

# Reflections on some major Lincolnshire place-names Part Two: Ness wapentake to Yarborough

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This is the second half of a two-part survey, the first half of which appeared in *JEPNS* 40 (Coates 2008b). In contrast to the study of Lincolnshire minor names in *JEPNS* 39 ('Azure Mouse, [etc.]', Coates 2007), the focus here is on major names, defined as parish and manor names, district names in towns, and those of larger entities still. Some other names which are not conventional "minor names", for example coastal and maritime features, are also included. The names treated appear in a single alphabetical list. The preamble to the earlier article applies to this one too, and parts of it are repeated here.

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## Introduction and apparatus

This work is a collection of sometimes extended commentaries on names in Lincolnshire treated (i) in Kenneth Cameron's *A dictionary of Lincolnshire place-names* (1998), to which, throughout, plain page-numbers in parentheses refer (e.g. 39), or (ii) in the six volumes published by November 2003 of his *The place-names of Lincolnshire* (PN L) which form part of the Survey of English Place-Names (1923–date), or (iii) in his article, 'The Scandinavian

element in minor names and field-names in north-east Lincolnshire', published in *Nomina* 19 (1996). A few Lincolnshire names not in these works are also treated. Some notes are pure commentary, and others propose new solutions.

The spellings which Professor Cameron used as evidence are not repeated wholesale here, but selections are given in most cases to make the argument easier to follow. Some of the ideas were shown to him before his death in 2001, but the rest have been conceived and written since and have been absorbed into the project piecemeal.

An issue arising out of these spellings is the reliability of the sources for Lincolnshire names. It will be noted that Domesday Book forms are quite often out of line with later spellings, and etymologies based on Domesday forms alone, or closer to Domesday than to, say, 13th-century spellings, should be treated with caution. Domesday should be treated as an early representative of a continental scribal tradition in England partly discontinuous with the mainstream later tradition(s) (cf. Clark 1992a; 1992b: 454).

The Cameron archive referred to from time to time is the material collected for his Lincolnshire survey and held on paper slips at the English Place-Name Society's headquarters at the Institute for Name-Studies, University of Nottingham.

### Typography and notation

Italicized forms are normalized mentions of dictionary words or names, or of elements forming such words or names. Actually-recorded spellings of these are also enclosed in italics, whilst spellings of individual characters are given in <angle brackets>. Pronunciations rendered in the IPA alphabet are enclosed in [square brackets], in which syllable-boundaries are marked by a period [.]; where it is necessary to allocate these units of pronunciation to the phonemes of some state of a language, those are enclosed in /forward slashes/. Boundaries between lexical or grammatical elements are marked by a hyphen [-]. An example: Knaith is currently spelt *Knaith* (with initial <k>) and locally pronounced [ne:θ], varying with [neiθ]; the phonemic representation of the (set of) pronunciations, using the conventions for Received Pronunciation, is /neiθ/. Forms with asterisks are forms not attested but reconstructed by linguistic reasoning, such as \**Cnēo-hȳð*, the original Old English form of the name. Meanings are given in 'single quotes', such as 'knee landing-place', which is what \**Cnēo-hȳð* meant. Cross-references to other names treated in the article are given in CAPITAL LETTERS. References to the Ordnance Survey national grid are given in the form TF 0811 or TF 085125.

### A note on Scandinavian

In different parts of Britain there is historical evidence for both Danish and Norwegian settlement from the ninth century. But there is relatively little for the linguistic differentiation of these peoples in Britain at this period, and their language is generally referred to in this work as *(Old) Scandinavian* (Scand or Sc). Where it is important to make a dialectal distinction, the terms *Old East* and *Old West Scandinavian* (OEScand, OWScand) respectively are used. Old Norse (ON) is used as the name of the developed literary variety of West Scandinavian found in the classical sagas, which in some crucial ways differs little from OWScand. But a plea is made in Coates (2006) for etyma to be cited in their reconstructed (Old) Scandinavian forms, not ON forms, and that is done here, but supplemented by ON forms where required for clarity or for connection with existing literature.

### Abbreviations

#### Language-names other than those introduced above

AN	Anglo-Norman (French)
Da	Danish
Fr	French
Gmc	(Common) Germanic
HG	High German
Icel	Icelandic
Lat	Latin
LG	Low German
MDu	Middle Dutch
ME	Middle English
MHG	Middle High German
MIr	Middle Irish
MLG	Middle Low German
ModE	Modern English
ODa	Old Danish
OE	Old English
OFr	Old French
OHG	Old High German
OIr	Old Irish
OLG	Old Low German
VL	Vulgar Latin

**Other abbreviations**

BL	British Library, St Pancras, London
CE	Common Era (trad. AD); BCE: Before the Common Era (trad. BC)
DB	Domesday book
DMV	deserted medieval village
EPNS	English Place-Name Society/Survey
FL	Foster Library, LAO
IPA	(alphabet of the) International Phonetic Association
LAO	Lincolnshire Archive Office, St Rumbald's Street, Lincoln
Misc.	miscellany (in titles of MS. collections)
Monson	Monson archive, South Carlton Manor
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
OD	Ordnance Datum (OS sea level reference point at Newlyn, Cornwall)
OS	Ordnance Survey
PRO	Public Record Office, Somerset House, London [= now NA, the National Archive]
t.	<i>tempore</i> 'from the time of', followed by a monarch's name

**Abbreviations of the titles of published books are explained at the relevant places in the bibliography.**

### **The names, treated in alphabetical order**

NESS wapentake (90)

*Nes(s)* 1086–1200

This name contains Scand *nes* 'headland', possibly replacing OE *næss* 'headland; projecting piece of high land, land round which a river flows to form a headland' (EPNE 2: 49, 48). The site of the meeting-place is not known. A reasonably central candidate would be the land partially embraced by the rivers Western and Eastern Glen before they meet, just south-east of Braceborough (TF 085125). This site is less than two miles (3 km) from the Roman road called King Street (Margary road no. 26; no current number), from which access would have been easy via Greatford. The low ground here is not strictly a headland site in EPNE's terms, but it bears some affinity with one. An alternative might be the nearby modest promontory site just south of the Eastern Glen represented by the former Hill Field west of Barholm (TF 0811).

The adjacent double hundred of historic Northamptonshire, coincident with the Soke of Peterborough, is called *Nassaborough*, i.e. the “*næss* of (Peter)Borough” (witness e.g. *Nesse de Burc* and *Nassum Burgi* as early medieval French and Latin renderings). Possibly Nassaborough and Ness were one district before the shiring of the midlands, and possibly the reference in both names is to the *nesse þe Medeshamstede onstent* (BCS 1130; PN Nth: 223), ‘the promontory on which Peterborough stands’, i.e. the land separating the Nene and the Welland. There is also the intriguing possibility of a connection with Ness Meadow in Ryhall (PN R: 163); this parish forms, with Essendine, a salient of Rutland into the current territory of Kesteven’s Ness wapentake, and the name of the meadow contains the only known instance of *nes* in Rutland, Ryhall parish having a large amount of Scandinavian naming by Rutland standards (Cox 1990: esp. table on 15, maps on 19). This place could have been central to a larger Ness wapentake including at least eastern Rutland, and if it had given its name to the wapentake it would clearly give a clue to the pre-shiring administrative geography of the area. The actual location of Ness meadow is not known (private information from Professor Barrie Cox), but it might be in the loop of the river Gwash immediately west of the village centre; if that is so, it is arguably neither a typical meeting-place nor a typical *nes*. The name may in any case actually contain *nest* (cf. *Nest Field* in Windsor, Brk; Field 1972: 146).

Since there was also a *nes* in Huntingdonshire (still close to Peterborough) that appears to have been a distinct recognizable entity, namely *La Nesse*, represented by the site of Bruce’s Castle Farm in Conington (PN BdHu: 183), it is clearly not impossible for the Lincolnshire *Ness* to have also been named from a feature distinct from the land of the Soke, whether or not the place in Ryhall is involved.

A further complication is the existence of Nassington in Northamptonshire (PN Nth: 204), which may be ‘farm at the *næss*’, with connective *-ing-*, though it does not appear likely that the promontory in question is that of Peterborough, despite the nearness of the two places to each other, since Nassington itself “stands on a broad headland above the Nene”. There is no trace of the genitive plural marker required for the second suggestion in PN Nth that this is ‘farm of the people of/from Nass(aborough)’.

It seems safest, on balance, to conclude that Ness wapentake is named from some feature within its own boundaries, perhaps alluding to its meeting-place, but a connection with Ness Meadow in Ryhall or with Nassaborough hundred cannot be absolutely ruled out.

## ORFORD (Stainton le Vale; 94)

This seems likely to be *Īra-ford* ‘Irishmen’s ford’; a single contradictory DB form *Erforde* is not of sufficient weight to count against the weight of post-DB evidence which offers only <I-> and <Y->. This and names like Ireton (Db × 2) and Irton (YN × 2) make it clear that OE *Īras* was found in place-names as well as Scand *Īri* (contrast what is said in EPNE 1: 304 and PN Db 381, 508). The modern pronunciation reflected in the spelling is paralleled by the traditional pronunciation of Irton in Seamer [ɔr.tən] and of Irby Manor in West Rounton [ɔr.bi] and it is therefore not, as Cameron claims, unique (PN YN: 101, 218).

## PANTON (97)

Ekwall (DEPN: 357) declares (a) that the place is on a ridge, and (b), leaning rather heavily on Domesday spellings for (Great and Little) PONTON (97–8, and see below) with which he believes it shares an origin, that its name contains OE *\*pamp*, a conjectural hill-word. But there is hardly a shred of evidence to support this second opinion — only a single spelling of the form <Pam-> in a 12th-century Danelaw document, a class in which <Pan-> is otherwise found. A major issue to address is whether Panton and Ponton do in fact share an origin, and this will be dealt with mainly under PONTON below.

Cameron says, on the other hand, that the “depopulated village” of Panton is in a depression or hollow, and implies that its name was probably *\*Pann-tūn*, containing OE *panne* ‘pan’, an early (probably continental) borrowing of VL *panna*, in a metaphorical application. What little there is of Panton village, including the redundant church, clings to a low ridge (TF 175789); but from about TF 175795 (visit 02/01/03), on the minor road through the parish north of this ridge, one gets the impression of being in a flattish basin surrounded on three sides by low ridges with fairly (but not dramatically) abrupt slopes, with relatively narrow exits north-east and south-west, and on this subjective basis it appears possible that the place really is named from a feature interpreted as a *panne* at this position.

	c11	early c12	late c12	early c13	late c13	early c14	late c14
<a>	2	1	20	14	2	5	4
<o>				1			
<au>				2	10	16	8
other				1			1

Table 1, showing distribution of vowel-letters in first syllable of Panton by half-century.

Spellings of the type <Paun-> are first recorded in the first half of the 13th century, and they come to dominate by 1300, after which ME <a>-spellings continue sporadically alongside those in <au> before becoming dominant again in eModE (Table 1; contrast PONTON below). The <au> is a grapheme used by writers of Anglo-Norman for AN /ã/ and for ME words borrowed from AN which contain it (Brunner 1960: 129; Luick 1964: 450–1), and there is no alternative to taking it as a normanism in this name. The welter of later-medieval <au> spellings is pure scribal traditionalism based on AN spelling-habits, and the modern pronunciation indicates that it was pronounced with /a/ all along. Since there is some warrant for the place being named from a “pan”, and since the word *pan* itself has not followed this spelling-history (judging from the entry in OED), this account seems acceptable.

