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mab ME, ‘slattern’, recorded by OED from 1557/8, is probably a derogatory application of ME *Mab* fem. pers.n. (cf. **mag**, **magot** and **malkin**). Distinguishing the common noun from the pers.n. or the derived surname in p.ns is scarcely possible – *Mabbes Stalles* (a fishery in Chester) 1328 Ch:5i:74 (**stell**), for instance, might be connected with the family of one Robert son of *Mabbe* 1293. Still, the combinations with **gata** and **lane** (and perhaps similarly **geat** and **stigel**) are suggestive of the indelicate ‘Smock Alley’ street-name type (cf. Room 1992:48–9, and see also **mag**, **magot** and **mægden**).

(a) *Mabacres* (f.n.) 1547 Ch:3:130 (**æcer**), *Mabs Copse* (f.n.) n.d. Ha [Grundy 1927a:304] (**copeis**), *Mab Croft* (f.n.) 1840 Ch:1:233 (**croft**), *Mab Gate* (st.n. Leeds; *viam voc’ Mabyate* 1487) YW:4:126 (**gata**), *Mabbezorde* (f.n.) 1431 YW:2:98 (**geard**), *Mabbes gate* (f.n.) 1567 Ha [Gover:245] (**geat**), *Mabs Hole* (f.n.) 1822 Cu:90 (**hol**), *Mabbelande* 1564 Sx [Lf:5(2):9] (**land**), *Mab laine* (f.n.) 1609 YW:4:92 (**lane**), *Mabstile* (f.n.; *Mabstegyll* 1451) YW:1:282 (**stigel**), *Mab’s Wood* 1842 K [PC] (**wudu**).

~ probably ME *Mab* fem. pers.n., a short-form of *Mabel/Mabil* < *Amabel/Amabil*.

MED –; EDD *mab* sb.¹; OED-2 *mab* n.; OED-3 *mab* n.¹; DES *Mabb*.

macche ME, ‘wick, match’, seems likely to appear in *The Match Walk* (st.n. Stepney) 1746 Mx:159 (**walk**). It might also be found in *Match Croft* (f.n.) 1839 Ch:1:246 (**croft**).

~ OFr (AN) *meche* ‘wick’ < Lat *myxa* (late Lat **micca*).

AFW *meche*; OFED *meche*; AND-1 *meche*; MED *meche*; EDD *match* sb.¹; OED-2-3 *match* n.²; DES –.

macecrier OFr, *m.* ‘butcher’ is also attested as a surname. A side-form *macerier* with loss of [k] (cf. Fransson:75) occurs in a Lincoln street-name, *the marcer rowe* (*le macrerrowe* 1466–7) L:1:80 (**rāw**). Note the equivalent Lat *macerarius* in an early reference to *The Butchery* (st.n. Gloucester; *Vico Macerrariorum* c.1250) Gl:2:128.

~ OFr *maçacre* ‘shambles, slaughter-house’ (see OED-3 *massacre* n.).

AFW *maçacrier*; OFED *maçacrier*; AND-1 *macecrer*, *macecref*; MED *mace-gref*; EDD –; OED-2 – (cf. *macegriefs*); OED-3 *macegreff*; DES *Massacrier*, *Maskery*; DML *macerarius*.

maçon OFr, *m.* ‘mason, stone-worker’, appears in the ONFr form *machon* alongside central OFr *mason*, each undergoing ME vowel lengthening (Jordan:§§221, 224). Both types are well represented and widely distributed in the p.n. material, the former generally recorded earlier and the latter not noted before the 16th century. Both give rise to common ME surnames (Fransson:175) which doubtless appear in some p.ns (Masonrigg Cu:114, for instance, might be connected with one Henry *le Maceoun* 1332, and *Masons Meadow* (f.n.) 1636 Sa:3:233 with one Ed. *Mason*). The occupational term should reasonably be preferred to a surname in the recurring combinations with **geard** and **garōr**. Other potentially telling generics are **stān** in *Masons Stones* Ch and perhaps **wall** in *le Machuneswalle* Gl. For an overview of medieval masons see Parsons 1991:1–4, and on the rôle of masons as bricklayers Moore

1991:232–3.

With the common inn-name (*The Mason's Arms* c.1750 Do:1·41, 1848 Do:1·356, 1851 L:5·89, 19th Sa:3·151, *The Masons' Arms* 1828 L:1·169, may be compared *Freemasons' Arms* 1826 L:1·166 and *Freemasons Tavern* 1856 K [PC]. Indeed, from the 17th century, *mason* may stand for 'free-mason' (on which see Knoop & Jones 1967:86–9) in its developed application 'member of the fraternity of Freemasons' (cf. Hey 1996:193).

(a) *Machinber* (f.n.; *Machunberg* 13th) YW:6·224 (**berg**), *Masons bottom* (f.n.) 1793 We:2·67 (**botm**), *Masons dole* (f.n.) 1630 Db:208 (**däl**), *Mason eynge* (f.n.) 1523 We:2·135 (**eng**), *Machens felde* (f.n.) 1570 St:1·65 (**feld**), *Machonesford* (f.n.) 1413 Ess [EssPNP] (**ford**), *Mason's garth* (f.n.) 1634 L:5·13 (**garðr**), *Masongarthende* (f.n.) 1620 YW:4·44 (**garðr, ende**), *The Mason's Yard* 1662 L:3·xvii, *Masons Yard* (f.n.) 1839 Sa:3·247, *Masons Yard* (f.n.) 1844–9 Sa:3·266, *Masons Yarde* (f.n.) 1618 Nf:3·118, *Masons Yords* 1549 Ch:3·33, *the Mason yard* (f.n.) 1649 L:1·184 (**geard**), *Masons ground* (f.n.) 1839 Do:1·309, *Masons Ground* (f.n.) 1846 Do:2·62 (**grund**), *Mason Hays* (f.n.; *Mason Heyes Close* 1724) Db:279 (**ge-hæg, clos**), *Mason Holes* 1859 We:2·105 (**hol**), *Massone rigge* (f.n.) 1577–80 L:3·14 (**hrycg** or **hryggr**), *Machon House* (f.n.) 1766 Db:202 (**hūs**), *Mason's Hill* (*Masones Hill* 1504) K [PC] (**hyll**), *Mason Land* (f.n.) 1838 K [PC] (**land**), *Machonyslane* (st.n. Bocking) 1386 Ess:413, *Mason's Lane* 1792 W [JEPNS:2·51] (**lane**), *Masons Meadow* (f.n.) 1712 Sa:5·174 (**mēd**), *Mason's Piece* (f.n.) 1840 Sa:5·132 (**pece**), *Machen Sytch* (f.n.) 1611 Db:571, *machunsik* (f.n.) 1307 L:6·161 (**sīc** or **sīk**), *Masons Stones* (f.n.) 1839 Ch:2·41 (**stān**), *le Machuneswalle* (f.n.) 1282 Gl:3·232 (**wall** or **welle**), *Masons Wast* (f.n.) 1669 Sa:5·210 (**wast**).

~ Gallo-Romance **matsjo*, probably < Gmc **mak-jōn* 'to make';

cf. **oil-maker**.

AND-1 *mason*; AFW *maçon*; OFED *maçon*; DML *macio*¹, *mazunus*; MED *māsōun*; EDD –; OED-2-3 *mason* n.¹; DES *Mason*, *Mayson*, *Meacham*.

mad ME 'mad, insane', late in *Mad Allen's Hole* 20th Ch:4·4, *Mad Doctor's* 1773 W:153, *Mad Dog Shaw* 1839 K [PC], *Madkirk* (f.n.) 1780 Db:196, *Mad Wharf* 1842 La [CDEPN], *Madwoman's Stones* 1840 Db:121.

madame OFr 'madam' (see Field 1993:174), late [Brk:412, C:370, Ch:2·293, Db:651, Do:1·119, Gl:2·163 & 205, O:177 & 361, O:429 (cf. **maistres**), So (Grundy 1935:228)].

made ME, *past part. adj.* 'made, produced' appears in *Madelymepitthehill* (f.n.) 1576 Do:3·80 (**līm-pytt, hyll**), presumably in the sense 'produced by burning limestone', though it is unclear whether *made* directly qualifies **līm-pytt** or **hyll** (cf. OED-3 sense I. 2b 'composed of recently accumulated material'), or perhaps simply **līm** (cf. OED-2-3 *limemaker* s.v. *lime* n.¹).

~ OE *ge-macod*, past part. of *macian* 'to make'. For the ME development see Jordan:§178 remark 4.

MED *made* s.v. *māken* v.¹; EDD *made* ppl. adj.; OED-2 *made* ppl.a.; OED-3 *made* a.; DES –.

madge ModE, 'owl (especially barn owl), magpie', is, like **mag**, an application of the ME fem. pers.n. *Magge*. The pers.n. itself no doubt

appears in some p.ns, such as Auntie Madge's Big Hill (f.n.) 1968 Lei:2·79. See **magdalen** for another possible source of the hypocorism. In other cases a common noun *madge* must be reckoned with.

The sense 'owl' is well recorded from the 16th century, often (and earliest) in the combination *madge-(h)owlet*, a term which appears in Madge Owletts (f.n.) 1841 K [PC] (cf. **hulot**), see Lockwood 1993:99. Although EDD reports simplex *madge* 'owl' only from Nth, the material in OED-3 indicates much wider use. The compound *madge-howlet* is noted by EDD in Nf and Wo, alongside the interesting forms *mag-owlet* and (s.v. *meg* sb.) *meg-owlet*, *meg-ullat* 'owl, large moth' from L which suggest that 'owl' should be considered a possible meaning of **mag** also. Of course, as ME spellings in *magg-* might indicate either a velar stop [g] or palatal affricate [dʒ], some names noted under **mag** may rather belong here. An attempt is made to treat the two separately because the meaning 'owl' is securely recorded only for *madge*.

The sense 'magpie', on the other hand, is not noted by OED-3 before 1823 (the earliest citation lists *Madge*, *Mag* and *Meg* as Suffolk terms for 'magpie'), but given the evidence of the related **mag** (whence **magpie**) and **magot**, we have good reason to suspect that it is older. EDD records *madge* 'magpie' over a considerable area (Ch, Db, La, Nth, Sf, Wo, YW), and it is largely in these counties that the p.n. evidence is found. For further discussion see Whaley 2008:293–7. It may also be observed that *Madghill Stone* Db is a boundary stone near Magpie Mine 1837 Db:28.

However firmly established *madge* seems to be as a bird-name, it must be conceded that no p.n. example with **nest** has been noted (contrast **magpie** and **nanpie**). There is the slight possibility of a meaning 'target', hinted at in the EDD sense 'jack in ninepins' and by comparison with **mag**, if Madge Butts Leasow St contains **but** 'archery butt' rather than **butte** 'short strip of arable land'.

An early and mysterious name for which no solution has hitherto been offered is *pasture' ... vocat' ... Madge of the More* (f.n.) 1542 L:6·215. It might tentatively be suggested that the reference is to marsh-fire, *ignis fatuus*, a credible phenomenon in the marshland (**mōr**) of Willoughton. A common name for *ignis fatuus* is *Peggy-with-(her)-lantern* (cf. *Jack-o'-lantern*, *Will-o'-the-wisp*); *Peggy* is an altered form of *Meggy* < *Meg* (≈ *Madge*), and indeed a form *Meg-o'-lantern* is evidenced in Megaloughton Lane Db (see **mag**). There is also a YW field-name Madgelaughton 1709 which may, as Smith (YW:3·41) suggests, contain OE **lēac-tūn** 'herb garden', but which upon comparison with *Madge of the More* and Megaloughton looks rather like a **Madge-o'-lantern*.

On slightly firmer ground, the word *madge* or the pers.n. appears as specifier in a number of minor names with a variety of generics:

(a) *Madge Acre* (f.n.) 1651 Ch:2·133 (**æcer**), *Madge Butts Leasow* (f.n.) 1848 St:1·139 (**but** or **butte**, **læs**), *Madgcroft* (f.n.) 1675 Ch:2·313, *Madge Croft* (f.n.) 1849 Ch:1·289 (**croft**), *Madge Field* (f.n.) 1844 Ch:1·252, *Madge Field* (f.n.) 1849 Ch:1·261, *Madge Field* (f.n.) 1849 Ch:1·287 (**feld**), *Madge Flatt* (f.n.) 1622 Db:463 (**flat**), *Madge Haugh* (f.n.) 1616 Nb [Beckensall:65] (**haga**¹), *Madge Hays* (f.n.) 1839 Db:519 (**ge-hæg**), *Madge Hill* (f.n.) 1839 K [PC] (**hyll**), *Madghill Stone* 1617 Db:28 (**hyll**, **stān**), *Madge Intake* (f.n.) 1811 Ch:2·175 (**inntak**), *Madge Lane Garden* (f.n.) 1840 Db:621 (**lane**, **gardin**), *Madge mott* (f.n.) 1639 St:1·127 (**mote**).

~ ME *Magge* fem. pers.n., a hypocoristic form of both *Margaret* and *Margery* (McClure 1998:118–23); cf. **mag**, **magot**, **magpie**.

MED –; EDD *madge* sb.² (cf. *madge-howlet*, *mag-owlet*); OED-2 *madge*¹; OED-3 *madge* n.¹; DES *Madge*.

mag ModE, ‘magpie, talkative person, scolding woman’ and ModE *meg* ‘wench, magpie’ are applications of the closely related ME fem. pers.n.s *Mag(ge)* and *Meg(ge)*. The two types are here treated together as they alternate a great deal in the p.n. record (witness the run of forms for *Megdell Hrt*, *Magyherdwynt YW*, *Meg Hey YW*, *Magge Howse Db*, *Maghills St*, *Meg Hill Wa*, *Maglane Hrt*, *Meg Lone Ch* and *Meg Royd YW* below). A West Country form with *-o-* appears in *Mogglane Gl* and *Mogge meade Ha*, also showing alternation with *-e-* in *Megges house (howse called Mogges)* Do. The house-name seemingly involves a pers.n. (see McClure 1998:109 on the vowel alternation, and cf. Hey 2000:64 for the West Country surname *Mogg* < *Margaret*), but the others may equally involve the lexical item *mog* ‘calf, cow; mouse; cat’ (cf. EDD *moggy* sb.¹ & sb.², OED-2 *mog* n., and see Coates 1982:208). So too with *mag* and *meg* p.n.s generally: some may contain the pers.n.s or derived surnames (cf. Megbeck Well 1857 We:1·85, probably named after one *Margrett Becke* 1651), while we have reason to suspect a common noun in others, particularly in recurring compounds (twelve examples with **lane** being the most frequent, and many with **croft** and fair few with **hol**).

The meaning ‘magpie’ does not appear in OED before 1802, but the compound **magpie** (recorded from 1598) suggests that the application is older, as might the use of the related pers.n. *Magot* for the magpie from at least the 16th century (see **magot**). For further discussion see Whaley 2008:293–7. A sense ‘(female) chatterbox, scold’ (cf. dialect *chattermag* and *chatterpie* ‘chattering magpie, talkative woman’) is widely recorded throughout England (EDD *mag* sb.¹), along with ‘country girl; ugly or ill-dressed person; coarse woman’ (EDD *meg* sb.; George 1986:39), and there is also a meaning ‘mark or stake used as a target’ (EDD *mag* sb.²) to consider, as has been suggested for *Magstone Lei (stān)*. Thus, as well as the shared sense ‘magpie’, *mag/meg* may be used like **magot** in uncomplimentary reference to a woman, and like **madge** of some kind of target. For the possibility of *mag/meg* ‘owl’ see **madge** (and cf. EDD *meg-owlet* s.v. *meg* sb.). There are of course formal difficulties to consider when attempting to discern differences in the application of these closely related terms, given the alternation between *mag* and *meg* mentioned above (cf. Sr:275, reporting an account of 1719 that “a poor wench named Meg cured the Itch by washing with the water” at *Mag’s Well Sr*) and the problem that ME names with *magg-* spellings may represent either *mag* or **madge**. Such ambiguous instances are included below.

A special formation is *Megaloughton Lane (Megaloffin or Megaloughton Close 1785, Meg’ oth’ Lanthorn 1825)* Db:606, referring to marsh-fire (see **madge** for discussion). Possibly of a similar construction is the obscure *Magyherdwynt* (f.n.) 1409 (*cloase called Megg in Wintr 1607*) YW:2·172.

Noteworthy are *Long Meg and her Daughters (Meg with hir daughters ... long meg 1601)* Cu:238, a prehistoric stone circle with *Long Meg* a taller outlier, said to be a mother and her daughters turned to stone for dancing on a Sunday, and a nearby stone circle called *Little Meg* Cu (see Darvill *et al.* 2002:120–1). There is also an unexplained *Long Meg* (f.n.) 1840 Nf:3·59. We might compare these names with the early 18th-century use of *Long Meg* for ‘a very tall woman’, and perhaps with the name of the notorious 16th-century character *Long Meg* of Westminster (see OED-2 s.v. *Meg*¹ for both).

For the use of *Roaring Meg* (OED-2) as a name for a noisy stream (developed from the 15th-century application ‘a loud piece of ordnance’), as in *Roaring Meg* (f.n.) n.d. Sa [Foxall 1980:70], see *Roaring Megg Plantation (Roaring Meg c.1840)* Hrt:115. As this stream-name

gives rise to The Meg and Meg Cottages nearby (cf. *Meg Plantation* c.1840) Hrt:112–13, we should perhaps allow that ‘(Roaring) Meg’ as a stream-name might underlie some other *meg* p.ns. One such could be the simplex Meg (f.n.; cf. *Megge Spitte Spoute* 1603–25) Db:620.

It is unclear what we should make of the cheeky Megs Small Behind (f.n.) 1849 Db:30 (Db:759 treats it as a “reference to shape”).

As with **madge**, no p.n. example with **nest** has been noted (again contrast **magpie** and **nanpie**).

(a) Mag Brook 1831 Ch:1·30 (**brōc**), *Maggebrygge* (f.n.) 1296 [15th] Nt [Holdsworth 1972–81:869] (**brycg**), Meg Clough (f.n.) 1845 Ch:1·315–6 (***clōh**), *Magcrofte* (f.n.) 1600 YW:2·162, *Mag(es)croft* (f.n.) 1427 YW:1·256, Magg Croft (f.n.) 1853 Db:547, *Magg crofte* 1621 Db:578, Meg Croft (f.n.) 1848 Ch:1·83, Meg Croft (f.n.) 1840 Ch:1·233, Megcrofts (*MeggsCrofte* 1494 (here?), *Meg Croft* 1837) St [Horovitz 2005:386], *Meggs croft* (f.n.) 1658 St:1·72 (**croft**), Megdell (*Megdell* 1533, *Magdales* 1595) 1533 Hrt:93 (**dell**), Meg Dyke 1775 YW:3·60 (**dic**), *Magges Ee* (f.n.) 1571 L [Payling 1940:147] (**ēa**), *Magfeld* (f.n.) 1590 YW:1·256, Meg Field (f.n.) 1849 Ch:1·301, Megg Field (f.n.) 1845 Ch:1·311, Megs Field (f.n.) 1848 Ch:1·80 (**feld**), Mag Flatt (f.n.) 1817 Db:200, Mag flatt (f.n.) 1716 YW:5·62 (**flat**), *Meggarth* (f.n.) 1656 Cu:281, *Meggegarth* (f.n.) 1539 YW:5·52 (**garōr**), *Maggeyord* (f.n.) 1550 Sa:3·115, Megs Yard (f.n.) 1844 Ch:1·180 (**geard**), Meg Gate (*Meggyeate* 1667) YW:5·131 (**geat**), Meg Hey (f.n.; *Maghey* 1487) YW:3·144, Meg Hey (f.n.) 1849 Ch:2·49, Meggs Hey (f.n.) 1841 Ch:1·243 (**ge-hæg**), Mag Low (*Magglow* 1558–1603) Db:65 (**hlāw**), Mag Hole (f.n.) 1773–1839 Db:253, Maghole Brook (r.n.; *the Maghole* 1656) Db:11, *the Megghoile* (f.n.) 1621 YW:3·171, Megg Holes (f.n.) 1780 Db:196, Meg Hole (f.n.) 1825 Db:608 (**hol**), *Magge Howse* 1537 (also *Mege House* 1552) Db:11, *Megges house* (f.n.) 1664 (also *howse called Mogges* 1609) Do:3·33 (**hūs**), *Maghouseyard* (f.n.) 1583 YW:2·262 (**hūs**, **geard**), *Maghills* (*Maghelles field* 1565, *Meghills* 1678) St [Horovitz 2005:380], Meg Hill (f.n.) c.1840 Cu:344, Meg Hill (f.n.; *Magge hill* 1514) Wa:368 (**hyll**), *Magheron* (f.n.) 1655 Db:361 (***hyrne**), *Magland* (f.n.) 1660 YW:1·202, *Magland* (f.n.) 1549 YW:3·137, *Magland* (f.n.) 1385 YW:4·199, *Megland* (f.n.) 1639 K [PC] (**land**), *Magglands Gapp* (f.n.) 1687 Cu:280 (**land**, **gappe**), *Maggelane* (st.n. Stisted) 1369 Ess:460, *Maggelane* (st.n. Exhall juxta Coventry) 1411 Wa:108, Mag Lane 20th Ch:2·47, Mag Lane 20th Db:578, *Maglane* or *Megge lane* (st.n. Ardeley) 1474 Hrt:151, Meg Lane (*Megg Lane* 1831) Ch:2·129, Meg Lane 20th Ch:1·122, Meglane Wood 1850 Ch:1·169, *Meg Lone* 1831 (also *Mag Lane* 1842) Ch:1·149, Meg’s Lane (f.n.) 1849 Ch:1·289, *Mogglane* (f.n.) 1619 Gl:3·101 (**lane**), Maglane Furlong (f.n.) 1653 Bd [Schneider 1997:76] (**lane**, **furlang**), Magg Meadow (f.n.) 1816 Db:190, Mag Meadow (f.n.) 1849 Db:279, Meg Meadow (f.n.; *Megge Meadowe* 1611) Ch:1·157, *Mogge meade* (f.n.) 1696 Ha [Gover:237] (**mēd**), Magroyd (f.n.) 1788 YW:3·6, Meg or Mag Royd (f.n.; *Meggeroide* 1525) YW:3·82 (***rodu**), Magstone (f.n.) 1796 Lei:2·100 (**stān**), *Mege style* (f.n.) 1531 Bd [Schneider 1997:33] (**stigel**), *Maggestocking* (f.n.) 1430 Sa:2·128 (**stoccing**), Mag’s Well (*Mag-well* 1719) Sr:275, Megwalls (f.n.) 1849 Db:43 (**welle**), *Magwode* 1391 Ess:622 (**wudu**).

