Azure Mouse, Bloater Hill, Goose Puddings, and One Land called the Cow: continuity and conundrums in Lincolnshire minor names

Richard Coates
University of the West of England

Introduction

This article is a collection of commentaries on minor place-names in Lincolnshire treated (i) in Kenneth Cameron's *A dictionary of Lincolnshire place-names* (Cameron 1998), or (ii) in the six volumes published by November 2003 of his *The place-names of Lincolnshire* (PN L 1–6), or (iii) in his article published in *Nomina* 19 in 1996. A few problematic Lincolnshire names not in these works are also treated. Some of the ideas were shown to Professor Cameron before his death in 2001, but the rest have been conceived and written since then and absorbed into the project piecemeal. His paper archive for Lincolnshire names, held by the EPNS at Nottingham, has been consulted for fuller information about the record of certain names.

There is no single overarching theme apart from the geographical one, and no single research outcome; the notes on the names are mainly independent of each other and are united otherwise only by the fact that they deal with names which offer linguistic and other difficulties interesting enough to justify the investment of time to resolve them. There are five loose groups, principally about field-names. These are presented as sections, and deal with

- the satisfactory linking of not a few names to forms recorded earlier[1]
- a few antedatings of lexical items in place-name material
- some words new or (dis)confirmed as place-name elements
- the analysis of some names that have not been satisfactorily explained
- two Old French names in the city of Lincoln.

There is a certain arbitrariness about the assignation of some names to particular sections, since some could fit into more than one.

Where aerial photos are referred to, they are those made available by Getmapping plc and accessible via http://www.old-maps.co.uk/. This resource allows a significant advance for place-name scholars as they try to visualize places not known to them personally. Where medium- to large-scale late-19th century Ordnance Survey maps are referred to, they are also provided by this web-site.

My only other excuse for writing this article is that I am a Lincolnshire man renewing his connection with his native land. There is a heavy bias towards the north of the county which reflects both the fact that the published Survey volumes cover this area and the fact that my roots are in Grimsby.

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 (Sc.). Where it is important to make a dialectal distinction, the terms Old East and Old West Scandinavian (OESc., OWSc.) respectively are used. There are important differences in the form and distribution of Danish and Norwegian personal names in Britain, and expert opinion on this matter is respected where a judgement is required. 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 OWSc. But a plea is made in Coates (2006) for etyma to be cited in their reconstructed (Old) Insular Sc. forms (i.e. the forms proper to the period approximately 850–1050 CE as evidenced in place-names west of the North Sea), not in their ON forms, and that is what is done in this article. For the detailed justification of individual transcriptional decisions, see the mentioned work. Note that *(u)* in a Sc. etymon, e.g. **kas(u)-*, acknowledges that the relevant form would have had *u-* or *w-*mutation in ON and emphasizes that it is *not* the ON form which is responsible for names in England. However, for ease of connection with previous scholarship, an ON form is also cited, in brackets, where it is pertinent and where there is danger of misunderstanding.

Abbreviations: language-names other than those introduced above

AN   = Anglo-Norman (French)
Gmc   = (Common) Germanic
ME   = Middle English
Mod.Eng.   = Modern English
OE   = Old English

Other abbreviations

FL   = Foster Library, LAO
LAO   = Lincolnshire Archive Office, St Rumbald's Street, Lincoln
NGR   = National Grid Reference of the OS

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

Contents

1. Continuity: linking earlier and later records

(close ... called) AZURE MOUSE (North Thoresby)

This evocative name is recorded only in a document of 1745 (PN L 4: 175) and is unexplained. Most likely it is to be associated with a name in the same parish which by 1664 was recorded as *Asgarmars*. This is the last of a run of 17th-century forms naming a dyke and a furlong which Cameron (4: 171) plausibly interprets as from the ON personal name *Ásgeirr*, or a cognate, and a descendant of OE *(ge)mǣre*, '*Āsgeir-'s boundary', with the variably-present final <-s> unaccounted-for. The relation between the earlier forms and *Azure Mouse* is irregular and rather exuberant even as folk-etymological misassociations go. The later form of 1786 *Asgams (Hill)*, equated by Cameron with *Asgarmars*, is a more sober development of the earlier name-form.

Minor names in ME *berʒ* (Normanby by Spital)

For unclear reasons, Cameron (PN L 6: 191–2) does not associate the following pairs, of which typical representatives of spelling-traditions are cited:

Northbergh (after 1291) : *Norbar* (1604)
Southborough (1673) : *Sudbore* (1670)
Westberg (mid 13th; cf. *Westboroughe* 1620) : *Westbore* (1670)

The absence of an "east" member from both sets is equally telling; surely these are pairwise the same places. This is an interesting case of competing spellings in the 17th century representing vernacular pronunciation and conservative tradition. By the same token, *Wharbor greene* (1670) surely perpetuates the first elements of *Wherleberghdaile* from the late 13th century, the first element possibly being, as suggested, Sc. **hwirvil-* 'hill-top' (ON *hvirfill*), or more likely the cognate OE *hwerfel* 'something round or rounded' since the latter occurs in the adjacent parish of Owmby by Spital (PN L 6: 201) and presumably refers to the same entity as the Normanby name.

BLASIN PRICK HOLES (Normanby le Wold)

We can take some of the heat out of this name recorded in 1717 by associating the first element with the *Blafen* 'dark, leaden fen' found in this

parish in the early 13th century, *Blayfin* in 1601, modern *Blayfield* (PN L 3: 75, 73), with <s> read for <f>. The rest may be 'holes/hollows full of prickly plants', cf. the *pricca* acknowledged by Dodgson in a field-name in Saughall Massie (PN Ch 4: 323; and cf. EPNE 2: 73); but note also *prick hollin*, said to be a Lincolnshire term for 'holly' (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 232; Grigson 1975: 125; also *prick-holly*).

BLODRAM CARR (Scartho)

This minor name is found in 1787, and earlier as *Blotheram Carr* in 1652 (PN L 5: 138). Cameron does not associate it with *Blotryngcarre* found in the same parish in 1457 (PN L 5: 142), but the connection seems inescapable and taken together the three forms probably point to medial [d]. A possible lurid explanation of the name of the carr is that it contains an OESc. **blōd-drink* 'blood-drinker' as a personal name or by-name (cf. Icelandic *blód-drekkur* 'leech; fox'); or perhaps the second element is *dreng* 'lad, youth, etc.'. But the simplest solution may be that the name literally means 'leech carr, carr where leeches could be got', for which cf. *Yghelker(holm)* '(marsh island in) Leech Carr' in Healing in the time of Henry III (PN L 5: 109). The general local name for leeches in my childhood in Grimsby, a couple of miles from Scartho, was *bloodsuckers*, for what that is worth.

  Formally, the first element might instead (judging by the 1457 form) be Sc. **blōt* 'heathen activities', cf. BLOATER HILL below, section 4.

CARCAR FARM (Messingham)

Cameron (PN L 6: 81) suggests that the second element is ME *ker* 'carr; overgrown marsh' (cf. *Carker* in 1825) but regards the first as obscure. It seems necessary to connect it with the minor name in the same parish found as *Cracra* in 1755, *Craycrow* 1679, *Crocrow* 1634 and *Crakeray* 1334 (6: 84) and regarded by Cameron as equally obscure. It is probably, however, to be interpreted as Sc. **krāka* 'crow' + **wrā* 'nook' (ON *vrá*), the latter element showing both of the possible two divergent developments of Sc. **/a:/* found in this area (cf. the derived surnames *Wray* and *Wroe*).[2] The current form of the name will be due to dissimilative loss of the first /r/ and/or to the great frequency of the element *carr* in this area in the former marshland of the river Ancholme. Note that an original Sc. **krāka* 'crow' + **haug-* 'mound' in Kirkby cum Osgodby (PN L 3: 55) was later in its history transmuted to *Cracrow*.

GRIMPLINGS (Walesby)

It seems safe to associate this late field-name (PN L 3: 175) with the land in the parish called *Grimbaudeland'* 'Grimbald('s) land' in the mid-13th century (3: 177), following the model offered by *skamlandes* (1601) and *Scamblings* (1841) in Alkborough (PN L 6: 9).

GREEN EPPA (Great Limber)

This field-name, recorded as *Greneaper* (1577), *Grinaper* (1601) etc., is surely to be associated with the medieval *Grenehowbergh* (1333) in the same parish, 'barrow or rounded hill called [in Sc.] "green barrow"' (PN L 2: 225, 228).

MAWKINS LANE (Hackthorn)

This appears to continue the name found as *Muchinges c*. 1220, *Muchingis* 1238, as Cameron implies (PN L 6: 168), but he offers no solution. I suggest it contains ME *muk*, a borrowing of a pre-Old Danish form **muk* (recorded Old Danish *mug*; Björkman 1900: 250), root-related to Sc. **myki*, **myk-* (as in ON *mykr*) 'muck'. The entire name is 'muck pasture or meadow' (*eng*), in the plural and, whatever its significance, it is paralleled closely by the rather late-recorded farm in Aughton (La: 121) named *Mickering*, which differs only in showing a reflex of a Scandinavian first element in the strong genitive singular form *-jar*.

The modern pronunciation is presumably due to euphemism, and/or to the influence of *malkin*, a dialect term for the hare found in at least one Nottinghamshire field-name (Field 1972: 135). It may, however, be (1) simply 'hare lane', with no connection with *Muchinges*, but the final *-s* tells against that and allies it with the earlier spellings cited here; or (2) *Malkin's/Mawkin's Lane*, enshrining a surname.

North and South PONTUS (Weelsby, Grimsby)

These field-names recorded in 1788 (and given a "sic" in PN L 4: 168) have the apparent shape of the classical-era name for an area in north-eastern Asia Minor. But this is probably due to learned intervention; they should instead be associated with the *pundow* and *lytylpundowe* found in 1457 (4: 169), via a development /pundə/, plural /pundəz/, deriving possibly from OE/ME *pund* '(animal) pound' + a borrowed form of Sc.

haug- 'mound'. The compound seems to be repeated in *punthoumarisdayl*, found in the 13th century in Immingham, and at *Punhage* (the same feature as the Immingham one?) in the adjoining parish of Ulceby (PN L 2: 171 and 297), where some spellings suggest that the second element is alternatively *haga* 'haw, enclosure'. 'Haw (i.e. perhaps a pre-existing enclosure) used as a pound' is the most likely source, especially as there was, and may still be, a name of precisely this origin in Skeffling, directly across the Humber (embedded in *Punda Drain*, PN YE: 21). There was probably later change through association with the very frequent local toponyms in **haug-*.

(The) SHOWSTON (Fillingham)

This truly obscure minor name (1760; PN L 6: 151) appears as *Shoulsting* in 1638. Cameron equips this form with "sic", but its spelling is sufficient to indicate a connection with the *Soustanc* found in 1220–30 (6: 153), which provides the earlier form which Cameron declares is needed: the final <g> is not an accident but genuinely reveals a lost velar consonant. Allowing the 13th-century <S> to be, as so often, a spelling for /ʃ/ (cf. e.g. the initial in *Sepeshe* for *Shepeau* (*Stow*); Cameron 1998: 109), the run of spellings may well be formally satisfied by early ME **schǭld stank* 'shallow pond', with the first element being the adjective seen in various instances of *Shadwell* and the like (e.g. PN Mx: 151) and nominalized in *The Shoals* in Willingham (PN C: 175). OE **sc(e)ald* will have had its [a] lengthened before the following [ld], giving rise regularly to a sound spelt with <o>; and the [l] is characteristically lost before a consonant in Lincolnshire, resulting in a diphthong of the /ou/ type in the modern form of the name. The absence of <l> (representing dark [l]) in a medieval document does not necessarily indicate the phonetic loss of this segment (cf. *Houflet* in 12th-century records for what continues to be rendered *Holflet(')* (Cameron 1998: 94), and the 1638 spelling appears to indicate its phonetic presence in early-modern times.

   Alternatively, this element may be from the OE **sc(e)alw-*/ ME **schalw-* that must be the true source of late ME *schalowe*, but the phonology of this solution is more difficult since the [a] would not lengthen and was therefore not likely to be rendered by <o> in a form having this structure.

   Tempting would be the possibility that the first element is a reflex of OE *scealga*, the name of a fish. It is plausibly explained by Köhler (1906: 73–4) as 'roach' (*Rutilus rutilus*), whose habitat includes ponds. He appears to accept that, although the word is of unknown origin, the form *scealga* in Ælfric's glossary (no MS. variants; Zupitza 1880: 316,

Wright/Wülcker 1884: 319/18) is more authentic than the form *scylga* in the Junius supplement to Ælfric (Wright/Wülcker 1884: 180/40). *Roach* is a borrowing from French which replaces *scealga*. If the latter had survived, it would be ModE **shallow*. However, this solution shares the phonological problem seen in the case of *schalowe*. We should rest with the first suggestion offered here.

In adopting any of these solutions we must apply caution, since we are not told what sort of feature the name attaches to in the 1760 Inclosure Award. The name is absent from the record after 1786; The Lake, still in existence, was created in the late 18th century (Buckberry and Hadley n.d., citing Davies) and appears for the first time in the record in 1824. It and The Showston may be in the same location, fed by the stream which is presumably the one called *Westerflet* in 1235x48 (PN L 6: 153). The present lake must be larger than any predecessor, because it truncates abandoned ridge-and-furrow.

SOSTANGATE (Grimsby)

This lost street-name is discussed by Cameron (PN L 5: 83). He comments inconclusively that derivation from an OE personal name or from a variant of ME *sextein* 'sexton' presents difficulties, especially because of the numerous early spellings with <o> in the first syllable, including the earliest (the one in the heading), which dates from 1394. Rather, the name is probably for Sc. **Suðstein-gata* 'south stone street' (or a re-use in ME of nativized Scandinavian elements), for we find *Southstaynmare* 'south stone boundary' in Grimsby, also from a late-medieval date (1457; PN L 5: 101). Spellings in <e> in the street-name are a minority, and the balance between <a>, <e> and <o> is different from the case of *Sextongate* in Lincoln (PN L 1: 98–9), which Cameron adduces and explains as containing a hypothetical OE male personal name **Saxstān.*[3] Maybe forms with <a> were introduced into the Grimsby name by an official who knew of the street-name in the county town, in which <a> predominates from the earliest times, over 200 years before the Grimsby name appears in records.

STOCSOZCHEUEDLAND (Healing)

I suggest tentatively that the mysterious letters 5–8, <sozc>, in this name of the time of Henry III (PN L 5: 108) are for <sort> in Chancery hand, and that the whole name is to be read as **Stocsortheuedland* and associated with the *Short Stocks* recorded in Healing in 1874. A question remains, of course, about the reason for the inversion of two elements in its structure.

The URN, URN BOTTOM (Cold Hanworth), URNS CLOSE (West Firsby)

The name in Cold Hanworth is surely not from the shape suggested by the modern word, as mooted in PN L (6: 174), but a continuation of the name *the Hurn* from OE *hyrne* 'corner, angle; bend' found in 1690 (6: 175). From that perspective, we can assume that *Urns Close* in West Firsby does not derive from an alleged surname *Urn* (6: 155), but has a similar origin even though there is no similar antecedent in the record.

WASHING DALES FARM (Aylesby)

This place is on record since 1824 (PN L 5: 3). It is surely to be identified with the string of forms in neighbouring Irby upon Humber beginning with *Weston dale hedge* in 1638 (three more forms with <West> up to 1724), significantly becoming *Washton Dale* in 1748, *Washton dales* in 1762 (PN L 5: 129). The place is close to the western extreme of historic Aylesby parish, occupying the mouth of a steep-sided, shallow, narrow, boggy valley (there is nowadays a lake or pond at the lower end) which rises to the parish boundary and leads on up into Irby Dales Wood. This valley is mapped as *Washing Dale* in 1889–91, and the farm is now called *Washingdales*. It may originally have been *Weston Dale*, with the plural form appearing through association with the many local names in Sc. **deil-* 'share', which often appears in an English plural form.

2. Antedatings

Early Mod.Eng. *fall* 'place where a river enters another or the sea'

OED-2 (*fall* n[1], 6) attributes the earliest use of this, meaning more fully 'the discharge or disemboguement of a river; (obsolete) the place where this occurs, the mouth', to William Harrison in his *Description of Britain* (1577–87 xii, in Holinshed 53): "The greatest rivers, into whose mouthes or falles shippes might find safe entrance." But the first mention of Trent Falls in Alkborough where the Trent enters the Humber (*Trent-falle*) is as early as 1511 (*Henry VIII's letters and papers, foreign and domestic* (PRO), cited PN L 6: 7). It is clearly therefore not one of Harrison's idiosyncratic usages.

ME *hilder(tre) as in BEKENIL(DE)TRE (Alkborough)

This place or object is mentioned twice in the reign of Henry III. John Insley (PN L 6: 9) suggests an association with ME *beggild* 'beggar'. But it seems more productive to start from ME *hilder(tre)* 'elder-tree', of Sc. origin (Ekwall 1936: 121; for its morphology cf. esp. Danish *hyldetræ*), the first acknowledged record of which in England is as late as the 14th century (EPNE 1: 274). It is also found in Keelby in the reign of John, as *Hillertre* (PN L 2: 177). The first element may be ME *bẹ̄kne* 'beacon', so 'the elder tree by the beacon'.[4] The location of the beacon, and therefore of the tree, was presumably on The Cliff.

Since *hilde(r)tre* is related to Danish uncompounded *hyld* with the same meaning, perhaps we can look to the latter to explain *Hildland(es)* and *hilte( )land(e)s* in the same parish. All the forms mentioned are taken from the Spalding Priory cartulary of about 1331, in which <t> for <d> is found in other Alkborough names (cf. *PORTERMETEHOLM*).

Early Mod.Eng. *room* in fishery-names

The existence of this term is indicated by *One fishery of sex Rowmes* and *Sex Rowmes of one Fysshenge in ye water of Trent* in East Butterwick (1573–4; PN L 6: 50). This predates, but must be related to, the term *fishing-room* 'riverside/seaside fishing-station' much recorded in Canada, especially Newfoundland (see e.g. OED-2, *room* sb.[1], II 6 (c)). It has not been previously recorded in England in this application, so far as I know. The East Butterwick name must be nothing to do with the *Roam hills* recorded in Brumby in 1740 (PN L 6: 39), because the latter place is nowhere near the point where Brumby parish meets the Trent (NGR SE 842101), but lies in the far east of the parish, and at the time of the tithe award (LAO MS. E360) it was in arable use.