#### PARTNEY (97)

*Peartaneu* 731

*Peortanea* c.890 (10th)

*Partene, Partenai* 1086

If the name denotes the site of the modern village, where the church stands on a promontory, the element *ēg* can denote neither a normal island, nor a raised area in a marsh. There is something here which is almost an island formed by streams, and it is mainly occupied by a low but marked hill rising to 27m in the Wolds, abutting low-lying land in the valley of the river Lymn (also known as Steeping). It is geologically part of the main block of the Chalk, and may best be viewed as a good example of a promontory *ēg*, the type of which Gelling and Cole (2000: 37) regard Kersey (Sf) as a paradigm example. The village stands at the western end of the promontory feature, whose eminence is emphasized by the relatively level areas north-west and north-east of the village as well as by the Lymn valley to the south; the modern A16 road rises quite markedly to the church from both north and south. On the OS 1:50000 map, the site of Partney appears to be topographically separated from the rest of the Chalk by a narrow linear depression north-east of the village, and this is partly occupied by a beck flowing into it from the north. The rest of the declivity is defined clearly by the 20m contour-line on the OS 1:50000 map (TF 411685–425685), though it is not really conspicuous on a visit. If this depression was ever wet when the water-table was high, a case might be made that the feature from which Partney is named resembled a true island and not merely a promontory.

There are no grounds for believing that the name originally applied to the true marsh-island in the parish currently occupied by Model Farm, and that it

was transferred to the current village-site, but that is not impossible since the actual site of the Partney monastery referred to by Bede (HE 2: 16 and 3: 2) is unknown.

The first element may well be a personal name, as claimed, but \**Pearta* is not on record. It requires explanation, and there is none yet, but there is some relevant discussion in Coates (1997/8: 13–14, fn. 12; fn. 11 in the revised version reprinted in Coates and Breeze 2000).

#### PONTON, GREAT and LITTLE (97–8)

The spellings on record for this name are puzzling and seem in part bizarre. DB has *Pamptune*, *Panptune*, *Pamtone* and *Pantone*, but a spelling with medial <m> or <p> implying a bilabial in the coda of the first syllable occurs only once thereafter, in *Pampton* in an episcopal register in 1245. With minor variants, all other forms are of the types *Panton* and *Paunton*; it would be best to take *Panton* as a rare variant of the latter (only 4 instances before 1350). Of course *Panton* is the surviving modern form, which would normally indicate that the first syllable really did end in an alveolar consonant; labials do not normally disappear by assimilation in such a position, and they may even be phonetically reinforced: witness the numerous cases of (-)*Hampton* from (-)*hām-tūn*. A century ago, Menger (1904: 82) noted that, as regards symbols for a nasal consonant before a plosive in Anglo-Norman, “there exists no apparent regularity” about whether <m> or <n> is used, and I suggest that the DB forms cannot and do not finally settle the question of what the coda consonant was, nor can those of any early document suspected of harbouring Anglo-Norman type spellings (especially those written in chancery). A more or less random trawl through the EPNS Survey reveals support for this viewpoint; Lenton (PN Nt: 149), named from the river Leen, is *Lemtona* in 1107×1113, *Clunton* (PN Sa 1: 93–4), based on the river-name *Clun*, is *Clumpton* in 1272, *Denton* (PN Sx: 365), certainly for *den(u)-tūn*, is *Demton* and *Dempton* in 1296, *Prenton* (PN Ch 4: 272), perhaps containing the presumed personal name *Pren*, is *Preмптоna* in a 13th-century document, and *Linton* (PN YW 5: 103), containing *līn* ‘flax’, is *Lipton* [sic] in DB. These demonstrate that spellings showing interchange of nasal consonants occur which are definitely purely scribal, as there is no way to account for the apparent phonetic change of [n] to [m(p)] or even [p] in such environments. We should prepare to discount what DB appears to tell us about the consonants of Ponton.

Cameron hesitantly equates the name with PANTON, which has universal <a> before 1200, but concludes that the first element in Ponton is uncertain. Ekwall (DEPN: 370) confidently equates it with PANTON, whose forms taken all together are almost always <Pa(u)n-> (as noted above). He explains



both names by an unattested OE *\*pamp*, relatives of which may be found in Continental Germanic words used as by-names for persons and which may be metaphorically applied to hills or mounds. He also claims that *\*Pamp* appears in Pamphill (Do). This nexus of inferences becomes even more strained when Mills, in PN Do 2: 163–4, points out that the source of Pamphill appears to be *\*pempe*, if anything a derivative of *\*pamp*, whether a lexical word or a by-name, and not this word itself. I do not believe that PANTON contains this element (see above), and there is precious little evidence suggesting it ever existed in English. Add this to the probability that the first element of Ponton does not really contain anything ending in /-amp/ at all, and we see the need to start again.

It is uncomfortable to discount the earliest evidence available, namely that in DB. However, in the case of Ponton this evidence is not only inconsistent and out of line in ways paralleled by evident abnormalities in the record of other names, but it lacks any plausible interpretation; and one should in any case on linguistic and culture-historical grounds feel less insecure about discounting forms from DB than from most other sources.

On Cameron's evidence in his *Dictionary*, and in the archived medieval records on which it is based, forms in <a> are earlier than and numerically dominate those in <au>/<o>, though two more 13th-century forms in <o> in surnames, not adduced by Cameron, are cited by Reaney and Wilson (1991: 357).

	c11	early c12	late c12	early c13	late c13	early c14	late c14
<a>	7	1	7	17	2		
<o>				1	1	2	
<au>				5	10	7	all
others			1	1			

Table 2, showing distribution of vowel-letters in first syllable of Ponton by half-century (based on material in Cameron's archive collection).

Is the equation of this name with that of PANTON justifiable? As with Panton the spellings of the type <Paun-> are first recorded in the first half of the 13th century, and they come to dominate by 1400, but after that, in contrast with Panton, there are no ME <a>-spellings at all. The <au> is a grapheme used by writers of Anglo-Norman for AN /ã/ and for ME words borrowed from AN which contain it (Brunner 1960: 129). Possibly in this name as in other native words and names (including PANTON) it is used to represent a special allophone of /a/ used before /n/ which ultimately came to be pronounced [o] and fell together with /o/ as the modern spelling indicates. For such a form to

escape from the written record and come to be used as a spoken form is atypical, but paralleled, significantly, in the development of the name of the river Pant (in OE with <e>, <æ> or <a>, but written with <au> or <o> from the 13th to the 16th century until the historians Camden and Harrison interfered (PN Ess 9–10); and possibly that of the Pont in Northumberland (Ekwall 1928: 332). The divergent form appears to be a phonological reinterpretation of a spelling arising in the AN scribal tradition. Luick (1964: 451) notes that the spellings in <au> are normanisms, and may be found in ME borrowings from AN, but that native English words with syllable-rimes in /-an/ are generally not written with <aun>; for obscure reasons, where <aun> might be expected, <on> is occasionally found in some southern manuscripts. On balance, it appears that Ponton is an aberrant development of a name having the same original form as PANTON, a divergence perhaps encouraged by the very existence of Panton, which is however neither a prominent place nor very close to Ponton, nor even in the same Part of Lincolnshire.

The question remains of whether there is a topographical feature at either of the Pontons which could trigger the use of *panne* (or rather, in the light of the evidence, *\*pann-*) ‘pan’ in the name of the places. This is very difficult, and I have no confidence that I have identified the landmark. South of the bridge east of Little Ponton village, alongside the Witham, there are flat meadows demarcated on the west by a low cliff, and with other visible demarcating features these might be seen as a flat *\*pann*. The eastern demarcation is a river-embankment that could be relatively modern. This feature lies between the two Ponton villages.

It is not quite impossible formally that Ponton is for *\*Pont-tūn* and contains the Brittonic word *\*pont* ‘(Roman) bridge’, borrowed from Latin *pont-*. Whilst in Welsh /on/ before a consonant generally develops as [un] (Jackson 1953: 272–3; Sims-Williams 2003: 88–92), this is a change of the early sixth century, and if the relevant word or name had been borrowed in the first Anglian incursions during the fifth it could still have had the earlier form [on], giving something representable in OE, when it came to be written, as either <on> or <an>, a well-known alternation. In any case, we have no reason to suppose that this Welsh-only, i.e. western, change raising [o] ever operated in what was to become eastern England. Perhaps what we are seeing is an OE *\*Pant-tūn* < *\*pont-* where the first element could behave in the way just sketched for a descendant of *\*pann*. A parallel is provided by Andover (Ha), if this contains Brittonic *\*onn* ‘ash-tree(s)’ (Jackson 1953: 273, 285; Coates 1989: 23), for which there are also occasional ME spellings in <au> (Gover 1961: 163). Where such a bridge might be is debatable; Saltersford in Little Ponton is on an ancient romanized saltway where it crosses the Witham

(Margary 1973: 222–3), but that is rather far north in the parish (SK 925334), and in any case the current name for the place is one in *ford* not *bridge*, which may be significant if it indicates that there was no early bridge (and that may or may not be the case). The Witham might have been crossed by ancestors of minor roads leading east from either Little Ponton or Great Ponton, but the present ones have not been claimed as Roman and no bridge is known archaeologically. That from Great Ponton crosses the Witham conveniently just below the point where Cringle Brook flows into it (SK 929305) and runs east to Ermine Street less than a mile from the present bridge. Hitherto, the only English place-names in *pont* have been ascribed to the French and Cornish words of identical ancestry and similar form (EPNE 2: 70).

On balance, therefore, it seems most likely that both PONTON and PANTON contain an OE *\*pann*, but there are still uncertainties, especially about PONTON.

#### ROTHWELL (103)

The place said to appear in a Harleian document of 1245 as *Rachaw (pratum quod uocatur Marays iacens inter Rachaw et Neteltun)*, PN L 2: 243, but transcribed as *Rachow* on 247) is likely to be really Rothwell, i.e. *\*Rothew*, the parishes mentioned being adjacent; compare the spellings of the *Rothewelle* type in PN L 4: 154–5.

Rothwell is really ‘spring at a clearing’ with ‘spring’ as the generic, not the other way round as stated in the *Dictionary*; Cameron has it right in PN L 4: 154–5. Oddly enough, in PN L 5: 48–9 and 51, Cameron makes a similar inversion of the elements in two other names, Wellow and the lost *Brighow* in Grimsby — ‘spring by the hill-spur’ or ‘by the mound’ and ‘bridge by the spur of land’ or ‘by the mound’ respectively, whereas they are really names for the elevated places themselves, as is made clear for Wellow in the *Dictionary* (136).

