

# **Reflections on some major Lincolnshire place-names**

## **Part one: Algarkirk to Melton Ross**

**Richard Coates**  
**University of the West of England**

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

### **Contents**

Introduction and apparatus .....	36
Typography and notation .....	36
A note on Scandinavian .....	37
Abbreviations .....	37
The names, treated in alphabetical order .....	38
Notes .....	85
Bibliography .....	87
Summary of key findings .....	92
Index .....	94

### Introduction and apparatus

This work is a collection of sometimes extended commentaries on names in Lincolnshire treated (i) in Kenneth Cameron's *A dictionary of Lincolnshire place-names* (1998), to which, throughout, plain page-numbers in parentheses refer (e.g. 39), or (ii) in the six volumes published by November 2003 of his *The place-names of Lincolnshire* (PN L) which form part of the Survey of English Place-Names (1923–date), or (iii) in his article, 'The Scandinavian element in minor names and field-names in north-east Lincolnshire', published in *Nomina* 19 (1996). A few Lincolnshire names not in these works are also treated. Some notes are pure commentary, and others propose new solutions.

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

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

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

### Typography and notation

Italicized forms are normalized mentions of dictionary words or names, or of elements forming such words or names. Actually-recorded spellings of these are also enclosed in italics, whilst spellings of individual characters are given in <angle brackets>. Pronunciations rendered in the IPA alphabet are enclosed in [square brackets], in which syllable-boundaries are marked by a period [.]; where it is necessary to allocate these units of pronunciation to the phonemes of some state of a language, those are enclosed in /forward slashes/. Boundaries between lexical or grammatical elements are marked by a hyphen [-]. An example: Knaith is currently spelt *Knaith* (with initial

<k>) and locally pronounced [ne:θ], varying with [neiθ]; the phonemic representation of the (set of) pronunciations, using the conventions for Received Pronunciation, is /neiθ/. Forms with asterisks are forms not attested but reconstructed by linguistic reasoning, such as \**Cnēo-hȳð*, the original Old English form of the name. Meanings are given in ‘single quotes’, such as ‘knee landing-place’, which is what \**Cnēo-hȳð* meant. Cross-references to other names treated in the article are given in CAPITAL LETTERS.

### A note on Scandinavian

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

### Abbreviations

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

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

OHG	Old High German	OLG	Old Low German
OIr	Old Irish	VL	Vulgar Latin

### Other abbreviations

BL	British Library, St Pancras, London
DB	Domesday book
DMV	deserted medieval village
e	early (e.g. eME; ec13th)
EPNS	English Place-Name Society/Survey
FL	Foster Library, LAO
IPA	(alphabet of the) International Phonetic Association
l	late (e.g. lME; lc13th)
LAO	Lincolnshire Archive Office, St Rumbald's Street, Lincoln
m followed by a date	= mid (in a century, e.g. mc13th)
Misc.	miscellany (in titles of MS. collections)
Monson	Monson archive, South Carlton Manor
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
NGR	National Grid Reference of the OS
O.D.	Ordnance Datum (OS sea level reference point at Newlyn, Cornwall)
OS	Ordnance Survey
PRO	Public Record Office, Somerset House, London [= now NA, the National Archive]
t.	<i>tempore</i> 'from the time of', followed by a monarch's name

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

### The names, treated in alphabetical order

ALGARKIRK (2), GOSBERTON (51), KIRTON in Holland and KIRTON in Lindsey (75–6)

Respectively:

*Algaescherche* 1194

*Gosebertcherche, Gozeberdecherca* 1086

*Chirchetune* 1086

*Chirchetone* 1086

Contrary to Cameron's suggestions, none of the early spellings cited of any of these names really require the assumption of OE *cirice* rather than Scand. *kirkja*, since the early medieval <ch> found in the record normally represents /k/ before a front vowel in texts written in the Anglo-Norman tradition. A form like *Gozeberdecherca* in Domesday Book (the change to *-ton* is later) is interpretable therefore as 'Gosbert's *kirkja*' with a Latin inflectional affix.

### ANDERBY (3)

Cameron declines to offer an explanation for the first element, which appears as *Andre-*, *Ander-*. On the face of it, it is the genitive singular (*andar*) of Scand. *ǫnd*, earlier *\*andu-*.<sup>1</sup> There are two words with this form: it may either be 'duck' (perhaps applied as a by-name) or, as found in ON, 'porch'. In the latter sense, it is a reduction of the masculine singular form *and-dyri* or the rarer feminine plural *and-dyrr*, and perhaps the most plausible account of the name is that it means 'farm with a porch', the first element being either the full form *and-dyri* compounded in its stem-form or the reduced form in the genitive singular with *-bȳ*. There is at least one other Lincolnshire farm that seems to be named from a distinctive architectural feature, namely Spanby (114; though Cameron interprets this as 'farmstead where shingle for tiling is obtained', rather than the more immediately obvious 'shingled farmstead', whilst Ekwall (DEPN: 433) mentions both possibilities). The 'porch' suggestion strikes me as more plausible than Fellows-Jensen's (1978: 30) preference for an element *ǫndurr* or *andri* 'snow-shoe', "perhaps in the sense 'billet of wood'", despite the recognition of this word by Holmberg (1969: 87–90) as an element in two Swedish names.<sup>2</sup> My doubts are partly because of its acknowledged etymological obscurity (Holmberg 1969: 89) and partly because of its doubtful applicability; Wahlberg (2003) does not acknowledge such an element in Swedish toponymy.

On the other hand, there is a lost minor name *Anderlund* in Skeffington (PN Lei 3: 222–3), which Cox attributes to an Old Danish personal name *Andor* (related to ON *Arnþórr*) or less probably to OE *Andrēas*. Either of these personal names might appear as the first element of *Anderby*. In either case the lack of a medial <-s> would be unusual, but would not create an insuperable difficulty because there are clear instances in Lincolnshire of names of such a structure (for some discussion see Coates 2005a).

## BARKWITH (9–10)

*Barcuurde, Barcuorde* 1086

*Barchewda* 1155x1160

*Barcheworthe* t. Hy2

*Barkwith* 1653

This name is seen as problematic by all who have studied it (DEPN, Cameron 1998, CDEPN). The root of the problem is that the second element is OE *word* ‘curtilage’ (later replaced by a form suggesting Scand. \**wið*- ‘wood’ (> ON *viðr*), but that first appears as late as the 17th century), whilst the only apparently satisfactory etymon for the first is a Scandinavian personal name. *Bark-* < \**Barkwaz* (> ON *Bǫrkr*) is found both as an OWScand. name and also as a by-name in Sweden (PN Lei 2: 200), but the form required is *Barka*, a specifically ODa genitive singular form. The same personal name is found with a ME “secondary” genitive singular in *Barkston* (9) and *Barkestone* (PN Lei 2: 199–200). It is homophonous with the Scand. word for ‘(tree-)bark’ (source of the modern word, not found till ME), which might theoretically appear here, but hardly with OE *word*. Alternatively, *Barka* might be the genitive singular of the weak-inflected *Barki* postulated for *Barkby* (Lei, CDEPN; but DEPN: 28 sees *Bark* in this too).<sup>3</sup> An origin in *Barka* is what offers the fewest formal problems. All hinges therefore on whether it is chronologically possible for a Danish name to be compounded with *word*. This is what has been claimed for *Scaftworth* and *Tordworth* (PN Nt: 38, 100), and whilst other origins are thinkable for both these, we have a prima facie case for the present name being ‘Bark(i)’s curtilage’.

Watts’s solution to the perceived chronological problem is to suggest that the first element was originally OE *bearg* ‘castrated boar’, implying Anglian *bærg* [bæry], which was later replaced by *Barka-* of whatever origin (CDEPN: 35). Such an irregular change is hard to motivate. There is little to be said for Ekwall’s view (DEPN: 26) that the first element may be that seen in *Berkshire*, i.e. a Brittonic hill-district name, as there is no trace in the record of the required vowel between the <r> and the <k>.

## BARROWBY (10)

Almost all the early-medieval material cited by Cameron is from documents in the PRO/NA, i.e. central administrative documents where the spelling conventions in use would be developments of those originally devised for Carolingian French. Accordingly, the <e> apparently

suggesting a medial syllable (and therefore a genitive plural marker), as in <Bergebī> (1086 and usual eME), may be an orthographic consonant cluster-breaker (cf. Menger 1904: 61–2, and very briefly Zachrisson 1924: 114 para. 12; this matter could do with a full-scale study). It is likely therefore that the name is really Scand. \**Bergbȳ* with *berg* used like OE *beorg* to mean ‘hill with a rounded profile’ (Gelling and Cole 2000: 145–52, esp. 151–2), though it is possible that the related weak noun represented by ON *bergi* is involved despite the documentary distribution mentioned. The church and home farm stand in a dramatic position atop an escarpment, on a knoll clearly visible on maps and on the ground (e.g. from the A52). Everything conspires to suggest this is really ‘rounded hill farm’, rather than a name with the first element in the plural. There is no reason to believe, with Watts (CDEPN: 39), that the first element must replace OE *beorg*, although in principle this entire name might translate or calque an English original.

#### BAUMBER (11)

*Badeburg* 1086

*Baburc* c. 1115

*Baunburg*’ 1115 (14th)

*Baenburg*’ 1125

*Baenburc* 1158, 1193

*Baenburg*’ c. 1145 (after 1269)

*Bamburg* 1147x1156

*Baumburgh* 1156 (after 1269)

Anomalous:

*Baginburg* c. 1240

*Bahenbur* 1331 (a late scribal elaboration of *Baen*-)

The hilltop settlement of Baumber, beside the southern stretch of High Street, a romanized road (Margary no. 270), does not appear to be \**Baddan-burh* as generally claimed except in the light of the single Domesday spelling *Badeburg*, the only one with <d> and the only one hinting at the existence of a medial syllable – unless perhaps the form found in the Lindsey survey of c. 1115, *Baburc*, could be viewed as supportive because it might suggest assimilation of [db] to [bb], but this is consistent with other explanations too. Cox’s analysis of the name (1998), equating it with other instances of *Badbury* and the like (‘Badda’s stronghold’), depends on the reliability of the Domesday form, but I do not

think it is philologically sustainable on the evidence available, whatever its merits in a historical sense.<sup>4</sup> The earliest spellings in the record with some staying-power, i.e. those which seem to participate in forming the name in its present shape, are of the type <Baen->, with <au>-spellings beginning in the second half of the 13th century (cf. PANTON below; also GLANFORD BRIGG). These facts are hard to interpret.

The sequence <ae> is found in forms from the Pipe Rolls and the Bardney cartulary and is unusual. It occurs in the range of spellings (including in a Pipe Roll form) for Bamburgh (Nb), though it is certain that that name has a different origin (Mawer 1920: 10, based on the account in the Peterborough Chronicle). This grapheme does not appear to represent Scand. /ei/ in place-names mentioned in Lincolnshire documents, e.g. in reflexes of *heim*, *stein-* or *þveit*, or in personal names such as *Grein*, *Leif* or *Hreiði*; the <Baen-> in *Baumber* is therefore probably not a rendering of the name of the adjacent river Bain (said to be from Scand. *beinn* ‘straight; useful’ (9), for which there are Scand. analogues).<sup>5</sup> In fact, unligatured <ae> is not a typical ME grapheme or grapheme-string at all (unlike <æ>, which is found aplenty in early, especially western, ME). Possibly, therefore, the letters should be seen as separately representing two syllables which later coalesce with the value of the stressed ME vowel /a/, as has been the case with *Bamburgh*. This /a/ is later spelt <au> before a nasal consonant, sporadically in *Bamburgh* and commonly in medieval times in PANTON and PONTON, and gives rise to the modern spelling-pronunciation of *Baumber* (cf. guardedly the commentary on PONTON in Part 2 of this article). But an alternative will be explored in due course.

*Baumber* overlooks the river Bain, with its Scandinavian name, and it is very tempting to suggest that the village-name enshrines not the Scandinavian but the pre-Scandinavian name of the river. That would mean that *Bain* is an attempt to rationalize the earlier river-name with a pronunciation similar to ON *beinn* ‘straight; useful’, a view which gains some plausibility from the fact that the river is not straight and no more self-evidently useful than many another. The structure [river-name + *burg/byrig*] is known elsewhere (cf. *Kintbury* (Brk), *Limbury* (Bd), *Clunbury* (Sa), *Tenbury* (Wo), but notice the type is on the whole midland and western in its distribution).

