225 infra.

Trenholme

Traneholm 1177 P (p), 1285 KI, 1299 YI, 1323 Abbr
Thranholm 1226 FF
Treyneham 1575 FF, Traynholme 1596 Pickhill

'Crane-meadow' v. trani, holmr.

Ingleby Arncliffe

1. INGLEBY ARNCLIFFE 15 O 6

Englebi, -by 1086 DB, 1231 Ass, Engelby juxta Erneclif
1303 KF

v. Ingleby Greenhow 167 supra and Arncliffe infra.

Arncliffe

Erneclive, Gerneclif, Lerneclif 1086 DB
Ernesclive c. 1160 Riev
Erneclive c. 1170 Riev et passim to 1293 QW
Arneclive c. 1291 Tax, Arnecliff 1349 Test, 1474 YD, etc.

'Eagles' cliff' v. earn, clif. Arncliffe is a large, steep, wooded
bank. The DB forms Gerne- and Lerne- (L is an error for I,
Zachrisson, Mélanges de Philologie offerts à M. Johan Vising,
Göteborg, 1925, p. 191) arise from the shifting of the stress in
OE ëa to the second element of the diphthong (cf. Yearsley
193 infra).

Fowgill Beck

Fulbrooke c. 1150, c. 1160 Riev Fowgill 1616 NR

'Dirty stream' v. ful, broc, gil.
VII. BIRDFORTH WAPENTAKE

Gerlestre wapentec 1086 DB
bruthewrthe scire 1088 LVD 50 d
wap' de Brud(d)eford' 1166 P et freq to 1303 Ebor 203
Brideford wap' 1170 P
wap. de Brudesford 1279-81 QW
Birdforth 1612 NR

Gerlestre is undoubtedly the name of the old wapentake meeting-place, but it cannot now be identified with any modern name. After the Conquest the place seems still to have been used as the meeting-place of the Riding court, for there are frequent references in the 13th and 14th cents. to thrithingum de Yarlestre et wapentagium de Bruddeford (13 RichReg 122 d), thrythinge de Yarlestre (1298 Yi), thrithingu de Yarlestre, thrydyngum de Yarlestr (1279-81 QW), and thrithingum de Yarnestre pro ccccc acris terre in parva Brochton (which is in Cleveland, 1323 Abbr). In the reorganization after the Conquest the wapentake court met at the village of Birdforth and the court of the North Riding, from which Richmondshire and Allertonshire would now be excluded, met at the old wapentake meeting-place of Yarlestre. Possibly Yerlestre may be best interpreted as from OE eorles-tréow, 'earl's tree.' Such tree-names are very common in names of ancient moots. The influence of Scand jarl would readily account for the development of initial y.

For Birdforth, v. 190 infra and scir.

Kirby Hill

1. Ellenthorpe 27 A 1
Adelingestorp 1086 DB
Edelyn(g)thorp 1154-89 MaryH 6 d, 13 RichReg 106, 1328 Banco
Edelingetorp 1308 Ch
Ellvingthorpe 1523 BM, 1541 Dugd iii. 570, Ellinthrope 1574 FF

'Atheling's village' v. porp. The first element may be either OE æþeling, 'prince' or a patronymic based on the OE pers.
name Æþel. Athelney (So), Æþelinga eigg ASC, and OE Æþelingaden (ASC s.a. 1001, MS A) both contain the gen. pl. of the OE noun æþeling. Perhaps we should not lay too much stress on the DB s (cf. the DB form of Brampton Hall infra).

2. HUMBURTON 27 A 1

Burtun, -tone 1086 DB, 1300 YI, 1301 LS
Hundesburton 1224-30 Fees, 1283, 1301 YI
Hundeburton 1276, 1307 YI, p. 1290, 1322 YD, 1327 Pat
Hundburton 13 RichReg 105 d, 1278 BM, 1285 KI, 1295 For, 1408 YI
Hunburton(e) 1486 YD, 1546 YChant, 1579 FF

‘Hund’s burhtun’ from the ON pers. name Hundr (LindBN) or possibly from OE Hund (cf. MLR xiv. 241). Cf. Langthorpe infra.

3. KIRBY HILL 26 A 13

Chirchebi 1086 DB
Ki-, Kyrkeby in Mora, super Moram 1224-30 Fees
Kirby under hill 1665 Visit

v. kirkja, by.

4. LANGTHORPE 26 A 13 [læŋθərp]

Torp 1086 DB
Langliuetorp 12 RegAlb i. 36
Langle(i)thorp 1157 RichReg 82, 1301 YI, c. 1300 id. 36 d
Langathorp 1308 Ch, Langthorp(e) 1300 RichReg 105 d, 1576 FF

v. þorp. The first element is the pers. name Langlif, recorded in the later insertions in LVD as Langlif(e) from the ON woman’s name Langlifr. The name as a whole is of the same type as Humburton supra.

BRAMPTON HALL

Bran(s)tone 1086 DB Branton’ 1182 P
Bramton 1235 Ch Brampton c. 1260 Malton 39, (uppon Swale) 1536 YChant

‘Bramble farm’ v. brame, tun.
5. Marton le Moor 26 A 13

Marton' 1198 Fount, (on the Moor) 1292 Ch, (super Moram) 1293 Fount


Caldwell (lost)

Caldeuuelle 1086 DB Caldwell 1198 Fount

‘Cold spring’ v. cald, w(i)ella.

6. Milby 26 A 14

Mildebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1359 FF

Milbye 1557 RichWills

‘Mildi’s farm’ v. by. The first element is ON Mildi (LindBN).

Cundall¹

1. Cundall 22 J 1

Cundel, Goindel 1086 DB

C-, Kundale 12 RegAlb i. 36 d, et passim to 1457 Test

Cundall 1418 Archd 20

v. dæl. The first element may be from the OE name Cunda or from the ODan pers. name Kundi (Nielsen) or from the OWS scand by-name Kunta. The assimilation of d-d to d or t-d to d is paralleled by the assimilation of t-t to t in Catton 183 infra. Another possibility is OE cīna-dæl, ‘cows’ valley.’

Leckby

Ledebei, -by 1086 DB

Letteby, Lecceby 1301 LS

Lecby 1399 YI Letby 1586 FF

‘Let’s farm’ from ON Ljótr (LindN) and by. The appearance of medial -c- is bound up with two problems: one is the problem arising from the difficulty in distinguishing c and t in the handwriting of the 14th and 15th cents.; the second arises from the fact that c in medieval orthography was used to represent ON z (= ts), as in the early spellings of Roxby 139 supra. Where t is found it seems probable that ON gen. -s had

¹ A detached part of Halikeld wapentake.
been lost; where c is found it may be a mistake for t or represent ON gen. Ljótz. The modern form seems to have arisen from the interchange of k and t in difficult consonant combinations in the dialect. v. Addenda xlv.

2. Norton le Clay 21 J 14

Norton(e) 1086 DB, (in le Drit) 1301 LS, (in the Cley) 1536 YChant, (in luto) 1578 FF

‘North farm’ v. norp, tun. The affix drit is from ON drit ‘dirt’; Lat. lutum = OE clæg ‘clay’; all these words refer to the clayey, swampy nature of the land round Norton. For le, v. Barton le Willows 38 supra. ‘North,’ perhaps in relation to Boroughbridge, three miles to the south.

Topcliffe

1. Asenby 21 H 14 [ææænbi]

Æstanesbi 1086 DB, Aistanesbi 12 Dods viii. 154 d (p)
Aystanby 1157 RichReg 82, 1182 Percy, 1244 Ass
Ai-, Aystenby, Eistanby, Aystanby 1198 Fount, et freq to 1417 YI
Estanesby 1244 Ass
Aysynby 1408 Pat, 1539 RichWills, Aesonby 1581 FF

‘Eystein’s farm’ v. by. From ON Eysteinn (LindN), ODan Østen (Nielsen). The forms in stan are due to the influence of the corresponding OE name-theme.

Bonny Carr (6")

Brunigker 13 Percy

v. kjarr. The first element is not clear, but it may be the pers. name Bruning, common in the 11th cent. The modern form arises from metathesis of Brun- to Burn-, the dialectal pronunciation of which is [born] or [bɔn] (v. Introd. xxxii).

2. Baldersby 21 G 12

Baldrebi 1086 DB Balderbi, -by 1156 Fount, et passim to 1576 FF
Baldersby 1648 Pickhill

v. by. The first element is the OE pers. name B(e)aldhere.
3. **Catton** 21 G 13
   *Catune* 1086 DB
   *C-, Katton* 1199 FF *et passim*
   'Catta's or Kati's farm' *v. tun*. The first element is from ON *Kåti* or OE *Catta*, not found in independent use in OE, but *v. MLR* xiv. 237. Cf. Caton (PN La 177) and Catton (Nf), *Catetuna, Cat(t)una* 1086 DB.

**Southerby House**

*Southby super Swale* 13th, 1333 Percy
   'South farm' *v. suð, by.*

4. **Dalton** 22 H 2 [dɔːtən]
   *Deltune* 1086 DB
   *Dautona* c. 1200 Guis, *Daweton* 1573 FF
   *Dalton* 13 Percy, 1252 *Ass, et passim*
   'Valley farm' *v. dæl, tun.*

**Broats House**

*Brotes* 13 YD
   *v. Broates in Pickering 86 *supra.*

**Isle Beck**

*Iselbec* 1086 DB, *I-, Yselbec(h), -be(c)k* 13 *BylE* 46, 1285 KI, 1299 YI, 1301 LS, 1334 YD, *Ysilbeke* 1500 Test
   *Y-, Isebec* 1182 P (p), 1247 Ch
   *Yserbec* 1182 P (p), c. 1197 YD, 13 Percy, *Hiserbeck* 13 Percy
   *Isselbecke* 1571 FF

   Possibly, as suggested by Mr Bruce Dickins, the original name of this stream was OE *Isel*, cognate with the Dutch river-name *Ijssel*, found in the 9th and 10th cents. as *Is(e)la* (Förstemann, *ON* 1592). *v. bekkr.*

**Sandholmes**

*Sandholm* 13 Percy
   *v. sand, holmr.*
5. Dishforth 21 J 13

_Di-, Dysford(e)_ 1086 DB, 1276 YI, 1285 KI, 1314 Ch, 1327 Fount, 1403 YI, _-forthe_ 1541 RichWills, 1577 Saxton, 1578 FF, 1612 NR

Disseford 1157 RichReg 82, 1198 Fount, _Di-, Dysceford_ 1208 FF, 1298 Abbr, 1301 LS, 1316 Vill, 1328 Banco, 1333 Percy, 1350 FF

Dicesford 1202, 1208 FF

Dichesfurthe 1535 Fount

Dishford 1665 Visit

Dishforth is from OE _dic_ and _ford_. Zachrisson has shown (Mélanges etc. u.s. p. 179 ff.) that in the form _Disford_ we have an influence, whereby OE _c_ became _s_, as in Diss, Dissington (Nf, Nb). For the later development of _Dis-_ to _Dish-_., cf. Whashton 292 infra and Dishley (Lei), _Dislea_ DB. The same name Ditchford is found in Blockley in Wo and there the _dic_ is the Foss Way (PN Wo 98). Here the ford carried an important road from Boroughbridge to Northallerton but we do not know that the road was ever called a 'dyke.' More probably the meaning is that of Ditchford in Hanbury (PN Wo 322), viz. 'ford across the small _dic_ or stream.'

6. Eldmire 22 H 1

Elvetemer(e) 1236 Cl, 1246 Ch, 1252 Ass Elvytemere 1301 LS

_Eldmer_ 1500 Test, 1615 NR

Elmyer 1573 FF

'Swan pool' from OE _elfetu_ and mere, as in Ellermire 68 supra. Eldmire is by the river Swale.

Crakehall

_Crecale_ 1086 DB

Crakhale 1301 LS _Crakhall(e)_ 1314 Ipm, 1536 YChant

'Craca's nook' v. _h(e)alh_ (which probably here refers to one of the nooks of land round which the river Swale flows). The first element is the late OE pers. name _Craca_ (LVD) from ON _Krāki_ (LindN, LindBN). Cf. Crakehall 237 infra.

7. Rainton 21 H 13

_Reineton, Rainincton_ 1086 DB

Renyng-, Renington 1157, 1184 RichReg 82, 84 d, et passim to 1319 Cl
Rennington 1202, 1208 FF
Reignington 1213 Abbr
Reniton 1219 Percy
Ranyngton 1285 KI, c. 1300 RichReg 86 d, 1527 Fount
Raynyng-, Raynington 1301 LS, 1319 Cl, 1548 Fount
Raynton 1535 Ve

Cf. also DB Raneuuat (Rainincton superscribed) and Rain-ingewat.

With this name we should compare Rainton and Rennington (PN NbDu s.nn.). The first element is a pers. name Rægen, Rein which in Rainton (Du)\(^1\) is known to be a shortened form of OE Rægenwald.

Rægenwald is commonly taken to be an Anglicising of ON Røgnvaldr, but it should be pointed out that OE names Re-gengar, Regnhæg, Regenhære, Regenweald and Regenweard are found borne by persons of whom some at least cannot be Scandinavian by birth or name and we must assume that this element was in free use in native names. An English name is more likely than a Scand one in an ingtun place-name formation.

CANA BARN

Kanehou 1202 FF

v. haugr. The first element is the OWScand by-name Kani (LindBN), OSwed Kani (Lundgren-Brate), found in DB as Cane.

EASBY (lost)

Asebi, -by 1086 DB, 1157 RichReg 82, 1184 ib. 85 d
Esseby 1157 RichReg 83
Esebi, -by 1190 Fount, 1243 Percy, 13 RichReg 106

‘Esi’s farm’ v. by. The first element is the ODan pers. name Esi (Nielsen), which in some of the above spellings has been influenced by the cognate OWScand Åsi (LindN). Cf. Easby 287 infra and 167 supra.

NEWBY ON SWALE (6°)

Neuby 1157 RichReg 82, (super Swale) 1285 KI

‘New farm’ v. niwe, by.

\(^1\) Professor Mawer informs me that Simeon of Durham’s Reinigntun is Rainton (Du) and not Rennington (Nb) as stated in PN NbDu s.n.
Rainton Carr (6")
Reynintonker 1303 Percy
v. kjarr and Rainton 184 supra.

8. Skipton on Swale 21 G 13
Schipetune 1086 DB Skipton super Swale 1243 Fees
'Sheep farm' v. sceap, tun. The first element is a Scand form of ONb scop (= WSax sceap), as in Skipton in Craven (YWR), Scipton(e) 1086 DB.

9. Topcliffe 21 H 14
Topcliffe 1086 DB, 1166 P (p), 1236 Cl, 1251 Percy
Toppeclive 1154–81 RegAlb i. 70 et passim to 1301 LS
Topclif 1288 Ebor et passim to 1371 Fabr
Topleffe 1519 Sanct
'The highest part of the cliff' from OE topp and clif. Topcliffe is on the upper edge of a very steep and lofty bank, overlooking the Swale R.

Gallow Green (6")
Galgholm 1333 Percy
'Gallow field' from ON galgi and holmr.

Gristhwaite
Gristhwayt(h) 1285 YI, 1334 Pat Grystwhate 1447 Fabr
'Gris's enclosure' from the ON by-name Griss (v. Gristhorpe 104 supra) or 'pig enclosure' from ON griss. v. ðveit.

10. Fawdington 22 J 2
Faldingtun 1247 Ch
Faldin-, Faldynton 1254 YI, 1404 Fabr, Falding-, Faldyngton
13 BylE 32 et passim
Fawdington 1541 Dugd v. 355
'Falda's farm' v. ingtun. The OE pers. name Falda is not adduced independently, but it is the base of Faldingworth (L), Faldingeuerde 1086 DB, and a cognate form enters into OSwed Faldunge from an earlier *Faldungar (Hellquist, ON på Inge 25–6).
BIRDFORTH WAPENTAKE

Sessay¹

1. **HUTTON SESSAY 22 H 3**
   *Hottune* 1086 DB
   *Hotun juxta Tresk* 1252 Ch, *Hotton et Cessay* 1316 Vill
   'Farm on the spur of land near Sessay' v. hoh, tun.

2. **SESSAY 22 H 2 [sesi]**
   *Segege* 1088 LVD 50 d
   *Secay* 1182 P, *Cesay* 1283 Ebor, 1376 FF, *Cessay* ey 1285 KI,' 1295 For, 1316 For, *Secsay* 1295 For, *Sessay* 1483 Test
   Probably, as suggested by the form in *LVD*, OE *Secges-eg*, 'Secg's well-watered land' v. eg. The later forms represent AN attempts to deal with these unfamiliar sounds.

Thirsk

1. **CARLTON MINIOTT 21 F 14**
   *Carletun, -ton* 1086 DB
   *Karletun juxta Tresk* n.d. YD *Carleton Mynyott* 1579 FF
   v. karlatun. The family of Miniott held land here in the 14th cent. (VCH ii. 63).

2. **SAND HUTTON 21 F 13**
   *Hott(t)une* 1086 DB
   *Hoton* 1202 FF, *(Sande-)* 1228 FountA 52 *Sand-Hutton* 1665 Visit
   v. Sand Hutton (Bulm) 38 *supra*.

3. **SOWERBY 22 F 2**
   *Sorebi* 1086 DB *Sourebi, -by* 1228 FF *et passim*
   With same run of forms and meaning as *Sowerby 128 supra*.

Thorpefield

*Petithorp juxta Thresk* c. 1142 Dugd v. 352
*campo de Thorp* 1243 BylE 81 d, *Thorpfeld* 1303 KF
'The land belonging to Thorp' v. porp, feld. Thorp was probably a petit or small hamlet belonging to Thirsk.

¹ A detached part of Allerton wapentake.
4. Thirsk 22 F 2 [θɔsk, θrusk]

*Tresch(e)* 1086 DB, c. 1150 RegDun, Godr, c. 1285 *Malton* 99
*Thresca* 1145–53 *Leon* 35
*Treske* 1178 *YCh* 1114, 1281 *Ebor*
*Tres* 1086 DB, c. 1150 RegDun, c. 1160 JohHex
*Tresk(e)* 1198 Fount, 1200 Cur et passim to 1333 Riev
*Threske* 1243–8 Guis et freq to Sanct 1492
*Thirsk, Thyske* 1403, 1491 Test, 1413 *Heal* 157 d
*Thrisk* 1473 Test
*Tryske, Thersk* 1536 *YChant*
*Thrussk(e)* 1580 Cai, 1733 Kirklington

Professor Ekwall suggests that we have here an Anglo-Scand form of OSwed *thrask*, Swed *träsk* ‘fen, lake.’ Thirsk is in a low-lying well-watered situation. The same element is possibly found in Threshfield, for the forms of which v. PN YWR 190.

**Dowber Lane** (6") [dou:bo le:n]

*Douthieburghe* 1243–8 Guis

‘Duthi’s burh.’ Cf. the OSwed pers. name *Dudhi* (Lundgren-Brate).

**Norby**

*Northebi* John BM, *Norbyeng* 1243–8 Guis

‘North village’ (i.e. in relation to Thirsk) v. norð, by. The final element in the second form is ON eng ‘meadow.’

**Stonybrough** (6")

*Steinhouberg* 1243–8 Guis

‘Hill with the rock mound’ v. steinn, haugr, berg. For the modern form cf. Stony Keld 305 *infra*.

**Woodhill Field** (6")

*Wodhall* 1285 *KI* *Wodehalfeld* 1407 *YI*

‘The land near Woodhall’ (i.e. the hall in or near the wood) v. *wudu, h(e)all, feld.*
Kirby Knowle

1. Bagby 22 F 3

Baghebi 1086 DB
Bagebi, -by 1086 DB, 1224–30 Fees, 1285 KI, 1301, 1400 YI
Baggaby 1158–66 YCh 175 Baggebi, -by 12 Leon 66 d et passim to 1344 Pap

Spital Moor

Spitel More 1313 YD
For spitel v. Spital Bridge 123 supra. Note also spitel lonyng, a lane in Bagby (1313 YD).

2. Balk 22 F 3 [bɔ:k]

Balc(h), Balk(e) 12 YD, 1192–9 Riev, 13 BylE 70 d, 1226 FF, 1575 FF
Bawke 1622 NR

From OE balca, the meaning of which is ‘ridge, bank.’ Balk stands in the valley bottom on Balk Beck, but originally the name must have been applied to the ridge of land between Balk Beck and Hood Beck, now occupied by Balk Wood.

Balk Beck

Balkesbec 13 BylE 84

Monk Park

le Monkepark’ 1300 YD

Thirkleby

1. Thirkleby 22 G 3

Turchilebi 1086 DB
Thurkillebi, -by 1202 FF, 1224 Pat, 1231 Ass (passim)
Thirleby 1202 FF
Turkelby 1224–30 Fees

Further forms are without interest.
‘Thurkel’s farmstead’ v. by. Cf. ODan Thurkil (Nielsen), ON porkell (LindN).

1 A detached part of the parish.
Hood Beck

Hodesbec 13 BylE 84, riuulus de Hode 1243 BylE 81 d
v. Hood 195 infra and bekkr.

Mencliffe (6")

Mel(e)clyue 1243 BylE 81 d, 1246 BylE 53 d
v. clif. The first element is probably ON melr, hence ‘sandy hill.’ For n cf. Hinderskelfe and Hinderwell 40, 138 supra.

Osgodby

Ansgotebi 1086 DB

With the same run of forms and interpretation as Osgodby (Pick) 104 supra.

Husthwaite

1. Birdforth 22 H 3 [budfaθ]

Brudeford 1199 Pap, 1219 FF, 1244, 1252 Ass, 1253 Ch, 1279–81 QW, 1293 For, QW
Burdeford 1226 Pat
Bruddeford 1286 YI, 1291 Fine, 1301 LS
Broudesforth 1296 YI
Birdford 1485 Test, -furth 1537 Dugd vi. 199
Burdforth 1564 FF
Bridforth 1577 Saxton

v. also Birdforth wapentake 179 supra, where there is earlier evidence for the name than there is here.

The origin of the first element is obscure, for there is no pers. name like OE Brudda recorded or otherwise known from place-names. Such a name might, however, have existed; probably as a hypocoristic form of such an OE dithematic name as Burgheard with later metathesis from Burda to Brudda. The ON by-name Brúdr (LindBN) is also a possibility; ð (which is found in the 11th cent. form of the wapentake name) was changed to d, perhaps by analogy with OE brýd ‘bride’; cf. also ON kið and ME kid ‘kid.’

2. Carlton Husthwaite 22 H 4

C-, Karleton 1086 DB et passim, Carlton Husthwat 1516 Fabr
v. karlatun. It is near Husthwaite infra.
3. **Husthwaite 22 H 4 [ustwit]**

*Hustwait, -twayt(e) 1167 P et passim to 1581 FF
Husthweyt, Husthwayt 1169-93 YCh 790, 1283 Ebor*  
‘pveit with houses built on it’ v. hus and cf. Norw *Hustveit* (NG).

**Baxby (6")**

*Basche(s)bi, Bachesbi 1086 DB*

*Baxey 1169-92 YCh 790, 13 BylE 8 d, 1230 Cl, 1247 Ch, 1262 YD, 1292 For, 1310 Ch*

*Baxsey 1227 FF, 1285 Ki Baxby 1301 LS*  
‘Bak’s farm’ v. by. The first element is probably the rare ON pers. name *Bak* (LindN).

**RUDDINGS (6")**

This is the name of an enclosed piece of land (v. hryding) which seems to have included *Gamelridding, Normanridding, le Suterridding, and Wlueifrikridding* (13th, 1346 YD), deriving respectively from the ON pers. names *Gamall, Sütari* (LindBN) and the OE *Nordman*, ‘Norwegian.’ For the last-named we have the name of one *Ulric* who held a ridding here c. 1217 (YD). On the modern form, cf. Ruswarp 125 supra.

**Coxwold**

1. **Angram Grange 22 G 4**

*Angrum 1252 Ch, 1293 QW, 1327 Banco, 1333 Riev*

*Angrame Graunge 1538 Riev*  
v. anger and cf. Angram Cote and Angram 249, 272 infra.

2. **Coxwold 22 G 5 [kukud]**

*Cuha-walda 757-8 BCS 184*

*Cucult 1086 DB*

*Cukewald 1154-89 MaryH 6 d et passim to 1304 BM*

*Cukewald 1196 Dugd v. 353, 1243 BylE 81 d, 1406 Yl*

*Cukewald 1231 Ass*

*C-, Kokewald 1284 Baildon et passim to 1443 YD*

*Cucawald 1308 Ch*
Cookwold 1545 BM
Cuckwould 1577 Saxton, Cuckoldie 1579 Cai, Cockwould 1665 Visit

The letter which contains the earliest form (BCS 184), though hardly to be accepted in its present shape, undoubtedly contains ancient and authentic matter, and there is no reason to mistrust the form Cuhawalda. It suggests that the first element of this name is an otherwise unknown OE pers. name Cuha. The development to later Cuk- has its parallel in Cockfield (Sf) from earlier Cohhanfeld (KCD 685). The s is pseudo-genitival.
v. w(e)ald.

Sunley Wood
Sonoluetre 1243 BylE 81 d
v. treow. For the pers. name element cf. Sunley Hill 66 supra

3. Newburgh 22 H 5
Novo Burgo 1199 Pap, Newburg c. 1250 Malton 166, Newburgh 13 BylE 81
‘New burh.’

Brink Hill
Brinke 1376 Dugd v. 348
v. brink.

4. Oulston 22 H 5 [oulstan, custan]
U-, V-, Wluestun, -ton 1086 DB, 1167 P, et passim to 1440 YD
Vlveston 1176 P
Uulveston 1286 For
Ulston 1498 Test, 1613 NR
Owston 1572 FF, Owston 1577 Saxton
‘Ulf’s farm’ v. tun. The first element may be a Scand form of the common OE pers. name Wulf (cf. Ovington 299 infra) or it may be the ON cognate Úlfr.

5. Thornton on the Hill 22 J 5
Torenton 1167 P Thorenton on the Hill 1275 YI
v. porn, tun.
6. Thorpe le Willows 22 H 6

Torp 1086 DB Thorp c. 1142 Dugd v. 352 et passim
v. porp.

7. Wildon Grange 22 G 4

Wildon, Wyldon 1138 Dugd v. 350, 1224 FF et passim
Wildun 1247 Ch

The first element is probably of the same origin as that of Wilton (Pick) 90 supra. The second is dun; hence 'wild hill.'

8. Yearsley 22 H 6 [ja:zleɪ]

Eureslage 1086 DB
Euereslei 1176 P, -ley(a) 13 BylE 36, 1303 Var
Eueresle, -legh, -ley 1204 ChR et passim to 1304 Var
Yeveresleye 1304 Var Yeurersley, -lay, Yhevereslay 1327
Banco, 1399, 1406 YI
Yearsley 1577 Saxton, 1613 NR

'Fofor's forest-clearing' v. leah. Forssner is uncertain whether Eofor- existed in OE as a name-theme (the only independent example of the name in OE is in Beowulf), but Eofor seems to be a native theme in Eoforhuæt and Eofuruulf (LVD), Euerwacer (KCD 811), etc. (v. Müller, Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitae, 80). As a patronymic it enters into Everingham (YER), Euringham 1086 DB. It is from OE eofor 'wild boar' (cf. Everley 115 supra). For the development of prosthetic y-, through stress-shifting in the OE diphthong, v. Anglia, xxxiv. 293 ff.

Irton (lost)

Iretone 1086 DB
v. Irton 101 supra.

Peel Wood

Yearsley Pele 1613 NR

Peel is from OFr pel- (from Latin pāl-us 'stake'; cf. 12th cent. Latin pēlum, Du Cange), and was used in English of 'a palisade of stakes, a stockaded enclosure' (NED).
Kilburn

1. Byland Abbey 22 G 5

Beghland(a) 1142–3 BylD 15 d, 1140–60 YCh 1827 et passim to 1231 FF
Beiland(a), Beyland c. 1150 Riev, 1167 P et passim to 1242 Cl
Bellalanda 1153 Jervo 20 et passim to 1287 Ebor
Beland' 1162 P et freq to 1354 FF
Begheland 1225 Pat, 1228, 1237 Cl
Bellaund 1285 KI
Biland(a), Byland 1285 KI, 1375 Barbour's Bruce, et passim

'Bega's land' v. land. The OE pers. name Bēga or Beaga enters also into Bayham (Sx), Baydon (W), and Beeley (Db), Begelie 1086 DB.

On the spellings Beland, v. Zachrisson, Studier i modern språkvetenskap v. 16. The form Bellalanda is Latin and shows confusion of the first element with OFr bel, 'beautiful.'

Burtis Wood

Burtofts a. 1196 Dugd v. 353, 1376 ib. v. 348

A similar name is Burtoft (L), which appears as Burtoft in OE (BCS 331, KCD 520, 1086 DB). The meaning is 'messuage attached to a storehouse' from ON būr (cf. OE bur) and topt.

Cf. OSwed burtomt (Lindkvist).

Cams Head

Cambisheved 1376 Dugd v. 348

'Head of the ridge' v. heafod and camb, though it is possible that we have here the ON cognate kāmbr rather than the OE camb.

Lund (6")

Lounde 1541 Dugd v. 354

v. lundr.

Newstead

Newestede 1541 Dugd v. 354

Cf. Oldstead 196 infra near by; v. niwe, stede.
Wass [wæs]

Wasse 1541 Dugd v. 355

Zachrisson (Eng PN etc. 41 ff.) has suggested that this is OE wāse, ‘mud,’ but no such dialectal form of ‘ooze’ is on record. Wass lies where three streams meet, and has two fords, one to the north and the other to the west of the village, so the name is probably ME wathes, ‘fords.’ Cf. vað. For such a sound-development cf. Newlass 73 supra and Smallways 292 infra. For such a name cf. Ford (Śx) which in earlier days was always used in the plural.

2. Hood Grange 22 F 4 [ud]

Hod(e) 12 BylE 42 d, 1138 Dugd v. 350, 1172–80 Dods vii. 149, 1218 ClR, 1293 QW, 1332 Pat, 1376 Dugd v. 348

Cf. Hood Beck 190 supra. The origin of this name is uncertain but the element is probably found again in Hotham (YER), to fastan hode 963 (14) RegAlb i. 57, Hode, Hodhum 1086 DB, Hodum 1166 P, Hothum 1285 (16) KI, and in the names of two lost places in YNR, called Bakerhod 1278 Malton 243 d (in Huttons Ambo) and Sculphode 13 Easby 121 (in Scotton). Actually the word may be OE hōd, ‘hood,’ used in a topographical sense of either ‘the top of a hill’ or ‘a hood-shaped hill.’

Professor Ekwall would prefer to take OE hōd as a lost word which is to be associated with OE hēdan, ‘to protect,’ in the same way that we have Germ hüten (vb) and hut (noun). In that case the word in place-names would mean ‘shelter.’ Dr Schram notes that the corresponding MLG hōde, beside its abstract sense ‘protection, custody,’ has developed the concrete sense ‘place under military protection, fortress,’ the kind of meaning that is required here. (Cf. Verwijs en Verdam, s.v. hōde.)

3. Kilburn 22 G 4

Chileburne 1086 DB
Killebrun(na) 12 Riev (p), 1209 FF, -brunne 1224 FF, 1231 Ass., -burna 13 BylE 52 d
Ki-, Kylebrunn(e) 1233 Cl, 1239 Ch, 13 YD, -burne 1293 For
196 NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Kilibrunn 1245 Cl
Ki-, Kylburne 1249 Baildon, 1285 KI, 1301 LS, 1399 YI
‘Cylla’s stream’ v. burna, brunnr. Cf. Kilburn (Db), Killeburn 1236 Ch.

OUSEY CARR (6")
Wlsiker 13 BylE 52 d
v. kjarr. The first element is the OE pers. name Wulfsige. Loss of initial w- may be due to the influence of Scand pers. names in Ulf- . Cf. Ovington 299 infra.

ROSE HILL (6") [rozil]
Roseberg(h)(a) 13 BylE 52 d, 1246 ib. 53 d, 1247 Ch, 1249 Baildon, 1376 Dugd v. 348
v. berg. The first element is difficult but it may be compared with Rosedale 80 supra. It probably had a short vowel in ME to give NEDial [o:], so that we may have here a form of ON Rossi (LindBN). ‘Rossi’s hill.’

STOCKING HOUSE
Stocking a. 1196 Dugd v. 353
v. stocking.

TRENCAR (6")
Traneker 1231 Ass, 13 BylE 52 d
‘Crane marsh’ v. trani, kjarr. Cf. Trenholme 178 supra.

4. OLDSTEAD 22 G 5
veterem locum 1247 Ch Oldsteade 1541 Dugd v. 355
v. (e)ald, stede and cf. Newstead 194 supra.

CAM, COLD CAM
Camb(e), Kambe 1138, a. 1196 Dugd v. 350, 353, 1376 ib. v. 348, 1371, 1385 Baildon
Camp’ 1293 QW
v. camb and Cams Head 194 supra. Cam is at the northern end of a ridge.
Old Byland


**Ashberry Hill**

*Escheberch* 1135–46 Riev *Eskebergam* 1143 BylD 15 d, 1181 BylE 103 d

‘Ash-tree hill’ *v.* eski, berg.

**Nettle Dale**

*Netteldala* 1241 BylE 28 d

**Oxendale**

*Oxedale* c. 1300 BylE 36

2. **Cold Kirby** 22 E 5

*Carebi* 1086 DB

*Kerebi, -by* 1170 Riev, 1185 P (p) *et passim* to 1343 YD

*Kerby* 1143 BylD 15 d, 1257 Ch, 1269 Ebor, 1393 Test

*Kareby, Kairebi* 1209 FF

*Kyerby* 1541 Dugd v. 353 *Keirby* 1581 FF

Lundgren-Brate (158) presuppose an OSw *Kærir*. This name cannot well be represented here as there is no sign of the strong gen. inflexion. They quote from Nielsen (56) a pers. name *Petrus Kæreson*. This points to the possibility of a weak *Kær* side by side with the strong *Kærir* (cf. *pori* and *porir*). This would satisfactorily explain the various forms assumed by the present name. *v.* by.

**Blackamore (lost)**

*mora de Blachou* c. 1160 Guis

*Blakemore* 1301 LS

*Blakoumore, Blakeowe More* 1343 YD, 14 Horn Childe (line 110)

*Bla(c)kamore* 1421 YD, 1571 FF

‘Black howe moor’ *v.* blæc, haur, mor.
Hambleton Hills

Hamelton(a) c. 1160 Riev, 1350 FF, 1452 Test
Hameldon' 1301 LS, Hamylden 1431 Test
v. Hambleton Hill (LangW) 158 supra. There was early confusion of the suffixes tun and dun.

Felixkirk

1. Boltby 22 E 3 [boutbi]
Boltebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1399 YI
Bolthebi c. 1155, 1160 Riev
Boutebi, -by 1176, 1181 P, 1209 FF, 1230 Ebor, 1271 Ch
Boltby 1316 Vill
‘Bolt’s farm’ v. by. Bolt is from ON Boltr (LindBN), with gen. form Bolt.

Haggit Hill (6")

Haichoved c. 1180 Riev

Hesketh Grange

Hesteskeith, Hesteskeid 1153–9, 1154–63 Riev
Heyscayth 1268 Ch
Heskayth 1273 Riev, 1293 QW Hesketh 1538 Riev, 1579 FF
v. hestr, skeið and IPN 90

Ravensthorpe Manor [re:nzθərp]

Rauenstorp 1086 DB
Rauenestorp 1086 DB, 1189 Riev, 1230 Ebor, 1248 Riev, 1252 Ch
Ravenet(h)orp 1086 DB, 1271 Ch
Revenesthorb 1088 LVD 51
Raven(e)sthorp(e) c. 1155 Riev et passim to 1412 Test
Ravynsthorpe 1507 Test
Ranethorpe 1578 FF
‘Raven’s village’ from the ON pers. name Hrafn and porp.
2. Felixkirk 22 E 3
Fridebi 1086 DB
Ecclesia S. Felicis 1210 FF
Felicekyrke, -kirk 1293 QW, 1316 Vill, Feliskirk 1410 NCyWills
Fillyxchurche 1578 FF
Fridebi appears from the topographical arrangement of DB to be in the parish of Felixkirk and may represent what was later known as Felixkirk. It is of the same origin as Firby infra.
Felixkirk is 'the church dedicated to St Felix' v. kirkja. Cf. Oswaldkirk 55 supra and Romaldkirk 309 infra.