~ ME *Mag(ge)*, *Meg(ge)* fem. pers.ns, hypocoristic forms of both *Margaret* and *Margery* (McClure 1998:118–23); cf. **madge**, **magot**, **magpie**.

(i) *mag*: MED –; EDD *mag* sb.¹ & sb.²; OED-2 *Mag* n.²; OED-3 *mag* n.⁴; DES *Maggs*.

(ii) *meg*: MED –; EDD *meg* sb.; OED-2 *Meg*¹; OED-3 *Meg* n.¹; DES *Meggs*.

maga OE, *m.* ‘maw, stomach’ has been cautiously suggested (first by

Gelling 1978:103) to occur in Maund (*Magana* 675–90 [13th] s:1798, *Mage*, *Magene* 1086, *Mawene* 1240) He:12–13, an old district-name surviving in MAUND BRYAN He:38, ROSEMAUND He:85 and MARDEN (*Maurdine* 1086, *Magewurdin* 1177) He:143 (**wordign**) as well as appearing in the OE folk-name *on Magonsetum* 811 s:1264, *in pago Magesætna* 958 s:677 (**sæte**), referring to this district's inhabitants (see Pretty 1989). Observing that earlier attempts to explain Maund as a reflex of Romano-British *Magnis* are unsound (see ***magno-**), Gelling 1988:101–5 discusses the OE option at length, plausibly suggesting that a name in the dat.sg. *magan* or dat.pl. *magum*, 'at the stomach(s)', may have been applied to the flood-plain of the River Lugg, but expressing reservations on two counts: (1) the many OE anatomical terms found in p.ns denote external features while *maga* is internal; (2) *maga* has not been noted in any other p.n. The idea 'has understandably not found general acceptance', she later reports (Gelling 1992:82); cf. CDEPN:403–4 for a recent lukewarm reception, though Mills 2003:322 allows it as a possibility. Freeman 2008 proposes instead an etymology based on Brit **magos* 'plain' (see ***magestu-**).

Supporting evidence for *maga* as a p.n. element is to be found most directly in the East Anglian simplex *de la Mawe* (surn.) 1275 Sf (also 1336 Nf) [Carlsson:75]. Armed with a consistent run of spellings, Carlsson convincingly argues in favour of *maga* over OE ***māwe** 'meadow' (proposed in DES s.n. *Maw*), since OE *āw* 'generally appears as *ow* in this area, only occasionally as *aw*'. Though seemingly unaware of Gelling's discussion, he suggests a transferred topographical sense of *maga* for a lake or a creek in allusion to its form, pointing to the use of OSwed *maghi* in lake-names such as Swed *Magsjön* and *Magtjärn* (see Hellquist 1903–6:386–7, though Strid 1981a:36–7 rightly removes Magelungen in Södermanland from the corpus). Stahre 1986:177–80 notes the names of bays such as *Lillmagen* and *Stormagen* in the Stockholm archipelago, as well as a recurring type *Modermagen* 'the womb' seemingly applied to bays protected by having a narrow entrance (also found elsewhere in Scandinavia, cf. Strandberg 1991:98). Dan *mave* is also applied topographically to depressions or low stretches of land: DSÅ:5:50–1 (s.n. *Maveput*) discusses two examples of *Maven* 'the stomach' as a p.n. in Denmark (the simplex use is noteworthy). Such parallels make credible the applicability of OE *maga* to a flood-plain, the type of major landscape feature which often qualifies **sæte** (cf. Langenfelt 1920:82–7). There is probably no need to follow Carlsson in allowing for a sense 'creek' such as that proposed for ON *magi* in Norway (NGI:39, NG:1:289), which is at best doubtful (see Hoel 2004).

OE *maga* would not, in fact, be the only internal anatomical term among OE p.n. elements. We might compare the topographical application of OE **wamb** 'womb, belly' in the simplex *del Wambe* (surn.) 1338 Cu [SMED:1:11] and as generic in two OE charter forms, *Pubbanwambe* s:865 W and *on ondoncilles pombe* s:1327† Wo [Hooke 1990:281–3] (the latter identified by Kitson (forthcoming:§6.17.4) as the combined outflow valley of two small streams at SO 854531). Again there are many useful Scandinavian parallels. Våmsjön, a lake in Dalarna, with the simplex alias *Våmen* (*Wåmen* 1640, OSwed *vamb* '(first) stomach'), is envisaged by Ståhl 1982:74 as the paunch of a ruminant, the river Våmån being the gullet (cf. SOL s.nn. *Våmhus* and *Vamlingbo*), and Stahre 1986:82–3 lists similar examples in the names of bays and lakes in the Stockholm archipelago. Vammenes (*Vambanes* c.1400) in Østfold contains the simplex waterfall-name *Vamma* (ON *vomb*, **vamba* 'stomach' with a topographical sense 'gully', see NSL s.n. *Vamma*). Olsson 1994:35 details further examples of *Vambi* / *Wamben* as well as Swed dial. *salsare* 'third stomach' denoting waterlogged meadows in

Swedish field-names, while the use of OSwed **blavamb*, Swed dial. *löpper* ‘fourth stomach’ and OSwed *bælgher* ‘belly’ in the names of bodies of water is discussed by Strandberg 1991:97–100.

As the qualifying element in a compound, OE *maga* (or ON *magi*) conceivably occurs in May Moss (*Mawemose* 1335) YN:95 (**mos**), though the related ON by-name *Magi* (Lind 1920–1:250–1), or its ME reflex *Mawe*, is equally possible. An OE **maga* ‘poppy’ is a further potential homonym (cf. OHG *mago*), but seems unlikely in May Moss and most implausible as a simplex name.

~ OFris *maga*, MLG *māge*, MDu *mag(h)e*, OHG *mago*, ON *magi* (see further Kluge-Seebold:531 s.v. *Magen*).

MED *maue* n.; EDD *maw* sb.¹; OED-2-3 *maw* n.¹; DES – (cf. *Maw*).

magazin ModE, ‘storehouse’, specifically ‘a building for storage of ordnance and provisions in readiness for use in war-time’, appears in Magazine Gate (*the Storehouse or Magazin of the Towne* 1642, *the Magazeene* 1647) Lei:1·99 with reference to the use of the Newarke gatehouse as a storehouse for arms and ammunition for the defence of Leicester during the Civil War and later. Magazine Brow & Lane and Magazines Promenade Ch:4·327 represent the site of *Powder Magazine* 1831 in Liscard, while in Magazine Road (st.n. Ashford; cf. *Magazine Field* 1842) K [Cullen 1997:95] the reference is to ‘magazines of biscuit for the men and forage for the horses’ established in readiness for a Napoleonic invasion (Ruderman 1994:63–4). The word has also been noted in Magazine Marsh (f.n.) 1841 K [PC] (**mersc**) and The Magazine (f.n.) 1967–71 Lei:3·37.

~ MFr *magasin* < Italian *magazzino* (Hope 1971:43) < Arabic *makhzan* ‘storehouse’ (pl. *makhāzin*).

AND-1 –; AFW –; OFED –; MED –; EDD – (cf. *magazine* ‘a quantity’); OED-2-3 *magazine* n.; DES –; DML –.

magdalen ModE, ‘home for the refuge and reformation of prostitutes’ is suggested as the origin of *the Maudlyn* (bdg.n. Shaftesbury; *Maudelyn* 1535, *Magdalen* 1574) Do:3·150, a poor-house whose name survives in Magdalene Lane Do:3·146. The full run of spellings shows a mixture of *Maud-* and *Magd-* forms, both types antedating OED in this sense (1603 and 1766 respectively). The term is explained by OED-3 as a shortened form of *Magdalen-house*, a compound with **hūs** which is not securely attested in this sense until 1758, with the opening of the *Magdalen Charity* or *Magdalen Hospital* in London, though we may note that the Magdalen Charity, an almshouse and former leper hospital in Bridport Do, is reportedly termed ‘the Magdalene house’ in 1268 (VCH Do:2·98–100). Here too should be recorded *Mawdelynhous* 1364 in New Romney K [PC], *Mawdelyn house* 1546 in West Tanfield YN [YChant:108], and Maudlin House, a 13th-century hospital in Bramber (*Mawdelayne* 1490) Sx:224.

A great number of leper hospitals (or leper houses) dedicated to St Mary Magdalen are to be found, a circumstance ascribable to medieval misidentification of various Biblical figures called Lazarus and Mary (see Cullum 1991:45). Among them are Maudlin, a leper hospital in Westhampnett (*Hospitale Sancte Magdalene* c.1275) Sx:78, *St Mary Magdalene Hospital* in Grimsby (*leprosurum Sancte Marie Magdalene* 1291) L:5·87–8, and medieval leper hospitals dedicated to St Mary Magdalene at Bath So and Launceston Co (Sweetinburgh 2004:30). The hospital of St Mary Magdalen in Gloucester (*Hospital called the Magdalens* 1598) Gl:2·135 was founded in the 12th century as a leper hospital for women only (VCH Gl:2·122). See **maladerie** for discussion

of Holy Innocents Hospital in Lincoln.

The surname *de le Maudelene* 1336 Nf [Carlsson:138] relates to the Chapel & Hospital of St Mary Magdalen (*de domo sancte Marie Magdalene* 1257–66) outside Norwich (see *Magdalen Gate* Nf:1·19). A chapel in Fordington is called *la Maudelene* 1335 Do:1·349, and another stands in ruins at Marlin Farm (*La Magdeleine* 1274, *La Maudeleine* 1275) Hrt:49 in Northchurch. Magdalen Street (st.n. Exeter; *Maudeleynestrete* 1419) D:23 (**strēt**) is named from an almshouse so dedicated, and Orme 1996:240 indexes a dozen or so further examples of this dedication in Devon and Cornwall, most of them borne by hospitals. Presumably *ye apertin' ... in þe towne & felde of Wathe called Mawdelayn* (in Waithe) 1477 L:4·181 is some such establishment. Foundations which are known to be early include the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene in Hedon YE:40 [VCH Y:3·308], founded before 1179, Magdalen's Farm in Ripon (*hospitalis beate Marie Magdalenæ* 1228, *the Mawdelayns* 1485) YW:5·170, founded in the early 12th century, and St Mary Magdalen Hospital in Winchester (*Maudlaine* 1579) Ha [Gover:11], founded in 1180.

Maudlin Riding close (f.n. in Molescroft) n.d. (***ryding, clos**) YE belonged to the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene in Bishop Burton (*Hospitalis S. Mariæ Magdalenæ* 1327) YE:192 [VCH YE:6·289], and *Maudeleynlane* (st.n.) 1373 and *le Mawdelyns crofte* (f.n.) 1537 Gl:3·85 & 89 (**lane, croft**) relate to St Mary Magdalene in Bristol (*hosp' sancte Marie Magdalene* 1248) Gl:3·58. Local investigation might also reveal an institutional connection in *Maudlin acre* (f.n. in Penrith) 1709 Cu:1·233 (**æcer**), *Mawdeleyn feld* (f.n. in Berwick) 1451 Nb [Fine:18·216] (**feld**) and *le Mawdelyn thing* (f.n. in Shipton) 1507 Gl:1·182 (**þing**). The allusion in Magdalen Bridge (*Maudlin Bridge* 1661–6) O:35–6 (**brycg**) and *Magdalen College woods* (f.n.) 1717–18 O:173 (**college, wudu**) is to the University of Oxford's Magdalen College.

There is probably enough evidence in the above collection to suggest that in Middle English the term *maudelen* could be used as a common noun to mean 'leper-house', whereas the sense 'refuge for prostitutes' is harder to discern in the early material.

Complicating factors affect a couple of names. Magdalene mead well (f.n.; *Mawdelen mede* 1496) Gl:1·113 (**mēd**) is possibly to be connected with *into mægðan wyllan* S:145. A hypocorism *Madge* (cf. **madge**) of the fem. pers.n. *Magdalen* (a post-Reformation introduction in England, cf. Withycombe 1950:193) is proposed in YW:2·284 to explain Madge Knoll 1849 and its relation to Magdalen Clough 1843 and Magdalen Hill in the same parish.

~ ME *the Magdaleyn* (i.e. the biblical saint (*Maria*) *Magdalena* 'of Magdala', identified as a reformed prostitute, hence patron of repentant sinners) < Lat (*Marīa*) *Magdalēna*. The *maudlin* type derives from OFr *Maudelaine* < Lat *Magdalēna* (cf. Jordan:§240).

MED *Maudelaine*; EDD – (cf. *maudlin*); OED-2·3 *Magdalen* and *maudlin* n.; DES *Maudling*.

maglo-** Brit, 'prince' is widely used as a personal name theme (cf. LEIA), and as such appears in the place-names Tremail 1086 Co [Padel 1988:168], Treveal Co [Reaney 1964:67], Trevellick Co [Reaney 1964:67] (trebā**) and, perhaps as a later surname, Mailscot (*Mailescoyt* c.1275) Gl:3·212 [cf. CVEP:299] (***kaito-**).

The word itself has been plausibly proposed as a p.n. element in *maelmin* 731 [Bede], probably surviving in Milfield (*Melfelde* n.d., *Melfeld* 1637) Nb [CDEPN] (**feld**), for which Coates (CVEP:323) suggests **maglo-* + ***mīn**, 'prince(ly) edge', with reference to the high hill overlooking Milfield from the south-west. The name has alternatively

been interpreted as ***mailo-** + ***monijo-** (Cox 1975–6:24, CDEPN), and the first element as Brit **mal* ‘decayed, rotten’ (Breeze 2001), but these solutions are less attractive on formal grounds.

Possibly **maglo-* combines with the plural of Brit **lukk-* ‘pool’ in the difficult district-name Mawfield (*Mais Mail Lochou* 6th [c.1130], *Campo Malochu* 7th [c.1130], *Malfelle* 1086, *Malcfeld* 1243, *Malghfeld* 1306) He:14–16 & 24 (with variously ***magestu-**, Lat *campus*, **feld**), though as Coates remarks, ‘folk-etymology has probably been at work on something ancient’ here (CVEP:305).

~ IE **meg-* ‘large’ (cf. **magna**, **micel**). See Matasović 2009:252–3 s.v. **maglo-*.

GPC *mael*²; CPNE –; cf. LEIA *mál*; MED –; EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES –.

magot ME, ‘maggot’, of uncertain origin, can seldom be distinguished from ME *Magot* fem. pers.n. (St Margaret’s Mount C:85 is *Maggots Mount* c.1825) or from the derived surname (Maggot Field (f.n.) 1842 Sr:390 may be connected with one Robert *Magot* 1332, and Maggotts 1497–8 Ess:483 with one Geoffrey *Magot* 1280–2). Supporting evidence for ‘maggot’ in any single name is admittedly wanting, though the ModE adj. *maggoty* ‘infested with maggots’ seems to occur in the late-recorded names *Maggoty* (f.n.) 19th Nt:309, *Maggety Field* (f.n.) 1841 K [PC], *Maggotty Hill* (f.n.) 1792 K [PC], *Maggoty Hole* (f.n.) c.1840 K [PC], *Maggotty Plot* (f.n.) 1845 Do:4 (forthcoming) and *Maggoty Wood* Ch:1·69 (see OED-2-3 *maggoty* and EDD *maggoty* s.v. *maggot* sb.¹).

There are possibly slight traces of related terms in p.n.s. OE *maða* ‘maggot, worm, grub’ (MED *mathe*, EDD *mad* sb.², *maithe*) has been suggested (Gl:4·154) for Marybrook St (*Madebrokestrete* 1516) Gl:2·212 (**brōc**, **strēt**). Intriguingly, three distinct examples of a name ‘Mawkes Hall’ have been noted in a restricted area of north-east Lincolnshire, Manor Farm (*Mawkes Hall* 1828, *Maux Hall* 1830) L:2·175, *Maux Hall* 20th L:2·223, and *Mauxhall* 20th L:2·270, tentatively explained (L:2·175) as a derogatory nickname for a dilapidated building, ‘Maggots Hall’, i.e. Northern dial. *mawk* ‘maggot’ (ME *mawke* < ON *maðkr*; cf. EDD) + **hall**.

The pers.n. *Magot* is also applied to the magpie from at least the 16th century (see Lockwood 1993:99 s.n. *Magot Pie*), a meaning which may appear in the p.n. material (cf. **mag**). Less securely, comparison with Fr *margot* ‘magpie, doll’, *margot(on)* ‘tart, prostitute’, *goton* ‘country girl’ (< *Margot(on)* fem. pers.n., cf. George 1986:40–2) might suggest that a sense ‘wench’ is also possible in ME, in which case the four examples with **lane** below could be compared with similar compounds in **mab**, **mag** and **mægden**.

There seems to be some evidence for the use of *magot* as a generic, though the sense is wholly obscure. Of the simplex examples below, *Maggots* (f.n.) Gl may of course contain a pers.n., but the definite article in the *Maggots* (f.n.) Gl requires explanation. Might *crucem quæ vocatur Maggot* Nt reflect a dedication to St Margaret? The remarkable *Swetemagote* (f.n.) Ess is equally difficult to explain; possibly it preserves an otherwise unrecorded plant-name (see **swēte**). And quite baffling without earlier evidence, but worth noting for now, are Marston’s *Maggot* and *Oak Maggot* (f.n.s) 1840 Nf:2·79.

Perhaps of incidental interest, *Magote croftum* (f.n.) Nth survives in *Maggotts*, the name of a stretch of the motor-racing circuit at Silverstone.

(a) *Maggots Acre* (f.n.) 1683 K [PC] (**æcer**), *Maggots Grove* (cf. *Magottes close* 1526–7) O:314 (**clos**), *Maggot Clump* 20th Do:2·74 (**clump**), *Maggot Croft* (f.n.) 1843 Db:332, *Maggots Croft* (f.n.) 1841

Ch:1·238, Maggots Croft (f.n.) c.1851 Nf:2·63, *Magotcroft* (f.n.) c.1453 K [Cullen 1997:52], *Magote croftum* (f.n.) 14th Nth [Elvey 1968–75:1·161] (**croft**), Maggot Dale (f.n.) 1790 L:2·22 (**deill**), Magget Flat (f.n.; *Magotflatte* 1366) YW:3·23, Maggot Flatts (f.n.) 1841 YW:6·161, Maggots Flat (f.n.) 1844 Ch:2·89 (**flat**), *Maggothaw* 1618 Sr:70 [Wa:xlvi] (**haga**¹), *Magettisham* (f.n.) 1485–6 K [Cullen 1997:335] (**hamm**), *Magattehayes* (f.n.) 1495 Do:2·70, Maggot Hay (f.n.) 1837 Ch:4·199, Maggot Hays' (f.n.) 1838 Do:3·177, Maggots Hey (f.n.) 1841 Ch:1·99 (**ge-hæg**), *Magotesheld* (f.n.) 1440 Wa:327 (**helde**), *Magott Hoole* (f.n.) 1580 K [PC] (**hol**), Maggot Hill (f.n.) 1839 Do:1·119, Maggot Hill (f.n.) 1773 W:457, *Magothill'* (f.n.) 1415 Lei:2·206 (**hyll**), *Magotteland'* (f.n.) 1545–7 L:6·74, *Magottlondes* 1507 Sr:70 [Wa:xlvi] (**land**), Maggot Lane 20th YW:1·335, Maggets or Maggots Lane (f.n.) 1776 O:309 (**lane**), Maggoty Lane (*Maggot Lane Close* c.1840) Wa:41 (**lane, clos**), Maggot Lane Pingle (f.n.) 1798 Db:475 (**lane, pingel**), Maggot Leys (f.n.) 1830 Db:158, Maggot Leys (f.n.; *Maggot Lees* 1575) Db:267 (**læs**), Maggot Mead (f.n.) 1839 Do:1·324 (**mēd**), *Magottesmore Wood* (f.n.) 1467 St:1·100 (**mōr, wudu**); *Magot Mills River* (f.n.) 1761 Brk:383 (**myln**), *Magotisplace* (f.n.) 1372 C:340 (**place**), *Magodespit* (f.n.) 1251 (also *Magotespyt* 1277) C:366 (**pytt**), *Maggotte Riddinge* (f.n.) 1561 Db:487 (***ryding**), Maget Sarte Coppice (f.n.) c.1609 O:417 [Schumer 2004:185] (**sart, copeis**), *Magotesole* (f.n.) 1386 K [PC] (**sol**), *Magotestilth* (f.n.) 1432 Ch:4·196 (**tilð**), *Magott woodes* (f.n.) 1605 W:501 (**wudu**).