What could such a two-syllable pre-Scandinavian name be? In the absence of likely OE words or names, I suggest that it might be compared with the river-name found twice in Wales *Bechan* (Thomas 1938: 39–40), of uncertain origin and meaning. Thomas thinks it may formally be a Celtic personal name, but the fact that there are two rivers so named speaks against that; and if it represents the family of Welsh *bychan* ‘small’ there are phonological difficulties for our solution with the medial consonant, because the /x/ in this word is generally taken as deriving from \*/kk/ and to



have developed in the later 6th century, which is too late to be enshrined in a name in this area of early English settlement. Whatever its origin, provided that it had late British and early Brittonic \*/x/ (i.e. from British \*/xs/ and not from \*/kk/), such a name would give (Pre-)OE \**Beohan*. This would regularly (1) lose between vowels the <h> arising from Brittonic \*/x/ and (2) undergo vowel-coalescence, yielding Anglian OE \**Bēan*, a monosyllable with the diphthong spelt <ēa>. (On the process of diphthong-formation in similar cases see Hogg 1992: 179; and for a precise analogue, Campbell 1959: 99 (top).) It is quite plausible that such an opaque name (identification with OE *bēan* ‘bean’ would surely have been rejected) would have been taken by Scandinavian-speakers for phonological and lexical reasons for *beinn*, a word clearly used elsewhere in river-names in more appropriate circumstances (Ekwall 1928: 24, and see footnote 3 below). OE stressed <ēa> characteristically gives <a> when shortened, cf. the development of the words *bēam* and/or *bēan* in e.g. *Bampton* (O, We, Cu), *Bandonhill* and *Banstead* (Sr), *Banham* (Nf). It would shorten before two consonants in late Old English, and therefore late OE \**Baen*burg for Baumber is a plausible outcome. Medieval spellings in <a> and <au> are to be expected; the only issue is whether <ae> might plausibly represent early ME /a/. Perhaps the Pipe Roll and Bardney cartulary forms are attempts to render an <æ> found in a (lost) late Anglo-Saxon written tradition; cf. *Baenstede* for the Surrey name in a 13th-century transcription of a late pre-Conquest document (PN Sr: 68).

In summary, it appears that the Domesday form *Badeburg* is out of line and likely to be in error (exactly as the twice-inscribed *Widun* for Wyham (PN L 4: 42–3) is in error), and may really be for \**Baheburg*; that the general run of ME spellings represents the English name of the place better; and that it may enshrine the pre-Scandinavian name of the nearby river known by the ostensibly Scandinavian name *Bain*, which may well be an analogically-altered form of one which is of a recognizable Brittonic type though its origin has not been firmly established.

## BAYTHORPE (Swineshead; 11)

### *Barthorp* 1307

On record from the early 14th century, this name has universal early spellings <Bar->, suggesting that the first element could be Scand. *bar*- ‘barley’ (Falk and Torp 1903–6: 37; ‘barley’ is usually Scand. *bygg* in place-names). *bar*- appears neither in EPNE nor in VEPN, but Cameron proposes it hesitantly for the 12th-century Lincolnshire field-name

*barlandes* in Keelby (PN L 2: 177). A name of this shape invites comparison with those in *þorp* which are compounded with *gres* ‘grass’, but also allows the possibility of a skewed calque on *barton* (from OE *bere-tūn* or *bær-tūn*) ‘(lit.) barley-farm’. A phonological parallel is offered by *Staythorpe* (Nt; Fellows-Jensen 1978: 117), perhaps from Scand. \**star-* ‘sedge’, though Fellows-Jensen (1978: 123) explains *Baythorpe* from a personal name whilst rejecting such a possibility (offered in PN Nt: 196) for *Staythorpe*.

Peder Gammeltoft (personal correspondence) suggests that the first element could be ODa *bar* ‘coniferous leaf’, ‘conifer’, or, perhaps more plausibly, ODa *bar* ‘bare, lacking vegetation, deforested’ (cf. *Bare Brøndstrup*, *Barrit* and *Barsø*, Jørgensen 1981–3: 31). He also raises the intriguing suggestion that OE *bere* ‘barley’ may have been borrowed into the local Scand. language and subsequently used in Scand. place-name construction.

#### BRACEBOROUGH (18)

*Braseborg, Breseburg’, Breseburc* 1086

*Bresseburc* 1180

*Bresenburc* 1191

*Brasingeburc* 1195 (m14th)

*Bressingburg’* 1221

Cameron describes the first element as obscure, but it is not clear why he has rejected the comprehensive set of possibilities discussed by Ekwall (1959: 21–2), centring on applications of the (admittedly poetic) OE adjective *bræsne*, *bresne* ‘bold, mighty, strong’, probably in a personal name. Ekwall’s view is broadly accepted by Watts (CDEPN: 76). The only possible obstacle lies in the modern pronunciation with [s] (which appears early, to judge by medieval spellings in <ss>), as opposed to [z]. But it is not hard to find other names with a medial [s] which is unexpected in the light of the proposed etymology: for instance that of Bressingham (Nf; DEPN: 63, CDEPN: 84).

#### BRACEBRIDGE (18)

Selected spellings:

*Brachebrige, Bragebruge* 1086

*Bracebrig(e)*, *-brigg(e)* typical medieval (less often with <y> in ‘bridge’)

*Bracebrug(e)* sporadic medieval

*Brascebricg* t. Hy 2 (1406)

*Brasebrigge* 1252

*Brasbryg*’, *-brig(e)* 1354–1607

*Bracebridg(e)* 1447–date

The name is fully discussed in PN L (1: 190–1), but Cameron retreats in the *Dictionary* to the view that “the first el[ement] is uncertain”, and it is quite true that the early spellings do not suggest an OE *\*bræsc* or a cognate of Swedish *bräske*, in some such sense as ‘small branches, twigs, underwood’, as Ekwall had suggested (DEPN: 57) and as Cameron had accepted in PN L. Moreover, it is hard to see words in this semantic area as being relevant; there seems no doubt that the village took its name from a bridge over the Witham required by the Roman road Foss Way (Margary no. 5f, the modern A46, before this number was transferred to the Lincoln northern bypass), which crosses the river here to avoid the wetlands to the west and to join Ermine Street before entering Lincoln. Cameron (PN L 1: 191) noted the difficulty that a causeway of brushwood is not at all plausible as a means of crossing or even approaching the substantial river Witham, and we should assume that the original bridge was really a major Roman structure. That difficulty is addressed by the suggestion that the first element is OFr/AN *brace* ‘fastening, support, brace’ (VEPN 2: 1), but a French-English compound as early as Domesday would be unique, and that in itself is a problem. Nonetheless, even if we have to discard the suggested element, the proposal in VEPN is phonologically suitable, as we shall see.

The collected spellings certainly do not rule out the possibility that Scand. *bryggja* ‘quay; (in England) bridge’ appeared in the original name, rather than simply influencing an earlier English *brycg*. Rather, the English word could have influenced a Scandinavian original to yield both some ME spellings in <u> (which *bryggja* rarely seems to yield) and also the modern form of the name. The evidence, showing universal 12th-century <Brace->, where AN-influenced <c> represents [ts], seems compatible with a Scand. *\*Bratts-bryggja*. A comparable range of spellings, except for the occasional <z> as an equivalent of <c>, is found for Haceby (56). Cameron explains this, surely correctly, as from Scand. *\*Hadds-bý* (pronounced [hatsby]), where [ats] has also developed to modern [eis] (no doubt a spelling-pronunciation of <ace>). The first element in Bracebridge would be the OWScand. *bratt-* ‘steep’, used as a noun. A traveller on the Foss Way, heading for Lincoln, would, immediately after crossing the Witham, have to follow the road in an abrupt left (northward) turn, because on its approach to the river the road has an eastward alignment, heading straight

for the scarp of the Lincoln Edge, which it declines to climb (Margary 1973: 221). This is also the point where the river makes its closest approach to the limestone Cliff. \**Bratts-bryggja* is entirely appropriate for the site, therefore, and the suggestion is plausible if *bratt-* could be used as a noun or a proper name ('The Steep'). This has been claimed by Smith for Bratt (PN YW 6: 266), but that name is recorded only late and his explanation seems inappropriate for various reasons (for instance because the same parish, Sedbergh, contains a name (Brant Fell) with the same word in its OEScand. form). Nevertheless there is no reason to reject in principle an occurrence of this element in this form, especially in a place where it is topographically appropriate. It has been acknowledged since Ekwall (1924: 78–9) that sporadic evidence of West Scandinavian influence is visible throughout the Danelaw (e.g. in the various instances of the name *Normanton* in six counties, or the occurrence of the Norwegian personal name *Glað-* in Glaston (R); see further PN YW 7: 44–66, Cameron 1996: 76–9), and the present suggestion may be seen as further phonological evidence for it. There is certainly no chronological bar to the idea, as the change resulting in this supposedly distinctive West Scandinavianism was complete by 850 (Moberg 1944: throughout), before the first landtaking in England. OWScand. *brekka* < \**brink-* 'slope' and *slakki* < \**slank-* 'shallow valley' are found widely in Scandinavian Yorkshire, and *slakki* once in Harworth (Nottinghamshire; PN Nt: 81) and several times in Lincolnshire (e.g. PN L 3: 4, 13, 154; 4: 67, etc., and Cameron 1996: 8, 17 and 24). More convincingly still, the change affected the word for 'steep' over a wider area than many other words (cf. Haugen 1976: 202, map 10), and *brat* [brad] is the modern Standard Danish form, i.e. the nasal-less form is also found in some notionally East Scandinavian territory. All in all, it seems quite reasonable to believe that Bracebridge has a Scandinavian name meaning 'bridge at the steep place', with a genitival construction paralleled in such Scandinavian names as the Icelandic *Fljótsdalur* 'valley of the/a lake' in *Hrafnkels saga* (ch. 3). It is plausible but not provable that this name replaced an earlier English one in *brycg*. That demonstrably happened in the case of Stamford Bridge (e.g. *Staynforthbrig* 1336, heavily scandinavianized in all three elements; PN YE: 186) in which, equally, *bridge* has reasserted itself in the modern form of the name.<sup>6</sup>

Intriguingly, about four miles (6.5 km) south of Bracebridge the river named *Brant* runs into the Witham, having run roughly parallel with the Cliff but approaching it gradually for some distance; the form of its name is precisely that of the consistent-OEScand. cognate of the OWScand. word proposed here for Bracebridge. A possible OE etymology for this is discussed by Ekwall (1928: 48), and adopted by Cameron (20), but it is not really satisfactory to claim a word meaning 'high, steep' in a polar-opposite

sense ‘deep’ which is backed only by a single possible poetic usage in *Beowulf* (line 568/a). I have come to no firm conclusion uniting the names of the village and the river. But if the river, for whatever reason, has always been known as *Brant*, then Bracebridge may be ‘Brant bridge’ with the first element taken for the word meaning ‘steep’, resulting in an English name with a Scandinavian disguise. But this tributary does not reach Bracebridge, and the relation between the two names remains problematic and possibly non-existent.

## BURCOM

Burcom is a shoal or sand off Cleethorpes, commemorated in Burcom Avenue, Humberstone. It is not mentioned either in PN L 5 or in the *Dictionary*. Being opaque, it may be an old name, and if so perhaps the likeliest explanation is that it is for the ME descendant of an OE *\*burg-cyme* (reformed in ME like other words containing *cyme* as if it were from *cuma*) ‘arrival at the town’. Perhaps pragmatically better would be an explanation involving a personification of the shoal involving *\*burg-cuma* ‘arriver at the town’, whose structure would be akin to that of the attested *burh-wita* and *burh-sæta* both ‘citizen’ or the like (less likely perhaps from a corresponding Scand. *\*borgar-koma*, though conceivably a calque of this expressed as an OE compound with an uninflected first element). Grimsby received its charter from king John in 1201 and has been referred to as a *burgh* since at least as early as 1198, even if the term was in that year being used loosely (Gillett 1987: 10). As is clear from Morden’s county map (1695), Burcom is the last shoal on the larboard side of a ship before entering the port of Grimsby; that could be enough to account for the name as metonymic.

## BURWELL (24)

*Buruelle* 1086

*Burewelle* 1110 etc.

The element *wella/welle* in this name refers to a tributary of the Great Eau. Since no *burg* has ever been identified here to account for the first element, could it rather be *(ge)būra* ‘of the (semi-free) peasants’ (cf. VEPN 2: 70)? There is only one spelling in the archive showing <gh> or the like as one might expect if the first element were *burg* (*Burgwell* in 1292), but since

there are numerous earlier spellings of the type *Burewelle* with a medial syllable in <e> which could reflect the genitive plural suffix, this 1292 form may be a reverse-spelling reflecting the Middle English change of [ɣ] >> [w] and its eventual vocalization. The entry in VEPN offers parallels containing (*ge*)*būr*, though none with *wella/welle*.