Marderby Grange
Martrebi 1086 DB
Marther(e)by 1170–83 Dods vii. 148 d, 13 BylE 66, 1285 KI
Mardarbye 1546 YChant
v. by. The first element is ON morðr, 'marten,' gen. marðar used as a pers. name as in Norw Malerod, Marstad (Rygh, Gamle Personnavne s.n.). 'Marth's farm.'

3. Sutton under Whitestone Cliffe 22 F 3
Sudtune, Sudtone 1086 DB
Sutton subtus Whitstanclif 13 BylE 68
Sutton is in the extreme south of this parish. v. Whitestone Cliffe infra.

Gormire Lake
Gormyr' 1243 BylE 82
'Dirt marsh' from OE gor and myrr.

Whitestone Cliffe
Whitstanclyff 13 BylE 49 d
Wystan 1301 LS Whitstoncliffe 1613 NR

4. Thirleby 22 E 3 [θrlebi]
Trillebi(a), Trylleby 1189, 1248 Riev, 1226 FF, 1252 Ch, 1285 KI
Thirleby 1271 Ch, 1316 Vill, 1399 YI, 1579 FF
Thrilleby 1273 Riev, 1301 LS
The forms point to an ON prilli or prylli. No such name is on record, but it is a conceivable weak diminutive of the pers. name element prýð- found in ON prýð-rikr. If so, the name means ‘prylli’s by.’

**Kelmer Grange**

*Keldithemar* 1243–8 Guis

This is probably a compound of *mar* (*v.* Marton 28 *supra*) and ON keld-hlip ‘spring-hill.’ For this last name *v.* Kellet (PN La 186). Hence, ‘marsh by Keldith.’

**South Kilvington**

1. **South Kilvington** 22 E 1

*Cheluuintun, Chelvinctune* 1086 DB
*Ky-, Kiluinton* 1185–95 BM, 1257 Ch
*Ki-, Kylvington* 13 BylE 50, 1219 Ass, et passim
*Suth Kilvingtona* H 3 BM

The persistence of *Kil-* forms reduces the value of the DB forms with *Chel-*, especially as *e* in that source is frequently written for *i*, so that the name may be taken as ‘Cylfa’s farm’ from the OE pers. name Cylfa, not found in independent use but inferred from OE Cylfantun (BCS 553) and Kilvington (Nt), Chiluinton, Cheluinctone 1086 DB. *v.* ingtun.

2. **Thornbrough** 22 E 2

*Thorn(e)bergh, -berge* 1185–95 Add 19922

‘Thorn hill’ *v.* porn, berg. The name occurs several times in the North Riding.

3. **Upsall** 22 D 2

*Upsale* 1086 DB *Uppesale* 1185–95 Dods vii. 68

With the same run of forms and interpretation as Upsall (LangW) 158 *supra*. It is on the upper slope of a fairly steep hill.

**Kirby Knowle**

1. **Kirby Knowle** 22 D 3

*Chirchebi* 1086 DB, *(under (sub) Knol)* 13 RichReg 122 d

*v.* kirkja, by and Knowle Hill 201 *infra.*
Knowle Hill (6")

_Cnol_ c. 1217 YD

_v. cnoll. This hill is a high round-topped hill. Cf. Norw Knoll (NG ii. 192, etc.).

Cowesby

1. **Cowesby** 22 C 3 [kouzbi]
   - _Cahosbi_ 1086 DB
   - _Cousebi, -by_ 1199 Cur et passim to 1407 NCyWills
   - _Causeby_ 1202 FF, 1227 Pat, Ebor, 1333 Riev
   - _Cousesby_ 1228 Ebor  Coosby by Trysk  1476 Pat

   'Kausi's farm' _v. by_. Cf. ON _Kausi_ (LindBN), found in a number of Norw place-names such as ONorw _Kausœrœt_, Norw _Kausebœl_ (NG i. 31, etc.).

Over Silton

1. **Kepwick** 22 C 3 [kepik]
   - _Capuic, Chipuic_ 1086 DB
   - _Chepewic_ 1166 P (p)
   - _Kepwic, -uic, -wyche_ 1202 FF, 1208-10 Fees, 1234 Guis
   - _Kepewyk, -wick_ 1224-30 Fees, 1240 Riev, 1285 KI, 1298
     - Abbr, 1301 LS, 1348 Baildon
   - _Kepewic, -wyk_ 1310 Ch, 1316 Vill
   - _Kepyk, Kepec_ 1451 Test, 1505 Sanct

   On topographical grounds this name cannot reasonably be connected with OE _cœap_, 'market,' with Scandinavianised initial consonant. A pers. name is far more probable. There is an OSwed p.n. _Kæplinge_ which Hellquist (ON _på-inga_ 86) connects with the pers. name *Kappe assumed by Lundgren-Brate (146) to lie behind certain Swedish p.n.'s. A mutated derivative _Këppi_ formed from the name would explain the forms of Kepwick. The possibility then is that the name means 'Këppi's _vik_ ' or 'nook in the hills.'

2. **Over Silton** 22 B 2

   _Silftune, Siluetun(e)_ 1086 DB, 12 Riev (p)
   - _Silton_ 1204 Ass, (Parva) 1301 LS, (Over) 1316 Vill
v. tun. The first element is probably the pers. name found in Silpho 115 supra. Cf. also Nether Silton (Allerton) 207 infra.

**Greystone Farm**

*Grastan* c. 1217 YD

**Hawnby**

1. **Arden** 22 G 4

   *Ardene* 1086 DB, 1327 Banco
   *Erdene, Erden(a)* 1160 Riev, 1286 Ebor *et passim* to 1436 Baildon
   *Arden* 1201 ChR *et passim*

   v. denu. The first element of Arden is probably the same as that of Ardleigh (Ess), *Ardeley* 1185 RotDom, from the OE pers. name *Earda*, not found in independent use in OE; it is a hypocoristic form of such an OE pers. name as *Eardwulf*, *Eardhelm*, etc.

**Black Hambleton**

*Hameldon* 1290 Dugd iv. 285

v. Hambleton Hill (LangW) 158 supra.

**Potterkeld** (6")

*Potterkeld* 1290 Dugd iv. 285

v. kelda. The first element is OE *pottere*, 'a potter.'

**Steeple Cross**

*Stepingecrosse* 1290 Dugd iv. 285

The first element may possibly be OE *Stëapinga* (gen. pl.) 'dwellers on the slope' (cf. PN BedsHu 84, s.n. Steppingley); hence 'cross of the hill-dwellers.' The second element is cros.

2. **Bilsdale Westside** 22 C 6

v. Bilsdale (Ryed) 67 supra.

3. **Dale Town** 22 D 5

*Dal* 1086 DB, *Dale* 1170 Riev *Daile* 1470 Test

v. *dæl*, dairl. The simplex ON *i Dale* is very common in Norw place-names (cf. NG i. 12, ii. 45 *et passim*).
Gowerdale [jouwèdil]

Yowirdale 1387 YD  Yowerdale 1434 YD

Possibly ‘boar valley’ from ON jofurr, ‘wild boar,’ and dalr. The spelling G- is probably modern and perhaps arose by analogy with OE geat, written gate but still pronounced as [jæt] in the local dialect.

4. Hawnby 22 D 5 [ɔ:mbi]

Halm(e)bi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1301 LS
Halmbi, -by 1170 Riev, 1200 FF, 1201 ChR, 1219 Ass, 1301, 1399 YI
Halmby 1200 FF
Haunneby 1285 KI, Hawnbye, Haunby 1538 Riev
Halney 1316 Vill

‘Halmi’s farm’ from the ON by-name Halmi (LindBN) and by. One may also compare the Swed place-name Halmby (Hellquist, Svenska ON på -by), which is derived from ON halmr, ‘straw,’ and refers to a straw-thatched farm. The persistence of -e- in the early spellings of Hawnby points, however, to the pers. name Halmi.

Blow Gill

Blawathgila 1170–2 BylE 109

‘Ravine with the dark ford’ v. blar, vað, gil.

LadHill Beck

Laddedale c. 1160 Riev, 1170–85 YCh 1845
Laddale 1200 FF  Laddelle 1538 Riev


5. Murton 22 D 5 [muɔtɔn]

Mortun, -ton(a-m), -tonie 1086 DB et passim to 1376 Dugd v. 348
Murton 1541 Dugd v. 355

Farm on the mor’ v. tun.
CONYGARTH (6")

le Conygarth 1533 Riev
‘The king’s enclosure’ from konungr and garðr.

6. SNILESWORTH 22 B 4

Snigleswath 1150–70 YCh 1846, 1243 BylE 109
Snygheleswath 1186–9 Dods vii. 107
Sniles-, Snyleswath 1230 FF, 1247 Ch (corrigenda), 1290
Dugd iv. 285, 1376 ib. v. 348
Snailesworthe 1575 FF

‘Snigel’s ford’ v. vað. The first element is probably a by-
name based on ON snigill, ‘a snail.’ Medial -g- was palatalised
in such positions before the Scandinavian settlements took
place in England.

MILEY PIKE [mila paik]

Milehowe 1290 Dugd iv. 285

‘Milla’s mound’ from ON Milla (LindBN) and haugr. Cf.
Norw Millehaugen (Rygh, NG iii. 374).

RYE HEAD (6")

Rihened (corr. -heued) 1290 Dugd iv. 285

‘Head of the valley of the Rye’ v. heafod. This is the source
of the river Rye.

WHITESTONES

Wytstayndale 1290 Dugd iv. 285
v. hwit, steinn, dalr and cf. Norw Hwitstein (Rygh, NG ii. 6).

VIII. ALLERTON WAPENTAKE

Aluretune Wapentac 1086 DB
Aluertone scire 1088 LVD 50 d, 1242 P
Alverstonsir(a) 1217 Riev, 1237 Cl
Libertatem de Alvertone’ 1233 Cl, (de Allerton) 1401 YI

The liberty (originally a wapentake) takes its name from
Northallerton 210 infra, the county town. v. scir.
Thornton le Street

1. **North Kilvington** 22 E i
   
   *Chekvintun* 1086 DB  *Keluintune* 1088 *LVD* 51
   *North Kilvynjong* 1292 Baildon

   Later forms all have *Kil-*. For the history of this name *v.* South Kilvington 200 *supra*.

2. **Thornton le Street** 22 E i
   
   *Torentun* 1086 DB  *Thorinton in via* 1208 ChR
   The place is variously referred to as *in Strata* 1268 Ebor,  *in le Strete* c. 1291 Tax
   *v.* *porn*, *tun*. Thornton stands on a supposed Roman road (6° OS 87 NE 3); *v.* *stræt* and Barton le Willows 38 *supra*.

**Sandpot** (6")

*Sandpot* 1227 FF

'Sand hole' *v.* *sand*. On the second element *v.* Pott Hall 234 *infra*.

Leake

1. **Borrowby** 22 D i [baræbi]
   
   *Ber(g)(h)ebi, -by* 1086 DB *et freq* to 1333 Riev
   With the same run of forms and interpretation as Borrowby (*LangE*) 136 *supra*.

**Wandales** (6")

*Wandailam* 1170–88 YCh 1849
   *v.* Wandales (Ryed) 59 *supra*.

2. **Cotcliffe** 22 C i [kotlif]
   
   *Koteclylef* 1285 KI  *Cotcliffe* 1581 FF
   'Bank by the cottage' *v.* *cot*, *clif*.

3. **Crosby** 21 C i4
   
   *Croxebi, Croxbi* 1086 DB
   *Crossebi* 1153–7 YCh 952 *et passim*, *Crossbye* 1153–94 Riev
Possibly ‘farm by the cross’ v. cros, by. In that case the DB form is an error. Perhaps, however, one should take the name to be ‘Krok’s by,’ from ON Krókr, with later assimilation of ks to ss and consequent association with ON cros.

4. Knayton 22 D 2 [ne:tən, niːətən]

*Keneuetun, Cheneuetone, Cheniueton, Chenieton* 1086 DB

Cheuetune 1088 LVD 50 d

Cneveton 1233, 1235 Cl

Knayveton(e) 1279 Ebor, 1280 Ass, 1285 KI, 1301 LS

Knayton 1354, 1372 FF  Knaton 1562 NCyWills

v. tun. The first element here, as in Kneeton (Nt) and Kniveton (Db), is OE Cěngifu, a woman’s name; for shifting of the accent cf. Knowsley (PN La 113) from Cěnwulf, and Fringford (O), DB Feringeford.

Brawith [brewiθ]

*Brai-, Braythwath* 1231 Ass, 1301 LS

‘Broad ford’ v. breiðr, vað.

5. Landmoth 22 C 1 [lanməθ]

*Landemot(e) 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 51, a. 1157 Percy, 1208 FF, Fees, 1285 KI, 1313 Whitby (p)*

Landmot 1231 Ass, 1359 FF

Landemoth 1291 Riev

Lamouth 1506 Sanct

Lanmouth 1577 Saxton, 1616 NR

Lamoth 1614 NR

‘District meeting-place’ v. land, (ge)mot. Landmoth is on the top of a steep hill overlooking Cod Beck and near to the main road from Thirsk to Stokesley. The final element is found again in Skirmett (PN Bk xvii. 180) and as the first element of OE gemetheor (Ha), BCS 392, and in such compounds as “Sancti Petri wapentacmot nec Tredingmot nec schiresmot” (1316 Abbr 334). Landmoth is not far from either Northallerton or Fingay Hill 213 infra and this contiguity is paralleled by that of Skirmett and Fingest in Bk (loc.cit.). They are probably
alternative Riding or wapentake meeting-places. For a similar group v. PN Wo 166 s.n. Stoulton.

On the development of the last element to -moth cf. Catterick 242 infra.

6. Leake 22 C 2 [li:k]

Lece 1086 DB
Leche 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 51
Leic, Leyk 12 RegAlb i. 67 d, 1239, 1272 Ebor, c. 1291 Tax
Lecc c. 1150 Godr, 1154–81 Riev, 1160–80 YCh 954
Lek(e) 1200 FF et passim to 1562 NCyWills
Leek’ 1291 Ebor, 1328 Banco, 1508 Test
Leake 1665 Visit et passim
‘Brook’ v. lækkr.

7. Nether Silton 22 C 2

Silftune 1086 DB
Silton Paynill 1285 KI,(Paynel) E I BM,(Nether) 1298 Abbr

Other forms and interpretation as for Over Silton 202 supra. Isabell Paynell held land here in 1231 (Ass).

North Otterington

1. North Otterington 21 D 13

Otrin(c)tun(e), -tona 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 50 d, 12 RegAlb i. 68
Otheringeton’ 1208 ChR
Ot(e)rington’ 1208–10 Fees, 1219, 1231 Ass, 1254 Ebor,
(North) 1292 ib.
Oterinton 1227 Ebor

The form Ostrinctune for South Otterington 208 infra suggests that we have here an OE pers. name Óthhere, but that is only on record as King Alfred’s anglicising of ON Óttarr and as the name of a Swedish king in Beowulf, and it would be difficult to explain the later forms on the basis of initial Oht-. These should have given Ought1. More probably Oter is the

1 Possibly Óthhere lies behind Oughtrington (Ch) but unfortunately no forms for this have been found.
right form and is an OE pers. name derived from *otor*, ‘otter,’ which lies behind Otteringham (YER), DB *Otringeham*, and the lost *Oteringhithe* (Nf), DB *Otringheia*. This name was identical in form with the common Anglo-Scand name *Oter* derived from *Ottarr*. Confusion with this *Oter* and knowledge that its OE equivalent was *Ohthere* might lead to the spelling of the first *Oter-* name as *Ostr-*. v. ingtun.

2. South Otterington¹ 21 D 13

*Ostrinctune* 1086 DB  
*Sonotrinctune* 1088 *LVD* 51  
*Otheringeton* 1208 ChR (and as in North Otterington supra)  
*Son-* in the second form is probably from OWScand *sunnr*, ‘south,’ an assimilated form.

3. Thornton le Beans 21 C 14

*Gri(s)torentun* 1086 DB  
*Grisethorntune* 1088 *LVD* 51  
*Thorinton super vivarium* 1208 ChR  
*Thorin(t)on in Vivar* 1285 KI

The place is also distinguished as *in le Beyns*, *in Fabis* 1534 VE; *in the Beanes* 1577 Saxton; *in lez Beanes* 1613 NR, etc. v. *porn*, tun. The earliest spellings point to a name of the same type as Humburton supra: ‘Griss’s *porntun*’ from the ON pers. name *Griss* (v. Gristhorpe supra).

The various suffixes indicate the position of Thornton. The *vivarium* or fish pond is mentioned in 1208 ChR *vivarlo juxta Thorinton*. *Fabis* is from Latin *faba*, ‘horse-bean,’ and is equivalent to the more common affix *Beans* from OE *bean*. Horse-beans must have been a staple commodity of the district. For *le* v. Barton le Willows 38 supra.

Crosby Court or Crosby Cote

*Cotun* 1086 DB  
*Cotem* 1088 *LVD* 51  
*Crosseby et Cotunam* 1252 Ch

‘(At) the cottages’ from the OE dat. plur. *cotum*; v. cot. The Ch scribe has mistaken *Cotun* for a common OE *tun*-name.

¹ A detached part of Birdforth wapentake.
4. **Thornton le Moor** 22 D 13

*Torentona* 1114-23 YCh

*Thorinton’ in mora* 1208 ChR

*Thornton in the More* 1327 Banco

*V. porn, tun.* For *le v.* Barton le Willows 38 *supra.*

**Northallerton**

1. **Brompton** 21 B 13

*Bruntun, Bruntone* 1086 DB

*Bromtune* 1088 *LVD* 50 d, c. 1130 SD

With the same forms and interpretation as Brompton (Picker) 96 *supra.* This interpretation is rendered more certain in this case by the form from SD, who frequently gives names in their OE form.

In the 12th cent. the place is distinguished as

*Moderbruntun* c. 1121-8 YCh 936

*Materebrinton’* 1158 (1204) ChR

*Mathrebruntona* 1153-c. 1160 YCh 937

The prefixed pers. name is probably OE *Måðhere.* The name-type is similar to that of Humburton and Thornton le Beans 180, 208 *supra.*

2. **Deighton** 14 J 13 [dictån]

*Dictune, -ton* 1086 DB, 1088 *LVD* 50 d et *passim* to 1285 KI

*Dicton* 1198 Guis, 1231 FF

*Di-, Dyghton* 1316 *Vill et passim* to 1536 YChant

‘Farm surrounded by a ditch’ *v.* dic, tun. A large moat is marked on the map by the side of the village; probably this is the *dic.* The name is of common appearance (e.g. Deighton YER, Nf, YWR), and is found as OE *Dictun* (KCD, index). The development of *-ct-* in this name is similar to that in Broughton (*passim*): OE *c* became *χ* before *t* and [ix] then followed the normal development of OE *ih,* as in dialect *leet* from OE *liht.* Cf. Dinsdale 279 *infra.*
3. Lazenby 21 A 12 [lezenbi]

Leisenchi, Leisinghi (sic) 1086 DB
Lai-, Laysinghi, -by 1088 LVD 50 d, (by Northalverton) 1301 Ch
Lei-, Leysingebi, -by 1203 FF, 1204 Ass (p), 1219 FF

With the same run of forms and interpretation as Lazenby (LangW) 160 supra.

4. Northallerton 21 B 13

Aluretune, Aluertun(e), Alverton(e) 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 50 d, (North) 1301 LS et passim to 1444 NCyWills
Auwerton' 1231 Ass
Northallerton 1371 FF

'Alfhere's farm' v. tun. The first element is the common OE pers. name Ælfhere. The gen. -es has been lost except in two instances of the wapentake name 204 supra.

Bullamoor

Bullehoumore 1314 Dunelm

v. haugr, mor. The first element is probably the OEScand pers. name Bulle (cf. ZEN 26).

5. Romanby 21 B 12

Romundrebi 1086 DB
Romundabi 1088 LVD 50 d
Romundebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1316 Vill
Romundby 1347 Baildon, 1348 IpmR
Romanby 1398 Pat

'Romund's farm' v. by. The name Romund (DB, P) is from ON Hrómundr, gen. Hrómundar (LindN). The ON gen. -ar is found in the DB spelling, but was dropped at an early date. The mere fact that it does appear in the early form shows that its loss cannot be due to the OEScand loss of -r- before a voiced consonant as in Dromonby 168 supra.
Birkby

1. BIRKBY 14 J II [børkbi]
   
   *Bretebi* 1086 DB  
   *Brettebi, -by* 1088 LVD 50 d et passim  
   *Brytheby* 1230 Pat  
   *Bret-, Briteby* 1249 Heal 127, 1285 KI  
   *Brytteby* 1373 Test  
   *Birtheby* 1577 Saxton  
   *Berkby* 1316 (16) Vill, *Byrkbye* 1581 FF  

   'The Britons' village' from ON *Breta-býr*. Such a name might arise if any men of British descent from the north-west accompanied Viking settlers in their movements into Yorkshire. The term *Bröstar* is used for British Celts in Scandinavian sources (cf. Zachrisson, *Romans, Kelts, etc.* 46–7).

2. HUTTON BONVILLE 14 J 12  
   
   *Hotune, -ton* 1086 DB, *(Bonevill)* 1316 Vill  

   v. hoh, tun. It was held t. Henry III by Robert de Boneville (VCH i. 496).

3. LITTLE SMEATON 14 H 12  
   
   *Smidetun(e), Smitune* 1086 DB  
   *In little Smithetune* 1088 LVD 50 d  
   *Parva Smitheton* 1199 ChR, 1316 Vill  
   *Smedeton* 1200 Abbr  
   *Smiton parva* 1285 KI  
   *Litill Smeton* 1530 Visit  

   'The smiths' farm' v. tun. The first element is OE *smið*. The modern form arises from lengthening of OE i in an open syllable as in Upleatham 153 *supra*, with subsequent lowering to [e:] and raising to [i:]. Cf. Great Smeaton 281 *infra*.

Kirby Sigston

1. KIRBY SIGSTON 22 B 1  
   
   *Kirchebi* 1088 LVD 50 d, 51  
   *Kirkeb', -by* 1208–10 Fees, *(Si, Sygeston)* 1244 Ebor  

   v. kirkja, by and Sigston 212 *infra*. 
Sigston

Sig(h)estun 1086 DB
Siggestune, -ton 1088 LVD 50 d, 51 et passim to 1474 YD
Sis-, Sygeston(a) 12 Reg Alb i. 67 d, c. 1291 Tax, 1414 YI
Siggeston' 1204 ChR, Siggheston 1208–10 Fees

'Sigg's farm' v. tun. Sigg is probably from an ON name Siggr, corresponding to the weak form Siggi (LindN).

2. Sowerby Under Cotcliffe 22 B 1

Sourebi, -by 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 51
Saurebi 1240–50 Bodl a. i. 58 (p)
Suleby sub Koteclyf 1285 KI

v. saurr, by, Sowerby and Cotcliffe 128, 205 supra.

3. Winton 21 A 14

Winetun(e) 1086 DB Winton 1578 FF

'Wina's farm' from the OE pers. name Wina (Redin 57) and tun.

Hallikeld House

Halikeld 1226 FF, 1314 Dunelm Halykell 1575 FF

'Holy spring' v. halig, kelda.

Stank House

Stanke, Wyntonstank, 1571, 1575 FF

'Winton pool' from ME stank, 'pool, pond.'

Osmotherley

1. Ellerbeck 22 A 2

Elrebec 1086 DB
Alrebec 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 50 d, 51

'Alder stream' v. elri, bekkr. Later forms as for Eller Beck and Ellerburn 82, 88 supra and Eller Beck 233, 266 infra

2. West Harlesay 22 A 1

Herlesega, Herelsaie, Herselaige, Erlesei 1086 DB
Herlesie, -ey, -ay 1088 LVD 50 d, 1175–89 YCh 962, 1206
ChR, (West) 1316 Vill
West Harlesay 1365 FF
'Herel's eg.' Herel(e) is not adduced in independent use in OE, but there is good evidence for its existence; it enters into Herleshow near Ripon (YWR), Herelesho c. 1030 Gosp, Herring-fleet (Sf), DB Herlingaflet, Harlingham (Nf), Herlingaham KCD 1339, At Herlinge Thorpe 582, Harlethorpe (Db), Harlethorp 1324 Ipm, Harlington (YWR), Herlintune 1086 DB. It is a diminutive form of a hypocoristic pers. name derived from OE Herebald, etc., and corresponds to OHG Herilo; it is probably found as an early ME surname in Rann' herel, Symund' herel (LVD 60 d, line 16).

Fingay Hill

Thynghou c. 1250 Riev, Thyngowe 1508 Guis

'Hill where the thing met' v. ping, haugr. Fingay Hill is a round-topped hill standing out prominently from the level land of the parish. As the name shows, it was formerly a district meeting-place, possibly of the Riding Court (cf. Landmoth 206 supra and VCH Y ii. 134).

The change of th- to f- in this name is well evidenced as a dialectal change all over the country. It is found in initial Thing- in Fingest (PN Bk 176) and in Finedon (Nth), Tingdene 1086 DB, Thyngdon 1327 Banco. Cf. Throvenby 110 supra.

3. Osmotherley 22 A 2 [ɔzmɔlə]

Asmundrelac 1086 DB
Osmunderle, -ley(e), -lai(e) 1088 LVD 50 d, 1219 Ass, 1281 Ch et passim to 1418 YI
Osmundeslay 12 RegAlb i. 67 d
Osmundelai, -leye 1220 Ass, 1231 Ebor
Osemunderl' 1280 Cl, c. 1291 Tax
Osmondirlay 1398 Pat
Osmoderl(a)y 1536 YChant, 1558 RichWills
Osmoth'ly 1577 NCyWills

'Asmund's clearing' v. leah. The first element is from ON Åsmundr, gen. Åsmundar; on forms with Os- v. Osgodby (Pick) 104 supra. For -lac v. Helmsley 71 supra. A hybrid formation with a Norse inflexion of the first element suggests very intimate association of the Norse and Anglian speech.
Mount Grace, formerly Bordelby

Bordlebi, Bordelbia 1086 DB
Bordelesby 13 Riev
Bordelby 1243 Fees, 1303 YI, 1310 Ch, 1405 Riev
Bordilbi 1297 YI
Borthelby 1301 LS, 1323 YD, 1366 BM
Brodeby 1508 Guis

'Bordel's farm' v. by. The name Bordel is probably OE in origin; cf. the lost Y stream-name Bordelbrunn(e) 1227 Baildon, Guis. It is a diminutive of the OE pers. name Borda (Redin 73). Cf. further Bordesley (PN Wo 365).

Mount Grace 1413, 1467 Test
Mountgrace, Monte(m) Graciae 1414, 1430 Test

The name is of French origin and refers to the priory which was set up at Bordelby (v. VCH ii. 28).

Oak Dale [jagdil]

Aikedale 1208 FF, Hayckedale 1234 Riev, Eykedal 1339 Pat

'Oak valley' v. eik, dalr. The modern spelling shows substitution of the modern English oak for ON eik, just as the local pronunciation shows dialectal [jæk] for OE ðæc.

4. Thimbleby 22 B 2 [ðimælbi]

Timbelbi, Timbelli (sic) 1086 DB
thèmelebi 1088 LVD 51
Thimilby c. 1160 Riev
T(h)imelebi 1182, 1184 P
Thimilisbi 1208 FF
Timleb' 1208–10 Fees
Thi, Thymelby 1233 Cl, 1234 Riev, 1247 Ebor, 1301 LS, 1316 Vill
Thimmelby 1293 QW
Themelby 1329 YD
Thimbelby 1359 FF

v. by. The first element is a pers. name which is also contained in Thimbleby (L), Timleby LindsSurv, Thymelby, Themelby RH, and Themelthorp (Nf), Thimeltorp, Tymelthorp
1267, 1269 Ch, Thimilthorp 1289 BM. There is a scantily attested ON *pumall* (LindN) from ON *pumall*,'thimble,' and a by-name (LindB) *pumli* from the same source. In these place-names we must have a mutated by-form *

Foxton

* Fo(u)stune 1086 DB  
  * Foxtun(e) -ton(a) 1088 LVD 50 d et passim  
  * Focston 1233 Ebor  
  * Fosceton 1349 Test  
  v. fox, tun.

Scrathowes (6")

*Scrathowe, -hou 1388 YD Scrattey 1610 NR  
  'The devil's mound' v. haugr. *Scrat* is a common Y name for the devil (EDD). It is derived from ON *skratti*, 'wizard, goblin'; cf. the p.n. *Skrattaker* in the Heimskringla.

East Harlsey¹

1. East Harlsey 15 O 5  
  * Herlesege 1086 DB, Esteharlsay 1536 YChant  
  v. West Harlsey 212 supra.

Bruntcliffe

*Brunneclive 1333 Riev.  
  v. clif. The first element is probably brunnr, 'spring.'  
  A stream rises just by Bruntcliffe, hence 'cliff by the stream.'

Morton (6")

*Morton 1293 QW, 1301 LS  
  v. mor, tun.

¹ A detached part of Birdforth wapentake.
SIDDLE

_Sysetheylle, Syvehill_ c. 1250 Riev
_Sithill_ 1303 YI, _Sythell_ 1508 Guis
_Scithill_ 1412 Ad iii

_v._ hyll. In view of the first two spellings the first element may possibly be derived from OE _sifed_, ‘siftings, bran, tares.’

STADDLE BRIDGE

_Stathelebrig_’ 1508 Guis

NEDial _staddle_ is used of a wooden platform on which hayricks are built. Staddle Bridge crosses the river Wiske near its source where the river is narrow and the ground flat. The bridge could, therefore, originally have been a “staddle” thrown across the stream. _v._ brycg.

2. _Welbury_ 15 O 5

_Welberga_ 1086 DB
_Welleberg(e), -berga_ 1086 DB _et passim_ to c. 1291 Tax
_Welleberc, -berth_ 1198 Guis, 13 YD, etc.
_Welleberyg_ 1301 LS
_Wel(le)bery_ 1310 Ch, 1344 FF
_Welbery_ 1400 Pap, 1403 YI, 1508 Guis

‘Spring hill’ _v._ _w(i)ella, ber_. Welbury is built on the NE side of a hill (to which the name originally applied) and on the top side of the village on the hill slope is a spring known as _Hali_ Well (6°).

SAWCOCK (6°) [sɔːkɔk]

_Salecohc_ 1190–1200 YCh 721
_Salkok_ 13, 1323 YD, _Salcock_ 1243 Fees, 1508 Guis, _Salcock_ 1301 LS

The origin of this name is not quite certain. OE _coc_ is not recorded in any sense which would suit the final element. There are, however, in this district indications of Irish influence of the same type as that found in Ryedale and Cleveland (_v._ Airyholme (Ryed) and Coldman Hargos and Lackenby 49, 148, 159 _supra_). Irish pers. names found about here in the 11th and 12th cents. are _Dughel, Malgrin, Melmidoc, and Ghilemicel_ (_v._ _Revue_
Celtique, xli. 45); Irby 218 infra and the lost Irton in Birdforth 193 supra point to Irish-Norwegian influence, whilst Blow Gill (Bird) is an indication of Norwegian influence which is usually associated with Irish names in Y.

Bearing this in mind, an Irish-Norwegian origin of the name Sawcock is not out of the question. Indeed, the best solution of the name is to assume that it is an example of the Irish-Norwegian reversal of the order of elements, as in Hillbraith 158 supra. Sawcock would then mean 'Cock's hall' from ON salr (as in Upsall 158, 200 supra) and a pers. name Coc. This pers. name is itself a difficulty; it appears in the later additions to LVD as Cocus de Coldigham (60 d, i. 11), and, although it might ultimately be connected with OE cocc, 'cock(bird),' it seems in this case better to derive it from the well-evidenced OIr pers. name Coc(h), a woman's name, or OIr Cocca, Cocha, identical with Welsh coch, 'red' (cf. Smith, loc. cit. 55), and the OBrit pers. name Cocos (Förster 105).

Rounton

1. West Rounton 15 N 5

Runtune 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 51
Rungtune, -ton 1128–35 YCh 944, 1170–5 YCh 945, 1483
Test, 1508 Guis
Rungheton 1208–10 Fees
Rungeton(e) 1218 FF, 1276, 1281 Ebor, 1285 KI, 1291 Ebor,
1301 LS, (West) 1328 Banco, 1330 Pap
Ringeton 1218 FF
(West) Rongetone 1281 Ebor
Rongton 1285 KI
Westruncton 1562 NCyWills, 1612 NR
West Rounckton 1614 NR

The name is of the same origin as Runcion (Nf), Runget 1185 RotDom, Rongeton 1495 BM, and East Rounton 218 infra. The first element in each case is OE hrung, 'rung, staff, pole,' and the meaning of the name would be 'farmstead enclosed with poles' (from OE hrunga-tūn), or 'farm marked by a pole' (from OE hrungtūn); a parallel meaning is found in Stapleton 283 infra. v. tun.
Irby Manor [orbi]
Irebi 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 51

2. East Rounton 15 N 5
Rontun, Rantune 1086 DB, Estrungeton 1324 Abbr
v. West Rounton 217 supra.

IX–XIII. THE HONOUR OF RICHMONDSHIRE
shira de Richmond 1174 HCY, Richemundesir(a) 1198 Fees
honore de Ri-, Rychemund 1218 Pat
Richemondskyre 1252 YI
v. scir and Richmond 287 infra. At the time of the DB survey the wapentakes of Hang and Gilling, probably corresponding to the two great lordships of Catterick and Gilling belonging to Earl Eadwine, formed terra Alani Comitis, later known as Richmondshire from the new castle built and named by Earl Alan himself. On the origin of Richmondshire and its status as a separate county v. Stenton, William the Conqueror, 324.
The wapentake of Halikeld was in DB counted as part of the West Riding, but in all subsequent records (including that portion of RichReg which is a digest of DB) it forms part of the Honour of Richmond.

IX. HALIKELD WAPENTAKE
Halichelde 1086 DB
Halikeldshir 1157 RichReg 82 d
The wapentake takes its name from Hallikeld Spring 219 infra, which was probably the wapentake meeting-place. v. halig, kelda, scir.

Hutton Conyers
1. Hutton Conyers1 21 J 11
Hot(t)on(e) 1086 DB Hotune 1086 LVD 50 d
Hotonconyers 1198 Fount, (Coigners) 1316 Vill
Howton Coniers 1530 Visit

1 Detached part of Allerton wapentake.
‘Farm on the spur of land’ v. hoh, tun. The Conyers family were enfeoffed of land here between 1099 and 1133 (VCH i. 393).

**Hallikeld Spring** (6"

*fontium de Halikeld* 1202 FF

‘Holy spring’ v. halig, kelda. v. 218 supra.

2. **Melmerby 21 H 12**

*Malmerbi, Malmerby* 1086 DB, 1200 Cur (p), 1243 Ch

*Melmerby 12 FountA 236 d et passim*

‘Farm on sandy ground’ v. by. Lindkvist’s suggestion (13) that the first element is from ON *målmar*, gen. *målmar*, ‘sandy field,’ is certainly borne out by the geological characteristics of the district and the name is paralleled by the Swed *Malmby* from OSwed *malm* (Hellquist, ON *på* -by 10). The form of the name has been influenced by Melmerby (HangW) 255 *infra* which is of different origin.

3. **Middleton Quernhow 21 G 12**

*Middeltun(e) 1086 DB, Medelton 1208 FF*


‘Middle farm’ v. middel, tun. It is the centre of a number of tuns.

For Quernhow v. Quernhow 224 *infra*. The affix *in le Mire* is the same as that in Ainderby Mires 239 *infra* and refers to the marshy nature of the land (v. myrr).