The element possibly recurs in *Westrum* in Bigby (PN L 2: 51), whose western tip meets the Ancholme. Formally, this late name (recorded from 1674) might represent Sc. **west(a)ri* + **holm-* (ON **vestri-holmr*) 'more westerly marsh-island'. The fact that we have a *Postrum (Close)* in the same parish (from 1732 (document copied 1795); PN L 2: 54), apparently from a locally-known surname *Post*, might suggest that the structure of the name is really *West-rum* (for *-room*) and that the latter element is also in *Postrum*. But this may be misleading, since *Postrum* should probably be associated with the obscure *Posternehill* and the like found earlier, around 1700, in this parish (PN L 2: 56), whatever the etymology of that might be. It is probably best not to see *room* in either of these Bigby names.

Early Mod.Eng. *slacker* as in SLACKER DYKE (Messingham)

This name, found from 1577–80 (*slaker dyke*, PN L 6: 86), clearly contains dialect *slacker* 'sluice-gate within a larger lock gate' (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 273), *slaker* '[t]he draw door on the inside of a tidal sluice, used for regulating the height of the water in the drain' (Healey 1997: 34, quoting *Fenland Notes and Queries* 3, i.e. Egar 1895–7: 347). The earliest mentions antedate by 200 years the earliest in OED-2 for *slacker*[1], which is from 1797. (Cf. also CLOOT DROVE in section 4 below.)

ME *strip* as an element in a medieval Brocklesby field-name

This is found in the phrase *de Haremare strip uersus occidentem* in a Nun Coatham Priory document referring to Brocklesby at the time of Henry II (PN L 2: 71). Cameron notes that its use to mean a tillage strip is rare, but EPNE (2: 164) had asserted even more strongly that it was not found before the 19th century (thus also the evidence in OED-2; it appeared to have been a historians' term). The word in the document might be read as the ancestor of *stripe*, which is found in a few field-names (Field 1993: 131), but that is commonly believed to be an early-modern borrowing from a continental Germanic language. Note the fields called *strypes* in Thoresway in 1457 and 1579 (PN L 3: 156; 4: xvi), *the Stripes* in Laceby in 1652 (PN L 5: 134), and *Stripe* in Brackenborough (PN L 4: 4); in other counties, cf. Field (1972: 222 and 1993: 131). On balance, the word of the time of Henry II should be taken at face value, as *strip*.

Mod.Eng. *Tom-Turd* as in TOM TIRD'S GARTH (Caenby)

This field-name is passed over obliquely (its specifier is "... no doubt a derogatory nickname not previously noted in the survey", PN L 6: 141). It was less particular than this implies. *Tom Turd* was a once-familiar generic pro-name for a night-soil man (see for example Grose 1785, *Tom t--d man* "a night man, one who empties necessary houses"; also Turner 2002: 351). This Lincolnshire record from 1657 antedates the use of the expression in verse by John Oldham (1653–83), the oldest known to me. (The expression is not in OED-2.) The trade or occupation continued in English villages well into the second half of the 20th century, till mains drainage or the mechanical emptying of the septic tank became universal.

Early Mod.Eng. *vivary* 'fishpond' as in *VIVORIE CLOSE* (North Thoresby)

Cameron hesitantly refers this obsolete field-name (1589–90, in a Duchy of Lancaster document; PN L 4: 177) to *viver* 'fishpond', a word well recorded in ME. But this three-syllable form is clearly a reborrowing of Latin *vivarium*, no doubt also in the application 'fishpond', in something more like its classical guise, and therefore as a distinct word-form. It is of special interest since it antedates the earliest record of both *vivarium* and *vivary* (1600 and 1601 respectively) in OED-2.

3. New, confirmed, rejected and rediscovered place-name elements

ME *baronry*: *BARONRY LAND* (Winterton)

Cameron (PN L 6: 129) attributes this name to ME *baronie*. In fact, obsolete ME/early Mod.Eng. *baronry*, i.e. the same base with a different suffix, exists from *c.* 1449 (OED-2), and its heyday covers the dates at which the name in Winterton appears in the record (1537, 1587).

Sc. **beisk-*: BAST(E) INGS (Binbrook)

Given that there are sufficient early spellings with medial <k>, John Insley very tentatively suggests that the first element is the Flemish personal name *Basekin(us)* (PN L 3: 6–7). The set of spellings is complex and difficult, with clear influence from a local surname *Bayes* in some instances, and folk-etymology has been at work as early as the 16th century in such spellings as *basse kinges*; but an alternative source might be Sc. **beisk-* 'bitter, sour' + **eng* 'pasture, meadow, etc.'. **Beisk-* is accepted as a possible, though evidently rare, element in EPNE (1: 25), but this suggestion is not taken up in VEPN, from which it is absent. One could, however, easily imagine the word being used in place-names in the same way as OE *sūr* 'sour', i.e. waterlogged or in some other way unproductive, cf. for example *The Sours* in Healing (PN L 5: 107), the lost *Surdayles* in Lincoln (PN L 1: 187), *sower hool* in Aylesby in 1625 (PN L 6: 5) and especially *Sour Ing* in three parishes in the West Riding of Yorkshire (Field 1972: 211, and note also the discussion of "sweet and sour" names in Field 1993: 40–3). It may be an instance of semantic borrowing, the Sc. term acquiring an application from its English translation-equivalent.

Sc. *blōt-haug-: BLOATER HILL (North Willingham)

This name is treated in PN L (3: 181–2), where it remains unexplained. Given the distinctive consonant framework, it is very tempting to treat it as Sc. *blōt-haug-, in effect 'heathen mound', cf. ON blót 'sacrifice, heathen activity'. This compound is actually attested in Old Norse (see e.g. Hauge 2002). The difficulty is in the first vowel, which should give modern English /u:/, but it is possible that vowel-harmony or jingling operated in a name which had lost its transparency to give the form bloto found in 1697 and which is the source of the modern name with its reduced final vowel.[5] *Blaut- 'weak, soft' is most unlikely, though it could conceivably stand for its cognate, OE blēat 'wretched, bare; exposed'.

The belief that barrows are heathen is familiar enough from other name-types such as the repeated compound of OE hǣðen + byrgels 'heathen burial', and is interestingly underlined by Macamathehou, the 13th-century name of a feature in Spridlington (PN L 6: 211), which John Insley with great plausibility suggests is a Middle English name meaning 'Mahomet mound', i.e. 'heathen mound', a testimony to the enduring perception of the "other" nature of barrows in the landscape.

*Blōt(-haug-) had not previously been claimed as an element in names in England until Dr Insley's comments on the 13th-century Blod Hou in Barrow upon Humber (PN L 2: 24), in which the ME word blōd 'blood' appears to have been substituted for the first element by folk-etymology. The name in North Willingham may be taken as offering support for his explanation of the Barrow name.

Mod.Eng. *broggery: furlong called BROGERY (Tealby)

This 18th-century furlong gives its name to Broggery Plantation (PN L 3: 136). It seems to be a derivative, not evidenced elsewhere, of brogger, which is a version of broker carrying negative connotations ("corrupt jobber of offices", OED-2) apparently fading from usage, except perhaps in legal contexts, in the late 17th century. In the 16th century, it could denote someone engaged in the wool trade:

> And his majesty by the assent aforesaid, further straightly chargeth and commandeth that no grower, breeder, brogger, or gatherer of any wools within any of his grace's counties shall at any time hereafter set at work any wool folder or wool winder to fold or wind his or their wool or wools unless the said wool folder or wool winder bring with him or them testimonial or certificate under the seal of the said mayor of the Staple of Westminster for the time being, testifying him or them to be sworn and admitted for an able workman to fold and wind wools, upon like pain and pains as are and be

above expressed. [Regulation of 4 Edward VI (1550), spelling normalized in web-source][6]

Perhaps it suggests either land acquired by dubious means, or one where brokerage took place.

Mod.Eng. dial. *clivers*: CLEVER SOME (Marshchapel)

This field-name is simply described as "of the nickname type" (PN L 4: 122). However it could be **Clivers Holme* 'marsh-island marked by [unusual amounts of] clivers (cleavers, goosegrass, *Galium aparine*)'. *Clivers* is a widespread term for this ubiquitous plant (Grigson 1975: 368) and *holme* is common in minor names in this district.

Mod.Eng. *Collop Monday*: COLLOP MONDAY CLOSE (Clixby)

This field-name is recorded in 1717 (PN L 2: 97). *Collop Monday* was the traditional name of the day before Shrove Tuesday, and part of the period of merrymaking preceding Lent (cf. Hutton 1996: 151–68), so this land may have been where games or other aspects of the festivity took place. For the name-type in relation to seasonal games, cf. e.g. *May Day Field* and others mentioned by Field (1993: 243).

Mod.Eng. *composition*: The COMPOSITIONS (Winteringham)

The name of this land (unexplained in PN L 6: 123) probably contains *composition* in the sense of 'money payment by agreement in lieu of or in discharge of some other financial or legal obligation' (cf. OED-2, *composition*, sections 12, 25a, 25b; and cf. also the account given for another *Composition* in Bigby (PN L 2: 52).

Sc. **ensk-*: *ENSCHEDIK* (Wold Newton)

This "obscure" ditch/bank-name (PN L 4: 140) presumably denotes the same place as the *Enschedik* (etc.) in the adjacent parish of Hawerby cum Beesby (PN L 4: 112, where it is plausibly explained by John Insley as containing Sc. *ensk* 'English'); the run of forms for the two names is similar, with spellings indicating the alternating presence and absence of /k/, and the oldest form from Wold Newton contains it. It is tempting to regard it as a feature made when the 'new farm' of [Wold] Newton was

inserted into an essentially Danish landscape (for which cf. and contrast the *Danschedich* found in Fotherby in the 13th century; PN L 4: 20). The parishes of Wold Newton and Hawerby cum Beesby are separated in part by a longish, dead straight boundary.

Mod.Eng. dial. *garing*: element in field-names in Tealby, South Kelsey, Owersby and elsewhere

Cameron notes, in the context of a mention of *Water gareing* 1617 (etc.) in Tealby (PN L 3: 149) that this element "has been noted as an appellative in *a gareing merefurr* 1577 *Terrier in South Kelsey* and as *a garing* 1611 *TLE in Owersby*, and is presumably a late **-ing** derivative of ON **geiri** 'triangular plot of land'" (also Cameron 1996: 15). A more specific interpretation can be given; a *gare-ing* is "[t]he name given to any odd bit of land attached to, but for some reason off-set to, or not in line with, the rest of the field" (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 116), and Henry Wilkinson of Skegness recollected in the *Lincolnshire Standard* in 1978 that "[w]hen the two sides of a field are not parallel it means, when ploughing, there is a triangular strip to finish on one side, this is known as gairings" (Healey 1997: 16). The first of these interpretations seems to imply a clearer differentiation from *geiri* than the second does.

Sc. **gat*: *LE GAT LAND* and *MAR* (Immingham)

This name is recorded in *c.* 1330 and 1450 (*Gattmarhyll*) in consistent forms that make it plausible to interpret it as containing Sc. **gat* 'hole, opening' rather than *gata* 'road'; we therefore have here '(plough-)land and the marsh by the hole or gap'. Speculation might lead to a gap in a sea-dyke.

Mod.Eng. dial. *gattram*: *GATHERUM DYKE*, *GATHEROME DYKE* (Fulstow)

This name, found in Fulstow in 1588 (PN L 4: 91), may be explained by the word *gattram* "a rough bye-road, or clay-lane" (Sutton 1881: 117). This is said by Sims-Kimbrey (1995: 116, *gatherun*) to derive from "gate-room" or "gate-run", 'the space that leads up to the gate', nowadays often metalled, but it is rather from Sc. **gatu-rūm* '(wide) space for a road' (ON **gǫtu-rúm*), perhaps as for droving. Sutton claims that his glossary represents the usage of an area centred on Louth, about 6 miles (9.5

kilometres) south of Fulstow. The word is also found in the modern Cleethorpes street-name *The Gatherums* and in an identical name in Louth which currently denotes a walk or strip of parkland. The modern form of the name may have been influenced by that of *gathering* which also occurs in Lincolnshire furlong-names in a not precisely determined sense (e.g. in Wold Newton, PN L 4: 140–1) and/or, in the mind of some educated lay dialectologist, by the rather bookish expression *omnium-gatherum* 'weird mixture or collection'.

Sc. **graut-*: *GROUTHWITH'* (North Thoresby)

This obscure name is variable in form in the 15th- and 16th-century mentions which are all we have (PN L 4: 175), but it is consistent with an origin in Sc. **graut-wið-* 'porridge wood', and therefore comparable with the frequent minor names containing *pudding* elsewhere in England, e.g. *Pudding Wood Lane* (Broomfield, Ess). Such names are believed to allude to the water-holding capacity of the soil (Field 1972: 175) or to its lumpiness (and cf., according to the received account, GOOSE PUDDINGS in Section 4 below).

Mod.Eng. dial. *gyle*: GUILICAR LANE (North Kelsey)

This name reflects a frequently mentioned place first found in a MS. of 1409, a copy of a Gilbertine text of Henry III's time, as *Gaigelker*. Cameron suggests (PN L 2: 182) that it is perhaps 'bog-myrtle marsh', but the name of bog-myrtle (*Myrica gale*) usually turns up as *gale* or *gaul* and the run of spellings here clearly indicates the pronunciation /gail/, i.e. identical with modern *guile*. Maybe this name should rather be linked to the Lincolnshire dialect word *gyle-hole* 'pool or creek left in a tidal area' (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 130), whose origin is not known for certain but whose consonantal framework and whose meaning recall ME *go(u)le* 'ditch, stream, channel' (EPNE 1: 206, where some of the phonological difficulties attending this word's wider relationships are spelt out[7]). The Ancholme marshes are no longer tidal thanks to the creation of the new river (the patent for which dates from 1287), but the word may anyway once have been of wider application: to any hollow in marshy land. The precise form of this name may have been adjusted later in its existence to *Gyle-y Carr*, so to speak 'pooly carr', 'carr marked by pools'.

Mod.Eng. dial. *gyme* as an element

There exists a dialect word of Lincolnshire and adjacent areas *gyme*, meaning "a pool, but one specifically created in a dip in neighbouring low-lying land by the overflow and/or seepage from a high-banked river which has become an almost permanent feature of the landscape" and "water lying in a field as the result of a flash flood" (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 130; cf., for the former application, *gime* in EDD *s.n.*; similarly Peacock 1889: 251). This is no doubt a borrowing and specialization of Sc./ON *gíma* 'a vast opening' (cf. also *Gyme* (*Wood*) in the marshland in Thorne, PN YW 1: 4; not in EPNE), but it would appear to be phonologically distinct from *Kyme*, the Lincolnshire parish-name; I know of no other Scandinavian word or name-element with /g-/ before a vowel that has been borrowed into English with /k-/ (cf. Björkman 1900: 214–16, 243–9). Along with the otherwise inexplicable appearance of <b> in the early spellings, that is why I currently prefer a different and more complicated explanation for *Kyme*. However, there was also a *stagnum* ['pool'] *voc. Kyme* in Sedgeford (Nf) in 1275 (cf. the *Kyme Bridge* mentioned by van Twest (1999: 352)), which complicates the matter a great deal more, and we cannot completely exclude the possibility that *Kyme*, the parish-name in Lincolnshire, is an irregular borrowing of the Scandinavian word with, also, some surprising early spellings of the final consonant, possibly amounting to hypercorrect forms, in <mb>. If so, such a borrowing may have been very early, from the period when [g] was absent before front non-low non-rounded vowels, and before Scandinavian influence on regional English was so profound that forms such as *give*, *get* and *gill* (and of course *gyme*) became phonologically fully native. But it is clearly a philological problem if this irregular substitution occurred in only one word and in two widely-separated places.

     Gyme/gime is absent from Healey (1997), which incorporates material from several different glossarial sources and dialect books. It is found in the name *Westaby Gyme* recorded in Messingham around 1700 (PN L 6: 87; Cameron calls it "obscure"); the full name suggests it must have been at the extreme western end of the parish where it tapers to meet the Trent and where there must have been problems with the bank. There was a tenement called *Gimbhouse* in Lincoln in the mid-16th century (PN L 1: 181) which may be relevant; Cameron explains it as perhaps for *gin-house* 'house with a machine (engine)', which looks somewhat improbable, and it seems a century too early to contain *gimp* 'silk or other material with a wire or cord insert'.

Sc. *kas(u)- 'heap': as in e.g. HOWKS (North Thoresby)

This field-name of 1822 appears first as *Howcasse* (1601), and afterwards as *Ho(w)cas* (PN L 4: 172). It may be for Sc. *haug- 'mound', if the spellings represent /hauks/ not /hoːks/ (local [(h)uǝks]), + *kas(u)- (the ancestor of ON *kǫs*, gen. sing. *kasar*) 'heap, pile'. *Kas(u)- or *kǫs* is not recorded as an element in EPNE. The precise force of such a compound is unclear, but 'heap like a (burial-)mound' is not out of the question. Perhaps the modern form of the name is due to its reinterpretation as a reflex of the ME element *halke* 'corner, nook', mentioned in the discussion of *SPOROW COTE* (below, section 4).

   The latter element may also appear in *Casse garth* in 13th-century Brocklesby (but Cameron in PN L 2: 70 suggests an abbreviation of *Cassandra*). A second possibility is the lost 13th-century field-name *Lescas* in Waddingham (PN L 6: 117), the first being Sc. *lēus-*, the ancestor of ON *ljóss* 'bright, light-coloured', known as an element elsewhere (EPNE 2: 25). Another, even more obscure, possible candidate for containing *kas(u)- is *Starcass Hill* (Holton le Clay, 1733; PN L 5: 115) unless, as seems more likely, this was a hill near the marsh called by the frequent name *Starkere* 'sedge carr' recorded in the same parish in 1457.