(b) *crucem quæ vocatur Maggot* c.1250 Nt:179, Maggots (f.n.; *terr' voc' Magottes* 1575) Gl:3·37, *Maggots* (f.n.) 1750 K [PC], the Maggots (f.n.) 1839 Gl:2·210.

(c) *Swetemagote* (f.n.) 1398 Ess:598 (**swēte**).

~ (i) 'maggot' probably an altered form of ME *maðek*, *maddok* (?OE **maðuc* < *maða* 'maggot, worm', cf. ON *maðkr*, OSwed *maþker*, ODan *madk* for the diminutive suffix), perhaps influenced by *Magot*, as in (ii) 'magpie' < ME *Magot* fem. pers.n., a hypocoristic form of both *Margaret* and *Margery* (McClure 1998:118–23).

(i) 'maggot': MED *magot* (cf. *maddok*); EDD *maggot* sb.¹ (cf. *maddock* sb.¹); OED-2 *maggot*¹ (cf. *maddock*); OED-3 *maggot* n.¹ (cf. *maddock* n.); DES –.

(ii) 'magpie': MED –; EDD *maggot* sb.²; OED-2 *maggot*², *maggot-pie*; OED-3 *maggot* n.², *maggoty-pie*; cf. DES *Maggot*, *Meggat*.

magpie ModE, 'magpie' appears in a few late-recorded p.ns: *Magpie Bank* (f.n.) 1838 K [PC] (**banke**), *Magpie Coppice* (f.n.) c.1840 He [HeFND] (**copeis**), *Magpie Croft* (f.n.) c.1840 He [HeFND] (**croft**), *Magpie Field* (f.n.) 1839 Sa:5·40 (**feld**), *Magpie Mine* 1837 Db:28 (**mine**, cf. **madge**), *Magpies Nest* (f.n.) 1858 YW:5·90 (**nest**), *Magpie Piece* (f.n.) 1840 Brk:500, *Little Magpie Piece* (f.n.) c.1840 He [HeFND] (**pece**) and *Magpie Shaw* 1841 K [PC] (**sceaga**).

As an inn-name, Cox 1994a:22 & 90 notes *Magpie* from 1710 in Cambridge. Just as *Magpie Lane* (st.n. Oxford) 1772 (**lane**) is named from the *Magpie Inn* 1814 O:41 (**inn**) and *Magpie Square* (st.n. Lincoln) 1826 (**square**) is named from an inn called *Magpies* 1826 L:1·81 & 169, so it seems likely that inns may account for *Magpie Farm* (*The Magpye* 1779) Nth:62 and for the urban magpies of *Magpye Alley* (st.n.) 1795 Ldn [EPNS] (**alee**), *Magpye yard* (st.n.) 1682 Ldn [EPNS] (**geard**) and *Magpye lane* (st.n. Ware) 1667 Hrt:207 (**lane**).

For further discussion see Whaley 2008:293–7.

~ **mag, pie**; cf. **nanpie**.

MED –; EDD *magpie*; OED-2-3 *magpie* (cf. *maw-pie*); DES –.

mailing ME 'rented farm', late in Leemailing 1855 Nb [Ekwall

1962:179]; cf. MacDonald 1941:2, 67 & 85 for West Lothian examples (earliest 1551).

main ModW ‘narrow’, late, in Welsh names [Ch:4:28].

maire OFr, *m.* ‘mayor’. The word was also used (in ME as well as OFr) more generally for one in high judicial office (OED-3 sense 3), though as DES notes with Johnsonian dryness, ‘the term was limited in England to mayors of boroughs, much less numerous than the corresponding, but less dignified, “mayors” of France and Scotland’.

In the sense ‘chief officer of a city or borough’ the term evidently appears in two Leicester bdg.ns, *the maeres howose* 1530 Lei:1:160 (**hūs**) and Guildhall or Town Hall (*le Mothall* 1301, *the Gilde hall otherwise cald the Maires hall* 1466) Lei:1:105–6 (**hall**, cf. **mot-hall**), and it is found later in Lincoln in *Mayor’s Chair* 1828 L:1:29 (**chaiere**) with reference to one *William White, Mayor* (Cameron quotes from *The Date Book for Lincoln*: “1732 Mayor’s chair erected on the steep-hill, to prevent accidents as a place for porters to rest their loads on”). Note also Lord Mayor’s Whins YE:75 (***hvin**), the Lord Mayor of London being reportedly an overseer in 1632 of the possessions here in Brandesburton of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Where such context is wanting, there are a number of potential confusibles, at least in latish spellings, including **mare** (cf. *Mayorhold* Nth:7 & li), **ge-mære** (cf. *Moor Pot* We:2:28) and **mere** (cf. *Mayorhouse* Sr:221), though for the consistent retention in ME of the diphthong *ai* before *r* see Jordan:§233.

We might perhaps consider *maire* or the derived surname (on record from 1242, see Thuresson:138–9) in some minor names for which no analysis has previously been offered, such as *Mayors Close* (f.n.) c.1840 O:246 (**clos**), *Mayre Land* (f.n.) 1584 Do:3:188 (**land**), *Mayre Lane* (f.n.) 1548 Brk:22 (**lane**) and *Maiors meadow* (f.n.) 1674 K [Cullen 1997:193] (**mēd**). The surname has been suggested to occur in Meer’s Farm (cf. *Maiorescroft & Maioresgardyn* 1436) Sx:385 (**croft**, **gardin**).

~ substantival application of Lat **māior** ‘greater’ (see AND *maior* a. & s.; AFW *major*, nom.sg. *maire*, adj. & sb.), a development found already in post-classical Lat (OED-3).

AFW *major*; OFED *major*; AND *maior*; MED *mair(e)*; EDD *mayor*; OED-2-3 *mayor*; DES *Mayer*; DML *major* sense 10.

maister ME, ‘master’ has a considerable range of applications, including ‘leader, employer, schoolmaster, trainer of apprentices, ship’s captain’, and is widely used as a title of office and rank. It is also well recorded as a surname (Thuresson:178–9). Either the noun or the surname occurs in *Masters* (f.n.) 1838 Ch:4:29, *Maistre(s)feld* (f.n.) 1447 K [PC], *Masters Field* (f.n.) 1844 Ch:1:255 (**feld**), *Masters Ease* (f.n.; *Maistershey* 1640) Gl:3:207 (**ge-hæg**), *Masters Meadow* (f.n.) 1849 Ch:1:289, *Mastersmedewe* (f.n.) 1461 St:1:48, *Maystresmed* (f.n.) 1376–7 K [PC] and, with **ald** perhaps qualifying a third ‘Masters Meadow’ rather than *maister* itself, *Old Masters Meadow* (f.n.) 1848 Ch:1:186 (**mēd**). The reference is to a schoolmaster in *Maister’s School* (earlier *Schoolhouse* 1792) Do:1:218 (**scōl**, cf. **scole-maister**).

As a title of rank *maister* combines with an occupational term in *Maisterforesterplace* (f.n.) 1453 We:1:185 (**forester**, **place**), and it is found with a ME given name (most often, unsurprisingly, *John*) or patronymic surname in *Mr Andrews close* and *Mr Andrews Hedge* (f.ns) 1601 Lei:4:266 (**clos**, **hecg**), *Master John’s Croft* (f.n.) 1502 Sf [DP]

(**croft**), *Master John's Cross* (f.n.) 1474–5 K [Cullen 1997:97] (**cross**), *Maister Willelmum Enges* (f.n.) 1407 YE:322 (**eng**), *Maysterioneslond* (f.n.) 1426 Do:2·70 (**land**) and *Maysterjonys lane* (st.n. Colchester) 1352 Ess:371 (**lane**). A certain *Magistro Johanne* 1332 is associated with Master John's Farm (*M' Johnes (Lande)* 16th Ess:262 (**land**). Combined with surnames, *maister* occurs in *Mr Lumners bush* (f.n.) 1635 Lei:3·67 (**busc**), *Master Woodward's Cross* (f.n.) 1530 K [Cullen 1997:97] (**cross**), *Mr wrights howse* (bdg.n. Grimsby) 1673 L:5·102 (**hūs**), *Mr Rookes Iron Celler* (bdg.n. Poole) 1697 Do:2·43 (**iren**, **celer**) and *Master Shaves rowe* (st.n. Yarmouth) 1541 Nf:2·35 (**rāw**).

The word is also employed as an adjectival qualifier meaning 'chief, principal'. Context suggests that this may be the sense in *The widest of the Carre called Mastercrike* (f.n.) 1655 L:6·130 (**kriki**). OED-3 (sense C2, cf. OED-2 sense 26) notes *master-borough*, *-drain*, *-furrow*, *-street* and other terms embodying this meaning. The compound *master-furrow* (seemingly 'chief drainage-ditch', recorded from 1649) is noteworthy as the p.n. material provides an antedating in *Maystreffure* (f.n.) 1370 Brk:52 (**furh**).

Any of the senses set out above may underlie the following names in which no genitival *-s-* has been noted: *the Maister Bancke* (f.n.; *Mayster Bancke* 1593) YW:4·171 (**banke**), *Maister crofte* (f.n.) 1633 Cu:122 (**croft**), *Master Dike* (*Marsterdyke ende* 1572) L [Payling 1940:55] (**dīk**), *le maysterfald* (f.n.) 1304 Du:1·33 (**fald**), *Maistrefeld* (f.n.) 1415 Db:530 (**feld**), *Master Flat* (f.n.; *Master Flatts Close* 1691) Db:465 (**flat**, **clos**), *Maistergate* (f.n.) 1546 Nf:3·97 (**gata**), *Maisterlonde* 1403 Wa:82 (**land**), *Masterland Hill* (f.n.) 1606–7 O:256 (**land**, **hyll**), *Maistermedowe* (f.n.) 1389 Db:556, *le Maystermede* (f.n.) c.1300 Gl:3·207 (**mēd**), *Master Royd* (f.n.) 1851 YW:2·299 (***rodu**), *le Maysterrudying*' (f.n.) 1313 Ch:1·316 (***ryding**), *Master Sike* 1687 We:2·105 (**sīk**).

The total of five names combining *maister* with **mēd** should be noted, though its significance is unclear.

~ partly OE *mægester*, partly OFr *maistre*, both < Lat *magister* (*magis* 'more' (see **magna**), contrast **menistre**); see also **hore-maister**, **maistres**, **scole-maister**.

MED *maister*; EDD *master* sb.¹ & adj.; OED-2 *master* n.¹; OED-3 *master* n.¹ & a.; DES *Master*; DML – (cf. *magister*).

maistres ME, 'mistress' has a range of applications broadly comparable with those of **maister**, including 'woman in charge, female employer, schoolmistress', as well as 'sweetheart, concubine'. The word is used as a title of respect, developing into the familiar term for 'wife' (EDD). It has been suggested that in p.ns the word may refer to dower-land or jointure-land (cf. Do:1·60 and Hough 2002:52), though contextual support is wanting.

Despite the erratic spelling, we find in *ad terram dicte domine vocatam Menstryssmersshe* 1460 [1581] K evidence of *maistres* used of the lady of the manor (i.e. Hadlow; see Thirsk 2007:128). Note also the interchange of *Mrs Denton* with **madame** in Madam's Hedge O below.

The ModE contracted form *miss* (OED-2-3 *miss* n.²) may occur in *Misses Field* (f.n.) 1850 YW:3·12 (**feld**), *Miss Plat* (f.n.) 1842 Do:3·70 (**plat**) and *Miss Stichings* (f.n.) 1838 Do:2·241 (**sticcen**). The element appears with a surname in *Miss Andersons Fields* (f.n.) 1968 Lei:3·269 (**feld**), *Mrs Leche's Gorse* 20th Ch:4·57 (**gorst**), *M^{rs} Claytons Green* (f.n.) 1691 L:5·96 (**grēne**²), *Mrs Hudsons ground* (f.n.) 1674 Lei:2·243 (**grund**), *Aire's Hollow* (f.n.; *Mrs Eyres Hallowe* 1647) Db:512 (**halh**), *Madam's Hedge* (f.n.; *Mrs Denton's Hedge* 1760) O:429 (**hecg**), *Mrs Days Crabtree Holm* (f.n.) 1708 Lei:2·295, *Mrs Gills Persons Yard* (f.n.)

1745 Lei:2-297 (p.ns) and with both surname and given name in *Ms Susanna Claytons Long Close* (f.n.) 1731 L:5-98 (p.n.). Qualified by **lytel** but with no generic is Little Miss Vincent (f.n.) 20th Nf:2-63.

(a) Mistress Acre (f.n.) 1822 Db:567 (**æcer**), Mistress Close (f.n.) 1844 YW:4-139 (**clos**), Mistress Dole (f.n.) 1707 YW:3-274 (**dāl**), Mistress Field (f.n.) 1820 Db:267 (**feld**), Mistresses Grounds (f.n.) 1802 O:398, Mrs Ground (f.n.) 1839 Do:1-60 (**grund**), Mistress Mead (f.n.) 1845 Do:4 (forthcoming) (**mēd**), *Menstryssmersshe* (f.n.) 1460 [1581] K [Thirsk 2007:128] (**mersc**).

~ OFr *maïstresse* < *maïstre* (see **maïster**) + fem. suffix *-esse*.

MED *maïstres*(se; EDD *mistress*; OED-2 *mistress* n.; OED-3 *mistress* n. & a.; DES –.

***māker-** Brit, ‘masonry wall, enclosure’, probably also ‘ruin’ (a sense which GPC records for ModW *magwyr*), is a borrowing from Lat *māceria*. Coates 2005b plausibly suggests that the word appears in MOGGERHANGER (*Mogarhangr*’ 1216, *Mokerhanger* 1276, *Mouerhanguer* 1289) Bd:91–2 (**hangra**), perhaps alluding to the ruins of a nearby Roman town at Chesterfield in Sandy Bd. Continental examples of the Lat word as a p.n. are widespread, e.g. *Maceria* 1222 in Luxembourg province (Belgium), *Machera* 1171 in Rheinland-Pfalz (Germany), *Maisières* 1179–80 in Hainault (Belgium), *Maizières* (*Maceries* 1066) in Pas-de-Calais (France) [Gysseling 1960:647 & 652–3]; see further Dauzat-Rostaing:455–6 and van Durme 1996:376–7.

A form with different vowel quantities, Brit **makēr(ja)* from an insular Lat **macēria*, whence PrW, PrCu **maguīr*, has been noted in MAKER Co and Magor Co (see CPNE **magoer*) and in Magor (*Magor* c.1165) Monmouthshire [Morgan 2005:146–7]. At Magor Co is the site of a Roman winged-corridor villa (NGR SW 6342, see Scott 1993:48), perhaps the referent of the name. This form of the word seems also to occur, sometimes with genitive *-s*, in the old district-name MAKERFIELD (*Macrefeld* 1121, *Makeresfeld* 1204, *Makerefeld* 1213) La:93–4 (**feld**), perhaps with reference to the ruins of a Roman settlement at Wigan (NTC:41) or perhaps directly connected with *the two Makerfields* (f.ns) 16th La:94 in Ashton-in-Makerfield. Earlier evidence is needed to support Dodgson’s tentative suggestion that Maker Field, Makers Moor and Sweet Maker (f.ns) 1839–41 Ch:1-246 might contain the element.

~ Lat *māceria* ‘wall (of soft clay)’ (< *mācerō* ‘to make wet’, cf. Gk *μάσσω* ‘to knead’; see de Vaan 2008:357). For preservation of the long vowel in <moger> and its neglect in <magwyr> see Gratwick 1982:56.

GPC *magwyr*; CPNE **magoer*; MED –; EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES –; DML *maceria*, ~*ies*.

makerel OFr, *m*. ‘mackerel, sea-fish of the family Scombridæ’. The word seems to recur with **mēd** in *Makerell mede* (f.n.) 1541 Ha [Gover:257] and *Makerelmede* (f.n.) 1445 Do:1-203, and in a third *Mackrele Mead* (f.n.) Ha [Gover:239] which is earlier *terra voc*’ *Makerell* 1350 – a curious simplex. Although the Do name (in Broadwey parish) lies within a few miles of the coast, the two Ha names (in Cheriton and Farley Chamberlayne) are far from the sea, as is *Mackrelshire* (f.n.; *Makerelshawe* 1337) O:417 [Schumer 2004:114] (**sceaga**). The fish itself seems unlikely here, but the reference may be to (?mown) land of a dappled or striped appearance resembling the pattern of scales on a mackerel’s back (cf. ModE *mackerel sky*). This would better suit the simplex usage than the formally possible alternative OFr *makerelle* ‘procuress, female pimp’, or the ME surname *Mackrell*. The surname is, however, well evidenced, particularly in the South-West: *Mackrel Close*

(f.n.) 1847 Do:2·171 (**clos**) may be connected with one Edward *Makerell* 1523 and Mackrells Plot (f.n.) 1843 Do:2·28 (**plot**) with one William *Mackerill* 1664, while CHARLTON MACKRELL (*Cherletun Makerel* 1243) So takes its suffix from a family name. The surname may also underlie Mackerel Copse 1830 Brk:306 (**copeis**).

~ uncertain.

AND-1 *makerel*; AFW *maquerel*; OFED *maquerel*²; MED *makerel*; EDD *mackerel*; OED-2 *mackerel*¹; OED-3 *mackerel* n.¹; DES *Mackrell*; DML *makerellus*.

makomet ME, ‘idol, pagan god’, an application of the name of the Arab prophet Mohammed (commonly though mistakenly believed by medieval Christians to have been worshipped as a god). The word is first noted in an English text c.1275 and as a surname 1161 (OED). It occurs early in *Macamathehou* (f.n.) 1216–72 L:6·211 (**haugr**), presumably to be interpreted as ‘heathen mound’. The later widespread use of the word (as *mammet*, *mommit*, cf. Malone 1922:197) for ‘a scarecrow, an effigy’ has surprisingly not been encountered in minor names.

~ OFr *mahomet* ‘idol’, MLat *Machometus* (< Arabic *Muhammad*).

MED *Makomet(e)*; AFW *mahomet*; OFED *mahomet*; AND-1 *mahumet*; EDD *mommet*; OED-2 *Mahomet*, *Muhammad*, *maumet*; OED-3 *Mahomet*, *Muhammad*, *mammet*; DES –; DML *Mahometus*.

maladerie OFr, *f.* ‘hospital, especially for lepers’. The 12th-century place-name material antedates other evidence for the word in England by some centuries.

A Lat form *malanteria* (see MED *malantari* n., OED-3 *malantary* n.) may help to explain the *n* which appears sporadically in the record of Holy Innocents Hospital in Lincoln (*le Malendry* 1535, *malandria* 1544, *the Mallendry* 1698) and survives in Malandry Field & Closes L:1·29.

The leper-hospital called The Maldry in Sandwich K, dedicated to St Anthony, is first documented in 1315 (Sweetinburgh 2004:187–8). The building no longer survives, but the name is still applied to a small piece of land at the site (Bentwich 1975:67). Of the two Lincolnshire examples below, Holy Innocents Hospital in Lincoln is believed to have been founded as a hospital before 1092 (cf. Sweetinburgh 2004:36 n.86), and it is noteworthy that in 1346 its dedication is said to be to the Holy Innocents and St Mary Magdalen (whose connection with leper-hospitals is discussed under **magdalen**). The other, a lost *maladerie*, is in Brocklesby parish which also contains Coatham Nunnery (a Cistercian Priory of Nuns founded c.1150) and Newsham Abbey.

No medieval forms have been found for Maldry Field (f.n. in Edmondsham) & Wood (in adjacent Wimborne St Giles) 1838 Do:2·220 & 269.