#### Σαλῆναι in Ptolemy’s *Geography*

This name clearly represents Latin *salinae* ‘saltworks, salterns’. Strang (1997: 23) has suggested, on a reappraisal of Ptolemy’s map-coordinates, that it might represent an unidentified place in Lincolnshire, rather than Droitwich (Worcestershire) as proposed by Rivet and Smith (1979: 120–1, 451; cf. also May 1976: 206). That being so, it may be mentioned here that the dominant spelling in the MS tradition of Ptolemy (Parsons 2000: 171, n. 6), the one given in the heading, may represent the genuine British Latin development of [i:] to [e:] (and later to what is spelt <wy>) that is seen in a small number of borrowings into Welsh (i.e. *pabwyr*, *paradwys*, and perhaps *synnwyr*; Jackson 1953: 304) and in the name of Speen (Brk; from Latin *spinis*; Coates 2000:

41), rather than simply reflect the spelling variation caused by the merger of the Greek front vowels /i:/ and /e:/ which occurred in the last centuries BCE (Horrocks 1997: 102–7), though the latter possibility must of course be reckoned with.

*SAND HAILE FLATS* (off Saltfleet in the 17th century)

The second word in this name may be a reflex of Sc *hali* ‘tail’, in a topographical sense. This sandbank projected a significant distance from the coastline at the time of Morden’s map (1695) on which it appears as *Sand Hil*, offshore from the ancient Saltfleet storm-beach, now under dunes. Compare the modern Haile Sand off Humberstone where Tetney Haven emerges from the sandbanks into the Humber proper, which may contain the same element. *Hali* has previously been suggested as a toponymic element in England, except in the \**kattar-hali* suggested by Ekwall (1922: 162, following H. C. Wyld) for Catterall (La). The usual caution is due because of the lateness of the first records.

Formally, it could contain a reflex *hale* of an oblique case-form of OE *halh* ‘nook, corner, etc.’, but as far as I know there are no other examples of this in offshore names. The nearest analogue I know is in Bede’s explanation of the ancient name of Whitby, *Streaneshalh* (on which see Styles 1998), from this element in the sense ‘sinus [curve, bay]’, but this name clearly refers to a place on land as applied to the site of the monastery.

#### SCOTHERN (107)

*Scotstorne* 1086, c.1115, 1207

*Scotorne* 1086

*Scotorn*’ 1163

*Scoztorna* 1166

*Scostorne* t.Hy2 (t.Ed1)

Cameron suggests that this is from the OE words *Scot* and *þorn* and is therefore self-explanatory except in that the first element may be either genitive singular or genitive plural. However, in the forms available in Cameron’s *Dictionary*, in Ekwall (DEPN: 408) or in Watts (CDEPN: 532), there is no trace of a medial syllable. This could suggest that the first element is Scandinavian, not English, and a personal name, *Skot-* (Lind 1905–31: s.n.), rather than the ethnic name which is usually the weak noun *skotti*. The records show a genitive *-s*, not *-es*, which is usually taken as a secure indicator of Sc origin. \**Skots-þorn* would be a perfectly good Sc name (cf. Smith’s interpretation of *Scosthrop* which equally has no medial vowel, where he

gives the by-name as *Skottr*, PN YW 6: 142; and Ekwall's, where he inexplicably prefers (weak) *Skotte*, DEPN: 408). If we discount the evidence of Domesday Book, there are only two ancient spellings without medial <s>, in the Lincoln *Registrum antiquissimum* in 1146 (Ekwall) and 1163 (Cameron), and I am inclined to think that the name is therefore really Sc \**Skots-þorn* with [s.θ] occasionally assimilated to [θ].<sup>1</sup>

## SCOTTER (107)

*Scot(t)ere* 1061×1066 and *passim*

*Scotre* 1086, c.1128 (12th)

*Scotra* c.1115

The earliest spellings do not suggest \**Scot(t)a trēow* 'the tree of the Scots' as claimed by Cameron. In five early mentions, a clear majority, there is an <e> between the <t> and <r>. Clearly there were "Scots" or a person named *Scot* in the vicinity, as the next parish is Scotton, from which Scotter was perhaps a secondary settlement. But Scotter was named, I suggest, Scand \**Skotta eyr-*, their 'sand or gravel bank' on the river Eau. The only other major name in the region with *eyr-*, the lost *Ravenser* in Easington (PN YE: 19) has, like Scotter, spellings in <-ere>.

The river and its banks at Scotter are now so heavily improved and landscaped (aerial-photo evidence and site visit) that it is impossible to use the current appearance to secure this etymology. The site visit (02/01/2003) revealed some sandy topsoil in the river-bank, but I could not be sure whether this was of local origin or not, because of the improvement works mentioned. But recent historic wetland research in the lower Trent valley included a transect taken at Scotter which revealed peat developing on sand dunes there and blown sand deposits, the Cover Sands, "that flank the rivers of the region after c.6000–3990 B.C." (WAERC 2001; see also the discussion of ACE FIELD in Coates 2008a, and Straw 1963), and it is possible that such deposits were exposed in the river-margins and visible to the namers of the village-site.

## SCOTTLETHORPE (Edenham; 107)

*Scache(r)torp* 1086

*Scotelthorp* c.1150, Hy2 (1227), e13th (15th), 1242×1243

*Scotlatorp* 'lHy2

*Scodlouestorp, Scodlotorp* 1202

This name appears in many guises, but if the eccentric Domesday spellings are discarded the rest may be explained as reflecting a Scandinavian personal

name *\*Skot-Logi* ‘Irish/Scottish Logi’,<sup>2</sup> formed in the same way as *\*Lag-Ulf* in Lawress wapentake (see discussion under SKENDLEBY below). Ekwall (DEPN: 408) prefers the first element to be a lost OE place-name. This is a characteristic tactic of his (cf. SKENDLEBY), but it is of doubtful plausibility because the place-names that have allegedly been lost or displaced are often untypical.<sup>3</sup> Fellows-Jensen (1968: 242; 1978: 116) gives credence to the divergent Domesday forms which suggest a personal name *\*Skakari* or the like. These forms are restricted to Domesday and are so divergent that it is not really clear whether the place underwent a name-substitution early in the second millennium. But a Domesday-like form is hardly likely to have been corrupted in transmission to the tradition giving rise to the modern name; the reverse is more likely since the outcome *Scache(r)torp* is, arguably, readily intelligible and thus a possible product of folk-etymology (involving *\*skakari* ‘shaker’).

#### SCRAFIELD (108)

*Scraidefeld* t.Hy2

*Screidefeld* 1183 (113th)

*Screthefeld* 1189×1199

This name is interpreted by Cameron as “ON *skreith* ‘a land-slide’”, apparently following Ekwall (“ON *skreið* ‘landslip’”; DEPN: 408), but the accepted range of meanings for this word-form is actually ‘shoal (of fish)’, ‘pack (of wolves)’. ‘Landslip’ is rather *skrið*, which does not suit the recorded spellings of the place-name. In Norwegian dialects, the following descendants of this have been recorded: *skrid*, *skrida* and *skreid* (Falk and Torp 1903–6: 737), and only the third form could supply both the meaning and the pronunciation required. It is most implausible that this could have arrived in England early enough to be incorporated into a place-name on the record in the time of Henry II, since the dialect development requires lowering, lengthening and diphthongization of Scand [i], and lengthening as part of the Scandinavian Great Quantity Shift is datable to 1250–1350 (Haugen 1976: 258–9). No alternative formal explanation comes to mind. Landslips are known on the Wold scarp between Elsham and Caistor (OS 1:50000 geological map, sheet 89 (solid)), so the geological aspect of the explanation cannot be dismissed out of hand, but Professor Allan Straw, an expert on Lincolnshire geology (by letter, 05/10/2003), advises as follows: that whilst the weak bluff at Scrafield is of Spilsby Sandstone overlying the Jurassic Kimeridge Clay, and therefore offers the theoretical possibility of a landslip of the sandstone on the more water-retentive stratum, “[t]he form of the

ground and the gentleness of the slopes militate against landsliding having occurred, certainly none remarkable enough to merit a specific placename". In general, "the height of even the steeper slopes is too low for major slippage, and the Sandstone tends to disintegrate under weathering rather than break away in large lumps". A visit (29/12/2003) revealed absolutely no trace of slippage at the site of the farm which is all that remains of Scrafield and that of the vanished church, and searches of maps and aerial photographs of the parish were equally unproductive. Clearly, the etymology involving a Scandinavian word for 'landslip' cannot be defended, either philologically or geologically, and we have not even begun to consider the philological status of such an element with an English generic.

A phonologically justifiable solution is OE *\*Scrēad-feld* 'cut-off piece, shred' + 'open land', passed through Scandinavian where the first element was perhaps identified with *skreið* 'pack (of wolves)', but how such a name might have been applied is completely unclear. Is it conceivable, instead, that the name is really a Scandinavian one meaning '\**wall(u)-* (> *völlr*, i.e. 'pasture, open land' etc.) where a pack of wolves is or has been seen', the second element being replaced by a semantically compatible English word with a slight formal resemblance? Scrafield is not mentioned before the reign of Henry II, as noted above, and if that is taken at face value, it may mean that it was named relatively late, when the sight of a pack of wolves in Lincolnshire would have been a noteworthy occurrence.<sup>4</sup> The wolf was persecuted in Anglo-Saxon and Norman times, but was subject to a royally-instituted campaign of extermination from 1281, and after mention in a couple of geographically uncertain references in the 14th century it appears to have been extinct in England before 1500 (Rackham 1986: 34–5; Yalden 1999: 132–3; note however that Aybes and Yalden (1995) record only one, uncertain, other place-name reference to wolves in Lincolnshire).

SCRANE END (Freiston; 108)

*Screinga* before 1158, eHy2

*Screinges* eHy3 (after 1259)

*Scrainges* 1197

*Scrainge, Screhinges* 1202

Ekwall's proposal (1959: 85; DEPN: 408) that the first element is OE *\*Scīrhēah(-ingas)* requires a very drastic reduction to have taken place. The early (medieval) spellings of the base-name would be suited perfectly by an unattested OE equivalent of German *schräg* 'oblique, slanting', or, in the older languages, the OHG *scrēgi-* found in certain compound nouns and

MHG, MLG *schrage* ‘(cross-legged) trestle’ (as well as, apparently, ‘windlass, winch, capstan’). The OE form would have been \**screg* or \**scræg*. Such a derivation, exploiting the meaning ‘trestle’, was Ekwall’s original thought on this name (1923), “for want of anything better” (1959: 85). But if this suggestion has any validity, the word may have been applied as a by-name (?‘drop-shouldered’, ?‘bandy’) on which the group-name in *-ingas* was constructed. If the original group-name was built on the latter root and had the form \**Screngingas*, as the medieval forms may indicate, then it shows the effect of *i*-umlaut and is therefore very likely an ancient formation, perhaps dating to the time when the ancestors of the English were still on the continent, for reasons set out in Coates (1984). It is more likely in this last case that we are dealing with a singular *-ing* formation (Ekwall DEPN: 408; Fellows-Jensen 1978: 224). MHG *schrage* also meant ‘fishing-net fastened on two frames lying crosswise on top of each other and borne on a pole’ (Lexer 1885: 186; trl. mine), and an OE cognate would have been \**scraga* (as Ekwall and Fellows-Jensen have noted). Since Scrane End is on the coast, this may be helpful, though the course of ancient freshwater or tidal rivers in the region is very uncertain because of the great geomorphological changes that have occurred in the last 2000 years.