Sc. *mar-aur- 'saltern mound (lit. 'sea- or marsh-clay')': frequent topographical word in some coastal parishes

A mid-13th century name in the estuarine marshland at Habrough, *Stayn Moure*, was identified by Cameron in PN L (2: 147) as containing OE *mōr* 'moor', but reanalysed later (PN L 4: xiii–xiv) as being the earliest known mention of the word *mawre* and the like which appears later in the record of certain North Sea coast parishes. The Survey as published so far records the word in the spellings *moure*, *mawer*, *mawre*, *mavre*, *maure* from 1446 onwards, and in only two parishes: Tetney (PN L 5: 159, 163) and especially Marshchapel (PN L 4: 119, 122, 124, 129–33). Spellings appear more often with <a> than with <o>, though <o> is in the earliest. We know exactly what it denoted, because its meaning is spelt out on Haiwarde's map of Fulstow and Marshchapel (late 16th century; in private hands, copy in LAO): "The round groundes at the end of Marshchappell are called mavres and are first formed by layinge together of quantities of moulde for the making of Salte." A survey of the district contemporary with this map also notes "5 pastures or holmes called Mavres", "Six holmes or Mavres", "a little rounde Mavre", "A Mavre wth 2 Saltcoates vpon itt", "a Mavre more east being arrable grounde" (all quoted PN L 4: 119). That is, they were holms or marsh-islands (and most have proper names in *holm*), they

were constructed rather than natural, and they were strongly, but not permanently or exclusively, linked with the salt industry, so much so that a 17th-century document could apparently equate a *mawre* with a saltern: "A great Maure or salt hill" (4: 119). These items are beyond the ancient sea-dyke (that described in Owen 1974–5), i.e. in the coastal saltmarsh;[8] the vast extent of their remains can be seen on the OS drift geology map of the area (sheet 91). The term does not, it appears, ever form part of a proper name in Marshchapel; all mentions are of the type "a mawre called *X*", and *X* is, as mentioned, almost without exception a compound or complex expression in *-holm*. In Tetney, however, it turns up in expressions that appear to be names, such as *Pynders Mawer* and *three Parcells of Land called the Mawers*.

Cameron leaves the origin of the term unexplained, but the circumstances just set out make it very probable that it originates in an unrecorded Sc. compound **mar-aur-*. **Mar-* is 'sea' in poetic usage in ON, but it occurs in Scandinavian toponymy mainly in the sense 'marsh', especially west of the North Sea in Yorkshire and in Danish and Swedish dialects (EPNE 2: 36; Smith vacillates between 'marsh' and 'pool' in PN YN: 329, PN YE: 327; the word is not in Gelling and Cole 2000; there is one simplex instance in the Isle of Axholme mentioned in Fellows-Jensen 1978: 140, 158). The compound therefore means 'sea-clay', or more likely 'marsh-clay', and has been reduced by haplology to a single syllable to yield the English dialect word, a metonymic extension from the substance to the object built out of it. An instance recorded in 1595, *a mavry[...] called Westcote holme* (PN L 4: 133), is given a "sic" by Cameron, but it may just testify to a variant **[mar-aur]-ey* 'island of marsh-clay'. He does not suggest, as he might have done, that the French record of 1356, ... *une Saltcote en le more pur salt molde*, despite its obscurity of wording, may contain the earliest mention of *mawre* (apart from that in Habrough) rather than the alternative and perhaps more obvious *mōr* (an element which is also found in the parish (4: 130)).[9] For a structurally parallel use of **mar-*, cf. *marram* from **mar-halm-* 'sea- or marsh-straw' (cf. ON *marhálmr*, Gutnish *mar(e)halm*), originally a word of East Anglia and recorded in English from the 17th century.

The word (strikingly like *hafdic*, as noted by Owen 1974–5: 52, n. 42) has not been recorded from the intervening coastal parishes between Habrough and Tetney, all of which are now published and many of which had documented salterns. Saltworking north of Grimsby has been recorded (Rudkin and Owen 1960), but these early sites closed down long ago and have apparently left no surface traces (Berridge and Pattison 1994: 72).

OE *mǣte*: *PORTERMETEHOLM* (Alkborough)

In PN L (6: 11), Cameron suggests that this lost minor name in a *c.* 1331 copy of a Henry III document, contains the element, otherwise unknown in place-names, OE *mǣte* 'mean, poor, bad'. This can probably be discounted, since elsewhere in the parish were *suthmedilholm* and *North metilholm*, the south and north "middle holms", and the atypical spelling of the latter should give us confidence that *-meteholm* represents the same compound structure as *metilholm* with dissimilatory loss of the first <l>.

   The same element has, however, been suggested by John Insley as the middle one in *Lokermeteng'*, an early-13th century minor name in Nettleton (PN L 2: 247) where the first element is, however, more likely to be 'looker, shepherd' rather than the proposed 'locksmith'. Could it rather be 'meadow whose yield is set aside to provide for the shepherd's meat (= 'food')'? Or even more simply, though with the orthographical complication of <t> where <d> is expected, 'the *eng* ('meadow') called [in English] *Looker Mead* ['shepherd meadow']'?

Mod.Eng. *plumb* 'perpendicular': THE PLUM (Whitton)

Cameron's sources omit *The Plum*, which denotes a now-wooded gravel-pit in the low cliff close by the Humber (the northern nose of the Lincolnshire Heights; NGR SE 900245), apparently dug in about 1800, in which there is a mineralizing spring. One of the topographical senses of *plum(b)* given by Wright (EDD) seems appropriate: a noun meaning 'the steepest part of a hill' is noted once from north-east Yorkshire. Note also the jocular blended word *plumpendicular* recorded in Lincolnshire by Sims-Kimbrey (1995: 230). The Plum is near perpendicular at its worked faces (site visit 11/09/2003).

Late ME *rial* 'coin worth ten shillings': *RYALL HEADES*, *Y^E RYALLES* (Winteringham)

This obsolete field-name in Winteringham, attested in 1577, provides a peg to hang a general point on. The word *rye* occurs frequently in field-names (Field 1972: 188–9), unsurprisingly. Occasionally, however, it is coupled with no obvious generic element, as here, which opens the possibility that we are dealing, not with *halh* with elided initial [h] as Cameron suggests (PN L 6: 124), but with *rial*, the word for the ten-shilling coin of Edward IV, first minted in 1465. This has not been suggested as a place-name element before. Such a name would thus be in Field's category 19, "money

value of the land" (1972: 278). There are parallels for such a high value, from the noble to several pounds (Field 1993: 193–4; cf. *seven nobles Close* in Bottesford, PN L 6: 26).

This would not apply to all instances of such a form; the parish-name *Ryhall* (PN Ru: 160–1) and according to John Dodgson *The Royals* in Newhall (PN Ch 3: 102) are indeed "Rye-hale". Other similar pre-16th-century names may be "Rye Hill", such as *Ryall* in Bradworthy (PN D: 135), *Ryehill* in Long Buckby (PN Nth: 66) and, more obviously, the long-established township-name *Ryhill* in Wragby (PN YW 1: 261). But the coin-name might well be suspected most persuasively in e.g. *Rylelands* (Eckington; PN Db: 255) and in other instances of minor names first noted after 1465, such as the present one and *Ryalls* (Henbury; PN Gl 3: 136).

Mod.Eng. SEEDS, recurrent field-name type

This name-type is passed over in silence in PN L, though it recurs in numerous parishes (e.g. *Great and Little Seed Platt* in Thornton Curtis, PN L 2: 286; several names in Owersby, 3: 88; *Great Seeds* (and others) in Humberston, 5: 119; *Seeds close* in Brumby, 6: 39; *Seedlands* in Burringham, 6: 42; *Square Seeds* in Burton upon Stather, 6: 47). Field (1972: 195) has a note about the type *Seed Close* as 'area of sown grass', but does not mention it in his book of 1993. Healey (1997: 33) defines *seeds* with greater specificity as a term for '[a]rtificial grasses [i.e. those not part of the local flora, RC] sown for one year's grazing or mowing, as distinguished from permanent pasture'. She directs the reader to *Fenland Notes and Queries* 3, i.e. Egar (1895–7: 259). This definition is also closely mirrored in OED-2, under *seed* (1.c), where the word in the plural is given as a term for land sown in this fashion (thus also Peacock 1889: 468).

Sc. *sin*: SYNHOLMES (Caenby) and SYNHOLME (ROAD) (Normanby by Spital)

These two names (PN L 6: 141, 190) – or more probably this name – first found as *Sinnomes* (1601), thereafter *Sinholm(e)* and the like, should probably be referred to the ancestor of ON *sin* 'bladder sedge (*Carex vesicaria L.*)', a marsh plant, or *sina* 'grass left to wither over winter', not previously suggested as an element. It was presumably low land by Paunch Beck.

Sc. *snyk-: *SNEKEDIKEWALL'*, *SNYKEDYKEWALL'* (Lincoln)

The first element of this field-name, recorded twice, as shown, in 1455, is left unexplained in PN L (1: 187). I suggest it is Sc. *snyk-* 'stench', the whole name being 'wall by the [place called in Scandinavian the] stinking ditch'. *Snyk-* is not recorded as a lexical borrowing by Björkman (1900).

Sc. *stavir*: *STANRY-FURLONG* (Scawby)

This form of 1661 relates to a name which is *Stanrow* the next year, *Stafferah* in 1669, *Staverow* in 1676, *Staverah* in 1687 and 1706 (PN L 6: 109). The later forms suggest that the <n> in the earliest is to be read as <u> (for <v>), and that the name contains the hypothetical Sc. *stavir* 'stake' postulated by Ritter to explain Old Swedish and Danish *staver* and claimed by Smith in *Starbotton* in Kettlewell (EPNE 2: 142, incorrectly there spelt *-bottom*; correctly PN YW 6: 108–9). A cognate and equally hypothetical OE *stæfer* has also been postulated. The second element is consistent with normal Lincolnshire developments of *haug-*, but it is uncertain from what sort of feature the furlong took its name.

Sc. *stīvla*: Low and Top STEWILLS (Owersby), *STYVELL* (Waltham)

The Owersby field-names, first recorded in 1280x1285 as *Stiuel* (PN L 3: 88), may contain Sc. *stīvla* 'dam' (ON *stífla*), an impression possibly reinforced by the 15th-century incarnation of the name as *Steuel pyttes* '?pits or pools formed of water backed up from a dam'. A lost similar name, *Styvell* or *Stivell*, is recorded from 1601 in Waltham (PN L 4: 192), alone and in construction with *green*, and this may also contain *stīvla*. This word has not previously been suggested as an element in English place-names.

Sc. *swarð(u)-*: minor names in the Barton upon Humber area

Cameron explains several names including modern *Swarth* by way of OE *swæð* 'swathe' (*Houlegate Swarth* 1755, Barton; *The Swa(r)th* 1694 onwards, Barton; *the Swarth* 1730, Goxhill; PN L 2: 42, 47, 134). Since the modern reflexes regularly include an <r>, it seems much more probable that the source is really Sc. *swarð(u)-* '(green)sward' (ON *svörðr*), not previously suggested as a place-name element. *Swæð* seems to have been available in this area (cf. *the half swaths* 1715, Barrow upon Humber, PN L

2: 26, and the meadow called *the four swaythes* in Burton upon Stather, PN L 6: 48), but it is hard to see how this element could have yielded *swarth* in the dialect conditions of north Lincolnshire without contamination from **swarð(u)-*. For the same alternation, see *Long Swa(r)th* in North Kelsey (PN L 2: 192). But the strongest evidence for **swarð(u)-* is *one plott of Swarth called the Seaven leas* in Thorganby in 1639 (PN L 3: 162).

Sc. **þrekk-*: THREAKHOLME (Winterton)

Despite its late attestation (1665; PN L 6: 131), this seems unambiguously to contain Sc. **þrekk-* 'filth', not so far identified in a place-name in England. <ea> is not infrequent for the phoneme /e/ at this period (cf. modern *dead*, *breath*, *breast* with original long vowels, yielding the possibility of spelling-hypercorrection seen in the solution offered here, with <ea> instead of etymological <e>).

Sc. **watn-fall-*: WATERFALL in field-names

This is occasionally found where it is topographically inappropriate for the modern term, e.g. in Messingham (PN L 6: 86). Following John Field, Cameron adds that this term can mean 'place where a stream disappears into the ground', and no doubt this may sometimes apply. However, ON *vatn-fall* could mean simply 'stream, river' (e.g. Zoëga 1910: 473), and this may well be what is found in names in the Lincolnshire flatlands, but in an anglicized form. It could account for the lost (17th-century) *Waterfulgote*, *Waterfill gate* in Waltham (PN L 4: 193), with variation of vowel-spelling in a fully unstressed medial syllable.

See also *AUGHTANGE*, BARBARAH GARTH, *DALIGER GREEN*, *GRENLOKEHOUUE*, *MEWITH*, *SCHAUHACRES* and TRACE HILL CLOSE in section 4.

4. Conundrums: interpretation and reinterpretation

ATTEBEL (Fotherby), *ATTE BELE* (Utterby) and possibly related lost names in North Thoresby, Burgh le Marsh, Welton le Marsh, Willoughton and elsewhere

Ekwall (1936: 159–63) considers a range of English names such as *Belstead* and *Belaugh*, concluding that their first element **bel* belongs to a family of words exemplified by Old Danish *bil*, *bæl* 'interval, space' but absent in recorded English. He postulates **bel* as an OE *a*-mutated relative of the Sc. **bil* and suggests, following a lead given by Alf Torp, that the relevant application of the term in place-names is 'open land in a forest' or 'piece of dry land in a fen', the second of these being the important one here. Ekwall's account is followed by Kristensson (1970: 18–20), who draws attention to some of the names in the heading, and by Cameron (PN L 4: 40–1), who notes the appropriateness of the sense 'dry land in fen' for the marsh-edge places mentioned, and appears to subscribe to Ekwall's "English" solution of the formal aspect of the problem. These ideas are reported in VEPN, under **bel*[1]. The same element has been claimed by some (but not by VEPN) to be visible in *Beald Farm*, a settlement in former common land shared between two Ely parishes (fully discussed PN C: 223–4) and in a field-name in Witchford (PN C: 370), neither of whose sets of medieval spellings shows a final <d>.

But there is a far simpler explanation for the Lincolnshire names and the Isle of Ely ones, namely that the element is the characteristic post-Viking settlement-name element *bǽle* 'den or lair; farmstead'. This accounts for the high-mid vowel [e] satisfactorily (via late Old English unrounding of front vowels) without the need to postulate unattested lexical relatives, and it also accounts for the length of the vowel demonstrated in spellings of the names in the Isle of Ely. All the forms cited by PN L in Utterby, Fotherby and North Thoresby are surnames in *at*, and clearly the idea that the base-word means 'farmstead' or the like is not at odds with this fact. *Bǽle* has been convincingly established in the name *Newball* 'new farmstead' in Stainton by Langworth parish (Cameron 1998: 90), which is *Neubele* in the early 12th century and whose Domesday spelling *Neuberie*, alone in suggesting *burg/byrig*, may be discounted. The element in *Newball* has been thought unique in English toponymy (EPNE 1: 41; Fellows-Jensen 1978: 214; VEPN under *bǿli*), but these other names in Danelaw counties show its wider currency as applied to minor dwellings (cf. also *NEBELL HEMPLANDE* below). I suggest that it also accounts for the peculiar-looking, and much later-attested, generic in *the Is bell*, in Waithe (1723; PN L 4: 181), whose specifier may be Sc. **ytst-* 'outermost' (ON *yztr*), which is quite suitable for a late-established farmstead away from the

parish nucleus. The several names mentioned in Waithe – *the Is bell*, *The Third Isbell*, *the Isbel Bydale* – suggest the division of the later-abandoned holding into closes, and the mysterious *Bydale* is naturally explained as Sc. **bȳ-deil-* 'share of a/the farmstead' (this tallies with the instance of *by dale* in Glentham (PN L 6: 160) which is the name of "three stongs"). It is not so easy to account for forms with the indefinite article in the same Waithe document – *An Is bell*, *An Is bel bidale* – but there is another curiosity of indefinite-article usage in the same document, namely a piece of meadow referred to as *A Butcher*.[10] *The bydell ground* in Waltham (PN L 4: 189) might be explained in the same way; it too was divided, into the *Vincent* and the *Grafurth Bydale*.

If we look carefully through the mound of published evidence for Lincolnshire, we will find that still other instances of *bǣle* may have been overlooked. One may be found as the first element in *Belewelle* found in the 13th century in Middle Rasen (PN L 3: 111), and another in the name *Furbell dale quarter* recorded in 1542 in Willoughton, which Cameron also regarded as obscure (PN L 6: 215) – perhaps 'the far *bǣle*', cf. *Furfelde* in Hatfield (1576; PN YW 1: 12, explained as from OE *feor* 'far'); again, the Willoughton site was divided into *deil*s. Suspicion may also fall on *crofto vocat ... Hodgebell* in Cleethorpes in 1646 (PN L 5: 121); although this does not fit the emerging pattern precisely if it contains a surname, it is perfectly common for a smallholding to bear its tenant's or possessor's surname. Note also the otherwise obscure lost *Scuttlebelle* in Weelsby in 1457 (PN L 5: 169), which appears to contain Sc. **skutil-* 'harpoon' or 'large flat dish or table' in some application. The evidence is mounting that *bǣle* survived in quite a few place-names (even if not all of those suggested here are accepted), but it described a type of smallholding that did not generally survive any retrenchment in agriculture as an independent going concern, even if its lands survived in cultivation.

Of course, the question of what the first element is in those major names with English generics, such as *Belstead* and *Belaugh*, remains unaffected by this (for the best recent account of such names see VEPN under *bēl*). It would be natural to see *bǣle* also in *Beltoft*, Isle of Axholme, with its Scandinavian generic, if it were not for the fact that its situation suggests that it is an intraparochial secondary settlement of Belton, an English-named parish (Cameron 1998: 13); but that might be an onomastic coincidence.

AUGHTANGE (twice), *AUGHT'ANK'* (North Thoresby) – also new element **ahtung-*

Could this unsolved 15th-century minor name (PN L 4: 175) be an archaic form of ON *áttungr* 'eighth part (of a piece of land)' used as a term for a district, in OWSc., viz. **ahtung-*? The significance, if any, of the suspensions in one of the three forms is quite obscure, but in the relevant document the scribe's usage was erratic; cf. *Bright'leues* (4: 175) for what is otherwise *Brightleues*, and inversely *Sketmar* 'sewer boundary' (4: 177), from *scitere* (cf. *Skytermarre*, 1451–3), where **Sket'mar* might have been expected. The two other forms appear more authoritative and are consistent with the suggestion made.

BARBARAH GARTH (Immingham) – also new element *bēȝe(n)*

John Insley in PN L (2: 166) suggests that the first element of this name, found as *Baiberge* in the late 12th century, may be AN *bai* 'bay, laurel', which requires an antedating by 200 years of the earliest mention in OED-2 of this borrowing from French. Perhaps rather it is ME *bēȝe(n)* 'both, the two', so that the name means 'the two mounds'. OE *beorg* is masculine, and the form of the anomalous word for 'both' is correct for that. Strictly, the OE should be *bēgen beorgas* (nom./acc. pl.), *bǣm beorgum* (dat. pl.); I suggest that the expression has fossilized as the proper name **Bēge(n)beorgas* and appears here as the expected ME reflex *(-e)* of the dative plural *(-um)* of that, i.e. with the dative case marked only finally. Whatever the first element is, Cameron suggests that it appears in the lost medieval *Baidail* in Goxhill too (PN L 2: 130); it could clearly be 'the two shares (of land)', with Sc. **deil-*.