(b) Holy Innocents Hospital (bdg.n. Lincoln; *leprosis hospitalis Linc* 1154–89 [1406], *apud Hospitalem Innocencium extra Lincolniam domus illa vocatur maladria* 1316, *Magistro maladrie extra Lincoln* 1332, *Le Maladrie* 1334) L:1·113–14, *ad maladerie* (f.n.) 1154–89 [e.13th] L:2·73, The Maldry (bdg.n. Sandwich; *le Maldrye* 1408, *the Mullery* 1499) K:592, *Malederie* (f.n. in Ferry Fryston) 12th YW:2·69.

~ OFr *malade* ‘sick, leprous’ < Lat *male* ‘ill’ + *habitus*, past part. of *habēre* ‘to have’ (DEHF s.vv. *malade*, *maladrerie*).

AFW *maladerie*; OFED *maladerie*; AND-1 *maladerie*; MED *maldrīe* n.; EDD –; OED-2 *maladerie*; OED-3 *maladerie* n.; DES –; DML *maladaria*.

malander ME, ‘mallender, a sore in a horse’s knee’, surviving only in the plural *mallenders* ‘chronic dermatitis of horses’, seems to occur in Mallender (f.n.) 1714 Nt [JC] and Mallender’s Cottage (*The Mallinder* 16th, *The two Malenders* n.d.) Wo:181. The appearance of the definite article in the earliest form would correspond to its sporadic use with the common noun.

The motivation behind these originally simplex place-names is unknown. Wo:181 may be right to suppose that the ground was so called from an outbreak of mallenders upon it, but we might also consider a transferred topographical sense, perhaps alluding to patchy land which resembles the disease’s characteristic sores (cf. **galla**).

An obscure ME plant-name *malandre*, recorded once in a medicinal recipe (MED), looks an unlikely alternative.

~ OFr *malandre* < Lat *malandria* (neut.pl. & fem.sg.).

MED –; AFW *malandre*; OFED *malandre* adj. [sic]; AND-1 –; EDD –; OED-2 *malander*; OED-3 *mallender*; DES –; DML –.

maldacht OIr, *f.* ‘curse, malediction’, or its MÍr reflex *mallaicht*, seems to appear in the ‘inversion compound’ Dunmallard Hill (*Dunmalloght* 1307, *Dunmallok* 1329) Cu:187 (**dún**), i.e. ‘curse fort’ (cf. Coates 2006:69).

~ Lat *maledictum* ‘curse’ (see Thurneysen 1946:§153 for OÍr -*ld-* > MÍr -*ll-*), cf. equivalent Brit borrowings ModW *melldith*, MCo *molloth*, Bret *malloz*.

LEIA *maldacht*.

malkin ME, ‘wench, lower-class woman, servant girl’, is a jocular or contemptuous application of the ME fem. pers.n. *Malkin* (cf. **mab**). It is also recorded with the meanings ‘mop’, ‘effeminate man’ and, from the 16th century, ‘scarecrow’. In later northern dialects it refers to cats and hares (EDD). Although these senses can scarcely be distinguished from the pers.n. (or the derived surname) or from each other in p.ns, the definite article in *the Mawkins orchard* (f.n.) Ch indicates that an element other than a personal name must sometimes be reckoned with. The sense ‘scarecrow’, well attested in EDD throughout England, seems likely to appear in the p.n. material (contrast northern **flay-crow**, ambiguous **bugge** and **dēad-mann**, obsolescent **shewels**, and note the surprising absence of the term *scarecrow*).

In late-recorded names in the north, especially the north-west, confusion is possible with the locally restricted term **malt-kiln**, which sometimes appears as *Malkin* following loss of -*l-* (note that *Malking Greave* YW below may be connected with Maltkin Close YW:4·151) Wainwright 1975:241 plausibly interprets the simplex Mawkin (f.n.) 1840 La as **malt-kiln**, and we should be similarly suspicious of Mawkin (f.n.) 1848 Ch:1·129.

A few names offer further difficulties of interpretation. The generic in Mawkinshire Lane Nt is uncertain, but it looks like **scir**¹ used, perhaps jokingly, of a minor district or street (cf. Foghamshire W:90 and the division of the city of York YE:280 into shires). As Nt:322 observes, ‘Malkin and her maidenhood were a frequent subject of jest in medieval times and doubtless this lane was one of ill repute’. Compare the two examples with **lane** below (also perhaps Malkins lane 1842 in East Flintshire [Owen 1994:78]) and discussion of such names containing **mab** and **mag**.

The mysterious Mawkinherds (*Mawkinhirds* 1777) Ess:470 may or may not belong here. In *Merkynhill* (f.n.) 1451 Do:1·184 (**hyll**) we possibly have an early form of ModE *merkin* ‘merkin’, of uncertain origin (perhaps a variant of *malkin*, see OED-3 *merkin* n.¹).

(a) Malkin Acres (f.n.) 1791 Db:528–9 (**æcer**), *Malkenbalke* (f.n.) 15th Db:549 (**balca**), Malkin’s Bank 1831 Ch:3·19 (**banke**), *Malkynysbrome* (f.n.) 1493 Ess:631 (**brōm**), Mawkin Butts (f.n.) 1841 YW:1·269 (**but** or **butte**), Mawkin Chapel (f.n.) 1838 Ch:2·14 (**chapele**), *Mawkyn closse* (f.n.) 1578 Cu:363 (**clos**), Malkin Croft (f.n.) 1800 Db:225, *Malkincroft* (f.n.) 1344 YW:1·325, *Malkin Crofte* (f.n.) 1669 YW:1·12, *Malkin Crofts* (f.n.) 1553 YW:1·203, Malkins Croft (f.n.) 1844 Ch:2·93, *Malkyncroft* (f.n.) c.1453 K [Cullen 1997:52], *Mawkins Croft* (f.n.) n.d. Sa [Foxall 1980:44] (**croft**), *Mawkin Crosse* (f.n.) 1613–53 YW:5·128 (**cross**), Mawkin Ditch Close (f.n.) c.1840 O:177 (**dīc, clos**), *Malkinfeild* 1506 YW:1·236–7, *Malkins Field* (f.n.) 1711 Ch:4·91, *Malkynfeld* (f.n.) 1436 Ch:3·105 (**feld**), *Malkynsflatte* (f.n.) 1466 Ch:5i·xxviii (**flat**), Makins Ford (f.n.; *Malkenford* 1547) Brk:301 (**ford**), Malkin Yard (f.n.) 1837 Db:596, *Malkinyarde* (f.n.) 1541 YW:1·275, Mawkins Yard (f.n.) 1788 Db:430 (**geard**), *Malking Greave* (f.n.) 1577 YW:4·151 (**grāfe**), *Malkynhey* (f.n.) 1462 YW:3·171, *Malkyn(s)heyes* (f.n.) 1539–40 Sa:2·174, Mawkin Hey (f.n.) 1840 La [Wainwright 1975:241] (**ge-hæg**), Mawkins Head Land Close (f.n.; *the Malkin headland* 1658) Db:239 (**hēafod-land**), Malkin Hedge (f.n.) 1830 Db:546 (**hecg**), Mankinghole (*Mawkin Hole* 1848) YW:4·202, Mawkin Holes (f.n.) 1848 Ch:1·129 (**hol**), *Malkynholme* (f.n.) 1462 YW:3·171 (**holmr**), Malkin House (*Mawkin House* 1709) YW:2·238, *Malkynghows* (f.n.) 1424 (also *Malkynneshows* 1452) Ess:609 (**hūs**), Malkin Hill (*Malking Hill* 1775) Nt:242 (**hyll**), Malkin Lane 20th YW:6·199, Mawkin Lane (f.n.) 1840 Sa:3·8 (**lane**), *Mawkins Leasow* (f.n.) n.d. Sa [Foxall 1980:44] (**lāes**), *Malkynslye* (f.n.) 1539–40 Sa:2·157 (**lēah**), Malkin Mead (f.n.; *Makin meade* 1635) Mx:211 (**mēd**), *the Mawkins orchard* (f.n.) 1637 Ch:3·118 (**orceard**), Malkin Park (f.n.) 1838 Ch:3·297 (**parc**), *Malkinsparrok* (f.n.) 1455 Wo:391 (**pearroc**), Malkins Pingle (f.n.) 1848 Db:388 (**pingel**), Malkins Pits (f.n.) 1838 Sa:3·102 (**pytt**), Mawkinshire Lane (f.n.; *Malkynshire* 1546, *Mawkynshyre* (*venella*) 1585) Nt:322 (?**scīr**¹), *Malkineslade* (f.n.) 13th C:343 (**slæd**), *Malkyngwong* (f.n.) 1422 Nf:2·19 (**vangr**).

~ ME *Malkin* fem. pers.n., a hypocoristic form of *Maud/Matilda* (McClure 1998:102–7).

MED *malkin*; EDD *mawkin* sb. (cf. *malkin, mailin*); OED-2 *malkin, mawkin*; OED-3 *malkin*; DES *Malkin*.

mall ModE, ‘promenade’ (later specifically ‘sheltered promenade’), originally an alley in which the game of **pall-mall** was played. The Mall (st.n. Westminster; *th’Mell* 1673, *the Mall* 1674, *the Maul* 1706 [OED]) Mx [Mills 2004:146] is the most celebrated example, soon known as a fashionable open-air walk once the game’s popularity had diminished. The Mall (st.n. Hammersmith) 1813 Mx:110 and The Mall (st.n. Chiswick) Mx:89 are likely to be transferrals of the Westminster name. Two instances of The Mall (cf. *Mall Ground* 1823) occur in Wt [Mills 1996:70], that in Newport being a raised footpath running parallel to the main road, and OED also notes examples (whose status as names is uncertain) in Chelmsford Ess (1737) and Norwich Nf (1808).

~ **pall-mall**.

MED –; EDD –; OED-2 *mall*¹; OED-3 *mall* n.¹; DES –.

mallard OFr (AN), *m.* ‘mallard drake’, The word has been applied throughout the ME and ModE periods to the wild duck of both sexes, but has most often been limited to the male (Lockwood 1993:99). It appears in *le Mallard acr* (f.n.) 1412 Ch:4·244 (**æcer**) and probably Mallard Lake (f.n.) n.d. Ha [Grundy 1924:121] (?**lake**), perhaps also in Mallards Green

(f.n.) 1841 Do:1·378 (**grēne**²) and Mallard Wood (f.n.) n.d. Ha [Grundy 1924:37] (**wudu**) though the derived surname is equally possible. Mallards Tail (f.n.) 1837 Do:2·72 (**tægl**) may refer to a piece of land in the shape of a duck's tail, but Field 1993:141 points out that Mallards Close (f.n.) 1846 Do:2·62 (**clos**) is not far away (a fair comment, though the parish of Bloxworth intervenes between Anderson and Morden).

~ Lat *masculus* 'male' (cf. Väänänen 1988:86–7), OFr suffix -*ard*.

AND-1 *mallard*; AFW *malart*; OFED *malart* (cf. *maslart*); MED *malard(e)*; EDD SUPPLEMENT *mallard*; OED-2-3 *mallard*; DES *Mallard*; DML *mallardus*.

malt OE and ON, *n.* 'malt', i.e. barley steeped and softened for brewing, is found chiefly in combinations indicating its processing or storage (**cot**, **hall**; **malt-hūs**, **malt-kiln**, **malt-milne**, **rūm**¹) and its trade (**cēping**, **cros**, **market**, **rāw**, and presumably also **strēt** whether alluding to the product's long-distance transportation or its immediate place of sale). Note that *the Mault hall* in Canterbury K is perhaps the *malthalla* of Christ Church Priory 'where malting took place' as detailed in Smith 1943:40 (cf. DML *malthalla*). *Mautholm* YE is said to be near to *Barliholm* (see **bærlic**).

We have a tool of the malt-making trade ME *malt-shovele* (MED s.v. *malt*; see **scofi**) in *Malt Shovel* 1853 Db:417, *Malt Shovel* (inn-name in Higham) 1900 K [PC] and other inn-names later recorded. *Malt Shovel* (f.n.) n.d. YE [Field 1993:137] may describe the irregular shape of the piece of land.

ModE *malt-office* 'a malt-house' (OED-3 s.v. *malt* n.¹) appears in *Malt Office* Croft (f.n.) 1846 Db:383, *Malt Office* Croft (f.n.) 1843 Db:666 (**croft**), *Malt Office Lane* 1829 Sf [Arnott:26] (**lane**), *Malt Office* (f.n.) 1845 Db:445 and *Malt Office* (f.n.) 1842 Db:584; see **office**. A little earlier we find *the Malting Office* 1677 Sf [Arnott:21], antedating OED-3 *malting-office* (s.v. *malting* n.) recorded from 1710. ModE *malting* in the sense 'a malt-house' occurs in *Malting Lane* (st.n. Braughing) 20th Hrt:189 (**lane**, "so named from a malting at one end of it"). In *Maltingflete* 1444 L [Payling 1940:80] (**flēot**) we possibly have a further antedating of this sense, or more likely ME *malting* 'the act or process of making malt' (MED *malting(e)* ger.).

The ODan masc. pers.n. *Malti* (gen. *Malta*), of uncertain origin but well recorded in independent use (SPNLY:194), is a possible confusable. It probably appears with **bȳ** in the following Danelaw p.ns :

- (1) MALTBY (*Maltebi* 1086) L [Cameron 1998:85]
- (2) MALTBY LE MARSH (*Maltebi* 1086) L [Cameron 1998:85]
- (3) MALTBY (*Maltebi* 1086) YN:171
- (4) MALTBY (*Maltebi* 1086) YW:1·137
- (5) MAUTBY (*Malteby* 1086) Nf:2·10

It has been proposed that ON or OE *malt* is the qualifier in these five names (SSNEM:58–9, CDEPN:394–5), partly based on concerns about the relative lateness of record of the pers.n. *Malti* in Denmark and partly on the grounds that malt was a common export from England to Scandinavia, but the case is weakened by the persistent spellings with medial *-e-* which, as Sandred 1987:315–16 observes, 'it seems most natural to derive from the weak OScand gen. ending *-a* (a genitival compound of the appellative, *malt* being a strong neuter, would show an *-s* or, if anglicised, *-es*)'. See Insley 1994:296–8 for more detailed discussion of these names and a reassessment of the evidence for *Malti* in England. A slightly different case is MAWTHORPE L in which *Malti* is possible, or *malt* might be preferred since the run of early spellings shows no sign of medial *-e-*, but really we should be cautious about even assuming <t> to belong to the first element rather than solely to *-thorp*.

MAUTBY Nf, *Mautholm* YE and MAWTHORPE L show

vocalization of *l* to *u* (Jordan:§252).

Evidence in p.n.s for ME *malter* ‘malt-maker, malt-trader’ or the derived surname (OED-3 *malter*, DES *Malter*; Fransson:79) is limited. It seems to occur in Malters Orchard (f.n.) 1841 Do:4 (forthcoming) (**orceard**), unless this is a **malt-hūs** in disguise. Payling 1940:156 takes *Malterowe* L to contain *malter* rather than *malt*, which is possible but unprovable without further spellings.

(a) Malt acre (f.n.) c.1840 Gl:3·135 (**æcer**), *Maltchepyng* (st.n. St Albans) 1446 Hrt:87 (**cēping**), *maltekotes* (f.n.) e.13th [1272–1307] L:4·71 (**cot**), *Maltecrofte* (f.n.) 1290 Sr [Meekings & Shearman 1968:7] (**croft**), Malt Cross (in the Market Place of Nottingham) 1496 Nt [PC] (**cross**), *Malte furlong* (f.n.) 1605 O:182, *Maltefurlonge* (f.n.) 1468 Gl:3·141 (**furlang**), *the Mault hall* (bdg.n. Canterbury) 1546 K [Cullen 1997:574] (**hall**), *Mautholm* (f.n.) 1417 YE:196 (**holmr**), *The malte Markett* (in Grimsby) 1594 L:5·62, *Maltmarkat* (in Lincoln) 1249–53 [14th] L:1·29, *le Maltmarket* (st.n. Cambridge) 1389 C:49 (**market**), Malt Orchard (f.n.) 1699 Db:292 (**orceard** – cf. Malters Orchard Do discussed above), *Malterowe* (f.n.) 1474 L [Payling 1940:156], *le Malte Rowe* (st.n. Northampton) 1540 Nth:8 (**rāw**), *Maltroomes* (f.n.) 1669 Db:656 (**rūm**¹), the Malt Sic (f.n.) 1779 Lei:3·24 (**sīk**), *Maltstreate* (f.n.) 1470 Sr:365 (**strēt**), ?MAWTHORPE (*Malthorp* 1242–3, *Mauthorp* 1251, *Malthorpe* 1311) L [Cameron 1998:87] (**porp**).

~ IE (*s*)*mel-* ‘to grind’ + dental suffix = ‘ground up, soft’ (see Lehmann 1986:144 (G42), Kluge-Seebold:536 s.v. *Malz*, and Grigson 1974 s.v. *malt*); **malt-hūs**, **malt-kiln**, **malt-man**, **malt-milne**.

DOE(fc) *mealt*; MED *malt*; EDD *malt* sb.¹; OED-2-3 *malt* n.¹; DES –.

malt-hūs OE, *n.* ‘malt-house, building in which malt is made and stored’. The compound is recorded once in OE, as *mealthus* glossing *brationarium* (see DML *bracionarium*). As a locative-cum-occupational surname it is on record from 1297 (Löfvenberg:128), though there is nothing to indicate that the surname appears in the p.n. material.

Alternation with the term **malt-kiln** is seen in two Cheshire names below.

(a) Malthouse Close (f.n.) 1839 Brk:169, Malt House Close (f.n.) 1839 K [Cullen 1997:393], Malthouse Close (f.n.) c.1840 O:178, Malthouse Close (f.n.) 1802 O:220, Malthouse Close (f.n.) 1841 Nf:3·68, Malthouse Close (f.n.) 1838 Nf:3·139, Malt house close (f.n.) 1844 Nf:3·140 (**clos**), Malthouse Corner (f.n.) 1842 Brk:33 (**corner**), *Maltehouse crofte* (f.n.) 1540 YW:2·44, Malt House Croft (f.n.) 1811 Db:103, Malthouse Croft (f.n.) 1847 Db:440 (**croft**), Malthouse Field (f.n.) 1839 K [Cullen 1997:284] (**feld**), *Malthouse Yard* (f.n.) 1732 Sa:2·93 (**geard**), Malthouse Farm (*Malt House Ground* 1846) Brk:202, Malthouse Farm (*Malthouse Ground and Piece* 1839) Brk:252, Malthouse Ground (f.n.) 1841 Brk:192 (**grund**), Malthouse Lane (f.n.) 1843 K [Cullen 1997:254] (**lane**), Malt House Meadow (f.n.) 1837 K [Cullen 1997:77], Malthouse Meadow (f.n.) 1845 Sa:3·210, *Malthouse Meadow* (f.n.) 1773 Sa:5·16 (**mēd**), ?Mautus Moor (f.n.) 1841 YW:5·86 (**mōr**).

(b) *Maltehou*s (f.n.) 1429 YW:1·134, *le Maltehouse* (f.n.) 1487 Gl:2·56, *le Malthous* 1429 Ch:2·218, *Malthous* (f.n.) 1420 Lei:3·91, *the malt house* (bdg.n. Lyme Regis) 1718 [18th] Do:4 (forthcoming), *the malthouse* (part of Shaftesbury Abbey) 1565 Do:3·153, Malt House 1811 Do:2·262, *Malthouse* (f.n.) 1736 K [Cullen 1997:202], *the Oatmeal mill and Malt house* (f.n.) 1718 L:6·55, Malthouse (*ye molthouse* 1707) Sx [Coates 2010:97 & 158], *le Malthouse* (bdg.n. Kendal) 1574 We:1·119, Malthouse Copse (*Malt House* 1846) Brk:186, Malthouse Farm 1840 Ha [Gover:105], Maltkiln (f.n., *Malt House* 1831) Ch:4·52 [headform

corrected Ch:5i·xl], Maltkiln Farm (*Malt House* 1831) Ch:2·271, *the Brewhouse & Maulthowse* (bdg.n. Dorchester) 1623 Do:1·354, *the maulthouse* (bdg.n. Canterbury) 1546 K [Cullen 1997:563].

~ **malt, hūs.**

MED *malt hous* s.v. *malt*; EDD –; OED-2 *malt-house*; OED-3 *malt-house* n.; DES *Malthouse*.

malt-kiln ModE, ‘malt-kiln’, i.e. ‘kiln for drying malt’, has not been noted in p.ns further south than Derbyshire and Lincolnshire, though EDD records it also in Suffolk and Somerset.