Stenton (1971: 475) describes the class of *gebūras* as “trembling on the verge of serfdom” in the eleventh century, but traces the origin of this class to two different and less servile strands of earlier Anglo-Saxon society (475–6). We must presume, in order to sustain the interpretation offered for Burwell, ‘stream of the peasants’, that they might hold, or be responsible for, land or facilities as a group at the period at which the name was created. Certainly they were required to do some things under joint responsibility, like watch over the lord’s sheepfold and keep a staghound for him, according to the mid-11th-century Saxon handbook of customary law called *Rectitudines singularum personarum* (Liebermann 1903–16: 1, 446–8).

It is uncertain whether there is an implied contrast between Burwell so interpreted and Maidenwell (85) in Farforth, some two and a half miles (4 km) to the west, from which it is separated only by the Scandinavian-named parish of Ruckland (103).

#### BYTHAM, CASTLE and LITTLE (25)

*æt Bytham* 1066–8 (c. 1200)

*Bitham* 1086

*Biham* 1096–1100

*Byham* 1147x1166 (1409), 1242–3

Cameron’s explanation of the base-name is that it derives from *byðme* ‘broad, wet-floored valley’ plus *hām*. This is essentially the view of Cole (1988: 43) and Gelling and Cole (2000: 99; mapped but not discussed), except that these scholars take the form of the base-word to be *bytme* and they propose that this name is not a compound but that it consists of the word *bytme* alone. The trouble with each of these related views is that the places are not in a broad valley or a broad spot in a valley but a rather narrow one (cartographic evidence and site visit), as Cole concedes; it does not match the prototypical flat-bottomed referents of this term described by Gelling and Cole (2000: 98–100). Castle Bytham is also an uncharacteristic site for such a name; although the church is perched on a hill above the valley, the historic village extends right into the valley bottom itself, with the street Castlegate following the riverbank (contrast the account of the

typical site given by Cole 1988: 40). The day of my visit (01/01/2003) followed one of the wettest periods on record, and Kesteven was awash with unmapped rivers and lakes, through some of which I drove. Although its river, streams and drains were in spate, and the duckpond sluice fully open to allow drainage into the river, Castle Bytham was not flooded, and I suggest that these facts also undermine the case for the name to contain *byðme* or *bytme* with its implication of a wet valley-floor. The river here flows quite fast, and has cut a channel sufficiently deep to contain its water even in extreme conditions. More tellingly still, the phonology of the name is wrong for the Cole-Gelling solution; if the source had OE /y/ before a consonant-cluster, short /i/ would be expected (as in The Bittoms, Kingston upon Thames, PN Sr: 61) and there would be no reason for the modern pronunciation to contain /ai/. Nor is there any evidence at all of the two instances of <m> which Cameron's "compound" solution would demand.

Could the first element rather be OE *byht* 'bend in a river'? That describes precisely the situation of Castle Bytham, which is the larger Bytham and presumably the earlier settlement. On raised ground in the conspicuous bend of a tributary of the river Glen is the site of the large motte and bailey which gives the place its distinguishing label, whilst the present village occupies the outer curve of the bend. The traditional local pronunciation of the name was [baitəm], according to Kruisinga (1925), and the general pronunciation is [bai.θəm] (Forster 1981). These facts suggest that there may have been an original three-consonant cluster /xt.h/, though the absence of any <gh> spellings such as are found in East and West *Bight* in Lincoln (PN L 1: 63–4, 108) is problematic for this view. The Norman <h>-spellings (*Biham*) may have been due to an attempt to represent a reduced form /x.h/ (for similar reductions like late-OE *rih(t)lice* see Luick 1964: 894–5), and therefore be indirect evidence for an original /x/; or it may indicate a more radical inability to cope with late-OE consonant clusters, as in Anglo-Norman *Graham* for Grantham (53).<sup>7</sup> Modern /θ/ will be a spelling-pronunciation, and, in the light of Kruisinga's data, medieval <th> is to be read as /t.h/. The nearest parallel to the explanation offered here is the account given by Reaney for Bythorn [Bank], Parson Drove [actually Tydd St Giles, RC], Cambridgeshire, involving *byht* and *hyrne* 'corner'; but that name is recorded only from 1524, too late for cast-iron reliable evidence for the presence of *byht* (PN C: 277, lx). An alternative to *byht* might be *bite* '? pasturage' (VEPN 1: 106–7), but this has not previously been found in a major place-name.

Despite the philological difficulties noted, the strongest argument in favour of my solution remains the location of the castle at this place, which is appropriately described as in a *byht*. It may have been constructed where the village was previously, the village being displaced by the need to acquire its defensible site for the castle. The site may have been in the

hands of Morcar, last Saxon earl of Northumbria (Roffe 1994: 9), and was ultimately given by the Conqueror to Stephen, son of his half-brother Odo, who completed the fortification. It was therefore a major Norman centre of power; it is perhaps no more surprising that an English pronunciation element difficult for Normans, /x/, is absent here than that initial /h/ is very frequently missing, and eventually lost, from the record of the name of Arundel (PN Sx 1: 99, 136–7) with its great castle.

There is a minor concentration of the uncommon element *byht* in the eastern counties of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Nottinghamshire and the West Riding, with single outliers in each of Wo, O, Nb, Du, La, Ch (EPNE 1: 72; VEPN 2: 111–2); this established easterly distribution adds a small amount of extra weight to my account. The second element might be *hamm*, but that would appear redundant since its applications include ‘land in a river-bend’; *hām* ‘major farming estate’ is therefore more likely.

CADWELL PARK, motor racing circuit (Tathwell; 26)

*Cathadala* t. Hy2

*Cattedale* t. Hy2 (1649)

Cameron suggests that this is ‘the (wild-)cat valley’, OE *cat(t)* + “ON *dalr*”; but the range of forms requires a first element in the genitive plural, and a purely Scand. *\*katta-dal-* fits the forms, e.g. *Cattedale* (from 1202) acceptably. Alternatively, *dal-* is the Scandinavian element as borrowed into English, and the name is wholly English. Either solution is preferable to a supposed “hybrid” (cf. Sandnes 2005).

CAMMERINGHAM (27)

*Camelingham* 1086

*Camringham* c. 1115

*Cambrigeham* 1126

*Kameringham* 1219

Cameron observes (here and PN L 6: 141–2) that the first element would be suited by an unrecorded OE personal name *\*Cantmæ̅r*, whose first element would be an early borrowing from Brittonic at odds with the phonology of other English names with this rare element (e.g. *Centwine*), as John Insley observes. But the place-name would be equally well, in fact better, suited



by a regularly-formed Brittonic \**Kaduōr* ‘battle-great’. Both elements of this are extremely common in personal names, and the actual name is recorded in appropriate forms in Gaulish (Evans 1967: 173) and in a variety of text-types in Old and Middle Welsh (Lloyd-Jones 1931–63: 90, minor qualification on p. 262 (one instance may be a place-name)). Its availability in the Brittonic of the era of English settlement is therefore beyond doubt. Elsewhere in Lincolnshire, Cameron is prepared to allow the possibility of names in *-inga-* based on a Brittonic personal name: Threekingham (127; 2 miles from a Walcot, a name-type testifying to the presence of Britons) and Washingborough (135); so there is no acknowledged obstacle to a Brittonic name appearing in Cammeringham.

*CAUTHORPE* or *CANTHORPE* (Thornton le Moor; lost)

*Camthorp*’ 1234x1239, *Camthorpp*’ 1338

*Camthorp* 1236, 1280x1285, 1299 [some forms including *-bek*’ and the like]

*Camthorpe* 1518

*Cauthorp*’ 14th and frequent thereafter

*Canthorp* 1715

The five earliest securely datable medieval spellings all have <m(p)> between the first and second vowels (PN L 3: 164–5). This surely suggests that the divergent tradition with <u>, which appears abruptly in a 14th-century Monson MS. and establishes itself consistently in MSS of that archive after 1570, is in error for a lost archetypal \*<n>, where the nasal consonant <n> represents whatever the early <m> represented. The simplest solution is to take the first element as a by-name deriving from Scand. *kamp-* ‘whiskers (of a man or a seal); beard’, as seen in the name of the Icelander Kampa-Grímr mentioned in *Landnámabók* (§289; Jónsson 1946: 163). This would be parallel to the use of *Skeggi* originally as a by-name based on *skegg* ‘beard’ (Insley 1994: 335), and the relevant form here must be the weak *Kampi*. Alternatively, perhaps the man involved was known by a grammatically plural name *Kampar* ‘Whiskers’, genitive *Kampa*, as in the name in *Landnámabók*. In either case, what we see in the record by the earliest testimony (*Camthorp*’, 1234x1239) is a spelling with the unstressed medial vowel lost early by the normal Middle English process.

## CHOWDER NESS (Barton upon Humber)

This headland causing a narrowing of the Humber at Barton is not recorded before 1824 (PN L 2: 33), but it shows every sign of deriving from Scand. *tjald(r)*- < \**teld*- ‘oystercatcher’, the common foreshore bird, for which see *chalder* in Lockwood (1984: 40, and for a fuller explanation of the relations among the early Scand. forms, 1975: 27–31) and cf. Chalder Ness (Girlanda, Mainland, Shetland).<sup>8</sup>

This bird-name is recorded in English only from the Northern Isles. It would be an almost perfect fit here, both phonologically and ecologically, if it were not for the breaking of Scand. \*/e/ to \*[ja] presupposed by the palatalization of the initial consonant. \*/e/ normally appears unbroken in English borrowings as /e/ (cf. HARTSHOLM below; Björkman 1900: throughout). Scandinavian breaking caused by \*/a/ is dated to c. 750 according to Gordon (1957: 274), or even earlier according to Noreen (1913: 69–70), though Faarlund (1994: 41) does not offer an absolute date. Either the change proceeded early in this word, or the name has been imported to Lincolnshire from the north by late seaborne contacts. Late arrival of the word is the more likely solution; there is no recorded English name for this bird before 1500 (see Lockwood 1984 under *olive*; he infers an OE \**līf* from modern eastern dialect words and from comparison of these with continental Germanic words). The vocalization of /l/ before a consonant is typical of Lincolnshire and East Yorkshire dialects. The /a/ of the borrowed form appears to have been treated like a reflex of lengthened OE /a/ before /l + consonant/, as in *old*, which appears in Lincolnshire as [ou + consonant] (LAE maps Ph132, Ph133), represented by <ow> as often in the material in Sims-Kimbrey (1995). Given that the name must have an origin, and since it must postdate Viking-period Scandinavian influence, application of the Norn bird-term or transfer of the Shetland place-name (by sailors of the Hull middle-water fishing-fleet?) appears most likely. In East Yorkshire what appears as the Lincolnshire <ow> appears as [ɔə], which, if brought back in this form by the Hull fleet, could have been rendered on the southern shore by the usual corresponding form proper to Lincolnshire.

Despite the fact that today the oystercatcher is mainly a bird of the outer Humber estuary (Mander 2003), it seems to me much less likely that *chalder*, a mainly North-Country (principally Scots) word for a dry measure (usually of grain, coal or lime), is involved in any way, but it is formally possible. This may also be a variant of *chaldron*, a measure consisting of 36 bushels of coal. *Chowder* ‘(fish) hodgepodge’ is found only in North America at the relevant time, and I cannot imagine a context for its application here.

## CLAXBY PLUCKACRE (30)

This is to suggest tentatively that the mysterious second word may be a manorial specifier involving a by-name or surname. If the word-division in the first mention (1227) is to be taken seriously (*Pluk Acre*), it may allude to events at the Levantine town of Acre, besieged and taken bloodily (plucked as if a flower?) by Richard I in 1191, and one might expect any such by-name to have been formulated in Anglo-Norman rather than English at this period, therefore \**Peluke-Acre*, minimally accommodated to the already-existing English word *pluck* which is ultimately from the same Latin source. No surname seems to have been developed from this. Or, if folk-etymology has been at work, it may be an alteration of *Plouguer*, presently a suburb of Carhaix (Finistère, Brittany) to which its name, ‘parish/community of the fortified town’ in Breton, refers, or of some unrecognized other name containing *Plou-/Pleu-*. This would parallel the surname *Plucknett* from Plouquenet (Ille-et-Vilaine), found in Haselbury Plucknett (So). But this note is to suggest a direction for consideration rather than to settle an etymology, as no by-name or surname with either of the required forms has been found.