BLUESTON FIELD (West Ravendale)

Cameron (PN L 4: 154) observes that "*bluestone* is copper sulphate", but surely this name recorded in 1630 enshrines the common local term for a glacial erratic or sarsen, for instance that on the former boundary between Grimsby and Clee (PN L 5: 20, 51) and those alluded to in *Bluestone Lane* and *Inn* (Immingham; not in PN L) and the *Bluestone Heath Road* on The Wolds (not in PN L so far).

Note the following remark in *White's Lincolnshire* (1856: 570): "In a field near the church [of North Thoresby], called Bound Croft, is a blue stone, over which the manor court was formerly held." *Stanholme Lane* is north-west of the church; *Stanholme* allegedly takes its name from the so-

called *Boundel Stone*, a bluestone found there, and if so not because the land was stony in some other sense (as suggested in PN L 4: 170). Henry Evan Smith, in his manuscript history of Lincolnshire (1850), refers to this place as *Boundel's Croft*. This stone is not mentioned in PN L, and Smith's identification may rest on a romanticization of the known *Bond Croft* in the Tithe Award (1839) in the light of the local Grim and Boundel legend, a variant of elements in the well-known story *Havelok the Dane* (Smithers 1987).[11]

The origin of the term *bluestone* has not been ascertained, but the colour blue seems irrelevant to the instances known to me. There is no strong formal reason why the first element should not be Sc. **blōð* 'blood' or even **blōt* 'sacrifice'. In either case, Sc. **stein-* has presumably been replaced by its English counterpart. It is **stein-* that appears in the earliest attestations of *Stanholme* in North Thoresby.

BREAKDISS HILL, *BRACKDISH HILL*, *BREAKDITCH HILL* (Binbrook)

This lost name (PN L 3: 11) must surely be referred to the obsolete regional term *breakditch* 'a cow that wanders' (Wright 1857); this is rather unusual among British minor names in (presumably) alluding to a local incident.

CLOOT DROVE (Crowland) and ME *clōte* in other names

Cameron (PN L 4: 144) notes a reference in 1411 to *clootam voc. abgristgote* in the marshes in North Coates parish, and links it with the fenland term of this form found from the 14th century (in Lincolnshire, first near Crowland) and mentioned by Reaney (PN C: 315–6; and, as *clote*, EPNE 1: 100). Reaney says that it is "something to do with draining and barring waters. Its history is obscure[.]", and EPNE concurs. The word *cloot* is known to Sims-Kimbrey (1995: 62) and Healey (1997: 7). Sims-Kimbrey glosses it as a "small paddle to stop water backing up a drain", which is consistent with one being named alternatively using the word *gote*, one of whose meanings is 'sluice'.

The *paddle* referred to by Sims-Kimbrey is a small wooden door below water-level in a sluice to relieve an excess of water without opening the heavy sluice-gate fully (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 217; i.e. the converse of the process referred to under *cloot*). This suggests that it derives from Dutch *kloot* 'lump [i.e. of wood?], ball', with an application intermediate between this inert object and the engineering device meant by its English cognate *cleat* 'wedge, clamp [etc.]', and with the term for the paddle or one-way door being eventually applied to the entire sluice mechanism. It

would be no surprise to find a Dutch term of water management borrowed into an eastern dialect, even as early as the 14th century, since there were already strong commercial contacts with the Netherlands by this time, as noted often and long ago (e.g. by Serjeantson 1935: 170–5). Other 14th-century borrowings in the field of woodworking in the broadest sense are *kit* 'tub', *kilderkin* 'cask [of a particular size]', *wainscot* (Burnley 1992: 438) and *tub*, soon followed in the 15th century by *peg* and *bung* (Toll 1926: 52, 40–1, 53, 81–5).

Another, similar, word in use in Lincolnshire for a sluice or a gate in a lock is *cleugh* (Peacock 1889: 119), *clough* or *clow* (Healey 1997: 7), whose relation, if any, to *clōte/cloot* is unknown. It is this word, presumably, which explains the lost *the East Clough* in the marshes at Grimsby (1780; PN L 5: 54), which can hardly contain OE *clōh* 'ravine' or its descendant. Compare also SLACKER DYKE in section 2, above.

One land called ... the COW (Waithe)

This (PN L 4: 180) presumably contains Sc. **koll-* '(bare) head, top' and is to be pronounced /kəu/ with Lincolnshire vocalization of syllable-final [l]. It is found in some major names (EPNE 2: 6) and possibly as a generic in an unlocated East Riding minor name *Othecolle* (PN YE: 326). *[A] forland called ... Scalla Cow* found in Waithe a century earlier (4: 182) will have been '(place like a) bare head with a shed (*skāli)', and may have been the same place since there is no other recorded instance of this generic in the parish. *Scalla* might also be from Sc. **skalli* 'bald head', in which case the name would have been tautologous, but for some discussion of the name-form *Scallow* see PN L (2: 157, 3: 4, 4: 13–14 and further refs there; a similar name is found in Grainsby, 4: 102); at 4: 13–14, an interpretation of **skāli* as 'shieling' is preferred.

DALIGER GRENE (Barnoldby le Beck) – and confirmation of element Sc. **dālig-*

This obscure minor name of the 17th and 18th centuries (PN L 4: 57) may include Sc. **dālig-* (ON *dáligr*) 'poor, wretched'. It is called *Dalingers* in 1624, which recalls *a Close Called dalling garths* in the not far distant parish of Hawerby cum Beesby (recorded 1577 through to 1638, with evidence for a long vowel provided by such spellings as *dawlin(g)*; PN L 4: 112). This gives the clue that both names are for **dālig- garð-* 'poor enclosure' and that the <g>, representing /g/, indicates the initial consonant of the obscured second element in the Barnoldby name. The medial <n>

which is regular in the Hawerby name is less likely to have to do with Dalling (Nf), as Cameron suggests, than to be due to the early-modern tendency of medial unstressed syllables to sprout a preconsonantal nasal, as in *nightingale* (cf. German *Nachtigall*, which enshrines the older state of affairs; Luick 1914–40: §456, note 4). This process is the same one which made *The Malandry* out of AN *maladerie* 'hospital' in Lincoln from about 1500 onwards (PN L 1: 113–4).

ON *dáligr* has been suggested in the Egglescliffe minor name *Dallicarr Head* (PN Du 1:54), and it might also be suspected in the late-recorded *Dallicar Lane* in Giggleswick (PN YW 6: 145).

DANDALL STIGHE (Binbrook)

This lost 16th/17th-century minor name for a path, also appearing as *Dandelesteght* (PN L 3: 11), might best be explained with special reference to the seemingly aberrant spelling of *dandeliesteght* (1612). This fairly clearly suggests that the first element is the surname deriving from the village of Grand/Petit Andely (now united as *Les Andelys*, *dépt* Eure, Normandy); see the sparsely-, but widely-, attested *Dandely* in Reaney and Wilson (1991: 125). No connection of this family with Binbrook is known to me.

ELINNOR BUSK MEER (Waddington)

Rather than looking for an unidentified Eleanor to account for this name recorded (sometimes with *bush*) from 1690 to 1753 (PN L 1: 219), we might suspect the involvement of the elder (a possible cross between common dialectal *eller* and *ellern* followed by folk-etymology involving the female personal name); note *eller busks* recorded by Sims-Kimbrey (1995: 91).

FLADELS CLOSE (Covenham)

The first element in this name recorded from 1664 *(fleydayles)* may be Sc. **fleiɣ(u)-* 'wedge' (as witnessed by Icelandic *fleygur*) in some topographical sense alluding to shape: 'wedge(-shaped) shares'.

FOOTSEY PLANTATION (Fotherby)

The base-name of this item is recorded only from 1697 ("too late to suggest a convincing etymology", PN L 4: 18), but it is of the greatest linguistic interest. The parish-name is explained as 'Fōt's farm', where *Fōt* is a Old Danish personal name originating as a by-name ('Foot'). However, if that is correct (note that Fellows-Jensen 1978: 47 gives an alternative account), it clearly has this name in a West Scandinavian genitive form -*ar*, which in Old Norse alternated with -*s*, as Ekwall claimed (DEPN *s.n.* Fotherby), the latter coming to be normal in by-name usage (PN L 4: 17–18). *Fōt* is found elsewhere in Lincolnshire place-names with an -*s*-genitive (Fosdyke, Foston).

   We often find instances of the same personal name occurring both in the name of a village or farm and of a nearby barrow. Three such instances are: (1) OESc. *Hawarth* in Hawerby village (PN L 4: 108–9) and the barrow giving its name to Haverstoe wapentake (PN L 4: 47) in which Hawerby is situated, (2) an OESc. name related to ON *Wraggi* in the parish-name Wragby and the wapentake-name Wraggoe (PN L 143–4),[12] and (3) OESc. *Skalli* in the parish-name Scawby and the lost *Scal(l)ehou* in adjacent Broughton (PN L 6: 101–2). This strongly suggests, but of course cannot prove, that the person after whom the settlement is named was buried locally. Footsey looks for all the world like **Fōts haug-* 'Fōt's barrow'; **haug-* has demonstrably developed to <-y> in a considerable number of names in the county, e.g. *Sandy* (Grimsby; PN L 5: 100), Bully (Hill) (Tealby; PN L 3: 136, supplemented by discussion at PN L 4: xv; the name recurs in Tathwell, found from 1824), *(Long) Skittah* (17th, Tealby; PN L 3: 146), Scallows (Hall) (Binbrook; PN L 3: 4) and also *Scotchy (Dale)* (1625) for earlier *Schothoudale* (*c.* 1230) in Great Limber (PN L 2: 230). *Fōts* is precisely the form one would expect in the parish-name if it means what is claimed, and interesting questions arise about the significance of the alternating shape of the genitive case-form.

(Great) GANBOS (Claxby)

The spelling of this field-name, mentioned in PN L (3: 24) in a record dating from 1717, should probably be taken as *Gaubos* and associated with *Gawber Close* in other 18th-century records in the same parish (3: 21). This will be from the surname *Gawber*, as Cameron notes on the latter page, unless it is equated with the same name-form in Owmby by Spital (6: 200) where it is interpreted, not implausibly, as 'gallows mound'. The latter name-form is in fact the source of the surname, though probably in most cases from the place of this name in Darton, Barnsley (PN YW 1: 316).

GLAGHEMBERG (Healing)

This lost minor name (PN L 5: 108) is surely a 14th-century (mis)copying, in the *Coucher book of Selby*, of an original *Galghenberg* 'gallows mound' which also appears as *Galghenberg'* in the *Coucher book*. In the 20th century this was *Gallimber*, with the visual shape of the name possibly influenced by the nearby parish-name *Limber*.

GOOSE PUDDING(S) (Cleethorpes)

This 18th-century field-name is, says Cameron, "no doubt a name for a sticky place" (PN L 5: 35). This is possible, no doubt, but Andrew Boorde in his *Introduction of knowledge* (1547: book XXX: 199) implies that the term had connotations of lumpiness or the rising of something baked: "& coppyd thinges standeth vpon theyr [i.e. women's, RC] hed, within ther kerchers, lyke a codpece, or a gose-podynge" (cf. OED-2 under this term).

GORTEEN (Redbourne)

Following a suggestion by Victor Watts, Cameron (PN L 6: 89) guesses reasonably that this may be a transferred Irish place-name, i.e. *Goirtín*; there are several plausible candidates (cf. Flanagan and Flanagan 1994: 93–4, 216). But in 1841 in Redbourne there was an unexplained *Gordon Car* (6: 90; and note *Gorrington Car*, apparently a distinct place, in the same Tithe Award). These names are presumably connected, and more documentary evidence is needed to decide whether they are related and whether the etymon of one or both is ancestral to *Gorteen*.

GRENLOKEHOUUE (Normanby le Wold) – also new element **lok*

The first element in this lost name, recorded twice in the 13th century (PN L 3: 76) would appear to consist of Sc. **grǣn-* 'green', and **lok*, a word whose ON reflex is glossed by Zoëga (1910: 278) as 'a kind of fern or weed'. It may be related to the *louk* reported by Healey (1997: 24) on the authority of Brogden (1866), as meaning 'coarse grass on sea banks and fen and moor lands'. The final element is **haug-* 'mound'. What the 'green' contrasts with is a matter for speculation, but the common surname *Redfern* (from Rochdale, La; cf. Ekwall (La: 60), who takes the name as self-explanatory) suggests a possibility.

The GROOP(E)S (Waltham)

This field-name, recorded variously from 1601–1715, is left unexplained in PN L (4: 189); it must be for OE *grōp* 'ditch, drain' or Sc. **grōp* 'groove'.

GU-A MAROW (Messingham)

This field recorded in 1825 (PN L 6: 85) is presumably to be identified with the earlier *gawham* (1577–80), *Gaughams* (1679), in the same parish. Further progress with the name is difficult, but it may represent **Gall-holm* with *gall* in the sense of 'barren spot in a field; spongy ground' (EPNE 1: 192; Field 1993: 42–3), hence 'marsh-island with one or more barren spots'. There is a field-name of exactly this form in Tetney (PN L 5: 158). The 19th-century extension of the name is still obscure. Perhaps it is Sc. **mar-* 'marsh' with hypercorrection of the Lincolnshire development seen in *furr* for *furrow* (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 111). In non-mountainous areas, **ǣrgi* '(home-)shieling' is rare (VEPN 1: 31) and it would seem unlikely as an explanation of the final element, but it has been claimed in Alkborough and other parishes of precisely this northern area of the Lincolnshire Heights (Fellows-Jensen 1977–8). There is no recorded history of, and one would have thought little scope for, the regular transhumance economy of other upland areas, and if the word appears here some related but different application must be assumed.[13]

HOLTON LE CLAY minor names

The names discussed here appear in PN L (5: 111–5).

The type seen in *Brothmare* (15th century) is shown elsewhere in PN L to have evolved from Sc. **breið-* 'broad' by partial anglicization (PN L 5: 138–9, and cf. 44). The second element could be Sc. **mar-* 'marsh' if the original name is fully Scandinavian. The *Brodmersshe* which follows it in the record of the Holton le Clay name (16th century) is a full anglicization, or a new English name for the same feature.

Gren(e)dere (15th century), *Greenderry* (1609), may be for an old compound, undergoing early phonetic reduction of the second element, *grēne-dor* or *-dūre* 'door/gate (leading) to the green'; cf. *green gate* in Waithe in the 17th century (4: 181).

The first element of *Scalumsyke hyll* (1457) is likely to be a compound of Sc. **skāli* and **holm-* or of the same words borrowed into ME.

Stanname (1609) probably also contains **holm-* and may be for OE *stān holm* 'ston(y) raised ground in marsh', though *hamm* is possible, as is an OE dative plural.

See also two names mentioned under ROWSEY below.

A document in the Nelthorpe archive in the LAO dated 1733 (not more precisely identified in PN L) presents a name-landscape which is significantly different from the medieval one. It contains some strange forms which lead to the suspicion that more early names have survived than is at first apparent. *Athelberd holm* (1409) may have survived in *Arthura (Peice)*; *Halylees* (1457) in *Harry lees*; and *Littelblamild* (1409) in *(Short) Blemans* (cf. the 12th-century name *Nordlangblamild* in adjacent Tetney, PN L 6: 164, and *north bleamons* (1822) in North Thoresby, PN L 4: 171). These last may originate in *blā(w)-*mylde* 'blue earth', conjecturally representing a local variation, in three abutting parishes, of the generally brown soils derived from the Boulder Clay. The current OS drift map shows little differentiation of surface geology in this area, and the soils in closely adjacent areas are relatively homogeneous Holderness-type deposits (George 1986: 14–16). But since these are subject to local seasonal waterlogging, one might conjecture that the use of *blā(w)*, in a sense 'cold, cheerless' shared with its Sc. cognate, indicates a restricted area particularly subject to this deficiency before modern drainage, perhaps in the general area of Waithe Beck.

Each of these three proposed associations relies (in part, in the first case) on the interchange of the alveolar resonant consonants /n/, /l/ and /r/ which are notoriously prone to intersubstitution, and each of the three pairs is related by dissimilation or assimilation at a distance.

A Headland called HOUNTON (Cleethorpes)

This headland recorded in 1784 must be associated with *Hountaine Close* recorded in 1690 in the hamlet of Hole (PN L 5: 31, 35), with a spelling perhaps suggested by the rhyme with *fountain* and *mountain*. The name itself is inscrutable, unless it is for **hound-thorn*, i.e. *hound's thorn*, supposedly a name for *Rosa canina*, the dog-rose (OED-2), though not recognized by Grigson (1975), or more likely for Sc. **hund(a)-tann(u)-* (ON *hund-tǫnnr*) 'dog-tooth', with a possible allusion to the shape of the headland.

IMMINGHAM LOUGH (Immingham)

This late-recorded, and now lost, name of a stream leading to the haven (1828; PN L 2: 165) seems certain to contain an instance of the OE *luh* 'pool', to all appearances also in *Lutton* (Holland; Cameron 1998: 83–4). The special character of a *luh* should be emphasized. The word seems to be a borrowing from Celtic. Its Brittonic reflex is seen in Welsh *llwch*, which now means specifically a tidal pool, i.e. one replenished by each tide (cf. CPNE: 152 on its cognates in Cornish and Breton) and there is no topographical obstacle to such an original meaning for the present name for the stream flowing in what is now reclaimed marshland.

The IMPITED MIDDOW (Waithe)

Two documents from the Haigh collection in the LAO, dating from *c.* 1650 and 1723, contain more than their fair share of problematic spellings. The above form is taken from the earlier one, and the later one contains references to subdivisions of meadow in Waithe, "several of which are said to be *Impitt.* or *Impitted* " (PN L 4: 181). There is no obvious solution, but the crucial word may represent a blend of *empight* and **empitched*, i.e. a blend of the strong and weak participles of the verb **empitch*, for a possible meaning of which see the verbal sense of *pitch* 5a in OED-2, 'set, fix, plant', exemplified by "In stiff Soyls, if the Crops be not early pitch'd .... the Roots never spread or shoot deeper" (1688, from the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*). Perhaps, therefore, amounting to 'meadow planted with setts of grass or with saplings'.