4. **Norton Conyers**

*Nortun(e), -ton(e) 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 50 d et passim*

The affix is first found as *Coniers* in 1316 Vill

‘North farm’ v. norð, tun, probably so-called from its lying to the north of Ripon (YWR). For the manorial name v. Hutton Conyers 218 *supra*.

5. **Wath 21 H 11** [waθ]

*Wat 1086 DB, 1239 Pap, 1249 Ebor*

*Wath 1184 RichReg 84 d et passim*

*Waz 1253 Ch*

‘The ford’ v. váð.

1 Detached part of Allerton wapentake.
Kirklington

1. Howgrave 21 G ii [vugriv]

_Hoggrave_ 1086 DB, 1088 _LVD_ 50 d
_Hogram, Hogrem_ 1086 DB
_Holgrave_ 1128–35 _YCh_ 944, 1170–5 _Dods_ cxiii. 184, 1198 _Fount_
_Houg Grave_ 1184 _RichReg_ 84 d, 1208–10 _Fees_, 1285 _KI_, 1332, 1362 _FF_, _Howegrave_ 1403 _YI_, 1536 _YChant_

‘Grove in the hollow’ v. hol, graf.

2. Kirklington 21 F ii

_Cherdinton_ 1086 DB
_Chirtlintuna_ 1145–53 _Leon_ 35
_Kirtlyngton, Kirtlington_ 12 _RichReg_ 80 d, 84 d et freq to 1449 _Test_
_Kir-, Kyrtelington_ 1198 _Fount et freq_ to 1301 _Ebor_, _LS_
_Kirtlington_ 1207 _Abbr_, 1208 _FF_, 1231 _Ass_, 1239 _Ebor_
_Kirkinton, Kirklington_ 1230 _Ebor_, 1575 _FF_
_Kirk Kelinton_, _-lynton_ 1276 _RegAlb_ ii. 18 d, 1368 _FF_, 1396 _Pap_

Kirklington is of the same origin as Kirtlington (O), Kyrtelingtun _ASC_ s.a. 977, _Chertelintone_ 1086 DB, and Kirklington (Nt), and means ‘Cyrtla’s farm’ v. ingtun. For the pers. name _Cyrtla_ cf. _on cyrtlan geat_ (Crawf i. 19, ii. 10), now Curtlake in Crediton (D)¹, and Kirtling (C), _Chertlinge_ 1086 DB. On the interchange of _t_ and _c_ before _l_ cf. Stittenham 33 _supra_.

Healam House, Healam Beck [i:λɛn]

_Hilum_ 1257 _YD_ _Healam Bridge in Watlinge Strete_ 1613 _NR_

‘(At) the pools’ from _ON_ _hylr_, dat. plur. _hylum_. The modern form shows that the original vowel _-i-_ was short and was lengthened in an open syllable in ME; cf. _Upleatham_ 153 _supra_. The country round about is flat and the name probably refers to pools formed by Healam Beck. On Watling Street cf. Leeming _Lane_ i _supra_.

¹ Ex _inf_. Mr J. E. B. Gover.
HALIKELD WAPENTAKE

UPSLAND

Opsala, Upsale 1086 DB
Oppeslunde 1184 RichReg 84 d
Upselund 1280 Ass
Uppeslunde 1285 KI, (-lounde) 1301 LS, (-lond) 1406 YI
Uppislande 1556 FF Upsland 1571 FF

The DB form Upsale means ‘upper hall’ (v. Upsall 158 supra). The first element of the later spellings can hardly be from ON ups, ‘steep cliff,’ which is common in Norw place-names (Rygh, NG Indledning 83), for though the house is on the top of a small hill there is no cliff or steep bank in the neighbourhood. Probably it is really Uppes(ale)lund from the name of the place mentioned in DB and lundr.

YARNWICK (6") [ja:nik]

Gernuic 1086 DB
Yarnewik(e) 12 RichReg 80 d, 105 d, 1198 Fount, 1270 YI
Jarnewik 1184 RichReg 84 d, (-wyke) 1301 LS
Yarnewyk(e) 1296 Ch, 1298 YI, 1316 Ch, 1544 FF

v. wic. The first element offers some difficulty; it is probably a pers. name Georna not found in OE but derived from OE georn, ‘willing, eager.’

3. SUTTON HOWGRAVE 21 G 11

on Suptune c. 1000 LVD 43 d, Sud(t)one 1086 DB
Sutton 1157 RichReg 83, (Rugemond) 1280 YI, (Hougrave) 1285 KI

‘South farm’ v. suð, tun. It is to the south of Howgrave 220 supra, and Ralph de Rugemond held one-third of a fee here in 1280 YI.

4. EAST TANFIELD 21 G 10

Tanefeld 1086 DB, 1184 RichReg 84 d, 1204 Ass, 1279–81 QW, 1283 Rich 28, c. 1291 Tax
Danefeld, Danefelt 1086 DB
Estanfeld(e) 1157 RichReg 83, 1396 Pap, 1579 FF
Tannefeld(e) 1198 Fount, 1301 Ebor
Est Tanefeld 1280 Ass, 1292 Ch
Esttanfeld 1327 Banco, etc.
The first element of this name offers difficulty. Redin (110, 137) adduces a number of pers. names from DB such as Tone (Y), Tonne (L, Wa), and suggests that as the distribution of the name is in Scand England it is derived from OEScand Tonne, Tonna. There is, however, a certain amount of evidence which points to an OE pers. name Tona or Tana. A pers. name Ton (possibly OE) is adduced from MHG ii. 634, and another form of this strong pers. name is found in OE in tanes bæce (Staunton on Arrow, He) BCS 1040, Tansley (Db), Tanysleg E 1 BM, Tanesley e. 14 BM, and Tansor (Nth), Tanesoure 1316 BM. A weak form Tana, Tona is possibly the first element of Thanington (K), OE Taningtune BCS 404, and Tanworth (Wa), Taneworth 1229–43 BM, Thanewurth 1251 Ch, Toneworth(e) 1316 FA, 1340 BM. As a name-theme it is found in OE Tonberct (LVD) and it is connected by Müller (Die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitae 112) with OHG -zan in the pers. names Donazan, Grazan, and Zanvidus.

Professor Ekwall suggests that in the case of East and West Tanfield we may explain the name by metanalysis as from east (west) anfeld, with t of east (west) transferred to an earlier and unrecorded Anfeld. v. feld.

West Tanfield

1. WEST TANFIELD 21 G 10

Tanefeld(e) 1086 DB Westanfeld(e) 1282 YI, 1396 Pap

BINSEOE [binsø]

Binzhou c. 1190 Dods cxx. 3
Bishou (? for Bis-) 1202 FF
Binzhou 1257 YD
Bynshu 1301 LS Bynsoo 1536 YChant

This is a difficult name but one is probably right in assuming that the various forms all go back to Binteshou. This would point to a strong pers. name Binte corresponding to the weak Binta which lies behind Bentworth (Ha), Binteorde Ric 1 Ch, Bintewurd 1222 Pat. This may be cognate with OHG Binizo, Binzo (Forstemann, PN 307). v. hoh.
Nosterfield

Nostrefeld 1204 Ass (p)  Nostreffeld 1245 Cl
Nosterfeld 1257 YD, 1282 YI, 1285 KI, 1298 YI, 1301 LS, 1521 FF

This name is probably a case of metanalysis of the final sound of the ME inflected definite article then with the beginning of the place-name itself. Nosterfield goes back to the OE name formula æt ðæm eowestrefelda, ‘at the sheepfold field,’ ME at then (e)ostrefelde, which before the recorded instances of the name became (atte) Nostrefelde. A name of similar origin is Nosterfield (C), Nostresfelda c. 1080 Skeat (PN C). Cf. Napleton, PN Wo 146.

The name is ultimately derived from OE eōwestre, ‘sheep fold,’ and feld, whilst the compound eowestrefeld in addition to the two Nosterfields is also found in Austerfield (YWR), which appears as OE Ouestrefelda in Eddi’s Life of St Wilfrid¹, Oustrefeld in 1086 DB. For Austerfield, v. Bradley in EHR xxxvi. 299.

Thornbrough

Thorn(e)bergh 1198 Fount et freq to 1399 YI
Thorn(e)bargh 1536 YChant, 1541 FF
Thornbrough 1654 Pickhill
‘Thorn hill’ v. porn, berg.

Pickhill

1. Ainderby Quernhow 21 F 12 [əndəbɪ kwerhə]

Aiendrebi, Andrebi 1086 DB
Endreby, Enderby 1207 Abbr, 1208 FF
Ai-, Aynderby 1208 FF, (juxta Querenhou) 1301 LS, (Viscompt) 14 RichReg 87
Einderby 1231 Ass
Anderby (vesconte) 1280 YI, (Whernhowe) 1578 FF

The name Ainderby occurs three times in the district (Ainderby Mires, Ainderby Steeple 239, 275 infra). All three are derived from the ON pers. name Eindridi (LindN), ODan

¹ The identification is made by Goodall in PN SWY 63.
*Endridhi (Nielsen). v. by. The forms with Ender- are due to the Scand sound-change of ei to e before n + a consonant (cf. Noreen, Altisländ. Gram. 123). Forms with Ander- are to be explained, as by Lindkvist (39), as due to the influence of a Scand by-form *Andridi.

**Quernhow**

In addition to the spellings in the preceding name the following may be noted:

*Quernhowe* 1327 Banco *Whernehowe* 15 VCH Whernou 1536 YChant, 1578 FF

Quernhow is a small mound on the Roman road (Leeming Lane or Watling Street), which forms the boundary between the parishes of Ainderby and Middleton Quernhow. v. haugr.

The first element is ON kvern, 'mill stone' (cf. cweorn), which also enters into a similar Norw p.n. *Kvernehaugen* (NG i. 79).

2. **Holme 21 F 12** [cun]

*Hulme* 1086 DB, 1128–35 YCh 944, *Hulmo* 1252 Ass
*Holm(e)* 1088 LVD 50 d et passim
*Houm* 12 Dods viii. 154 d, 1208–10 Fees

v. holmr. On the significance of the name v. Introd. xxv.

3. **Howe 21 F 12** [cu]

*Hou* 1086 DB, 1157 RichReg 83, (upon Swale) 1294 Ch
*Hau* c. 1204 FountA 27 Haw E i BM
*How(e)* 13 RichReg 105 d

v. haugr. Howe probably takes its name from Howe Hill, a small hill in the west of the township.

4. **Pickhill 21 E 12**

*Picala* 1086 DB, 1301 Pap, *Picale* 1184 RichReg 84 d
*Pichal(a)* 1158–66 YCh 175, H 2 Leon 3 d, 1289 Ebor
*Pi-, Pykehall(e)* 1207 Abbr et passim to 1328 Banco
*Pikehall* 1280 Ass, 1396 Pap
*Pykel* 1327 Fount

‘Pica’s nook of land’ v. h(e)alh. On the pers. name v. Picton 173 supra.
Ness

Nes 1158–66 YCh 175  Ness(e) 1399 YI
Ness is a tongue of land near the river Swale. v. næss.

Roxby House

Rokeby 1198 Fount, 1280 Ass, 1327 Fount
Rokesbi, -by 1210 Abbr et passim to 1328 Banco
Roksby 1252 Ass
Rowcesby 1285 KI  Rukesby 1554 RichWills
‘Rook’s farm’ from the ON pers. name Hrókr and by.

5. Sinderby 21 F 12  [sinæbi]

Senerebi 1086 DB
Sindarebi 1170–88 Leon 228 (p)
Sinderbi, -by 12 Dods xcv. 34 d et passim
‘Sindri’s farm’ v. byr. ON Sindri is adduced by LindN and enters into a lost place called Sinderberg (12 Easby 27) in Burrill 237 infra.

6. Swainby 21 E 12  [swæänbi]

Suanebi 1086 DB
Suenebi 1111–22 Mary Y 229
Swayneby 1184 RichReg 84 d et passim to 1560 RichWills
Suanes-, Suanisby 1196 Guis, 1313 Pat
Sweinesby 1349 (H 3) Dugd vii. 920
This name is parallel to OSwed Swenaby (Hellquist, Svenska ON på -by, 72 ff.) and denotes ‘farm of the young men,’ from ON sveinn, the Scand cognate of OE swan. The first form has been influenced by that word itself, the last ones by the pers. name Sveinn. Cf. Swainby 178 supra.

Allerton Hall

(H)erleuestorp 1086 DB
Arleythorp(e) 1184 RichReg 84 d, 1508 Test
Arlethorp(pe) 1224–30 Fees, 1270, 1298, 1418 YI, 1508 Test
Arlagh(e)thorp  c. 1300 RichReg 86 d, 1349 Dugd vii. 921
Allerthorp 1665 Visit
‘Herlef’s village’ from ON Hjørleifr or Herleifr (LindN), ODan Herlew (Nielsen), OSwed Hærlef (Lundgren-Brate) and þorp.
Burneston

1. **Burneston 21 E II** [bɔnɪsten]
   
   *Brenngston* 1086 DB

   With the same run of forms and meaning as Burniston 107 *supra*.

2. **Carthorpe 21 E II** [kaːθɔːp]
   
   *Caretorp* 1086 DB, *Karethorp* 1246 YI et freq to 1322 Abbr
   *Carthorp*, *Karthorp* 1161–70 *MaryY* 231 d et passim
   *Carethropp* 1558 RichWills

   ‘Kari’s village’ from the ON pers. name *Kári* (LindN) and *porp*; cf. Caythorpe (YER), *Caretorn* 1086 DB.

Normanby (lost)

*Normanebi* 1086 DB

v. Normanby (Ryed) 57 *supra*.

3. **Exelby 21 D 10** [ɛʃəlbi]
   
   *Aschilebi* 1086 DB
   *Aschelebi* 1161–70 *MaryY* 231 d (p)
   *Eskelby* 12 *Easby* 139 d et passim to 1316 Vill, *Eskilby* 1199 FF
   *Exkilby* 1372 FF
   *Exil-, Exylby* 1419 YI, 1468 Pat

   ‘Eskel’s farm’ from the OEScand pers. name *Eskel* (Lundgren-Brate 312) and by. The two earliest spellings contain the OWScand equivalent *Åskell* (LindN), found also in Asselby (YER), *Aschilebi* 1086 DB, though the persistence of *Esk*-forms makes ultimate derivation from the OEScand certain. This should be considered in connexion with Holme 224 *supra* and Introd. xxv. In the case of this name and Asselby (YER) *sk* underwent metathesis to *ks* (x), which became *s* in the dialect (v. Introd. xxxii). In Exelby this has further developed to *sh* as in Dishforth 184 *supra*.

Crosby House (6")

*Crosby* 1184 *RichReg* 85 d

v. *cros*, by.
LEEMING

aquam de Lemyng 13 Easby 142  
on Lemyng, -inc 1154–89 ChR, 1231 Ass  
pontem de Lemyng 1202 FF  
Lemyng(e) 13 RichReg 10, (by Eskelby) 1300 Ch, 1363 FF,  
1400 YI, 1428 Archd 26, 1516 FF  
Magna Lyminge 1576 FF  

As the earlier forms show, Leeming was originally a river-name, derived from Brit *lemanio; this is ultimately from a Brit word cognate with OIr leamh ‘elm-tree’ and is paralleled by the name of the river Leam (Wa); cf. RNY 16.

LEEMING WATH (6")

Lemingeford 1154–66 Marrick

‘Ford across the river Leeming’ v. ford. This element was later replaced by ON vað ‘ford.’

NEWTON PICOT

Neuton(e) 1086 DB, (on Leminc) 1154–89 ChR, (Pygot) 1301 LS  
Niwetune 1088 LVD 50 d  
Scab(b)ed Newton 13 VCH, 1574 FF  

‘New farm’ v. niwe, tun. NEDial scabbed is used of land having ‘a thin, bare, gravelly soil interspersed with rocks, etc.’ (EDD), and this suits the site. The land of Leeming through intermarriage passed to the family of Picot, Randel Pigot holding it in 1502 (VCH).

4. GATENBY 21 D II [geòtenbi]

Ghetenesbi, Chenetesbi 1086 DB  
Gaitaneby 1184 RichReg 84 d  
Gaitenebi 1228 Dugd v. 576  
Geytenby, Gaytenby 1270 YI, 1285 KI, 1298 YI  
Gaytanby 1316 Vill  
Gaittyngby 1542 RichWills  
Gatonby 1563 FF  

The name Normanby 226 supra indicates that there were occasional settlements of Norwegians in this district and it is probable that Gatenby also points to Norwegian influence of the
Irish type. Lindkvist (53) suggests that the name is from ON *geita-nes-býr ‘farm on the goats’ tongue of land,’ but this can hardly be correct, for we should in this case expect nes to preserve its identity later than DB. More probably Gatenby means ‘Gaithan’s farm’ from the OIr pers. name Gaithen (Annals of the Four Masters) and by. Forms with -ene in the p.n. are traces of the use of the OIr gen. form Gaithain. Cf. Revue Celtique, xlv. 48 and Lackenby 159 supra.

5. THEAKSTON 21 E 11 [θiːkstən]
   Eston 1086 DB
   Texton(e) H 2 Leon 3 d, Hy 3 Dugd vii. 920, 1158–66 YCh
   175, 1208 FF, 1270 YI
   Thekeston 1157 RichReg 83, 13 ib. 104, 1285 KI
   Thextion 1184 RichReg 84 d, 1298 YI, 1301 LS, 1307 Dugd
   iii. 562, 1409 YI

v. tun. The first element in this name is probably a pers. name in the poss. case and Professor Ekwall suggests either a strong-form þeófoc, corresponding to the weak-form þeófeca found in þeófecn hyl (BCS 1237) or a diminutive þeoduc formed from the common pers. name element þeod. For the early reduction of such names, cf. Tewkesbury (GI), DB Teodechesberie, 1218 Pat Theokesbir’, 1233 Lib Thekesbury.

X. HANG EAST WAPENTAKE

The old wapentake of Hang embraced the whole of the valley of the river Ure and the south side of Swaledale. In the 13th cent. it was divided into two separate wapentakes, Hang East and Hang West.

Hangeschire 1157 RichReg 82 d
In wap’ de Langerschire (sic) 1167 P
Hang’ 12 RichReg 82, 1229 Cl et passim
Hange 1231 Ass, 1242 P, 1301 YI
Hengest 1280 YI
wapentach de Hanger 1290 Abbr
Hangest, Hangwest 1283 Rich 34, 1367 ForP 413 d, 1610 Speed
The wapentake takes its name from the site of its old meeting-place, Hang Bank—a small hill in Hutton Hang (Hang W) approximately in the centre of the combined wapentakes of Hang East and West. 

The P form _Langer_ and the Abbr forms _Hanger_ represent OE _hangra_ 'a wooded slope'; as in Langstrothdale (YWR), _Langestrother_, _Langestroth_ 13, 14 Percy, final _-er_ was lost, though in some cases the diacritic ' should perhaps be interpreted as _-er_.

**Well**

1. **SNAPE 21 E 10**

   _Snape_ 1270 YI, 1283 Rich 25 et passim
   _Snap_ 1386 NCyWills

   'Winter pasture' from ME _snape_, a word of Scand origin (v. PN La 17).

**THORP PERROW [θɔːp pɔɾə]**

   _Torp_ 1086 DB, _Thorpe_ 1184 RichReg 84 d, (Pirrow(e)) 1285 KI v. _porp_. The lords holding the tenure of Thorp were lords of _Pir(n)hou_ in Ditchingham (Nf); thus in 1285 Helewise de _Perrow_ held two carucates of land here (KI). For [pɔɾə] v. Introduction xxxii.

2. **WELL 21 F 10**

   _Welle_ 1086 DB et passim

   'The spring' v. _w(i)ella_. The name refers to certain springs in the township now known as The Springs, St Michael's Well and Whitwell. Cf. also _Welskough_ 1536 YChant, 'the wood near Well' from _skogr_.

**FAIRWOOD FIELDS (6")**

   _Fagherwall_ 1257 YD; _-wald(e)_ 1285 KI, 1319 RichReg 112 d
   _Faverwald_ c. 1300 Dugd iii. 562
   _Fayerwald_ 1349 Dugd vii. 921 (p), _Fayrewald_ 1410 RichReg 114 d

   'Fair woodland' v. _w(e)ald_. The first element is from ON _fagr_ 'fair' (which with ME vocalisation of _-g_ gave the form _Faver-_), but it has been replaced by ME _fair_ (from OE _fæger_); for the development of OE _wald_ to _wood_ cf. the local pronunciation of Easingwold 24 _supra_.

Mashamshire

This district is conterminous with Masham parish.

*Mashamshire, -shyre* 1142–96 Dugd v. 596, 1327 Banco
*Massamshire* c. 1150 Dugd v. 572, e. 14 RichReg 87 d
*Massamsir* 1224–30 Fees *Masshamshire* 1468 Fount

v. Masham 234 *infra* and scir.

1. **Burton on Ure** 21 F 8

*Burton(e)* 1086 DB, *(super Yor)* 1270 YI
*Little Burton (on Yore)* 1368 FF, 1483 Test

v. *burhtun*. Burton stands on the river Ure near Aldburgh *infra*, and takes its name from “the old burh.”

**Aldburgh** [ɔ:dbra]

*Aldburgh* H 2 BM, 1535 Fount
*Aldeburg(h)* 1155, 1180–90, c. 1190, 1198 Fount, 1271 Baildon, 1279, 1327 Fount
*Audeburg* 1231 Ass

v. *(e)ald, burh*. There are now no traces of fortifications at Aldburgh, but it occupies a position of importance above the river Ure. Cf. Burton *supra*.

**Nutwith Cote**

*Nuttewith, Nutewyth* 1198 Fount, 1305 Baildon
*Notewiht* c. 1190 Fount
*Nuttweth* 1535 VE *Nuthwith Cote* 1540 Fount

‘Nut wood’ v. *hnutu, viðr*. The first element may be ODan *hnuta* (= OWSand *hnot*) or OE *hnutu*. Cote is a late addition. v. *cot*.

2. **Colsterdale** 21 F 5 [ˈkwʌstədil]

*Colserdale* 1301 I.S
*Costerdale* 1330 Ch
*Kwustardhall* 1416 YI
*Cowsterdale* 1616 NR
*Colsterdale* 1705 Pickhill
A clue to the interpretation of this name is furnished by a reference in 1330 (Ch) to "the grant of the said Joan of free passage through all Mashamshire to Costerdale, so that no one coming to Costerdale to the mine of the said monks for coals (carbonibus)...shall be held to bail." The first element of the name may well be ME colster, 'one who has to do with coals.' For the wide application of the suffix ster, v. Jespersen in MLR xxii. 129 ff.

Backstone Beck (6")

Bacstainbek 1314 Fount

'Stream from which backstones, i.e. bake-stones, were obtained' ME *bakstain < ON steinn and bekkr. Cf. Baxterwood and Backstonerigg PN NbDu s.nn.

3. Ellingstring 21 F 7

Elingestrengge 1198 Fount
Elingstring 1279-81 QW, 1316 Vill
El(l)ynstrynge, Elling-, Ellyngstring(e) 1285 KI, 1361 FF, 1369 BM, 1571 FF

The first element is an OE Elling, a derivative of the OE name Ella found in Ellington infra, or the name may be formed from Ella with the same use of ing to link the pers. name to the suffix, as in the ingtun names. The second is ON strengr 'water-course,' which enters into the Norw p.n. Strengen (NG i. 17, 91, etc.). The form -string arises from the ME sound-change of eng to ing (cf. the forms of Ingleby 167 supra).

4. Ellington 21 E 8

Ellintone 1086 DB
Elling-, Ellyngton 12 RichReg 84 d et passim
Elling-, Elyngton 1219, 1231 Ass, 1279-81 QW, 1280 Ass, 1285 KI

'Ella's farm' v. ingtun. Ella (Redin 6-) is the ONb form of WSax Ælla. Cf. also Ellingstring supra.

Swarthorpe (lost)

Siuuar-, Siwartorp 1086 DB
Swarthorp 1184 RichReg 84 d
This place is of interest as in it Mr T. S. Gowland has, with the aid of the Tithe Award, discovered the site of the lost DB vill. The name means 'Siward's village' from the OE pers. name Sigewoard. *v. porp.*

5. **Fearby** 21 F 7 [fiæbi]

*Federbi* 1086 DB  
*Fetherby* 1184 RichReg 84 d  
*Feherbi* 1193 Studley Royal MS. (box 10, No. 172)  
*Fe(g)herbi, -by* 1204 Ass (p), 1231 Ass, 1285 KI, 1291 Ch, 1301 LS, 1316 Vill  
*Faireby* 1231 Ass  
*Feryby* 1279–81 QW  
*Fegtherby* 1301 LS  
*Foyerby* 1361 FF  
*Feyerby* 1369 BM  
*Fethirby* 1406 YI  
*Fearby* 1537 FF

There are two types of spellings, *Fether-* and *Fegher-*. It seems most likely that the *Fether-* spellings are original and that the forms *Fegher-*, *Feher-* arise from AN loss of *th* and the insertion of a hiatus-filling *gh* (*v. IPN* 109, 111). Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element may be OScand *fiofer, fixdher*, 'four.' If such a compound is possible, this name presumably contains *by* in its original sense of 'dwelling' and the name would have some such meaning as 'four farms.' *Cf. Sevenhampton (PN Wo 356). v. by.*

6. **Healey** 21 G 7 [iːlɔ]

*Helagh* 1279–81 QW, 1327 Banco *Helaugh* 1406 YI  
*Healey* 1561 FF  
‘High forest clearing’ *v. heah, leah.*

**Leighton** [liːtɔn]

*Suthleighton* 14 VCH *Lighton* 1540 Fount  
*v. leactun.*
SOURMIRE

_Sourmire_ 1314 Fount  _Sourmyremore_ 1330 Ch

v. saurr, myrr, mor.

SPRUCE GILL BECK [sprius gil]

_Spronescalbeks_ (leg. _Sproues-_) 1330 Ch

v. gil, bekkr. The first element of this name is the same as that found in Sprucedale (Darrington, YWR), _Spruesdale_ c. 1190, c. 1200 Pont, and must be the OE name _Sprow_ of which there are three examples before the Conquest.

SUTTON

_Su(d)ton(e)_ 1086 DB  _Sutton_ 1184 _RichReg_ 84 d et passim

v. suð, tun. ‘South’ probably in relation to Ellington.

7. ILTON 21 G 7

_Hilchetun, Ilcheton_ 1086 DB

_I-, Ylketon_ 1184 _RichReg_ 84 d et passim to 1535 VE

_Ilkton_ 1581 FF, _Ilton_ 1558 RichWills

v. tun. The first element is an OE pers. name _Ylca_, derived from the rather rare OE pers. name _Ylla_ (LVD) extended by the suffix -(i)ca. Cf. Elkham (Sx), with early forms _Ulkeham, Elkeham_ which in that county must go back to OE _Ylcanham_.

AUTHERLANDS

_Aldolflund_ 1314 Fount

‘Aldulf’s wood’ from the OE pers. name _Aldwulf_ (LVD) and lundr. For the phonology v. Introduction xxxi.

CRAWL SIDE (6")

_Crawell_ 1314 Fount

Cf. Crow Hill (Halifax, YWR), _Crowelschaes_ 1562 Halifax Wills, and _Crowallsike_, a lost place in Fixby, Goodall, _PN SWY_ 114 all from OE crawe and w(i)ella.

ELLER BECK

_Elreboc_ Hy 2 BM

‘Alder stream’ v. elri, bekkr.
NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

Grimes Dale (6")

Grymesdalebek 1314 Fount
‘Grim’s valley’ from ON Grím and dæl.

Pott Beck

Pozbek 1314 Fount

Pott Hall

Pott(e) 12 VCH, 1314 Fount, 1535 VE Pot 1301 LS

Pot is used in Cu and We of ‘a deep hole or cavity, especially in the bed of a river, a pool; a moss hole from which peats have been dug’ (EDD). In the YNR it is used of ‘a rift in the limestone’ (as here and in Crackpot 271 infra). The word is probably of Scand origin; cf. Swed dial. putt, pott ‘water hole, abyss’ and Potto and Sandpot 176, 205 supra.

8. Masham 21 F 8 [mæsæm]

Massan 1086 DB
Masham 1153 ferv 20 et freq to 1328 Ch
Massham 1163 YCh 82 et freq to 1468 Fount
Mesham 1233 Cl
Masseham 1251 Ch, 1271 Baildon, 1279-81 QW
Massam 1286 Ebor et freq to 1530 Visit

‘Mæssæ’s homestead’ v. ham. For Mæssa, v. Marsworth (PN Bk 98), OE Mæssanwyrd, KCD 721.

9. Swinton 21 G 8

Suinton 1086 DB
Cf. Swinton 47 supra.

Twislebrook (lost)

Tuislebroc 1086 DB Tuisebrok 1184 RichReg 84 d

Mr T. S. Gowland informs us that the name Twistlebro occurs in a 17th cent. list of field-names in this township, and places fairly accurately the site of the DB vill. The name means ‘fork stream’ from OE twisla which is used in the topographical sense of ‘the fork where two streams meet,’ and broc.
Warthermarske [wað@emask]

Wardonmersk 1198 Fount, 13 VCH, 1542 Fount
Wardermarske 16 VCH i. 328, 1606 NR; -maske 1535 Fount
Wardon Marske 1540 Fount

'The marsh below the watch-hill' v. weard, dun and merse.

Thornton Watlass

1. Clifton on Ure 21 E 8
   Clifton 1086 DB

2. Rookwith 21 E 8 [riukwi0]
   Rovcid, -uid 1086 DB
   Rokewyk 1184 RichReg 84 d, 1283 Rich 30, 1290 Ch
   Rokkewyt 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 34
   Rok(e)wyth(e) 1536 YChant, 1539 Dugd v. 578
   Rookwith 1561 RichWills

   'Rook wood' from OE hroc (or ON hrókr) and viðr. The
   forms with final -k are due to the scribe misreading -wit as -wic.
   (For this error cf. Leckby 181 supra.)

3. Thirn 21 E 8 [ðarn]
   Thirn(e) 1086 DB, 1184 RichReg 84 d et passim, 1328 Ch,
   1551 FF
   Thirun 12 MaryH 37 d
   Thrym 1406 YI
   Therne 1576 FF

   v. pyrne. For Thryn cf. Thrintoft 276 infra.

4. Thornton Watlass 21 E 9

   Thornton and Watlass were separate vills until the 13th cent.
   when Watlass was absorbed by Thornton. After this the names
   also were combined.
   Torreton, -tun 1086 DB
   Thorn(e)ton 1184 RichReg 84 d et passim
   Thorenton 1230 Pat

   v. porn, tun.
Watlass appears either alone or (in later spellings) in combination with Thornton as:

- **Wadles** 1086 DB
- **Watlos** 12 MaryH 37 d, 1208 FF, 1435 IpmR
- **Wattas(s)** 1263 Pap, 1665 Visit
- **Watlous** 1269 Ipm et passim to 1555 RichWills
- **Wattelaws** 1376 Archd 12
- **Watlows** 1406 YI, 1424 Pat, 1430 Archd 27, Watloose 1576 FF

This name is fully discussed by Lindkvist (165), who derives it from ON *vatn-lauss* adj. 'waterless.' Cf. Westley Waterless (C).

**Bedale**

1. **Aiskew** 21 D 10 [æskiːu]

- **Echescol** 1086 DB
  - **Ayscough, Aiscoogh** 1285 KI, 1400 YI
  - **Askew(e)** 1516 FF, 1665 Visit Ascugh 1576 FF

  'Oak wood' v. eiki, skogr; cf. Aiskew 294 infra. The DB form -col is due to confusion of -og- and -ol- by French scribes at the time when OFr *-l-* was vocalised (and still written *-l-*) and ON *-g-* was vocalised in ME after back vowels, producing a diphthong similar to the OFr diphthong. Cf. Swinesale 110 supra.

**Little Leeming** (6")

- **Lemyng(e), -ing** 1285 KI, (Little) 1516 FF
  - **Parva Lymynge** 1576 FF
  - v. Leeming (Halik) 227 supra.

2. **Bedale** 21 D 9 [biːdəl]

- **Bedale** 1086 DB, 1281 Abbr et passim
  - **Bedhal** 1256 Abbr
  - **Bedehale** 1504 Dugd iii. 603
  - **Bedel** 1514 Sanct, 1530 NCyWills, Bidell 1564 Cai

  Probably 'Beda's nook of land' v. h(e)alh. The pers. name is OE *Bēda* (Redin 60). The absence of early -hale forms is probably due to the influence of ME *dale* with which the second element seems to have been confused, though -ale often appears for -hale in ME spellings, as in Pickhill, Strensall, Finghall, etc.
3. BURRILL 21 D 9 [bərɪl]

*Borel(l)* 1086 DB, 1184 *RichReg* 84 d, 1285 KI
*Burel(l)* 12 Easby 27, 1282 YI, 1283 *Rich* 26, 1316 Vill,
1400 YI, 1572 FF
*Burrell* 1568 FF

This, as Professor Ekwall suggests, may be a compound of
OE burh and hyll. Cf. Burghill (He).

COWLING [kəulin]

*Torneton* 1086 DB
*Thorneton Collinge, -ynge* 1270 YI et freq to 1328 Banco
*Collyng(e)* 1400 YI, 1538 FF
*Cowling(e)* 1572 FF, 1666 Visit

v. porn, tun. *Cowling* was originally a feudal addition like Picot
in Newton Picot 227 *supra*. Later the first element was lost. The
name *Colling* appears in DB, Riev, and P (1185), and is a
patronymic derived from OE *Cola* (v. Redin 46, 166).

4. GREAT and LITTLE CRAKEHALL 21 D 9

*Crachele* 1086 DB
*K-, Crakehale* 1157 *RichReg* 83 et freq to 1298 YI
*Crahal* 1204 Ass (p)
*Crahal (parva)* 1231 Ass, 1285 KI, 1318 *RichReg* 106 d,
1396 Pap
*Crac-, Crakhale* 1276 *RegAlb* ii. 18 d et freq to 1331 Ch
*Crackall* 1364 FF, *Crakell* 1663 Pickhill
*Craykall* 1418 YI

‘Craca’s nook of land’ v. h(e)alh. Cf. Crakehill 184 *supra*.

KIRKBRIDGE

*Kirkebrigge* 13 Easby 142 d

‘Bridge leading to the church’ v. kirkja, brycg.

5. FIRBY 21 E 10 [fərbi]

*Fredebi* 1086 DB
*Fritheby* 1184 *RichReg* 84 d, 1252 Ass
*Frytby* 1282 YI, 1283 *Rich* 26
Fryth-, Frethby, Frithby 1285 KI, 1352 FF, 1400 YI
Fi-, Fyrby 1485 Test, 1566 FF, Fyrby 1566 FF

'Frithi's farm' v. by. Cf. Fridebi, the old name of Felixkirk, and Fryton 199, 50 supra.

HOL BECK (6°)
Hollebec c. 1150 Dugd v. 572
Cf. Howl Beck 69 supra.

6. LANGTHORNE 21 C 9
Langetorp 1086 DB
Langethorne 1086-1112 Dods lxxvi et freq to 1350 FF
Langthorne 1285 KI, 1514 Sanct, 1562 RichWills

'(At) the tall thorn tree' v. lang, porn. The DB form -torp is erratic as in Spennithorne 253 infra.

7. RAND GRANGE 21 D 9
Randes 12 Easby 27
Rand(e) 1285 KI, 1319 RichReg 112 d, 1328 Banco

OE rand, ON rønd 'border, edge.'

Scrueton

Scurueton, Skurveton 1086 DB, 1210 Abbr, 13 RichReg 122 d,
1270 Ch, 1289 Ebor, 1370 Archd 8, 1396 Pap
Sc(h)orveton 1184 RichReg 84, 1252 Ch, 1280 YI
Scurfeton 1231 Ass
Scurueton (sic) 1285 KI, 1356 FF
Scrowton 1470 RichWills
Screwton 1611 NR

'Scurfa's farm' v. tun. Scurfa (ASC) is the name of a Scand jarl. Björkman (NP 124) identifies it with OWSScand skurfa, 'scurf, scab,' found also as the ON by-name Skurfa (LindBN). The name of the same man probably enters into the name of Scurf Beck, a local stream (6°). For a possible OE parallel, v. Sheraton, PN NbDu 176.
Kirkby Fleetham

1. Ainderby Mires 21 C 9

Endrebi 1086 DB
Andrebi 1198 FF, Anderby in le Myers 1563 FF
Enderdeby 1280 YI
Aynderby in le Myre 1498 AD
Anderby Miers 1740 Pickhill

v. Ainderby Quernhow 223 supra. The terminal Mires denotes the swampy nature of the ground. v. myrr, and cf. Barton le Willows 38 supra.