It is difficult to know what to make of the <Maltkin> spellings which appear in examples from Ch (×2) and YW below, and it is equally tricky to interpret the simplex <Mawkin> found in Ch and La (see **malt** for the vocalization of *l* to *u*). Loss of *-l* in **cyln** is not expected, whereas the assimilation to *-l* of final *-n* seen in EDD *malt-kill* and the *Malt kill* p.n. forms below is a common development (Jordan:§173; cf. **myln**). Influence from the word **malkin** would appear to be the motivation (so too for the loss of *t*), with confusion resulting, as also noted in East Flintshire by Owen 1994:10, 33 & 395 (including some debatable evidence that an otherwise unrecorded **marl-kiln* might be involved in the mix). Wainwright 1975:241 may be right to see *malt-kiln* in more La f.ns than have been accepted here (e.g. Mawkin Hey 1840, included under **malkin**). In the case of Maltkin Close (f.n.) 1842 YW:4·151, as discussed under **malkin**, there may be a connection with *Malking Greave* 1577, in which case *malt-kiln* should probably be ruled out, though we might observe that **clos** (hardly a diagnostic generic, admittedly) appears repeatedly with **malt-hūs**. Fuller documentation or extra-linguistic context are required.

In two Cheshire names below the term alternates with **malt-hūs**.

(a) Maltkiln Close (f.n.) 1843 Db:332 (**clos**), Malt Kiln Field (f.n.) 1839 La [Wainwright 1975:241] (**feld**), *Maltkiln Lane* (st.n. Hexham) 1860 Nb [Dallison & Jennings 2001:8] (**lane**), Maltkiln Orchard (f.n.) 1845 Ch:3·77 (**orceard**), *Maltkiln Piece* (f.n.) 1812 L [Payling 1940:67] (**pece**).
(b) *Malt Kill* (f.n.) 1734 Cu:303, *the Malt kill* (f.n.) 1631 L:3·46, Malt Kiln (f.n.) 1844 Ch:2·109, Maltkiln (f.n. 1838, also *Malt House* 1831) Ch:4·52 [headform corrected Ch:5i·xl], Maltkiln Farm (*Malt House* 1831) Ch:2·271, Malt Kiln (f.n.) 1839 La [Wainwright 1975:241], Malt Kiln 1850 YW:3·273, Malt Kiln (f.n.) 1844 YW:4·85, Maltkiln Farm 1831 Ch:2·92, Maltkiln Farm 20th Ch:3·66 [& Ch:5i·xxxiv], Maltkiln Hill (?cf. *Mawkilne* 1684) YW:5·101, Maltkin (f.n.) 1839 YW:4·49, Maltkin Cottages 1831 Ch:2·53, Maltkin Farm 20th Ch:3·58, ?Mawkin (f.n.) 1848 Ch:1·129, ?Mawkin (f.n.) 1840 La [Wainwright 1975:241].

~ **malt, cyln.**

MED –; EDD *malt-kill* or *-kell* s.v. *malt* sb.¹; OED-2-3 *malt-kiln* s.v. *malt* n.¹; DES –.

malt-man ME, ‘maltster, malt-maker or malt-seller’, though in modern dialect recorded by EDD only in Scotland, is earlier well evidenced in southern England, and a derived surname, on record from 1294 (Sundby 1963:151, cf. Thuresson:202), appears in O, Wa and Wo.

A unique form with medial *-s-* (possibly through contamination with ME *maltster*) seems to occur in the plural in *the maltesmen’s chamber* 1565 Do:3·153 (**chambre**), part of Shaftesbury Abbey named in a document which also lists *the malthouse*.

The following names may contain either the occupational term or surname.

(a) Maltmans Yard (f.n.) 1842 Sa:2·131 (**geard**), Maltman’s Hill 1841 K [CDEPN] (**hyll**), *Maltmans way* (st.n. Weston) 1630 Hrt:146 (**weg**).

~ **malt, mann.**

MED *malt-man* s.v. *malt*; EDD *malt-man* s.v. *malt* sb.¹; OED-2-3 *maltman*; DES *Maltman*.

malt-mill ME, ‘malt-mill, mill for grinding malt’ is particularly well represented in place-names in the central midlands, occurring sporadically elsewhere. The compound has not been found in OE, though continental cognates may be noted, e.g. Malzmühle (*Malzmolen* 1215) in Nordrhein-Westfalen (Germany) [Gysseling 1960:656].

(a) *le Maltmylcroft* (f.n.) 1551 K [PC] (**croft**), *The Malt Mill house* 1652 Lei:2·292 (**hūs**), *Malte mille lane* (st.n. Birmingham) 1553 Wa:39, *Maltemyl lane* (st.n. Hitchin) 1556 Hrt:9, *Malt Mill Lane* (st.n. Alcester; *Maultmill lane* 1607) Wa:194 (**lane**), *Mill Street* (st.n. Oakham, *Malt mill stret* 1610) Ru:106 (**strēt**).

(b) *Maltemyll* (f.n.) 1485–1509 Ha [Gover:233], *Malthouse Farm* (*one maulte mill* 1609) Do:3·21, *the Malt mill* (f.n.) 1641 Lei:3·248, *Maltmill* (f.n.) 1608 Ru:174, *le Maltmylle* (f.n.) 1460 Hrt:258, *Maltmyln* 1434 YE [Fine:16·210], *the Mault Mill* (f.n.) 1706 Ru:23, *ye Mault Mill* (f.n.) 1670 Ru:210, *the mault milne* 1550 Lei:2·180.

(c) *The Horse Malt Mill* (*þe horse myln* 1453, *one Mawlte Mylne called the horse mylne* 1607, *the Horse Malt Mill* 1709) Lei:1·149 (**hors**), *Barlythorpe Mault myll* 1611 (f.n.) Ru:66–7 (p.n.).

~ **malt, myln.**

MED *malt-miln* s.vv. *malt* and *milne*; EDD –; OED-2-3 *malt-mill* s.v. *malt* n.¹; DES –.

mammoth ModE, ‘scrap, shred’ is found, presumably in the sense ‘untidy heap or mess, litter, dirty mixture’ (EDD), in *Mammoths* (f.n.; *past’ voc’ the Mammoth* 1575) Gl:3·45.

~ uncertain; OED-3 suggests a base **mam-* of imitative [chewing] origin + the diminutive suffix *-ock*.

MED –; EDD *mammoth*; OED-2-3 *mammoth* n.; DES –.

manach OIr, *m.* ‘monk’ seems to appear in the ‘inversion compound’ *Scarrawmanwick* (*Marisci Scalremanoch* c.1240, *Scalremanoc* (surn.) c.1260) Cu:250 (**skáli**, in the pl. *skáilir*).

~ **monachus** (perhaps via Bret, see Schrijver 1995:95 for the *-a-* in OIr); cf. equivalent Brit borrowings MW *manach* (ModW *mynach*), OCo *manach*, Bret *manac’h*.

LEIA *manach*.

mange ModE ‘skin disease’, uncertain in *Manswood* (*Mangewood* 1774) Do:2·142, *Manswood Coppice* (*Mangewood* 1618) Do:2·237; cf. *Mangey Meadow* (f.n.) 1838 K [PC].

mangere OE, *m.* ‘trader, dealer, merchant’ is often found in compounds (of which **iren-mongere** is the commonest in the place-name material) denoting ‘seller of’ particular types of goods. The uncompounded *mangere* is somewhat rarer in place-names (note that EDD records *monger* ‘trader’ only from Sx). A pejorative overtone, well evidenced from the 16th century, is possibly present earlier (cf. Swed *månglare* ‘hawker’).

Forms with and without *-s-* occur in the examples below, but it is difficult to read much into the variation. The derived ME surname *Mangere/Mongere*, while not common (Fransson:52), is of course

possible in some cases; it is thought to appear in *Mangers* 1592 Ess:47 and in *Mongers* (f.n.; *Mongereshamme* 1291) Sr:392 (**hamm**). Possibly an OE gen.pl. *mangera* underlies a place-name or two (Mangerton Do, for instance), though there is no sure sign of it in the record.

In *Ketmongergate* (st.n. York) 1175 YE:291 (**gata**) we have an ON compound **kiotmangari* (cf. OSwed *kiötmangare*) ‘dealer in flesh’. An otherwise wholly unrecorded ModE *bell-monger* ‘seller of bells’ appears (perhaps as a surname) in *Bellmongers* (f.n.; *Belmongers* c.1605) O:128. Note also ME *fel-mongere* ‘fell-monger, seller of animal hide’ (MED s.v. *fel* n.¹, OED-2 *fellmonger*) in *the Old Fellmongers Yard* 1796 K [PC] (**ald, geard**).

In late-recorded names with only *-a-* spellings, it is possible that *mangere* could be confused with ME *maunger* ‘fodder-trough’ (< OFr, see OED-3 *manger* n.¹), a word which is applied topographically to a great hollow at *The Manger* 20th Brk:383 (identifiable with *on hring pytt* S:561). Investigation of the local pronunciation, as well as an eye to the landscape, might elucidate an otherwise ambiguous name such as *Manger Croft* (f.n.) 1841 Db:517 (**croft**).

(a) *Mangeres[croft]* (f.n.) 1250 C:317 (**croft**), *Manger Flatt* (f.n.; *Monger flatt* 1592) Db:357 (**flat**), *Mangersford* 1442 D:9 (**ford**), *mongerestond* (f.n.) 1216–72 K [PC], *Monger Land* (f.n.; *Mongyrlondfild* 1490) Wa:342 (**land**), *Mongers Meadow* (f.n.) n.d. Ha [Grundy 1927a:318] (**mēd**), *Mangerton* (*Mangerton* 1207, *Mangereston* 1274) Do [Mills 1986:104] (**tūn**), *le Mongeris[wey]* (f.n.) 1317 C:349 (**weg**), *Mongeris[welle]* (f.n.) 1312 C:351 (**welle**).

~ OE *mangian* ‘to trade’ (and more widely in Gmc < Lat *mangō* ‘trader’; cf. Lehmann 1986:216 (K12)); **corn-mongere**, **fish-mongere**, **flax-mongere**, **flāesc-mangere**, **hei-mongere**, **hors-mongere**, **iren-mongere**, **ket-mongere**, ***matt-mongere**, **mele-mongere**, **smere-mongere**, **stokfish-mongere**, **woll-mongere**.

DOE(fc) *mangere*; MED *mōnger(e* n.; EDD *monger*; OED-2-3 *monger* n.¹; DES *Manger*.

mangold ModE ‘mangel-wurzel’, late [Db:279].

***mang-thorn** ME, a word unknown to the dictionaries, is cautiously interpreted in O:458–9 as a plant-name. It appears in a handful of place-names within a very limited area (Nth, O). There is also a Manthorn Farm (NGR SP 6329) in Chetwode Bk, though no early forms are available.

The first element of the compound is obscure, the second clearly **born**. We might compare *Mangle Thorn Field* (f.n.; *Mangle Thorne* 1656) Bd [Schneider 1997:43 & 52] and suggest a connection with OED-2-3 *mangle* v.¹ ‘to hack, cut, lacerate by repeated blows, to mutilate’. Given the plentiful examples of **coppede** ‘beheaded’, **cuttede** ‘cut’ and (in the south-west) **loppede** ‘lopped’ with **born** in place-names, presumably with reference to pollarding, it seems legitimate to wonder whether we have in **mang-thorn* (?< **manglede-born*) another regional term for a thorn-pollard. This is of course very uncertain, and a specific plant-name is probably the safest supposition. We must concede that on the evidence available <mang(le)> is not formally parallel to **coppede**, **cuttede** and **loppede**, though medial *-ed-* would be readily lost in compound names in ME, especially before the *-th-* of **born**, cf. the developments to *Cop-* (e.g. *Cophornfeld* 1433 Hrt:83), *Cut-* (e.g. *Cutthorne* 1517–19 K [PC]) and *Lop-* (cf. *Lobthorn* (f.n.) n.d. So [Grundy 1935:85]).

If the Bk and Bd names mentioned above do indeed belong here then the term is found in four contiguous counties.

(a) *Mangthorne leyes* (f.n.) 1566 Nth [Whittlewood] (**lāes**).

(b) Mangthorn Wood (*Mangthorne* 1679) O:229, Mangton (f.n.; *Mangethorn* c.1325) O:210, ?*Margh Thornes* (f.n.) 1685 O:299.

~ **born.**

MED –; EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES –.

mansion OFr (AN), *f.* ‘dwelling-place, house’, used in ME of important residences. Outside the compound **mansion-house**, this term has been noted only rarely. In a phrase such as *The Mansion or vicaridge howse* 1724 L:6·24 we should perhaps assume ellipsis of *-house*.

(a) *the mansion place of the petite Chanon* (bdg.n. Chester) 1327–77 [c.1574] Ch:5i·78 (**place**).

(c) *the chyffe mansion* (of Frome) 1531 Do:1·244 (**chef**).

~ Lat *mansio*, *mansion-*; **mansion-house**.

AFW *mansion*; OFED *mansion*; AND-1 *mansiun*; MED *mansioun* n.¹; EDD –; OED-2-3 *mansion* n.; DES –; DML *mansio*.

mansion-house ModE, ‘mansion-house’, when first recorded in the 16th century, is used both in the general sense ‘dwelling house’ and more specifically of a chief or official residence. It is this latter application which is most often met in p.ns, thus Withcote Hall in Withcote parish is *the mansion house* 1625 Lei:2·284 and Moreton House in Moreton is *The Mansion House* 1774 Do:1·136. Many more examples are to be found, of which Manor House (*the Mansion House* 1597) Do:3·320, *the mansion howse* (f.n.) 1601 (cf. *One Capitall Messuage or Mannor House* 1721) L:4·60, *Mansion House* (f.n.) 1732 L:6·178, *The Mansion House* (f.n.) 1593 YW:4·137 and Old Hall (*Mansion House* 1813) Sa:3·27 are typical.

As with **mansion**, the pre-eminence of the *mansion-house* is occasionally indicated by **chef**, e.g. Bradley Manor (*the Cheife Mansion house* 1638) L:5·7, Manor House (*Manor house or Cheife Mansion house* 1624) L:6·7. The cognate ME *capital* ‘chief’ appears in *the Capital Mansion House called Berkley’s* 1792 Lei:2·66.

We may note the status of some occupants: the aforementioned *Capital Mansion House called Berkley’s* 1792 Lei:2·66 is connected with the family of *the lord Barkley lord of Melton* 1550, while the Lord Mayor of London inhabits the Mansion House (built 1739–52) during his term of office (Mills 2004:146). There is an apparently similar connection between the Mansion House in York and its Lord Mayors.

A particular sense ‘official residence belonging to the benefice of an ecclesiastic’ (OED-3 sense 2a) is well illustrated in p.n. material, for instance *the mansion howse of the Parsonage* 1550 Lei:2·179, Rectory (*the mansion howse or rectorye* 1601) L:6·208, The Rectory (*the mansyon house* 1625) Lei:2·135, the Rectory House (*one mansyon house* 1579, *the Parsonage house* l.17th) L:4·44, The Vicarage (*the mansion house* 1601) Lei:2·78.

One Lincolnshire spelling, *the Mancyent house* (f.n.) 1601 L:6·215, illustrates a form of *mansion* otherwise noted only once (OED-3 has *mansyant howse* 16th century).

~ **mansion, hūs.**

MED –; EDD –; OED-2 *mansion-house*; OED-3 *mansion house*; DES –.

man-slaughter ME ‘manslaughter’, uncertain in (a place called) *Manslaughter* (f.n.) 1290 YN:331.

mapelen ME, *adj.* ‘of maple’, is a rare term: MED notes a single 15th-century occurrence (glossing Latin *acernus*), while EDD’s *maplin-tree* is

limited to one Gl example. Place-names provide earlier evidence. The exact sense may vary from name to name. The **hæcc** of *Le Mapelenehacche* 1301 Sa:3:244 (here a gate giving access to a wood) may be either ‘made of maple’ or ‘growing with maple-trees’, the **welle** of *le Mapelen(e)walle* (f.n.) 1317 Db:386 is presumably ‘growing with maple’, while the **stōl** of *La Mapelene Stolle* (f.n.) c.1275 Brk:308 may be either ‘seat made of maple’ or ‘stump of a maple-tree’. The word appears to alternate with ***mapul** in Mablins Lane (*Mable Mosse* 1541, *Maplin Moss Lane* 1831) Ch:3:24 (**mos**).

~ ***mapul**.

MED *māpelin*; EDD – (cf. *maplin-tree*); OED-2-3 –; DES –.

***maplet** OE, ‘clump of maple-trees’, a word unknown to the dictionaries, appears in *Maplet* 1103–6 Sx [Löfvenberg:128].

~ ***mapul, -et**.

MED –; EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES –.

marché OFr (AN), *m.* ‘trade, gathering for commerce, market’ appears occasionally as a medieval affix to an earlier name, though never surviving to the present day, interchanging with **cēping**, **market** and **mercatum**.

The word is also sometimes met in the record of English p.ns in translation in French-language documents, e.g. *Cheesemarket* (st.n. Norwich; *Forum Casei* 1333, *Chesemarket* 1345, *le Marche de furnag*’ c.1350) Nf:1:72, *Fishmarket* (st.n. Norwich; *Forum Piscatorum* 1216–72, *Fresfismarket* 1251, *le Marche de pessoun* c.1350) Nf:1:73–4. Compare the early forms of Marazion (*de Petitmarche* (surn.), *de Parvo Foro* (surn.) c.1220 [14th], *Marghasbigan* c.1265 [14th]) Co [Padel 1988:115], MCo *marghas + byghan* ‘little market’.

(d) CHIPPING SODBURY (*Cheping-* 1269, *-Marche* 1280, *-mercata* 1284) Gl:3:51–2, STOWMARKET (*Stowemarket* c.1190, *Stowemarch*’ 1286) Sf [Baron:87], THORPE MARKET (*Marketes Thorp* 1225, *Torpmark*’ 1269, *Thorp mercato* 1281) Nf:3:42.

~ Lat *mercatum* (on the phonology see Pope:§§496, 510); on AN *é* for *ié* see Short 2007:§§2.2–2.6).

AND-1 *marché*¹; AFW *marchié*; OFED *marchié*; MED – (cf. *marchē* n.⁴); EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES –.

marcheant¹ OFr, *m.* ‘merchant, shopkeeper, trader’ is found in urban street-names combined with **lane**, **rāw** and **strēt**. It also seems to occur in a number of field-names, though these might rather contain the derived surname (Fransson:51).

OFr had variants of the word with *ar* and *er*, both of which, after ME lowering (Jordan:§270), give *ar* in the earliest place-name material. The ‘etymological spelling’ *er* which wins out in ModE (and affects the standard pronunciation) likewise appears increasingly in the place-names from the 16th century onwards (cf. Dobson 1957:§66 n.1).

(a) *marchanntt feld* (f.n.) 1510 K [PC], Merchants Field (f.n.) 1848 St:1:139 (**feld**), *le Marchanteflatt* (f.n.; *Marchaunt flatt* 1603) Cu:69, Merchant Flat (f.n.) 1845 Ch:1:317 (**flat**), *merchauntte Howse* (f.n.) 1535–46 L:6:100 (**hūs**), *Marchaunts Lane* (st.n. Colchester) 1426 Ess:372 (**lane**), Merchants Mead (f.n.) 1840 Do:1:51, Merchants Meadow (f.n.) 1841–4 Sa:5:9 (**mēd**), Merchant’s Piece (f.n.) 1841 Db:517 (**pece**), *Marchants Row* (st.n. Kingston upon Hull) 1610 YE:212 (**rāw**), Merchant Street (st.n. Bristol, *Mer-*, *Marchaunt(e) Strete* 1537–45) Gl:3:89, *Merchant Street* 1776 K [PC] (**strēt**).

(b) *vij acr' voc' Marchuntes* (f.n.) 1541 Do:2·224.

~ Lat **mercatant-* (< *mercārī* 'to trade'); cf. **merc**.

AND-1 *marchant* sense 1; AFW *marchéant* s. & adj.; OFED *marcheant* sb.; MED *marchaunt*; EDD *merchant*; OED-2-3 *merchant* n. & a.; DES *Marchant*; DML –.

marcheant² OFr, *adj.* 'mercantile, commercial' interchanges with **cēping** as the affix in early forms of CHIPPING WYCOMBE (*Wycombe Marchaunt* 1340, *Chepingwycomb* 1478) Bk:200. It also appears in *La Rue Marchaunde* (st.n. Bury) c.1250–60 (cf. *in vico mercatorum* 1335) Sf [DP], presumably translating an English name 'Market Street' or similar.

~ as **marcheant**¹.

AND-1 *marchant* sense 2; AFW *marchéant* s. & adj.; OFED *marcheant* a.; MED –; EDD –; OED-2-3 *merchant* n. & a.; DES –; DML –.

mareschalcie OFr, *f.* 'office or jurisdiction of a marshal'. *The Marshalsey* in Southwark (*Marescalcie* 1311, *prisone marescalcie* 1461) Sr:31 was the prison of the Marshalsea court, held before the knight marshal of the royal household. The term came to be used generally to mean 'prison'; possibly *the Marchalsye* (f.n. in Selby) 1472 YW:4·32 is an early example of this extended application. Note however that the OFr word also meant 'stable, farriery' (cf. **mareschal**), senses almost unknown in ME but perhaps to be reckoned with here.

~ **mareschal**.