It cannot be ruled out that the crucial word is simply a morphologically elaborated form of *pitted*, though this word does not appear to be on record in a topographical sense.

ITLINGS (North Coates)

This field-name (PN L 4: 147) first appears in *Lytyll Etling* in 1529. It is explicitly called "pasture" in 1710, and it is surely from OE *ete-land*, meaning exactly that, assimilated to the locally frequent Early Mod.Eng. element *ing(s)* whose range also covers the same meaning. Significantly, the element *ete* is recorded in the same parish in the lost *Summereat (Lane)* and in *five Closes called Etts's* (PN L 4: 145, 146).[14]

JENNY WINTON (Glentworth)

Cameron (PN L 6: 165) cites this modern field-name with "sic", and clearly finds it doubtful. However, there is also *Ginny winks* in Willoughton (PN L 6: 214), so the Glentworth form has a case to answer. I suggest that, whatever its precise morphology, the name alludes to the wren, frequently locally called *jenny wren*. The connection is made more probable by what is said to be a more recent replacement of the name in Willoughton, namely *Kitty winks*. Lockwood (1984: 89) records *jenny/jinny*, *juggy* and *kitty* as the three local names of the wren derived from female personal names. *Wink* may be the negative polarity item recorded from the 16th century onwards, '(not) the smallest amount' (as in *not sleep a wink*), and the reference may be to a very small piece of land (cf. Field 1993: 76, 130; and cf. Cameron's own note on *the Jene wren garth* attested in 1579 in Marshchapel (PN L 4: 129), which incidentally antedates the previous earliest record of this expression by 59 years, cf. Lockwood 89). Or if this name is truly ancient but ill-recorded, it may include the OE *wince* 'winch' seen in *lapwing* and alluding to this bird's erectile crest (Lockwood 93–4); in the case of the wren it may allude to its cocked tail.

JUICETRUMP HILL (Belchford)

This enigmatic name (Robinson 2002) for a hill and possible Neolithic long barrow has no known early spellings. It must be relatively modern, as it is evidently for *Jew's trump*, i.e. an alternative and slightly earlier (1545) name for a Jew's harp (1595; see under *trump*, sb[1], 1(b), in OED-2 and at a lemma of its own). The same partly phonological, partly analogical, change can also be seen in the normal name for the musical instrument in this excerpt from the Jew's Harp Guild webpage:

> *A dictionary of contemporary American usage* (New York 1957), p. 259, reports a recent trend: 'Jew's Harp (Jews' Harp); juice harp. For over 400 years the instrument ... has been connected in English with the Jew's [sic] ... Whether any derogation was originally intended is not known but it is apparently believed that some might now be felt, for the instrument is invariably referred to in radio and television programs as a juice harp. Considering the drooling that often accompanies amateur performances on the thing, this is a fairly ingenious emendation, and considering the fact that it is only on radio and television programs that children hear of the instrument at all any more, the new names [sic] probably better established among the young than the old name, and one more word has undergone one more preposterous change.' [URL: www.jewsharpguild.org/history.html/; revised 10/2002; visited 09/12/2002]

What such a word might imply when applied to a place is a mystery, but formally there is nothing else to explain the name. Perhaps it is nothing more than a folk-etymology. The kind of thing which might have suffered mangling, and which might be applicable to a barrow, is the *Giltarump* found as the name of a small island in Sandsting, Shetland, from Sc. *gyltarumpa* meaning 'immature sow's backside' (Gammeltoft 2005: 120) – or even *goðsrumpa* 'idol's backside', with euphemistic distortion.

Juicetrump Hill, near Belchford. Copyright © David Redhouse (2003), http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/~dir21/gallery/tn/juice_trump_hill.png.html/

KIRK CHOOME (North Kelsey)

This minor place, recorded in similar spellings from 1662 till 1703 when we find *cerkome* (PN L 2: 192), is unlikely for topographical reasons to contain *cumb* as Cameron tentatively suggests. Probably it should be compared with the many names in Lincolnshire containing *holm-* 'raised land in marsh' or perhaps even with *(W)home Close* and *(W)home Platt* in

this parish. The *holm-* suggestion is preferable since the *(W)home* names do not occur without a generic.

LARAM CLOSE (Claxby)

This and similar forms, recorded from 1625 onwards (PN L 3: 21), seem likely to be for Sc. *leir-holm-* 'mud marsh-island/water-meadow, etc.'. *Holm-* is found in the parish in *Langham* and *Rye Holme*. Cameron's tentative explanation from *(a)larm* does not carry conviction.

Leeches at large (cf. also *Blodram Carr* in section 1 above)

The form *highelmar'* and the like in Brocklesby (PN L 2: 71) is surely not an example of OE *hygel* 'hillock', but of a word for 'leech', most likely Sc. *iγil* if the second element is Sc. *mar-* 'marsh'. The name appears to be paralleled, with a semantically restricted range of generics ('pool', 'marsh', 'moor'), by *Igel meere* (1578; Ludborough, PN L 4: 29); *Ygelmare* (t. Hy III; East Halton, 2: 158); *Higelmare* (1147x1166; North Ormsby, 4: 35, with discussion); *Igelmarre* (1451x1453; North Thoresby, 4: 176); *Iglemore* (*c.* 1650; Waithe, 4: 181) and *Yghelkerholm* (t. Hy III; Healing, 5: 109); in some cases where the generic may be English, we may find not Sc. *iγil* (ON *igill*) but an OE cognate.[15] Perhaps also relevant is *Ickledam* in Ulceby (1762; 2: 295). The dates of some of these, and the modern pronunciation in the rare instances where this can be deduced or discovered in the field, suggest that the source of the first element, whether OE or Sc., had undergone a phonetic change, namely that the fricative had developed to a plosive [g] before (a syllabic) /l/.[16] This is paralleled, though an irregular later development has obscured the fact, in *Inglemire* (Kingston upon Hull; PN YE: 213); it was in modern times also *Igglemire*, and appeared as *Illemere* (i.e. for *I[γ]lemere*?) in its earliest attestation in 1282. This change may have been more general, as something similar is required to account for the development of the settlement-name *Hagnaby* and others, containing the Sc. personal name with the ON form *Haghni*.

LOSKOW HILL, LOSCOW SLACK CLOSES (Alkborough)

PN L (6: 8) equates the base-name here with the *Loscoe* found in Codnor and Repton (PN Db: 434, 653) and plausibly derived from Sc.*loft-skōg-* 'wood with a loft-house'. But the two 14th-century records of the Alkborough name, *loskehoudale* and *estloskhow*, do not suggest the same

etymon at all. The Derbyshire names show early forms in *Loft-* and the Repton one has consistent medial <-e-> between the two elements, never between the <sk> and the <h>. Medial <h> is found once in the Codnor name but not preceded by <e> and in a run of forms which leaves no doubt about the origin. In Alkborough, however, the <hou>/<how> may well be for frequent and widespread **haug-* 'mound'. The first element is more inscrutable.

If we could be sure that the place was at a major promontory of the Lincoln Edge, we might toy with the alternative idea that it was Sc. **log-skagi* 'fire-headland',[17] suitably close to the northern extremity of the Lincoln Edge and visible from afar over the Trent-Ouse marshes. The (many) forms available do not allow us to be certain whether the name was first applied to a hill or to a "slack" or valley.

MANLEY wapentake

Cameron (1998: 85) suggests that the first element may be the Sc. personal name *Manni* and the second possibly Sc. **hlīð* 'slope', and that the latter may have been replaced by OE *lēah*. However, other Sc./ON words suit the medieval spellings at least as well as **hlīð*. These include especially **leið* 'journey, way, road, seaway', relevantly extended in Icelandic usage to mean 'late summer assembly' (see e.g. *Víga-Glúms saga*, ch. 25, Turville-Petre 1960), allowing a new hypothesis that an English wapentake might be named using the same word. ON *vápnatak* is, after all, originally a term for the action that dissolved the meeting of a *þing*, not for the *þing* itself. I envisage a word for the assembly **manna-leið* 'assembly of men' or, formally indistinguishably, 'of Manni' (cf. *manna-mót* 'meeting'), being used as the name for the place of assembly. Regrettably, it is not known for sure where the wapentake met. The existence of Manby in Broughton, in this wapentake, may be significant; see also the note on MORTAL ASH HILL below. The legal meaning of the term *leið* is restricted to Iceland, but the presence of Icelanders in England is by no means ruled out, nor is the possibility that they brought some of their cultural baggage with them. The basic sense of *leið*, 'way', is found in England in the first element of the word seen in *Legram* 'waymark (e.g. on a tree)' in Marton (PN YW 5: 88) and other places.[18]

Another, remoter, possibility might be *leit* 'hill', not hitherto noted as an element and therefore unlikely here. Improbable for phonological reasons – spellings in <e> predominate over those in <i> – is Sc. **hlið* 'gate, gap', and in any case this is found for certain only in names of actual town gates in York and Lincoln (EPNE 1: 253).

MATUYNGHOW (Glentham)

This apparent barrow-name of 1307 (PN L 6: 161) has a first element recalling Icelandic *matvinnungur* 'man given board and lodging in lieu of wages' or, less plausibly, Sc. **mat-fang(u)-* 'provisions'. Possibly, therefore, Sc. **mat-winnunga haug-* 'mound of the men given board'?

Place called MEWITH, *MEWYTH* (Barton upon Humber) – also new element Sc. **meið-*

This 16th/17th-century item is perhaps Sc. **meið-við-* 'pole wood' (ON *við*r), i.e. a place where poles were got.

MICKLEBERRY HILL (Mumby)

Mickleberry Hill (Cameron 1998: 88) was a large apparently subconical mound of unknown nature and origin, topped by a triangulation pillar marked on the early 6″ series of OS maps (1888–91). It stood at NGR TF 527735. The nearest spot heights now are 2 and 3 metres, and to judge by an aerial photograph available through <www.old-maps.co.uk>, provided by Getmapping plc (visited 10/12/2003), it has been completely ploughed out, though the eye of faith peering through the lens of the 19th-century map can detect a slight difference of soil colour where it once was. Its name is explained by Cameron as Sc. *mikill berg* 'the big hill'. Formally, this is fine. Gelling and Cole (2000: 145–52) take the Sc. word to be applicable to natural hills, including drumlins in otherwise flat country (and Mickleberry was clearly not a drumlin, i.e. 'ridge of material left by a retreating glacier'), whilst the OE equivalent *beorg* may in the South Country have been applied to artificial mounds. The editors of VEPN (1: 88–90) do not distinguish the Sc. and OE terms, either in form or application. To the best of my knowledge, however, there are no clear cases of the Sc. term being applied to an artificial mound, for which their own characteristic term in this area was **haug-*. The present name might therefore be for the equivalent OE *(se) micla beorg*, since we know that *beorg* can mean '(burial) mound' rather than, or as well as, 'hill (with a rounded profile)'. If the mound was artificial (at least as perceived by the Anglo-Saxons), the balance would tip decisively in favour of English origin.

Whatever Mickleberry Hill was, burial-mounds are in evidence in this region generally. There is a set of eleven or more at Butterbump Farm[19] between Willoughby and Cumberworth, two miles (3 km) away at TF

493723, and the name *Thrumber Marsh Lane* in Mumby seems to testify to three further mounds known by the (Anglian) OE term *berg*, if, as it appears, the name is for *(æt) þrim bergum*. (For an assessment of extant and lost round barrows in Lincolnshire, see May 1976: 68–83; map on 72.)

MORTAL ASH HILL (Appleby, Scunthorpe)

The meeting-place of Manley Wapentake is unknown, but it has long been thought possible that it was connected with Manby in Broughton; Cameron speculates that the meeting place was "on the slopes west of Manby" (PN L 6: 4). A little over a mile south and south-east of Manby, the A18 former trunk road ascends the Cliff at a place called *Mortal Ash Hill*. This name has no early records (PN L 6: 14). I was surprised to find it on the map and in PN L in this form only. My father used to tell me, as a child, that it was really called *Mottle Ash Hill* and implied that the current name was a joke alluding to how dangerous the road was. I suspect he was right, and these shards of information conspire to suggest that the road-bearing hill takes its name from some *mæðl-æsc* or 'speech ash-tree' like that which gave its name to Matlask in Norfolk (PN Nf 3: 23; this name has Sc. **ask-* substituted for OE *æsc*). Matlask may have been the meeting-place of North Erpingham hundred (Arngart 1934–9, 3: 160). I suggest that Manley wapentake met at an ash-tree on this hill, close to but not at Manby, but the very late appearance of the name in the record encourages caution.

MOTHERBY HILL (Lincoln)

This street-name, on record since 1649, is said to be of obscure origin (PN L 1: 83). It probably contains a surname. Mark Needham, a contributor to an <ancestry.co.uk> message board on 28/07/2000, reported: "I have a number of Motherby, Motherbie and Motherbee's from Snaith, Yorkshire, England, from about 1570 to 1850 ...". Snaith is only some 37 miles (59 km) from Lincoln and separated from Lincolnshire only by Thorne Waste. The surname presumably originates from Motherby in Cumberland (PN Cu: 198); the range of its medieval spellings in the surname-forming period, e.g. *Aymunderby* (1226, 1242), makes the nearer Amotherby (PN YN: 45) an improbable source.

NASHOBA and other local names (Swinhope)

This field, on record since the tithe apportionment (1842; PN L 4: 163), probably recalls a place with this name (Algonquian for '(the) between-water', i.e. 'middle creek'; Stewart 1970: 318), the Nashoba Valley in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, USA. (There are names of a different "English" form of similar origin in Vermont and New Hampshire, and the place has carried enough significance for its name to be copied further west. There are others of the same form but of different origin elsewhere in the USA.)

There is another field in Swinhope whose name excites speculation, namely *Rousselet* (*TA*). A medieval French derivation is mooted in PN L (4: 164), but an alternative story may carry a more viable germ of conviction. *Rousselet* is probably best known in Roman Catholic circles as the surname of Louis de Rousselet, the first known priest to celebrate mass in Boston, Mass., in 1788, for a French and Irish congregation (www.bostonfamilyhistory.com/ir_1750.html/ (2001); visited 02/07/2004). It is at least suggestive that both these leads point to places in Massachusetts only 23 miles apart. Given that the Regans had a farm in Swinhope in 1825, and that the husband at least must have been of Irish ancestry, it may be that there is a tale to be told which links all three: Massachusetts, the fields and the family.

Whilst in Swinhope, we might note that the otherwise inexplicable *Port Hill* in the tithe award is also the name of a locality in Prince Edward Island, Canada, where it had been exported from a place close to Bideford, Devon, before 1855.

NEBELL HEMPLANDE (Snitterby) and NEEBLY's (Middle Rasen)

The settlement name *Newball* (in Stainton by Langworth) uniquely in England, according to current scholarship, contains OEScand. *bøle* 'dwelling' (not *bōle* as printed in Cameron 1998: 90). If this name was a Scandinavian creation, it has had its first element anglicized as *new*. Could this name-form, with both elements in their original Sc. phonological form, **nȳ-bǣle*, be the source of (the surname found in) the name of the field *Nebell hemplande* in Snitterby in 1588 (PN L 6: 207)[20] and the strange and otherwise unaccountable field-name Neebly's (*nebly* in around 1575) in Middle Rasen (PN L 3: 109)? If so, these field-names must indicate farms once new that have since been abandoned as a separate entity, or incorporate a surname deriving from the site in Stainton.[21]

If this theory is to hold water, we need to review a point of historical phonology in detail. Sc. **/y:/* usually gives ME /iː/, modern /ai/ (e.g. **mȳr-*,

modern *mire*). But note ME (*Pearl*, line 431) *freles*, *sc. frēlę̄s* 'blameless' ('flawless', Watts 2005), which may be compared with ON *frýjulaust* 'blamelessly' and is likely to be borrowed from it (with minimal adaptation of the suffix to its normal English form). Mätzner's emendation to <frīelēs> (cited by Björkman 1900: 117) appears to be proposed just so as to preserve the regularity of the correspondence Scand. /y:/ = ME /i:/ by making the attested *frēlę̄s* into a native English word and thereby eliminating the anomalous correspondence, so it cannot be used without circularity as evidence against my proposal about *Neebly's*, which also requires /y:/ = /e:/. Gordon (1953: 100) analyses the ME form as borrowed from a hypothetical earlier form of the Scand. word having */ø(:)/, the effect of which proposal is also to preserve the regularity of the key correspondence. But since the *i/j*-mutation which he believes produced the /y:/ in ON is generally reckoned as being complete by 900 C.E. (apparently Gordon's own view; 1957: 272), that leaves little time after the first arrival of the Great Army in 865 for Danish settlers to leave the older form in English vocabulary (unless it survived dialectally – an extra layer of hypothesis). It still therefore appears likely that the word *freles* in *Pearl* shows the same unusual correspondence with its Scandinavian source proposed for *Nebell* and *Neebly's*, and the proposal made here is therefore phonologically defensible.

For further possible instances of *bǣle*, see *ATTE BELE* above in this section.

PEAK'S TUNNEL (Weelsby, Grimsby)

This unofficial name, well known to the writer as a child, is a true onomastic curiosity. It was attached to a now-demolished absolutely standard East Lincolnshire Railway bridge, built of brick, carrying a farm track across the railway near Peak's Farm, from which it took its name. Although it was approached from both north and south by a short cutting, there was nothing remotely tunnel-like about it; indeed, its parapet was the highest point for some distance in any direction. The bridge has been replaced by a modern one over the road (A16; Peak's Parkway) which occupies the former trackbed, and the former Peak's Farm (NGR TF 282068) is now called, as if conjuring ghosts, *Peaks Tunnel Farm*. I have even seen the replacement bridge referred to as *Peak(')s Tunnel Bridge* in local ephemera.

(MEADOW and PASTURE) PIPSEY (Toft by Newton)

This field-name, on record since the early 17th century consistently without a generic, is obscure, but it is hard to dissociate it from the *pips* said to mean 'spots' of various kinds, or the corolla of the cowslip or primrose, in a dialect glossary for north-west Lincolnshire, in fact for the wapentakes whose eastern boundary is barely ten miles from Toft (Peacock 1889: 407). Possibly therefore a noun meaning 'spots', in a hypocoristic form, of the kind seen in *(Old) Smokey*; or 'place marked by cowslips or the like' (cf. *the Gowle alias Cowslipp Hill* in Barton upon Humber (1649), PN L 2: 45).