HOLTBY [autbi]

(H)eltebi, Holtebi, Boltebi 1086 DB

With the same forms and interpretation as Holtby (Bulm) 9 supra.

2. Kirkby Fleetham 21 B 10

Originally there were two places here, but nothing remains of Kirkby but the name and a church at Kirkby Hall. A combination of the two names is now used of this parish as of Kirby Ravensworth 290–2 infra.

Chirchebi, Cherchebi 1086 DB
Fletham et Kirkeby 13 Leon 67 d, Ki-, Kyrkeby (cum) Fletham 1289 Ebor

‘Farm by the church’ v. kirkja, by.
Fleetham by itself appears as:

Fleteha(m)’ 1086 DB, 1086–c. 1112 Dods lxxvi, 1285 KI, 14 RichReg 87 d
Fletham 1270 Ch et freq to 1400 YI

‘Homestead by the stream’ v. fleot, ham.

GREAT and LITTLE FENCOTE

Fencotes 1270, 1280 YI et passim

v. fen, cot.
Hornby

1. Hackforth 21 B 9
   Akeford(e) 1086 DB
   Akeford 1142-53 RegAlb ii. 72
   Hac-, Hakford 1184 RichReg 84, 1204 FF, 1285 KI, 1305 Ch, 1350 FF
   Hac(ef)ford 1276 RegAlb ii. 18 d, 1282 Ipm, 1283 Rich 34
   Hackforth 1283 Rich 25

   Despite the two earlier spellings, initial H- is organic (cf. Zachrisson, Some Yorkshire Place-Names in Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets förhandlingar, 1925-7, p. 37). The first element is probably OE hærecc used of ‘a hatch, a floodgate or sluice’; and the whole name may be descriptive of a ford at which there is a hatch to stop animals from being carried down stream. For possible further examples of this name v. Hackford (PN NbDu 98).

2. Hornby 21 B 8
   Hornebi, -by 1086 DB et passim to 1361 FF
   Hornby 1469 RichWills

   ‘Horni’s farm’ v. by. According to Ekwall (PN La 180) the Scand pers. name Horni is adduced in OEScand sources only; cf. however Björkman, ZEN 47, n. 3.

Patrick Brompton

1. Arrathorne 21 C 7 [ærəðə:n]
   Ergthorn 13 Merrick 117
   Erchethorn, Erg(h)ethorn Hy 3 BM, 1259 Ass, 1278 Baildon, 1285 KI
   Erethorn 1285 KI
   Arrowthorne 16 VCH i. 334 Arathorne 1581 FF

   ‘The thornbush near the shieling’ v. erg, porn.

2. Patrick Brompton 21 C 8
   Bruntun, -ton(e) 1086 DB
   The affix appears as
   Pateryke Hy 2 MaryH 6 d, Patric(k), -ryk 1280 Ass, 1285 KI, Petrick 1577 Saxton
With the same run of forms and interpretation as Brompton (Pick) 96 supra. The affix *Patrick* is a feudal name and it is derived from the OIr pers. name *Patric*; it was probably introduced by Norwegians who had come from Ireland (v. Introd. xxviii). It is also found in *Paterik-keld* (13th Marrick 113), the name of a lost spring in Spennithorne 253 infra, Patrick Pool (York), *Patriepole* 1311 Leon 134 d, etc. (cf. Revue Celtique, xliv. 50). Irish influence in this district is also betokened by the names Arrathorne 240 supra and *Miregrim* infra.

3. Hunton 21 C 7

*Hunton(e) 1086 DB et passim*  
'Huna's farm' from the OE pers. name *Hūna* and tun.

*Miregrim* (lost)

*Myregrim 13 Marrick 114*  
'Grim's marsh' from myrr and the ON pers. name *Grímr*. This name is an example of Irish-Norwegian reversal of the order of elements (cf. Hillbraith and Sawcock 158, 216 supra and v. Revue Celtique, u.s.).

4. Newton le Willows 21 D 8

*Neuton 1086 DB, (in le Wilughes) 1300 Ebor 31, (in le Wilighes) 1344 Ebor 9*  
'New farm' and later distinguished as 'where willows abound' v. niwe, tun, and Barton le Willows (Bulm) 38 supra.

*Ruswick* [ruzik]

*Risewic(k) 1086 DB, 1145-55 MaryY 250 et passim to 1293 QW*  
*Rysewyk Hy 2 MaryH 6 d, 1285 KI*  
*Ryswyk(e) 1535 Dugd v. 577, 1539 ib. 578*  
'Corner of land in the hills overgrown with brushwood' v. hris, vik. On the modern form cf. Ruswarp 125 supra.

Catterick

1. West Appleton 21 B 8

*Westapelton 1142-53 RegAlb ii. 72, Mikapelton 14 VCH, i. 304, etc.*
East Appleton

Apleton, Apelton 1086 DB, (Est) 1142–53 RegAlb ii. 72, (Parva) 1205 FF
v. æppeltun.

2. Brough Hall 21 A 8 [bruf]

Burgh 1184 RichReg 84 et passim to 1665 Visit
v. burh. Brough is near the actual site of the Romano-British station of Cataracton (v. Catterick infra).

3. Catterick 21 A 9 [kætrik, kæθrɪk]

καταράκτων 2nd cent. (c. 1200) Ptolemy
Cataractone, -i 4th cent. (8th) AntIt
Cataractam uicum, Cataractone uico 8 Bede
Cateracta(m), Ceteracte c. 1130 SD
Cetrehttun, Cetrihtun, Cetreht worpig(n)e 10 BedeOE
Catrice 1086 DB, Hy 2 MaryH 6 d
Catherick 12 FountC 317
K-, Cateriz 1198–1208 YD, c. 1200 Easby 97 d, 1289, 1301 Ebor
Catrich 1238 Pap
Cheteriz 1241 Ch
C-, Katerik 1283 Rich 33, 1285 KI, 1305 MaryY 248, 1396 Pap
Caterich 1295 Abbr
Katrici 1308 Ch
Cattrik 1362 Archd 5 d, 1400 Test, 1441 BM
Catteryke 1396 Pap
Catheryk 1536 YChant; -ick(e) 1556 RichWills, 1586 Pickhill

It has been suggested (IPN 23) that Catterick is a Celtic name probably of the same origin as Chatteris (C); some of the spellings such as Cateriz, Cheteriz certainly support this.

There was at Catterick during the Roman occupation an important station and the extant site of the encampment is near Watling Street, the great Roman road running through the North Riding. It seems possible that the name, therefore, is ultimately connected with Welsh cader, OIr cathair 'hill fort,' which enters into Catterton (YWR), Cadretone 1086 DB, etc.,
in the old kingdom of Elmet. The Brit form of this element would be *catar-, which is cognate with Lat. *caterva 'a troop of soldiers,' and -t- did not undergo Brit "mutation" to th as it did in Catterton.

The second part of the name is not clear, but Sir John Morris Jones suggests that the original Brit name had two forms, *Catur-acto, gen. Caturactonos, and a derivative form Caturact-on, gen. -ion; this was read by the Romans as Lat *cataracta 'waterfall,' which, curiously enough, is apt, as near this point the river Swale has a very swift flow.

Noteworthy is the rendering of Bede's vicus by the alternative tun and worpig in the OE Bede.

The modern form Catheryck is due to the local sound-change of ME -t- to NEDia1 -th-; v. Introduction xxxii.

**Oran**

*Archorouen e. 12 Dugd iii. 603*  *Archorhouen 13 Easby 197*

This name is not clear, though it seems probable that the first element is ON erg 'shieling' and that the second element is a pers. name of obscure origin, the whole name being a case of Irish-Norwegian reversal of elements (cf. Miregrim 241 supra).

**4. Colburn** 21 A 7 [kəubən]

*Corburne 1086 DB*  
*Colebrun(n) 12 Leon 66 d, 1208 Ass (p), 13 Easby 130, -burn'  
1198 Cur, 1219 Ass (p), 1260 Easby 131 d, -bron 1280 YI*  
*Colburn(e) 13 RichReg 82 et passim*  
*Cowburne, -born 1574 FF, 1577 Saxton*

The name was originally a river-name referring to Colburn Beck; v. burna (brunnr). The first element is probably OE col 'cool' or OE col, ON kol 'coal,' the latter being an allusion to the dark colour of the water, as in the Norw river-name Kola. Colburn, therefore, means either 'cool stream' or 'coal-black stream.' For the DB form v. IPN 106.

**Wintylow [wintələu]**

*Wintuneoves 12 YD*  
*Wintun houes 1198–1208 YD*  
*Wyntonhowes c. 1200 Easby 97 d*
244 NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

v. haugr. The first element of this name is a lost place-name Winton, which is of the same origin as Winton 212 supra. On
the change of -n- to -l- cf. Skiplam 65 supra.

5. Hipswell 21 A 7

Hiplewelle 1086 DB
Hippleswell 12 Easby 114
Hippeswell(e) 1184 RichReg 84, 12 Easby 5, 1228 ib. 113,
1285 KI, 1316 Vill, 1328 Banco, 1396 Pap, 1561 FF
Hippeswell(e) 1260 Easby 131 d, 1300 Ebor
Hipelwelle c. 1270 Easby 165
Hipleswell 1301 LS
Hipsewell 1545 RichWills

v. w(i)ella. No satisfactory pers. name can be suggested for
the first element, and it is probably a lost hyelps (Angl hēpels),
a derivative of OE hēap ‘heap,’ used of a hill as in Heape
(PN La 61). If so we have very early shortening of ē to ē and
raising to i. Cf. Redmire 257 infra. There is an isolated hill
on the west side of the village which might well be so called.
Hence, ‘hill stream or spring.’

Risedale and Risedale Beck

Risedalebec c. 1200 Easby 152
Ri-, Rysedale 1262 Easby 155 et passim
Risdale 1577 Saxton

‘Valley overgrown with brushwood’ v. hrs, dæl, bekkur, or
else ‘Risi’s valley’ from the ON pers. name Hrisi (LindBN).

Waithwith

Watewith 1204 Ass, -wyth 1290 Baildon
Watwith 1206 Easby 154 d, 155
Wathwith 1262 Easby 155
Waitwith 1562 FF, 1577 Saxton

Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element is ON vátr,
‘wet’ and the second viðr, hence ‘wet wood.’ Cf. Weetwood
(PN NbDu 210). The change from t to th is probably due
to common confusion with the suffix thwaite.
6. Hudswell 14 J 6

Hudreswelle, Undreswelle 1086 DB
Hud(e)leswell e. 12 Dugd iii. 602
Hudeswell 12 Easby 5 et passim to 1403 YI
Huddeswell 1184 RichReg 84 et passim to 1519 FF
Hutleswell 1204 Ass
Hoddeswell 1280 Ass, 1316 Vill
Hoteswella 1308 Ch
Huddiswell 1556 RichWills

‘Hudel’s well’ v. w(i)ella. OE Hudel may be inferred from Huddleston (YWR), OE Hudelestun c. 1030 Gosp. It is a diminutive in -ela of the OE name Huda (Redin 98); an r-derivative of the same name enters into Huddersfield (YWR). For the DB form, cf. IPN 107.

Kirkgate Wood (6")

Kirkegat(h)e 1198–1208 YD, c. 1200 Easby 97 d

‘Church road’ v. kirkja, gata.

Monkby (lost)

Munkeby 13 Easby 200 Monkby 1540 Dugd iii. 606

‘The monks’ farm’ from OE munuc and by.

Sand Beck

Sandbe(c)k(e) e. 12 Dugd iii. 603

Thorpe under Stone

Torp 1187 P Thorp 13 Easby 167, 1577 Saxton
Thorpesgill 13 Dugd iii. 603

v. porp, gil (referring to the ravine in which Thorpe lies).

7. Killerby 21 B 9

Chiluordebi 1086 DB

With the same run of forms and history as Killerby (Pick) 103 supra.
8. Scotton 21 B 7

Scot(t)une 1086 DB
Scotton(a) 1199–1210 Easby 109 d et passim
Schotton 1184 RichReg 84, 1295 YI

This is probably from OE Scotta-tun, ‘farm of the Scots or Irish,’ with early loss of the inflexional syllable between the two t’s, cf. Catton 183 supra. A similar explanation may hold for Scotton (L), LindsSurv Scottuna, etc. v. tun.

9. Tunstall 21 B 8

Tunestale 1086 DB
Tunstale 1157 RichReg 82 et passim
v. tunst(e)all.

The Mount

Michelmunt c. 12 Dugd iii. 603
‘Large hill’ from ME michel (OE micel) and OFr munt.

Thieves Gill

Theuesgill 12 Dugd iii. 603
v. gil and cf. Thieves Dikes 116 supra.

XI. Hang West Wapentake

v. Hang East Wapentake 228 supra.

Wensleydale [wenslædil], the valley of the Ure

Wandesleydale 1142 Dugd v. 568, 1153 Jerv 20
Wandelesdale c. 1146 (14th) Dugd v. 570
Wendeslei-, -ley-, 1199–1210 Abbr, 13 RichReg 121, 1218 FF
Wendesladale 1275 Easby 163 d
Wendeslaidale 1307 Ch
Wandeslaghdale 1315 Riev
Wenslawdale 14 RichReg 87 d, 1421 YI
Wensladale 1451 Test, 1564 FF
v. Wensley 257 infra and dæl.
Finghall

1. Aikber 21 C 7
   Akeberga 1160 YCh 1119
   Aykebergh 1279–81 QW, 1289 ChR, Aykbergh 1342 IpmR
   Aykebargh 1539 Dugd v. 578
   ‘Oak hill’ v. eiki, berg. Cf. Norw E(i)keberg (NG i. 6, ii. 52, 114, etc.). The earliest spelling suggests OE aca-beorg, with later Scandinavianisation.

Hesselton
   Heselton’ 1137–46 Easby 321 et freq
   Hesiltone 1228 Dugd v. 576
   ‘Hazel-tree farm’ v. OE hæsel or ON hesli and tun.

2. Constable Burton 21 C 6
   Burton 1279–81 QW et passim
   v. burhtun. Burton probably takes its second name Constable from the Constables of Richmond. Stephen, Earl of Richmond, granted it to his constable, Roald, c. 1100 (NTH i. 233). The feudal addition first appears as Conestabel(l) in 1279–81 QW.

Studdah [studa]
   Stodhage, -hag(h) c. 1200 Easby 159, 1210 FF, 1219, 1231 Ass
   Stodehawe 1301 LS
   Studhowe 1561 FF, Studdowe 1575 FF
   ‘Stud enclosure’ v. stod, haga and cf. Stody (Nf).

3. Finghall 21 D 7 [figgal]
   Finegal(a) 1086 DB
   Fingala, -ale, Fyngele 1086–c. 1112 Dods lxxvi et freq to 1406 YI
   Fi-, Fynyngale 1157 RichReg 83, 1291, 1300 Ebor
   Fi-, Fyning-, Fynynghal(e) 1184 RichReg 84 d, 1236 Pat,
   1300 Ebor
   Fynkall 1285 KI
   Fi-, Fynegale 1289 Ebor, 1290 Ch
   Fynighale c. 1291 Tax
Bugge's suggestion that Finghall (YNR) is identical with the Irish p.n. Fingall (co. Dublin) is quoted by Ekwall (Scands. and Celts 87, IPN 34) as an example of Irish influence. This is an interesting solution of the name, but the fact that spellings with Fining- are not infrequent and the fact that the greater number of local p.n.'s in that area are of Anglian origin points to an Anglian origin for this name.

The first element is probably an OE pers. name. The name Finn is only on record in the Heroic poems but the forms of Finghall suggest that the name had a single n. More probably we should therefore presume the same OE name Fin which Ekwall finds in Finningham (Sf), DB Finingaham (PN in -ing 313) and in Fyning (Sx). This is found in the derivative form Finca in Finkley (Ha) and the pers. name Fynke recorded in Berkshire in the 12th cent. Cf. also OGer Fino, Finch in Förstemann (PN 506). Hence, 'nook or corner of Fin's people,' v. h(e)alh.

Hang Bank (6")

A hill on the SW boundary of the township, just north of Hutton Hang infra. This was the wapentake meeting-place. v. Hang Wapentake 228 supra.

4. Hutton Hang 21 D 7

Hotun(e) 1086 DB
Hohton' 1231 Ass
Hoton Hang(e) 1280 YI et passim to 1328 Banco
Hunton (sic), Hanger, Hutonhang 1535-9 Dugd v. 577-8
v. hoh, tun. It is just south of Hang Bank.

Thornton Steward

1. Thornton Steward 21 D 7

Torrenton(e), -tune 1086 DB
Thornton 1157 RichReg 83, (Dapifer) ib., (Steward) 1252 Pap
v. porn, tun. Before the Conquest Thornton was held by Gospatric and he was succeeded by Wymar, dapifer or steward of the Earls of Richmond (Dugd iii. 601-2).
Danby on Ure

Danebi, -by 1086 DB et freq
Danby on Yore 1358 FF; of Yeure 1530 Visit
v. Danby 131 supra and Introduction xxv.

Marriforth (Fm)

Mariford 1301 LS Mar(r)yforth 1439 Dugd v. 578 etc.
v. ford. The first element is probably the woman’s name Mary or Marie.

Ulfshaw Bridge [ulfa, cusa]

Wolueshowe 1158 RichReg 83 d
Ulveshowe 1246 FF, 1285 KI, e. 14 RichReg 87
Ulschowe 1319 RichReg 112
Ulsogh 1427 Archd 25 d, Ulsey 1605 NR
Howsey 1614 NR
Ulsa al. Owsa 1623 NR

‘Ulf’s mound’ from ON Úlfr and haugr. There are still traces of an earthwork at Ulfshaw. The first form suggests OE Wulf. Cf. Ousey Carr 196 supra.

East Witton

1. East Witton 21 E 6

Witun(e), Witone 1086 DB, (Est) 1204 ClR, 1396 Pap
Wittun, -ton c. 1150 Dugd v. 572, 1201 FF, 1268 Abbr, 1298 YI
E(a)stwitton 1156 Dugd v. 573
Est Wotton 1316 FA

‘Farm in the wood’ v. tun. The spelling Widtun (West Witton 255 infra) shows that Witton is derived from PrOE widu (later OE wudu = ON viðr), and that -dt- was assimilated to -tt-. This PrOE form widu is found in some early p.n. forms such as Widutuun 723 BCS 157 (Wootton Wawen, Wa), though it is usually later replaced by wudu.

Angram Cote (6")

Angrum 1280 Ass
v. Angram Grange 191 supra and Angram 272 infra.
Braithwaite

Brathoit c. 1190 Dods cxx. 3
Braytwyte 1301 LS
Brathewait(e) 1354 FF, 14 VCH
Braythwhaye 1563, 1575 FF


Jervaulx [dʒə:vis, dʒə:vou]

Jorvalle 1135–54 (late MS) Dugd v. 568
Jorevall(e) 1142–96 Dugd v. 569 et passim to 1361 Archd 5
Joresuals 1162 P
Joraualle 1177 BM
Gereuall(e) 1196, 1218 FF, 1244 Ass, 1253 Baildon
Gervaus 1200 Cur, 1241 Pat, 1283 Rich 30
Gerwalle 1209 Pap
Geravaus 1249 Baildon
Gir(e)vall(e) c. 1200 BM, 1224 Pap, 1225 Pat, 1227, 1235 Cl, 1274 Ebor
Gyrovall’ 1242 Cl, 1243 Fees, 1283 Rich 33
Jer(e)vall 1224 FF, 1236 Cl, 1249 Baildon
Jerovall(e) 1253 Ch, 1289 Ebor, 1435 Archd 31 d
Yorevall 1312 Ch
Jervax, Gervax 1400, 1480, 1508 Test
Jorovall 1427 NCyWills
Gerveis, -veys 1530 Visit, 1536 YChant
Jarvaux 1539 Dugd v. 578
Geruis 1577 Saxton

‘The valley of the Ure’ from OFr vals. Like Rievaulx 73 supra, Jervaulx is the name of a Norman monastic foundation.

The phonetic problems connected with this name and that of the river Ure (v. spellings 7 supra) are the same, but some of these have been partly explained in Anglia, xlvi. 291 ff. The above spellings at first sight suggest that Jorevall is the earliest type; Zachrisson accepts this and tries to show that the Jeravall forms are derivatives of this (ANInfl 63)1. But most of these

1 Professor Zachrisson has recently expressed a different view in MLR xxi. 362. He also holds that OE Earp was not the Ure; but the relationship of Earp and Ure is certainly more than coincidence.
early Jorevall forms are from late MSS and it seems preferable to regard the Jerevall forms as being, if anything, the earlier. The OE form of the river-name was Earp (v. RNY 17) and according to certain ME sound-changes (cf. Yearsley 193 supra) earu could become ME yere-, or with Scand influence yore- (which is on record for the river-name). The Jerevall forms apparently contain this unrecorded form, yere-, of the river-name. Jorevall forms contain the well-evidenced Yore. By an AN sound-substitution of [dʒ] for [j] (v. IPN 104), Yerevall became [dʒərvəl], from which the modern form is descended.

There is, of course, some difficulty in the interpretation of the initial consonants of the spellings given above. According to Zachrisson (ANInfl 62), g, g, j represent [dʒ], whilst y and sometimes i represent initial [j]. This cannot be accepted as being regular, for g is often used for [j], and j and i are often indistinguishable in the court hand of the period when most of these instances occur. It is doubtful, therefore, if any of the Jorevall forms were ever pronounced with initial [dʒ], for it will be noticed that Gor-, which would indicate such a pronunciation, is never found.

It seems probable, therefore, that Jerevall, Gerevall, Girevall are the original forms of the p.n., derived from ME *yere-, an unrecorded form of the river-name Ure, and this form of the p.n. underwent an AN sound-substitution of [dʒ] for [j], as indicated by spellings with g. At a later date, when Yore was the regular form of the river-name, this was substituted for Jere-, giving the forms Jorevall; in this last case there is nothing to prove that the initial consonant was pronounced as [dʒ] as in the case of the Jerevall forms which have given the modern form [dʒəvəl]. This fact supports the idea that fore- forms arise from substitution of the current form of the river-name.

The usual modern pronunciation of the name is [dʒə:vəl]; this is simply a spelling pronunciation. The dialectal pronunciation [dʒə:vəl] is rapidly passing into disuse; it is the regular development of ME Gerevals.

KILGRAM GRANGE

Kelgrimhou 1228 Dugd v. 576, Kylgramhowe 1539 Dugd v. 578
‘Kelgrim’s mound’ v. haugr. *Kelgrim* is found in Kella-mergh (PN La 151), and Björkman (ZEN 53) suggests that its ultimate origin is an unrecorded ON *Kelfgrimr* or ON *Ketilgrimr*.

**Newstead**

*Newestede* 1301 LS

v. niwe, stede.

**Middleham**

1. **Middleham 21 D 5**

*Medelai, Medelai* 1086 DB

*Mid(d)elham* 1184 RichReg 84 et passim

*Midilham(e)* c. 1380 SurvDu, 1400, 1481 Test, 1459 Sanct

*Midelam* 1530 Visit

‘Middle homestead’ v. middel, ham. The significance of *middel* here is obscure.

**Spennithorne**

1. **Bellerby 21 C 5**

*Belgebi* 1086 DB

*Belgerby* 12 Easby 94 d, 1244 Ass

*Belcherebi* 1166 P (p)

*Beleg’bi* 1167 P

*Belgre-, Belleherby* 1231 FF

*Bellierby* 1235 Easby 190 d

*Bellerby* 1285 KI et passim

‘Belg’s farm’ v. by. *Belg* is from the ON by-name *Belgr* (gen. *Belgs*), derived from ON *belgr*, gen. *belgjar* ‘bellows,’ and then ‘withered, dry old man.’

2. **Harmby 21 D 5**

*Hernebi, -by* 1086 DB, 12 Leon 66 d et passim to 1404 YI

*Ernebi* 1086 DB

*Harnby* 1519, 1574 FF

v. by. The first element is probably the OWS scand by-name *Hiærne* (LindBN), inferred also by Lundgren from Swedish p.n. material.
3. **Spennithorne** 21 D 5

*Speningetorp* 1086 DB
*Spinithorn* c. 1150 Godr
*Spennigthorn* 1289 Ebor

*Spening-, -ynghthorn(e)* 1184 RichReg 84 *d et freq to* 1457 RichWills

*Spennithorne* 1301 LS
*Spen(y)thorn(e)* 1285 (16) KI, 1347 FF, 1396 Pap, 1410 RichReg 30

*Spennithorne* 1614 Pickhill

v. *porn*. This name offers great difficulty. It clearly contains the same first element as Spennymoor (PN NbDu 186), earlier *Spennyngmore*, and both are probably to be connected with the word which lies behind Spen (ib.), 1312 *le Spen*, but the significance of this word is very doubtful. The name as a whole is probably an *inga*-formation (v. *ing*).

**Coverham**

1. **Caldebergh** 21 E 4 [ˈkɔːdberɔː]  

*Caldeber* 1086 DB; *-bergh* 1184 RichReg 84 *et passim to* 1311 Ch

*Caudeberg(h)* 1269 Ch, 1293 QW

v. *cald, berg*.

**East Scrafton**

*Sc(h)rafton* 1184 RichReg 84, 1270 YI *et passim*  

v. West Scrafton 255 *infra*.

2. **Carlton in Coverdale** 21 E 3  

*Carleton (in Coverdale)* 1086 DB *et passim*  

v. karlatun.

**Arkleside**

*Arkelsit* 1240 VCH i. 222, *-sat 1270 YI*  

‘Arkel’s pasture’ from the ON *Arnhetell, Arnkell*, ODan *Arkil*, OSwed *Arkil* (Björkman, NP 8). v. *sætr*. 
Bradley

*Bradeleie* 1270 YI

‘Broad clearing’ *v.* brad, leah.

Fleensop, Fleemis Gill

*Flemmishope* 1240 VCH i. 222  *Flemmeshope* 1270 YI

*v.* hop, gil. No satisfactory explanation of the first element can be offered.

Gammersgill

*Gamelscale* 1388 IpmR  *Gamylscale* 15 VCH i. 222

‘Gamal’s hut,’ from ON *Gamall* and skali.

Hindlethwaite, sometimes Hindleythwaite

*Hyndeletheyt* 1269 Ipm

*Hyndelaythwayt* 1388 IpmR, 1405 Pat

This p.n. contains an older p.n., *Hindelei* ‘forest clearing for hinds’ from hind, leah, as in Heindley (PN YWR s.n.) and pveit.

Swineside

*Swinesate* 1240 VCH i. 222, 1270 YI  *Suyneset* 1301 LS

‘Swine pasture’ *v.* swin, sætr.

Woodale

*W(u)lvedale* 1223 FF

*v.* wulf, dæl and Woodale Beck (LangE) 135 supra.

3. Coverham 21 E 4  [kuværð, kouræm]

*Coverham* 1086 DB, *Coverham* 12 Cov 141 *et passim*

*Coverhaim* 1177 P (p)

‘Farm on the river Cover’ *v.* ham. The P form contains ON heim. Cf. also *Coverhede* (1405 AD i), now Cover Head.

Agglethorpe

*Aculestorp* 1086 DB

*Acalthorp* 1184 RichReg 84

*Akolfthorp* 1244 Ass

*Akeltborp* 1285 KI, 1301 LS

*Aglethorp(e)* 1311, 1328 Ch *et passim*

‘Aculf’s village’ from OE *Acwulf* and þorp. On the later forms cf. Wigginton 14 supra.
HANG WEST WAPENTAKE

COTESCUE PARK [ko:t'sku:]  
Scotescogh, Scoteskew 15 VCH i. 248, 1610 NR  
Cotescough, -scugh, Coteskewe 1606 NR, 16 VCH ib.  

v. skogr. The first element may be ON skot ‘shooting,’ which occurs in several Norw p.n.’s such as Skotsberg (NG i. 184), Skattebol (ib. 120), Shotbu (NG ii. 35), etc. Professor Ekwall suggests the possibility of OE Scotia, from some early encounter with the Scots. The loss of initial s- is late and probably arose from the difficulty of pronouncing the combination Scoteskew.

4. MELMERBY 21 E 4  
Melmerbi 1086 DB, 1202 FF  
Melmor(e)by 1184 RichReg 84, 1219 Ass et passim  

This name is, as the early forms show, of different origin from Melmerby 219 supra. It is ‘Melmor’s farmstead’ from the OIr pers. n. Maelmuire (Annals of Ulster, Four Masters) which was borrowed in OWScand as Melmor. Cf. Revue Celtique, xliv. 49.

5. WEST SCRAFTON 21 F 4  
Sc-, Skraftun, -ton 1086 DB et passim, (West) 1285 KI  
Scalftun 1086 DB  

The first element of this name and East Scrafton 253 supra is OE scræf ‘a cave, a hollow place in the earth, a miserable dwelling,’ with Scandinavianising of the initial consonant. v. Shrawley (PN Wo 78). There is nothing in the local features of Scrafton to suggest a preciser meaning than ‘a depression or hollow in the earth.’ v. tun.

West Witton  
1. WEST WITTON 21 D 3  
Witun 1086 DB  Widtona 1166 P  
West Witton 12 RichReg 82  
v. East Witton 249 supra.

DOVE SCAR  
Duuesker 1202 FF, Douesker 1270 YI  

‘Dove cliff’ from ON dufa, ME duve and ON sker ‘rock, scar.’
LAYRUS (6") [leæræs]

*Leiragh* 1202 FF

‘Muddy enclosure’ v. leirr, hagi. Presumably there was an alternative plural form giving final s.

**Penhill**

*Penle* 1202 FF  *Penhill* 1577 Saxton

Probably the same as Pendle Hill (La), in which the first element is from a Brit word connected with Welsh *pen* ‘head.’ v. hyll.

**Swinithwaite**

*Swiningethwait, Swiningtweit* 1202 FF  
*Swiningetheyt* 1220 Ass, etc.  
*Swynigt(h)wayt* 1295 YI, 1301 LS  
*Swynythwayt* 1315 Riev (p)

The first element may be the patronymic found in OSwed *Swininge* (Hellquist, *ON* pā -inge s.n.) or a noun found in the ONorw p.n. *Svinningen* from *ON* svíðningr (cf. *ON* svíða ‘to burn,’ NG i. 71), hence ‘place cleared by burning.’ Cf. Swin-sow 145 *supra*. v. *pveit.

**Wensley**

1. **Castle Bolton** 21 C 2

*Bodelton(a), -tun* 1086 DB, 1173 Riev, 1252 Ch  
*Boelton* 1160 Riev, 1201 ChR, 1208 FF  
*Bouelton* 1240 Riev, 1252 Ass  *Bolton* 1396 Pap *et passim*  

v. boölton. A castle was built here by Richard le Scrope in 1379 (Pat).

**Low Bolton**

*Estbouelton* 1231 FF

**Ellerlands** (6")

*Ellerlund* 14 YD (a wood)

‘Alder wood’ v. elri, lundr. Cf. Sutherland 79 *supra.*
2. LEYBURN 21 C 5 [leibən, leibən]

Leborne 1086 DB
Layburn(e) 12 RichReg 82, 1252 Ass et passim to 1519 FF
Laibrunn 1208 Ass
Lei-, Leybroun 1208 ChR, 1301 LS
Labrune 1319 Abbr

Possibly, ‘stream by the forest clearing’ v. leah, burna.
Forms with -brun are due to the influence of ON brunnr.

MILL BECK (6")

Milnebec c. 1180 Riev
v. myln, bekkr.

3. PRESTON UNDER SCAR 21 C 3

Prestun, -ton 1086 DB et passim, (undescar) 1568 FF
v. preost, tun and ON sker ‘scar.’

4. REDMIRE 21 C 3 [redma:]

Rid(e)mare 1086 DB, 1173 Riev (p)
Ridemere 1166 P (p), 1203 FF et passim to 1403 YI
Ry-, Ridmer 1184 RichReg 84, 1285 KI, 1410 RichReg 114
Redmar’ 1243 Cl
Redmire 1665 Visit

Professor Ekwall suggests we may have OE hreod, ‘reed,’
and mere. For early i-forms, cf. the history of Redmarley
(PN Wo 86, 156) and Tripsdale, Hipswell supra 69, 244.

APEDALE

Apedale c. 1175 Riev
‘Api’s valley’ from the ON by-name Api and dalr. Cf.
Bergh Apton (Nf).

5. WENSLEY 21 D 4

Wendres-, Wentreslaga 1086 DB
Wandesle(i), -ley, -legh 1199 Cur, 1201 Abbr et passim
Wendesle(y), -lay 1201 Cur, 1205 Abbr et passim to 1396 Pap
Wenselawe 1363 FF Wenslaugh 1536 YChant

‘Wændel’s forest-clearing’ v. leah. The first element is from
an OE pers. name Wændel, for the use of which in p.n.’s v.
Gale Bank  
_Gailbanc_ 1293 YD  
v. geil, bank.

Keld Beck (6")  
_Keldebec_ 13 YD  
v. kelda, bekkr.

Mouthwaite (6")  
_Muset(h)wayt(h)_ 1253 Ch, 1301 LS  
_Mousethwayt_ 1307 Ch  
_Musethoutland_ c. 1200 Riev (probably identical)  
'Musi's enclosure' _v. pveit_. The first element is the ON pers. n. _Musi._

Aysgarth

1. High Abbotside 20 B 10  
'The hill held by the Abbot (of Jervaulx)' _v. sid._

Cams House  
_Camb_ 1218 FF, 1308 Ch  _Cambehous_ 1301 LS  
'House on the ridge' _v. camb, hus and Cams Head_ 194 supra.

Cotterdale [kotødil]  
_Cottesdale_ 1266, 1267 Pat  
_Cotterdale_ 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 33, 1608 NR  
_Coterdal_ 1301 LS  
_v. dalr_. The first element is probably identical with the Norw p.n. _Kuater_ (ONorw _Kotar_) from ON _kot_ neut. 'hut, cottage'; the plural form is that of the feminine (v. NG i. 362). We should have expected ON _Kotadlar_, with gen. pl. _kota_, but Cotterdale may be a comparatively late formation from the _Cotter_ of Cotter End Fm in the neighbourhood. Unfortunately no early forms of this name have been found. The first form _Cottesdale_ suggests an alternative English plural form _Cotes_.  
v. cot.
FOSSDALE [fɔsdiːl]

Fossedale 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 33
Foresdale 1301 LS, Forsdalethwayt 1307 Ch

‘Waterfall valley’ v. fors, dair, ðveit. The earliest spelling is from the OWScand assimilated type foss.

HARDROW [ˈaːdərə]

Hardrawe 1606 NR

‘Shepherd’s dwelling’ from OE (Angl) herde and raw.

HELL GILL BECK

Helebec 1201 OblR, 1252 Ch
Helbec, -bek 1307 Ch et passim

v. bekkr. The first element of this name is probably ON hella ‘flat stone,’ as in the p.n.’s Helwith, Helwath (passim); this is reasonable on topographical grounds, for the bed of the stream is made up of great flat boulders.

HELL GILL

Helgill 13 RichReg 126 d

v. Hell Gill Beck supra and gil.

HOW BECK BRIDGE (6")

Holebech 1220 FF Holbeck 1301 LS

v. hol, bekkr and Howl Beck 69 supra.

LITHERSKEW

Litherskewe 1606 NR

‘Wood of or on the slope’ v. hlið (gen. hliðar), skogr. Cf. Litherland (La) and OICel hliðarlonð.