The possible phonological bases of the name reduce to these two, and two sets of possible Germanic relatives have been identified accordingly; but the likely meaning of the name remains undecidable. The initial consonants of the current form have of course been scandinavianized.

#### SCREDINGTON (108)

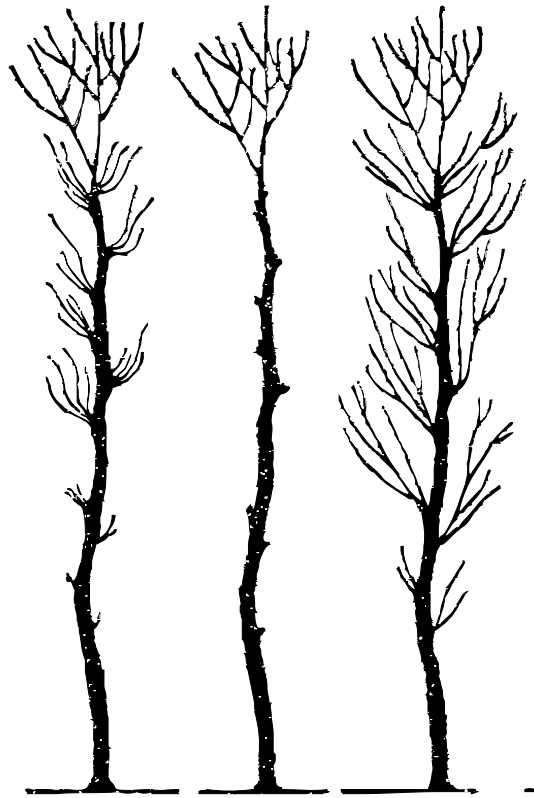
*Scredinctun* 1086

*Scredintona* 1189×1192, etc.

The first element in this might be a Scandinavianized form of a derivative of OE *scrēadian* ‘to shred’, ‘to prune, strip branches off, trees’, the term surviving into the technical terminology of modern forestry as the verb *to shred* ‘to remove the lower branches from’; this practice is now completely discontinued (see Rackham 1986: fig. 5.1 for an illustration, reproduced here; also 1986: 229 for brief discussion). There is on record an OE *scrēadung* ‘pruning; a piece cut off, fragment’. Maybe we can envisage a singular *-ing* derivative of the verbal base, yielding a name meaning something like ‘farm characterized at the time of naming by trees stripped in a certain way’, or indicating a farm where woodcraft was practised in a particular (?even then unusual) way. The initial consonants of the present form have of course been scandinavianized. This appears to me to be as likely as Fellows-Jensen’s



account involving OE *scrēad* ‘shred’ in an unparalleled (?metaphorical) application to a thin strip of land (1978: 186), i.e. the low narrow ridge on which the village sits, though this is etymologically identical to my proposed source.



Shredding a tree: before treatment, shredded, re-sprouting.

Image from Oliver Rackham, *The history of the countryside*. London: Phoenix (1986).

The manorial history of the place and the relation of this to surviving features are extraordinarily difficult (Roffe, Healey and Ancliffe 2003). Five moated sites survived in the parish, and there is insufficient documentation to sustain an argument that one of them represented a “cutting off”; and even if such an argument could be made, it is hard to see how one such “cut-off” vill could give its name to the parish.

SEMPRINGHAM (109; Pointon)

*æt Sempingaham* 852 (12th), 1066×1068 (c.1200)

*Sempingeham* 1148×1168

This name has long been regarded as problematic. It is on record since the ninth century, but in Cameron's collection of spellings the <r> does not appear in texts till around 1200, alternating with <l>: *Semplingham* (1199), *Simpringham* (1202).<sup>5</sup> Alternation of postconsonantal <r> and <l> is a well-known normanism (Zachrisson 1924: 107–8 and footnotes) and requires no further comment. Before this time, the name is simply *Sempingham* and the like, and such spellings as these must clearly be taken as representing the original form of the name.

St Gilbert founded his nunnery here in about 1130 and his Gilbertine order in 1147; he was canonized in 1202. I suggest that the current form of the name is due to scribal confusion of this internationally revered place with the saint's name, or saint's-name-as-place-name, *Symphorianus* (recorded in OFr as *Simphoriein*). This saint, the second-century martyr of Autun and immensely popular in France (to judge by the number of places commemorating him: 21 existing communes), has a name which without learned scribal interference would have developed into \**Semprien*, Greek <ϕ> giving <p> in early borrowings into Latin and so on into French (as in *coup* and the second <p> in *pourpre*), and such a popular pronunciation may have been available to scribes conversant with 12th-century French in England. The modern "learnèd" pronunciation of <ph> as /f/ is likely to have been the product of the Latin reforms of the court of Charlemagne and may have taken much time to filter into the discourse of popular piety. There are places named after Symphorian in the modern Norman *départements* of Eure, Eure-et-Loir, Manche and Orne which could have influenced scribe(s) in England.

If this is considered insufficient, and if it is possible that a collection of small pressures may cause change, then we may also reckon with analogical influence from the phonologically, metrically and structurally similar name of Helpringham (62), 5 miles (8.5 km) to the north-north-east. It is presumably because of the medieval fame of Sempringham that the name of Empingham parish in Rutland (PN R 138–9), 17 miles (27 km) to the south-west, may turn up in surnames as *Empringham*.

#### SKENDLEBY (110)

*Scheueldebi* 1086

*Skendilby* 1115 (14th)

*Skendelbi* 1124, 1156

*Schendelbi* 1135×1154

The obscure first element in this name may be Scand *skemd* 'disgrace', compounded with some such personal name as *Halla* or *Hild* (both female),

*Hall* or *Hildir* (both male), with no (surviving) indication of the genitive singular. The name would be a by-name formed by a common noun combined with a proper name as seen in Lawress wapentake, where the specifier is \**Lag-Ulf*- ‘Law-Ulf’ (78–9). The same combination is also found in SCOTTLETHORPE, and in Billockby (Nf), for which Ekwall (DEPN: 43; see also Insley 1994: 94–5 and PN Nf 2: 46) proposes *Biðil-aki* ‘Wooser- (ON *biðill*) Aki’, ‘Randy Aki’; in at least the instance of Lawress there is also no case-marking of the personal name. This proposal seems more satisfactory than Ekwall’s own suggestion that Skendleby contains a scandinavianized lost OE place-name composed of the elements *scēne* ‘beautiful’ and *helde* ‘slope’, because whilst these suit the Domesday form (if the <u> in *Scheueldebi* is taken to be for <n>) they suit none of the other records, which are consistent with the modern shape of the name.

## SKILLINGTON (111)

*æt Scillintune* 1066×1068

Cameron says he can make “no plausible suggestion” about this, and Watts (CDEPN: 553) lists four possibilities without deciding amongst them. One of them, the one that seems most plausible to me, is essentially this: it includes a scandinavianized form of OE *scilling*, so the name might mean ‘farm worth four Mercian pence’. For the formation, cf. Penton (Ha) and Pennington (La), which contain the word for a penny.

## SKINNAND (Navenby; 111)

*Schinende* 1086, 1185

*Schinande* 1185, c.1250 (t.Ed1)

*Skinnand*’ 1230

The name of this depopulated village and former parish is interpreted as the scandinavianized form of the OE present participle *scīnende* ‘shining’, used as a noun, though there is no reason to discount the possibility of the corresponding Scand *skīnandi*, since there are no participial river-names of English origin (cf. Ekwall 1928: 209–10), whilst the current form of the name of the Welland owes something to such a Scandinavian formation (Ekwall 1928: 446; Coates 2005: 318–20). The short vowel in the first syllable is not easy to explain, but seems to be indicated as early as a form attested in 1230 with <nn> following the vowel symbol. Cameron presumably believed the name was applied to the nearby river Brant (thus DEPN: 425), the only obvious watery candidate. But the Brant is on record since the 13th century

and has a name of an ancient character. Since it is known that the Low Fields of this area have been drained (note for example Cardinal Dyke at Skinnand) and the river itself dyked, it seems far more likely that there was once an expanse of water: a lake rather than a river, or a stretch of the river which was broad and shallow and which bore its own name. If that is so, the name will bear semantic comparison with the Early-Modern element *shine* as used apparently for sheets of water in former marshland areas in Sussex (Shinewater in Eastbourne, The Shine in Iford), the names being of unknown age (Coates 2002: 10 and archive ref. there).

### SPRIDLINGTON (115)

- Sperlin(c)tone, Spredelintone* 1086  
*Spritlingtuna* c.1115, *Spritlyngton'* 1374 [atypical]  
*Spridlinctuna* c.1115  
*Spirlintuna* 1146  
*Sperlinctona* 1175×1181  
*Spridlington'* and similar 1185 and throughout the record  
*Spredelinton'* 1200 (but not in PN L 6)  
*Sperlingeton'* 1201

Cameron (also PN L 6: 207–8) derives this name from a hypothetical personal name *\*Sprēotel*, itself based on *\*sprēot* ‘pole, spike, spear’. However, it is noteworthy that <t> appears in only two spellings in the entire record, separated by more than 250 years, and <d> dominates where a consonant appears at all (the absence of such a consonant being a normanism). On the whole it seems more economical to assume that the base is a name *\*Sprin(g)del* based on *sprin(g)d* ‘active, alert’, which might have functioned as a semantically typical name-element, though it is unattested as such. This would account for the no doubt early, and still current, /d/, and it is easy to see either how a form *\*Springdelingtūn* could have been affected by simple dissimilation to lose the first <ng> (as in the very similar case of Quarrington (99)), or how a form *\*Sprindelingtūn* could have been affected by metathesis of /r/ and /i/ before /n/ (Campbell 1959: 184; Hogg 1992: 303), yielding a consonant cluster /rnd(l)/ from which the middle ones might well be lost (Campbell 1959: 191; Hogg 1992: 297); note such forms as *Spirlintuna* (1146). Against this is only the early competition of <e> with <i> in the first syllable, but <i> appears early in the 12th century and becomes dominant; in any case AN spellings with <e> for ME /i/ are far from unknown and are even said to dominate in medieval representations of the OE word *cirice* (Zachrisson 1924: 113) — as for instance in GOSBERTON (see part 1; Coates 2008b: 38–9).

## STICKNEY and STICKFORD (117–8)

*Stichenai, Stichesforde* 1086

*Sticcenaia, Sticceforda* 1142

*Sticheneie* before 1148

*Stikeford* 1185

Ekwall, and following him both Cameron and Owen (1997: 264), regard these names as containing OE *sticca* ‘stick, carrying-pole [glossing Medieval Latin *gergenna*]’, as if Stickney were the name of a long narrow island formed by a low rise (9m maximum) between the unimproved ancestors of the East and West Fen Catchwater Drains. This island, consisting of glacial till, may be the terminal moraine of a late Devensian ice advance (i.e. that datable to about 13,000 years before the present; Robinson 1993: 2). It is one of the two former islands demarcating the East Fen from the West Fen (the other being the one giving rise to the name of Sibsey). The ford in question could be near the modern drain-crossing near the north end of this feature (TF 360598), though how we should relate present watercourses to ancient ones is a problem, as we shall see. *Stickney* would mean, on this theory, ‘island called The Stick’ and *Stickford* ‘ford at or giving access to The Stick’.