## CLEETHORPES (31)

Neither of the relevant reference works by Cameron mentions the fact that Cleethorpes has a widely-used nickname, *Meggies*. This is a metonymic usage of the plural of *Meggie*, a name for a person Cleethorpes born and bred, meaning from stock originally living in the town’s historic and commercial centre before the suburbs started to sprout. One story touted on a local electronic discussion list is that “before the sea retreated” the modest rise bounded by the bottom of Isaac’s Hill and Lower St Peter’s Avenue, with High Street at the top, was known as *Meg’s Island*, and that people born within these limits were called *Meggies* (see also Dowling 1995: 35). Another version has *Meg’s Isle* as a small island visible “off the Brighton [Street] slipway end” of the promenade in the 19th century. I know of no hard evidence supporting either version. I have heard the term *Meggie* itself referred to the *megworm*, a kind of worm dug for bait on the foreshore by local anglers. But this species of worm turns out to be as elusive as the island. The alternative name of Cleethorpes is still in need of explanation. A possibility that I have not seen advanced before is that it is simply an application of the local word *meg* ‘[pre-decimal] halfpenny coin’, possibly applied in a derogatory way by Grimsby folk who no doubt judged themselves worth a full penny, or that it relates in some way to the

local expression *the far end of Meg's arse* ("signifies either someone giving a long-winded explanation or expecting too much information or detail in reply"; Dowling 1995: 22).<sup>9</sup>

#### COUNTHORPE (33–4)

Perhaps the first element of this admittedly difficult name is \**kúna*, a genitive plural of Scand. \**kȳ-* 'cow' (cf. the attested corresponding OE *cūna*). The Scand. gen. pl. is *kúa* in attested Old Norse, but *-na* is the historical form of the declensional suffix in weak nouns, and survives in a handful of them such as *hjarta* 'heart', *gumi* 'man' and *gotar* 'men'. Perhaps this pattern was extended in Anglo-Scandinavian to the so-called consonant-stem (athematic) noun \**kȳ-* under the influence of the English word, to which the same demonstrably happened (Campbell 1959: 253, 254). *Cunctorp* in the Pipe Roll (1192) must be for the *Cunetorp* which is actually seen in 1219. *Ciningtorp*' (also 1219), alongside *Cunitorp*' in Curia Regis rolls, may be due to a miscalculation of the number of minims required; <uni> (5 minims) has been miswritten as <inin> (6 minims), an outcome which suggested to the scribe the longer variant of the composition-element which alternates between *-ing* and *-in*. *Cudetorp* in Domesday is at variance with all other spellings for this name and cannot be relied on, but <d> may be for <n> since /d/ and /n/ differ by only one phonological feature-value.

However, we must note that *þorp* seems never to collocate with an animal-word at all in other place-names in England, and the solution offered, whilst being the only one in play, cannot be regarded as secure.

Formally speaking, it is possible that the name may actually be OE *Cūna-þrop*, but this seems unlikely given the overwhelming preponderance of *þorps* compounded with Scand. elements in Lincolnshire. Of course, it might be partially reformed by speakers of one language on the basis of a form historically proper to the other.

#### CROFTON (35)

*Crohcton*' 1204

*Crocketon*' 1208 etc.

*Croghton* 1303

*Crofton* 1556

The current spelling represents a late and unexpected change from the type *Cro(u)ghton*, and mirrors an unexpected change in pronunciation – since the first element is probably OE *crōh* ‘nook’ or *crog* ‘saffron’, /'krəutən/ would be expected, as with a similar name in Cheshire (PN Ch 4: 179). The reason is not really as obscure as Cameron claims. It is a double process, both elements of which feed each other. In part it is probably due to readers’ reinterpretation of the dominant early written form *Cro(u)gh-* as /krɒf-/. The second process is the one which produced an unexpected [f] for earlier [x] in *laughter*: the base-word *laugh* has provided a source of analogy (cf. Luick 1964: 623), and in the place-name the source of analogy is the historically irrelevant word *croft*. The fact that *croft* has a regional pronunciation [krəut], homophonous with the earlier pronunciation of the first syllable of this name, is probably coincidental since this pronunciation seems to be confined to the South Country (Field 1993: 21) and so can hardly have been a catalyst for the change in a Lincolnshire name.

#### CUTTLEBY (Cleethorpes)

Cuttleby Dale and Lane, the former lost and the latter now a street called simply *Cuttleby*, are on record from the eighteenth century (PN L 5: 24). Is this, as it appears to be, a compound involving *cuttle(fish)*, or rather the Danish relative presupposed by Norwegian *kaule* (from \**kodle*; Falk and Torp 1903–6: 396–7)? Such a name as \**Kodlebý* would have easily been susceptible to influence from the OE cognate *cudele*, irregularly modern *cuttle*, at any period. Since there is no other claimed instance in a place-name, perhaps the word as used here is a personal by-name, understandable enough in a fishing community. Perhaps the original form, if of sufficiently ancient origin, was \**Kudla-bý*, with the genitive singular of \**k-/Kudli*. The pattern of the claimed OE/ON phonological correspondence may be compared with that seen in OE *byrele*/ON *byrli* ‘steward’ and OE *merece*/ON *merki* ‘smallage, celery’, but unlike *cudele*/\**kudli* these words show *i*-umlaut due to the phonology of the Gmc suffix and they do not correspond with each other as regards inflectional class.

Some names appearing to contain a similar element, including continental ones, are discussed in PN Nth (103–4), but they are all stream- and mill-names.

## DEXTHORPE (Dalby; 38)

*Dr(e)istorp* 1086*Drext(h)orp* c. 1180 etc.*Draaistorp'* 1208

The early spellings are varied and difficult, but a possible solution first espoused by Ekwall is to treat the first element as the Scand. adjective *drjúg-* ‘lasting, substantial, ample’ used as a personal name or by-name, here in the genitive singular. <jú>, i.e. [ju:], appears in ME borrowings as /e:/ (cf. *mEEK* from *mjúk-*; Björkman 1900: 217). The 12th- and 13th-century forms spelt *Drextorp* would require the <e> to be read as long, and that seems quite permissible in the light of the form *Draaistorp'* recorded in 1208. [g] before the Scand. vowelless genitive singular marker would become [k]. The dissimilative loss of <r> in the first syllable is late.

Fellows-Jensen (1978: 108) notes that the personal or by-name suggested is not actually recorded in either Scandinavia or England. But Icelandic *drjúgur* which continues the word also means ‘self-important’ (Zoëga 1942: 88), and such a nuance, if also in the ancestor-word, would make this a credible by-name. I suggest returning to Ekwall’s view.

Fellows-Jensen’s own solution (1978: 107–8), involving the root ‘dry’ found also in the nearby DRIBY (39; see below), is attractive on the face of it, but the range of early spellings for this (*Dri(e)bi*, -y) is quite distinct from that for Dexthorpe.

## DRIBY (39)

*Dri(e)bi* 1086 to 1200*Driby* 1202

As Cameron and his predecessors say, the name Driby seems very likely to contain OE *drýge* ‘dry’, for both philological and topographical reasons. That being so, this name is important for giving rather compelling evidence of *bý* being used by English-speakers, i.e. as an English word (cf. VEPN 2: 104 and PN L 5: 50), and therefore calls into question the automatic assumption that names in -by were bestowed by Scandinavian-speakers. We know that the borrowed *bý* became a living element of Middle English (it is found in 14th- and 15th-century texts; see Svensson 1997: 58–60, Björkman 1900: 202, and the entry *bī* in Bradley 1891: 55), and it survives in *by-law*.<sup>10</sup> It is less likely that a word for ‘dry’ was borrowed by Scandinavian-speakers; a word for a culturally-definable concept is more

likely to be borrowed than one for a descriptive term based on the evidence of the senses.<sup>11</sup>

### FALDINGWORTH (43)

*Faldingeorde* 1086

*Faldinguorda* c. 1115 and similar thereafter

Since only the DB spelling shows any trace of what might be the relic of a genitive plural marker, and since the personal name or name-element \**Fald(a)* postulated by Cameron is non-existent in OE, it seems better to abandon the idea that this is ‘curtilage of the \*Faldingas’, and to take it instead as ‘curtilage at the (or at a place called) *falding*’. This would be ‘place marked by a *fal(o)d* or fold (for animals)’, the name being a singular-*ing* formation parallel to Stowting (K; Cullen 1997: 180) or Bowling (YW; PN YW 3: 244) which both have topographical root-elements (‘mound’ and ‘bowl’ respectively).

### FANTHORPE (Louth; 43)

See next entry (end).

### FONABY (Caistor; 45), FULLETBY (47) and FULNETBY (Rand; 47)

This notoriously difficult group of names, all in Lindsey, was treated by Ekwall (1931; 1960) as having a common origin. He believed they derive from a Scand. element \**full-nau-tr* ‘one who has a full share’, in the genitive plural \**full-nau-ta* (note that ON *nau-tr* also means ‘donor’ and ‘gift’, which should also be considered carefully as possible original meanings here). But the range of spellings for each of the three names is clearly distinct, and their origins are presumably also distinct, though a case can be made for treating them all as containing the Scandinavian word *full* in different compounds with some semantic similarities – a curiosity, since this as an element, or as an element of an element, is otherwise unknown in place-names in England (or in Denmark, come to that). I present this case below. In the end, it needs to be evaluated against that of Gillian Fellows-Jensen, who argues (1978: 47–8) that *Fulnetby* has Ekwall’s proposed

etymology, but (1978: 288) that the other two enshrine distinct lost compound English place-names as specifiers of *-by*, like *Saltfleetby* (105); if that were so, the English name in question might represent a lost place, or the original name of the place renamed using *-by*.

(i) Fulnetby

*Fulnedebi* 1086  
*Fulnetebi* c. 1115, t. Hy2  
*Fulnotebi* 1187  
*Fulnethebi* 1196  
*Fullethebi* 12th (DEPN)  
*Fulathebi* 112th  
*Fulnedeby* 1234

Fulnetby (NGR TF 097795) is indeed the one whose spellings most suit Ekwall's suggestion, though <n> is occasionally missing, suggesting clerical confusion with *Fulleby*, some 13 miles (21 km) away. The lack of any indication of a back vowel in the second syllable need not be troublesome; as Fellows-Jensen points out very properly, Scand. *naut-* may have been replaced by its English counterpart morpheme *nēat-*, and that would be compatible with the range of recorded spellings. A possible alternative source is a Scand. *\*full-nyt(ja(r))-bý*, possibly 'full-milk farm', i.e. with *nyt* 'use' in some specialized sense to do with foodstuffs such as the 'milk' that is seen in Icelandic, and also in *gras-nyt* 'pasture'. The Gmc root *\*nēut-* has food applications or connotations in other Scandinavian languages too, cf. ON *nýta* 'to eat', Danish *nyde* 'to taste', and also Gothic *nuta* 'fisherman'. Or could it just be a complimentary name with *nyt* in its more general sense of 'usefulness'?

(ii) Fulleby

*Fullobi* (sic) 1086  
*Fuledebi, Fuletebi* c. 1115  
*Fulletebi* 1175x1181  
*Fulotebi* 1163 (DEPN)  
*Fulneteby* 1225

Fulleby (TF 298733), in whose record there is no trace of a nasal consonant at the beginning of the second syllable in most attestations but an occasional <n> suggesting reciprocal confusion with Fulnetby (about 13



miles away; see above), may be for Scand. \**full-etu-bý*, ‘farm with a full manger (*eta*)’, and could therefore be a name of the same semantic type as Butterley and the like, generally taken as a name expressing the richness of the yield of the farm. Fellows-Jensen’s account (1978: 18, 47) makes the first element an English name, *fūl-(ge)lǣt(e)* ‘foul watercourse’; and, from the linguistic point of view, it may be a matter of taste which solution is preferred given that *fūl* has a strong tendency to co-occur with water-words and is therefore credible with *(ge)lǣt(e)* (see also below). However, Fulletby village and farms have sites close to a ridge-top, and there is no obvious reason for it to take its name from the insignificant beck in the valley to the north of the village, a tributary of the Waring, itself a tributary of the Bain; this is a clear chalk watercourse with no obvious reason ever to have been foul. A difficulty with my interpretation, however, is that, as Fellows-Jensen notes (1978: 303), the village has been established on “less desirable land”; it may be that the name is either ironical or a testimony to unexpectedly good husbandry of thin resources.