LUNDS

Lund 1208 FF Hel-, Holbeclundes 1253 Ch et passim to 1610 Speed
Lounes 1613 NR

‘The woods’ v. lundr.
Lunds Beck (6")

Lundesik 1307 Ch
v. Lunds supra and sic, later replaced by bekkr.

Sedbusk

Setebu(s)kst(e) 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 33
Sedbuske 1611 NR
‘Bush near the shieling’ v. sætr, buskr.

Shaw

S(c)hal(l) 1218 FF, 1301 LS
This may be an Anglicised form of ON skali ‘shieling’ or an AN form of sc(e)aga ‘wood’ (v. Swinesale 110 supra).

Simon Stone

Simoundstane 1301 LS, Symonstyn 1307 Ch
‘Sigemund’s rock’ v. stan, steinn.

Thwaite

Arkeltwayt 1301 LS Thwaite 1607 NR

Ure Head

Yore(s)heued 13 RichReg 126 d, 128
‘Head (i.e. source) of the river Ure’ v. heafod.

2. Low Abbotside 20 B 12
v. High Abbotside 258 supra.

Fors (lost)
The original site of the Abbey which was afterwards removed to Jervaulx. Its location on the 6" OS is 66 NE 7:
Fors(e) 1086 DB et passim to 1228 Dugd v. 576
‘The waterfall’ v. fors.
MEER BECK (6")

Merbek 13 RichReg 126 d

v. (ge)mære, bekk. This is one of the bounds of the ancient
Forest of Wensleydale.

SKELL GILL

Skalgayl 1301 LS

'Hut ravine' v. skali, geil.

STAGS FELL

Staggesffell 13 RichReg 126 d

3. ASKRIGG 20 C 14

Ascric 1086 DB, -kric 1330 Ch, -cryk Hy 2 MaryH 6 d
Askerih, -yk 1198 Fount, 1228 Dugd v. 576
Askerich 1218 FF, 13 Easby 277
Askerigg 1285 KI et passim

v. askr. The second element is almost certainly hrycg. Cf.
Gaterigg 161 supra, which is a hrycg-name, and shows forms in
-ryk and -rik in the 12th and 13th cents. Note also Girrick
144 supra and Marrick 294 infra. 'Ash-ridge.'

COGILL [kægil]

Cottkeld 13 RichReg 126 d

'Spring near the cottage' v. cot, kelda. The name probably
became Cokkeld and so Cogill on the analogy of names in gill.

INGS BECK (6")

Ingusbec 12 Easby 249

In the Wolley Charters (ix. 6) we have the attestator Willemus
fil. Inguse in the 13th cent. This is one of a series of difficult
names which end in -us or -usa, including Edus, Sigus and
Hacus. The first two of these are beyond question feminine
and the person bearing the first of them is also called Eadgifu.
Ingus may well be short for ON Ingíðr. Hence 'Ingus'
stream.'
NAPPA

Nappay, -ey 1251 Ch, 1279-81 QW et passim to 1610 Speed
Naphay 1577 Saxton Nappa 1665 Visit
Probably, 'turnip field' from OE nāp and (ge)hæg. Cf. Nappa (PN YWR 136).

NEWBIGGIN

Neubigging 1228 Dugd v. 576 et passim
v. niwe, bigging.

WOODHALL

Le (La) Wodehall(e) 13 Easby 278
This is an ancient hall, v. wudu, h(e)all.

4. AYSGARTH 21 D 1 [æzgaːθ, eːska]

Echescard 1086 DB
Aykescart(h), Ai-, Aykeskarth 12 Easby 249 et passim to
1420 Yl
Ayks(h)arth 1317, 1330 Ch
Aykesgarth 1374 Archd 9 d, 1388 IpmR
Ayskarth(e) 1400 Pat et passim to 1574 FF
Asegarth 1687 Grinton

'Open space marked by oaks' v. eik, skarø. Aysgarth was
in the centre of the Forest of Wensleydale and it is noticeable
that a large number of p.n.'s in this wapentake indicate the
wooded nature of the country.

HIGH GILL, LOW GILL

le Gill(e) 1319 RichReg 112
v. gil.

5. BAINBRIDGE 20 D 13 [beːnbrig]

Bainebrig(g), Beynebrigge 1219 FF et passim to 1285 KI
'Bridge across the river Bain' v. brycg.

ADDLEBROUGH

Otholburgh 1153 Dugd v. 573
Authelburi, Authelburgh 1283 Dugd v. 575, 1307 Ch
‘Authulf’s burh’ from the ON pers. n. Audulfr. Roman remains have been found here as at Brough Hill infra. On ON au becoming a cf. Laskill 72 supra, Marsett 264 infra and Scratby (Nf), at Scroutebi BCS 1917.

BARDALE [ba:dil]

Beredale 1280, 1285 YI, 1283 Rich 33

Possibly ‘Bera’s valley’ v. dæl. The OE pers. name Bera may be assumed from Barbury (W), Beranbyrg (ASC). OE bere seems impossible in this high country.

Professor Ekwall suggests that a probable etymology is ON bjórr ‘a beaver,’ giving an ON Bjóra-dalr, or perhaps still better, a stream-name Bjórá (derived from bjórr).

BLEAN, BLEAN BECK

Blayngbek 1153 Dugd v. 573, 1280 RichReg 126 d
Blainbec 1218 FF
Bleing, Bleyng 1253 Ch, 1301 LS, 1307 Ch

Professor Ekwall derives Blean (together with Bleng (Cu)), from ON bléingr, used of a ‘dark stream.’

BROUGH HILL [bruf]

Burg 1218 FF murum de Burgh 1283 Dugd v. 575

v. burh. Roman remains and fortifications have been found here.

COUNTERSETT [ku:ntosit]

Constansate 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 33
Cuntellatte (? Cuntessatte) 1285 YI

v. setr. The first element is a pers. n., OFr Constance from MedLat Constantius. Constantin is found in the Danelaw in the 12th cent.

CRAVEDALE [krægdil]

Cragdal 1218 FF Crakedale 1307 Ch

ME crag (from Ir creag, Ekwall) ‘crag, rock’ and dæl. The second spelling shows influence of ME krake in such p.n.’s as Crakehall. The valley is rocky and scarred. It is possible
however that the forms should be taken the other way round, and that the true meaning is 'Kraki's valley,' with later voicing of $k$ to $g$ before $d$.

**Green Scar Mire**

*Grenesker* 1153 Dugd v. 573, -scher 13 *RichReg* 126 d

'Green (grassy) precipice' v. grene. The second element is ON *sker* 'scar.'

**Keld Bottom, Keld Scar (6")**

*Keldebothem* 1153 Dugd v. 573

v. kelda, botm.

**Marsett [maːsit]**

*Moursette* 1285 YI *Mouressate* 1283 *Rich* 33

With this name should go *Mouresgate* 1280 YI, unless this is an error for *Mouressate*.

v. sætr. Lindkvist suggests that the first element is ON *maurr* 'an ant,' probably used as a pers. n. For the development of ON *au* to *a*, cf. Addlebrough 262 *supra*.

**Raydale**

*Radale* 1307 Ch

'Roebuck valley' v. ra, dæl.

**Semer Water [seːməˈwætə]**

*Semerwater* 1153 Dugd v. 573, 1283 *Rich* 33

*Semar* 13 *RichReg* 126 d

*Semmerwater* 1280 YI et passim

The origin of the name of this natural lake is the same as that of Seamer (Pick, LangW) 102, 172 *supra*.

**Semerdale**

*Semmerdale* 1218 FF

**Stalling Busk [stɔːlin busk]**

*Stalunesbusc* 1218 FF *Stalunbusk* 1283 *Rich* 33, etc.

v. busk. The first element is probably *stalun*, 'a stallion' (OFr *estalon*).
STONE RAISE

la Staynrayse 1307 Ch
v. steinn, hreysi. There is a cairn here.

WINDGATE (6")

Weingate 1218 FF Wyngate 1607 NR
‘Wagon road’ from OE wāgen and gata.

WORTON

Werton 1086 DB, Wirton(a) 1152 Jerv 20 et passim to 1307 Ch
‘Vegetable enclosure, garden’ v. wyrt, tun.

6. BISHOPDALE 21 E 1

Biscop(p)edale 1202 FF, c. 1230–50 BM, 1279–81 QW
Bis(s)hopdale 1289 RichReg 124 et passim to 1519 Sanct
Bishdale 1589 Cai
‘Bishop’s valley,’ probably from the OE pers. n. Bisceop, of
which there are two examples from Anglian territory in the
7th cent., and dæl.

HOWGILL

Hol(e)gil 1218 FF, 1338 Pat, Howgill 1607 NR
‘Hollow ravine’ v. hol, gil.

KIDSTONES

Kidderstanes 1301 LS Kidstons 1613 NR
v. stan. The first element is obscure.

7. WEST BURTON 21 E 2

Burton 1086 DB, (West) 1284 Bodl 133 a
v. burhtun.

WALDEN [wɔ:dan]

Walden(e) 1270 YI, 1301 LS, 1536 YChant
Waledene 1321 Dugd vii. 921
Wawden 1574 FF

Probably of the same origin as Walden (Herts), earlier
Wēaladene, v. weala, denu.
8. **Carperby** 21 D i [ka:pəbi]

_Chirprebi_ 1086 DB
_Kerperby(a) _1137–46 Easby 321, 1218 FF et passim to 1420 YI

Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element is OIr _Cairpre_, later _Cairbre_, a pers. name meaning 'charioteer.' _v. by._

**Bear Park**

_Bearpark _1540 Dugd iv. 247 _Beryparke _1544 Dugd iv. 248

_v. pearroc. The first element is possibly beorg 'hill' which would explain the two forms.

**West Bolton**

(Little) _Boulton _1296, 1312 Ch, 1316 Vill
_v. boõltun and Castle and Low Bolton 256 supra._

**Eller Beck (6")**

_Ellerbech _13 Easby 278 _Elrebek _1291 YD

'Alder stream' _v. elri, bekkr._

**Tewfit (6")**

_Thuwe-, Thufwath _13 Easby 278

'Thufa's ford' from the ON pers. n. _þúfa_ (LindN) and _vað._

**Thackthwaite Beck (6")**

_Thachthwet _1203 FF

_v. þveit, bekkr. The first element is ON _þakk_, NEDial _thack_ 'long coarse grass, rushes.'

**Thoresby**

_Toresbi _1086 DB
_Thoresby _1184 RichReg 84

'Thor's farm' from ON _þórr_ and _by._

9. **Hawes** 20 D ii [tɔːz]

_Hawes _1614 NR
_the Hawes _1666 Visit

The village is only of recent growth. The meaning of the name is 'neck, pass between the mountains' _v. hals._
APPERSETT

Appeltresate 1280, 1285 YI, 1283 Rich 33
Aperside 1577 Saxton, 1610 Speed; -set 1661 Grinton

‘Shieling near the apple tree’ v. sætr. The first element is OE appeltræow.

BURTERTSETT [bɔːtəsɪt]

Beutresate 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 33
Birtresatte 1285 YI (YAS xii. 225 n.)
Butterside 1577 Saxton
Burterset 1608 NR

‘Shieling near the alder tree’ v. sætr and Burtree 163 supra.

GAYLE, SLEDDALE

Seldalegile 1280 YI
Sleddalgayle, Sledalegayle 1285 YI, 1423 Baildon
Ga(y)le, Sleddall 1606 NR

‘Sleddale ravine’ v. geil. Sleddale is from slæd and dæl as in Sleddale (LangE) 149 supra.

MOSSDALE

Mussedale 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 33
Mos(e)dale 1285, 1298 YI et passim to 1607 NR

‘Bog-valley.’ From ON mosi and dalr.

SNAIZEHOLME [sneːzəm]

Snaysum 1280, 1285 YI, 1283 Rich 33
Snaysome 1423 Baildon

From ON sneis ‘a twig’ (dat. plur. sneisum), found in the Norw p.n. Sneis (NG ii. 66); cf. Rysome (YER) and Lealholme 133 supra with practically the same meaning.

WIDDALE and WIDDALE BECK

Withdale 1217 FF, Wyddale 1307 Ch, (-bec) 1218 FF
Wy-, Widal(l) 1404 Pat, 1423 Baildon

‘Wood-valley’ v. viðr, dalr.
10. **Newbiggin** 21 E I

_Neu-, Newbigging(e) c. 1230-50 BM_

_v. niwe, bigging._

**Whit Beck** (6")

_Whythebec 12 Easby 249, 1268 ib. 280_

‘White stream’ _v. hwit, bekkr._

11. **Thoraldby** 21 E I

_Turo(l)desbi, Toroldesbi 1086 DB_

With the same run of forms and interpretation as Thoraldby (LangW) 175 _supra._

**Crooksbury** (6") [kriuksbi]

_Croc(he)sbi 1086 DB, 1189 RichReg 84, 13 ib. 77 d_

_Crokesby c. 1280 RichReg 77 d_

‘Krok’s farm’ from ON _Krókr_ and _by._

**Heaning Gill** (6")

_the Hyghnyng’ 1298 YI_

_v. haining, gil._

**Swinacote**

_Swynewathco... 1298 YI_

‘Cottage near the swine ford’ _v. swin, vaö, cot._

12. **Thornton Rust** 20 D 14

_Torentun, Toretun 1086 DB_

_Thornton Ruske 1153 Dugd v. 573, Rust 12 RichReg 77 d et passim_

_v. þorn, tun._ The suffixed feudal element can best be explained if we think that the manor was at one time held by an Anglo-Scand owner called _Hrosskell_, a name which appears in the Yorkshire DB as _Roschil_ and _Ruschil_. _Rusk_ would be a regular shortened form of this, and _Rust_ a folk-etymologising perversion of it. There is nothing definitely to connect Thornton with a man of this name, but it is at least a curious coincidence that DB records a _Roschil_ among the pre-Conquest owners of land in Richmondshire.
Brindley (6")

Brende le 1218 FF
'Clearing in a wood caused by fire' v. brende and leah.

Greenber (6")

Greneberghe 1153 Dugd v. 573
v. grene, beorg.

Swaedale

The remaining parishes of this wapentake are in Swaledale.

Sualadala 1128-32 BM
Swaedale 1155 P, Swaledal(e) 1159 P, 1200 ChR, 1207 OblR, 1251 Ch etc.
Swaldale c. 1180-5 YCh 1140 et passim to 1401 YI
Swawdall 1538 Riev, -dell 1574 FF
The local pronunciation is [swɔ:dl]. Cf. Swale R. 6 supra.

Hauxwell

1. Barden 21 B 6

Beredan 1086 DB
Berdene 1184 RichReg 84 d et passim to 1285 KI
Barden 1552 FF
'Beorna's valley,' with early loss of n from the cons. group rnd. v. denu.

2. Garriston 21 C 6 [ga:rstɒn]

Gerdeston(e) 1086 DB
Gertheston 1184 RichReg 84 d, 1301 LS, 1328 Ch, 1406 YI
Gareston, Garestonne 1521, 1582 FF
'Gerth's farm' from ON Gerðr and tun.

3. Hauxwell 21 C 6

Hauoc(he)swelle 1086 DB
Houcheswell 1166 P (p)
Hou-, Haukeswella, -e 1177 P (p), 1184 RichReg 84 d et passim to 1362 Archd 5 d
Haukeswella 1219 FF
'Hawk's well,' but whether from OE *Heafoc or ON *Haukr it is difficult to say. For the use of OE *heafoc as a pers. name cf. MLR xiv. 239. *w(i)ella.

**Downholme**

1. **Downholme** 21 A 5 [du:nam]

*Dune* 1086 DB
*Dunum* 12 *Marrick* 120, 1184 *RichReg* 84, 1231 *Ass*, 1292 Ch
*Dounoun* 1314 Ch *Downhum* 1535 FF

'(Amongst) the hills' from OE *æt þæm dūnum. v. dun. The DB form is from the dat. sing.

2. **Ellerton Abbey** 21 A 4

*Elreton* 1086 DB, 1228 Pat, 1230 Ebor, 1268 Abbr
*Ellerton(a), -tun* 1184 *RichReg* 84 et passim

'Alder enclosure' v. elri, tun.

3. **Stainton** 21 A 4

*Steintun* 1086 DB

'Enclosure made of stone' v. steinn, tun.

4. **Walburn** 21 B 5 [wɔ:bən]

*Walebrun(e), -burne* 12 *Easby* 95, 1222 FF, 1295 YI, 1301 LS
*Walbro(u)n* 1270 YI, 1314 Ch
*Walburn* 1285 KI et passim

v. burna 'stream' (influenced by ON brunnr). The first element is probably OE W(e)ala (v. Walden 265 *supra*).

**Grinton**

1. **Grinton** 21 A 3

*Grinton* 1086 DB et passim
*Grenton(e)* c. 1180–5 YCh 1140, c. 1291 Tax et passim to 1397 *Archod* 18 d

'Green enclosure' v. grene, tun. On the modern form *Grin-* cf. the forms of Ingleby 167 *supra*.
COGDEN

_Cockedden_ Hy 3 BM  _Cogden_ 1661 Grinton

Of the same origin as Cockden (PN La 85), from cocc and denu.

CRACKPOT

_Crakepot(e)_ 1298 YI, 1301 LS, R 2 RichReg 89 d

‘Pot where crows abound’ _v._ kraka. For the topographical use of _pot_ _v._ Pott Hall 234 _supra._

RAWCROFT [_ro:kraft_]

_Ruck(c)roft_ 1274 YI, 1563 FF  _Rowcroft_ 1564 FF

‘Rough pasture’ _v._ ruh, croft.

STUBBING (6")

_V stubbynge_ 1568 FF

ME _stubbing_ ‘clearing of land’ (_v._ Ekwall, _PN in -ing 26._)

2. MELBECKS 13 J 13

_Melbecks_ 1676 Grinton

‘Sand-bank streams’ _v._ melr, bekkr and cf. Melbecks (Cu).

FEETHAM [_fi:θam_]

_Fytun, -on_ 1242 P (p), 1274, 1298 YI

_Fethom_ 1645 Grinton

ON _fit_ ‘meadow,’ dat. plur. _fitjum_, found frequently in Norw p.n.’s, such as _Fetten, Steifet_, etc. (NG _passim_); cf. the lost _Fithum_ in Faceby (1333 Riev) and _Fitts_ 127 _supra_. For the long vowel cf. Upleatham 153 _supra._

GUNNERSIDE [gunəsɪt]

_Gunnerseete_ 1301 LS

_Gonerseete_ R 2 RichReg 89 d

_Gonnerside_ 1655 Grinton

‘Gunnar’s pasture’ _v._ sætr. The first element is ON _Gunnarr._

KEARTON

_Kirton_ 1298 YI  _Kerton_ 1301 LS, 1646 Grinton

The forms are too late for any certainty.
Old Gang

*Old gang* 1687 Grinton

OE *gang* is still a dialect word for a road. Old Gang leads up to a disused mine. Cf. Upgang 126 *supra*.

Smarber (6")

*Smerbergh* 1298 YI

From ON *smjar* ‘butter’ (*v. smeoru*) as in the common Norw p.n. *Smørbergh* (NG *passim*) and *berg*.

3. MUKER 20 A 12 [miukə]

*Muehaker* 1274 YI
*Muaker* 1577 Saxton
*Mewacre* 16 VCH i. 242
*Mewker* 1606 NR

‘Small cultivated field’ *v. akr*. The first element is ON *mjór* adj. ‘thin, narrow, small’ which enters into the Scand p.n.’s *Mjovidal* (Landnamabók) and *Mjóvik* (NG ii. 41).

Angram

*Angram* 1195–1200 Guis  *Angrom(e)* 1367, 1551 FF, etc.

‘(At) the pastures’ *v. anger*. and cf. Angram Grange and Cote 191, 249 *supra*.

Birkdale

*Birkedale* 1301 LS

Ivelet [aiVlet]

*Ivelishe* (sic) 1298 YI  *Iflythe* 1301 LS

‘Ifa’s slope’ *v. hliö*. For the pers. name *v. Ivinghoe* (PN Bk 96).

Keld

*Appeltrekelde* 1301 LS  *Keld(e)* 1538 Riev, 1577 Saxton

‘Spring near the appletree’ from OE *appeltrēow* and *kelda*.

Oxnop

*Oxenhop(e)* 1301 LS, 1605 NR  *Oxhoppe* 1538 Riev

‘Oxen valley’ *v. hop*. The first element is OE *oxa*, gen. plur. *oxena*, as in Oxenhope (YWR).
Satron

*Satron* 1301 LS (p) *Satteron* 1664 Grinton
‘Wood cleared for pasture land’ *v.* sætr, rum.

Stonesdale

*Sconesdale* (sic) 1298 YI *Stonedale* 1577 Saxton
*v.* dæl. The first element is obscure.

4. Reeth 21 A 2 [riːθ]

*Rie* 1086 DB
*Reyth in le Swale* c. 1170 Marrick 101
*Ri-, Ryth(e) 1184 RichReg 84 et passim to 1575 FF
*Reth(e) 1401 YI et passim to 1581 FF
*Ree 1414 Test, 1515 Sanct
*Reeth 17 Grinton (passim)*

‘(At) the stream’ from OE *æt þæm rīðe, v.* rið. On the DB form *Rie* cf. IPN 109 and Ryther (YWR), *Rie* DB, and on the later change to *Rethe v.* Upleatham 153 supra.

Brough [bruːf]

*Borch* 1086 DB *Burgh* 1184 RichReg 84 et passim
*v.* burh. Earthworks exist here (VCH i. 302).

Fremington

*Fremin(g)-, -yngton* 1086 DB et passim to 1348 BM
*Freminton* 1086 DB
*Fremmingeton* 1251 Ch
*Fremigton* 1301 LS
*Fremynton* 1562 FF

‘Frema’s farm’ *v.* ington. *Frema* is not recorded in OE, but it is a possible derivative of the OE pers. n. *Fram* (Redin 13) which enters into Framingham (Nf), and Framlingham (Sf), and Framlington (Nb). It is apparently found in the similar name Fremington (D), DB *Framintona*, c. 1120 AD *Fremigtun, Framigton.*

Healaugh [iːlə]

*Hale* 1086 DB
*Helagh* 1200 ChR, *(in Swaldale)* 1281 Ipm et passim to 1402 Test
Helag(e) 1219 FF, 1274 YI, Helach 1283 Rich 26
Helawe 1279–81 QW, 1298 YI, Healaughe 1531 FF

‘High forest clearing’ v. heah, leah. The various forms point to an OAngl form læh, which may be noticed in the spellings of Helmsley and Wensley 71, 257 supra.

XII. GILLING EAST WAPENTAKE

The southern part of Gilling East is in Swaledale, the northern in Teesdale. It formed part of the original wapentake of Gilling, which in DB is simply called (along with Hang) terra comitis Alani.

Gilleryngshire 1157 RichReg 82 d
Gillung, -yng wap 1157 RichReg 82
Gilleryngest, -west c. 1300 RichReg 97

The wapentake takes its name from Gilling 288 infra, its meeting-place. Zachrisson (Some Yorkshire PN’s, 45) draws an unnecessary conclusion from the form -schire in holding with Moorman (PN YWR) that Gilleryngshire was used for the whole North Riding. OE scir was used here, as elsewhere in YNR, for a wapentake or any smaller district such as Masham-shire 230 supra.

Kirby Wiske

1. Kirby Wiske 21 E 13
   Chi(r)chebi, Cherchebi 1086 DB
   Kirkebi, -by 1086 DB, (Wisc) 1176–82 YCh 673 et passim
   v. ich-kja, by. The village is on the Wiske R.

Swale Bridge

Sualebrig c. 1205 FountA 25

2. Maunby 21 E 12 [mɔ:nbɪ]
   Mannebi, Mannesbi 1086 DB
   Magnebi, -by 1157 RichReg 82 et passim to 1301 LS
   Maghen(e)by 1198 Fount, 1328 Banco, 1344 YD
   Maun(e)by 1310 Ch, 1362 AD, 14 RichReg 87 d
   ‘Magni’s farm’ from ON Magni and by.
3. Newby Wiske 21 D 13
   Newby 1157 RichReg 82, (super Wisk) 1285 KI
   v. niwe, by.

Sowber Hill, Solberge [sɔubɛrɪl]
   Solberg(h)e 1086 DB et passim to 1285 KI
   Sollebergh 1422 YD
   Sowbar 1578 FF, Sowber Hill 1666 Grinton
   From ON solberg ‘sunny hill,’ common in Norway in the form Solberg (NG 1.11, ii. 31, 189 et passim). v. berg.

4. Newsham 21 E 13
   Neuhuse 1086 DB; Neu(e)husum 1086 DB, 1088 LVD 51
   Neusum 1231 Ass et passim
   v. niwe, hus. There was also in this par. a place called Westhuse 1086 DB.

Breckenbrough
   Bracheberc 1086 DB
   Brac-, Brakanberg 1208, 1228 FF
   Brakenberg(h) 1316 Vill et passim
   ‘Bracken hill’ v. braken, berg. Cf. Brakanberg in Brompton on Swale (12 Easby 13 d) and Brackenborough (L).

Ainderby Steeple

1. Ainderby Steeple 21 C 12
   Eindre-, Andrebi 1086 DB (and as in Ainderby Mires and Ainderby Quernhow 223, 239 supra), (Fourneux) 1285 KI,
   (w(i)th, wythe Stepil(l)) 1316 Vill
   v. Ainderby Quernhow 223 supra. In 1316 (Vill) John de Furneis was certified lord of “Aynderby wythe Stepil.” The church tower stands out prominently from the surrounding country. v. Addenda xlv.

2. Morton upon Swale 21 C 11
   Mortun(e) 1086 DB, (on Swale) 1281 Ch
   ‘Farm on the mor’ v. tun.
3. **Thirntoft 21 C 11**
   
   \(T(h)irnetoft(e)\) 1086 DB et passim to 1562 RichWills
   
   *Thirnetoste* 1086 DB
   
   *Thirntoft* 12 MaryY 261, 1439 IpmR
   
   *Thorntoft* 1304 Ch  *Thrumtoft* 1597 Pickhill
   
   'Thorn-bush messuage' v. pyrne, topt. *Thorin-* by a common local metathesis.

4. **Warlaby 21 C 12** [wɔːləbi]

   *Warlauesbi, Werlegesbi, Wergelesbi* 1086 DB
   
   *Warthelbi* 1227 FF
   
   *Warlauby* 1283 *Rich* 34, 1328 Banco
   
   *Warlow(e)by* 1344 Dugd iii. 567, 1396 Pap
   
   *Worleybye* 1550 RichWills
   
   Possibly 'Wærlaf's by' from the OE pers. name *Wærlaf*. The spellings in DB and FF are difficult. Something of the same problem arises in the name Theddlethorpe (L), where early forms vary between *Thedlac-, Tedlaue-, Tedolf- and Dedlonc-* in the first element. In any case the pers. name seems to be English. Compounds of such with *by* are not common.

**Danby Wiske**

1. **Danby Wiske 21 A 12**

   *Danebi, -by* 1086 DB, *(super Wiske)* late 13 BM
   
   v. by and Danby (LangE) 131 *supra*.

**Brockholme**

   *Brokholme* 1382 YD
   
   'Field where badgers are found' v. brocc, holmr.

**Little Danby**

   *Parua Daneby* 1161–70 MaryY 252

**Redholme**

   *Redeham* 13 *RichReg* 101 *d, Redham* 13 AD ii, 1285 KI et passim to 1558 FF
   
   *Redam al. Redholme* 1583 FF
   
   'Homestead amongst the reeds' v. hreod, ham. Cf. OE *hreodham* (K) BCS 227 and Reedham (Nf).
2. Yafforth 21 B 12
   *Eiford* 1086 DB, 13 VCH i. 174
   *Iasorde, Iasorbe* 1086 DB
   *Jaford(e)* 1198 FF, 1280 YI
   *Jafford* 1280 Ass, 1316 Vill
   *Yafford* 1283 Rich 34 et passim to 1530 Visit
   *Yafforthe* 1574 FF
   ‘Ford across the river (Wiske)’ v. ea, ford. On the development of *ea-* to *ya-* cf. Yearsley 193 supra. The DB form *Iasorbe* is corrupt.

**Langton on Swale**

1. Great Langton 21 A 10
   *Langetun, -ton* 1086 DB et passim, (magna) 1285 KI, (Mekyl, apon Swaylle) 1536 YChant
   ‘The long farm’ v. lang, tun.

Little Langton
   *Langeton (parua)* 1292 Ch

**Bolton on Swale**

1. Bolton upon Swale 21 A 9
   *Boletone* 1086 DB
   *Bo(h)eltona* 1184 RichReg 83 d, 1280 Ass
   Bolton c. 1300 RichReg 83 d, (oppon Swale) 1403 YI
   v. boðltun.

2. Ellerton (on Swale) 21 A 9
   *Alreton* 1086 DB
   *Ellerton* 1184 RichReg 83 d, (upon Swale) 1314 Ch et passim
   ‘Alder enclosure’ v. alor (elri), tun and cf. Ellerton Abbey 270 supra.

**Laylands**
   *Leylands* 1559 FF
   v. læge, land.
3. Kiplin 21 A 10

Chipeling 1086 DB
Kypplyng 1184 RichReg 83 d, 1285 KI, c. 1300 RichReg 101
Kepling 1205 OblR
Ki-, Kyplyng 13 Easby 144, 1269 ib. 146, 1328 Banco
Ki-, Kypeling 1301 LS, 1408 YI
Kyplin 1576 FF

Probably 'the settlement of the Cippelings' from an OE Cippelingas, though one would have expected forms in *inges*, but cf. Lilling 32 supra. The pers. n. *Cippela* (not adduced in independent use) is probably a diminutive formed by the suffix *-ila* from OE *Cippa*, a pers. n. found in Chippenham, etc. v. ing. One should perhaps compare *Cipplinges* 1336 *ForP* 205 d, the name of a lost place in Goathland. See further Ekwall, *PN in -ing* 95.

STANHOWE

Staynhou 13 Easby 36 et freq
Stangehawe 1556 FF
v. steinn, haugr.

4. SCORTON 14 J 9

Scorton(e), -tona 1086 DB, 12 FountA 317 et passim to 1665 Visit
Schorton 1184 RichReg 84

Professor Ekwall suggests that the first element is ON *skor*, 'ravine,' here used as in 'the fosse Syrithescore' (*Bridlington Cart.* 137), of a 'ditch,' possibly Scorton Beck.

5. UCKERBY 14 J 9

Ukerby 1198 Fount
Huckerby c. 1250 Easby 74
Ukkerby 1285 KI, c. 1300 RichReg 86, 1400 YI et passim

Professor Ekwall tentatively suggests that the first element of this difficult name is an ON pers. name *Út-kári* formed from ON út 'out' and Kári in the same way as *Útsteinn* was formed from út and *Steinn*. v. by.
6. Whitwell 21 A 10

Whitewella 1086 DB  Wittewell 1201 Cur, 13 Leon 67
Whitewell(e) 1285 KI et passim
v. hwit, w(i)ella and Whitwell (Bulm) 39 supra.

GREENBERRY

Greneberg(e) c. 1190, 1198 Fount et freq
Gren(e)berry 1456, 1535 Fount
v. grene, beorg.

Girsby¹

I. Over Dinsdale 14 F 12

Digneshale, Dirneshale 1086 DB
Dineshale 1086 DB, 1196 FF
detnisaale 1088 LVD 51
Dinneshall 1128-35 YCh 944
Dydensale 1170-5 YCh 945
Ditneshall(l) c. 1174-90 YCh 950, 1208-10 Fees
Ditensala 1184 RichReg 83 d
Ditenshall' 1231 Ass
Dytenshale 1301 LS
Dit(t)ensale 1333 Riev, 1435 Test
Dynsda(i)ll 1555 RichWills, 1570 NCyWills

The first element of this name is difficult. The forms given should be supplemented by those for Lower Dinsdale just across the Tees (PN NbDu 63-4) which tend to confirm the genuineness of the t and n of the early forms. It may be an unrecorded pers. name Dihten derived by the addition of an -n suffix (v. IPN 171) to the stem of OE dihtan ‘to prepare’ and its various derivatives such as dihtere ‘governor,’ dihtnere ‘steward,’ a pers. name which possibly enters into Deightonby (YWR).

Professor Ekwall makes an interesting suggestion that the first element might be an OE Dictün. There is no phonological difficulty in this, except the very early appearance of -tun as -ten; one can, however, compare Swinston 303 infra for an early

¹ Detached part of Allerton wapentake. This and the following parishes are in Teesdale, earlier T(h)esdale, 12, 13 Guis, Riev.
example of this reduction of *tun* when followed by another element. What does lend weight to Professor Ekwall’s suggestion is that Dinsdale is a detached part of Allerton wapentake separated from the township of Deighton (209 *supra*) only by Great Smeaton township. Dinsdale, therefore, is probably best explained as ‘the nook of land belonging to Deighton’ *v.* h(e)alh, used here (as in Dinsdale, Du) of a piece of land almost encircled by the Tees R.

2. **Girsby 14 G 12** [gorzbi]

   *Grisebi*, -by 1086 DB, c. 1130 SD, 1196 FF *et passim*
   *Grisibi* 1088 LVD 50 d
   *Grysby* 1128–35 YCh 944, etc.
   *v.* by. The first element ON *Griss* (cf. Gristhorpe 104 *supra*).

3. **Staindale**

   *Staynedalerig* 1303 KF etc.
   *v.* steinn, dæl, hrycg.

3. **High Worsall 14 F 13**

   *Wirceshel, Wercesel* 1086 DB
   For forms and interpretation *v.* Low Worsall 173 *supra*.

4. **Great Smeaton**

1. **Eryholme 14 G 11** [erium]

   *Argun* 1086 DB, *Argum* 1179 P
   *Erg(h)um* 12 Easby 250 *et passim* to 1346 Test
   *Eryom* 1285 KI *et passim* to 1404 YI
   *Eriholme* 1665 Visit
   *v.* Airyholme (Ryed) 49 *supra*.

2. **Hornby 14 H 12**

   *Horenbodebi* 1086 DB
   *Hornbotebi* 1088 LVD 50 d
   *Hornebi*, -by 1199 ChR *et passim* to 1367 FF
   *Hornby* 1421 YI *et passim*
   ‘Hornbothi’s farm’ *v.* by. The first element is probably an ON dithematic pers. n. *Hornbodi* composed of the ON name-
themes *Horn(i)* and *bod* (cf. Naumann, *Altnordische Namensstudien* 25). The name is possibly on record in ON, cf. Lind s.n. *Holdbodí*. Probably it was shortened to *Horne-* to bring it in line with Hornby (HangE) 240 *supra*.

3. **Great Smeaton** 14 H 12

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3. **Great Smeaton** 14 H 12

*on smiːpatune* 966–72 LVD 43 d

*Smidetune, Smideton, Smet(t)on* 1086 DB

*Smithetuna, -ton* 1088 LVD 51 *et passim*, *(Magna)* 1231 Ass

*Smetheton* 1157 *RichReg* 82 *d et passim* to 1366 *ArChd* 7

*Smittun* ’1166 P (p)

*(Great) Smeton* 1541 Dugd iii. 572, 1665 Visit

v. Little Smeaton (Allert) 211 *supra*.

**Cowton**

1. **East Cowton** 14 H 11 [kuːtən]

*Cuːtən* 1086 DB

*C-, Kuton(a)* Hy 2 BM *et passim* to 1243 Ebor

*Coutona* 1184 *RichReg* 83 d, *(Est)* 1314 Ch, *(Temple)* 1316 Vill

‘Cow farm’ v. cu, tun, and cf. such names as Swinton, Cawton, Shipton, etc. The Knights *Templars* held land here *(VCH i. 160)*.

**Cockleberry**

*Cokelbergh* 1241 FF

v. be(o)rg. The first element is OE *coccel* ‘cockle.’

**Cowton Moor**

*Coutonemore* 1145 Fount etc.

2. **North Cowton**¹ 14 H 10

*Coutona* 1184 *RichReg* 83 d, *(Magna)* 1273 Ebor, *(North)* 13 Fount

v. East Cowton *supra*.