RATE DYKES, Bottom and Top RATE SYKE (Waddingham)

PN L (6: 115) gives no interpretation of these names, which presumably offer evidence of flax- or hemp-retting in the parish in the 18th and 19th centuries, just as *Line Dykes* in Owmby by Spital does (PN L 6: 200). There are similar names in other parishes (e.g. Winterton), and it seems certain that the *rat pittes*, *Rate pyttes* and *rate pitt (way)* in 17th-century Waddingham, Bottesford and Scawby respectively (PN L 6: 117, 25, 108) are not to do with rats as Cameron suggests, but with retting; *rate pit* '[a] pit in which hemp or flax was "rated"' is given by Peacock, the dialect lexicographer of this area (1889: 433), and he quotes from manorial records of Bottesford in 1571 (in desperate legalese) "vnum le ratepitt"; he adds: "[t]races of these pits are to be seen at Bottesford, Holme, and many other places".

Is it possible that the pre-1800 *Rotten Sykes* in Winteringham (PN L 6: 122) alludes to the same process and that it is a folk-etymological alteration of *ret* or a relative, due to the stench given off by the retting process, or indeed to an accurate perception of the decomposition process that retting involves? (See Higham 1992: 62 on this, and on flax-processing in general.)

A further possibility is that *Flaxwell* wapentake in Kesteven (44–5) takes its name from a stream where retting was done, rather than one where flax simply grew (cf. Higham 1992: 63 on this distinction in local names in *Lin-*). Such a stream would have to be slow-flowing, or controlled into pools; unfortunately the site of the meeting-place is not known, but if this interpretation is correct it will limit the total of possible candidates identifiable on the ground.

RED CHALK HILL (North Willingham)

This is not named from red ochre or reddle (*pace* PN L 3: 184), which is a naturally-pigmented clay, but from the Red Chalk, a conspicuous geological deposit, "perhaps the most striking rock in the Wolds in that its outcrop provides remarkable splashes of red which stand out so prominently in this landscape of colourful soils" (Swinnerton and Kent 1981: 67; see also Berridge and Pattison 1994: 31). Note also *Re(a)d Hill* in the adjacent parish of Tealby (PN L 3: 145, 149), along with similarly-named hills elsewhere exposing the same stratum, e.g. at the nature reserve at Goulceby (NGR TF 263808), Donington on Bain (TF 246826), and Nettleton Chalk Pit (TF 126982). The exposures of this stratum, which underlies the white Chalk, are rather infrequent, hence especially striking and likely to generate a place-name.[22]

RISTALMARE, etc. (Fulstow)

This name, recorded from 1366 till about 1638 (PN L 4: 95), is unsatisfactorily explained. Cameron offers no comment on the final element, and suggests that the first may be an OE compound *rȳge-stall* 'place where rye grows', but that that is uncertain. It seems to me more likely to be for Sc. **ristil-mar-* 'ploughshare marsh' (for the second element, cf. **mar-aur-* in section 2), indicating marshland that has been brought under cultivation. The most suggestive spelling in this respect is *Ristilmares* from 1408. Following Cameron, however, *-mar* in Lincolnshire may often represent OE *gemǣre* 'boundary'; in which case the appearance of a Sc. specifying element would need careful evaluation. It may be that Cameron's attachment to the English element *gemǣre*[23] has made him consider the Scandinavian **ristil-* unlikely in composition with it.

(GREAT) ROWSEY (HOLT) (Waltham)

The base-name *Rowsey* is recorded from 1601 in such local names as *Rowsoe dyke*, *Rowsoe hill*, later *Rowsay*, *Rowsey*, *Rowsie*. Cameron (PN L 4: 184) declines to offer an etymology on account of the lateness and variety of the forms, but they are entirely consistent in the dialect conditions of Lincolnshire with an origin in **Rōlfs haug-* 'Rōlf's mound'. Elsewhere in Waltham, a name is found varying in the seventeenth century between *Buccow/-oe* and *Buckey* which Cameron interprets as containing **haug-*. See also FOOTSEY above in this section. The same pattern may also be seen in a pair of names in the adjacent parish of Holton le Clay; a

C(h)athowe is recorded from the 15th century, which is presumably 'cat mound', and an ostensibly distinct *Cattsay* is found in 1733 when the run of *C(h)athowe* forms has come to an end. The latter may be explained as a development of **katt-haug-* with a modern specious genitive marker on the first element; compare *Brigesdale* (also in Holton le Clay) in 1609 for consistent earlier *Brig(ge)dale*.

SCHAUHACRES, SELVE ACRES (Nettleton) – ? also new element **scāf/*skeif-*

Cameron (PN L 2: 248, 244) alerts the reader to the possible relation between the two name-sets exemplified in the heading. There are certainly grounds to suspect a connection, but none can be shown conclusively. The issue of the origin of the older set (recorded from 1245 in the form in the heading) remains unresolved. I suggest we consider OE **scāf* 'crooked, splayed', as in the attested adjective *sceāf-fōt* 'splay-footed', cognate with North Frisian *skiaf* and ultimately related to (though not strictly cognate with) German *schief* 'slanting'. The run of forms for the Nettleton name (e.g. *Sheve-* 1577, *Shaue- c.* 1580, *sheaue* 1662) may suggest a blend of the OE word with its Sc. cognate **skeif-* (the OE form would regularly become **shove* /ʃəuv/), the whole name meaning 'crooked ploughlands', a common type of name exemplified in the many *Wronglands* and the like in this county (containing Sc. **wrang-* (ON *vrangr*) 'crooked'; at random, PN L 3: 144, 5: 144). Neither **scāf* nor **skeif-* has been suggested before in place-names, so far as I know.

SHORLES LANE (South Kelsey) See *SORRY LESSE LANE*.

The SLAWN (Healing)

This field-name is tentatively explained by reference to *slane* 'turf-cutting spade' "used in some topographical sense" (PN L 5: 107). This is hard to understand. The phonology makes a derivation from *slone*, the plural or south-country singular of *sloe* 'sloe, blackthorn' more likely. The base-word is the OE noun of unknown gender *slā*, but there is also a recorded strong form *slāg*, also of uncertain gender (Campbell 1959: 251). The suggested etymon of the name is a blend, having the phonology of the strong form (which gives the dialectal pronunciation) and the morphology of the weak form (which gives the current standard pronunciation and the *-n* plural). The vowel of the word thus develops as a reflex of OE /a:g/

rather than of /aː/ (see Wright 1905: 104; LAE maps Ph189b, 190b). This suggested etymology is reinforced by the occasional appearance late in the record of what is historically a double plural, *Slawns*, indicating that the (need for the) plurality of the original expression continued to be understood.

Possibly, but not at all certainly, this might also account for the first element of *Slundale* recorded in 1638 in Redbourne (PN L 6: 92).

SNEERBRECLANDES (Glentham)

This late-13th century field-name is left unexplained by Cameron (PN L 6: 162). In the same charter roll, however, is a form *Breclandes* (6: 160) which is explained as being for **Bretlandes* and equated with the *Bredlaundes*, *-bretlandes* found in other medieval documents. The first element of this may be a blend of near-synonymous reflexes of OE *brēc* 'breach, land taken into cultivation' and Sc. **broti* 'broken land, cleared land', often found in minor place-names in England (VEPN 2: 45). The first element of the name in the heading is presumably a ME reflex of OE *snēr* (or perhaps *snearu*) 'trap', an ablaut-relative of the element **snōr* 'thing twisted (like a noose/rope); road curving diagonally across a gradient' identified by Gelling (1997). So, '(newly) broken land associated with a/the trap'. More straightforwardly, the base-word in the once-recorded more complex name may just be *Breach-lands*, so to speak, irrespective of the origin of *Bredlaundes/-bretlandes*.

SODHIGATE HEUEDE, *SODHYGATHEUDE* (Fillingham)

This mid-13th century minor name is described as "obscure" (PN L 6: 153), but it is surely a form, suffering attrition in the compound with ME *hēved* 'head', of the contemporary *Suddicgate*, *Suddikegate* 'south dyke road' in the same parish. Although they too are given separate entries, there is room to suspect that the *Sittingate (side)* found in 1638 and the *City Gate (Furlong)* of 1700/1724 are the same place, both showing clear but divergent effects of folk-etymology.

SORRY LESSE LANE, SHORLES LANE (South Kelsey)

Cameron (PN L 3: 46) does not equate these forms, but it is probable that they name the same lane, which also appears as *Sorrtles lane* (really *Sorriles*?) and *Surrilusse Lane*, all four forms dating from 1591–1619. The

simplest explanation for them all is that they contain ME *sorghe-lę̄s or Sc. *sorga-laus- 'carefree', presumably as a by-name or surname, which might also account for its short life if the bearer moved on or died. The surname *Sorrowless* is recorded from Yorkshire in the 13th and 14th centuries (Reaney and Wilson 1991: 418). That is consistent with Scandinavian origin, but it also appears in London coroner's rolls. Another lane in South Kelsey in the early-modern period (e.g. the lost *plummer lane (end)*, 1634) also had a name compounding a surname directly with *lane*.

SPOROW COTE (Barrow upon Humber)

This appears several times between 1589 and 1607 (PN L 2: 28), and as *Spurrowcoategarth* in 1633. At the same time, the record contains forms in *Sparrow*, and Cameron takes the name as deriving from the surname of this form. However, also in Barrow is *Spur Howk*. Although this is attested later than the other names (1709 only), it seems likely to represent the source of *Sporow*; that would account for the spellings in <o> and <u> which constitute the *lectio difficilior*, and the /k/ would easily disappear before another /k/ in the longer compound name seen in 1633. *Howk* could be a late reflex of the ME *halke* 'corner, nook' which is found in Cambridgeshire field-names (PN C: 328) and more rarely elsewhere, e.g. Marshchapel (PN L 4: 129: *le halke*) and North Thoresby (PN L 4: 176: *Cromeholmehalce*), both 16th century (the latter is surely not *halh* as suggested in PN L). This word is seen also in Barrow Hawk (a current name) elsewhere in the parish (PN L 2: 17, 22), described as "common ground" in 1649. Spur Howk and Barrow Hawk could be the same place, as no other *halke*s have turned up in the parish; the latter could even be a phonological rationalization of the former under the influence of the parish-name. The presumably original *spur* remains unexplained in this context,[24] and there is nothing on the map suggesting what the *halke* might be; Barrow Hawk is not on the parish boundary.

THE SPROTHORNS (Stallingborough)

On record as *Sprouthorn* since 1333 (PN L 2: 270), this minor name may have as its first element Sc. *sproti 'sprout; rod, switch', though this is better indicated by the modern spelling and pronunciation than the medieval one. That seems more likely than that the name is English and contains the cognate OE *sprota*, since this word is recorded only in the less specific and non-functional sense 'twig, shoot' (EPNE 2: 140).

SUDDLE SPRING (Keelby)

This, and the wood named after it, are right on the south-eastern parish boundary of Keelby. It is the more southerly of the two springs feeding Caddle Beck (the other being *Caddle Head*), and there is no spring further south in the parish; so there is no obstacle to taking it as 'south well', despite Cameron's caution (PN L 2: 175).

SUKKABUR LAND (Barrow upon Humber)

Recorded once, in 1549, this cries out to be equated with *Sokomer thinge* recorded about the same time (PN L 2: 28) and to be explained as a mangled version of Sc. *sōknar land* and *sōknar þing*, interpreted as 'land of, property of the parish'. The latter term is actually on record in ON, with the meaning 'parliament with legal activities', but hardly in that sense here. A much-eroded version of the same name may be found as the following item.

SUKON LAND (Winterton)

This name found in 1770, unexplained in PN L (6: 129; earlier (all 1614) *Sugan*, *Sukan*, *Suken*), might be viewed as identical to the previous item, or at any rate as the compound *sōkn-land* with an uninflected first element (my preferred solution). If it is neither of these, perhaps it contains *sucken* in one of its two senses (taken from OED-2): (a) 'compulsory resort of a tenant to a [particular, RC] mill for the grinding of his corn', or (b) 'liquid manure', 'moisture collecting in the soil' (cf. Healey 1997: 36, under *sock*, for sense (b); also Sutton 1881: 120 'water soaking away from a manure-heap'). The OED entry is based on that in EDD, in which we find that the first of these meanings is mainly Scots, is elliptical for *bond-sucken*, and does not seem to have been current south of Durham, and that the second appears confined to Lakeland, and may have implied land that was productive despite its physical qualities. The appearance of the Winterton name as *Sukon Meadow* in 1771 makes a sense akin to (b) more likely, but the geographical gap needs to be bridged. The word is first found in the work of the prominent 17th-century horticultural writer William Lawson (1618), who is known to have been a northerner. It is not certain exactly from where he hailed, but he has been shown to have been vicar of Ormesby (YN) for many years (Thick 2003). If he was native thereabouts, then it appears that his word *sucken* was not always confined to the Lake District, and it may, with appropriate caution, be considered here.

THORNS, some unusual names for

Aberthorn (Pits)
This local name found in 1625 in Messingham (PN L 6: 83) may contain *hagberry*, a widespread word for the bird-cherry (*Prunus padus*) recorded from Yorkshire (Grigson 1975: 177). This name may be 'hawthorn like, or by, a bird-cherry', or with the original tree-name reinterpreted as if 'hag-berry', i.e. 'haw-berry', an alternate form of *hawthorn.*

Blowthorns
A minor name in Redbourne (PN L 6: 90), presumably for Sc. **blā-þorn* 'blue-black thorn' in an English plural form. The adjective may also imply 'cheerless, exposed' (VEPN 1: 109). This word has previously been found used of a thorn-tree in Cuckney (PN Nt: 302). Cognate OE **blā(w)* is also a possibility, but for the philological difficulties with this, see VEPN 1: 109–10). The first element in *Blowthorne Sitwate* [situate? - RC] in Broughton (PN L 6: 30) is capable of being explained in the same way.

Butterthorn
This is a local name found in Bradley in the 13th and 17th centuries (PN L 5: 11, where the name is left unexplained). For a possible relation between hawthorn and butter, see HAWS in SED IV.11.6 (*butter-haws* in Norfolk, Essex and Oxfordshire (also Grigson 1975: 179) and *butter-herbs* in Essex). But the tree, as opposed to its berries, has few alternative names apart from *may* (from its blossoming-time) and *bread and cheese tree* (from its palatable young leaves). Given the many positive virtues attaching to the hawthorn in folklore, especially to ward off debility of all kinds, is it possible that this local name was the proper name of a particular tree and was for a Sc. **bōta(r)-þorn* 'cure or remedy thorn', assimilated to the English word?

Pethern (Field)
This field in the parish of Branston and Mere is first recorded *t.* Hy III as *Pesethorn* '(the) pea(se) thorn' (PN L 1: 202), and the etymology is formally transparent. It may, as Cameron suggests, have been a source of pea-sticks, but I do not find this deeply convincing. Why choose for your pea-sticks something that can rip your hands to bits when harvesting? The suspicion remains that the tree may have been an instance of *Crataegus laevigata*, the Midland or woodland hawthorn, which is distinguished by having multiple (usually two) seeds in each berry, vaguely suggesting peas in a pod, unlike the commoner *Crataegus monogyna* which has a single seed as the Linnaean name suggests. Arguably the rounded, as opposed to sloping, "shoulders" of the *C. laevigata* berry also make it more pea-like

than those of *C. monogyna*, especially when unripe. (For images, see Lang 1987: 95–8.) That said, such a term must have been local, since it does not appear in recorded dialect vocabulary or place-names elsewhere.

Pullythorne

This remarkable Cabourne name, presumably for a remarkable Cabourne thorn, is recorded in a variety of forms from the 12th century onwards, e.g. *polrunthorn*, *pullerthornis(-)*, *polirunthor(n-)*, *polrunthor(dayle)*, *Puluerthorndayle* (PN L 4: 68–9). It may contain a by-name or surname. Let us start from the similar surname *Pulleyblank*, which is claimed to derive from French *poil blanc* 'white hair' (Hanks and Hodges 1988: 426); if they are right, it is a *continental* French form of possibly as early as the mid-12th century (cf. Pope 1934: 104). But perhaps *pulain blanc* 'white foal', with dissimilative loss of the first <n>, accounts for the range of medieval spellings better and avoids the chronological complication. Following this model, one might suggest that the *pol(i)run* which occurs in the 13th-century forms of the name of the Cabourne thorn is for *pulain r(o)uan* 'roan foal'. In the French of England, undetermined phrasal surnames with the adjective preceding the noun are the most frequent (e.g. *Malvoisin*, *Curthose*, *Belcher*); but for the present suggestion we may compare the syntax of *Pauncefoot*, now generally accepted as deriving from *pance volte* 'vaulted belly' (Reaney 1967: 241), and of placename-surnames such as *Montfort* 'strong hill' and *Pomfret* 'broken bridge' (Reaney 1967: 313, 357).

See also THE SPROTHORNS above in this section.

THOWS (Thornton le Moor)

The most likely explanation of this name, found in the early 17th century with spellings in <aw>, then <ow> (PN L 3: 166–7), is that it contains OE *þō(h)* 'clay', or possibly its cognate Sc. **þā* (which might in this part of the Danelaw be expected to appear sometimes with modern /əu/, cf. frequent but not consistent *wro(e)* for Sc. **wrā* 'nook, etc.'). Compare the common, but dialectally not universal, modern *hoe* for OE *hōh* 'heel; hillspur, etc.'. The spellings with <aw> are difficult to account for in any case, but Cameron observes on the basis of his own collected evidence (PN L 2: 46) that "*Law* is a frequent spelling for *Low* in L[indsey] N[orth] R[iding]", allowing us to suppose that *thaw* may appear for *thow* for the same reason. Note also that the verb *thaw* may appear as *thow* in Lincolnshire (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 308), which offers an opportunity to explain this name by hypercorrection.

TID WILLOWS (Redbourne)

This name is in the 1841 Tithe Award (PN L 6: 91), i.e. well before W.S. Gilbert's libretto for *The Mikado* (1885). There is however no explanation; it is not in OED-2, in Grigson (1975), or in dialect dictionaries consulted – just as *tit willow* is not, but this appears to confirm that Gilbert did not invent the expression. Perhaps from *Salix triandra*, the almond willow, known as *kit willow* in Northamptonshire (Grigson 1975: 277), a plant of marsh and riverside? (Note that *kit willow* is not *pussy willow*, which is *Salix caprea*, whose buds are called *palm* in north Lincolnshire.)