(iii) Fonaby

*Fuldenebi* (sic) 1086  
*Fulmedebia* 1177  
*Folnetby* 112th, 1294  
*Fulmodebi* 1204  
*Felmetheby* 1226  
*Folmetby* 1316, 1354, 1378

*Fonaby* (TA 113301) remains the most difficult of these names. Cameron in PN L (2: 88) rejects any equation with the others, but does not offer an alternative. In the *Dictionary* he suggests a first element equivalent to the Old Swedish personal name *Folcmōdh* (*Folkmōdh*); Insley (1994: 124) is mildly sceptical about another supposed occurrence of this name, in *Fulmodeston* (Nf), and for this prefers the Old High German relative of the same name in Romance dress. There is no trace of a genitive singular inflection *-s* in the Lincolnshire name, and only a faint hint that OScand. *-a(r)* might have been there; but that does not rule the suggestion out of court, especially in Lincolnshire, where other personal names with no trace of a genitive suffix in the surviving record are found in Scandinavian place-names (e.g. Thealby, Malthorpe, Caythorpe, Asgarby (Kesteven), Kettleby, Grimblethorpe, Utterby).

This could well be right, but the range of early spellings could suggest original /u/ in the first syllable rather than /o/. If that were accepted, then perhaps *Fonaby* also contains a compound first element with *full*, even

though <o> dominates over <u>. The first consonant of the second element of the specifier has spellings varying between <n> and <m>. If possible official confusion with Fulnetby, about 16 miles (26 km) away, is allowed, then the forms with <m> are the *lectio difficilior* and should be taken as representing the authentic name. The compound first element with this alternative initial <m> in its own second element could be Scand. \**full-matir* (plural), in the genitive plural *-mata*, the sense of which might be ‘full provisions’, a parallel with Icelandic *full-býli* in the same sense. If that is right, the letter <d> appears where one might expect <t> in the three oldest records of this name, in DB (where the form is blundered anyway) and Pipe Roll; but the rest of the record has <t(h)>, which I take to indicate a genuine /t/ in the medieval pronunciation though I acknowledge that <th> might be for /ð/. This assumes that Scand. [a] in unstressed syllables might be represented by other vowel letters. Cameron in PN L (2: 8–9) appears willing to accept John Insley’s view that the name Barnetby, equally with <d>-forms in Domesday Book, shows several medieval instances of <t(t(h))> representing the result of influence from ME *bernet* ‘place cleared by burning’, i.e. a form with /t/, which increases confidence in the interpretation of forms with <th> as representing /t/ in the record of Fonaby also.

On balance, both this suggestion and the one invoking *Folcmōdh* or the like seem preferable to Fellows-Jensen’s account (1978: 18, 46) making the specifier a lost English place-name \**Fūl-mæd* ‘foul meadow’, because all English names certain to contain *fūl* have as their generic a word meaning, or implying the presence of, water (except the unique Full Sutton, YE, where a whole place-name is what is qualified by *fūl*). It remains possible that an etymology with a second element containing OE /d/ or Scand. /ð/ should be sought and Cameron’s personal-name suggestion is by no means impossible; Fellows-Jensen’s solution is also formally possible.

A superficially similar name in County Durham, Follingsby in Jarrow, has spellings overlapping the range seen for Fulletby, but it is explained by Watts (2002: 45) as containing the ME (from OFr) by-name *Folet*. This place-name is equated by Ekwall with all of the Lincolnshire names, but he seems to have selectively cited spellings which are supportive; Watts’s record shows that there are genitival *-s* spellings throughout, including in the earliest (12th-century) form. Either Ekwall did not know these, or he omitted to mention them because they were out of line with what seemed to him to be the norm.

Returning to *Folcmōdh* (*Folkmōdh*): this seems just as likely to occur in *Fanthorpe* (43) as the *Folcmar* or *Folmer* proposed in the *Dictionary*; there is no trace of an <r> in the record for the place-name, a typical spelling being *Folmethorp*’ (1235x1253).

## GAYTON LE MARSH and GAYTON LE WOLD (50)

*Gettune* 1086 (Wold)  
*Gayton* 1156–8 (Wold), 1236 (Marsh)  
*Gaiton'* 1202 (Marsh)  
*Geiton'* 1206 (Marsh)  
*Geyton* 1222

Cameron's explanation that these names contain Scand. *geit* 'nanny-goat' though compounded with OE *tūn* gains credibility from the fact that *geit* actually appears as a borrowed word in ME (Björkman 1900: 42); accordingly, the name even in its present form can be regarded as fully English.

## GLANFORD BRIGG (50)

*Glanford'* 1183, 1218  
*Glaunford* 1203, 1318  
*Glanfordbrigges* 1331

Following previous scholarship, Cameron claims this name is from OE *glēam* but has been influenced by OWScand./ON *glaumr*, both meaning 'revelry'. The theory of Scandinavian influence is by no means to be dismissed in principle. Note Brigg, from Scand. *bryggja* 'quay, jetty' or more likely consisting of the word *bridge* affected by Scandinavian pronunciation to produce a form identical with it, which is used in the English sense 'bridge' in this very parish-name. But I don't think the theory applies in the case of Glanford. The traditional view is that the spellings in the record suggest *glēam* with the vowel shortened before two consonants, yielding late OE [æ] (cf. the discussion above under BAUMBER); none of the spellings has <e>. The medieval forms show alternation between <a> and <au>, whilst names undoubtedly with Scandinavian /au/ are regularly, and even dominantly, spelt <ou>, alternating with <au>, in Lincolnshire: cf. Owmbly (95, 96), Gokewell (51), The Austerby (7), Aunsby (7), Owston Ferry (96), Rauceby (100), Gautby (49) and reflexes of the ubiquitous \**haug-* 'mound'. In a long list of mentions, Glanford never has <ou> at all (PN L 2: 117).<sup>12</sup>

We know from other names studied in the present article that <au> may be a normanism for ME /a/, especially before a nasal consonant (see PANTON, for instance, and the commentary there), and that is the most consistent interpretation of the spelling-record for Glanford: the <au> is a

spelling in the Anglo-Norman tradition, not compelling evidence of Scandinavian influence, however plausible that might be in this area.<sup>13</sup> The name is therefore simply \**Glēam-ford* with purely English development of the first vowel.

The same considerations apply to Glandford in Norfolk (PN Nf 3: 124); Sandred does not suggest that the occasional <au> in the record for this name indicates Scandinavian influence, and he is surely right.

GOSBERTON; see ALGARKIRK

GRASBY (53)

*Gros(e)bi* 1086

*Grossebi* c. 1115, 1166

*Gressebi* 1165, 1202

*Greseby* 1212

This name, also discussed in PN L (2: 135–6), is very problematic, because in the earliest part of the record it is spelt with <o> in the first syllable, but later with <e>, which alternates with <i/y> between 1343 and 1625 and then definitively gives way to modern <a> from the late 17th century. Ekwall (DEPN: 203) explained the first element as being from Scand. *grjót* ‘gravel’, but one would expect such a form, from earlier \**grēot-*, to give forms like *Gret-* in ME (cf. Björkman 1900: e.g. 125–6, entry “*skēt(e)*”, and especially Cameron’s dictionary-entry for Grebby (53)); or, if we have a genitival compound here, *Gres-* for *Grets-*. In that case, all the <o>-forms would have to be deemed scribal errors (Fellows-Jensen 1978: 50–1). Cameron notes, on the basis of local information received, that the sense ‘gravel farm’ is topographically appropriate, but he prefers to leave the name unexplained. Scand. or regional OE *gres* ‘grass’ may have been substituted for the true first element, for whatever reason but presumably by folk-etymology based on perceived local appropriateness.

Although the <o>-forms are mainly in central government documents rather than ones likely to be informed by local knowledge, there are too many of them to simply dismiss; there are six on record before the first appearance of a form in <e>, and, although both variants are found in the Pipe Rolls, <o> dominates there over <e>. Conceding the genuine difficulty of the name, I suggest that the village was originally called Scand. \**Grōðsam-bȳ* ‘fertile farm’. The /ð/ could have been lost by

assimilation to the fricative which immediately followed, and the /m/ by the same process which tended to eliminate late OE/ME /n/ in unstressed syllables. Naturally, this solution still needs to appeal to the replacement of the (by the 12th century obscure) first element with *gres*, as suggested by Fellows-Jensen.

Grasby is one of a line of villages which Cameron argues persuasively were founded by Danish settlers in the ninth century (1977: 124). Like most of the others at the foot of the scarp slope of the Wolds south of Elsham, its inhabited centre is on the Kimeridge clay (1977: map 8 on 137) covered by head deposits, but with most of the historic arable on the drift deposits of the Vale of York glacial sands and gravels. This formation must have contrasted with the shaly Ancholme Clay and the moor-forming Cover Sands which occupy much of the land of the adjacent parishes but are less in evidence in Grasby (OS 1: 50000 geological map, sheet 89 (drift)). Scandinavian settlers seem to have preferred, or been forced onto, sandy or gravelly soil (1977: 126), whose agricultural value is on the whole quite low (1977: 125) and which in general hereabouts rates a modest grade 3 (4 is the lowest) in the OS's agricultural land classification. It is possible to view a name meaning 'fertile farm/village' as indicating one which had an unusual amount of its territory in productive use in an area where the conspicuous Cover Sands (Straw 1963) do not support arable farming. It is noteworthy that, although it has an area designated a moor like the nearby Searby cum Owmbly, Bigby and Caistor, Grasby has no minor names containing the element *sand* as these parishes do.

A name which is a compound of an adjective directly relevant to land-use and *-bȳ* would be quite unusual, but a clear parallel is provided by DRIBY. The change of the first element to the topographical or ecological term *gres* makes the structure of the name much more typical.

#### Districts of GRIMSBY (LITTLE RUSSIA and TOP TOWN)

These expressions do not appear in PN L or the *Dictionary*. *Top Town* has been the completely general name for the older commercial centre of Grimsby (around the Old Market Place and Victoria Street) for well over a century, and is used to distinguish this area from the Freeman Street commercial area, which was developed in the later 19th century on the East Marsh. A note in Dowling (1995: 55) suggests that, around 1900, *bottom town* may have been used for the latter, but I have never heard it. Dowling's adult education group also found written evidence for *up town* and *down town* for the same areas respectively in 1860–1 (1995: 56), but I

never heard these used when I lived in Grimsby (1949–1971) and have not on frequent visits since then.

Another purely local name was *Little Russia*, well-known in the mid-20th century for the once vigorously socialist west end of the West Marsh area of the town. Dowling (1995: 32) suggests the further possibility that the name may have been influenced by the presence of yards at the nearby Alexandra Dock importing Baltic timber, but that hardly seems sufficient or necessary; surely most such names are transferred (copied) from localities in the news.<sup>14</sup>

## GUNNESS (54)

*Gunnesse* 1199 etc.

*Gunes* 1219 etc., c. 1300

*Gunneys* 1280, 1303

*Gunnays* 1327

The oldest spellings of this name (PN L 6: 62–3) leave no doubt that this contains Scand. *nes* ‘headland’, as Cameron notes, and as is topographically appropriate. However, there is a range of later-medieval spellings in <ey> and the like (*Gunneys*, *Gunnays*), dominant in *Gunness* but totally absent from the record of the otherwise comparable Scandinavian names *Holderness* (PN YE 14–15) and *Amounderness* (Ekwall 1922: 139), and the English *Reedness* (PN YW 2: 9). Comparison with other Lincolnshire names indicates that, if the phenomenon is to be taken at face value, the second syllable has developed as if it contained Scand. /a:/, which is further supported by the general early-modern spellings in <a> apparently representing a shortening of /a:/, again unparalleled in the record of such names as *Holderness*. OE/ME *næss* can hardly have been substituted, since the medieval spellings so clearly suggest a long vowel. *Furness* (Ekwall 1922: 200) shows some spellings in <ei> and <ey> in the early-medieval period, from 1169, and Ekwall regards these as a normanism (presumably as if representing the French adjectival morpheme *-eis* as in *curteis*). The idea of a normanism is supported by other characteristic spellings of the type <-els> [sic]. But as for *Gunness*, it is hard to countenance a scribal normanism which did not begin till 1280 and which does not have these other supporting pieces of evidence. The only possible explanation is that the phenomenon is related to the one described by Luick (1964: 397), whereby certain vowels are lengthened in originally unstressed syllables when, for mainly metrical reasons, they come to be stressed. *Ness* comes to be stressed at an unknown time in

*Skegness*, and in this name this pattern is generally still maintained (on the *ness* itself see Owen 1975: 49); the same may have happened to *Gunness*, though spellings after 1391 indicate that this cannot have been a long-lived phenomenon since those indicate reduction of the final vowel. Gammeltoft (2001: 46, note) draws attention to similar stress-shifting in some dialects of Norwegian.