¹ North and South Cowton (282 *infra*) form a detached part of Gilling West wapentake.
3. SOUTH COWTON 14 J 10
Couton 1158 RichReg 82 d, (Suth) 13 Easby 134
Atloucouton 1158 RichReg 82 d etc.
v. East Cowton 281 supra. It is frequently called At(t)elou-cuton from Atley Hill infra.

ATLEY HILL
Atlou 1157 RichReg 82 d, 1269 Marrick III
At(t)elou 1301 LS, 1316 Vill
Atley 1544 Dugd iv. 248, 1582 FF
‘Atla’s hill’ from the OE pers. n. Ætla (v. Redin 147), as in Attleborough (Nf), earlier Atleburc 1185 RotDom, and hoh.

WHINHOLME
Qwhinholm 1198 Fount Wyneholme 1547 FF
‘Meadow overgrown with gorse’ v. whin, holmr.

CROFT 14 F 10
Croft 1086 DB, (super Teyse) 1252 Ass
Crofst 1086 DB
v. croft.

CLOW BECK
Cloubeck 1285 KI et passim
‘Stream in the deep valley’ v. cloh, bekkr.

HALNABY HALL [ɔːnəbi]
Halnathbei, -by 1170–88 Leon 228 (p), 1193–9 RegAlb iii.
41 d, 13 Easby 35
Alnathby 1219, 1231 Ass
Halnathby 1301 LS et passim
Halnaghby 1316 Vill
Halnaby 1577 FF
Hawnaby 1577 Saxton
Col. Parker (YAS 62) has suggested that Halnaby took its name from one Halnath who lived there c. 1218. The above spellings antedate this by a considerable period and we must
assume either that Halnath was long-lived and early gave his name to the place or that he had an ancestor called Halnath (of whom nothing is known). v. by. The name Halnath is probably an anglicised form of the continental name Halanant found in the Suffolk DB.

Jolby [d3oubi]

Jo(h)eleby 1193–9 Reg Alb iii. 41 d, 1219 Ass, FF, 13 Easby 34d
Jo(l)ebey 1231 Ass, 1301 LS et passim to 1403 YI

‘Joel’s farm’ v. by. From the OFr pers. n. Johel, well evidenced in early ME records (e.g. Jo(h)el 1226 Lib). Colonel Parker suggests (u.s.) that this place is named from a Joel who lived here c. 1170. These two names form the only definite evidence in the North Riding of the survival of by as a living place-name element after the Norman Conquest.

Walmire [wɔ:ma]

Walemire 12 Easby 61 d, 13 ib 62 d, 1301 LS etc.
Walemur 1205 ChR, OblR
Walmire 1316 Vill et passim

v. weala, myrr. The two forms with mur possibly indicate that the original final element was OE mor rather than ON myrr which later replaced it. ‘Moor of the wealas.’

2. Dalton upon Tees 14 G 10

Dalton super Tese 1221–6 Reg Alb iii. 24
v. dæl, tun.

3. Stapleton 14 F 9

Staple(n)dun 1086 DB
Stapeltun, -ton 1166 P (p), 12 Easby 39

‘Farm marked with a pole’ v. stapol, tun and cf. Stapleton (Lei), stapelton BCS 409.

BORNESSES (6")

Burghanes 13 VCH i. 163

The history of this name is that given by Ekwall (PN La 85) for Burwains, from OE *burgæns ‘burial place,’ in which he
shows that it is cognate with OE byrgan ‘bury’ and identical with the common dialectal borrens, borwens. v. 325 infra, s.v. *burgæsn.

Cleasby

1. **Cleasby** 14 E 9 [klizbi]
   
   Clesbi, -by 1086 DB, 1314 Ch
   Clesebi, -by 1184 RichReg 83 d et passim to c. 1300 RichReg 102 d
   Cleysby(e) 1545, 1562 RichWills
   
   Perhaps from ODan klēss (ONorw klēiss) ‘inaerticulate in one’s speech,’ used as a pers. n. v. by.

Manfield

1. **Cliffe** 14 E 8
   
   Ilecclif c. 1130 SD Ylcliu 13 Leon 18 d
   Ycliffe HistDunelmScriptores (append. 427)
   Clive 1086 DB Clif(f) 1234 Cl et passim
   
   ‘Ylla’s cliff’ from the OE pers. n. Ylla (cf. Ilton 233 supra) and clif.

2. **Manfield** 14 E 8
   
   Mannefelt 1086 DB, -feld 1202 FF
   Manefeld(e) 1086 DB, 12 Easby 5 d et passim to 1280 YI
   Manafeld 1146–54 BM, 1294 Ch
   Manfeld 1310 Pap et passim
   
   ‘Manna’s expanse of land’ from the OE pers. n. Man(n)a and feld.

Grunton

Grendon’ 13 Easby 40 d Grounton 1561 FF

‘Green hill’ v. grene, dun.

Pinkney Carr

Pynchinhou c. 1250 Easby 74 d, Pynkinhou 13 Easby 86 d

This is probably from OE Pincinghoh(e), i.e. ‘Pinca’s spur of land.’ There is an isolated hoh to the east of Pinkney Carr. For ing, v. ingtun.
Barton

1. Barton 14 G 8

Barton 1086 DB, 1184 RichReg 83 d et passim
v. beretun. Cf. Barton le Willows 38 supra

Brettanby Manor

Bretanebi, -by 12 Easby 5 d, 1219 Ass, FF, 1260 Easby 160 d
Brethaneby 1220 Ass  Breteneby 1228 Ebor
Brethanby 1285 Ki et passim
v. by. The first element is the Olr pers. n. Brettan (v. Revue Celtique, xliv. 46), which also perhaps appears in Bretonenges (1206 Easby 154 d), a field-name near Brettanby.

Grass Kiln Head Spring (6")

Cresekeld 1193-9 RegAlb iii. 40 d
Cressekeldheved 13 VCH i. 150
Creskeld 1271 Easby 63
‘Well overgrown with cress’ v. cærese, kelda.

Kneeton Hall [niːtən]

Naton 1086 DB
C-, Kneton 1157 RichReg 82, 1193-9 RegAlb iii. 40 d et passim
v. tun. The first element is OE cnēow or ON kné ‘knee’; the significance of the word in this name is explained by the fact that Kneeton Hall stands close to a point where a main road branches off from Watling Street at an angle of about 45°.

2. Newton Morrell 14 F 9

Neuton(e) 1086 DB, (Morell), 1157 RichReg 82
v. niwe, tun. Morell was the name of a family of landowners here (VCH i. 150).

Middleton Tyas

1. Middleton Tyas 14 H 8

Midelton 1086 DB
Middeltun, -ton 1086 DB, 1177 HCY et passim
Mi-, Medilton Tyas 14 RichReg 87 d et passim
v. middel, tun. Tyas is a Norman French name known elsewhere in Yorkshire but no evidence of any connexion of the family with Middleton has been noted.

WOODHOUSE

Wodehuses 1280 Ass

2. MOULTON 14 H 8 [moutan]

Moltun 1086 DB
Muleton' 1176–1182 P (passim), 1219, 1220 Ass
Moleton 1241 Ch
Multon 13 RichReg 73 et passim to 1441 BM
Mowton 1577 Saxton, 1613 NR


XIII. GILLING WEST WAPENTAKE

v. Gilling East Wapentake 274 supra.

Easby

1. ASKE HALL 14 H 7

Has(s)e 1086 DB, Ask(e) 1157 RichReg 82

‘Ash-tree.’ The DB form may represent OE æsc rather than ON askr.

2. BROMPTON ON SWALE 21 A 8

Brunton 1086 DB, 1231 FF
Brunton(a) 1160 Easby 2 d, 12 ib. 149
Brunpton (on Swale) 1184 RichReg 83 d et passim

v. Brompton (Pick) 96 supra.

BROMPTON BECK (6") and BROMPTON BRIDGE

Brumtone becke 1238 Easby 231 d, Brumton brigge 13 ib.

229
3. Easby 14 J 7

Asebi, -by 1086 DB, 1276 Reg.Alb ii. 18 d
Esebi, -by 1151 Easby 2 et passim to 1400 Pap
Esseby 1231 FF
Easby 1557 RichWills

‘Esi’s farm’ v. by. The first element is the ODan pers. n. Esi, which is equivalent to OWScand Asi. Cf. Easby (Birdf) 185 supra and Eslundes (c. 1240 Easby 9 d) ‘Esi’s woods,’ the name of a lost place in this township.

Wath Cote [waθko:t]

Warth 1137–46 Easby 231 Warthe Cote 1301 LS

‘Cottage near the heap of stones’ v. varða. The varða probably refers to the earthwork called Scots Dyke by which the cot stands.

4. Richmond (a borough) 14 J 6, 7

The site of Richmond was called Hindrelac in DB and Hinde slak in 1184 RichReg 84 (a digest of DB). The elements of this name are not clear from the scanty material.

After the Conquest Earl Alan considered the fine strategic importance of the place and built himself a castle which he called Richemund(e) (1108–14 YCh 25, c. 1130 SD, c. 1155 BM et passim, Richemunt 1176 et passim P, etc.) on the top of a lofty precipice overlooking the Swale R. The name was probably transferred from some well-known site in France where there are many examples of the name. Here it means ‘strong hill,’ and for this meaning of OFr riche v. Godefroy s.v.¹

¹ Minor and street names of Richmond are: Ankriche (lost), Anchirkirk (1479 Sanct), The Ankrichie (1610 Speed), from OE ancræ ‘anchorite’ and cyrice; Leland says that it was the chapel of a woman-anchorite, cf. Ankerchurch (Db). Bargate Street, Beregate (1275 RichReg 124 d), Bargate (1536 YChant, 1610 Speed) used of a road along which barley was led, v. bere, gata and cf. PN BedsHu 52. Frenchgate, French Gate (1536 YChant), from ME Frenshe and gata. Gallowgate, Gallowfields: reference to the gallows (v. gealga) is found in Galowbrawghe (1523 VCH i. 21) ‘the brow where the gallows stand,’ Gallowe Felde (1536 YChant), Gallowgait close (1586 YD). Newbiggin Street, Newbiggen (1610 Speed) v. bigging and cf. Aldbyggyng Strete (1536 YChant) also in Richmond.
Whitcliffe Mills

Hwittecliff 1275 RichReg 124 d
There is a white limestone scar here, v. hwit, clif.

5. Skeebey 14 J 7 [ski:bi]

Schirebi 1086 DB
Schittebi 1187 P
Sc-, Skytheby 12 RichReg 83 d et passim to 1301 LS
Sch-, Skiteby 1205 OblR, 1231 Ass
Sketebay 1396 Pap
Sketheby 1421 Yi
Skebye 1565, 1574 FF

‘Skithi’s farm’ from the ON pers. n. Skidi and by. On the modern form cf. Upleatham 153 supra.

Gilling

1. Gilling 14 H 7

Ghelling(h)es, Gellinges 1086 DB
Gellynghes 12 RichReg 73
Gwyllingues1 1137–46 Easby 321
Gillinge, -ynge 1202 FF, 1220 Ebor, 1396 Pap
Gi-, Gyling 13 Easby 32, 1237 Cl et passim
Gillinges 1241 Ch

The author of an article in VCH (i. 72) pointed out that Bede’s Ingetlingum (HE iii. 14) was usually identified with this Gilling, but “that the scene of Oswiu’s death and the site of the expiatory monastery raised by Eanfled has now been shown to be Collingham, 6 miles from Barwick in Elmet, WR. Yorkshire.” On topographical grounds there is nothing against this view, for Bede simply says that Oswiu took refuge at Uuifl-faraesdun which was about 10 miles west of uico Cataractone (i.e. Catterick) and from Uuiflaraesdun he fled to Ingetlingum where he was killed. Uuiflaraesdun was probably a hill in Marrick, but Bede himself gives us no information as to the position of Ingetlingum.

1 Ex inf. Professor F. M. Stenton. The author regrets that, through an error, this form was given to Professor Zachrisson as Givelingues and suggested to him a line of interpretation which the correct form does not support.
The spellings of this name are of the same type as those of Gilling in Ryedale 53 *supra*, and probably the name is of the same origin. The spelling *Gwyll-* is an AN spelling for ME *Gyll-*.

**Gatherley Moor**

*Gaiterlac* 13 Easby 143  
*Gatirlemore* 1512 Sanct  
*Gayterley* 1536 YChant

The first element may be OE *gāt-treow*, ‘gaiter-tree, wild dogwood,’ with partial Scandinavianising by substitution of ON *geit* for OE *gāt*. The second is leah. Cf. Gatherick (PN NbDu 93).

**Hartforth**

*Herfort, -ford* 1086 DB  
*Hertford(e)* 1157 RichReg 82 *et passim* to 1328 Banco  
*Hereford* 1206 ObIR, 1208 Ass (p), 1316 Vill  
*Hert-, Hartforth* 1539 Dugd v. 578, 1577 Saxton

‘Hart ford’ v. heorut, ford. Cf. Hertford (Herts), OE *Heorutford* (BCS 30) and Harford (Gl), OE *Heortford* (BCS 165), DB *Hurford*.

**High Scales, Low Scales**

*Scales* 1137-47 Easby 321  
‘The shielings’ v. *skali*.

**Sedbury Park**

*Sadberge* 1157 RichReg 82 *d*, 13 Easby 32 *d*  
*Satberg* 1257 Ch  
*Saddeberge* 1285 YI  
*Sadbery* 1301 LS, 1328 Banco, 1406 YI  
*Sedbury* 1519 FF

Sedbury should be compared with Sedbergh (YWR) which is from ON *setberg* ‘seat-hill.’ Sedbury like Sadberge (PN NbDu) is probably a parallel formation, with Norw *sate* ‘a small flat piece of ground on a hill’ or even *sætr* ‘shieling,’ as in Sedbusk 260 *supra*.
Kirby Ravensworth

*Kirkeby Raveneswath(e) 1280 YI*

This is the name of the parish in which Kirby Hill and Ravensworth (292 infra) are situated.

1. **Dalton 14 G 5** [dɔːtən]

There were at first two Daltons (*Dalton, altera Dalton* DB, *Daltona et alia Daltona* 1184 *RichReg* 84), but later we find three mentioned and distinguished as *Dalton Trauers* (1258 *Easby* 92), *Dalton Michel(l)* (1259 *Ass*), *Dalton Norreys, -eis* (1285 *KI*), *le norys* (1572 FF). Later references to Dalton are

*Dalton in le Dale* 1420 NCyWills, *in le Gayles* 1559 FF
*Dawtons 1577 Saxton*

‘Valley farm’ *v. dæl, tun*. The affixes arise from the names of tenants of land in the locality: John *Norris* was a tenant in 1285 (KI 167); Dalton *Michel* (also called Dalton *Ryel* in the 14th cent. VCH i. 90) was called *Ryel* from the tenants of the lords of Ryle (Nb) who possessed land here in 1231; the first of these tenants was called *Michel* (ib.); the *Travers* family held land here as early as 1186 (ib.).

Dalton is called *in le Gayles* from its position in a narrow glen (*v. Gayles infra*).

2. **Gayles 14 G 5**

*Austgail 1258 Easby 93*
*Gales 1534 FF, 1577 Saxton, 1665 Visit*
*Gailes 1576 FF, 1606 NR*

‘The ravines’ *v. geil*. The first form refers to the eastern one of several ravines in the township (*v. austr*).

3. **Kirby Hill 14 G 5**

*Kirkebi, -by 1154–66 Marrick 221, (super moram) 1379 Archd 13 d*
*Kirkby on the Hill 1534 FF*

‘Church farm’ *v. kirkja, by.*
Priest Gill

_Prestegile, -gill_ 13 Marrick 222, 1324 ib. 223

4. New Forest, a moor (6")

_in noua foresta_ 1201 ChR  _The new forest_ 1577 Saxton

EaseGill Cote (6")

_Esgilecote_ 13 Easby 28 d

_v. gil, cot._ The first element may be a pers. n. (OE Æsa, ODan Esi = OWScand Ási). Cf. Easby 185 _supra._

Helwith

_Helwath(e) 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 32 Helwith_ 1577 Saxton

_v. Helwath Beck 117 _supra._

Hallgate (6") and Holgate

_Hallegate_ 1280 YI  Holgate 1283 Rich 32

‘Road to the hall’ and ‘in the hollow’ _v. h(e)all, hol, gata._

Kexwith

_Kexthwayt_ 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 32, Kextwayte 1301 LS

The first element is the ME plant name _kex_ (PromptParv), Dial _kex, kecks_, used in YNR of the teazle. ‘Enclosure overgrown with teazles’ _v. ðveit._

Waitgate

_Thwaite3ate_ 13 RichReg 127 d

_v. ðveit, geat._

5. Newsham 14 F 5

_Neuhuson_ 1086 DB, Neusom(e), _in Broghton Lith_ 1336 YD

_v. Newsham (Ryed) 45 _supra._

Broughton Lythe (lost)

_Broctun(e) 1086 DB_  
_Broghotonlyth(e) 1184 RichReg 84, 1289 Abbr_  
‘Slope by the farm on the stream’ _v. broc, tun and hlið._
HALSTEAD (6")

*Halsted*, -stedmyre 1336 YD  *Halledsted* 1406 Marrick 224

‘The hall site’ v. h(e)all, stede.

LANGLANDS (6")

*Langelandes* 13 Easby 29 d

SMALLWAYS BRIDGE

*Smalwathes* 1336 YD


6. RAVENSWORTH 14 G 6

*Ravenesu(u)et* 1086 DB
*Rafneswad* 1154–66 Marrick 221
*Ravenswot* 12 Marrick 221, 1283 *Rich* 28
*Raven(e)swath* 1184 *RichReg* 84 et passim to 1427 NCyWills
*Raveneswad(e)* 1201 ChR, 1257 Marrick 222, 1308 Ch

‘Hrafn’s ford’ v. vað.

PARK WALL (6")

The wall of the dike of the old park of Ravensworth still remains and is referred to as *le Parkedyke* in 1406 Marrick 224, v. pearroc, dic.

7. WHASHTON 14 H 6 [*waʃtən*

*Whasingatun* 1154–66 Marrick 221
*Whassingetun* 1154–69 Marrick 224
*Wassingtun, -ton* 1208 FF, 1257 Marrick 222, 1316 Vill
*Wassinton’* 1219 Ass
*Quasyng-, -ington* 1285 KI, 1301 LS
*Qwhassytngton* c. 1300 *RichReg* 86
*Qwaston* 1492 Sanct
*Whaseton* 1562 RichWills
*Whassheton* 1574 FF

Professor Zachrisson (*PN in *vis, *vask* 49) explains this name as a geonymic meaning ‘the homestead of the marsh-dwellers’ from OE *wäse* ‘mud, marsh.’ On the phonetic difficulties of this explanation v. PN Wo 176 s.n. Washbourne. On
topographical grounds it is impossible; Whashton is on a steep hillside, the gradient of roads leading up to the village being in some cases steeper than 1 in 7.

More probably the first element is a pers. name. OE names in *Hwæt-* are early and well recorded—there are four in LVD alone. An OE *Hwætsige* would almost inevitably give rise to a pet form *Hwassa* and this p.n. is probably to be interpreted as 'tun of the people of Hwassa' v.ing,tun. On the development of -s- to -sh- cf. Dishforth 184 supra.

**Marske**

1. Marske 14 J 4 [mask]
   *Mersche* 1086 DB
   With the same run of forms and interpretation as Marske 154 supra.

**Applegarth**

*Apalgard* 1154–63 Riev, *Ap(p)elgarth(e)* 1154–63 Riev, 1205 OblR et passim


**Clints**

*Clynte* 1543 FF

'The rocky cliff' v. klettr (klint).

**Feldon**

*Feldon(e)* 12 VCH i. 102, 1228 Dugd v. 576, 1231 Ass *Feldun, Fildon* 1228 FF

*Feldom* c. 1300 *RichReg* 100 d, 1301 LS, 1539 Dugd v. 578

'(At) the expanses of unenclosed land' from the OE *æt ðæm feldum*, v. feld.

**Skelton**

*Sc-, Skelton’* 12 Easby 94 d, 1260 ib. 161 et passim

v. Skelton (Bulmer) 16 supra. The meaning here is possibly 'farm on the shelving terrain of land.'
Marrick

1. **Marrick** 21 A 4

*Marige* 1086 DB, 1252 Riev
*Marrich* c. 1150 Godr
*Marrig(g)* 1157 *RichReg* 82 *d et passim* to 1400 Test
*Maryg’* 1283 *Rich* 34
*Marrik(e), -yk* 1301 LS, 1328 Banco, 1393, 1483 Test

‘Horse ridge’ from ON márr ‘horse, steed’ which enters into a number of Norw p.n.’s such as *Mardal, Marvik* (Rygh, *NG Indledning* 67) and hryggr (*v. hrycg*).

AISKEW (6")

*Aichescou* 1154–66 Marrick 221

With the same run of forms and meaning as Aiskew 236 *supra*.

COPPERTHWAITE

*Cowpertwaht* 1566 RichWills

‘The cooper’s field’ from ME *coupare* and *pveit*.

ELLERS

*Hygh Ellers* 1567 FF

‘The alders’ *v. elri*.

HURST

*Hirst* 1539 FF

*v. hyrst*.

OWLANDS [ɔuləndz]

*Ulvelundes* 13 Marrick 103
*Ullunde* 13 Marrick 104  *Ullands* 1540 Dugd iv. 247

*v. lundr*. The first element is probably the gen. pl. of ON ulfr ‘wolf.’ Cf. Sutherland 79 *supra*.

RAY GILL (6")

*Reylgaile* c. 1170 Marrick 101

*v. geil*. The first element is obscure.
Arkengarthdale

1. Arkengarthdale 14 H–J 1
   Arkillesgarth, -gardh 1199 VCH, 1201 ChR
   Arkil, Arkelgarth 13 RichReg 121 et freq
   Archegarthdale 1557 RichWills
   Archengarthdale 1671 Grinton

Arkle Beck and Arkle Town

Arkelbek 1226 FF Arkilton 1476 VCH i. 37
   These two names are probably back-formations from the parish name supra. v. bekkr, tun.

Booze [bu:z]

Bowehous 1473 VCH i. 37 Bouze 1662 Grinton
   ‘House by the bow or curve’ possibly referring to the curving hill between Slei Gill and Arkle Beck. Cf. such names as Bow Hill. From OE boga ‘bow’ and hus.

Eskeleth

Exherlede 1280 YI Eskerlythe 1342 VCH
   The forms of the name are too late to make any certain suggestion as to the first element. The second is clearly hlið.

Faggergill

Fagardegile 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 32
   Faggardgille 1285 YI
   Fawgargill 1473 VCH i. 37
   v. gil ‘ravine.’ Professor Ekwall suggests tentatively that the first element is ON fær-garðr ‘sheep enclosure,’ with early and easily explicable loss of the first -r-.

Kitley Hill

Kydalehowe 1285 YI
   ‘Hill near the cow valley’ from ON kyr and dalr, haugr.
LANGTHWAITE

*Langethwait* 1167 P et passim to 1341 IpmR

v. lang, pveit.

STORTHWAITE HALL

*Stirkthwayt* 1281 YI, 1283 Rich 32

*Sterthwaytte, Stirthwait* 1284, 1341 IpmR

*Storthwaite* 1575 FF

'Bullock field' from ME *stirk* (OE *styric*) and pveit.

WHAW

*Kiwawe* 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 32

le *Kuawe* 1285 YI

*Quagh* 1342 VCH

'Enclosure near the fold' from ON *kvi* 'pen, fold (where sheep are milked)' and hagi. Cf. ON *kviagarðr* 'a pen.' For *wh-* v. Whenby 30 supra.

WILLIAM GILL

*Williamgill* 13 RichReg 127 d

Stanwick

1. ALDBROUGH 14 F 7 [ɔ:dbro]

*Aldeburne* 1086 DB

*Aldeburg(h-e)* 12 Easby 33 d, 90 et passim to 1556 FF

(H)audeburg 1231 Ass, 1281 Ch

Awldburgh 1558 RichWills, Awdbrough 1606 NR

'The old fortification' v. (e)ald, burh. Aldbrough is by Watling Street and there are in the parish a large number of ancient entrenchments, the most important of which is Scots Dyke, a long earthwork stretching north for several miles. The *burh* probably refers to one of these.

2. STANWICK PARK 14 F 7

*Stenwege, -weghes, Steinueges, Steinwege* 1086 DB

*Staynwegga* Hy 2 Leon 4, 1206 Easby 154 d, 1221 ib. 290 d

Stanweg' 1219 Ass

*Stein-, Stainwegges* 1228 FF, 1232 Ebor, 1301 LS
Steinweg 1226 Ebor
Stayneweges 1279 Ebor
Stain-, Staynwigges 1285 KI, 1302 Ebor 201, 1348 Pat
Staynwyks 1421 YI
Estanwik 1460 BM
Stanwyx 1542 RichWills
Stanwick 1665 Visit

'Stone walls' v. steinn. The second element is ON veggr 'a wall.' Its significance in ODan veg is extended to 'boulder' and ONorv veggr, used in p.n.'s mostly with the plural form, also meant 'a mountainous wall' and so 'an abrupt steep cliff.' The reference in this place-name, however, seems to be to some ancient rock entrenchments found in the township (cf. Aldbrough 296 supra). Cf. Stanwix (Cu), with a similar run of forms, which lies by the Roman wall.

Carlton Green
Cartun(e) 1086 DB
K-, Carleton 1157 RichReg 82 d et passim to 1396 Pap
v. karlatun.

Melsonby

1. Melsonby 14 G 7
Malsenebi 1086 DB
Melsanebi 1154–69 Marrick 227, 1208 FF, 13 Easby 43 d, 1310 Ch
Malsambi 1182 P
Melsambi, -by 1189–98 YD et passim to 1400 YI
Melsanby 1198 Fount, 1268 Abbr, 1280 Ass
Melsenbi 12 FountC 317, 13 Easby 54 d
Melsamebi 1202 FF
Melsonbye 1540 RichWills

The first element is probably a shortened form of the OIr pers. n. Maelsuithan, gen. Maelsuithain, which appears in OE as Mælsuðan, the name of a moneyer to Eadgar and Edward II (Searle) and as Møgløsøn, -sowen in BCS 951. The name as it is in the p.n. was probably introduced by Norwegians from Ireland. ON Mylsan (LindBN) may be a short form of the same name. Cf. Revue Celtique, xliv. 49.
Didderston Grange, Diddersley Hill

Did(r)dreston 1086 DB
Didderston 12 Easby 59 d, 1170 P (p)
Didreston 1184 RichReg 84, 1285 KI
Didsterstone 1228 Dugd v. 576
Didreston, Didirston 1352 FF, 1400 YI

'Dyder's farm' v. tun. The origin of the first element is difficult to decide upon. It may be a mutated derivative of the widely-spread theme *Dud-* extended by an -r suffix (cf. Pickering 85 *supra*, and the history of Kettering (Ekwall, *PN in -ing* 89)).

Hang Bank

Hangandebank 13 VCH i. 150

'Hanging or steep bank' v. banke. The first element is the northern present participle form. It is used elsewhere to denote 'steep, overhanging ground' as in Hanging Heaton (YWR), Hanging Chadder (La).

Forcett

1. Barforth Hall 14 D 6 [ba:faθ]

Bereford(e) c. 1130 SD et passim to (super Teise) 1314 Ch
Berford 1184 RichReg 83 d et passim to 1396 Pap
Bereforth 1420 NCyWills
Barforth 1502 Sanct, 1579 FF

'Ford which would carry a load of corn' v. bere, ford, and for a full discussion of this name v. PN BedsHu 50 ff. (s.n. Barford).

2. Epplleby 14 E 7

Aplebi 1086 DB
Appelbi, -by 1157 RichReg 82 et passim to 1285 KI
Appilbi, -by c. 1204 Marrick 224, 1440 Test
Éppilby 1421 YI

'Farm with an apple tree' v. æppel, by. Cf. Swed *Apelby* (Hellquist, *ON på -by* 5).
3. **Forcett** 14 F 7

*Forset(a)* 1086 DB, *(in Richemundshyr)* c. 1150 Godr, 1176 P

*et passim to 1367 ForP 413 d*

*Forset* 1086 DB

*Forseth(e)* 1280 YI, 1301 LS

*Forsett(e)* 1285 KI *et passim to 1519 FF*

‘Shieling by the waterfall’ *v.* fors, sætr.

**Carkin**

*Kerkan* 1157 RichReg 82, 13 Easby 140, c. 1300 RichReg 98 d

*Kercham* 1280 YI

*Kirkam* 1344 Dugd iii. 567

*Kirkan* 1396 Pap

*Carken* 1540 Dugd iv. 247

*Carkyn* 1556 FF

No solution of this name can be offered.

**Sandwath**

*Sand(e)wath(e)* 1292 YI, 1528 FF

‘Sandy ford’ *v.* sand, vað.

4. **Ovington** 14 E 5 *

*Ulfetan* 1086 DB

*Oluetan* 1184 RichReg 83 d

*Ulvington* 1251 YI, 1301 LS, 1343 FF

*Ouinton, Ovington* 1577 Saxton, 1665 Visit

‘Wulfa’s farm’ *v.* lington. The loss of initial w is here probably due to the influence of the ON pers. n. *Úlfr*. On forms without *-ing* cf. Lockton 91 *supra*.

1. **Caldwell** 14 E 6 *

*Caldewell* 1086 DB

*Caudwell* 1564 FF

‘Cold spring’ *v.* cald, w(i)ella. Cf. *frigidum fontem* 1186–1205 YCh 1821. Leland says that Caldwell “is so caullid from a lattle font or spring, by the ruines of the old place, and so rennith into a beke halfe a quarter of a mile off.”

1 A detached part of Stanwick parish 296 *supra*. 
2. East Layton 14 F 6 [leton]

Latton 1086 DB, Estlatton 1256 Pat Laghton 1346 Test
(Est) Laton 1184 RichReg 83 d et passim to 1530 NCyWills
Est Leiton 1256 Pat Estlayton 1492 Sanct

This is probably from OE leactun, which develops in later English, sometimes to Laughton, at others to Leighton. This name was clearly developing into Laughton, but ultimately Leighton forms prevailed.

Hutton Magna

1. Hutton Magna 14 F 5

Hotton 1086 DB
(Magna) Hoton 1157 RichReg 82, (Longuillers) 1157 RichReg 82 d, (in Richemundshire) 1252 Ipm

v. hoh, tun. The land was held by Johannes de Lungeviler in 1224–30 (Fees 1460).

2. West Layton 14 F 6

Lastun, Laston 1086 DB Latton' 1200 Cur

Other forms are as for East Layton supra.

Wycliffe

1. Wycliffe 14 E 5 [wiklif]

Witclive 1086 DB
Wigeclif c. 1130 SD
Wittecliff 1275 RichReg 124 d
Wycliff 1285 KI et passim

‘White cliff (or bank overlooking the Tees R.)’ v. hwit, clif.

GIRLINGTON HALL [gərlintən]

Gerlin(g)ton 1086 DB, 1184 RichReg 83 d
Girling-, Girlyngton 1251 YI, c. 1300 RichReg 98 d, 1301 LS

The modern pronunciation points to a medieval form Girling-; the name probably, therefore, means ‘Gyrla’s farm’ v. ingtun. The pers. n. Gyrla is not found at all in OE, but besides
entering into this name it is probably the first element of Girlington (YWR) and cognate with OSwed p.n. Gyrlinge which Hellquist (ON pà -inge 42) connects with the somewhat doubtful Gurilf inferred by Förstemann (PN 713) from Gurilfesheim (8th cent.).

**Little Hutton**

Parva Hoton’ 1136–46 Easby 321

v. Hutton Magna 300 supra.

**Thorpe Hall**

Torp 1086 DB Thorp(e) 1184 RichReg 83 d

Thrope near Tease 1574 FF

v. porp. Probably an outlier of Wycliffe.

**Rokeby**

1. **Egglestone Abbey 14 E 3**

Eghistun, -ton 1086 DB

Egleston 1157 RichReg 82, 1204 Ass, 1275 RichReg 124 d, 1285 KI, 1400 Test

Eglieston c. 1200 BylE 31, 1398 Pap, 1408 Fount, 1421 YI

Egleston 1226 FF, 1234 Cl

v. tun. The first element is probably an OE pers. name *Ecgel, found in Ecgeles stiele* (Hist. Abingd. i. 420).

2. **Rokeby 14 E 3**

Rochebi 1086 DB

Rokeby 1184 RichReg 84 et passim

‘Hroca’s farm’ v. by. For this pers. name v. MLR xiv. 241. ON *Hrókr* with loss of gen. -s is also possible.

**Mortham [mɔːtəm]**

Mortham 1086 DB, c. 1185 RichReg 83 d et passim

Morthaim c. 1150 Godr

Mortam 1536 YChant

‘Morta’s homestead’ v. ham and heim. The OE pers. name Morta is found in OE *Mortancumb* (BCS 479), and in Morthoe
and Murtwell (D). Interchange between *ham* and *heim*, common in L, is very rare in the North Riding. Cf. Coverham and Levisham 254, 92 *supra*.

**Brignall**

1. **Brignall 14 F 3** [brignal]

*Bringenhale*, *Bringhale* 1086 DB

*Brigenhal(e) 12 Leon 17 d, 1184 RichReg 83 d, 1241 Cl, 1264–5 Ch, 1283 Rich 28, 1289 Ebor, 1292 Ch

*Bry-*, *Briggenhal(e) 1227 FF, 1301 LS, 1335 BM, Ch

*Bringenhale* 1280 Ipm

*Brigenale 1281 Ebor, 1285 KI

*Briginhale 1300 Ebor

*Brygnell 1544 RichWills*

The forms of the first element of this name are difficult. The DB and Ipm forms may indicate a ground-form *Bring-hale* which underwent an unparalleled metathesis to *Brigen-hale*. Stiltons 73 *supra*, similarly, underwent an otherwise unknown metathesis.

If this is the case we may have here an OE *Bryninga-* (cf. Burniston 107 *supra*) reduced to *Bringe-* (cf. Finghall 247 *supra*); hence ‘nook of land belonging to the Brynings’ v. h(e)alh. Or we may have, as Professor Ekwall suggests, a Scand name composed of the elements ON *bringa* ‘breast’ used topographically with the sense ‘slope’ (as in the cognate OSwed *bringher*, Icel *bringr* ‘a small hill’) as in such Norw names as *Bringa, Bringedal* (NG xi. 38), and ON *hali* ‘a tail’ (cf. *NG Indledning* s.v.). In either case the first element underwent the curious metathesis, which may to a certain extent have been due to analogical transformation with Northern Engl. *brigg* ‘bridge.’

**Barningham**

1. **Barningham 14 F 4**

*Berningha(m), Bernyngham* 1086 DB *et passim* to 1406 YI

*Bernigeham 1214 FF

*Barnyngham 1491 Test*

‘The settlement of the people of *Beorna*’ v. ing, ham. Cf Barningham (Sf), *Bernincham* DB.
Haythwaite

*Haithwait* 1172–80 *Dods* vii. 149

'Hay field' from *heg* (or ON *høy, hey*) 'hay' and *þveit*.

2. Hope 14 G 2

*Hope* 13 *RichReg* 121 *et passim*

*Hoppe* 1285 *KI*

*Est, West Hop* 15 *VCH* i. 41.

*v. hop*. The meaning here is 'small secluded valley.'

3. Scargill 14 F 3 [ska:gil]

*Seachregil* (sic), *Scracreghil* (sic) 1086 *DB*

*Schachelgilla* 1146–61 *Mary Y* 39 d

*Scakregill*” 1172 P (p)

*Sc(a)c(h)ergill*” 1173, 1177 P (p), 1294 Ch

*Scargell, Skargill* 1282 *YI*, 13 *RichReg* 121

'Skakari's ravine' from the ON by-name *Skakari* (Lind) and *gil*.

Rutherford

*Rotherforde* 1332 *VCH* i. 39  *Rudderforth* 1608 *NR*

'Ford where the oxen pass' *v. hryðer*, ford. The form with *-u-* is to be explained in the same way as *Ruswarp* 125 *supra*.

Seyley Head (6")

*Selyhede* 13 *RichReg* 127 d

'Willow head' from ON *sélja* (as in *Selley Bridge* 90 *supra*) and *heafod*.