TRACE HILL CLOSE etc. (Frodingham, Scunthorpe), TRACINGS etc. (Crosby, Scunthorpe) – ? and new element **trē-hūs*

These minor names (PN L 6: 53, 54, 61) may contain as their first element Sc. **trē-hūs* 'wooden house', which would very likely have evolved to [triəs] or [treəs], the latter being readily subjected to the hypercorrection of the local pronunciation of standard /ei/ as [eə] (LAE maps Ph60–9, Ph159–65 except those with a number followed by "b"), hence the identification with the word *trace*. *Tracings* is presumably **Trace Ings*; there are other instances of *Ings* in Crosby.

Le TYGYDAILE (Habrough)

This 13th-century name, appearing in MSS. from the reign of Edward I (1272–1307) also as *Thigdaile* and *Tygye dayle* (PN L 2: 147), is surely to be equated with the later *the tithe dalle* (1587). The second <y> is for <þ>. The <g> represents /j/, the possibility of which is guaranteed by *Tigelpittes* 'tile-pits' in the same parish at the same period. The name is thus 'the apportionment (*deill*) of a tenth/tithe'. The name is duplicated in North Kelsey from the 17th century (*Tythedaile*; PN L 2: 193), and in Winteringham (though in the plural) also in the 17th (*the Tyth Dayles*; PN L 6: 125).

WADDLE HILL (Barton upon Humber)

This field-name in Barton is analysed by John Insley (in PN L 2: 43) as containing an unrecorded OE **wædel* or **wadol* 'little ford'. This is perfectly possible philologically, and the suggestion cannot be refuted or confirmed because the exact location of the relevant feature is not known.

The base-name also appears in *Waddle hill Close* (1817) and *Waddelholegates* (early13th [after 1269]).

But a wider trawl reveals a further possibility. Elsewhere in Barton, and mentioned in the same Bardney Abbey document as *Waddelholegates*, is the strange-looking *Wadthekersting*. This may be best interpreted as containing *thing* '(possessed) parcel of land', which is indeed spelt <ting> elsewhere in the same document. The first element therefore must be a surname in the genitive case, and it may be a variant of *Waddicar* and the like 'woad acre [= 'woad field']', i.e. a surname from a local name, and perhaps with <dth> in an effort to render [ð], a scandinavianized reflex of OE [d]. (The name cannot itself be Scandinavian, since the base-word *woad* had no original cognate in North Germanic.) Perhaps, then, the base-name in *Waddle Hill* is itself a form meaning 'woad hill' (cf. *Wodells*, a 19th-century form of an original "Woad Hill" in Spratton Nth; Field 1972: 258; and *Odell*, PN Bd: 34), with the same kind of etymologically tautologous re-use of the word *hill* that is famously found in *Pendle Hill* (La): "Woadhill Hill".

Woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) was grown commercially on the marshes and fens of Lincolnshire till the 1930s, when two of the farms, having what have been claimed as the last working woad-mills in the world, closed down (Grigson 1975: 65).[25] This fact is reflected in the local names – which are still found on current OS maps – *Woad Farm* in Great Coates (PN L 5: 39) and *Woad Farm* in Skirbeck (Holland). It is also reflected in *Wad Acres*, corresponding to the suggested place-name embodied in the Barton surname, which was found in Immingham in the 13th century (PN L 2: 173; Field 1998: 108). Moreover, the surname *Blackman* occurred in Barton (in forms recorded in the 17th century; PN L 2: 44), and this has been shown by Field (1998: 110–11) to have associations with dyeing processes involving woad.

A place called WAT ENGLAND (Cleethorpes)

Taken by Cameron (PN L 5: 33) to derive from the name of a person (Wat [= Walter] England), this place recorded in 1784 is surely rather from a Sc. compound **wāt-* 'wet' (ON *vátr*), **eng* 'meadow', plus ME *land*. Cf. also *Watpasture* in Fulstow (PN L 4: 97), a 16th-century name which Cameron also associates with *Wat*. There is a clear suggestion here that **wāt-* was taken into local English dialect vocabulary.

WATER FEN (Ingham) and similar names nearby

This 1762 name is called "obscure" (PN L 6: 186), but the clue may be in the alternate form *Wakefen*, found earliest in 1674 (cf. *Wakefin* (1700) in the adjacent parish of Fillingham, PN L 6: 153) and earlier than *Water fen*.[26] A similar but unexplained *Wa(i)fin* is found in the 17th century in Caenby, on the dip slope of the Heights, unlike Ingham and Fillingham, but only a short way north-east of them across Ermine Street. An OE word **cwafen* 'quaking bog' was fairly convincingly reconstructed by Percy Reaney to explain four names in Cambridgeshire: *Quaveney* in Ely Trinity parish and *Quaney Field* in Tydd St Giles (PN C: 220, 288), both with *ēg*, and *The Quave* in Whittlesford and Bottisham (PN C: 98, 220). The Ingham name may be for this expression, folk-etymologized early to *quake-fen* (cf. the obsolete *quake-mire* in OED-2, Healey 1997: 30, under *quag*).[27] It seems to have been folk-etymologized yet again to *wake-* and then again, or alternatively, to *watre-/water-*, where the original example of <watre> (1690) may simply be a misreading of *wake* prompted by association with *fen*. *Quake-mire* in OED is of course for *quagmire*, and the range of early-modern forms recorded for this word includes spellings offering instructive parallels for the argument here: <qua->, <quake->, <quave->, <quaw-> and <wag->.

Ingham village is at the foot of The Cliff, and the name presumably relates to the lower western extremity of the parish where it abuts Coates, in land by the boundary stream which is now properly drained.

Minor names in WHITTON[28]

Willwick Hill Plantation, on current maps, contains the same name as the 17th/18th-century field(s) called *(the) Under-Wil(l)ock(s)*. Presumably the base-name was that of the modest hill which forms the extreme northern end of the limestone ridge of the Lincolnshire Heights (The Cliff); for the name-shape compare the parish-name *Underskiddaw* (PN Cu: 321) and other minor names in the index to the Cumberland Survey volumes (also Whaley 2006: 351–2). The etymology of the Whitton name is unknown. Wright (EDD 5: 497) gives *willock* as a Lincolnshire word for the shade-loving and sometimes invasive weed periwinkle (*Vinca major* – a Tudor introduction – and *minor*?). I have not found these plants referred to by any name in a place-name anywhere else.[29]

A Whitton glebe terrier of 1709 mentions *The Homestall* of the vicarage, presumably the *Homested* mentioned in the Enclosure Award of 1775 (PN L 6: 119). This piece of land was then thought to be under threat of erosion

by the Humber. The same replacement of generic in this name-form is found in Linwood (PN L 3: 60).

WICKERS BOTTOM and CLOSE (Owersby)

This minor name is recorded once in medieval times as *Wythcaste* (1280–5); Cameron annotates it with "sic" and calls the name obscure (PN L 3: 88–9). No later forms show the <th>. But this early form is interpretable and points clearly to a Sc. compound **wið-kast(u)-* 'wood-heap' (cf. ON *við-kǫstr*). Cameron does not link it with *Fosters Wyhasses* (1721; PN L 3: 90) in the same parish, but this is presumably really *Wykasses* with <h> and <k> confused in early-modern court hand (note *Wikas* for *Wickers* in the same document). The same element, previously undetected in names in England, is likely to be behind the lost *Wykast hill* (1546, South Kelsey; PN L 3: 47). South Kelsey is nearby but not adjacent – Thornton le Moor parish and Domesday manor intervened before it was absorbed by Owersby. The name appears, therefore, to be a recurrent one, rather than a single one covering an area in both parishes and represented in two later names.

WIPE MEER (Cleethorpes)

This field-name (PN L 5: 34) without doubt includes *wipe* in the dialect sense of 'lapwing' (Lockwood 1984: 168; Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 234) seen most often locally as *pyewipe* in various house-, inn- or farm-names (e.g. in Great Coates, Lincoln, Middle Rasen, Redbourne, and lost in Tetney); the second element is most likely *mere*. The same word is presumably found with **holm-* in *Wypeham*, a field-name found in 1601 in Scartho (PN L 5: 144), and recorded subsequently as *Vipum*; in *Wife* (earlier *Wipe*) *hill Dump* in Messingham (PN L 6: 86), and also in the lost *Wypdayl* found in the 14th century in West Rasen (PN L 3: 124).

WIRMODEWELLESICH (Nettleton)

This lost minor name is difficult to explain from a personal name (as claimed at PN L 2: 249), and a more attractive possibility is to take the first element as the OE plant-name *wermōd* 'wormwood, *Artemisia* spp.'; the whole is 'ditch at (or called?) Wormwood Spring/Stream'. This allows relatively simple interpretation of the <i> in the medieval spelling, and of the lack of a strong genitive singular marker.

WYBECK CLOSE (West Halton), WYEBECK CLOSE (Crosby and Gunness)

The most obvious interpretation of these field-names (and some related ones; PN L 6: 67, 55, 64) is that they contain Sc. *wīðir 'willow, withy' (ON víðir). *Wythburn* (PN Cu: 315) certainly does, and has 16th- to 18th-century forms of the type *Wyeborne*, which anticipate the modern pronunciation with /wai-/.

YAWD SYKE CLOSE (Tealby)

This item (PN L 3: 148) may contain Sc. *jalda* 'nag; mare', as claimed for the two 13th-century instances of *yaldehaudale* in Croxton and Killingholme (PN L 2: 102, 214); thus 'nag-ditch field'.

YBREVEDLAND and *YBRE PIT* (Glentham)

These names from a 14th-century document in the Foster archive concerning Glentham (PN L 6: 163) are obscure, but should probably be linked with the surname found in the name of a piece of possessed land *Ibrey Thinge* in Binbrook (12 miles to the east) in the 16th century (PN L 2: 13), enshrining a recorded local surname *Ibrey*, of unknown origin. The Glentham names would therefore be *Ibrey headland* and *Ibrey pit*.

YHOTENNESWELLEBEC, *YOTENWELLEBECK* (Canwick)

Whilst the original morphology of the name is in some doubt, these forms from the 13th and 14th century respectively (PN L 1: 215) suggest an origin in OE *gēotende* 'flowing strongly, pouring' + *welle* 'spring, stream', perhaps with the present participle influenced by the vowel of the past participle of *gēotan*, namely -*goten*. The verb, now obsolete in standard English, persisted in some dialects, where forms in <o> could be found even in the infinitive especially in the south-west (see *yote* in OED-2). Something of the same may have happened here. In the south-west the change is phonological rather than analogical (as suggested for here): the prominence pattern in the inherited diphthong was reversed. There are certainly parallels for the promotion of the second element of a diphthong after historic /j/ in eastern England: *gēap* 'steep, bent' appears as /jap/ not a shortening of */ji:p/ in Yapham and the associated *Yapecroft* (PN YE: 182–3), *gēac* 'cuckoo' as /jak/ not a shortening of */ji:k/ in Yaxham (Nf;

CDEPN: 709) and Yaxley (Hu; PN Hu: 201–2), and perhaps *gēoc* 'help, support' as /jo:k/ not */ji:k/ in Yokefleet (PN YE: 255–6; explained differently CDEPN: 711). In the case of this spring-name, the change must have occurred before the 11th-century monophthongization of /e(:)o/ to /ö(:)/, probably under Sc. influence of the kind that affected OE initial /æ:a/ in names such as Yaddlethorp (Cameron 1998: 146, paste-in) from *Ēadwulf*.[30]

5. French traces in medieval Lincoln

For the general plausibility of medieval French names and expressions in Lincoln's toponymy, note the support given by, e.g., *The Poultry* 'the poultry market', *The Grees* 'the steps' (later *Greestone Stairs*) and *The Mallendry* 'the hospital' (PN L 1: 33–4, 69–70 and 114). It seems possible that the following two items were true place-names, even if only in administrative writing:

ORDEPIT(TE) WELLE

This feature is recorded as *Ordepitte Welle*, *Ordepit Welle*, *Orpitewell* and *Ordeputwell* in the brief period 1275–6 (PN L 1: 185). Cameron explains it as containing a name with OE *ord* 'point' and *pytt* 'pit' (though <u> for OE /y/ at this period and place would be surprising) and meaning "a pit with a pointed shape or even a pit on a point of land". This seems improbable because it is clearly the name of a well, and the most economical solution is that the name or a description of the well is Anglo-Norman *ord puz* or *put* 'foul well' and that explanatory ME *welle* has been added.[31] *Ord* is found in a Latin text as *ordus* (for classical *horridus*) in precisely 1275 (Latham 1967: 325), so the crucial term was clearly current then. For another French expression in Lincoln masquerading as a place-name, see the next item.

LA RYVALE (super aquam de Wythum)

Found only in *certum locum qui appellat' la Ryvale super aquam de Wythum* in 1371. This is surely wrongly explained (PN L 1: 186) as "perhaps 'the rye valley'"; it is really the obsolete word *rival* 'river-bank' (see OED-2, *rival* sb.[1]), borrowed from French and found from the 14th century (see AND, s.v. *rivail*[1], both citations 14th century like this record).

Acknowledgements

Department of Languages, Linguistics and Area Studies,
University of the West of England,
Bristol BS16 1QY.
E: Richard.Coates@uwe.ac.uk

Notes

1. As in the case of the *Hobecke* or *Hoe beck furlonge* in Fulstow (16th–17th century), for which Cameron calls for earlier forms before offering an etymology. But we have *Holebec* in the same parish in 1160–70 which surely does the job (PN L 4: 91, 92). Also in the case of the *Kissing Carr* in the 1840 Aylesby tithe award (PN L 5: 4) which surely relates to the *Cristencare (Windings)* appearing in 1625.
2. The geography of the development of Sc. */a:/ is not fully understood; the word **wrā* appears in the 17th-century Lincoln field-name *The Wroo* and others (PN L 1: 178, 185), apparently having been treated like OE /a:/ (<ā>). The OE long vowel may also appear in its northern form – cf. the very late (19th-century) instances of *Rape Walk* for *Rope Walk* in Grainsby (PN L 4: 102).

3.   One might also consider Sc. *sak-stang- 'litigation pole' (or *-stein- 'stone') for the element embedded in the Lincoln street-name (for a fair analogy, cf. the ON place-name in Iceland *Lög-berg* 'law rock').

4.   Cf. also *Loskow* in the same parish, in section 4.

5.   For this process, compare for instance traditional Sussex dialect *boco* from French *beaucoup* /boku/ 'much', and the obsolete *hogo* for earlier *hogoo* (representing French *haut goût* /o gu/ 'high flavour'), both with the same harmony but operating in the opposite direction. Note also the general change in pronunciation of the abbreviated form *logo* (from *logotype* or *logogram*) to having /əu/ in the first syllable, both resulting in a "jingling" form.

6.   Society of Antiquaries Library, *Proclamations (MSS. and STC)*, vol. 3, 52. Available online at www.thrednedlestrete.com/proclamations/wool23may1550. htm (2003-4; accessed 11/05/2006, but now removed).

7.   In particular, those words in this family which seem to have *i*-umlaut of Gmc. [u], as required by *gyle*, also have a geminate /ll/.

8.   Note the "[l]and between *Hafdyc* [the sea-dyke, RC] and a saltern" mentioned in 1189x1199 in Grainthorpe (cited Owen 1974–5: 50). For a general map of early salterns in Lincolnshire, see Healey (1993).

9.   The interpretation offered here depends on <v> in certain spellings being an allograph of <u>.

10. Although this is highly speculative, we might adduce also the fields called *Bilshoes*, later *Bilches*, in Utterby (PN L 4: 38); could this be for an Anglo-Sc. *bēle-sjō* 'pool by the dwelling', again with divided reference implied by the plural form?

11. Smith's dialectified version of the relevant part of the story, allegedly heard from rustics in 1820, goes: "Grim an' his best man Boundel as big as hissen, went ashore after dark, and shouldering a stone apiece carried 'em off to his ship." The second was the so-called *Grim's Stone*, also to be found in North Thoresby. The stone in question is said to be at NGR TF 290988. (This and some other details in the text are from Welbourn Tekh's essay 'Whip it!', at www.tc-lethbridge.com/tekhs_journal, dated 15/05/2006, accessed 01/06/2006, quoting Rudkin (1936: 69–70), who quotes Smith.) This site is a New-Agey, not an academic, site, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the references to rare material quoted there.

12. *Wragholme* (144) in Grainthorpe is not relevant; it contains Sc. *warg- 'wolf' and is not recorded before the early-mid 13th century.

13. This needs a slight qualification. Fellows-Jensen (1977–8: 20) reports finding "one or two field-names" in Lincolnshire containing "Sc. *ǽrgi*". She discusses fully what this term might have meant in the British Isles in general, but there is little doubt that it was a technical term of a transhumance economy. These names may have included the one in Alkborough and possibly others in the same area (pers. comm.).

14. *Sumor-ete* is surely what explains *Sumrides* in Covenham, two parishes away (PN L 4: 10), not *sumor-rið* 'summer stream' as claimed.

15. This word has relatives with other, not readily explicable, vowels, e.g. German *(Blut)egel*. There is a phonetically similar word-set meaning 'hedgehog' (OE *īgel*, Dutch *egel*, early New High German *Eigel*) which generates the issue alluded to in EPNE (2: 180). I suspect all the place-names here are actually Scandinavian, and that the occasional *moor* is the result of a late analogical change.

16. The graphy <gh> may of course represent [g] before a front vowel, especially in early-medieval spellings. The plosivization might in principle be caused by the gemination in late OE discussed by Luick (1914–40: §§667–8); I show the relevance of this to another difficult etymological problem in Coates (2007).

17. Cf. the first element in *Bekenil(de)tre*, also in Alkborough, in section 2.

18. In Barton upon Humber in the 13th century appears a place called *Leddegrindels* or *Lethgrindles* (PN L 2: 46). Could this contain that very element *leið-gríma* + the frequent Sc. element **deil* 'share, apportionment', in an English plural form, 'apportioned lands by the waymark'? OE *grindel* 'bar, bolt; (pl.) grating' leaves the first element hard to explain.

19. *Butterbump* is the local word for 'bittern', appropriate enough here in former marshland. Recent local web literature has transmuted this into the plural *Butterbumps*, as if the bumps were the barrows themselves.

20. Alternatively, the Snitterby name could in principle include the surname *Nevill*, which appears in a field-name in Binbrook as *Nebill* in 1576 and in a derived minor name there (*Nebills thinge*) in 1641 (PN L 3: 14). But the Nevill family had a connection with Binbrook and the derived name there clearly indicates a surname origin; there is no reason to suspect that the surname is the source of the other minor names discussed here.