But the features currently called *The Catchwater Drains* were clearly not the dominant features of the ancient hydrology of this area. On the map of Lincolnshire in Speed’s atlas of 1611, Stickney stands immediately west of the point at which a stream from the Wolds divides into two large watercourses; one represents approximately the line of the East Fen Catchwater Drain, east of the village, but the other flows eastwards until it enters the Steeping (a.k.a. Lymn) a little way west of Wainfleet, and so to the sea.<sup>6</sup> The second of these has been interfered with by postmedieval drainage works, and it appears that its flow has been diverted, and over part of its course reversed, to enter the East Fen Catchwater Drain which now unites with the West Fen Catchwater Drain south of Stickney to fall into Hobhole Drain; this enters the Haven of the Witham downstream of Boston. Stickford is on the undivided stream flowing from the Wolds on Speed’s map. Morden’s more detailed map (1695) certainly shows Stickney on an island surrounded by considerable watercourses, but the shape it shows is not a long and narrow one (see p.78).

Whilst there evidently was an ancient *ēg* at Stickney, then, it does not seem to have been hemmed in by anything like the present pair of drains, and the claimed origin in the word *sticca* seems either to be based on an extrapolation from the current hydrology or on an unproven claim that *sticca* could have a topographical application to a low ridge (irrespective of the surrounding watercourses) such as that shown as formed by non-fen deposits on the map of the area given by Rackham (1986: 385).



John Speed's map of Lincolnshire, 1610–11 [extract].

The names *Stickford* and *Stickney* are west of the prominently-marked East Fenn.



Robert Morden's map of Lincolnshire [extract] as published in William Camden's *Britannia* (1695). The names *Stickford* and *Stickney* are between the upper-case legend BROOK WAPON and HORNCastle.

The scale of the 17th-century maps referred to fails to reveal lesser rivers that could account for the islanding. But on the available evidence it might be more plausible to abandon the search for stick-shaped lands and to regard both parish-names as containing the OE adjective *sticce* ‘sticky’ or its nominalization ‘sticky matter’, *Stickford* being thus a doublet of *Stechford* (Wo; explanation according to EPNE 2: 153, following Ekwall, but not according to PN Wo: 233), with the /k/ representing scandinavianized pronunciation. The names would mean ‘the sticky [i.e. muddy] raised land in the marsh’ and ‘the sticky ford’, with reference to some property of the glacial deposit of which the island consists. The word *sticce* appears in a medical context in *Leechbook I* (Cockayne/Singer 1864–6/1961, 2: 100, line 4) where it clearly seems to mean either ‘pus’ or ‘lymph’, perhaps a suitable metaphorical basis for a topographical stickiness word, but that is again a matter of judgement.

#### STRAGGLETHORPE (Brant Broughton; 118)

*Stragerthorp* 112th, 1242×1243, 1275

*T(h)ragert(h)orp* 1212, 1242–3, 1270–1

*Stragelthorpe* 1306

The 13th-century spellings show variants with and without initial <S>, and with <r> where there is later <l> in the second syllable. Zachrisson notes (1924: 106) that dissimilation of liquids under Norman influence is more frequent than assimilation, whilst rhymes of <r> with <l> are known from the earliest Anglo-Norman (Menger 1904: 87) and both could be lost preconsonantly (Pope 1934: 150–1, 156–7; esp. 449, 450). So, the early <r> in the second syllable is likely to be original, and the later <l> a normanism. If that is so, the second syllable might be for *garð*- ‘yard’ or the much rarer *gerði* ‘fenced area’, with the later <l> appearing by dissimilation of [r ... r] to [r ... l], and with [ð] predictably absorbed by the following [θ]. The name would therefore appear to be Scand \**Strá-garð þorp* or *-gerða-*, but the meaning of ‘straw-yard’ would need further elucidation in terms of medieval agricultural practices. Formally, it closely parallels such ON words as *gras-garðr* and *hey-garðr*.

If, less plausibly, the modern form seen in the record from the 14th century actually represents the original name of the place — that is if the forms in <r ... r> after all show that there was graphic assimilation of the second liquid to the first — the first element may be Scand \**strá-golf* ‘straw-rick’. ME *golf*, of Scandinavian origin (Björkman 1900: 211), means ‘heap of sheaves’, and survived in Lincolnshire dialect as *goaf* (cf. the entry *goãve/goaf* in Sims-

Kimbrey (1995: 122)). Scand *golf* also means ‘room’, ‘bay (of a barn, etc., sufficient to take a cartload of corn)’. Whether something unusual might have been done with straw at this place is a question for agricultural historians.

In Scandinavia *golf* also meant ‘floor’. It is not impossible that ‘straw-floor’ was intended, but the appropriateness of this as a place-name element is not clear; for such a name to apply, the feature referred to must have been lasting or recurrent and unusual. ‘Straw-rick’ therefore appears the preferable explanation. However, it might be appropriate to contrast the distinguisher in Stratton Strawless (found from 1269, PN Nf 3: 103; DEPN: 449), which appears to be lexically of Scandinavian origin since *strá-lauss* is found in Old Norse, applied to floors (Zoëga 1910: 412; the word as found in OED-2 applies to bricks, and is a biblical allusion, probably created out of native lexical resources);<sup>7</sup> though early spellings in <Stre-> (PN Nf 3: 103) suggest phonological assimilation to the cognate English word (regional ME *strē* from OE *strēaw*).

Phonologically, the interpretation involving *garð-* seems preferable, but either account requires further explanation of what was actually done with straw at this place.

Ekwall (DEPN: 449) prefers to interpret the first element as the ancestor of *streaker*, a name for an obsolete breed of dog, but since this is of French origin it would be amazing if it were found compounded with the same Scandinavian element twice, here and in Cotgrave, Nottinghamshire (though the latter is first recorded as late as 1796 (PN Nt: 234), and may be suspected of being transferred from the Lincolnshire place).

Over the 12th–14th centuries, recorded spellings with initial <S> are appreciably less frequent than those in <T(h)> (11 and 28 respectively), but no simple account could be given for a name sprouting an initial <S> and this must be regarded as original.

#### SUSWORTH (Scotter; 120)

Through the very varied early-13th-century spellings (*Silkes-*, *Sirke(s)-*, *Sike(s)-*) and the eccentric subsequent development it is possible to discern the OE personal name *Si(ge)rīc* or its closely-matching Scand counterpart *\*Si(g)rīk*. The second element is apparently Scand *\*wað* ‘ford’, as Cameron suggests, but he makes no suggestion about the first. Fellows-Jensen (1978: 228) also favours ON *vað* as the second element, but proposes an unrecorded OE *\*siluc* ‘gulley, drain’ for the first. However, serious reservations must be expressed. There cannot have been a ford across the Trent here. Susworth is about 12 miles (19 km) lower than the lowest-known presumed ancient ford at Littleborough, which was used by the Roman road from Lincoln to Doncaster (Margary no. 28). There is no obvious side-watercourse to be



forded here; Susworth is a good mile south of the canalized river Eau. But it stands on the right bank of the Trent in drained land. The most promising possibility starts from an OE name *\*Si(ge)rīces wāð* ‘S.’s hunting, fowling or fishing(-place)’ (for this element, see EPNE 2: 247), and whilst there is no evidence for the use of *wāð* as a generic, there may be for the corresponding Scand *\*veið-* (see e.g. Ekwall 1922: 20). Following Ekwall (1922: 116), Smith offers Ingoe (La; actually Ingoe Lane, Kirkby, Walton; EPNE 2: 230) as containing this word: it appears as *Ingeswaith* in a surname in 1332. If Ekwall’s and Smith’s linguistic argument is correct — they gloss (ON) *veiðr* as if it can indeed be a place-name generic — then it is possible that the Lincolnshire name was the Scand *\*Si(g)riks veið-* and that it has been anglicized by the substitution of the semantically (though apparently not onomastically) equivalent *wāð*.

## SWALLOW (121)

*Sualun, Svalun* 1086  
*Sualwa* c.1115  
*Sualewa* 1143×1147  
*Sualwe* 1196×1203  
*Swalue* before 1155 (e13th)  
*Swalwe* 1163, etc.  
*Sualue* 1200×1210  
*Sualowe* 1212, etc.

In the *Dictionary* (121), Cameron explains this as a pre-English, even pre-Celtic stream-name. But that cannot be right. Celtic *\*/sw-/* develops as Brittonic *\*[xw-]*, in general, and the several river-names of this type cannot therefore be Celtic, as Ekwall noted (1928: 385) whilst at the same time leaving the door open for exceptions borrowed into English with *\*/sw-/* in a completely *ad hoc* way. If the name is pre-Celtic, then the same applies: a pre-Celtic name will have passed through the filter of Celtic, and an original *\*/sw-/* can scarcely have survived intact until the days of contact with the English. In PN L 5: 145–6, Cameron says that “... it does seem very likely that [an] OE [form] *\*swalwe* is the source of Swallow” (145), and then goes on to a discussion of some European river-names, with a variety of suggested origins, before latching on to a root *\*swel-* ‘shine’ which he believes would yield the Gmc *\*swalwōn* required for OE *\*swalwe*; he concludes that “[t]his is the most plausible explanation of the etymology of *Swallow* which can be made with our present state of knowledge” (146). This hypothetical *\*swalwe* happens to be homophonous with the bird-name.

It is puzzling that successive commentators have resisted connecting the name with the English words *swallow(-hole)* and *swallet*, terms which apply to places where streams disappear underground (e.g. in Surrey, Glamorgan, Yorkshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset — limestone or Chalk country — see the entries for these words in OED-2). That is exactly what the Chalk stream at Swallow did; it flowed from the pool which marks its source in the rectory grounds west of the village and flowed a little way east before vanishing just north-east of the village where the valley turns sharply north. Even more puzzlingly, Cameron explicitly drew attention to this fact in PN L 5: 145, though Ekwall had overlooked the stream completely (1928: 384).<sup>8</sup> The basic meaning of *swallow* as a noun appears to be ‘abyss, hole in the ground’, and the association with water is frequent, often in allusion to whirlpools (OED-2). Surely we need look no further to explain the Lincolnshire village-name. Its dialectal, local and geological appropriateness is underlined by the existence of the field-name *the Swallow Holes* in 18th-century Stainton le Vale (PN L 3: 131), some six miles (9.5 km) to the south, and, like Swallow, on the Chalk Wolds.