Swinston

*Swintenhowe* 1285 *KI*  *Swynton Howe* 1301 *LS*

'Mound near the pig farm' *v. swin*, *tun*, *haugr*.

Startforth

1. Boldron 14 E 2 [bouraising, boudran]

*Bolrum* 1175–88 *Leon* 22 d, 13 *ib. 23*

*Bolerum Scletes* 1204 *FF, (sletes)* 1258 *Easby* 93

*Bulrune* 1280 *YI*, 1283 *Rich* 32
Bolron 1285 KI, 1302 Leon 22, 1577 Saxton
Boldron 1285 YI
Boleron 1301 LS (p)
Bolerom 1316 Vill
Bolrun 1349 FF
Boldram 1564 FF

'Forest-clearing where steers were kept' from ON boli 'steer' and rum. This name is identical with Bowerham (PN La 174–5). Here, as in that name, there is variation between forms with final n and m. Professor Ekwall (loc. cit.) suggests for the La p.n. that the suffix is ON runnr 'brake, thicket' and that the final m is due to assimilation to the initial labial or to association with names in -ham and -rum.

2. Startforth 14 D 3 [sta:tfəθ]

Stradford 1086 DB
Stredford(e) c. 1130 SD, 1280 YI, 1283 Rich 32; Estred- 1392 Test
Stretford c. 1130 SD, 1259 Ass, 1301 Ebor, 1316 Vill
Straford 1175–85 Leon 22 d et passim to 1302 Leon 22 d
Stratford(e) 13 Leon 23, 1233 Cl, 1399 Archd 19 d, 1563 FF
Stretteford 1301 LS
Starforde 1563 FF

'Ford where Watling Street crosses the river Tees' v. stræt, ford. On the earlier forms with Strad-, Stred- v. Förster, Keltisches Wortgut 118.

Bowes

1. Bowes 14 E 1 [bouz]

Castelli de Bogis 1172 P
Boghas 1175–85 Leon 22 d
Bowes 12 VCH i. 42, 1228 Pat, 1237 Cl, 1267 Ch
Boghes 12 VCH i. 42 et passim to 1333 YD, Bohes 1295 Ch
Bouys 1241 Ch
Bogues 1267 Ch
Bowes 1283 Rich 32 et passim
Boughes 1327 Banco, 1347 FF, 1367 ForP 413 d

This name is from OE boga or ON bogr 'bow,' and its meaning is 'the river-bends.' Cf. the Norw p.n.'s Bogen, Boger (NG i. 81,
ii. 41 etc.). When *Bowes* is used as a surname in medieval deeds it is often translated as *D'arc* or *de arcubus* (Lat *arcus* 'a bow, anything arched or curved').

**KILMOND**

*Kinemund* 1175–85 *Leon* 22 d

Professor Ekwall suggests that this name should be compared with the well-established Scottish hill-names *Kilmont*, *Kinthorn* (cf. Watson, *Celtic PNs of Scotland*, 400 ff.). Watson translates it 'head of the hill' from Gael *cenn* 'head' and *monadh* 'hill'—an interesting case of Gaelic influence.

**MIRK FELL** (6")

*Mirksell* 13 *RichReg* 127 d

'Dark mountain' from ON *myrkr* and fell.

**RERE or REY CROSS**

*Rerecros* 1301 *Leon* 22

*v. cros.* The stone cross is still standing. For the explanation of this name, *v.* Addenda xlvi.

**SLEIGHTHOLME** [ˈslɪtəm]

*Slethholm* 1254 *Pat*

With forms and interpretation as for Sleightholme (Ryed) 62 *supra*.

**SPITAL**

*hospital* de *Staynmore* 1283 *Rich* 32

*the Spyttel* 1540 *Dugd* iv. 247

*v.* Spital Bridge 123 *supra*.

**STAINMORE** (partly in We)

*Steinmor* c. 1230 Roger of Wendover

*Steyne-, Staynemore* 13 *RichReg* 127 d, 1352 *Pat*, 1540 *Dugd* iv. 247

*Steynmor, Stainmore* 1279–81 QW, 1487, 1506 Sanct

'Rocky moor' *v.* steinn, mor.

**STONY KELD**

*Staynhoukeld(e)* 1257 *Ch*

'Spring by the rocky mound' *v.* steinn, haugr, kelda.
2. GILMONBY 14 E I

*Gil(le)maneby* 1146–61 Mary Y 36 d

*Gilmanby* 1301 LS, 1541 Dugd iii. 572, 1577 Saxton

‘Gilman’s farm’ *v.* by. *Gilman* is a pers. n. from ON *gílmaðr* ‘a libertine’ and it is found independently in English as *Gillemo*n c. 1217 YD and *Gylleman* 1249 Easby 174.

Romaldkirk

1. COtherstone 14 C 2

*Codrestune, Codreston* 1086 DB

*Cotheorston* 1184 RichReg 84, 1279–81 QW, 1281 Abbr, 1354 FF

*Cud(e)reston* 1201 ChR, 1226 FF

*Co'therston* c. 1250 YD et passim

‘Cūdhere’s farm’ *v.* tun.

BALDERSDALE

*Baldersdale* c. 1250 YD, 1479 Sanct, 1578 FF

*Bauderdale* 1577 Saxton

‘B(e)aldhere’s valley’ *v.* dæl. *Balder* is from OE *B(e)aldhere.*

Cf. Balder R. 2 *supra.*

BLACKTON

*Blakedene* 1301 LS

‘Black valley’ *v.* blæc, denu.

BRISCOE [briski]

*Byrscogh* c. 1250 YD, -scoyg 1301 LS

*Birscou* 1251 Ch, 1577 Saxton

*Bursco(gh)* 1400 YI, 1545 FF

‘Birch wood’ *v.* birki, skogr.

1 This place has been identified with the *Cuthbertestun* mentioned in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* but the order of the names as given in that document suggests that *Cuthbertestun* was nearer the Wear than the Tees. Further, *Cuthbertestun* was part of the patrimony of St Cuthbert, whilst Cotherstone was part of the fee of Richmond. One must, therefore, abandon the old identification.
GILLING WEST WAPENTAKE

LOUPS [loups]
Loupesoulis c. 1250 YD
The name is possibly composed of the elements ON hlaup 'flood' and ON súla 'hollow or scar' (v. NG Indledning 28).

MERE BECK (6")
Merbec c. 1250 YD
'Boundary stream' v. (ge)mære, bekkr.

NABY
Naby 1562 FF, 1612 BM Nateby 1612 BM
v. by. The forms are late but the name is probably identical with Nateby (PN La 164).

WEST PARK
Westparke de Cothereston 1292 Abbr

2. HOLWICK 13 A 12
Holewic, -wyk 1251 Ch, 1279-81 QW Holwick 1577 Saxton
'Ravine in the hollow' v. hol, vik.

CROSSTHWAITHE
Crosthwait(e) 1201 ChR
'Field near the cross' v. cros, þveit.

LONTON [lunton]
Lontun(e), -ton(e) 1086 DB et passim to 1301 LS
Lunton(e) 1184 RichReg 83 d, 1577 Saxton
'Farm near the Lune' v. Lune 4 supra and tun. The difference in pronunciation between the river-name and the p.n. is due to vowel shortening of OE lôn- in the p.n., whereas in the river-name it developed spontaneously to [iu]. On the etymology of Lune v. RNY 11.

3. HUNDERTHWAITE 14 C 1
Hundredesroit(h) 1086 DB
Hundresthuait 1184 RichReg 83 d, 1302 Pat
Hunderthwait, -thwayt 1208 Ass (p), 1316 Vill, 1352 FF
Hundrethwaite 1285 KI, c. 1300 RichReg 97
Hundredthwaite 1316 IpmR
Hondirthwayt 1400 YI

Lindkvist suggests that the first element is OE *hundred* (ON *hundra*) ‘a hundred, a land division,’ but if this is correct we have here the only reference to a ‘hundred’ in YNR.

We are told, however, that in 1070 an infinite multitude of Scots under Malcolm assailed Teesdale and laid it waste, slaying several English nobles at a place ‘called in English *Hundredeskelde*, in Latin *centum fontes*’ (SD). *Hundredeskelde* may be identical with Hunder Beck (now in Cotherstone parish); at any rate the first element is identical with that of Hunderthwaite and despite the Latin *centum fontes* it is probably a pers. n. ON *Hun(d)rað* or *Hunroðr* or less probably OE *Hünred*. An intrusive unetymological *-d-* is evidenced also in OIce *Hundólf* by the side of *Húnólf* (Orig. Island. i. 219, 271).

4. LARTINGTON 14 D 2
Lertinton 1086 DB
Lyrtigne,- -yngton c. 1130 SD, 1184 RichReg 84 et passim to
1327 Banco
Lertinctona 1154–69 Marrick 231
Lirthinton’ 1252 Pat
Lirtington 1283 Rich 28, 1289 Ebor (p), 1301 Ch, LS
Lertington 1403 Test

‘Lyrt’s farm’ v. ingtun. There is no recorded pers. n. *Lyrt* or *Lyrti* in OE, but, as Professor Ekwall suggests, we may have a mutated form of the pers. n. found in *Lortan hlæw* (BCS 705) and *Lortinges bourne* (ib. 279 A). Cf. also *Lortelegh* in Cottingham (1281 Ipm).

5. LUNE DALE 13 C 13 [liundil]
v. Lune R. 4 supra.

BOWBANK
Bowbanck(e) 1561, 1571 FF

The first element (OE *boga*, ON *bogr*) is here used with the sense ‘bent, steep’ (cf. Bowes 304 supra); v. banke.
SKYER BECK

*Skyrbeck* Hy 2 *MaryH* 6 d

‘Bright clear stream’ _v._ *skirr, bekkr._

THRINGARTH

*Thyrnegarth* 1251 Ch, 1301 LS, *Thryngarth* 1561 FF

‘Thyrni’s enclosure’ _v._ *garðr_. The first element is the ON pers. n. *pyrni* or simply *pyrne*, hence ‘thorntree enclosure.’

WEMMERGILL

*Wymundergil* 1265 Ebor

‘Wymund’s ravine’ from the ON pers. n. *Vigmundr*, gen. *Vigmundar* (suggested by Lindkvist on the evidence of the OSWed runic name *Vikmuntr*) and *gil*.

6. MICKLETON 13 B 14

*Micleton* 1086 DB

‘Large farm’ _v._ *micel, tun._

7. ROMALDKIRK 14 C 1

*Rumoldesc(h)erce* 1086 DB
*Rumbald(e)kirke* 1184 *RichReg* 83 d, 1285 KI, 1343 FF
*Rombalekirk* 1479 Sanct
*Romerkirk, -kyrke* 1576 FF, 1606 NR

Other forms are Latinised, ‘*ecclesia St Rum(b)aldi,*’ as in 1244 *Ass.*

‘Church dedicated to St Rumold’ _v._ *kirkja_. For the early veneration of *Rumwald* cf. the reference to his resting-place at Buckingham in the 11th cent. document commonly known as *Saints*. Whytford’s *Martiloge* (ed. Procter and Dewick, London, 1893) under Nov. 3rd, p. 173, states: “In englond also the feest of Saynt Rumwold the kynges sone of northumberland that forthw’t whan he was borne cryed w’t lowd voyce sayeng thre tymes togyder these wordes, ‘I am a chrystyan,’ and than re- required the Sacrament of baptym and after to haue masse and was communed and than he made a noble sermon w’t meruaylous good eloquence and lyued thl.e dayes and so departid and lyeth in buckyngham ful of myracles.”
THE ELEMENTS, APART FROM PERSONAL NAMES, FOUND IN NORTH RIDING PLACE-NAMES

This list confines itself for the most part to elements used in the second part of place-names or in uncompounded place-names. Under each element the examples are arranged in three categories, (a) 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.

a *Aymot, Ayresome, Ayton (4). ac Acomb.  

aæcer, ON økr (a) Crumbacrec, Muker, (b) Stainsacre.  

æppeltun Appleton (5). *anger Angram (3).  

askr Aske, Askirgg. austr East Coatham, Gayles.  

balca OE (n) Balk. banke Bowbank, Gale Bank, Hang Bank (2).  

bekkr (a) Backstone Beck, Beck House, Blean and Bloody Beck, Boosbeck, Brocka Beck, Clitherbeck, Clow and Cod Beck, Colbeck, Ellerbeck (4), Hell Gill, Hol (2), How, Howl (2) and Isle Beck, Keasbeck, Keld, Lythe and Meer Beck, Melbecks, Mere, Mill and Moss Beck, Raisbeck, Sandbeck (2), Skate, Skyer, Whit, (b) Arkle, Ings, William and Yarna Beck.  

be(o)rg Barugh, Bear Park, Calbergh, Cockleberry, Greenber, Greenberry, Riseborough, Smarber, Thornbrough (2), Welbury.  

beretun Barton (3). berewic Barwick.  

berg (a) Aikbar, Ashberry Hill, Borrowby (2), Brekenbrough, Sedbury, Sowber Hill, (b) Hatterboard, Rook Barugh, Roseberry, Rose Hill.  

bigging (a) Newbeggin, Newbegin, Newbiggin (3), (b) Biggin Houses.  

blar Blaten Car, Blawath, Blea Wyke, Blow Gill, Bluewath.  

boga (n) Booze, Bowbank, Bowes. boþ Beedale.  


bottm, botn Bottoms Farm, Botton Cross, Hawsker Bottoms, Keld Bottom.  

breiør Braithwaite (2), Brawith, Braworth, Braygate.  

brekka Breck, Hang Bank. brinke Brink Hill.  

broc Brotton, Broughton (4), Cop Keld Brook, Twislebrook.
PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

brocc-hol Brocka Beck, Brock Hill.
broti ON (n) Broates, Broats. bru (n) Stoup Brow.
brunnr Bruntcliffe, Ellerburn. v. burna.
brycg (a) Bainbridge, Bridge Holme, Brigswath, Brompton Bridge, Dibble Bridge, Fell Briggs, Howe Bridge, Kirkbridge, Selley Bridge, Spital Bridge, Staddle Bridge, Swale Bridge, Thornton Bridge, (b) Foulbridge.
burh (a) Aldbrough, Aldburgh, Birdgate, Boroughgate, Brough (3), Burrill, Newbrough, Newburgh, Stonybrough, (b) Addlebrough, Benningbrough, Dowber, Goldsborough, Guisborough, Middlesborough, Scarborough, (c) Cornbrough.
burhtun (a) Burton (4), (b) Humburton.
burna (a) Colburn, Ellerburn, Hayburn, Iburndale, Leyburn, Saltburn, Sandburn, Welburn, Wellburn (2), (b) Corburn, Kilburn.
buskr Sedbusk, Stalling Busk.
camb Cold Cam, Camedale (?), Cams Head, Cams House.
cclf (a) Arnccliffe, Arnecliff, Bruntcliffe, Cleveland, Cotcliffe, Crosscliffe, Crunkly, Hamley, Menccliffe, Rawcliffe (3), (b) Cliffe, Topcliffe, Whitcliffe, Whitestone Cliffe, Wycliffe.
clohh Cloughton, Clow Beck. cnoll Knowle.
copp Cop Keld. corn Cornbrough (?).
cot(e) (a) Cargo Fleet, Coatham, Cod Beck, Cogill, Cotcliffe,
Cotterdale, Crosby Court, Easegill Cote, Fencote, Halligill Cote, Stonehouse Cote, Swinacote, Wath Cote, (b) Muscoates, (c) Tocketts.

*crumb (n) Buttercrumbe, Crambe.
croft (a) Croft, Rawcroft, West Croft, (b) Ellis Croft.
cros (a) Botton Cross, Crosby (?), Crosscliff, Crossdale, Cross Sike, Crossthwaite, Lilla Cross, Rere Cross, (b) Lowcross, Percy, Ralph, Steeple, Swarthoe and William's Cross.
cumb Combe, Cooms, Darncombe, Horcum.
dalr (a) Arkengarthdale, Baysdale, Beedale, Birkdale, Cotterdale, Cragdale, Crossdale, Dalby (2), Fossdale, Gowerdale, Helredale, Kildale, Kirkdale, Kitley, Oak Dale, Scugdale (2), Staindale (3), Widdale, Wydale, (b) Apedale, Aysdale, Bag Dale, Bilsdale, Bransdale, Commondale, Fangdale, Grimesdale, Gundale, Lonsdale, Raisdale, Risedale, Rosedale, Troutsdale.
deill Anserdale, Mickledales, Moredale, Mordales, Wandales (3).
denu (a) Blackton, Cogden, Holdenfield, Scackleton, Walden, (b) Arden, Barden.
dic Cowldyke, Deighton, Dic wap., Dishforth, Friar's Ditch, Green Dyke, Park Wall, Thieves Dikes.
dun Downholme, Grunton, Hambleton (3), Warthermarske, Wildon.
*dympla (n) Dumble Street. ea, eu (b) Lastingham.
eg (a) Breaday, (b) Harlsey, Helmsley Gate and Upper, Sessay.
eik Aikbar, Aiskew (2), Aysgarth, Haggit Hill, Oak Dale.
eklæ ON (n) Swinacle. elfitu (n) Eldmire, Ellermire.
elri Aldercarr, Ellerbeck (4), Ellerburn, Ellerlands, Ellers, Ellerton (2).
ende Sandsend. eng Preston Ing.
eowestre Nosterfield.
PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

erg (a) Airy Hill, Airy Holme, Airyholme, Arrathorne, Eryholme, (b) Coldman Hargos, (c) Oran.
eski Ashberry Hill.
fal (b) Yorfalls. feax (n) (c) Bellyfax.
feld (a) Broadfields, Feldom, Northfield, Nosterfield, Suffield, Thorpefield, Woodhill Field, (b) Manfield, (c) Tanfield.
fell Mirk Fell, Stags Fell. fit ON (n) Feetham, The Fitts.
flashe Waterflash.
flat (a) Cock Flat, Flat Howe, Gildert Flat, (b) Cat Flats.
flor ON (n) Flowergate.
ford (a) Ampleforth, Barforth, Bowforth, Brafferton, Dishforth, Hackforth, Leeming Wath, Hartforth, Rutherford, Startforth, Yafforth, (b) Birdforth, Marriforth.
fors, foss Fors, Fossdale.
fyrh The Firth Wood. gang (n) Old Gang, Upgang.
gar (a) Applegarth, Conygarth, Faggergill, Garfit, Thringarth, (b) Arkengarthdale, Hawsker.
gata (a) Bargate, Belmangate, Birdgate, Boroughgate, Braygate, Cartergate, Church Street, Flowergate, Frenchgate, Greengate (2), Haggsgate, Hallgate, Gate Helmsley, Holegate, Holgate, How Gate, Kirkgate, Ladgate, Postgate, Saltergate, Sandgate, Stonegate, Windgate, (b) Gunnergate.
gear Yarm. geat Waitgate, Yatts.
geil Gale Bank, Gayle, Gayles, Skell Gill.
gil (a) Blow Gill, Faggergill, Fowgill, Gill, Hell, How, Priest, Thieves and West Gill, (b) Easegill, Scargill, Spruce Gill, Wemmergill, William Gill, (c) Ray Gill.
g nip Gnip Howe. graf(a) (a) Howgrave, (b) Stonegrave.
grip ME (n) (b) Hill Grips.
gryfja (a) Corngrave, Griff, Hazelgrove, (b) Falsgrave, Mulgrave, Skinningrove.
hæcc Hackforth, Heck Dale. hæfen Avens House.
(ge)hæg (a) How la Hay, Nappa, Scalby Hay, (b) Broxa.
haga, hagi Layrus, Studdah, Whaw.
haining Heaning Gill.
halig Halikeld, Halligill, Hallikeld (2).
hals Hawes.
ham (a) Coverham, Fleetham, Middleham, Newham, Newholm, Redholme, (b) Levisham, Masham, Mortham. v. ingaham.
*hamel Hambleton (3), Hamley.
hangra Hang Bank, Hutton Hang.
haust (a) Blackamore, The Black Howes, Blakey, Carling Howe, Coldy, Fingay, Flat Howe, Greenhow, How la Hay, Howe
(Halik), Kitley, Ling Hill, Moor Howe, Quernhow, Rowe Howe, Scarf Hill, Stanghow, Stanhowe, Stonybrough, Stony Keld, Swinston, Urra, Wapley, Wintylow, Woof Howe, (b) Bullamoor, Cana Barn, Glaphowe, Kilgram, Leaf Howe, Lilla Howe, Loose Howe, Maneshow, Miley, Scograinhowes, Scrathowes, Sexhowe, Shunner Howe, Sil Howe, Silpho, Simon Howe, Sunley Hill, Tidkinhow, Tod Howe, Ulshaw, William Howes.

heafod Breaday Heights, Cams Head, Dry Heads, Middle Head, Moorside, Murk, Rye, Seley and Ure Head.

h(e)alh (a) Dinsdale, (b) Bedale, Bossall, Brignall (?), Crakehall, Crakehill, Finghall, Pickhill, Strensall, Streoneshalch, Worsall.

h(e)all (a) Hallgate, Hawstead, Woodhall, Woodhill, (b) Bownhill.

heim Coverham, Levisham, Mortham. heope Shipton.

hella ON (n) Hell Gill, Helredale, Helwath, Helwith.

here Harton (?). hlaða Newlass, Whitby Laithes.

hidgeat Lidyyate Way.

hlip, hlö (a) Bainley, Holdlythe, Kirkleatham, Latherskew, Lythe (2), Pickering Lythe, Upleatham, (b) Ivelet, (c) Eskeleth.

høfuð Haggit, Middle Head.

høgg Abbot Hag, Hagg (2), Haggsgate.

hoh (a) Brackenhoe, Hawthorn Hill, Howe (Ryed), Howe Bridge, Huby, Huthwaite, Hutton (17), Potto, (b) Atley, Binsoe, Hancow, Pinkney.

holegn Hollins.

holmr Bridge Holme, Brockholme, Gallow Green, Holme (3), Holmes Bridge, Keldholme, Millholme, Sandholmes, Sleightholme (3), Trenholme, Waterholmes, Whinholme.

hop (a) Hope, Oxnop, (b) Fryup, (c) Fleensop.

hreyrr ON (n) Rere Cross.

hreyssi Stone Raise.

hris Foulrice, Galtres, Rice Lane, Riseborough, Ruswarp, Ruswick.

hrost (n) Ruston. hrung (n) Rounton.

hrycg, hryggr Askirg, Cliff Ridge, Gaterigg, Girrick, Lease Rigg, Marrick, Rigg, Shawm Rigg, Wardle Rigg.

hryding (a) Ruddings (Pick), (b) Kateridden, Ruddings (Birdf).


hwyrfell, hvirfill The Whorl Hill, Whorlton.

hyll (a) Burrill, Hawthorne Hill, Hunger Hill, Potter Hill, Scarf Hill, Siddle, Warthill, Waytail Gate, Wrelton, (b) Hawks-hill, Hillbraith.
PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

hylr Healam Beck, Dibble (?).
hyrst Hurst.
ing (b) Benningbrough, Easingwold, Ellingstring, Huntington, Pinkney.
inga Finghall, Steeple Cross, Stonegrave, Westonby, Whashton.
ingaham Barningham, Hovingham, Lastingham.
ingas Fylingdales, Gilling (2), Kiplin, Lilling East and West, Pickering.
ingtun (a) Sinnington, (b) Easington, Ellington, Farlington, Fawdington, Fremington, Girlington, Hemlington, Kilvington, Kirklington, Lartington, Lockton, Nunnington, Otterington, Ovington, Rainton, Stillington, Terrington, (c) Snainton.
kw Iburndale. karlatun Carlton (7).
kelda Caldikeld, Cogill, Cold and Cop Keld, Grass Kiln Head Spring, Halikeld, Halligill Cote, Hallikeld (2), Keld (3), Keldholme, Kelmer, Potterkeld, Stony Keld.
kiarr (a) Alder Carr, Crumbcarr, Elliker, Rainton Carr, Redcar, Ruswarp Carr, Salt Scar, Trenca, Whitecarr, (b) Bonny Carr, Ousey Carr.
kirkja (a) Church Street, Cock Flat, Crosslets, Kir(k)by (10), Kirkbridge, Kirkdale, Kirkgate, Kirkleatham, Kirkless, Kirk Leavington, (b) Felixkirk, Oswaldkirk, Romaldkirk.
klint Clints. konungr Coneysthorpe, Conygarth, Rice Lane.
kraka Crackpot, Crakethorn. kringla Cringle Carr.
læla (n) Lealholm. læs Lease Rigg.
(ge)læte Esklets.
lag Laskill, Lowdales.
land (a) Cleveland, Harland, Landmoth, Langlands, Laund, Laylands, Longlands, (b) Byland, Goathland.
launde Lawn of Postgate, Danby Lawns. leactun Layton, Leighton.
leah (a) Barley, Bradley, Brindley, Elliker, Everley, Flock Leys, Gatela, Gatherley, Healaugh, Healey, Hindleythwaite, H pineapple, Kirkless, Thirley Cotes, (b) Bickley, Dunsley, Helmsley, Hildenley, Osmotherley, Pockley, Wensley, Yearsley, (c) Stokesley.
leirr Larpool, Layrus. leysingi Lazenby (2).
læk Leake. lópt ON (n) Loftmarishes, Loskay.
lóptus Loftus.
lundr (a) Blakey Topping, Ellerlands, Lund (3), Lund Forest, Lunds, Lunds Beck, Owlands, Stockland, Upsland, (b) Athers, Sutherland.
(ge)mære Meer Beck, Mere Beck.
marr ON (n) Kelmer, Marishes, Marton (4).
meir Melbecks, Menciffe.
mere Bulmer, Eldmire, Lexmere, Redmire, Seamer (2), Semer Water.
mersc (a) Little Marish, Loftmarishes, Marske (2), Warther-
marske, (b) Edymarsh, Kekmarish, Marishes.
micel, mikkil Mickleby, Mickledales, Mickleton.
mor (a) Blackamore, Pullamoor, Cold Moor, Cowton Moor, 
Stainmore, (b) Fadmoor, Gillamoor, Pilmoor.
mos (a) Cranmore, Moss Beck, Mossdale, (b) May Moss.
(ge)mot Aymot, Landmoth.
mund, OFr (n) Belmangate, Belmont, Grosmont, The Mount, 
Mount Grace, Richmond.
mynni Niddermyn.
myrr (a) Ainnderby Mires, Ellermire, Gormire, Rudmoor, 
Sourmire, Walmire, (b) Miregrim.
(ge)myde Myton-on-Swale.
næss, nes (a) Ness (3), (b) Hackness.
nos (n) Hackness. økull ON (n) Acklam.
ømstr ON (n) Anserdale.
pæð Roppa. pol (a) Wapley, (b) Waterpool.
*pot ME (n) Crackpot, Pott (2), Potto, Sandpot.
pøyla ON (n) Larpool. pytt Sandpits.
ra ON Raithwaite. Rey Cross. rand Rand.
rædr Rawcliffe (3), Roppa.
rav Hardrow, Rów. rïp Reeth.
rod (b) Biller Howe. rum Boldron, Satron.
sæ (n) Seamer (2), Seaton, Semerwater.
sængt (n) Sainoft.
sætr (a) Appersett, Burtersett, Forcett, Satron, Sedbury (?), 
Sedbusk, Swineside, (b) Arkleside, Countersett, Gunnerside, 
Marsett.
salr ON (n) (a) Upsall (2), Upsland, (b) Sawcock.
sceort (n) Short Waite. scipen Skiplam.
scir Allertonshire, Burdforth, Bulmer, Gilling and Hang waps., 
Mashamshire, Richmondshire.
scylf OE, skjalf ON (n) (a) Raskelf, (b) Hinderskelfe, Skutter-
skelfe.
selja Seley Head, Selley Bridge. setberg Sedbury (?).
sic, sik Cross Sike, Midseyke, Prissick, Thack Sike.
side Abbotside, Esk Dale Side.
skali (a) Laskill, Scales, Skell Gill, (b) Gammersgill.
*skaling ME (n) Scale Foot, Scaling.
skarð Aysgarth, Scarf Hill, Ayton Scarth, Scarth Wood.
skeið Hesketh.
sker ON (n) (a) Dove, Green, and Killing Nab Scar, Preston 
under Scar, (b) Ravenscar.
PLACE-NAME ELEMENTS

skirr Skyer Beck.
skogr (a) Aiskw (2), Briscoe (2), Busco, Cotescue, LITHERSK, Loskay, (b) Skelderskew.
skor (n) Scorton. skrö ON (n) SCRATH.
sletta (a) Crosslets, Sleightholme (3), Sleights, (b) Old Sleight.
smeoru, smjör Smarber. snape ME (n) Snape.
sneis ON (n) Snaizeholme. spring Derwent Head.
stæp Staithes.
stan (a) Graystone, Greystone (2), Whitestone, (b) Simon Stone, (c) Kidstones.
stede Hawstead, Newstead (3), Northstead, Oldstead.
steinn Staindale (3), Stainmore, Stainton (3), Stanhowe, Stanwick, Stone Cliff, Stonegate, Stonegrave (?), Stonehouse, Stone Raise, Stonybrough, Stony Keld, Whitestones.
sticol Stittenham. stiepel Ainderby Steeple.
stig Hunters Sty. stigu Swinesale.
stirc Storthwaite. stocking Stocking (3).
stong Stanghowe.
stræt Barton-le-Street, Startforth, Thornton-le-Street, Watling Street.
strand Whitby Strand. strengr ON (n) (b) Ellingstring.
tang Tang. ping Fingay. ping-vollr Thingwall.
porn (a) Arrathorne, Crawthorne, Crakethorn, Crathorne, Langthorn (2), (c) Spennithorne.
porp (a) Coneysthorpe, Ellenthorpe, Fyling Thorpe, Howthorpe, Kilton Thorpe, Nunthorpe, Sneaton Thorpe, Thorpefield, Thorpe (3), Thorp Perrow, (b) Agglethorpe, Allerthorpe, Carthorpe, Easthorpe, ETHERTHORPE, FORNTHORPE, GANTHORPE, Gristhorpe, Kettlethorpe, Kingthorpe, Langthorpe, Laythorpe, Linthorpe, Mowthorpe, Pinchinthorpe, Ravensthorpe, ROSKELTHORPE, SCAWTHORPE, SWARTHORPE, Tholthorpe, Towthorpe, Ugthorpe, Wigginthorpe, (c) ROBERTHORPE.
pveit (a) Braithwaite (2), Copperthwaite, Crossthwaite, Fossdale-(THWAITE), Garfit, Greenthwaite, Haythwaite, Hilla Thwaite, Hindle(y)thwaite, Husthwaite, Huthwaite, Kexwith, Langthwaite, Raithwaite, Rhumbard Snout, Scale Foot, Short Wait, Storthwaite, Swinithwaite, Thackthwaite, Waitgate, Whyett, (b) Dowthwaite, Gristwaite, Hunderthwaite, INGELTHWAITE, Kelsiit, Mouthwaite, Thwaite, Waits House.
toxt (a) Burtis, Hartoft, Saintoft, Thrintoft, (b) Allan Tops, Alwaldofts, Antofts, Arnoldstoft.
treo(w) (a) Appersett, Burtle, Burtersett, Gatherley Moor, (b) YARLESTREE WAP.
trog Trough.
tun OE, ON (a) Appleton (5), Brafferton, Brampton, Brompton

**tun** *ON* (a) Ayton (4), Blaten, Layton, Marton (4), Scaulton, Skelton (3), Spaunton, Stainton (3), (b) Arkle Town, Claxton, Fryton, Garriston, Grimston, Ierton (2), Nawton, Oulston, Scraton, Sigston, Silton, Sneaton, Sproxton, Wigginton, Youlton, (c) Flaxton. *v. karlatun.

**tunst(e)all** Tunstall (2).

**val(s)**, OFr (n) Jervaulx, Pickering Vale, Rievaulx.

**varp** *ON* (n) Ruswarp. *varða*, *varði* Warthill, Wath Cote.

**vað** (a) Blawath, Blow Gill, Bluewath, Brawith, Braworth, Briggswath, Farwath, Flawith, Grundstone Wath, Helwath, Helwith, Sandwath, Slaite Wath, Smallways, Swinacote, Wass, Wath (2), Wayworth, (b) Ravensworth, Snilesworth, Tewht.

**vatr** *ON* (n) Waithwith.

**veggr** Stanwick.

**vik** (a) Blea Wyke, Holwick, Ruswick, Saltwick, (b) Catwick, Kepwick, Ravenswyke, Runswick.

**viör** Lockwood, Nutwith, Rookwith, Waithwith, Westworth, Widdale, Wydale.

**w(e)ala** Walburn, Walden, Walmire, *Walton*, Wapley, Wardle Rigg.

**w(e)ald** (a) Fairwood Field, Greenwall, (b) Coxwold, Cocket Nook, Easingwold. *(ge)weorc* Aldwark.

**wic** (a) Wykeham (Ryed), (b) Earswick, Osboldwick, Yarn- wick.
NOTES ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THESE ELEMENTS

A few notes on the distribution of certain p.n. elements may be given, but as the comparative material for other counties is not (except in one or two cases) complete as yet, the remarks can to some extent be only tentative.

**bekkr.** As a stream-name it is far more frequent than either burna or broc, which to a large extent it must have supplanted. In this, the Riding agrees with the Northern parts of the West Riding and with We, but not with Du, where *beck* is of recent introduction, and where burna is correspondingly more frequent.

**be(o)rg** is found much more frequently than *hyll*.

**burh** is found fairly frequently, whereas *ceaster* is not found at all.

**by.** There are over 150 examples, of which over 100 are compounded with pers. names. There are roughly twice as many in YNR as YER, and it is comparatively rare in YWR. Although many of the original farmsteads have become villages, a great many still remain farms and small hamlets, as in the case of YWR examples. The element was in living use after the Conquest (cf. Halnaby, Jolby).

**cros,** it is interesting to note, is found only in those districts where the Irish-Norwegian element is strong, and this probably indicates that the word was used in YNR by Norwegians who had come from Ireland.

**dæl,** dalar is extremely common, whilst denu is rare; in YWR the reverse is the case, *dale* being there of comparatively recent introduction. The differences in topography rule out comparison with YER. Of the 104 examples (against 7 denu) 30 are compounded with an OE element, 37 are definitely ON whilst the remainder are either OE or ON. The distribution seems to show that the frequency of its use is due to ON influence.

**erg.** v. Introd. xxii, n. 1. The element is not so common as in YER, but except for the Craven district it is commoner than in YWR. Its use is analogous to that found in We, Cu, North L.
feld is rare in YNR and YER but common in YWR and Du and Nb, as in the case of land and worp.

gata seems to have displaced weg, which is only found once, as a first element.

ham. Apart from ingaham there are nine examples of ham of which six are compounded with early pers. names. As in the case of YER this suffix seems to have passed into disuse at an early date. It is rarer in YWR than in YNR.

haugr is fairly common and YNR is thus distinct from YWR. In many cases the tumulus to which the name refers is still extant.

ing, ingaham. v. Introd. xvii, xviii.

ringtun. These names belong with one or two exceptions to the Vale of York and Upper Teesdale.

land is rare in YNR and YER, but common in YWR and Du.

leah. There are 23 examples in YNR, more than in YER, but nothing like so frequent as in YWR and La. They are chiefly found in two districts, one centering round Hackness and the other in Wensleydale, both old forest regions (the Forest of Pickering and the Forest of Wensleydale). It is curious that no examples are known from Bulmer (the Forest of Galtres).

lundr is about twice as common as wudu.

rand, rarely found outside the ECy, is found once.

sætr. Most are found in Wensleydale, though one or two are found in Swaledale.

porp. v. Introd. xxiv. There are 36 examples, but there are about twice as many in YWR and three times as many in YER, and this distribution is roughly in inverse proportion to the distribution of by. The difference is due to the fact that the character of the YNR was such as facilitated the settlement in bys or small isolated farms or rather prevented the formation of groups of farms or thorps, whereas in the YER the opposite conditions prevailed.

pveit. There are 31 examples, far more than in YER, but not so many as in YWR, or the Lake District. Very few of these are mentioned in DB and the distribution in YNR seems to follow that of the Norwegian settlement. It is commonest in the parts adjacent to We and the Sedbergh district of YWR where they are common.

tun. There are about 250 examples, of which only 44 are distinctively Scand. The distribution is general and follows that of the neighbouring counties.

vað. This is more common than ford, and it seems to have displaced that word after the Conquest.

worp. v. Introd. xviii.
PERSONAL NAMES

PERSONAL NAMES COMPOUNDED IN NORTH RIDING PLACE-NAMES

Names not found in independent use are marked with a single asterisk if their existence can be inferred from evidence other than that of the particular place-name in question. Such names may be regarded as hardly less certain than those which have no asterisk. Those for which no such evidence can be found are marked with a double star.