AFW *mareschaucie*; OFED *mareschaucie*; AND-1 *mareschalcie*; MED *marchals̄(e* n.; EDD – (cf. *Marshalsea money*); OED-2 *marshalcy*, *marshalsea*; OED-3 *marshalcy* n., *marshalsea* n.; DES –.

marigold ME, 'marigold' (*Calendula officinalis*, the common marigold) appears in *Marygold Field* (f.n. ×2) n.d. Ess [Field 1993:72] (**feld**), *Marigold parke* (f.n.) e.17th L:2·98 (**parc**) and *Marygolds* (*Marigolds* 1777) Ess:396. It may also occur in *Marigold Field* (f.n.) 1849 Db:279 (**feld**), if this is not an erroneous form for *Mangold Field* in the same parish.

~ ME *Mari* fem. pers.n. (< Lat *Maria* < Hebrew *Maryam* < Egyptian (perhaps 'beloved of Ammon (Moses)' < past part. of *mrj* 'to love' + *imn* 'Ammon', see Hösl 1952:80)), **golde**, i.e. the Virgin Mary's medicinally useful *golde* 'marigold' as opposed to yellow weeds called *golde* (Grigson 1974:89 & 134–6).

MED *marī-gold(e* n.; EDD *marigold* sb.; OED-2 *marigold*; OED-3 *marigold* n. & adj.; DES –.

marle-pit ME, 'marl-pit'. The place-name material antedates that in the dictionaries, the earliest evidence being *Merleput* 1220 Nf and *le Gretmarleput* 1272 Sr.

Straker 1931:xiv defines *marlpit* as 'an open pit, the primary purpose of which was to obtain marl for improving the soil, a frequent secondary one being the extraction of the iron ore below the marl' (see also pp.106–8, with illustration p.107). Plural forms are fairly common in the simplex examples below (note also *Manymarlpits* 1573 St), presumably indicating multiple excavations in close proximity.

See **marling** for discussion of the alternation of forms in e.g. *Marling Pit* (*the Marle pit*, *the Marling pitt* 1522) Sr [JEPNS:3·23]; cf. *Marling Pits Field* Do below.

(a) *the Marle pitts close* (f.n.) 1685 YW:2·82, *Marllpit close* (f.n.) 1689 Nt:312 (**clos**), *Mapit Field* (f.n.; *Marlputfeld* 1436) Mx:210, *Le Marlepit feld* (f.n.) 1629 Sx [Nth:xlix], *marleputfeld* (f.n.) 1297 Ess:586, *le*

Marleputfeld (f.n.) 1335 Wa:348, *Marling Pits Field* (f.n.; *Marlepytts* 1621) Do:2·214, *Marlpit Field* (f.n.) 1746 Wa:368 (**feld**), *the marle pitt flatt* (f.n.) 1646 Ch:2·272, *Marle pitt flatt* (f.n.) 1577 Db:590, *Marl Pit Flat* (f.n.) 1839 YW:5·48, *Merlepytte Flatt* (f.n.) 1457 Db:600 (**flat**), *Marle Pitt Furlong* (f.n.) 1647 Db:424, *Marlepitt furlong alias Oldmarle* (f.n.) 1629 Nf:3·58, *Marlepytfurlong* (f.n.) 1450 Do:1·184, *Marlpitt furlong* (f.n.) 1674 Lei:3·234, *Marlpitt furlong* (f.n.) 1637 Nf:2·21 (**furlang**), *Cross Marle Pitt Furlong* (f.n.) 1726 Nt:324 (**furlang**, + **cros**), *marlepittgate* (f.n.) 1601 Lei:3·124 (**gata**), *marlpettegrove* (f.n.) 1479 K [PC] (**gräf**), *Marlepitt greene* (f.n.) 1670 St:1·74 (**grēne**²), *Marlepitt hades* (f.n.) 1625 Lei:3·83 (**hēafod**), *Marlepitekerr* (f.n.) 1415 Db:530 (**kjarr**), *Marlpitt Leasow* (f.n.) 1666 Sa:3·86 (**lāes**), *Marlepit parrocke* (f.n.) 1698 We:1·59 (**pearroc**), *Marlepitte Ridinge* (f.n.) 1575 Gl:3·46 (***ryding**), *Marlpit shoot* 1763 Wa:51 (**scēat**), *Marlepytwong* (f.n.) 1467–84 Lei:3·204 (**vangr**).

(b) *a maralpett* (f.n.) 1510 K [PC], *Marlepet* (f.n.) 1490 Mx:203, *le Marlepit* (f.n.) 1467–84 Lei:3·24, *le Marlepit* (f.n.) 1322 Lei:3·119, *le marlepit* (f.n.) 1330 L:4·46, *Marle Pit* (f.n.) 1649 Wa:343, *Marlepite* (f.n.) 14th Db:498, *the Marlepits* (f.n.) 17th YW:1·39, *Marlepitt* (f.n.) 1642 Gl:3·232, *Marlepitt* (f.n.) 1467–84 Lei:3·67, *Marlepitt* (f.n.) 1550 Nt:289, *le Marle pitte* (f.n.) 1576 Gl:2·202, *le Marlepittes* (f.n.) 1334 Ch:3·175, *Marle pittes* (f.n.) 1601 Lei:2·161, *Marle pittes* (f.n.) 1657 St:1·100, *the Marle pitts* (f.n.) 1667 YW:5·135, *Marleput* (f.n.) 1306 Db:746, *le Marleput* c.1300 He [MED], *atte Marleput* (surn.) 1281 Sx [MELS:128], *le Marleput* (f.n.) 1311 Wa:332, *marleput* (f.n.) 14th Wo:391, *Marleputt* (f.n.) 1376 Db:203, *Le Marleputt* (f.n.) c.1380 Sa:2·23, *atte Marleputte* (surn.) 1327 Gl [Carnes:362–3], *le Marlepyt* (f.n.) 1444 YW:5·37, *The Marlepytt* (f.n.) 1612 Sa:2·189, *Marlepytte* (f.n.) 1439 C:341, (f.n.) 14th Nth:268, *Marl pit* (f.n.; *Marleputte* (surn.) 1327) Gl:2·215, *Marlpit Hill* (*Marlepittes* 1486) YW:2·84, *Marl Pits* (f.n.; *Marlepittes* 1608) Ess:616, *Marlpittes* (f.n.) 1638 Gl:2·201, *Le Marlpit* (f.n.) 1315 Ch:1·217, *le marlputte* (f.n.) 1313 Ch:1·75, *les Marlputtis* (f.n.) 1306 Ch:4·249, *Merlepettes* (f.n.) 1379 Hrt:258, *Merleput* (f.n.) 1220 (cf. *Marlpitlond* c.1300) Nf:2·18, *le Merlepytte* (f.n.) 1341 YW:4·114, *Old Marl Pits* (*a place called Marlepitt* 1694) Ch:3·231.

(c) *Flax Mareleput* (f.n.) 1472 Ch:4·43 (**flæx**), *le Gretmarleput* (f.n.) 1272 Sr:364 (**grēat**), *the Great Marlpit field* (f.n.) 1643 K [PC] (**grēat**, + **feld**), *Hallemarleputt* (f.n.) 1371 Wa:348 (**hall**), *Hethmarleput* (f.n.) 1469 St:1·151 (**hæð**), *Lady's Marl Pits Field* (f.n.) 1842 K [PC] (**hlæfdige**, + **feld**), *le Whytemarlepytt* (f.n.) 1320–40 [1467–84] Lei:3·243 (**hwit**), *Manymarlpits* (f.n.) 1573 St:1·163 (**manig**), *Mersmarleput* (f.n.) 1286 Db:535 (**merse**), *ij marle pittfeild* (f.n.) 1597 Sx [Vivian 1953:201] (**prēo**, + **feld**), *Colens marle pyt* 1565 Db:667 (ME masc. pers.n.), *Da(u)wemarleputteslone* (f.n.) 1335 St:1·64 (ME masc. pers.n., + **lane**), *Burton Marlepyttes* (f.n.) 1394 Lei:2·71, *Fennilache marleput* (f.n.) 1306 Db:558, *Haiwod Marlepite* (f.n.) 15th Brk:75 (p.ns), *Sougeldersmarleput* (f.n.) 1416 Wo [Sundby 1963:115] (surn.), *Trowesmarleput* (f.n.) 1347 Wo [Sundby 1963:115] (uncertain).

~ **marle**, **pytt**; cf. MDu *marleput*.

MED *marl(e pit* s.v. *marl(e* n.; EDD *marl-pit* s.v. *marl* sb.¹ & v.¹; OED-2 *marl-pit*; OED-3 *marl-pit* n.; DES –; DML *marleputtus*.

marlere ME, ‘one who digs or spreads marl’. EDD reports these differing senses in adjacent counties, i.e. ‘a man employed to spread marl on land’ (La) but ‘a man who works in a marl-pit’ (Ch), and it is in Ch that the p.n. examples below occur (possibly also in Marl Field (f.n.; *Marleruse Filde* 1466) Ch:4·35 (**feld**), though the form is odd). The word is found as a ME surname from 1275 (Fransson:182, along with *Marlehewer*), which might

account for any or all of the p.ns. Potential confusion with **marliere** should be borne in mind.

(a) *Marlersfield* (f.n.) 1318 [1653] Ch:2·124 (**feld**), *Marlers Hill* (f.n.) 1839 Ch:3·200 (**hyll**).

~ **marle**.

MED *marler*(e n.²); EDD *marler* s.v. *marl* sb.¹ & v.¹; OED-2 *marler*¹; OED-3 *marler* n.¹; DES *Marler*.

marli ME, *adj.* ‘marly’. The f.n. *Marliol’* 1335–8 Ch antedates non-onomastic evidence for the word (c.1420).

(a) *Marliol’* (f.n.) 1335–8 Ch:2·232 (**hol**), *Marly Newearth* (f.n.) 1838 Ch:4·29 (**nīwe, eorðe**), *Marly path* (f.n.) 19th Bk [Whittlewood] (**pæð**), *Marl Pit Meadow* (f.n.; *the Marley Pitts* 1552) K [Cullen 1997:159] (**pytt**).

~ **marle**.

MED *marlī* *adj.*; EDD –; OED-2-3 *marly* a.¹; DES –.

marliere OFr, *f.* ‘marl-pit’ is clearly the etymon of *le Marliere* 13th Ha. In some of the examples below we have MLat *marlera* rather than the OFr word, though both types have probably played a part in giving ME *marlere* (thus MED). The Latin may translate various types of vernacular form, as indicated by such cases as *Marl (Pit) Field* (cf. *marlera prope le Twisse cloch* 1265–91) Ch:2·322 and *Marlyngputtes* (f.n., cf. *ii puteos marler’* 1306 [1372]) Do:1·327.

See **marlere** for a possible confusable if the term were to appear as qualifying element in a compound.

(b) *le Marler’* (f.n.) 1284 Do:2·90, *atte Marler* (surn.) 1332 Sx [MED], *Marlera* (f.n.) 1292 Ha [Gover:234], *Marlera* (f.n.) 1328 Sx [Coates & Dabboussy 2003–7:28], *la Marlere* (f.n.) 13th YW:2·210, *le Marlere* 1283 K:85, *Marlerye* (f.n.) 13th Ha [Gover:235], *le Marliere* (f.n.) 13th Ha [Gover:255].

~ Romance **margilarium*; **marle**.

AFW *marliere*; OFED *marliere*¹; AND *marler*¹; MED *marler*(e n.¹); EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES –; DML *marlera*, *-ia*, *-ium*, *-um*.

martyr OE ‘martyr’, late in *Martyrs Field* 1851 K [Cullen 1997:575].

mascle ME ‘spot, speck’, uncertain in *Maskelawe* (f.n.) c.1230 Cu:274.

mase ME, ‘maze’ (also ‘delirium, bewilderment’) is used of a man-made feature in *Maze Do* and presumably also *Maze Court Sr* (part of the Abbot of Battle’s Inn at Southwark), but *Maze YW* is said probably to refer to “the difficulty of finding a safe path through the marshy ground of the moor”. Compare discussion of **troy-town**.

There is some variation with the ModE reduplicative form *mizmaze* ‘maze, labyrinth’ (see EDD *miz-maze*, OED-2-3 *mizmaze*): *Maze (Maze Field* 1861) Do is *Miz Maze* 1814. The earliest p.n. evidence for *mizmaze* is *Mizmaze Hill (Mismass Hill* 1773) W:23 (**hyll**); note also *Miz Maze* 19th Do [Mills 1986:109], *Mizmaze* (f.n.) n.d. Ha [Grundy 1921:126], *Mizmaze* (f.n.) n.d. So [Grundy 1935:130], *Mizmaze Wood* (f.n.) 20th W:478 (**wudu**).

The development of **ge-mære** with gen.sg. *-s* in *Mazedale (mæres dæl* 944 S:495†) Nth:23 serves as a warning that *Maze-* in qualifying position, e.g. *Maze Hill* (f.n.) 1783 Gl:1·172 (**hyll**), may

require cautious handling.

(a) The Maze (f.n.; *Maseplott* 1547–53) Hrt:288 (**plot**).

(b) *furlang' voc' le Mase* (f.n.) 1438 Do:1·128, *the Mase* (f.n.) 1586–8 Gl:2·17, *Maze (Miz Maze* 1814, *Maze Field* 1861) Do:2·113, *Maze* 1844 YW:6·119, *Maze Court (the Mase* 1422) Sr:31.

(c) Wing Maze 1631 Ru:230 (p.n.).

~ uncertain, cf. OE *ā-masian* ‘to amaze, confound’ (DOE).

MED *māse* n.; EDD –; OED-2 *maze* n.; OED-3 *maze* n.¹; DES –.

mass-house ModE, ‘Roman Catholic place of worship’, chiefly applied as a term of contempt by Protestants in the 17th and 18th centuries (OED-3).

(a) Masshouse Lane (st.n. Birmingham; *Mass-house lane* 1731) Wa:38 (**lane**).

~ OE *mæsse* < Vulgar Lat *messa* (Lat *missa*) ‘religious service, the Eucharist’, **hūs**.

MED –; EDD –; OED-2 *mass-house*; OED-3 *mass house*; DES –.

materas OFr, *m.* ‘mattress’, or the derived surname (metonymic for ‘mattress-maker’, see DES *Matters* and cf. Thuresson:215), seems to appear in *Matteriszerde* (f.n.) 1461 K [Cullen 1997:202] (**geard**) – perhaps a yard used for mattress manufacture, though we might conceivably consider the meaning ‘protective covering (especially for plants)’ which OED-3 (sense 2) records from 1658. Alternatively, thinking figuratively, Dodgson suggests “perhaps a boggy or soft field” for *Matress Field* (f.n.) 1840 Ch:2·293 (**feld**).

~ Italian *materasso* (Hope 1971:44) < Lat *mataracium* < Arabic *matrah* ‘place where something is strewn or thrown down’.

AFW *materas*; OFED *materas*¹; AND-1 *materas*; MED *materas* n.¹; EDD –; OED-2 *mattress*¹; OED-3 *mattress* n.¹; DES *Matters*; DML *matera*, *-acia*, *-acium*.

***matt-mongere** ME, ‘seller of mats’, a word unknown to the dictionaries and not recorded as a surname, appears (unless a misreading for *Malt-*) in *Mattmongeresbreg* (f.n.) c.1280 Nth [Ashley 1979:36] (**brycg**).

~ **matte**, **mangere**.

MED –; EDD –; OED-2 –; OED-3 –; DES –.

mattuc OE, *m.* ‘mattock’, found in the OE charter boundary *on Mattuces feld* S:360† Ha [ASCh:9·3] (**feld**), seems to occur (with or without medial -s-) with a range of generics. It is difficult to establish the significance of its use in p.ns, though ‘land (needing to be) worked by mattock’ seems the most obvious guess, or perhaps alternatively ‘mattock-shaped piece of land’ (cf. **hond-axe**, **nafu-gār**, etc.). Formally, either explanation might suit the simplex (plural) usage with the definite article in *mores called the Mattockes* 1565 Gl.

There is some evidence for a ME surname of this form, *Mattok* c.1311 Nf [MED], *Mattok* 1327 Gl [Carnes:364] (not in the same parish as the *Mattockes* Gl), which may underlie some of the p.n. material.

(a) *Mattock Close* (f.n.) 1672 O:59, *Mattocke close* (f.n.; *Mattockes Close* 1509–47) O:256 (**clos**), *Mattock Croft* (f.n.) 1843 YW:6·31 (**croft**), *Mattock Field* (f.n.) 1848 Ch:1·88, *Mattock Field* (f.n.) n.d. Ha [Grundy 1924:38] (**feld**), *Maddoxford (Mattukesford* 1228) Ha [Gover:35] (**ford**), *Mattocks Vere* (f.n.; *Mattocks Fere* 1552) Brk:180–1 (**furh**), *Mattok(e)-, Mattockland(es)* (f.n.) 1367–1482 YW:1·243 (**land**).

(b) *mores called the Mattockes* (f.n.) 1565 Gl:3·257.

~ uncertain, possibly Lat **matteūca* ‘club, cudgel’ (OED-3).
MED *mattok*; EDD *maddock* sb.²; OED-2-3 *mattock* n.; DES –; DML *mattocus*.

maul ModE ‘clayey or marly soil’ (EDD), late [Ch:3·25, Gl:1·24, O:24].

mausoleum ModE ‘mausoleum’, late [Ess:98, Lei:2·8, L:2·67, Lei:2·274].

May-pole ModE, ‘May-pole’, a tall pole used during celebrations on the first day of May. Confusion with **mapul* or with names in **pōl** is conceivable, but in general the examples seem secure. May Pole Farm 20th C:77 is named from a maypole which reportedly stood here until 1870, and we have the relatively early *in loco ubi le Maypole antehac stetit* 1625 Do:1·258.

As an inn-name we find Maypole (*May-pole* 1826) Ha [Coates 1991:56], *Maypole* 1723 K [PC] and Maypole Inn (*The Maypole* 1831) Ch:3·194.

First-of-May festivities are probably also referred to in May Game (f.n.) n.d. So [Grundy 1935:199] (**gamen**) and with **dæg** in May Day Field (f.n.) 1839 La [Wainwright 1975:244] (**feld**), Mayday Meer (f.n.) 1810 Db:108 (**mere**) and perhaps also May Days (*Maydayse* 1558) Ess:321 as no surname of this form is known.

Possibly relevant, though particularly difficult, are Mayland (*Mayland* 1380) Du [Watts 2002:76] and Maylands (*Maylond* 1524) Ess:117 (**land**). For the former, Watts very tentatively suggests ‘land where May festivities are celebrated’, though he prefers a surname *May*, while for the latter Mills 2004:150 cautiously offers ME *may* ‘hawthorn’ (cf. **May-thorn**).

(a) May Pole close (f.n.) 1818 Gl:1·179 (**clos**), May Pole Ground (f.n.) 1806 O:64 (**grund**), Maypole Hill (f.n.) 1840 La [Wainwright 1975:244] (**hyll**), Maypole meadow (f.n.) 1839 Gl:3·200, Maypole Meadow (f.n.) 1840 Sa:3·114 (**mēd**).

(b) *The Maypole* (*The May Poll* 1711) Ch:5i·59, Maypole (f.n.) 1838 Ch:3·291, the Maypole in Kirkland (f.n.) 1776 We:1·125, *Maypole Farm* 1831 Ch:1·62, May Pool (f.n.; *Maypoole* 1647) Ch:2·313.

(c) *The North Gate May Pole* (bdg.n. Chester) 1745 Ch:5i·67 (p.n.).

~ the fifth month of the year, May (OFr *mai* < Lat *Māius* (*mēnsis*) < the name of the fertility deity *Jupiter Māius*), **pāl**.

MED –; EDD – (cf. *mail-pole*); OED-2 *maypole*; OED-3 *maypole* n. & a.; DES –.

mār-furh OE, *f.* ‘boundary furrow’ appears in OE charters as *and lang mærfyrh* S:469 W and *on þa mær furh* S:977† Nth. The term may once have enjoyed a wide distribution (note too the Brk f.n. *Le Merefur* 1344), but its survival into ModE is chiefly limited to Lincolnshire and adjacent counties. It is well represented in L f.n.s (L:2·12 notes the frequent use of *marfar* as a common noun in north L documents, cf. *a common Marfore or meerland* 1634 L:3·41, *two common Marfurrs* 1649 L:2·29); likewise EDD records L (especially north) and neighbouring Lei dialect *marfur*, and OED-3’s ModE citations relate to L and neighbouring YE. There is some transfer of sense from ‘boundary-furrow, -ditch’ to ‘boundary-ridge, -fence’ by the ModE period (note *a balke or mairefair called the inge mairfaire* 1673 L:6·107; see **balca** ‘ridge’). Plural forms are quite common among the simplex examples.

Although there is often no reflex of the final *-h* in this compound (see **furh** for discussion), we occasionally find a full *-furrow* (e.g. *the*

Common meerfurrow 1733 L:2·93), and a form *marfry*, recorded in EDD, occurs occasionally in the place-name material below, as does an otherwise unnoted development to *-forth*, *-furth* (also as an appellative, e.g. *a mearforth called Brigslye street* 1634 L:4·57, *a Marforth called Beelsby gate mearforth* 1638 L:4·56, *a common marfurth called Tormor marforthe* 1601 L:4·57).