#### HAGWORTHINGHAM (57)

*Haberdingham, Hacbering(e)ham* 1086

*Aburdingeham* 1166

*Hagworthyngham, Hawordingheham* c. 1115 (14th)

*Hagworthingham* 1147 (after 1269)

Since only early Exchequer documents (Domesday and Pipe Roll) show forms with <b>, the identification of the personal name on which this place-name is built as the hypothetical OE *\*Hagubearde* is unconvincing, despite the existence of North and West Germanic names which correspond formally with it. The rest of the record, including the modern form, has <w>, and *\*Haguweard* is therefore more satisfying. At least the second element is thereby identified as one common in Old English, even if the first is a rare one for which we are largely reliant on continental parallels. Or perhaps we have to do with a lexical word *\*haguweard* ‘enclosure-ward’, structurally parallel with *stigweard* ‘hall-ward; steward’ and *hagustald* ‘bachelor’, literally ‘enclosure-possessor’ (for some discussion, and reference to earlier literature, see Coates 1988a: 79, fn. 2). One might expect either of these possibilities to yield a modern name something like *\*Hawardingham* or *\*Hardingham*. The <th> that is actually found is due to the name’s being filtered through Scandinavian phonology; /ð/ for /d/ in certain environments, including after /r/, is a well-understood Scandinavianism (see e.g. Ekwall 1924: 65). A guarantee that such an impact is plausible is given by 12th-century spellings with Scand. *-heim* instead of Engl. *-ham*. The unexpected <g>, modern [g], instead of <gh>, early ME [ɣ] – unexpected even if Cameron’s solution is correct – may be due to association with the word *hagg* ‘gap, notch’ (actually recorded as borrowed into ME; Björkman 1900: 34) or ‘place where trees have been felled’ (found in dialect; see e.g. PN L 4: 85), or perhaps OE *\*hagga* ‘hawthorn (berry)’ (EPNE 1: 222), or Scand. verbal root *\*hag-* ‘to cut, chop (as of firewood)’ (Cameron 1996: 10), or even ME *hagge* ‘hag’.<sup>15</sup> Whichever is in fact responsible, this phenomenon may also be seen in the name of Hagnaby, four miles (6.5 km) due south of here, whose name

contains the Scandinavian personal name *Haghni* (56), unless, as Fellows-Jensen suggests (2001: 13), this contains Continental Germanic *Hagen* (but without the expected genitive *-es*). Note also *Haggengates* in Nettleton in the 12th century, also explained in PN L (2: 246) also by reference to *Haghni*; *Hagen* is also a possible source of this.

There is a further Hagnaby with the same origin some 12 miles (19 km) away to the north-east of Alford. An alternative possibility is therefore a microdialectal change of pronunciation of [ɣ] to [g] before a consonant in eastern Lindsey; but in that case it is curious that all the evidence for it comes in syllables of the phonetic form [hag]. Contamination by *hagg(e)* or *\*hagga* is the explanation which gives rise to fewest difficulties, though like all explanations appealing to analogical influence this suggestion raises further questions about why such influence happened at all.

One might be tempted to argue that the village-name could have been influenced by the personal name seen in the Old Danish record in *Hagbarðæthorp* (Ekwall 1924: 62; CDEPN: 270), but that would lead to the difficulty of explaining why the <g> (pronounced [ɣ]) had exerted a permanent influence on the name and resulted in a spelling-pronunciation, whilst the <b> had recoiled before the original <w>.

A <b> instead of <w> in almost any other additional early document, one not obviously produced at the Exchequer, would however enhance the probability that Cameron's proposal is correct. But there is none in his archive.

Ekwall's account (DEPN: 211) acknowledges that a form with <w> is the most likely source; but, followed by Fellows-Jensen (1978: 200), he treats the first element as a compound *\*Hæcg-worþ*, a place-name, perhaps 'hawthorn enclosure', and it is not credible that an *-ingahām* name, being an early type, could be formed on such a base. Although occasional parallels exist for such a formation, the element *worð* is absent from the earliest records (Cox 1976), and we cannot assume it was available for secondary names including *-inga(s)*. Further, no such independent name as *\*Hæcg-worð* appears in the record. In a similar solution, Watts (CDEPN: 270) suggests that the name may have as its first element a singular *-ing* name based on such a place-name, but a similar objection may be raised: there is no warrant for a major estate-name in *hām* to be based on a name including a word *worð* used for lesser, and later, holdings.<sup>16</sup>

## HAMERINGHAM (58)

*Hameringam* 1086, 1158

*Hameringeham* 1188–1194



Cameron, followed by Watts (CDEPN: 274), analyses this as a group-name in *-ingas* based on OE *hamor* and meaning ‘dwellers by the hill’, ‘hill’ being a supposed meaning of *hamor* though EPNE (1: 231) suggests the more specific meaning of ‘crag’. In several North Country names where its topographical reference is clear, this element indeed probably denotes a rocky outcrop, and this is not appropriate at Hameringham, where the hill is unremarkable (cartographic evidence and site visits 01/01/2003 and 29/12/2003). The village is situated on a long slope well below the summit (NGR TF 310672), and partly in a modest valley. In fact, the site is so non-rugged that, immediately adjacent, the terrain was capable of supporting the cavalry engagement of the Civil War battle of Winceby (1643).

In the light of this, it is probably better to take the first element as a male personal name *Haðumæ̅r* for which there are continental parallels (e.g. OHG *Hadumār*) and which is found in *to hæðe mæ̅ringe* in a Kentish charter (S: 546, a 10th-century forgery ostensibly dating from 949; see also Cullen 1997: 340) and in the Durham Liber Vitae as *haðumer* (Sweet 1885/1886: 159 (4)). The /u/ may have been lost early for metrical reasons in the complex name *\*Hað(u)mæ̅ringahām*, which would therefore allow the loss of the fricative rendered <ð> before a further consonant. Hameringham is not recorded before 1066, and such a loss of <ð> is paralleled in all post-Conquest spellings of various names believed to be formed with the OE personal name *Hrōðwulf*, e.g. Rolleston (St), Rowlston (YE) and Rolvenden (K).

HARTSHOLM (60; Skellingthorpe)

*Hertesholm* 1135x1154, etc.

This name is said to contain *Hartar*, the genitive singular of OWScand. *Hjortr*, a by-name meaning ‘hart’. This should read *Hjartar*, though evidently in the pre-breaking form normally found in England in Scandinavian names containing /ja/, i.e. *\*Hert-*. Moreover, it clearly either contains this name transposed into another inflectional class which has *-s* as its genitive (cf. the discussion of the personal name in FOOTSEY in Coates 2007a), or more likely it has OE/ME so-called “secondary” *-es*, because the *-ar* genitive is not on the whole normalised to *-s* in Scandinavian until the 13th–14th centuries.<sup>17</sup>

## HAUGHAM (60)

*Hecham* 1086, 1188

*Hacham* c. 1150 (13th), c. 1180

*Hagham* 1191, 1212

Laying aside two early forms with <e> from central government documents (Domesday Book and Pipe Roll), all other spellings have <a> in the first syllable indicating that whilst the name, of ancient type, may have started as OE *Hēah-hām* ‘high major estate’ it persisted as though containing, or at least decisively influenced by, Scand. *\*hauhar* (> *\*ha(w)-*) ‘high’ – another indication of complex relations between the two languages in the Danelaw. (Cf. also the discussion of Habrough in PN L 2: 139–41 and refs there.)

## HOWELL (67; Asgarby)

*Huuelle* 1086

*Huwella* 1165

*Houwell* 1175x1184

The unexplained first element of this name is almost consistently spelt <Hu-> in early documents, and later with AN <Hou-> presumably also standing for /hu:/. It may be OE *hūf* ‘(a species of) owl’; this word is glossed ‘bubo [= long-eared owl (?)]’ in the eleventh-century Brussels bilingual glossary (Wright/Wülcker 1884: 287 (9)). An <f> (= [v]) before <w> may result in the loss of the <w> (cf. the history of the word *hlāfweard* > *hlāford* ‘lord’), but the opposite resolution of the disfavoured sequence is reasonably to be expected in this name by the combined effect of analogy with the generic element *welle/-a* ‘stream, spring, well’ and of the obsolescence of the bird-name. The early loss of [v] will have removed the condition which blocked the general development of [u:] >> modern [au], namely a labial obstruent following in the same syllable (Luick 1964: 567); hence the current pronunciation /hauəl/ not \*/hu:(vw)əl/.

For the meaning, one might compare a lost Hawkwell (*Hauekwelle* in 13th-century Enstone; PN O 2: 351) and also Hauxwell (PN YN: 269) and the etymologically identical Hoxall Cottage (Mottistone, Wt; Mills 1996: 61), which also refer to a bird of prey (or in the last two instances perhaps to a person named ‘Hawk’), as well as the several examples of Kidbrook and the like, ‘kite(s) stream’. The alternative form of this word, the <h>-less *ūf*, has been generally reckoned to appear in the genitive

singular form in Ousden (Sf; CDEPN: 456), but doubt has been cast on this by Insley (2006).

Another possibility is the OE *hūfe* ‘(head-)covering’ which has been proposed for Hove (PN Sx: 293) in a sense like ‘small dwelling; shelter’; this place may have been or had a covered spring (CDEPN: 319). But this possibility is undermined by the complete lack of evidence for a former medial syllable.

## HUMBY (68)

### *Humbi* 1086–1233

This name has an unexplained first element, the difficulty of which is aggravated by the lack of any trace of a medial syllable anywhere in the record. It therefore bears comparison with Hunton (PN YN: 241), which equally has no medial syllable and which therefore cannot be confidently interpreted. Nicolaisen (2001: 147–8) notes that *Humbie* is a repeated name in Scotland: there are five instances including, intriguingly, one in each of the Lothians, which might suggest a significant distribution. Those in West and East Lothian have 13th-century records, and show evidence for a medial syllable, suggesting, though not conclusively, that they may well have the Scandinavian male personal name *Hundi* as the first element, or Scand. \**hund-* ‘dog’ in the genitive plural, though the repetition of the pairing deserves further investigation. Hanby near Welton le Marsh (DEPN; not in Cameron 1998 or in PN L as published so far) has the spellings *Hund(e)bi* and the like in Domesday and in the early-12th century Lindsey survey, the <u> giving way systematically to <a> in later records; Ekwall interprets these as meaning that the name was changed by euphemism, which seems far-fetched. The facts are hard to explain, but the Lincolnshire Humby, because of the lack of a medial syllable, appears to require a different interpretation from the Scottish names.

Moberg (1975) argues against an earlier view that there was a Scandinavian element *húnn* with the sense ‘roof-beam’, and conjectures that it might instead mean ‘block, clump’ in some Swedish and Danish names. Following this lead, Fellows-Jensen (1978: 54) finds that topographically appropriate for a parish on a spur of the Wolds, but the little there is of Humby is mainly alongside the beck, not on the top of the low spur, and such a unique metaphorical usage of a common word to designate a quite ordinary landscape feature is not really consistent with the regular use made of the precise topographical vocabulary available to speakers of both languages. Wahlberg (2003: 136) raises the possibility of

a word *hund* designating a height in early Swedish to explain *Hunneberg*, but acknowledges the possibility of *hund* ‘dog’ in this name; in any case a word meaning ‘height’ is inappropriate for Humby.

Formally, the only word consistent with the evidence for the first element of both Humby and Hunton is OE/Scand. *hund* ‘one hundred’. One might tentatively compare the curious Tythrop (‘two/double-village’; PN O 1: 112), perhaps Twinstead (PN Ess: 465), Viveham (PN D 1: 39), the repeated south-western Sevenhampton and derivatives (PN Wo: 35; W: 27, 107–8; Gl 1: 177–8; DEPN for Seavington, So), and the lost *Endlewic* (PN Sx 2: 413), all of which appear to mean or to contain a numeral followed by a word meaning ‘[dwelling-]place’ (not marked for plurality).<sup>18</sup> They might refer to fiscally- or legally-significant groupings of tenements, though they are not really parallel to the repeated and readily-understandable ‘five hide’ estate-names indicating a thegn’s holding of fixed notional size (Cameron 1996: 137–8). If ‘100’ were involved, the interpretation could hardly be literal, given the small size of Humby and Hunton. But no other possibility suggests itself, not even ‘administrative hundred’, since *hund* is never used in this sense and since Lincolnshire in any case had wapentakes not hundreds as its administrative sub-units.

If this and the Yorkshire name are not to be compared, then the first element here may be Scand. *hún-* ‘bear-cub’, perhaps used as a personal name, compounded without a genitive-marker (as in several other instances noted in this article), and with the vowel shortened before a cluster. The cluster must be assumed to have been /nb/ rather than an assimilated /mb/, because the latter is a lengthening environment in later Old English and might be expected to generate some traces of a lengthened preceding vowel in spellings of the early Middle English period.