(i) Old English

Ácwulf (Agglethorpe), Ælfhere (Allerston, Northallerton), Ælfscige (Ellis Croft), Ælfsweard (Ellerby), Æhelric (Earswick), Æhelw(e)ald (Old Sleights), Ætela (Atley), Aldwine (Antofts), Aldwulf (Atherlands), Bé(a)ga (Byland), B(e)aldhere (Baldersby, Baldersdale), Bèda (Bedale), Benna (Benningbrough), Beorna (Barden, Barningham), Beornw(e)ald (Barnaby), *Bera (Bardale (?)), Bica (Bickley), **Binte (Binsoe), Bisceop (Bishopdale), *Bordel (Bodelby), Böt (Bosall), *Brocc (Broxa), **Brudda (Birdforth), Brûn (Bungdale), Brûning (Bonny Carr), Brûning (Burneston, Burniston), Bûna (Bownhill), *Cæga (Cayton), *Catta (Catton), Cêngifu (f) (Knayton), *Cêolfriðh (Killerby (2) (?)), *Cippela (Kiplin), *Coc(c)a (Cock Mill), *Cor(ta (Corburn), Cuca (Cucket), **Cuha (Coxwold), Cunda (Cundall (?)), Cuðhere (Cotherstone), *Cylfa (Kilvington), Cylla (Kilburn), Cyna (Kingthorpe), *Cyrila (Kirklington), Dun (Dunsdale, Dunsley), **Dyder (Didderston), Éadbeorht (Ebberston), **Éaden (Edstone), Éadgifu (f) (Edonym), Éadmund (Yedmandale), *Earda (Arden), Ecga (Egton), *Ecgel (Egglestone), Ella (Ellingstring, Ellington), *Éofor (Yearsley), Ësa (Easington, Easingwold), *Fadda (Fadmoor), *Færela (Farlington), *Falda (Fawdington), *Fin (Finghall), *Fött (Fostom), *Frema (Freemington), *Fríga (Fryup), *Fygela (Fylingdales, Fyling Thorpe), **Georna (Yarnwick), **Gëlla (Gillamoor, Gilling (2), Ingetlingum), Glæppa (Glaphowe), Góda (Goathland), Golda (Goldsborough, Goulton (?)), **Gyrsla (Girlington), *Hab(b)a (Habton), Hac(c)a (Hackness), *Haneca (Hancow), *Heafof (Hauxwell), Helm (Helsley), Hemeta,-le (Hemlington, Gate Helmsley), *Herele (Harlesy), *Herra (Harton (?)), Hild (f) (Hill Grips, Hinderwell), *Hilding (Hildenley), **Hof(a) (Hoveton, Hovingham), *Hroca (Rokeby), *Hüdel (Hudswell), Hüna (Hunton), Hunta (Huntington), *Hwassa (Whashton), *Ifa (Ivelet), **Læst (Last-
(ii) Scandinavian

Arkil (Arkengarthdale, Arkleside, Thwaite (HangW)), Arnaldr (Arnoldstoft), Åsgautr (Osgoby, Osgoodby), Åsi (Aysdale), Åskell (Marishes), Åslák (Aislaby (Pick)), Ásmundr (Osmotherley), Asulfr (Aislaby (WhitbyS)), Avulfr (Addle-brough, Marishes), Baggi (Bagby, Bag Dale), Bákkr (Baxby), Baldi (Baldby), Belgr (Bellerby), Bergulfr (Berguluesbi), Bilår (Bilsdale), Bil or Bil (f) (Biller Howe), Bjarni (Barnby (2)), Blondu (Blansby), Bolli (Boulby), Boltr (Bolby), Þódvarr (Battersby), Bragi (Brawby), Brandr (Brandsby, Bransdale), Breiðr (Hillbraith), Bulle (ÖScand) (Bullamoor), *Buski (Busby), Drómundr (Dromonby), Dáðhi (ÖScand) (Dowber), Eindriði (Ainderby (3)), Eitrí (Esterthorpe), Ýsi (ODan) (Easby (3), Easegill), Eskel (ODan) (Exelby), *Fangi (Fangdale), Farmann (Farmanby), *Feitr (Faceby), Flak (Flaxdale (?)), Flaxton, Forni (Fonthorpe), Frithi (ODan) (Firby, Frídebi, Fryton), Fulke (ÖScand) (Foulbridge), Gålfr (Ganthorpe), Gamall (Gammersgill, Ruddings (Birdf)), Geóla (AScand) (Youlton), Gerðr (Garriston), Gígir (Guisborough), *Gílmadr (Gilmonby), Grimr (Grimes Dale, Grimsby, Grimston, Míregrim), Griss (Girsby, Gristhorpe, Gristhwaite), Gunnarr or Gunnvögr (f) (Gunnergate Lane, Gunnerside), Gunni (Gundale), Hákr (Haxby), Halmi (Hawnby), Hattr (Hatterboard Hill), Haukr (Hawks-hill, Hawsker), Hjorleifr or Herleifr (Allerthorpe), Hildr (f) (Hinderskelfe), Hjörn(e) (Harmby), Hjálmr (Shawm Rigg (?)),
PERSONAL NAMES

Hjalpr (f) (Helperby), Holti (Holtby (2)), *Hornboði (Hornby (GillE)), Horni (OEScand) (Hornby (HangE)), Hrafn (Raincliffe, Ravenscar, Ravensthorpe, Ravensworth, Ravenswyke), Hreinn (Runswick), Hrísí (Risedale), Hrókr (Rook Barugh, Roxby (Halik)), Hrómundr (Romanby), Hroskettill (Roskelthorpe), Hun(d)ra (Hunderthwaite), Hválr (Falsgrave), Hvitti (Whitby, Whyett Beck), Ingólfr (Inglethwaite), Íngus (AScand) (Ing Beck), ÍrI (Irby Manor, Irton (2)), Íarnolfr (Yarna Beck), Íarpr (Easthorpe), Íófr (Yorfalls (?)), *Kæppi (OEScand) (Kepwick), *Kæri (OEScand) (Cold Kirby), Kám (Camedale (?)), Kani (Cana Barn), Kári (Carthorpe), Káti (Cat Flats, Catwick (?), Kateridden), Kausi (Cowsby), Kekkja (Kekmarish), *Kell(e) (Kelsit), Kempi (Kemplah), *Ketilgrímur (Kilgram), Ketill (Kettlethorpe), Klak (ODan) (Claxton), *Klész (Cleasby), Kol(l)i (Coulby), Kráki (Crakehall, Crakehill), Krókr (Crooksbys, Crosby), Kyie (Killing Nab), Leikr (Laysthorpe), Ljóti (Leckby), Logi (Low Cross), Lothaen (ODan) (Lonsdale), Lúzi (Loose Howe), Magi (May Moss), Magni (Maunby), Mákr (Maxude), Malti (ODan) (Maltby), *Maurr (Marsett), Míldi (Milby), Milla (Miley), *Móldr (Moxby), *Módr (Marderby), Múli (Mowthorpe, Mulgrave), Músi (Mouthwaite, Muscoates, Musley Bank), Nagli (Nawton), *Náti (Naby), Olvaldi (Alwaldcotes), Ormr (Ormesby), Óymundr (Amotherby), Óysteinn (Asenby), Rauðr (Roxby (2)), Rossí (Rose Hill), *Royði(r) (Raisdale), Rudí (Rudby), Russi (ODan) (Rosedale), Sekkr (Sexhowe), *Siggr (Sigston), Sile (ODan) (Sil Howe), Sindri (Sinderby), Sjóur (Shunner Howe (?)), Skagi (Scawthorpe), Skakari (Scargill), Skalli (Scalby), Skarði (Scarborough), Skinnari (Skinningrove), Skóði (Skeebey), Skjóldr (Skelderskew), *Skóga-Hreinn (Scograinhowes), Skógur (Skewsby (?)), Skurfá (Scruton), Skvaðra (Skuttershelfe), *Slengr (Slingsby), *Snigilli (Snipesworth), Siúði (ODan) (Sneaton), *Sprok (Sproxton), Siðki (Stakesby), Steinn (Stainsacre, Stainsby), Stýrr (Stearsby), Sunnoðfr (Sunley Hill, Sunley Wood), Sútari (Ruddings (Birdf), Sutherland), Svarthofði (Swartho Cross), Sveinn (Swainby (LangW)), Sylve (ODan) (Silpho, Nether and Over Silton), *Þjokka (Marishes), Þorkell (Thirkley, Thurtle Wood), pórmór (Thormanby, Thornaby), póralfr (Tholthorpe), pórr (Thoresby), pórsæl (Throxenby), pórcvaldr (Thoraby, Thoraldby), **brýlli (Thirlby), Púfa (Tewfit), *Pymill (Thimbleby), Pryrni (Thringarth (?)), Toddí (Tod Howe), Tófi (ODan) (Towthorpe), Tollr (Tollesby), Trútr (Troutsdale), Uggí (Ugthorpe), *Uglubarði (Ugglebarndby), Úlf (Oulston, Ulshaw Bridge), *Útkari (Uckerby), Vigmundr (Wemmergill), Vikungr (Wigganthorpe, Wigginton), Wraghi (ODan) (Wragby).
(iii) Old Irish

Brettan (Brettanby), Cairpre (Carperby), Cocca (Sawcock), Cúlman (Coldman Hargos, Commondale), Dubhan (Dowthwaite Hall), Gaithen (Gatenby), Lochan (Lackenby), Maelmuire (Merby (HangW)), Maelsuithan (Melsonby).

(iv) Continental

Alain (OFr) (Allan Tops), Constance (Countersett), Halnath (Halnaby), Johel (Jolby), Marie (Marriforth), Radulphus (Ralph Crosses), Willelm (William Gill, William Howes, William’s Cross).

FEUDAL NAMES


FIELD AND OTHER MINOR NAMES

In collecting material for the interpretation of place-names (i.e. those found on the O.S. maps), a good deal of material has been gathered in the form of field and other minor names. It is impossible to deal with these exhaustively because they are too numerous and many are without interest, whilst interpretation is often impossible without a succession of forms.

An analysis of these elements follows, with illustrations of their use. Those elements which have been fully illustrated in the major place-names are for the most part left unnoticed.

Æcer is fairly common: as in Stubacre (13th), Lang-, Shorthalfacres (1341) etc.; ON akr as in Gailaker (13th) from geil, Scayfacre (12th) from ON skeifr ‘awry, twisted’; Gaitacre (1204) suggests that the element was not invariably used of arable land.

Æers, ears (n), as in Trollesers (1335) in Lockton (ON troll ‘a troll’); v. PN Wo 389.
**Field and Other Minor Names**

*bæc-stan* (n), Dial. *backstone* 'a baking stone' is found from the 12th cent. as in *bacestaingrave* (c. 1170), *Bacstanberks* (1230–50), *Bakestanbrec* (13th), *Bakstandaleflat* (1407).

*balca* OE (n) is found twice, *Austbalca* (1202) in W. Witton and *Balkendes* (c. 1250) in Bilsdale.

*banke* is found occasionally, as in *Scoredanbanke* (1271) from ME *scored* p.p. of ME *score* 'cut, score' (ON *skora*).

*be(o)rg* is found occasionally as in *Windebegg* (13th) 'windy hill,' *Galedgeberrh* (13th) 'gallow hill.'

*bondi*, as in *Bondegoganges* (13th) as distinct from *Tunhoganges*, *Bondes* (1193–9).

*boð* is rare, as in *Bothum* (c. 1190–1214) in Ebberston.

*brade* ME (v. PN BedsHu 292) enters into *Gayre-, Garebrad* (1198, 1294) from *gara*.


*butte* ME (n) used of a short strip ploughed in the angle where two furlongs meet at right-angles is noticed several times as *Buttes* (1290–1300, etc.), *Cotumbuttes* (1231) in Coatham, *Crummorbuttes* (13th), *Le Crocbut* (1268), *Scortbuttes* (c. 1230).

*bysc* OE, *buskr* ON. One may note *Wyntrebusc* (12th), *Mapelbusc* (13th), *Tuabusche* (13th) 'two bushes.'

*clos* ME (n) 'an enclosure' is found occasionally in early times as in *Byrceklos* (1407), *Ercedeknelos* 'archdeacon close' (1317), and is common in the 17th cent. and after.

*croft* is very common. When not compounded with a pers. name it is usually combined with a word denoting the crop as in *Barliccroft* (4) from OE *barlic* 'barley,' *Bygcroft* from *bygg*, *Henepcroft* from OE *henep* 'hemp,' *Lincroftes* (2), *Ricroft*, *Waythcroft* from ON *hiveiti* 'wheat.'

*dal* is common as *dale*, and so is difficult to distinguish from *dael* and *dalr*. One may note *Barlicdale* (13th) and *Lindale* (1252), *Bosedale* (1160) from OE *bôs* 'cowhouse,' and *Mawynge-dale* (1260) from OE *mâwan* 'to mow grass.'
deill is common as in Uvere-, Netherdeile (1218), Langedayle (1250), Chutdayll (1244), etc.

eng is a very common element in field-names, as in Constab-henge, Kingseshenge (c. 1240), Dernynge (13th) from d(i)erne, Slechtenges (1199–1203) from sletta, Windmillenheng (1404), etc.

feld is of rare occurrence in field-names, as in Benefeld (1155–70) in Spaunton.

fell, fjall though now fairly common is rare in early times, as in Swartfell (13th) in Hawes.

flat is exceedingly common. Usually it is combined with another p.n. as in Bonnsdale flatte (1336), Briggebothemflat (1320), Hirdegaieflat (1193–9), Graystaynflath (13th), or with a significant word denoting a neighbouring feature as in Crosflat (1407), le Halleflat (1341), Kirkeflath (1167), Cotheflath, Briggeflath (13th), Galweflath (1248). In the remaining instances it is distinguished by the owner’s name, as in Bondflat (1193–9) from bondi, Marscalfath (1238), its nature as Stainiflath (1210), Waterflath (1250), Morflattes (13th), Marleflatte (1236), Layndeflath (13th) from ON leyndr ‘hidden,’ Cryngelflath (1232) from kringla, or its use as Goseflath (13th), Herteflath (1230–50), and Wreckeflattet (1236) in Fylingdales ‘flat where the wreck was thrown up from the sea.’

furlang is found occasionally as in Damfurlanges (1294) near the Ouse R. (from dam, v. PN Bk 257) and Morefurlang (1341) from mor.

garðr is fairly common as Cunyngarth (1407), le engegarth (1406), Halgarth (1298). Usually the first element is a significant word denoting animals as in Hertegarth (1294), Ragarth (2), Suinegarth (1193–9), or crops as in Apelgarth (2), le Haygarth (iii), and Lingarth (c. 1223).

gata is very common compounded with a pers. name or a word denoting ownership or use as in Levedygate (13th), Wayncarlegate (c. 1175) from OE wægen ‘waggon,’ Scotgate (13th) from Scot ‘a Scotsman.’ In other cases the significant word denotes some object to which the road leads as in Birgate (1227) from byre, Marketesgathe (13th), Kirkegate (1210) etc. One may also note Merlegate (c. 1160) from (ge)mære ‘a boundary road’ and Blingate (1193–9) from blind, probably indicating a cul-de-sac.

geil is not common: Hirdegail (13th) in Jolby, Westegayl (13th) in Hutton Lowcross, Austgail (1204) in Dalton on Tees.
gil is compounded with a pers. name or more frequently with a significant word as Wythegil (c. 1200) in Hauxwell (from víðr), Leveracgille (13th) in Ruswick (from lawerce), Wantegile (1176) in Castle Bolton (from ON vánt, vátin ‘bad water’), Thwertlanggille (1306) in W. Bolton (ON þver-t neut. ‘across, transverse’), Burstagdile (1177–89) in Suffield, Waterslakgille (c. 1265–78) in Thirley Cotes, etc.

gote ME (n) ‘a water channel,’ as in Quenhilgote (c. 1300) in Carthorpe.

grein ‘a fork in the valley of a river,’ as in Grayne (13th) and Ricolwegreines (1333) both referring to the Riccal R., Grundalegreynes (1335) in Allerston, le Wester Grayne (1286) in Hackness.

grene used substantivally of a grassy spot occurs several times from the 12th cent. as in le Spitelgrene (12th), Boulandegrene (e. 13th), Cotegrene (1241), le Southgrene (1341), etc.

hafri occurs several times in field-names, as in Hauerland, -thweit (2), -holm.

haining is found once as Heynnyng (12th) in Baysdale.

hals is found once in Grenhals (13th) in Loftus.

haugr is frequently compounded with a pers. name. In other cases the first element signifies a neighbouring feature of the mound, as in Aschou, Thornhou (12th), Stapelhowe (1333) from stapel; the material of which the mound is made, as in Lairhou (13th) from leirr, Moldhowe (12th) from OE mold ‘earth,’ Stainhou (13th), Warthou (c. 1300) from varða ‘a heap of stones.’ Also noteworthy are Colledhou (13th) ‘mound with its top knocked off’ (from ME collen, OSwed kull ‘to behead’), Trunhou (13th) from OE *trun ‘round’ (v. Ekwall, PN La 158 s.n. Trunnah), Cuenhou (13th) from OE cwagon ‘a woman,’ and Drechowe (1336) from ON dreki ‘dragon.’

heafod is fairly common in field-names.

højfuð appears once as haved in Tofteburhavedes (13th), frequently as hoved as in Houedlandes, Buscohoved, and later as houth, as in Byrk-, Hayk-, Kirkhouth (1335–8).

holmr is one of the commonest field-name elements; usually it is compounded with a significant word indicating its position or size as in Dernholm from d(i)erne, Braidholme from breiðr; the crop or plants grown on it as in Haverholm (2), Lockholme (12th) from ON lok ‘a weed, fern,’ Redholmes (1241) from hreod, Wedholmes (1241) from OE vœod ‘weed,’ or the animals found there as in Raholm (2), Oxhenholm (1258) and Brocholme (13th) from brocc.
horn is found only in *Stubbehorn* (13th) in Great Ayton and *Hornlandes* (13th) in Scorton.

hryding is found several times as *le Ridding* (13th), *Akridding* (1326), *Hellepotriding* (13th).

hungor is fairly common in field-names denoting poor pasturage as in *Hungerhil* (6), *Hungrebokes* (1316), *Hungerrigges* (14th), *Hungerscotes* (14th), etc.

hyrst is rare, as in *Heselhurst* (1223), *Huhyrst* (1257).

intake (n) used of ‘a piece of land enclosed from a moor,’ though now common, is rare in ME; the earliest example is *Langintake* (1409) in Skelton (Bulmer).

kelda is commonly coupled with an adjective as in *Breithekelde* (1202), *Caldekel* (3), *Fulkelde* (13th), *Mosykelde* (c. 1200), or less frequently with a substantive as in *Wilfkelde* (1260), *Buütrekelde* (1200–2) from *burtree ‘alder,’* *Skitekelde* (c. 1230–40) from ON *skita vb. ‘cacare,’* *Thruhkelde* (1231) which seems to contain OE *þruh,* ON *þró ‘coffin,’* the whole name probably indicating ‘a well made of or in the shape of a stone coffin.’

kjarr is fairly common, as in *Hassokker* (1302) from hassuc, *Redker* (1226–9) from hreod, *Crumbker* (1337) from crumb, *le Pother,* cf. Pott Hall 234 *supra,* *Turker* (1205) from OE *turf.*

klint is extremely rare, as in *Crafclynt* (1376) in Byland.

krokr is found in *le Crok’* (1285), *Le Crochut* (1268), *Crokeland* (1316), *Foxcroke* (1406).

kros, cros ON (n) ‘cross’ (v. Förster, *Keltisches Wortgut*) is common as the first element in field-names, as in *Crosseflatte* (1336) in Hutton Hill, *Crosflat* (1407) in Upleatham, *Crostweit* (1201) in Dale, *Crosseker* (13th) in Marton in Cleveland. As a suffix it is usually combined with a pers. name, but noteworthy are *Spe/cros* (c. 1175) in Guishorough from ON *spjall ‘speech,’* and *Houthloscrosse* (13th) in Great Brompton ‘headless cross’ from *hæfuð* and ON *laus* ‘less.’

land is very common. The shape is described in *Hornlandes* (13th), *Langelandes* (4), *Wranghlandes* (c. 1200 et freq) from *wrang.* Reference to crops is found in *Barliclandes* (13th) from OE *bærlic,* *Baunelandes* (2) from ON *baun ‘bean,’* *Ben(e)landes* (2) from bean, *Haverland* (1316) from hafri, *Peselandes* (c. 1230) from pise, to animals in *Swinelandes* (13th), to soil etc. in *Claylandes* (13th) from *clæg,* *Blalandes* (2) from *blar,* *Morelandes* (13th) from mor. Noteworthy are *Sueinlandes* (1193–9) from ON *sveinn,* *Dryngland* (1407) from *dreng,* and *Selandes* (1304) on the sea-coast in Loftus from OE *sã.*
leirr is found in Lairhou (13th), Lairberg (1198-1208), Layreberch (1316), Lairbeck (13th), Layrsic (c. 1250).

lundr is found as in Berklound (1320), Rokelund (1286), Sotlunde (1358) and several times compounded with a pers. name.

lyng is fairly common, as in Lings (1154-89), Lingberhou (13th), Lingstanflat (1193-9), Lingthwaite (1372).

marr ON (n) ‘marsh’ (v. Marton 28 supra) is found chiefly in Pickering Lythe wap., as in Moldewarpmar (1244) from ME moldwerp ‘mole,’ Hassokmar (1244) from hassuc, Oustecotmarre (13th) from austr, cot, Roshowmarre (1407), etc.

mold OE (n) ‘earth’ is found once as in Swartemolde (1250) in Guisborough.

myrr is common. Apart from pers. name compounds it is used with bird names as in Haffokemire (1236) from heafuc, Tranemyre (1335) from trani, and Tywythmire (13th) which probably contains the name tewit (v. EDD s.v.) ‘peewit.’ Note-worthy also are Turfmire (1185-95) from OE turf, Redmire (1193-9) from hreod, and Kerlingmire from ON kerling ‘an old woman’ (possibly here a reference to a ducking pond).

ofnam ME (n) is used of a piece of land ‘taken from’ the common land and is derived from OE ofniman or ON afnima ‘to seize’ (v. Whitby Cartulary, ii. 440 n.): les ofnames (1190-1227) in Cayton, Ofnam (1160) in Allerston, Houenam (12th) in Middlesborough, Ovenham (13th) in Ormesby, Newton Morell and Fylingdales, Ovenamwithrane (1336) in Newsham (GillW).

oxgang (n), a measure of land varying from 10 to 25 acres of land according to the nature of the soil (v. EDD s.v.); Bondehoxganges (13th) from bondi, Flatoxganges (14th) from flat, Tunhoxanges (13th) from tun.

pol is rare, as in Brinepol (12th) in Croft ‘brine pool,’ Rossepol (c. 1250) from ON hross ‘horse.’

pot (n) is found in Fulepotte (1335) in Allerston and Potteker (1175-88) in Marton in Cleveland.

pytt is rare, as in Ellerpittes (1226-9) in Haxby.

ran ‘a boundary strip’ (v. PN Bk 55 s.n. Rhon Hill) appears frequently as in the simplex le Ranes (13th) or in combination with a significant word as in Austkeldrane (13th), Blaberyrane (13th), Goderan (12th), Haverlandesrane (1290), Heselrane (14th), Hinderbergrane (13th), Huwerranes (13th) from ON hveir ‘cauldron, boiler,’ Langeran (13th), Nordrane (1329). The first element in these examples seems to bear out the suggestion that the word was used of a boundary.
rod is not common; not more than six examples have been noticed, including *Thretyrod* (1252), *Fourtenerode* (13th).

sætr, *setr* is found chiefly in Richmondshire combined with a pers. name.

sand is used of the silt banks of the Tees R. in *Scortesanes* (c. 1230) in Ormesby.

*sic* is frequently compounded with either a pers. name or a descriptive adjective, as in *Grenesic* (c. 1167), *Blachesic* (1290), *Laysric* (c. 1250). *v. grene, blæc, leirr, Golsic* (13th) from ON gull 'gold.'


skarð is found as *le Scarth* (1337) in Seamer, in Pickering *Scharth* (12th) in Guisborough, etc.

sker ON (n) 'skerry, rock,' as in *le Sker* (1326), *Fallenskerre* (1335).

skogr is found a few times, as in *Haukescou* (12th), *Lagheschogh* (1308), *Rysscogh* (1333). *v. lagr, hris.*


stank ME (n) 'a stagnant pool,' as in *le Stank* (1305) in Howthorpe, *le Stanke, Stankenge* (1538) in Rievaulx.

stocking is rare, as in *Stokkyng* (1409) in Skelton (Bulmer).

stodfald occurs thrice in that form, (1407) in Marske on Sea, (13th) in Brompton on Swale and in Kirkdale.

swithen (n) used in YNR of 'a moor which has been cleared by burning' (cf. Swinithwaite 256 supra), as in *Estsnithen* (sic, 12th), *Swythenes* (1232).

*pveit* is a common element in field-names. Usually the first element is descriptive of size, shape, etc., as in *Mickel-, Smale-twaytes* (13th), *Cringeltheit* (c. 1200) from kringla, *Brounthwayt* (1335) from brun, *Stayntuait* (1282); the name of a neighbouring feature as *Eskebrigethwoyt* in Danby (1242) 'bridge across the Esk,' *Setwait* (1155–65) in Hawsker near the sea (OE sæ), *Burethwaites* (13th) near the bur, *Crostweit* (1201) near the kros; the name of the crop, plants, etc., as in *Thorntwait* (1293), *Burbladthwayt* (1318) (cf. We dialect burblek 'bog rhubarb'), *Hauerthwait* (1317) from hafri, *Linthwaite* (1372) from lyng, *Nettelthwayth* (1292) from netel, *Brakenthwayth* (1300) from braken; and a few indicating possession such as *Karlethwoyt* (1242) from ON karl, and pers. names.
topt is not common, as in *le Toftes* (1380), *Gildhustoftes* (13th), *Bruntoft* (1193–9).

vað is common; noteworthy are *Straumeswat* (13th) from ON *straumr* ‘stream,’ *Stayn-, Braythe-, Sandwath* (12th–13th), *Weltewath* (12th) from ON *velta* ‘overturn,’ probably referring to a ford which was likely to cause carts to overturn.

vra is fairly common; it is sometimes combined with a significant word as in *Pesewra* (1335) from pise, *Merswra* (1335) from merse, but more often with a p.n. as in *Westmyrewra* (14th), *Wykescroftwra* (12th), *Souregatwra* (12th), etc.

wandale ME (n) (v. Wandales 59 *supra*) is fairly common as a field-name, as in *Wandayla* (c. 1160) in E. Ayton, *Wandeles* (12th) in Guisborough, *Wandailes* (12th) in Middlesborough, *Wandayles* (13th) in Swinton in Ryedale, etc.

Amongst other minor names there is an interesting group in which the first element is a ME present participle formation in -and, as in *Boulandsike* (1185–95) from ME *bollen* ‘to swell,’ *Hengendebriggam* (1333), *Hengandehill* (1244), -kelde (2), -nese from ME hengen (ON hengja) ‘suspend’ (used in p.n.’s in the sense ‘overhanging, sloping’), *Rennandkelde* (1200–2) from OE *rennan* ‘to run,’ *Routandkeld* (13th), *Rutand(e)keld(e)* (2), *Rutendesic* (13th), *Rutandside* (1338) from OE *hrūtan* ‘to roar,’ *Standandestan* (13th), *Standendestayn* (13th) from OE *stanan* ‘to stand,’ *Loutandthorn* (1244) from OE *lūtan* ‘to bend, stoop.’

There are also a few names of individual interest, as *Hamlin-thorne* (c. 1300) from OE *hamelian* ‘distort,’ *Thornlousthorn* (13th) ‘thornbush without thorns’ (ON *porn-lauss*), *Hackelstayn* (13th) ‘stone where flax was hackled’ (ON *hekla, OE hæclan*), *Tunge* (c. 1300) from ON *tungu* used of a spit of land, *Pynfuleschau* (13th) probably from ME *pinful* ‘painful,’ though what the sense with sceaga can be is not certain; *Fehows* (1395) from ON *fēhús* ‘cattle stall’; *le Spout* (1351) possibly a waterfall from ME *spūt* ‘spout’; *Milemerke* (c. 1167) ‘a mile mark’ which is perhaps unique except for the solitary OE *mil-gemearc* in *Beowulf*; and lastly of interest is ‘a place called *Manslaughter* on Nutwith Hill’ (1290) which probably indicates the site of some murder.
PERSONAL NAMES IN FIELD AND OTHER MINOR NAMES

OE *Addoc (Addocflat, 13th), Ægelwine, Ælfwine (Elwynhou, Elwyncherich, 13th), Æpelw(e)ald (Adelwaldkeld, 12th), B(e)aldwine (Baldineoue, 13th), Bëda (Bedecnol, 13th), Beornw(e)ald (Berewaldfalt, 12th), Cnapa (Cnapecros, Knapetres, 13th), Colla (Collecrofte, 13th, Collesic, 12th), Doda (Dodocroft, 13th), Éadwulf (Éadelf-, Edolfdale, 13th), Earn (Erneshou, 12th), Eli (Elesgate, 13th), Ésa (Esemore, 14th), Fríðuðeort (Frudbriscedale, 14th), Gold(e) (Goldesmir, 13th), Gúðwine (Godewyngate, Godwynhoulandes, Gudewynholme, 13th), Gúðwulf (Guthulvesburc, 13th), Héring (Heringenese, 13th), **Hofa (Houkelde, Hovelunde, 13th), *Hwassa (Whasseho, 13th), Léofenath (Lefhenadoftes, 13th), Leofric (Leverikflat, 13th), Osbeorht (Osberlyht, 1285), Ósw(e)ald (Oswaldesenges, 12th), *Pila (Pyleden, Pilegile, Pyleflat, 13th), Sæmann (Semanthorn, 13th), Sigemund (Si-mundkelde, 13th), Sigeric (Siricflath, Sirikelandes, 12th), Sigew(e)ald (Serewalmdire, 12th), Sigewine (Syueneslinland, 13th, Siwinesriding, 1333, Siwinecros, 12th), Úhtred (Uctredecroft, 12th), W(e)alh (Wallesflat, 1260), Wigwulf (Wyolfsedic, c. 1200, Wyolmire, 1206).

ON Álfgrimr (Algrimhou, 13th), Álfr (Alfhou, 13th), Arkil (Arkelmire, Arkilmireflat, 12th, Arkilhou, 1244, Arkiland, 1342), *Arnbrandr (Arbrandwyth, 1335), Ásgaur (Asegothenge, 13th), Åskell (Askeldic, 13th), Ásmundr (Osemundegar, 12th), Baggi (Baggethwait, 1210), Barni (ODan) (Barnhou, 1193–9), Bleikr (Blaikeswarth, 12th), Brosa (Brosehou, 1333), Brúmófr (Burnolf-scales, 12th), Brúsi (Brusegarth, 12th), Bukkr (Bukeshou, 13th), Æsi (Cian) (Eslundes, c. 1240, Esebrygg, 1389), Æskell (ODan) (Eskilberg, 13th, Eskeldic, 1143), Forni (Fornflath, 13th), Fulki (OESCand) (Fulkeholm, 1208), Gamall (Gamessicke, 13th, Gamelriding, 1293), Gautr (Gauthescou, 1204), Gisli (Gyselecroft, 1228), Kolbrandr (Golstaindale, c. 1160), Grimr (Grimescroft, Grimeshou, 13th, Grymesgrave, 12th, Grymston, 1307), Gunn-hildr (f) (Gunnildekelde, 1243), Hámundr (Hamundelandes, c. 1200), Haraldr (Haraldhou, Haraldsc, 13th), Haukr (Haukescou, 12th), Hávarðr (Hawardesdale, 1312), Hlífófr (Lyolfsenge, 1258), Hreinn (Raineslounde, 1338), *(H)unctetill (Unkelbek, c. 1309), Hvelpir (Quelpesete, 1283), Ingimarr (Ingemereestanes, 13th), Íri (Ircroft, 13th), Jarl (Hyarlesholm, 1252), *Játsteinn (Jatstaineswad, 12th), Jókell (Jukelhelm, 13th), Karl (Karleslund, 13th), Ketill (Ketelesgat, 1313, Ketelpittes, 13th, Katilscroft, 12th), Kolbrandr (Colbrandsic, 13th), Leppi (Lepenges,
Lepsettynges, 13th), Müli (Mulfosse, 1335, Mulecros, 13th), Oddr (Odescroft, c. 1300), Ormr (Ormesbridge, Hornesgrif, 12th, Ormescrosse, Ormryg, 13th, Ormesovenes, 1333), Óysteinn (Ai-stangarthes, 12th), Plógsmaðr (Ploxmanflat, 1407), Plógsveinn (Plusweynlondes, 1283), Rauðr (Routhegathe, c. 1200, Rothhtwayte, 1407), Róaldr (Roaldeshou, Roaldemyre, 13th, Roweldesye, 1407), Siggautr (Sighedestbrigga, c. 1300), Sindri (Sinderthorn, 12th), Skalli (Scalleberg, Scallerig, 13th), Skinnari (Skynderenges, Scynnerbuttes, 1243), Sperrir (Sperragate, 12th), Steinn (Stainshou, 12th, Staynesbrecke, 13th), Stígandi (Stighendab, 12th), Sumarr (Somersholm, 1282), Súni (Sunnebeck, 12th), *Svartgeirr (Swargerflat, 1303), Svarthofði (Swarhovedwoath, 12th, Swarthoofflat, H 3), Svarmtundr (Swertmundeflat, 1407), Sveinn (Sueinlandes, 1193–9, Swaynisacre, 13th), Pingólf (Tingolvedale, 12th), Pórketill (Thrulkilbergh, 1241), Þórr (Thoressete, Thoresdale, Thorsbehc, 13th), Þórr (Thurshou, 12th, Thuresden, Tursebrig, 13th), Þyri (f) (Tyrrehou, 13th), Þyunnir (Thinnethorn, 13th), Tóki (Tokeholme, 12th), Trani (Traneberg, c. 1230, Transheued, 1160), Ukkemaðr (Ukkemannenège, 1241), Úlfarr (Huolverheved, 1254), Úlfr (Vifesdale, Whuetueit, 13th), Ulli (Ulegile, 13th), Vigmundr (Wymundek, c. 1205).

Ófr Colman (Colthmanelandes, 13th, in Kirkdale), Dunlang (Dunlangbrote, c. 1200, in Great Broughton), Finngaill (Finegalgraft, 13th, in Brompton on Swale), Þatric (Paterik-keld, 13th, in Harmby).

Ófr Beneit (Beneytesberg, 1268), Gerard (Gerardedale, Gerariding, 12th), Gocelin (Gocelinenges, 1333), Helewise (f) (Helwysdyke, 1407), Lambert (Lamberttwayt, 1329), Mansel (Manselinges, 1273), Norrais (Norraysholm, 1260), Payen (Peyneslawe, 13th), Petronel (f) (Petroneldel, 1338), Ricardus (Richardesdale, 13th), Roderic (Roderikriding, 12th), Roger (Rogerflat, 13th, Rogerpittes, 12th), Russel (Roselbigginges, 1320), Walter (le Walter Crok, Walteresmire, Walter Gille, 13th).

Note also Isaac (Ysaacranes, 13th).
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