The element recurs with **butte**, **commun**, and perhaps more surprisingly with **bula**. A number of names refer to a neighbouring parish (e.g. *Swallow marpher* L), though *Horkstow marfur* L is a curious case, lying in the adjacent parish of South Ferriby but nowhere near the shared border with Horkstow.

(a) *the marfer end* (f.n.) 1715 L:2·27 (**ende**), *Murfarr furlong* (f.n.) 1652 L:5·150 (**furlang**).

(b) *le marefure* (f.n.) 13th L:4·113, *Mare Furrows* (f.n.) 1848 Db:544, *the marfaire* (f.n.) 1664 L:4·176, *Marfer* (f.n.) 1693 L:2·133, *the Marferr* (f.n.) e.17th L:2·98, *the marfers* (f.n.) 1726 L:2·301, *Marfor* (f.n.) 1734 L:5·35, *the Fields called Marfrays* (f.n.) 1787 L:5·32, *y^e marfrey* (f.n.) 1686 L:5·122, *marfures* (f.n.) 1.12th L:2·209 (plus several later examples in the same parish L:2·201–3), *metas vocat' mearfurrs* 1667 L:6·108 (see **mete**), *Le Merefur* (f.n.) 1344 Brk:52, *Merefures* (f.n.) 1260 YE:323.

(c) *the bull marfar* (f.n.) 1671 L:3·41, *y^e Bull-Marfurre* (f.n.) 1666 L:2·234, *Bull-Marrfare* (f.n.) 1690 L:2·310, *the Bull merfar* (f.n.) 1601 L:4·187 (**bula**), *le Brademarfare* (f.n.) 1311 L:2·204 (**brād**), *the Butt marfer* (f.n.) 1577 L:4·52, *Butt Marr furre* (f.n.) 1628 L:5·11, *the Butt-mear-fore* (f.n.) 1697 L:6·106 (**butte**), *Claypitt marfur* (f.n.) 1687 L:6·106 (**cleypit**), *the common marfore* (f.n.) 1624 L:5·142, *Common Marfur* (f.n.) 1794 L:2·294, *the Common Marfur* (f.n.) 1854 L:6·41, *le common marfurrs* (f.n.) 1660 L:6·106, *the Common meerfurrow* (f.n.) 1733 L:2·93, *the common merfar* (f.n.) 1601 L:4·190, *y^e Common Merfer* (f.n.) 1679 L:6·26, *common mirfer* (f.n.) 1585 L:2·205, *the commown marfowre* (f.n.) 1546 L:5·11 (**commun**), *the Constables Merfare* (f.n.) 1668 L:6·67 (**conestable**), *Cow gate Marfurr* (f.n.) 1795 L:2·294 (**cow-gate**), *the Dove coat Marfrey* (f.n.) 1705 L:5·42 (**dove-cot**), *the inge mairfaire* (f.n.) 1673 L:6·107 (**eng**), *Gate marfer* (f.n.) 1601 L:2·12 (**gata**), *the grange marfer* (f.n.) 1614 L:2·114 (**grange**), *the Lords marfar* (f.n.) 1697 L:6·107 (**hlāford**), *Long Marfrey* (f.n.) 1690 L:5·163 (**lang**), *the milln marfer* (f.n.) 1614 L:2·115 (**myln**), *towe Marfers* (f.n.) 1577 L:2·264 (**twā**), *le Welmar'four'* (f.n.) 1339 L:2·173 (**welle**), *le marefure Will'i fil' Walt'i* (f.n.) 13th [1272–1307] L:2·297 (ME pers.n., Lat word-order), *hawismarforthewang* (f.n.) 1319 [c.1331] L:4·45 (ME fem. pers.n., + **vangr**), *Brackandale Marfurr* (f.n.) 1624 L:2·21, *Brigsley marforth* (f.n.) 1601 L:4·57, *Catta Mar-fur* 1664 L:2·233, *deepdale mere furr* (f.n.) 1579 L:3·41, *Dock Hole Marfurr* 1795 L:2·292–3, *Dyckett Merefur* (f.n.) 1579 L:3·41, *the gareing marffar* (f.n.) 1677 L:2·236, *greendale Marferr* (f.n.) 1651 L:2·26, *green gate marpher* (f.n.) 1611 L:2·228, *Horkstow marfur* (f.n.) 1692 L:2·114–5, *the Kirklane dale marfur* (f.n.) 1664 L:2·283, *the Lords dayle Marfer* (f.n.) 1625 L:6·18, *Old Coulby Marfore* (f.n.) 1668 L:6·67, *Rowsgarth Marfurr* (f.n.) 1649 L:2·21, *rumarmarfur* (f.n.) 13th [14th] L:2·171, *Sowter dayle merefurr* (f.n.) 1579 L:3·46–7, *Swallow marpher* (f.n.) 1611 L:2·231, *a common marfurth called Tormor marforthe* (f.n.) 1601 L:4·57 (p.ns), *Beelesby gate marforth* (f.n.) 1601 L:4·56 (p.n., **gata**), *Sarnesse marefore* (f.n.) 1272 L:2·210 (surn.), *y^e by Marfar* (f.n.; *By-mar-fur* 1664, *Bymorfray* 1709) L:2·234 (uncertain).

~ **ge-mære**, **furh**.

DOE(fic) *mæ̅r-furh*; MED –; EDD *marfry*, *mear-furrow* or *-fur* s.v. *mear* sense 5; OED-2 *mere-furrow* s.v. *mere*, *mear* n.²; OED-3 *mere-furrow* s.v. *mere* n.²; DES –.

mæ̅r-stān OE, *m*. ‘boundary-stone’ occurs in the OE charter boundary *to*

pā mærstane S:892† Wa:144. Its survival into the modern period as a lexical item is indicated by a *great mearstone* (f.n.) 1603 Cu:69 (**grēat**) and *un meerston in Pickenes* 1614 YW:1·309, and the properhood of some of the examples listed below might be questioned. It is noteworthy that there are several plural forms, presumably indicating a relatively precise level of linear demarcation. A parallel formation *mark-stone* is much less common (see **mearc**).

(a) Mere Stone Field (f.n.) 1845 Ch:3·181 (**feld**), Mere Stone Flatt (f.n.) 1838 Ch:3·300 (**flat**), *Meerstone Hill* (f.n.) 1650 O:263 (**hyll**).

(b) *the mayre stone* (f.n.) 1634 L:2·226, *Mearestone* (f.n.) 1649 Cu:298, *The Meare Stone* (f.n.) 1576 Sa:2·117, *Mearstone* (f.n.) 1617 Db:165, *Meer Stone* (f.n.) 1796 Cu:326, *Meer Stone* (f.n.) 1824 Db:603, *Meer Stone* (f.n.; *Mere Stones* 1744) W:459, *Meerstones* (f.n.) 1624 Cu:258, *Mereston* (f.n.; *Merstanisfurlong* c.1256–7) Ch:4·162 (with **furlang**), *la Mereston* (f.n.) 1363 O:373, *the Mere-stone* (f.n.) 1779 Gl:3·98, *mere stones* (f.n.) 1578 Cu:262, *Merestones* (f.n.) 14th Gl:1·222, *metas voc’ Merestones* (f.n.) 1581 Gl:2·51 (see **mete**), *Merestones Road* (st.n. Cheltenham; *Meerestones* 1650) Gl:2·103, *lez Merestones* (f.n.) 1578 YW:4·86.

~ **ge-mære, stān**.

MED *mere-ston* s.v. *mære* n.³; EDD *mear-stone* s.v. *mear* sense 5; OED-2 *merestone*; OED-3 *merestone* n.; DES –.

mearcere OE, *m.* ‘marker, scribe, notary’ would be indistinguishable from an OE **mearcere* ‘one who keeps, or lives at, a boundary-mark’ (evidenced in ME and as a surname). Either is possible in the three names below, whose precise locations are unknown. An OG pers.n. *Marcher* (Forssner:286) or derived patronymic surname might also be considered, but could of course only account for those f.ns which show no definite article.

(a) *le Marcerescroft* (f.n.) 1362 Ch:4·27 (**croft**), *Merkarisland* (f.n.) 1417 K [Cullen 1997:505] (**land**), *Markeres Wong* (f.n.) c.1260 Nth:279 (**vangr**).

~ (i) OE *mearcian* ‘to mark’, (ii) **mearc**.

(i) ‘scribe’: MED –; EDD –; OED-2 *marker*; OED-3 *marker* n.; DES *Marker*.

(ii) ‘boundary-dweller’: MED *marcher(e)* n.; EDD –; OED –; DES *Marker*.

mele-mongere ME, ‘seller of meal’ appears in *Melemonger Strete* (st.n. Salisbury) 1403 W:21 (**strēt**). The term is on record as a surname from 1288 (Fransson:60). The earliest quotation in OED-3 (‘like a covetous meal-monger’ 1766) may be compared with the pejorative overtones noted for **mangere**.

~ **melu, mangere**.

MED – (cf. *Melmanger* cited s.v. *mēle* n.¹ sense 3); EDD *mealmonger* s.v. *meal* sb.²; OED-2-3 *meal-monger* s.v. *meal* n.¹; DES *Melemongere* s.n. *Meale*.

menagerie ModE ‘menagerie’, late in *Menagerie Wood* (*The Menagery* 1794) Nt:111.

menestrel OFr, *m.* ‘minstrel’, with ME syncope of the medial syllable (Jordan:§248), is found in *Mynstrelfurlong* (f.n.) 1518 W:455 (**furlang**) and *Minstrels Yard* (f.n.) 1839 Sa:3·247 (**geard**). As well as ‘entertainer, musician, singer’, the word retains its earlier sense ‘servant, functionary’ in OFr and ME. Thuresson:183 and DES give instances in ME surnames (which MED antedates).

~ MLat *ministerialis* ‘servant, official’; cf. **menistre**.

AFW *menestrel*; OFED *menestrel*; AND-1 *menestral*; MED *minstral*; EDD –; OED-2-3 *minstrel* n.; DES *Minstrell*; DML *ministerialis*.

menistre OFr, *m.* ‘servant, minister’. The range of senses in ME, as in OFr, includes ‘personal assistant, representative, administrator, public official, ecclesiastic’, any of which is possible in *the Minister Crofte* (f.n.) 1684 YW:1·325 (**croft**). In the case of *Ministers Field* (f.n.) 1840 K [PC] (**feld**), listed in the Tithe Award between the church and the vicarage of Lynsted, the reference is presumably to a clergyman. The term also appears as a ME surname (Thursson:168), though there is no evidence that this enters the p.n. material.

~ Lat *minister* ‘attendant, servant’ (*minus* ‘less’ (see **minor**), contrast **maister**); cf. **menestrel**.

AFW *menistre*; OFED *menistre*²; AND-1 *ministre*¹; MED *ministre* n.; EDD *minister*; OED-2-3 *minister* n.; DES –; DML *minister*.

merc OFr (AN), *m.* ‘merc

A derived ME surname (Fransson:92) may underlie one or two of the examples below, but the use of the definite article in *Le Mercers Rente* (bdg.n.) Ldn tells in favour of the lexical item, as does the high proportion of street-names in the material (chiefly with **rāw/rāw**).

(a) *Mercer Field* (*Mersers Field* 1817) YW:3·184 (**feld**), *Mercerkerr* (f.n.) 1461 YW:3·158 (**kjarr**), *Mercers Lane* n.d. We:1·117 in Kendal (**lane**), *Mercere raw* 1486 YE:197 in Beverley, *le Mercere Rouwe* 1358 Db:31 in Bakewell, *Mercer Row* 1349 Db:233 in Chesterfield, *Mercer Row* 1454 L:3·98 in the market at Market Rasen, *Mercers Row* 1486–93 Nth:7 in Northampton, *the Mercers’ Row* 1493 (also *le Mercerrowe* 1503) Ch:5i·22 in Chester (**rāw**), *the Mercerewe* 1540 (alias *the Mercery*, see **mercerie**) Gl:2·130 in Gloucester (**rāw**), *Le Mercers Rente* (bdg.n.) 1445 Ldn [Fine:18·10 & 222] (**rente**), *Mercers strete* 1511 Wa:39 in Birmingham, *Mercer Street* 1682 Mx:180 in Westminster (**strēt**).

~ Lat *merc-*, *merx* ‘commodity’; **mercerie**, cf. **marcheant**.

AND-1 *merc*¹; AFW *mercier*; OFED *mercier* sm.; MED *merc*; EDD –; OED-2-3 *merc*; DES *Mercer*; DML *merc*.

mercerie OFr, *f.* ‘mercery, mercer’s shop or stall’ has been noted in *the Mercery* (*Mar-*, *Merceria* 1263) Gl:2·130 in Gloucester (alias *the Mercerewe*, see **merc**), *Mercery Lane* (*uico Mercerie* 1187, *The Mercery* 1611) K [Cullen 1997:566] in Canterbury, and *Mercery Lane* (*the Mersery Street* 1523) K [Cullen 1997:191] (**strēt**) in Folkestone.

~ **merc**.

AFW *mercerie*; OFED *mercerie*; AND-1 *mercerie*; MED *mercerī(e)*; EDD –; OED-2-3 *mercery*; DES –; DML *mercerius*.

mermaid ME, ‘mermaid’. Depictions of mermaids on inn-signs give rise to *the Mairmayd* (Canterbury) 17th K [Cullen 1997:562], *Maremaid* (Gravesend) 1584 K [PC], *the Mermaid* (Dorchester) 1757 Do:1·356, *the Mermaide* (Sherborne) 1677 Do:3·367 and *Mermaid Inn* (Portland) 1892

Do:1·218. Taylor 1636 records eight further examples of (*The*) *Mermaid* as an inn-name in 1636 (in K, Ldn, Mx, O, Sr). See Cox 1994a:19–21 & 89 (and see OED for earlier examples).

Happily we encounter the real thing in *Marmaydes Hole* (in the river Colne) 1563 Ess:599 (**hol**), Mermaid's Pool (*Mermaid Pool* 1840) Db:116 (**pōl**) and, reflecting the fuller ME form *mermaiden* (see OED) in its earlier spelling, Mermaids Pits (f.n.; *Marmayden Pytte* 1540) Sf [Reaney 1964:224] (**pytt**).

There is also the curious stream-name The Mermaid ('also called *Aylsham Beck*') Nf:3·52 for which no early forms or explanation have been encountered.

~ **mere**, ME *maid* (see **mægden**).

MED *mē(r)e-maid(e)*; EDD *mermaid*; OED-2·3 *mermaid*; DES –.

mesaise OFr, *f.* and *m.* 'ill-ease, discomfort, hardship', occurs in Missies (*Messese* 1279–81, *Meseise* 1283) YW:5·212. Note the apparent antonym *Beleies* (f.n.) 1487 K [Cullen 1997:214] (**bel**²).

~ OFr *mes-* 'ill' + *aise*, *eise* 'ease, comfort'.

AFW *mesaise*; OFED *meseise*; AND *meseise*; MED *misēse* n.; EDD –; OED-2 *misease* n.; OED-3 *misease* n.¹; DES –; DML –.

Michaelmas ME, 'Michaelmas', i.e. the feast of St Michael (and All Angels) on September the 29th, one of the English quarter-days. The reference in p.ns may be to payment of a Michaelmas rent, though O:456 and Wa:335 plausibly compare f.ns containing **lammas** which denote cultivated land that reverts to common pasturage following a Lammastide harvest on August the 1st.

(a) *Michaelmas Dole* (f.n.) 1655 Db:442 (**dāl**), the Michaelmas Downs (f.n.) 1773 Gl:1·34 (**dūn**), Michaelmas Grounds (f.n.) 1797 O:299 (**grund**), Michaelmas land (f.n.) 1736–64 YW:1·190 (**land**), Michaelmas Slade (f.n.) n.d. Wa:335 (**slæd**).

~ the archangel St *Michael* (Hebrew *Mīkā'ēl* 'who is like God?'), OE *mæsse* < Vulgar Lat *messa* (Lat *missa*) 'religious service, the Eucharist'; occurring in OE as a genitival construction, (*sancte*) *Michaeles mæsse*.

MED *Mīghel-mes(se)*; EDD *Michaelmas*, *Mihilmas(s)*, *Milemas*; OED-2·3 *Michaelmas*; DES –.

niche ME, 'forked stake, prop, crutch' survives in nautical use, both as Scots *mitch* 'forked support for a lowered mast' (EDD) and as part of the technical term *mitchboard* 'prop with a semicircular groove for the support of a boom' (Ansted 1956:179 & illustration p.62). A form with velar [k] also appears in ME. The word is generally explained, with some caution, as a borrowing from MDu *mic(ke)* 'forked prop of wood or iron' (Anderson 1977:137, Llewellyn 1936:72, MED, OED-3), though derivation from an OE **mic* seems a reasonable alternative proposition (and would better account for the palatal [tʃ]). The OE charter boundary *to micces dæne* S:377 Ha (**denu**) may well be relevant.

A word of this shape is required for the otherwise unexplained Mich Field & Mick Close (f.ns; land *subtus Mic* 13th) Nth:284, originally a simplex name. Consider too the generic element in *a furlonge called the Great micke* (f.n.) 1625 L:4·30 (**grēat**), which clearly stands out from the otherwise consistent run of forms, relating to Micklemore L:4·169, with which it is listed in L:4·xv & 30 (*micchelemare* c.1200, *Mickle moor gate* 1686, etc.). Perhaps Meachland's (*atte Micche* (surn.) 1327, *ate Muche* (surn.) 1332) K:71–2 is also relevant, though the forms rather point to an

original /y/ which is not easily explained.

The toponymic use of MDu *mic(ke)* is well exemplified by Mik (*de Mica* (surn.) 1272, *Micke* 1280) in Brasschaat parish, Belgium (van Osta 1995:806–9). The specific sense ‘fork-shaped gallows’ proposed by van Osta 1995:808 for this and other p.ns in *mik-* is possible in the English names.

When <Mich> or similar appears as specifier, e.g. *Michcroft* (f.n.) 1639 Bk [Whittlewood] (**croft**) and Mitch Ground (f.n.) n.d. Wt [Grundy 1921:147] (**grund**), we must of course allow for the chance of confusion with **micel** or with various personal names.

~ cf. MDu *mic(ke)*, ModDu *mik*, ModG *micke* ‘forked prop’ (see further de Vries 1971 s.v. *mik*²).

MED *mike* n.¹; EDD *mitch* sb.²; OED-2 *mike* n.², *miche* n.²; OED-3 *mike* n.², *mitch* n.²; DES –.

moine OFr, *m.* ‘monk’ appears as an affix with reference to monastic establishments. A priory was founded at MONK SHERBORNE Ha in 1100–35, MONKS RISBOROUGH Bk belonged to Christ Church Canterbury before the Conquest, and land at MONKS KIRBY Wa was given to the monks of St Nicholas of Angers in 1077. The medieval records show variation with **munuc** and **monachus**.

At OWERMOIGNE (–*Moigne* 1314) Do:1·138–9 and SAWTRY (–*le Moynne* 1279, –*Moyns* 1568) Hu:195–6 the affixes refer not to monks but to families bearing the well-recorded surname *Moigne* < *moine* (see Thuresson:176), though seemingly coincidentally SAWTRY does also bear the affix *Monachorum* (see **monachus**) in the medieval record ‘from the holding of Ramsey Abbey or of Sawtry Abbey itself’ (probably the former, cf. Monks’ Wood (*Monkeswod a Moynes de Sautre* 1219, *boscus monachorum de Sautr*’ 1230) Hu:197 in this parish).

(d) MONKS KIRBY (*Moynes* 1305) Wa:112, MONKS RISBOROUGH (–*Moyne* 1347) Bk:170–1, MONK SHERBORNE (–*Moygnes* 1332) Ha:118.

~ metathesised form of earlier *monie* (cf. Pope:§§473 & 640) < Vulgar Lat **monicum* < *monachum* (see **monachus**).

AFW *moine*; OFED *moine*¹; AND *muine*; MED –; EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES *Moyne*.

moisti ME, *adj.* ‘moist, damp’ appears in Moisty Knowl 1813 Db:147 (**cnoll**) and *Mostey Leyes* (f.n.; *Mostylegh* 1386, *Moystylegh* 1413) Db:246 (**lēah**). We might also contemplate the conflicting forms for Moistdale (Croft) & Moisters Croft (f.ns; *Moisty* c.1310, 1350 etc., *Moisthill* 1630 etc., *Moistdale* 1796 etc.) Ch:3·233, which Dodgson takes to be ME *moist* ‘moist’ with **stīg** ‘path’, but which looks rather like *moisti* curiously used as a simplex.

~ ME *moist* ‘moist; moisture’ (< AN *moiste* < Vulgar Lat *muscidus* ‘mouldy, musty’) + *adj. suffix* < OE *-ig*.