We have, then, an appropriate metonymic application of a known English word to a stream (in fact its appearance in this place-name in Domesday Book is an antedating of the earliest attestation in OED). We do not have to harmonize the account in every geological and hydrological detail with those required for the names of the three English river Swales (YN, Brk, K) and the seemingly stem-cognate Schwale, Schwalb and Schwalbach on Quaternary deposits in Holstein, flowing through Jurassic strata into the Wörnitz in Middle Franconia and on the Devonian rocks of the Taunus respectively,<sup>9</sup> nor with the raft of apparent Germanic lexical root-relatives such as MHG *swal(l)*, ME *swall* ‘whirlpool, swollen mass of water’ (OED-2), MHG *swalm* and ON *svelgr* ‘whirlpool’, and OE *swillan* ‘to wash’. A relation between this ‘swallow-hole’ word and the other place-names in England need not be a problem; any agitated water suggesting a pull from below (perhaps by some agency or being, ill-understood from the modern scientific point of view), like a downward movement into a throat, will have been worthy of being named a *\*swalwe*, and that image permits the obvious association with the common verb *to swallow* (OE *swelgan*) after the ME development of its post-consonantal [ɣ] to [w] which results in its homophony with *swalwe*. As for the Yorkshire Swale: on the upper reach, close to the source of one of its headwaters, Cliff Beck, are the famous and spectacular swallow-holes of Buttertubs Pass, which may have influenced the naming of the river(-system); but the generally agitated nature of this fast-flowing river may have been enough to justify its name. Any interesting hydrological characteristics of the Swale which flows across the Tertiary (Eocene) Beds of eastern Berkshire are

likely have been interfered with by the creation and landscaping of Swallowfield Park, through which almost the entire length of the river to which the name historically applied now flows, and by the leating of the river near the church. I doubt whether the name of the sound called *The Swale*, separating the Isle of Sheppey from mainland Kent, carried any meaning more specific than ‘having agitated water’, deriving from the fact that it is subject to dual tides like The Solent, each passing round one end of the Isle of Sheppey and meeting each other at Milton Creek; but reference to a former whirlpool is of course possible.

We should be pretty confident that Swallow in Lincolnshire is named from its disappearing stream, itself named metonymically from its most obvious characteristic. Or, even more simply, the village takes its name directly from the hole, the spot where the stream in its heyday disappeared, just east of the church.

#### TALLINGTON (123)

*Talintone, Talintune* 1086

*Tallinton* c.1221

Cameron offers as the personal name on which this is based a form *\*T(e)alla*, which is hypothetical and not readily explainable. The bulk of early records (53 out of 62 before 1500 in Cameron’s archive) show a simplex <l>, however, suggesting that the name is really *\*Tala*, based on the root seen in *getæl* ‘quick, active’. It is not clear why Cameron has rejected this idea, which was originally put forward by Ekwall (see DEPN: 459).

#### THORNTON CURTIS (126)

The exact origin of the manorial specifier has not been established. It is first recorded in 1430 (PN L 2: 280). Ralph le Curteis was a witness to a document of c.1234×9 relating to Thornton (LAO MS FL 3034), which at least establishes the probability that a family of this name held, or was related to a family which held, land in the area at a relevant time.

#### TOTHBY (Alford, 128–9)

*Touedebi* 1086

*Toudebi* 1153×1162 (1409)

*Touthebi* 1198, 1199, e13th

*Toutheby* 1226

The very difficult Tothby has a problematic first element. Fellows-Jensen (1968) takes it to be a lost English place-name *\*Tōh-widu* ‘tough wood’, for which there may be a semantic parallel, albeit a Scandinavian one, in *Sejet* (1477 *Sett*) in Uth parish in Eastern Jutland, which supposedly goes back to an original *\*Sēgwith*, a compound of ODa *sēg* ‘tough, slowly dripping’, and *with* ‘wood’ (*Danmarks stednavne* 8: 12). Postulating a lost place-name, especially one where the single available parallel is open to another interpretation (here ‘dripping’), gives rise to doubt (cf. SKENDLEBY, above, and also note 27). Instead, Tothby may be for *\*Tōfuhofuða(r) bȳ* ‘farm of the man called Foxhead’, with a fairly massive haplology yielding *\*Tōfuða(r) bȳ*. This would account neatly for the Domesday form *Touedebi*. *Tōfa* for ‘fox’ is Icelandic, but appears to have relatives in other languages including Norwegian (Magnusson 1989: 1050). Perhaps this was a tabu-name (contrast the normal ON *refr* ‘fox’) known more widely in Scandinavia than is now apparent, and available for use in forming a by-name for a red-headed or a foxy-featured man; or perhaps the settler was of Icelandic stock, if we can place the farm-name sufficiently late, recalling that Iceland was settled from about 874 C.E. onwards. The spelling *Touwythy* of 1327 may be taken as late support for this suggestion, though *Toftheby* in a surname in 1363 may show confusion with the element *toft*.

#### TOWS, GREAT and LITTLE (Ludford; 129)

##### *Tows* 1386

The headword of the name is likely to be from the stem of the ME verb (*to-*)*tūsen* ‘to rumple; tangle’, and therefore to have a sense something like ‘scrubland’. Whilst the primary sense of related English verbs such as *touse* (obsolete) and *tousle* has to do with pulling about, handling roughly or making disorderly, the suggestion is made more plausible by the fact that some of its relatives in other languages have the suggested sense; cf. MHG *zûsach* ‘Gestrüpp’ [= ‘undergrowth’] (Lexer 1885: 341; = ‘gestrüppe’), and the Latin relative *dūmus* (older *dusmus*) is also glossed ‘Gestrüpp’ by Kluge/Mitzka (1963), the etymology being supported by Walde/Hofmann (1982: 381). Irish *doss* also means ‘bush’ (Stokes 1895: 128 and reference there), but whether it is related to the other forms cited here is not certain (Walde/Hofmann 381). This root has not been suggested before in an OE place-name. But it should also be considered for the field-name *Tousedaile* (with *deil-* ‘share’) recorded in Utterby in 1390, for which John Insley has suggested an alternative in a Scandinavian stream-name (PN L 4: 41), for which, however, there is no other independent evidence in the parish. Utterby is only a little

over 6 miles (9.5 km) east-north-east of Great Tows. Neither of the Tows names in Ludford is recorded before 1386.

TYDD ST MARY and TYDD GOTE (Tydd St Mary) (130)

*Tite* 1086

*Tit* 1094

*Tid* 1086, 1168, 1191

*Tyd* 1205

*Tydd'* 1200

On the basis of two 11th-century spellings, Cameron, following Ekwall (DEPN: 484), explains these names as consisting of OE *titt* 'teat', used metaphorically of a hillock. But the medieval spellings generally have final <d> or <dd>. That means the most plausible interpretation of the earliest spellings is that the occasional early final <t> is a normanism for /d/. Final /d/ is devoiced in western Romance in the late Gallo-Roman period (Pope 1934: 98), meaning that both the symbols <t> and <d> were available to render either final [t] or [d] in other languages, there being no contrast in Norman French in this position, and phonetically no [d] at all (at least not immediately after a vowel). <d> was preferentially used for [ð] in final position, meaning that, in French-language contexts or where the scribe was using French spelling-conventions, <t> was arguably the preferred letter available to render English final [d]. Since *Tit* in Domesday is matched by an instance of <Tid>, the form of the dominant later (English) tradition, it seems to confirm that the English form in need of elucidation is *Tid*, and not *Tit*.

Tydd St Mary is on the old course of the Nene close to the Cambridgeshire border, and its partner Tydd St Giles is in that county. Ekwall and Cameron both saw a slight rise here, interpreted by Cameron as a saltern, and Ekwall adduces the Lincolnshire dialect word *tid* 'small cock of hay' (cf. Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 313, *tid/ted* 'small heap of anything'). Reaney, however (PN C: 283–4), says that "there seems no definite feature from which they might be named", and a walk from one parish to the other "leaves one with the impression of a dead level". Indeed, the spot heights at and between the places on the OS 1:50000 map vary between 2 and 5 metres above OD, over a distance of about 3 km, the village centres apparently being both at about 4m, with Lowgate House [sic] between the two at about 2m; clearly any feature there might be is not much of a candidate for being called a *titt*. Accordingly, Reaney prefers an ablaut-variant of the word *tod* 'bushy mass', and quotes Zachrisson (1932–3: 3) as suggesting a meaning varying between 'shrubs, low brushwood' and 'hillock', "often interchangeable in words of this type".

Reaney settles for the first of these applications, used metonymically of the place itself.

This proposal does not solve the problem, however. Reaney's argument presupposes an OE form *\*tydd*, which is not wholly implausible, but the evidence for which is by no means convincing. In Cambridgeshire, one would expect a spread of Middle English spellings for the reflex of OE /y/ ranging across <i~y> and <e>, with the latter dominant, with occasional examples of <u> (PN C: xxxv). But in the record for St Giles, one finds <i> alternating with <y>, no <e> at all before 1570, and not a single <u>. St Mary only has <i> or <y> in the small selection of forms cited by Cameron. This suggests very strongly that the OE name of the place was in fact *\*Tid* or perhaps *\*Tidd*, for which there is no obvious English etymology. Whatever solution is eventually proposed may also need to take into account Tydd Lane in Pinchbeck (not currently mapped, but mentioned by Healey 1997: 40); this may be the Tydd Road running south towards Pode Hole from Pinchbeck West, which may however take its name from a family of that name recorded in the 15th century (Cameron archive), and presumably hailing from the place on the Nene.

It might be wondered whether the name can have any connection with *tide*. Both Pinchbeck and the Tydds were on major watercourses, respectively the Glen and the original course of the Nene which, for that reason, is also called the Old Eau (/i:/, cf. Sutton 1881: 117, *ee* 'a run of water') and later known as the Old South Eau and, at Tydd, the Shire Drain (see PN C: 8–11 and lviii, s.n. Cat's Water).<sup>10</sup> Morden's county map (1695) shows St Mary as being close to the point where the "Nine" falls into an evidently tidal estuary marking the boundary with Norfolk. Note that the modern Ouse is tidal as far inland as Bluntisham (Hu), rather close to the inner edge of the Fens. Down-river from Pinchbeck are the (?) more recent hamlets of Moulton Seas End and Surfleet Seas End, which testify to the impact of the sea on local place-naming, as does Fleet (45; about 5 miles (8 km) north-west of Tydd St Mary), which stood at the head of a former sea-inlet as its name-element suggests. However, *tide* does not appear in the sense 'ebb and flow of the sea' till the 14th century, and in this sense it is commonly reckoned to be a semantic calque on the etymologically-related Middle Low German word (*ge*)*tīde* with which it shares its root. But even if a connection could be shown, we would still need to explain the short vowel in the place-name.

The only solution I can construct for *Tydd* which makes phonological sense is as follows. The source may be the ancestor of Welsh *tyddyn* 'farmstead'. This may be PrW *\*tīγ-ðīn*, with the second element (? 'enclosure') seen also in *buddyn* 'cattle enclosure', *murddin/murddyn* 'walled enclosure, enclosure with walls (= ruin)', *trefddyn* 'tref with enclosure; toft and croft'.

On being borrowed into very early English, this would get /d/ for the initial consonant of the second element and, to judge by the outcome in Modern Welsh, a short vowel in the first element.<sup>11</sup> The first syllable will have become stressed in Old English, and the final consonant and vowel lost successively by known processes affecting unstressed syllables. The second element has been of debated origin (Morris Jones 1913: 146; GPC under such headwords as *buddyn*, *llystyn*, both like *tyddyn* on record since before c.1200), but the doubt is of no account for our purposes; there is a fair chance that it is an ancient compound, and the suggested origin yields a final syllable of the appropriate shape. This is the only solution I can construct which guarantees OE [i] in the first (and surviving) syllable. If this is not the true story, the name of Tydd remains a mystery.