21. For another suggested survival of *bøle*, see *ATTE BELE* above; the entry for this name suggests still other instances.

22. Essentially the same point has been made by Mr A.E.B. Owen (PN L 4: xv).

23. He justifies this preference fully in PN L (4: 23–4).

24. There is no obvious topographical spur on the map. *Spur* is also a term for the rye-disease ergot; or a connection with *spurrey*, an occasional fodder-crop, might be considered (OED-2). It is also found in a modern name, *sea spur-grass*, for the grass *Glyceria distans* 'reflexed meadow grass', as noted speculatively, and implausibly, by Cameron in relation to a field-name in Middle Rasen, many miles from the sea (PN L 3: 110), but at least the Middle Rasen name shows the word in minor toponymy. Barrow Hawk appears once as *hawke thinge* in the mid-16th century (PN L 2: 17); in such constructions, the first word is often, but not invariably, a surname.

25. Claims for the last working woad-mill are advanced by Fenland District Council (2002) for the one commemorated by Woad Mill Farm, Parson Drove (C; PN C: 279), closed in 1910 (or 1914 according to other sources), and for Skirbeck Mill near Boston, closed in 1938 (Sardeson 1991), which must be one of those referred to by Grigson.

26. The extant forms all come from terriers; it is not on the enclosure map and Ingham has no tithe award.

27. Note also *quake-fen* used as if a current topographical term by Barrie Cox (PN Ru: 139).

28. These notes on Whitton, and the one on *The Plum* above, owe a debt to the web-pages of Tom Smith (www.diplomate.freeserve.co.uk/whitton.htm, accessed often in 2003) and to correspondence with him.

29. *Vinca major* is an early-modern garden introduction (Grigson 1975: 295–7).

30. See also the account of *York* depending on a stage with a long-vowelled diphthong /e:o/ in Watts (CDEPN: 711), unnecessary, in the explanation given by Fellows-Jensen (1987).

31. A feminine form *orde pute* might be possible if the evidence of Baker (1979: 169), from the works of the Tudor jurist Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, is taken seriously as

indicating an alternative gender in Law French. Note, though, that Fitzherbert did produce the compilation of cases in law French known as *La graunde abridgement* ..., which suggests that gender was not high on his agenda.

References

Addy, Sidney O. (1891), Supplement to *A glossary of words used in the neighbourhood of Sheffield* (1888), London: Trübner, for the English Dialect Society.

Ælfric. See Zupitza.

AND = Stone, Louise W., T.B.W. Reid and William Rothwell, eds. (1977–92), *An Anglo-Norman dictionary*, London: Modern Humanities Research Association. Available online, ed. D.A Trotter *et al.*, at www.anglo-norman.net/gate/ (ongoing, accessed 02/06/2006).

Anderson, O.S. See Arngart.

Arngart, O[lof] [= O.S. Anderson] (1934–9), *The English hundred-names* (3 vols), Lund: Ohlsson and C.W.K. Gleerup.

Baker, J[ohn] H. (1979), *Manual of law French*, London: Avebury.

Berridge, N.G. and J. Pattison (1994), *Geology of the country around Grimsby and Patrington*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office (Memoir of the British Geological Survey, sheets 90, 91, 81 and 82, England and Wales).

Björkman, Erik (1900/1969), *Scandinavian loan-words in Middle English*, Doctoral dissertation, Uppsala (reprint New York: Greenwood Press).

Boorde. See Furnivall.

Boston Family History (2001), 'Immigrant Boston: Irish, 1750–1849', online at www.bostonfamilyhistory.com/ir_1750.html (dated 2001; accessed 02/07/2004).

Bosworth, Joseph, and T. Northcote Toller, eds (1898), *An Anglo-Saxon dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; supplement by Toller (1921), and addenda and corrigenda to this by A. Campbell (1972).

Brogden, John Ellett (1866), *Provincial words and expressions current in Lincolnshire*, London.

Buckberry, J.L., and D.M. Hadley (no date; fieldwork done in 2000), 'Fieldwork at Chapel Road, Fillingham', online at www.shef.ac.uk/ content/1/c6/02/40/75/ chapel-road.pdf (accessed 09/05/2006).

Burnley, David (1992), 'Lexis and semantics', In Norman Blake, ed. *The Cambridge history of the English language*, vol. 2 (1066–1476), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 409–99.

Cameron, Kenneth (1961/1996), *English place-names*, 5th edn. London: Batsford.

— (1996), 'The Scandinavian element in minor names and field-names in north-east Lincolnshire', *Nomina* 19, 5–27.

— (1998), *A dictionary of Lincolnshire place-names*, Nottingham: English Place-Name Society (Popular series 1).

Campbell, A[listair] (1959), *Old English grammar*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

CDEPN = Watts, Victor (2004), *Cambridge dictionary of English place-names*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coates, Richard (2005), 'The grammar of place-names in Scandinavian England: a preliminary commentary', in Peder Gammeltoft, Carole Hough and Doreen Waugh, eds., *Cultural contacts in the North Atlantic region*, Lerwick: NORNA,

SPNS and SNSBI, 72–82. [Proceedings of a joint conference at Lerwick, April 2003.]

— (2006), 'Behind the dictionary-forms of Scandinavian elements in England', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 38, 43–61.

— (2007), 'The genealogy of *eagre* 'tidal surge in the River Trent'', *English Language and Linguistics* 11, 507–23.

Cole, R.E.G. (1886), *A glossary of words used in south-west Lincolnshire (wapentake of Graffoe)*, London: Trübner (for the English Dialect Society).

CPNE = Padel, O[liver] J. (1985), *Cornish place-name elements*, Nottingham: English Place-Name Society (Survey vol. 56/57).

DEPN = Ekwall, Eilert (1936/1960), *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names*, 4th edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

EDD = Wright, Joseph (1898–1905), *English dialect dictionary* (5 vols, the 5th also being published separately as *The English dialect grammar*, 1905), Oxford: Frowde.

Egar, Samuel (1892–4, 1895–7), 'Fen provincialisms', *Fenland Notes and Queries* 2, esp. 180–5, and 3, esp. 258–62, 347–51.

Ekwall, Eilert (1936), *Studies on English place-names*, Stockholm: Walhström and Widstrand (Kungl. vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademiens handlingar, del 42: 1).

EPNE = Smith, A. H[ugh] (1956), *English place-name elements* (2 vols), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (English Place-Name Society vols 25, 26).

Fellows-Jensen, Gillian (1968), *Scandinavian personal names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag/ Institut for Navneforskning (Navnestudier 7).

— (1977–8), 'A Gaelic-Scandinavian loan-word in English place-names', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 10, 18–25.

— (1978), *Scandinavian settlement names in the East Midlands*, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag/ Institut for Navneforskning (Navnestudier 16).

— (1987), 'York', *Leeds Studies in English* 18 (*Studies in Honour of Kenneth Cameron*), 141–55.

— (2002), 'Old Faroese *ærgi* yet again', in Anfinnur Johansen *et al.*, eds, *Eivindarmál. Heiðursrit til Eivind Weyhe á seksti ára degi hansara 25. apríl 2002*, Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag, 89–96.

Fenland District Council (2002), 'Parson Drove', www.fenland.gov.uk/services/country/CountryWalksParsonDrove.htm/ (dated 2002; accessed 31/12/2002).

Field, John (1972), *English field-names: a dictionary*, Newton Abbot: David and Charles.

— (1993), *A history of English field-names*, Harlow: Longmans.

— (1998), 'Woad cultivation: a way of life reflected in English field-names', in W.F.H. Nicolaisen, ed., *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, Aberdeen, August 4–11, 1996 (3 vols), Aberdeen: Department of English, University of Aberdeen, vol. 2, 107–11.

Flanagan, Deirdre and Laurence Flanagan (1994), *Irish place-names*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Furnivall, F[rederick] J., ed. (1870), *Andrew Boorde's 'Introduction of knowledge' and 'A dyetary of helth' (1542)*, London: Early English Text Society.

Gelling, Margaret (1984), *Place-names in the landscape*, London: Dent.

— (1997), 'The hunting of the *snōr*', in A.R. Rumble and A.D. Mills, eds., *Names, places and people. An onomastic miscellany for John McNeal Dodgson*, Stamford: Paul Watkins, 93–5.

—, and Ann Cole (2000), *The landscape of place-names*, Stamford: Shaun Tyas. [A renewal of Gelling (1984).]

George, H. (1986), *Soils in Lincolnshire V: sheet TF 39 (Covenham)*, Harpenden: Rothamsted Experimental Station (Soil Survey Record 100).

Gilbert, W[illiam] S. (1885), *The Mikado, or The town of Titipu* [libretto], London: Chappell & co.

Gordon, E[ric] V. (1927/1957), *An introduction to Old Norse* (2nd edn by A.R. Taylor), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

—, ed. (1953), *Pearl*, Oxford: Clarendon Press [final revision and abridgement by Ida L. Gordon].

Grigson, Geoffrey (1958/1975), *The Englishman's flora*, London: Hart Davis, MacGibbon.

Grose, Francis (1785), *A classical dictionary of the vulgar tongue*, London. [Facsimile reprint by R.C. Alston (ed.) Menston: Scolar Press (English Linguistics 1500–1800, no. 80).]

Hanks, Patrick and Flavia Hodges (1988), *A dictionary of surnames*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, William, ed. F. J. Furnivall (1877–8), *Harrison's description of England in Shakspere's youth: being the second and third books of his 'Description of Britaine and England', edited from the first two editions of Holinshed's Chronicle, A.D. 1577, 1587*, London: Trübner, for the New Shakspere Society.

Hauge, Arild (2002), 'Blot og offerfester', website www.arild-hauge.com/blot.htm/ (revised 19/09/1999; accessed 28/02/2003). [Old Norse compounds are given *infra*.]

Haugen, Einar (1976), *The Scandinavian languages*, London: Faber and Faber.

Healey, Hilary (1993), 'Salt-making II: Saxon and medieval', In Stewart Bennett and Nicholas Bennett, eds., *An historical atlas of Lincolnshire*, Hull: University of Hull Press, 280–9 (notes on p. 139).

— (1997), *A Fenland landscape glossary for Lincolnshire*, Lincolnshire County Council: Lincolnshire Books.

Higham, M[ary] C. (1992), '*Lin* in the landscape', *Nomina* 15, 61–8.

Hutton, Ronald (1996), *The stations of the sun: a history of the ritual year in Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Köhler, Johann Jakob (1906), *Die altenglischen Fischnamen*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter (Anglistische Forschungen 21).

Kristensson, Gillis (1970), *Studies on Middle English topographical terms*, Lund: Gleerup (Acta Universitatis Lundensis, sectio I, 13).

La = Ekwall, Eilert (1922), *The place-names of Lancashire*, Manchester: The Chetham Society.

LAE = Orton, Harold, Stewart Sanderson and John Widdowson (eds) (1978), *The linguistic atlas of England*, London: Croom Helm, Humanities Press, etc.

Landmark/Ordnance Survey (no date), website www.old-maps.co.uk/ (visited frequently during 2002–6).

Lang, David C. (1987), *British berries*, London: Threshold Books.

Latham, R[onald] E[dward] (1965), *Revised Medieval Latin word-list from British and Irish sources* (2nd edn), Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy.

— (ed.) (1975–), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British sources* (fasc. 1, A–B). London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy.

Lawson, William (1618 [first edn bears date 1617]), *The country hous-wifes garden*, London.

Lockwood, W[illiam] B. (1984), *The Oxford book of British bird names*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Luick, Karl (1914–40), *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Stuttgart: Tauchnitz. [Reprinted Oxford: Blackwell (1964).]

May, Jeffrey (1976), *Prehistoric Lincolnshire*, Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee (History of Lincolnshire 1).

OED-2 = Simpson, J[ohn] A. and E[dmund] S.C. Weiner, eds (1989), *Oxford English dictionary* (2nd edn), Oxford: Clarendon Press. .

Owen, A[rthur] E.B. (1974–5), '*Hafdic*: a Lindsey name and its implications', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 7, 45–56.

Peacock, Edward (1889), *A glossary of words used in the wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire* (2nd edn), London: Trübner (for the English Dialect Society).

Pope, M[ildred] K. (1934), *From Latin to Modern French, with especial consideration of Anglo-Norman*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Ray, John (1674), *A collection of English words not generally used* [etc.], London.

— (1678), *The 'Ornithology' of Francis Willughby*, London.

Reaney, P[ercy] H[ide], ed.; new edn R.M. Wilson (1958/1991), *A dictionary of English surnames* (3rd edn), London: Routledge.

— (1967), *The origin of English surnames*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Robinson, David (2002), 'In the shadow of Juicetrump', in 'Poachings', *Lincolnshire Life* (August). Online at www.lincolnshirelife.co.uk/ PAGES/BACK_AUG_2002/ POACHING.html/ (accessed 06/12/2002). [Also anonymous leaflet with the same title; Louth: Wolds Countryside Service (2002).]

Rudkin, E[thel] H. (1936), *Lincolnshire folklore*, Gainsborough: Beltons. [Reprinted Burgh le Marsh: Robert Pacey (1987).]

— and D[orothy] M. Owen (1960), 'The medieval salt industry in the Lindsey Marshland', *Reports and Papers of the Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society* 8, 76–84.

Sardeson, Sandra (1991), 'Lincoln green', *Journal for Weavers, Spinners, and Dyers* 158 (April). Online at www.florilegium.org/files/TEXTILES/green-art.text/ (website undated; accessed 31/12/2002).

Serjeantson, Mary S. (1935), *A history of foreign words in English*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

SED = Orton, Harold and Eugen Dieth, eds (1962–71), *Survey of English dialects* (4 vols in 13 parts), London: Arnold, for Leeds University.

Sims-Kimbrey, Joan M. (1995), *Wodds and doggerybaw: a Lincolnshire dialect dictionary*, Boston: Richard Kay.

Smithers, G[eoffrey] V., ed. (1987), *Havelok.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Stewart, George R. (1970), *A concise dictionary of American place-names*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sutton, Edward (1881), 'XXVI: North Lincolnshire words', in *English Dialect Society original glossaries (series C)*, London: Trübner, 113–22.

Swinnerton, H[enry] H. (1981), *The geology of Lincolnshire* (2nd edn, revised by P.E. Kent), Lincoln: Lincolnshire Naturalists' Union.

Thick, Malcolm (2003), 'Introduction [to works of William Lawson and others, including the *Country hous-wifes garden*]', at www.kal69.dial.pipex.com/shop/pages/isbn102.pdf/ (dated 01/2003; accessed 06/08/2003).

Toll, Johannes-Michael (1926), *Niederländisches Lehngut im Mittelenglischen*, Halle an der Saale: Max Niemeyer (Studien zur englischen Philologie 69); reprinted Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig (1973).

Turner, James Grantham (2002), 'John Oldham on obscene and libertine discourse: unpublished verses from Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet, 123', *Notes and Queries* 247, 346–51.

Turville-Petre, E.O. G[abriel], ed. (1960), *Víga-Glúms saga* (2nd edn), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

van Twest, Melanie, with contributions by others (1999), 'Sedgeford Historical and Archaeological Research Project: 1999 interim report', *Norfolk Archaeology* 43, 351–2. Online at www.sharp.org.uk/ publications/Report99/1999.htm (accessed 04/01/2003).

VEPN = Parsons, David N., with (for fasc. I and II) Tania Styles and (for fasc. I) Carole A. Hough (1997–), *The vocabulary of English place-names: I (á–box); II (brace–cæster); III (ceafor–cock-pit)*, Nottingham: Centre for English Name-Studies.

Watts, Victor, trl. (2005), *Pearl*, London: Enitharmon Press.

Whaley, Diana (2006), *A dictionary of Lake District place-names*, Nottingham: English Place-Name Society (Regional series 1).

White, William (1856), *White's Lincolnshire*, London: Redwood.

Wright, Joseph (1905), see EDD above.

Wright, Thomas (ed.; 2nd edn Richard Paul Wülcker) (1857/1884), *Anglo-Saxon and Old English vocabularies* (2 vols), London; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (1968).

— (1857), *Dictionary of obsolete and provincial English*, London: Bohn's.

Zoëga, Geir T. (1910), *Old Icelandic dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Zupitza, Julius, ed. (1880/1966), *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar: Text und Varianten*, Berlin, etc.: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung and Max Niehans Verlag.

Index of elements introduced or discussed

Index of names

Where one name appears in multiple but not very dissimilar forms, a representative sample is indexed, not every single spelling.

hawke thing, fn 24
Sokomer thinge, *Sukkabur land*   120
Sporow cote, *Spur Howk*   119

BARTON ON HUMBER
(the) Gowle alias Cowslipp Hill   115
Houlegate swarth, (The) Swa(r)th   94
Leddegrindels, *Lethgrindles*, fn 18
Mewith   111
Waddelholegates,
Waddle Hill, *Wadthekersting*   123–4

BELCHFORD
Juicetrump Hill, barrow   107

BELTON
Beltoft   97

BIGBY
Composition   86
Posternehill, *Postrum*   82
Westrum   82

BINBROOK
basse kinges, Baste Ings   84
Breakdiss, *-ditch Hill*   99
Dandall Stighe   101
Ibrey Thinge   127
Nebills thinge, fn 20
Scallows   102

BLUESTONE HEATH ROAD   98

BOTTESFORD
Rate pyttes   115
seven nobles Close   93

BOTTISHAM (C)
(The) Quave   125

BRACKENBOROUGH
Stripe (f.n.)   83

BRADLEY
Butterthorn   121

BRANSTON AND MERE
Pesethorn, Pethern   121

BROCKLESBY
Casse garth   90
de Haremare strip   83
highelmar'   109

BROOMFIELD (Ess)
Pudding Wood Lane   88

BROUGHTON
Blowthorne   121

BRUMBY
Roam Hills   82

BURTON UPON STATHER
the four swaythes (mdw)   95

CABOURNE
Pullythorne   122

CAENBY
Synholmes   93
Tom-Tird's Garth   83
Wa(i)fin   125

CANWICK
yhotenneswellebec,
yotenwellebeck   127

CLAXBY
(Great) Ganbos   102
Laram Close   109

CLEETHORPES
(The) Gatherums (st.n.)   88
Goose Pudding(s)   103
Hodgebell   97
Hountaine Close, *Hounton*   105
Wat England   124
Wipe Meer (f.n.)   126

CLIXBY
Collop Monday Close   86

CODNOR (Db)
Loscoe   109

COLD HANWORTH
(The) Hurn, (The) Urns,
Urn Bottom   81