MED *moistī* *adj.*; EDD –; OED-2 *moisty*; OED-3 *moisty* *adj.*; DES –.

molin OFr, *m.* ‘mill’ appears as an affix in CORFE MULLEN (–*le Mulin* 1176, –*Molyn* 1268) Do:2·15, ‘referring to the valuable mill here, which rendered 20 shillings (a high value) in 1086 DB’.

~ late Lat *molinum*, *molīna* (see **myln**); cf. **melu**. On AN *u* < *o* see Pope:§§1083 & 1085, Short 2007:§6.1.

AND *molin*; AFW *molin*; OFED *molin*; MED –; EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES *Molin* & *Mullin*.

mong-corn ME, ‘mixed corn’, a mixture of two grains (especially wheat

and rye, though sometimes barley) sown together. The fairly limited geographical distribution suggested by the dictionaries (chiefly Sa, St, He and Wo in OED, though wider in EDD) is even more tightly restricted in the p.n. material, with only Sa represented. The use of the term as a ME surname is recorded once in MED (Nich. *Mancorn* 1255).

(a) *le Moncornedole* (f.n.) 1337 ?Sa [AD:1·B1673] (**dāl**), Muncorn Furlong (several f.ns) n.d. Sa [Foxall 1980:32] (**furlang**), Muncorn Leasow (f.n.) 1838 Sa:2·43 (**læs**).

~ OE *ge-mang* 'mixture', **corn**¹.

MED *mōng-corn* s.v. *mōng(e)*; EDD *mungcorn*; OED-2 *mongcorn*; OED-3 *mongcorn* n.; DES –.

mōns Lat. *m.* 'hill, mount' appears in medieval affixes, usually in the acc.sg. form in the prepositional phrase *super montem* 'on the hill' (once *sub montem* 'under the hill'). In many such cases *mōns* varies with other hill terms (**berg**, **dūn** and most frequently **hyll**, with or without prepositional phrases), and also occasionally with terms meaning 'high(er)' (Lat *alta*, **haut**, **hēah**, **superior** and **uferra**). The Lat form does not survive in any current affix in England, but can still be found in Peterstone-super-montem (*Petrston Chap Super Montem* 1799) in Glamorgan (DPNW:384). The 'Thorpe sub Montem' YW cited by Dickins 1935:339 seems to be a ghost name.

There are three p.ns in Essex, MOUNT BURES, GREAT EASTON and THEYDON MOUNT, which show a different pattern, appearing with Lat *ad* 'at' (+ acc.) or Lat *de* 'of' (+ abl. *monte*), and varying not with **hyll** or the like but with relatives of *mōns* (e.g. *–atte Munte* 1328; see **mont** for discussion of forms).

As well as the affixes, we should note the appearance of *mōns* in the Latin recording of numerous names, e.g. St Davids Hill (*super montem S. David* 1247) D:436, including hybrid forms such as *juxta calvum montem* 13th Gl [DML] (**calu**), and its influence on the development of the French name MONTACUTE (*Montagud* 1086, *Monteacuto* 1156) So.

(d) MOUNT BURES (*–ad montem* 1290) Ess:363, GREAT EASTON (*–de Monte* 1235, *–ad Montem* 1236) Ess:484–5, THEYDON MOUNT (*–de Monte* 1254, *–ad Montem* 1256) Ess:82–3 (Lat *ad*, *de*, see above), STAINFORTH (*–sub monte* 13th) YW:6·154 (**sub**), LITTLE BLAKENHAM (*–super Montem* 1524) Sf [Baron:93], BOURTON ON THE HILL (*–super montem* 1535) Gl:1·236, EAST BRIDGFORD (*–super montem* 1559) Nt:222, BRILL (*–super montem* 1535) Bk:118, CLAPTON [on the Hill] (*–super montem* 1590) Gl:1·198, CLIPSTON (*–super montem* 1516) Nt:232, ELTON ON THE HILL (*–super Montem* 1786) Nt:224, GRINGLEY ON THE HILL (*–super Montem* 1517) Nt:30, HAMPTON ON THE HILL (*–super montem* 1443) Wa:205, HARROW ON THE HILL (*–super Montem* 1583) Mx:51–2 [JEPNS:2·54], HENHAM (*–super mont* 1678) Ess:528, HOCKLEY (*–super montem* 1768) Ess:187, HOOTON PAGNELL (*–super Montem* 1511) YW:1·87, HIGH MELTON [formerly Melton on the Hill] (*–super montem* 1535) YW:1·76, NAPTON ON THE HILL (*–super montem* 1502) Wa:140, PRESTON CAPES (*–super montem* 1595) Nth:28, Hill Somersal (*–super montem* 1485) Db:610, SUTTON ON THE HILL (*–super montem* 1560) Db:612, SWINDON (*–super montem* 1524) W:276–7, THORPE ON THE HILL (*–super Montem* 1558) YW:2·149 (**super**).

~ stem *monti-* (for the syncopation in nom.sg. *mōns* see Sihler 1995:§§276.1b & 306.1) < IE **monti-* 'protrusion, height' (de Vaan 2008:388); ***monijo-**, **mont**, **montaigne**, **munt**.

DML *mons*².

moss-pit ModE, ‘turf-pit’, i.e. a hole from which peat is dug in a bog, is evidenced earliest in the 1501 field-name below. Apart from one example in Berkshire, the place-name evidence is limited to Cheshire.

(a) *Moss Pitt Flatt* (f.n.) 1663 Ch:3·284 (**flat**), *Mospitt Meadowe* (f.n.) 1610 Ch:3·276 (**mēd**).

(b) *lez mospittes* 1501 Ch:1·206, *The Mosse Pytte* (f.n.) c.1516 Brk:534, *Mosspittes* (f.n.) 1611 Ch:1·109, *the Mossepittes* (f.n.) 1611 Ch:1·136.

(c) *þe old mosse pittes* 1531 Ch:1·206 (**ald**), *Fulshaw Moss Pitt* (f.n.) 1840 Ch:1·224 (p.n.).

~ **mos, pytt**.

MED –; EDD –; OED-2 *moss-pit* s.v. *moss* n.¹ sense 6; OED-3 *moss-pit* n. s.v. *moss* n.¹ sense C1(a); DES –.

***muddig** OE, *adj.* ‘muddy’. Although the earliest independent evidence for the word in OED-3 is from the 15th century, the early occurrence in the major name MUDFORD (*Mudiford* 1086) So, together with the existence of an apparent doublet in Mudeford Ha, and the good sense and aptness of a name ‘muddy ford’, all strongly suggests that the word existed in OE (cf. discussion of **muðde**, itself a Gmc word).

In later-recorded names there is the chance of confusion with the ME surname *Mody*, as in *Modyoxgange* (f.n.) 1492 (*un’ bouat’ que quondam fuit Thome Modye* 1419) YW:1·99, and apparently, despite the definite article, *Moody Lane* (st.n. Grimsby; *Modie Lane* 1563, *the Mudye Laine* 1565) L:5·80 (from the family of Richard *Mody* 1525).

(a) ?*Marybrook Street* (st.n. Berkeley; *Modybrok’* (surn.) 1327) Gl:2·212 (**brōc**), *Muddy Brow* 1836 We:1·139 (**brū**), *the Muddy Croft* (f.n.) 1637 Ch:3·276 (**croft**), *Mudford* (*Modeford* 13th, *Muddiford* 1826) Ha:120 [cf. Mills 1986:111], MUDFORD (*Mudiford* 1086) So (**ford**), *Muddy Gill* (*Muddigil*, *Mudegill* 1738) We:2·58 (**gil**), *Muddy Green* (f.n.) 1849 YW:6·91 (**grēne**²), *Modihull* (f.n.) 1250 Wa:328 (**hyll**), *Muddy Meadow* (f.n.) n.d. Ch:5i·288 (**mēd**), ?*Muddipit* (*Modepitt* (surn.) 1287, *Modyputte* (surn.) 1330) D:89 (**pytt**), *muddy wath* (f.n.) 1602 L:6·117, *the muddy wath* (f.n.) 1700 L:6·207 (**vað**).

~ ***modor, muðde**.

MED *muddī* adj.; EDD *muddy*; OED-2 *muddy* a.; OED-3 *muddy* adj. & n.²; DES –.

muked ME, *adj.* ‘manured’, recorded in OED-3 from 1510, is found from the 13th century in p.ns. Manure from many creatures was used, including sheep, goats, deer, pigeons and doves, and regulations existed to ensure that manure was not sold ‘off manor’ and should remain on meadows (cf. Pretty 1990).

(a) *Muckt ing* (f.n.) 1839 We:1·208 (**eng**), *Muck’d Field* (f.n.) 1844 Ch:3·168, *Mucked Field* (f.n.) 1838 Ch:3·73 (**feld**), *le Mokedelond* (f.n.) 1290 Nth:266 (**land**), *Mukedtwayth* (f.n.) 1310 (also *Muchthwait* 1217–41) YW:5·32 (**pveit**).

~ **muk**.

MED – (cf. *mukken*, *mukking*); EDD –; OED-2 *mucked* ppl.a.; OED-3 *mucked* adj.; DES –.

mullok ME ‘(heap of) rubbish’, late in *Mullocks Ridding* (f.n.) 1780 Db:196, *Mullock* 20th Do:2·17, *Ox Mullock* (f.n.) 1841 Ch:1·103.

multur ME ‘multure, toll paid for grinding corn’, noted once in *Mulcture Hall* (bdg.n. Halifax) n.d. YW:3·107, cf. MacDonald 1941:32 s.n. *Multures Croft*.

myln-stede OE, *m.* ‘mill place, site of a mill’ occurs in *on þannen mylen stede* S:630 Do:3·117 [ASCh:5·21], *se mylnstede æt Mannæs bridge* S:1012 Ha and *þysne mylenstede þe þær to gebyreð æt Leoferes hagan* S:885 K [ASCh:1·31]. A side-form *myln-styde* (see **styde**) is reflected in some of the Cheshire p.n. material in ME *-stude* spellings (cf. also as a lexical item *le Polestydde et le Milnestyd vocat’ Kyngbroke mylne* 15th Ch:2·50). A parallel formation with **stall** is found in *a mylansteall* S:418 Ha [ASCh:9·10] but has not been noted in p.ns. Sandred 1963:71–3 has further examples and discussion of each type, noting that in most cases ‘the context in the charters indicates situations on rivers’.

The fact that in the small collection below there are four examples qualified by **ald** might undermine the structure of the analysis ‘(site of) the old mill’ offered in L:4·76 but still leaves us wondering what precisely a recurring ‘old mill-site’ implies – long-established or disused? (b) *Mellested* (f.n.) 1220 C:345, *Millstede* (f.n.) 1513 W:447, *the Milnestede* (f.n.) 1250–1300 Ch:4·5, *Milnestede* (f.n.) 1415 Db:607. (c) *Haldemilnestede* (f.n.) 1.12th [e.13th] L:4·76, *le Oldemulnestude* (f.n.; *Holdemulnestude* c.1303) Ch:3·227, *Oldemulnestude* 1365 Ch:3·242 (**ald**), *ald mylnstede spornes* (f.n.) 1379 Du:1·74 (**ald**, with ***spurn**), *Bihouerthwertmilnestede* (f.n.) 1322 Lei:3·117 (**bi**, **over-thwert**), *Alwolmilnestede* (f.n.) 1322 Lei:3·116, *Baldewynemylnestede* (f.n.) 1270 Nth:290 [cf. Ashley 1979:37] (OE pers.n.² or derived surname).

~ **myln, stede.**

MED –; EDD –; OED-2·3 –; DES –.

myln-weard OE, *m.* ‘miller’ (literally, and originally, ‘mill-keeper’) glosses *molendarus* and *molendinarius vel molinarius* (BT). It is sometimes difficult to distinguish from **milnere**, e.g. *Mullenerds Tenement* 1649 (also *Milliners-* 1654) Ch:4·104 (**tenement**).

There is no firm geographical boundary between areas that employ *myln-weard* and those favouring **milnere**, but a broad pattern is discernable, the former showing more strongly south and west of a line from Cheshire through Derbyshire to Essex, and the latter stronger to the north and east of that line. This p.n. distribution accords with the abundant ME surname evidence as set out by Fransson:56 (*Milner*) & 57 (*Muleward*). The surnames are so frequent as to inevitably appear in some p.ns, for instance Millward’s Park (cf. *Millwardesfeld* 1468) Hrt:129 (**feld**) is associated with the family of Henry *Mellward* 1599, and Millward Croft (f.n.) 1842 Db:411 (**croft**) with one Mary *Millward* 1829. In the case of Millwards Meadow (f.n.; *Le Millwards Medowe* 1539–40, with the definite article) Sa:3·29 (**mēd**) it is noteworthy that one Thomas Millward was renting a mill in the parish in 1428–9.

On formal grounds a *‘mule-ward’ might sometimes be a confusable (cf. **mūl**), though one hopes that in reality there was no call for such an occupation.

(a) *le Mulewardes acres* (f.n.) c.1300 O:268 (**æcer**), *Millewarde breche* (f.n.) 13th Lei:3·282 (**brēc**), *Milnewardesforlonge* (f.n.) 1327 Db:628 (**furlang**), *Milwardlond* (f.n.) 1461 Do:1·238, *Mulewardslond* (f.n.) 1325 Sx:560, *Myllwards Lands* (f.n.) 1585–6 Sa:3·191 (**land**), *le Melwardeslane* (st.n. High Easter) 1359 Ess:481 (**lane**), *Mulewardestrete* (st.n. Bermondsey) n.d. Sr:17 (**strēt**), *Mullards Wood* (f.n.) 1747 Sa:2·144 (**wudu**).

(b) Millards (f.n.; *Millwards* 1673) Sr:394.

~ **myln, weard.**

MED *milne-ward* s.v. *milne* n.; EDD – (cf. various *-d* forms s.v. *miller*); OED-2 *millward*; OED-3 *millward* n.; DES *Millward*.

ge-mȳðe OE, *n.* ‘junction’, chiefly ‘river confluence’, often appears in the plural (in effect ‘the mouths’). Senses discernible in OE boundaries include a meeting of enclosures in *to hagena gemyðum* s:578 Brk:647–8 (**haga**¹) and a meeting of ways in *to þære wega gemyþan* s:411 Brk:671–3 (**weg**). Gelling suggests ‘crossroads’ for *of þas gemyþon* s:1001 O:316 as ‘junction of streams’ does not suit the topography. Identification of boundary points clearly shows ‘river confluence’ to be the commonest sense, as in *æt þam gemyðum, of þam gemyþan* s:1540 Brk:704–5, *to þam gemyðan* s:179 Gl:2·28, *in to þam gemyþan* s:508 So [ASCh:13·7], *to þæm gemyðan* s:892† Wa:144, *into ðere gemyðe* s:1036 Ess:135 (see Kitson 1990:216–17 on this unique feminine form), and *to þæs cinges gemyþan* s:414 Gl:3·64 [ASCh:13·5] (with **cyning**, a rare qualified instance of *ge-mȳðe* in the sense ‘river confluence’). Sometimes more than two rivers are involved, as at Mytham Bridge (NGR SK 2082) Db where Overdale Brook and the Noe both join the Derwent, and at Mytholme Cottage (NGR SK 1814) St where the Tame and Mease both join the Trent, but this is not usually the case.

Kitson (forthcoming:§6.19.1) discusses variation between *ge-mȳðe* and **mūða** in cases such as *of temede gemyðan ... in temede muðan* s:142 Wo (r.n. Teme), and the development of a blend-form *mȳðe*, indicative of the process of obsolescence of *ge-mȳðe*.

The range of generics qualified by *ge-mȳðe* is very limited, with **ford** (cf. *on myþ ford* s:500 Brk:643–4) and **tūn** recurring. The word qualifies **lēah** in *on Gemyðlege* s:1441 Gl:1·116, which may or may not shed light on the difficult name MYDDLE (*Mulleht* 1086, *Muthla* 1121, *Mhutle*, *Mudle* 1242, *Middell* 1272, *Medle* 1308, *Mytley* 1421) Sa:1·216–17 [in DEPN as MIDDLE], whose spellings do not entirely preclude a doublet in **lēah** but are hardly compelling. Gelling’s cautious proposal of an OE diminutive **ge-mȳðel* ‘miniature stream-junction’ is accepted as a possibility by Mills 2003 and CDEPN. The topography is problematic in either case. We might throw into the mix the curious *atte Middlele* (surn.) 1327 So [DES s.n. *Middle*, and MELS:132 with further forms], explained as probably ‘dweller in the middle (of the village, or between two more important places)’ (see **middel**), but conceivably from **ge-mȳðel*.

Among the simplex names the dative plural *-um* frequently survives, more so in the north than the south, often with an inorganic *l* in modern forms which is probably modelled on names in **holmr**. The development to Maythorn Wo seems to be a folk-etymological one-off.

The preponderance of ME *e* spellings for MEETH D and MEETHE Barton D has led a succession of commentators to derive them from **mæð** (dat *mæðe*) ‘mowing, hay-land’ (Blomé 1929:42 & 74, D:98–9 & 347, Wilson 1958:424, CDEPN), admittedly a genuine confusable, but Ekwall 1936a:115–18 points out that there are junctions of streams at both places and convincingly demonstrates that *e* for OE *y* following a labial consonant is a common feature in various parts of England.

In the following list, local topography offers clear support for ‘river confluence’ in every case except a handful whose exact location is unknown.

(a) MEAFORD (*Mepford*, *Metford* 1086, *Medford* 1175) St, MIDFORD (*Mitford* 1001 [15th] s:899) So [Turner 1951a:42], ?*Miforde* (f.n.) 1546 Gl:1·126, ?*Mitford* hundred (*Mitford* 1086, *Midford* 1185) Nf [EHN:1·77–8], MITFORD (*Midford* 1196, *Mitford* 1254, *Mithford* 1280) Nb (**ford**), Mitton (*Mutone* 1086) St:1·86, MITTON [in Bredon] (*Myttun* 840 [11th] s:195, *Muttone* 11th) Wo:102, LOWER & UPPER MITTON (*Mettune* 1086, *Mutton* 1227) Wo:254, GREAT MITTON (*Mitune* 1086) YW:6·198 and adjacent LITTLE MITTON (*Parva Mitton* 1242) La:77,

MYTON (*Mytun* 1033 [12th] s:967) Wa:265, MYTON (*Mitun* 1086) YE:213, MYTON-ON-SWALE (*æt nyðtune* [sic], *mytun* 972–92 [11th] s:1453) YN:23, MYTTON (*Mutone* 1086) 1086 Sa:1·217 (**tūn**).

(b) Maythorn (*Myethen* 1586) Wo:55, Meath Green (*atte Muthe* (surn.) 1315) Sr:294, MEETH (*Meda* 1086, *Meðe* 1176, *la Methe* 1259) D:98–9, MEETHE Barton (*la Methe* 1249) D:347, *the Mytham* (*the Mitham where the two river meet* 1689) St [Horovitz 2005:390], *la Mutha* c.1230 [15th] Wo:220, *la Muthe* (f.n.) 13th Wo:205 n., *le Muthom* 1413–22 La:142, Mytholme Cottage (*the Mytham* 1601) St [Horovitz 2005:403 as Mythaholme], MYTHAM BRIDGE (*Mythom* 1285) Db:39, *Mythams alias Muthams* (f.n.) 16th St [Horovitz 2005:403], THE MYTHE (*Muthe* 1221, *Mithe* 1287) Gl:2·65, The Mythe (*Mutha(m)* 1287, *le Muythe* 1249, *Mithe* 1488) Lei [Cox 1971:541], Mythe Hill (*Methe* 1423) Do [Mills 1986:112], *Mytheholme* 1664 St [Horovitz 2005:403], Mytholm (*Mythome* 1545) YW:3·135, Mytholm (*the Mythome* 1615) YW:3·189, Mytholm Bridge (*Mithomwode* 1492, *Mithambrigg* 1709) YW:2·272, Mytholme (f.n.; *in þa myðan, of ðam gemyðan* 1009 s:922†) Db:500, Mytholme (*le Mythome* 1512) YW:3·275, Mytholme Bridge 20th YW:2·316, Mytholme Bridge (*Mithom* 1369) YW:3·92, Mytholme Lodge 20th La:142, Mytholmes (*Mythomes* 1639, *Mytham Lane* 1722) YW:3·262, MYTHOLMROYD (*le Mithomrode* 1286–1323) YW:3·159 (with ***rodu**), *the Mythome* 1551 La:142.

(c) ?*Yeamethe* (f.n.) 1575 Gl:3·46 (?**ēa**), *Trouden Mithum* 1356 La:142 (p.n.), Loud Mytham (*Lowdmythō* 1614, *Lowd Mytham* 1677) La:142 (r.n.).

~ collective form, with *i*-mutation, based on **mūða**; cf. the corresponding ON **mynni** and OHG *gimunti* both well evidenced in the sense ‘river confluence’ (Ståhl 1950:74–5).

MED –; EDD –; OED-2-3 –; DES *Mouth*.