#### HYKEHAM, NORTH and SOUTH (68)

*Hicham* ?1085x1099 (14th), 1086–1163

*Hicaham* 1115 (13th)

*Hiccham* 1160x1165

The general view of this name is that it contains OE *hice* (also *hice-māse*) ‘titmouse’, but that cannot be right if, as Cameron notes it, the first vowel was short; later \**Hick-* would be expected, or \**Heek-* if the element had been subject to ME open-syllable lengthening. The name requires ME long /i:/ (assuming that the form of 1160x1165 is aberrant). Cameron (1968: 24), in correcting EPNE, makes this vowel long, but later returns to notating it as short (1998: 68). Ekwall (DEPN: 260) notates the vowel in *hice* long,

presumably following Holthausen (1934: 158), who follows Förster (1917: 119, n. 1). Förster claims that MDu *hi(j)ken* ‘titmouse’ proves the long vowel (but he does not explain the morphological difference between the Dutch and Old English words); however, the short-vowelled MLG verb *hicken* ‘to peck, pick’ that he adduces as a root-relative allows the possibility that the English name *hice-māse* is not a tautologous ‘titmouse titmouse’ but has a structure like the common one posited for other English vernacular bird-names by Lockwood (1984: *s.nn.*) for *chatter pie*, *clatter dove*, *dapfinch*, *rattle thrush*, *screech owl* and so on, i.e. [X + Y] with the original structural meaning ‘a Y which Xs’, here ‘titmouse [looser? ‘small bird’?] which pecks/picks’. Lockwood (1984: 82) accepts the connection of the English word with the short-vowelled root, and if OE *hicol* ‘green woodpecker’ is related, the vowel is again presumably short (cf. its descendant the dialectal *hickwall*; Lockwood 82–3). The upshot of this is that the bird-name has not been proved to have a long vowel. Moreover, the fact that members of the tit family are found in large numbers everywhere reduces (though not quite to zero) the plausibility of this word’s appearing in a major place-name. The rarity of appearances of words for small passerines in major place-names is acknowledged by, e.g., Yalden (2002: 424).

A possible alternative source is offered by a hypothetical but regular pet-form of an OE name with the base *Hyge-*, thus *\*Hygica*. OE /y/ becomes /i/ in the East Midlands in the transition to Middle English, and *\*Hygica*, i.e. OE *\*/hyjika/* becoming *\*/hijəka/*, is a plausible source of the *\*/hi:ka/* that may underlie the 11th- and 12th-century spellings of this name, all of which have <i> in the first syllable. We know that the (uncommon) base-element was known in Lindsey during the Anglo-Saxon period because of the existence of St Higebold (i.e. *Hygebald*) at the place now called after him, Hibaldstow (Liebermann 1889). Watts (CDEPN: 326) notes that a hypothetical OE male personal name *\*Hīca*, corresponding to German *Heiko*, would also do the trick. But both these suggestions are undermined by the fact that only one spelling in Cameron’s archive suggests the presence of a medial syllable: there is *Hicaham* in a 13th-century copy of an 11th-century MS., but that is the only instance with <a> and there are none with <e>. An explanation from an element of the form *\*hīc* (with scandinavianized /-k/) in a stem-compound with *hām* would be preferable, but no such element is known and no parallels from other Germanic languages spring to mind.

*KALKERTHORP* (Grimsby)

This name is recorded in the above spelling and as *Calker-*, *Carkel-*, all in 1293 (PN L 5: 98), and then seems to disappear into the obscurity from which it emerged. The first element is probably a Scand. occupational name or byname *\*kalkari* ‘lime-burner’. It is formally possible that the first element derives from Scand. *\*kalk-erð(u)-* ‘chalk(y) soil’ (cf. Modern Icelandic *kalkjörð*, Danish and Swedish *kalkjord*), and we can associate it with the chalky variety of so-called Boulder Clay identified in Grimsby and elsewhere by Howorth (1896, quoting an article by C. Reid) as follows:

At Grimsby the sections ‘showed two Boulder-clays, purple and chalky, and exactly alike, separated sometimes by a mere line of division, sometimes by gravelly sand, in which fragments of inter-Glacial shells were found’.

This would in any case provide the *kalk* for burning. Either way, we can suggest that the name is perpetuated with metathesis of /lk/ to /kl/ in the *kageler thing* recorded in 1546 (PN L 5: 98), a property whose name is continued during the 16th century as *Kaklay* and *Kakley* in which the second syllable may have been relevantly influenced by *clay*. The fairly simple link with the earlier name appears to make this interpretation of the later name preferable to that given by Cameron which includes ME *cakeler* ‘chatterer’ as a by-name.<sup>19</sup>

## KEELBY (72)

*Chelebi* 1086, c. 1115  
*Kelebi* 1143x1147, etc.  
*Keilby* c. 1215

Discussion of this name can serve as a model to illustrate a difficult issue that I have drawn attention to elsewhere (Coates 2005a), namely that of how to interpret certain medial syllables. *Keelby* is held to be for Scand. *\*kel-* > *\*kjal-* ‘keel, (by metaphor) ridge (of hills)’. Fellows-Jensen (1978: 55) explicitly notes “the spur on whose slope Keelby stands”, and there is further topographical commentary in PN L (2: 174) to show that this is a perfectly acceptable interpretation. However, the documentary evidence presented in PN L reveals a difficulty. Every single mention of the place before 1376 – and there are 57 of these plus however many are disguised by “*et freq.*” between 1233 and 1634 – has an <e> (or very occasionally <es>) between the two elements. What is this? It can hardly be an

epenthetic vowel, as there is no process which breaks up such a two-consonant cluster in English. It cannot simply be a scribal device, as its phonological presence is necessary to provide the environment in which the vowel of the first syllable can be lengthened by Middle English open syllable lengthening to yield the modern pronunciation. If it is an element, what is it? It can hardly be the Scand. genitive plural marker, because the writers noted and quoted are at pains to describe a single topographical feature. It must therefore be for the ODa genitive singular marker *-a* (< *-ar*) (EPNE 1: 12–13), as Ekwall noted already in DEPN (269) but not drawing attention to the necessary EScand. loss of [r].

The name must therefore be for OScand. *\*Kela-bȳ-*. The upshot of that is either that there is a dating paradox (breaking of stressed \*/e/ is CScand. and absent here, but loss of /r/ in the genitive singular is specifically Danish though present here), or that we are looking at persuasive evidence for the non-occurrence of breaking west of the North Sea. The second option is appealing, since there is no evidence whatever for breaking in England, except of absolute-initial \*/e/ as in *\*erð > jörð*, *\*erða > jarða*. There is no evidence for variation between broken and unbroken vowels, with unbroken ones eventually winning out, that would suggest the substitution of an unbroken OE cognate vowel.

#### KELSEY, NORTH and SOUTH (72)

*Chelsi, Nortchelesei, Norchelsei* 1086

*Calisei* 1094

*Chaleseia* c. 1115, 1146

*Keleseye* 1123x1147

*Sudkeleseia* 1171, 1204

Cameron offers no solution beyond saying that the first element is probably an OE personal name in the genitive singular (PN L 2: 180). Ekwall (DEPN: 270) suggests very speculatively that it might be *\*Cēnel*, a regular but unattested derivative of a short-form of some such name as *Cēnhelm*, with contraction of the second syllable in the genitive case and loss of [n] before [l]; hence, he alleges, *\*Cāneles >> \*Cāles*. Such a loss is without strict parallel in English, but may be compared with occasional loss of [n] before another resonant consonant, [r] (Campbell 1959: 190). Elsewhere in the same entry, Ekwall suggests as possibilities the names *\*Cæl(i)* or *\*Cāel(i)*, none of which have in fact been attested. The likelihood of these, or of a Scandinavianized form of OE *Cēol*, is ruled out by the frequent geminate <ll>, which appears in approximately half of all medieval

mentions. Fellows-Jensen (1978: 139) favours an unrecorded Scandinavian word *\*kæl* ‘wedge’ in the genitive singular form, which is also ruled out by the geminate <ll>, and also by the frequent vowel in the inflectional element, which is uncharacteristic of the genitive of Scandinavian monosyllabic strong nouns.

Since this is so inconclusive, would it be too incautious to wonder instead whether Kelsey includes the male personal name *Ce(o)llach*, the name of a 7th-century bishop of the Mercians and Lindsey folk (cf. Bede, HE 3: 21, 24), successor of Diuma? This would be the familiar Irish name whose modern form is *Ceallach*. The Latin Bede’s form of the base-name showing <o> must indicate back-mutation before a following [a] (unless there is simply orthographic influence from the many English names in *Cēol-*). The corresponding spellings in the OE Bede are *Ceolloh* and *Cellah* (3: 15, 18). Assuming we are dealing with back-mutation, what is observed here must be due to [a], as the Irish original would suggest. The form anglicized as *Cellah* would have been inflected in the genitive as *\*Cellahes*. Exact parallels with [h] between unstressed vowels are hard to find, but intervocalic loss of [h] is the norm (Campbell 1959: 186; Hogg 1992: 277), and the unstressed schwa will no doubt have been absorbed by the preceding vowel (Campbell 98ff.; Hogg 179, 183). The fact that only <e>, rather than <a>, is found in the second syllable in the spelling record is unsurprising, as all surviving spellings are post-Conquest. There will have been no analogical pressure to restore <a> in spelling once the source of the name, which did not persist as a personal name in Anglo-Saxon culture, had been forgotten.

This is a phonologically robust solution for the first element of Kelsey, if we accept, uncontroversially, that OIr initial /k/ would have been anglicized as /tʃ/ before a front vowel, this being replaced by /k/ under Danish influence, as in the names of other Lincolnshire places (e.g. Kesteven, Kirkstead, Kirton (x 2), Casewick, Killingholme and arguably Kelby). In support of the idea are the substantial number of spellings with <ll> from the 12th to the 14th centuries, which none of Ekwall’s many suggestions addresses. The medial syllable is a constant in the quite substantial record until the later 13th century (barring two instances in Domesday Book and a blundered form of 1276). Kelsey is thus with a fairly high probability ‘Ce(o)llach’s island’. Since there were not very many Irishmen around in England in the seventh century, and since those who are recorded were ecclesiastics, there is scope to wonder whether this was the bishop himself, and whether Kelsey was an estate or retreat of his in his personal capacity (i.e. as opposed to a *biscopeſ tūn*), even though he did not stay in post for very long before returning to Iona. Remote and isolated places obviously suited many of his Christian compatriots. Perhaps a raised area in the marshes of Ancholmeside, separated from the Wolds by



moor (cf. nearby Moortown, Holton le Moor), was thought to be a suitable candidate for a retreat. We might compare the situation of Beckery (Island) = O/MIr *Becc-Ériu* ‘Little Ireland’ (DEPN: 33) in the marshes of Somerset by Glastonbury.

On the other hand, another *Ce(o)llach*, coming later, is a distinct possibility, even though it would furnish a remarkable coincidence. A most provoking complication is the existence in North Kelsey of the 12th-century minor name *Kellokeswath*, evidently a ford (Scand. \**wað*). John Insley has suggested (in PN L 2: 192) that the first element is precisely the *Cellach* we have been discussing. He does not relate it to the parish-name, and Cameron notes that *Kelloc* is found once apparently as a surname in the 12th century at Killingholme, some 12 miles (19 km) away in the same wapentake as North Kelsey. If this name is a memory of the ancient bishop of Lindsey, the phonology of its survival differs from what I have postulated in the name of Kelsey: it has final /k/, spelt <k> or <c>, rather than /x/, i.e. rather than OE <h> which disappears. From this point all is pure speculation. The name with final /k/ might show evidence of scandinavianization; OIr *scethach*, a plant-name, is borrowed into Old Norse as *skiapak* (Lewis and Pedersen 1937: 3), and indeed the name *Cellach* itself was taken into the Norse onomasticon in the form *Kiallakr* (Landnámabók; Jónsson 1946: 19 (161)) and appears as a medieval surname in Norfolk in the form *Kellok*, *Chelloc*. I suggest that the existence of *Kelloc* in Lincolnshire, and in North Kelsey in particular, is the coincidental result of the use of a name etymologically identical with the bishop’s among Viking settlers, or, perhaps less plausibly, that the bishop had a local cult or following whose devotees might have used his name commemoratively, and that this acquired in their mouths a Scandinavian form.

## KELSTERN (72)

*Cheilestorne* 1086

*Keylsterne* 1210 (1252)

There is no need to postulate scandinavianization of the first element if it is an OE personal name \**Cægel*, as Cameron claims; this would not have had /tʃ/ in Anglian territory anyway, and both <ch> (before <e>) and <k> in the record surely represent the /k/ that is still heard today.