The syllable-rime *-in* would have evolved to *-en* by late Old English. There are convincing examples of the absolute loss of stem-integral final *-en* in unstressed syllables in Middle English; Brinfast (North Mundham, PN Sx: 73) has entirely lost in all ME attestations the *-en* of the *fæsten* ‘stronghold’ which is in the name in all OE sources. Stonehenge (Amesbury, PN W: 360–1), generally reckoned to contain OE *hencgen* ‘gallows’, is recorded first in Middle English and has no *-(e)n* recorded at all (the surviving <e> being a diacritic for the palatality of the preceding consonant).

#### WAINGROVE HOUSE (Fulstow)

*Wayngraues* 1277×1292, 1407

Cameron (PN L 4: 82) analyses this as containing (the descendants of) OE *wægn* ‘wain, cart’ and *grāf* or *grāfe* ‘grove, copse’, which does not yield a convincing sense. Waingroves in Ripley (PN Db: 494) has as its second element Scand *gryfja* ‘hole, pit’, perhaps ‘small deep valley’ (EPNE 1: 211). This gives the clue that the second element of the Fulstow name may really be *græf* or *\*grafa* ‘diggings’ (EPNE 1: 207, 208). The earliest spellings, e.g. *Wayngraues*, are suitable for the ME descendant of the plural of *græf*. The sense of both names will be something like ‘diggings affording passage for wains’, though modern maps are unrevealing at both places.

The modern form of both the Derbyshire and Lincolnshire names has been influenced by *grove*. It is, however, strange that Cameron says the consistent spellings with <a> during the Middle Ages point to *grāf*; this would be expected in fact to yield *grove* even in medieval times, just as *stān* regularly gives *stone* in the second element of place-names; however *lād* ‘canal; track’, *gelād* ‘(difficult) river-crossing’ (Gelling and Cole 2000: 20, 82, 89), may irregularly give modern *-lade* usually in the second element. The consistent <a> in fact more strongly supports the suggestion presented here.

The modern form in *grove* may not be an arbitrary development involving the standard word with the sense ‘copse’, however, as both *greave* and *grove* are found in the sense ‘(turf-)diggings’ in later Lincolnshire dialect (PN L e.g. **2**: 155, **4**: 128, **6**: 124; the latter may be compared with Jutish *grob* ‘(dug) stream’), and also ‘ditch’ (Healey 1997: 18, referring to *Fenland Notes and Queries* 2, i.e. Eggar 1892–4: 185).

#### WAITHE (133)

*Wade* 1086, 1194

*Wada* c.1115, 1212

*Wathe* 1196, 1203

Cameron is no doubt right in, apparently perversely, seeing this as a scandinavianized form of OE (*ge*)*wæd* ‘ford’ rather than as Sc \**wað* with the same meaning. Reinforced by the phonology of the related verb *to wade*, names containing the OE noun invariably have a long vowel (e.g. Cattawade (Sf), Biggleswade (Bd), Iwade (K)), as does Waithe (/weiθ/). Names containing the Sc word have a short vowel (e.g. Wath (numerous places in e.g. Yorkshire and Cumberland), though the element is often analogically replaced by phonologically similar ones such as *worth* and *with*). Note that Waithe Cross in Meltham (PN YW **2**: 285) is taken to be from Scand \**weid*- ‘hunting’. Smith (EPNE **2**: 230) suggests that the Lincolnshire Waithe is from the dative form of the Scand word (ON *vaði*), but in the light of the rest of the evidence that looks like special pleading, and the explanation involving an English name with a scandinavianized final consonant looks best.

WELL wapentake; see MARTON (Coates 2008b: 84)

#### WELLINGORE (136)

*Wallingoure* 1070×1087

*Wel(l)ingoure* 1086

*Wellingoure* 1146, 1199

The second element of this is without doubt *ofer* ‘flat-topped ridge with a convex shoulder’ (Gelling and Cole 2000: 199), but the first is regarded by Cameron as uncertain. Gelling and Cole tentatively ascribe it to a group-name \**Wellingas* ‘dwellers at the spring’. Three early spellings have <a> in the first syllable, but the rest, and the modern pronunciation, suggest a constant /e/ over the centuries, and given the dominant, though not universal, spelling with



<ll>, this account is plausible. The most economical explanation of the name is that it is elliptical for ‘ridge of the dwellers at Welbourn’, or that it alludes in some other way to Welbourn, the next parish southwards. The size of the group’s territory that that implies is fairly large, but it may be significant that the stream which gave its name to Welbourne served as the parish boundary between the two villages, suggesting the possible division of an original territory to which it was once more central. The stream issued in modern times from a spring near the A607 road which joins Welbourn to Wellingore. It may have been called *Drakewell*, since this name persists in Drakewell Dale at the site of the former brickworks east of Welbourne village in a notch in the foot of the escarpment of the Cliff; and though the stream does not flow from there, a modestly higher water-table in the past would have meant that it once did.

#### WESTBOROUGH (136)

*Westburg* 1086, 1160×1165

This innocuous-looking name is full of mystery. It is clearly ‘the west *burg*’, but Cameron comments: “It is not clear to which place it relates”, i.e. which place it is west of. I submit that there does not have to be a particular place. I have noted previously (Coates 1998) that *Westburg* was also the OE name of what is now Gwespyr (Flint), and argued that it was so called simply because it was in the westmost extremity of a Mercian salient into Welsh territory. The same geographical argument applies to Westborough. It is the southernmost of a south-north line of three villages (the others being Dry Doddington and Claypole) marking the furthest west it is possible to go whilst keeping east of the river Witham, which briefly loops westwards here before turning north through a gap between low hills; the loop forms a small salient. It seems possible that the Witham was the natural boundary of some proto-Kesteven, perhaps the limit of an early Anglo-Saxon advance into the East Midlands. The late Anglo-Saxon and modern county boundary runs a mile or two west of the Witham just here, though a little further north, at Barnby in the Willows (Nt), it follows the river for a couple of miles.

It was also suggested (Coates 1998: 11) that the term *west-burg*, which appears several times in names unpaired with any *east-burg*, and with no obvious single place to be west of, was something like an idiom, alluding to the typical direction from which trouble might appear for the English. The use of the word *west* must then be dictated by the direction of the Anglo-Saxon advance, and the direction of the source of the threat which required a *burg* to resist it. No fortification is mapped, either, but the written sources with

*-burg(h)* are consistent and look unimpeachable. An archaeological mystery needs to be solved. A Roman town has been claimed here in popular sources, but there is nothing in the available literature, and no villa remains appear in Scott's catalogue (the nearest being in Long Bennington at SK 8443; Scott 1993: LI105).

The parish church is situated on a low promontory in the land in the loop of the Witham referred to above (site visit 28/12/2003); the area adjacent was marked as liable to flooding on late-19th-century OS maps. It is hard to believe that this could have been construed as a defended site. Perhaps the reference is rather to the site of the early manor house marked on the same map, just east of the church, since it is now established that *burg* might have a sense analogous to that of 'manor' even in Anglo-Saxon times (VEPN 2: 77–8, and cf. DOE, *burh*, sense A.2), in which case the whole name will simply be 'western "manor"' with no military implications.

It is not impossible that the name is instead Scandinavian. In Danish, *borg* was originally a place-name element denoting an elevation in the landscape (it stands in ablaut to *Da bjerg* 'hill'). This is, for example, seen in Jutish parish-names such as Tjæreborg near Esbjerg. There is no fortification here whatsoever, but the settlement is situated on what — in West Jutland undoubtedly — would be termed a hillock.

#### WHITTON (138)

*Witenai* 1086

*Witeneia* 1130

*Witene* 1178, 1194

*Witen* 1212

The name of this village appears from its earliest attestations to contain a final element *ēg* '(marsh-)island' which was lost, or was in the process of being lost, as early as the second decade of the 13th century. Cameron (PN L 6: 118–9) regards the church-site (actually on a lowish spur to which one descends from the main access road to the village) as the prime candidate for the "island". That is perfectly possible, though the jut into the former marsh seems subjectively small to me. But why did the name-element disappear? Why is the village not now, as might be expected, *\*Whitney*? A geographically plausible answer is that there may formerly have been an island in the Humber here which has been eroded away. Compare Read's Island, mainly in the adjacent parish of Winteringham and partly in South Ferriby, which formed in the early 19th century, and would be in the process of disappearing now if its seabanks were not artificially maintained. Further down the Humber

is Sunk Island, whose name speaks for itself; the present hamlet stands on land which has emerged from the river since 1610 (PN YE: 24), but the name indicates that it was at or near land which had once before been inundated (i.e. the site of the village of Frismarsh).

Whitton Sand(s), named from this Whitton but presently on the Yorkshire side of the deep-water channel of the Humber, is a well-known sandbank which is in the process of acquiring terrestrial vegetation, i.e. becoming a true island, and is occasionally referred to in web- and informal literature as *Whitton Island* (e.g. BBC press release, 14 October 2002). It is quite possible therefore that there was an offshore island at Whitton which lent its name to or inspired the name of the village (cf. the village Isle of Whithorn, Wigtownshire, named from St Ninian's Island, and discussion in PN Ch 4: 257–8 and Coates 1999: 12–13). When the island disappeared because of the seemingly capricious movement of the main channel of the Humber, the name could still have been well enough understood for its etymology to be seen as unsuitable and for its generic element to fall into disuse. A suitable context would have been the medieval sea-level maximum in the 13th century, precisely when the element disappears from the record. Some of what was washed away may have fetched up downstream on the northern bank of the Humber at Ravenser Odd, which emerged from the waves in the 13th century, flourished as a market town for a while and succumbed to the waters again around 1360 (PN YE: 16, n. 2).

#### WINNIBRIGGS wapentake (140–1)

*Winegebrige, Winebruge (-brige)* 1086 and 12th cent.

*Wimeresbrige* 1184 (or *-ni-?*)

*Winier(e(s))brige* 1185–91

The wapentake-name has been treated twice by Arngart, once in his book on hundred-names (1934: 58, 90) and differently in a much later journal article (1988: 10–11). His first solution involved a personal name *Winegār* or \**Winegār*. Despite the fact that the former is on record (PN Db: 330; DEPN: 523, under *Wingerworth*), in 1988 Arngart described this idea as “not after all very convincing”, and it is true that *Winegār* does not match the known spellings of whatever appears in Winnibriggs at all closely. He suggests instead that the second element of the personal name is *gifre* ‘greedy, eager, desirous’, otherwise unknown as a personal-name element. The principal justification for this lies in a pair of spellings in <u>, interpreted as representing ME /v/. Frankly, this is no more convincing than the first solution, and his crucial forms are in a small minority.

The spellings of the medial syllable of this name so closely resemble those of Kingerby (73–4) that it makes sense to follow through Cameron’s suggestion for the latter. He postulates an OE personal name \**Cynegeard*, and there is no linguistic objection to a parallel \**Wynngeard* or \**Winegeard* in the name of the bridge which gives its name to the wapentake in Kesteven, rather than the tentatively-advanced *Winegār*. Especially, the etymology offered has /j/ rather than /g/, as all the later forms require.

#### WITHAM ON THE HILL (142)

This name is uninterpreted, despite the unambiguity of its universal recorded spelling *Witham* and its very English look. Formally, the first element might be Britt \**wið* ‘trees, a wood’ (ModW *gwydd*), taken into early OE predictably as \**wid*, presumably as if a proper name; that would make this name ‘the estate at \**Wid*’. *Hām* occasionally compounds with a Brittonic (or earlier) place-name or topographical expression, as surely in *Caterham* (Sr). Equally, if the name was created early enough, it might contain the corresponding OE word *wudu* in its earlier form *widu*. The name is not found before Domesday Book, and there are sufficient instances of *Witton* and the parallel name *Wootton* showing no trace in the medieval record (including Domesday) of the medial syllable that must once have existed to make the OE etymology proposed here credible.<sup>12</sup> In either account, the present name must show assimilation of /d/ to the voiceless /h/, yielding [t], as in the many cases of *Waltham* (including the Lincolnshire one dealt with on 134–5 and in PN L 4: 182–3) from *w(e)ald*, for which this name would be a near-parallel semantically as well as phonologically, and as (with one exception) in *Grantham* from \**grand* ‘gravel’ (53).

The present name has nothing to do with that of the major river Witham, in Lincolnshire, whose etymology is uncertain, nor with those of the two villages named from the river, and it is doubtful whether Witham in Essex has the same origin.

#### WITHCALL (142)

*Wichale*, *Widcale* 1086

*Uitcala* c.1115

*Widcale* 1161 (after 1259), 1193

*Wichal*’ 1180

*Witkale* 1185

Cameron takes the first element to be Scand *við*- ‘wood’ and the second Scand *kjql*- ‘keel; ridge’. Although Cameron says that the proposed second element is topographically appropriate, its spelling is always *c(h)ale* or the equivalent,

i.e. with <a> and with a final syllable, which makes its identification as *kjol*-problematic, because in this element <e> would be expected in ME spellings, as exceptionlessly in the many attestations of *Keelby* (PN L 2: 174–5), which is generally agreed to contain it. When discussing Keal (71), whose medieval spellings show an alternation of <a> and <e> with <a> dominant, Cameron attributes the alternation to “the influence of Anglo-Norman scribal practices”, presumably alluding to the material presented by Zachrisson (1924: 112, section 1(a)), though Zachrisson in fact refers to OE [æ], not Scand or OE [a]. In Withcall there is no alternation at all, and the modern form of the name suggests constant [a]; it therefore seems possible that we have to do with a Scand \**wið-kall* ‘counter-call’, i.e. ‘echo’; cf. Modern German *Widerhall* with which it shares its structure and the root of one of its elements. The DMV and modern Home Farm of Withcall are in a narrow valley which is steep-sided above the farm and which has a side-branch at the farm-site offering a fair-sized relatively level area for agriculture. A stream rises by the DMV, which suggests that the frequent early-medieval final <-e> (inexplicable if the name contains the ‘keel’-word) is for Scand *á*- ‘stream’, lost in the initial-stressed trisyllable (for which compare, formally at least, the loss of the final element *ēg* in WHITTON (138); see above). One might guess that the vowel of the final element was irregularly shortened in early Middle English and then lost by the process described by Luick (1964: 508–10, esp. the end of subsection 1. of §456).

#### WROOT (144)

*Wroth* 1156×1157 (14th), 1189×1199 (1308)

*Wrot* 1193–1212

Cameron analyses this name as containing OE *wrōt* ‘a snout’, used of a spur of land. This can be shown to be right. The relevant feature can be seen clearly on the most recent OS mapping (as visible on [www.streetmap.co.uk](http://www.streetmap.co.uk)), which for the first time indicates a sea-level contour line east of the village. It indicates a shallow depression between Wroot and Haxey which was previously invisible on maps, not least because of the misleading spot height of +2m on the road east of Wroot Grange (SE 723018), well within the 0m contour; this spot height is on top of the causeway Thorn Bank which crosses the drained marsh here.

With the 0m contour in place, a low, long, narrow “snout”, a large kink in this line, is readily apparent south of St Pancras’ church. This is presumably the feature, not high enough to be a *hōh*, from which the parish took its name, though the village has expanded in a north-westerly direction, up the slightest of rises, away from the church and the feature.

This element may also appear in *swinesroote leas* in Goxhill (PN L 2: 134), found in a document of 1631; but note the alternative suggested by Cameron that it may mean literally ‘place in which swine root’, like eModE *swine-rotting*.

#### YARBOROUGH and similar names (146)

Cox (1996) assesses the evidence for four names of the OE type *eorð-burg* ‘earth fort’ in Lindsey, developing part of the argument given in his 1994 paper. There is slight evidence for one more. This is a name in Habrough recorded in a range of forms which are strictly incompatible with each other and with *burg*; Cameron (PN L 2: 145) declines to offer a suggestion, but they may reflect the same underlying name which yields Yarborough. The forms are:

*hordberg*’ late 12th (t. Ed I)  
*yorthbrighe* late 12th (t. Ed I)  
*portdbrighe* t. Hy III  
*le yoryebrygge de haburg*’ t. Hy III (t. Ed I)  
*ad hordbrighe* t. Ed I

It is not hard to see behind the variety that the first element is probably *eorðe* ‘earth’ in a possibly scandinavianized phonological form with changed prominence in the diphthong; the second element looks like *beorg* ‘mound’, becoming *brycg* or *bryggja* ‘bridge’. The former possibility, reflected in the earliest spelling, appears to yield a tautology — unless the implied contrast is with a heap of stones, a cairn — and it is without parallel that I know of. *Eorð-brycg* appears in the bounds of a charter from Old Swinford on the Worcestershire/Staffordshire border (BCS 1023, S 579), and such a form clearly may explain the Habrough name. The degree of corruption seen in the record suggests, however, that we should not absolutely rule out a further *eorð-burg*, vanished like the securely-identified one in the South Riding (Cameron 146; Cox 1996: 52–3). It would have been close to the coast, within three miles (5km), but not on it unless it was in the former detached portion of Habrough parish which boasted salterns. There are slight spurs into lower ground in the north-east of the parish which could have offered a suitable site. Three of the other candidates assessed by Cox are on or very close to the coast: those in Alkborough, at Little Coates (near Grimsby) and near Louth.

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## Notes

1. On difficulties with the precise interpretation of the element meaning ‘Scot’, see Ekwall (1954: 168–70).
2. Peder Gammeltoft (personal correspondence) notes that *-logi* is rare as a personal name element, but is found in *Hálogi* and *Svarflogi*; and that *Skot-* may not be the ethnonym, but rather akin to ON *skot* ‘Dutch treat, event where everyone contributes’, which is also found in a couple of ON personal names.
3. Fellows-Jensen also does this (1978: 18), and I find two of the instances she proposes unconvincing for the same reason (see entry for FULLETTY in Coates (2008b), and Fellows-Jensen’s interpretation of TOTHBY (*Touedebi* 1086) as OE *\*Tōh-widu* ‘tough wood’, scandinavianized). It is not to be ruled out of court as a way of explaining names, though, because it is fully convincing in Saltfleetby (where however the separate place Saltfleet still exists) and in two Leicestershire names, Blackfordby (DEPN: 47) and Wyfordby (DEPN: 540, PN Lei 2: 142). For an alternative view of the name, see TOTHBY below in the present article.
4. Wragholme (144) in Grainthorpe contains Scand *\*warg-* ‘wolf’ and is not recorded before the early–mid 13th century.
5. Ekwall (DEPN: 412) records one earlier form, from about 1150, with <r>.
6. This is confirmed by later cartographers, e.g. W. J. Blaeu (1650), Blome (1673) and Morden (1695). Skelton (1952: 60, 71), the major authority on early-modern cartography, rates Blaeu and Blome as dependent on Speed, but Morden as incorporating genuine new material.
7. PN Nf gives a possible folk-story that the distinguisher is due to the unprofitability of corn-growing here on the clay.
8. It is actually little more than a couple of pools and a rushy wet valley floor now, at least in early summer — site visit 17/05/2003.
9. The names of the Schwale and the Schwalb are reckoned to be Germanic by Schröder (1938: 323), which supports the hypothesis presented here, though he takes them as containing the (homophonous) bird-name. The fact that the Schwale appears in Latin guise as *Hyrundo* ‘swallow [bird]’ in the 13th century does not make this certain — a little learning has often been a treacherous thing in onomastics. Other scholars have connected these names with *schwellen* ‘to swell’ (Bach 1954: 556). Krahe (1964: 26), Udolph (1988: 315) and Laur (1992: 589) also regard the Holstein Schwale as Germanic in some sense; Krahe links it with OHG/MHG *swal* ‘mass (of water)’. For me, this will not be the proximate source, but will be a more distant unsuffixed relative; Udolph regards it as belonging to the period before the emergence of the individual Germanic languages and relates it to Baltic place-names studied by Vanagas (1981: 322). Scandinavianists may want to keep open the possibility of derivation from PrScand. *\*swala* ‘cool’.
10. The history of the courses and the names of the Fenland rivers is extremely complex; but note that the river I am referring to as the original course of the Nene (following PN C: xxviii–xxix) is not that which is called the “old course of the Nene” on the map supplied with PN C, flowing much further south, through March via Outwell, to join

the present lower Nene at Wisbech; that seems to have been the (or an) original course of the Ouse.

11. The etymology of *tyddyn* is not certain, but derivation from *\*tīy* ‘house’ appears very likely on semantic grounds. If that is so, then the development of the first syllable in Welsh must be as sketched here: the [y] must have been lost early and the preceding vowel reduced and eventually treated in accordance with the laws of the new quantity system (Jackson 1953: 339–40) to produce [ə], now half-long in Modern Welsh since an undeterminable date, but after the stress moved back to this syllable in the 11th century.
12. Witton, e.g. PN YN: 249, 255; DEPN: 528 for Long and Nether Witton (Nb). Wootton, e.g. PN Nth: 153; PN Bd[Hu]: 86; PN Wa: 190–1; PN W: 357; DEPN: 533 for Wootton Courtney (So). Witton in Norfolk (PN Nf 2: 201–2) has *Widitun* in Domesday Book but otherwise only *Witton* and the like, including in a further mention in Domesday.

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### Summary of key findings

#### New place-name elements or meanings proposed

##### *Brittonic*

\**tīy-ðin* ‘farmstead’ (cf. Welsh *tyddyn*) [Tydd]

##### *English*

OE \**scrēading* (?) ‘[place characterized by] trees with branches removed in a certain way’ [Screddington]

OE *sticce* (noun) ‘sticky matter’ [Stickney, Stickford]

ME *tūs* (?) ‘scrubland’ [Great and Little Tows in Ludford; *Tousedaile*, field-name in Utterby]

##### *Scandinavian*

*hali* ‘tail’ [*Sand Haile Flats* in Saltfleet]

*skreið* (?) ‘pack (of wolves)’ [Scrafield]

\**strá-garð-* ‘straw-yard’ or \**strá-golf-* ‘straw-rick’ [Stragglethorpe in Brant Broughton]

\**wið-kall* ‘echo’ [Withcall]

#### Newly-identified given- or by-names

##### *English*

\**Sprin(g)del* [Spridlington]

\**Wine-* or \**Wynngeard* [Winnibriggs wapentake]

##### *Scandinavian*

\**Skemd-Hall* ‘Hall the Disgrace’ or the like [Skendleby]

\**Skot-Logi* ‘Logi the Irishman or Scot’ or ‘tax-Logi?’ [Scottlethorpe]

\**Tōfu-hqfuð* ‘Fox-Head’ [Tothby]

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