## KEXBY (73)

*Cheftesbi* 1086*Keftesbi* 1194–1219

The first element is held to be unexplained. But since the medieval spellings are of the type *Keftesbi*, it could satisfactorily be derived from a (by-)name involving early Scand. \**keptur* (> *kjøpt(r)*) ‘jaw, gape’, where \*/p/ represents the bilabial fricative [ɸ] (Gordon and Taylor 1957: 268) which resulted dialectally in [f]; note Danish *kæft* ‘jaw’) and see the discussion of Kexbrough in PN YW (1: 318–9). This suggestion revives that of Ekwall (DEPN: 274). The modern form has probably been influenced by the dialect word *kex(es)*, a name for common umbelliferous plants including cow parsley, *Anthriscus sylvestris* (Sims-Kimbrey 1995: 164; Healey 1997: 22).

KIRTON; see ALGARKIRK

## KYME, NORTH and SOUTH (76)

*Chime, Nortchime* 1086*Chime* 1165*Kyme* c. 1115, 1157 (1407)*Kime* 1150x1155, 1150x1160*Kyma* after 1169*Northkime* 1220*Suthkyme* 1316*Chimba* 1130, 1156*Chimbe* c. 1174*Kymba* 1183x1184, e. Hy2 (1409)*Kimbe* 1182

The cited early spellings of this name are divided between those with <mb> and those with <m>, with the former a minority (6 out of 15 before 1221). Whilst over the entire record for this place forms without <b> are overwhelmingly dominant, it is certain that the original form had /mb/, since the early addition of /b/ can hardly be motivated, whilst [b] is regularly lost under certain conditions after [m] in ME; certainly there are

no instances of the addition of <b> in medieval spellings of closely comparable names such as (The) Lyme (Ch) and Ryme (Intrinseca) (Do). On the basis of the forms in <mb>, Ekwall (1928: 232–3; DEPN: 283), and following him Cameron, suggests an origin in *\*cymbe* ‘depression, hollow’, a derivative of *cumb* ‘vessel, tub, cup’ or ‘valley [of a particular shape]’. The two Kymes are said by Cameron to stand north and south of a shallow depression, though that is of course arguably true of many pairs of places occupying habitable sites in fenland. It would be important to know something about how this one was distinctive. The OS 1: 50000 map shows a spot-height of 7m in South Kyme and none in North Kyme, the lowest one between the villages being 4m (NGR TF 156509), with 2m out in the Praie Grounds to the south-west of North Kyme. The feature is quite subtle, but the eye of faith can discern something suitable as one goes eastwards from North Kyme into the fen (visit 01/01/2003). Whether that is sufficient to motivate the use of a specialized and otherwise unrecorded OE word is another matter. South Kyme is an ancient settlement, the church showing evidence of seventh- to eighth-century sculptural fragments (Roffe, Healey and Ancliffe 2003), and being on the highest point of a very modest rise in the fen.

The Kymes have a rather special position. They are the only Kesteven parishes with nuclei in the Fens, in the sense of being on the eastern side of the Roman canal known as Car Dyke which effectively marks the eastern edge of *terra firma*.<sup>20</sup> The Kymes, although very low-lying, are on a gravel ridge, cut off by Car Dyke, and this accounts for the location of the settlements, as opposed to the manorial fields. Their special position makes it very tempting to associate their name with the admittedly rare ME *chimbe* ‘end of a cask’, found securely only (to my knowledge) in Chaucer’s *Reeve’s prologue* (MED C.2: 251), but surely the source of South-Country dialect (as far north as Leicestershire) *chime* ‘stave; end of a barrel’ (Wright 1898–1905, 1: 584–5). The ancestor of the ME word may be found in OE *cimstanas* (for *\*cimb-stānas*), glossing Latin *bases* ‘bases [of columns]’ (MCOE C 003: 320), where the geometry of a projection beyond the end of a rounded object, shared with the application to casks, is self-evident. For other complex words sharing this base, see *\*cimb* “‘edge’” in EPNE (1: 94). One can imagine a metaphorical application of this sense in topography, ‘land projecting beyond some limit’, like staves beyond the sealed end of a cask, rather than simply ‘edge’, as Smith proposes in EPNE, though that may have been the eventual sense through semantic bleaching. In fact, the word in question (if *\*cimbe* rather than Smith’s *\*cimb*) is the direct phonological counterpart of MDu, MLG *kimme*, ModDu *kim(me)*, which share the sense of ‘edge, brink’. The continental evidence, like the English, in fact suggests that this sense may be a metaphorical application of a term meaning ‘rim formed by projecting

ends of cask-staves’ (thence also ‘gunwale’), but it becomes so far detached from this imaginative source that in the modern languages it comes to mean (in Du, HG) ‘backsight of a rifle’ and (in LG, HG) ‘outermost edge, horizon’ (Franck/van Wijk 1912: 307, Kluge/Mitzka 1963: 367 under *Kieme*). The authorities differ on the original meaning, van Wijk accepting ‘edge’, Mitzka arguing for ‘cut, notch’ via a technicality in cooperage and by associating the HG word *Kieme* ‘gill [of a fish]’; it would suit our purposes better, if not quite perfectly, to go with van Wijk.

I propose, then, that the English place-name is from an OE *\*cimbe* with a topographical sense like ‘brink; [agriculturally usable] land projecting beyond the brink’, ancestor of ME *chimbe*, which has been subject to scandinavianization, yielding initial [k]; [i] is regularly lengthened before consonant groups including [mb], and eventually diphthongized by the Great Vowel Shift; final [b] falls as in other words spelt with <-mb> (*lamb*, *climb* and so on). It denotes the position of the villages projecting out beyond Car Dyke, which was taken to mark the landward edge of the Fens.<sup>21</sup>

#### LANGTON BY WRAGBY (77–8)

Cameron says very firmly that the variant of this name seen in *Humbelloc Langeton* (1252), *Humlok-* (1304), *Humbloklangton*’ (1467) is “no doubt from the growth of the plant [hemlock] there”. That is quite possible, but it is open to doubt after all. A surname *Humlock* or the like is found elsewhere in the East Midlands, e.g. in Cowley, Scardale hundred (Db), in 1661, traceable back to 1545 (as *Hunloke*; archiver.rootsweb.com/th/index/DERBYSGEN/1997–07), suggesting that further genealogical research will reveal its earlier existence. It may be this that appears in the alternative name of Langton. The fact that the medieval record shows no sign of the genitive case of the pre-posed possible surname is not a problem; Scott Willoughby near Osbournby (Kesteven), equally containing a surname found locally as early as the reign of Henry II (139–40), is *Scot Wilegeby* in 1239.

#### LAUGHTERTON (Kettlethorpe; 78)

*Lahtreton*’ 1213x1223

*Lahterton*’ 1272

Laughterton is situated in a parish, Kettlethorpe, which bears the Scandinavian name of a secondary settlement. It may once have been the most important place in the parish, if it is a relatively early English *tūn*-name; or it may be a late farmstead, since this element was in productive use over many centuries. Following the second lead, perhaps the first element is OE or rather Anglo-Scand. *\*lag(u)-trēow* ‘law-tree’. There is no exact parallel in English, either in the general vocabulary or in place-names, but since the word *law* is of Scandinavian origin, we may look abroad for parallels: the place-name *Lögberg(i)* ‘Law-Rock’ (in Iceland) is suggestive, as is the ON compound *lög-rétt* ‘legal [i.e. public] fold’. The element may rather be an anglicization of a Scand. *\*lag(u)-tré* ‘law-tree’. In either case, in most spellings we see metathesis of <r> and <e> in an unstressed syllable before a further consonant. The place-name may thus be ‘farm at [what the Danes call(ed)] The Law-Tree’, and the context of naming will be equivalent to that in which so-called “Toton-hybrids” were created. The use of trees as assembly places seems to have been an English rather than a Scandinavian custom, witness the number of hundreds in various counties named from trees, such as Grumbald’s Ash, Tipnoak, Crowthorne, Culliford Tree, Becontree, Doddingtree and Edwinstree.

#### LINCOLN and LINDSEY (80–1), and possibly related names

Cameron’s formulation of the entry for Lincoln may give a false impression of the time the name was coined; it contains Late Brit./Britt. *\*lind*, i.e. a form earlier than the cited version *\*linn* which shows the assimilation of [-nd(-)] > [-nn(-)] datable to the sixth century.

As for Lindsey, it is generally accepted that the base of the name has the Vulgar Latin etymon *\*Lindēssēs* (a group-name, ‘those of Lindum’), which may be compared with (VICANI) VINDOLANDESSES in an inscription from Vindolanda (Chesterholm, Nb) on Hadrian’s Wall (RIB 1700; Rivet and Smith 1979: 502). Such a form would regularly give PrW *\*Lindēss*, a perfect precursor for the spelling of a name found in Nennius’ *Historia Britonum* (§56), *Linnuis*, though this could perhaps refer to a place other than Lindsey. But none of the discussions in play (summarized PN L 2: 2–7) respects the fact that a clear majority of the earliest, pre-Conquest, spellings are of the types <-issi> and <-esse>; that is, not enough attention has been paid to the significance of the geminate <ss>. It proves either that the borrowing of the name by the English was relatively early, or that the final <i> represents a Brittonic, not an English, element, or proves both, as I shall show. What it rules out is two possibilities: that (a) the present form of the name is English, i.e. has an English generic (whatever it might

be), and that (b) it arose after about the late sixth century. The most serious problem with the name is therefore what to make of the final vowel <i> or <e> in the earliest records, which is clearly not the Latin genitive singular because this alternation is inexplicable in Latin unless the name had two forms in different declensional classes, and there is no evidence available for that possibility in the shape of attestations in other case-forms.

Crucially, the late British case-number inflection corresponding to the Latin final *-ēs* of *\*Lindēssēs* is lost, as are all syllables which are post-tonic in British. In the later sixth century occur the regular changes [-nd(-)] > [-nn(-)] and [-ss] (where word-final as a result of the loss of final syllables) > [-s] (Jackson 1953: 509–13; 339 and n. 1). That is consistent with the belief that what became Lindsey was occupied by the English, and that the base of the name was borrowed, at the latest, by the early to mid sixth century. The form must have entered English before either of these two developments unless the final <i> indicates something etymologically integral to the Brittonic stem; in that case it could have entered English after the simplification of geminates because the final *\*[-i:]* would have protected the geminate, which is simplified to [-s] in PrW in word-final position only. What we can certainly conclude therefore is that the <i> does not represent an element added in OE after about 600, otherwise the geminate in PrW would already have been simplified by the time of any such addition. The dominant early spelling in Bede's HE, *Lindissi*, shows that it was not originally felt to contain OE *ēg* as it came to be later, for Bede's form for the word meaning 'island' was characteristically spelt <eu>. Spellings unambiguously suggesting the 'island'-word are not found before annal 838 of the Chronicle in 11th-century manuscripts, though Gelling and Cole (2000: 39) accept the probability that the reference is indeed to an island-site and Yorke (1993:143) suggests that *ēg* here refers to the hillspur on which the modern city centre stands. In either case, *ēg* might have been added epexegetically to the pre-existing name. Given the lack of certainty about whether what we find here really is the English word and, if it is, how it might have been applied, it is reasonable to explore the idea that the *-issi* is after all Britt./PrW.

A complicating factor is the fact that Britt./PrW *\*/e:/* should give *\*/e:/*, not *\*/i:/*, in Anglian OE for reasons of English dialectology clearly set out by Jackson (1953: 332). But we find both <e> and <i> in the record of OE spellings. These might best be accounted for by taking <e> as a true representative of a reflex of Britt. *\*/e:/*. In that case, the recurrent <i> would be the result of special early OE vowel-harmony, sporadically adjusting the newly-borrowed name in such a way as to remove the sequence *\*[e: ... i]*, which was by now phonologically unparalleled in native vocabulary. Such a change would be analogous to *i*-umlaut, which did not affect OE *[e:]* because there were no pre-OE words of a shape

allowing it to apply to them. But perhaps what we see here is just a spelling-assimilation rather than a true phonetic effect. The forms with <e ... e> in the unstressed syllables seem mainly to be restricted to the Chronicle and related texts; the more normal late-OE development was for the final syllable to be rendered as if it derived from  $\bar{e}g$ , as we have noted briefly above.

The most plausible suggestion which respects the earliest spellings is that the final <-i> is a Britt./PrW element with one of two applications: (1) the plural marker \*/-i:/, derived from an earlier collective marker (Lewis and Pedersen 1937: 160), but clearly representing the plural in historic times as shown by its appearance in the nouns *proffwydi* ‘prophets’, *arglwyddi* ‘lords’; (2) the noun-forming element seen in certain place-names in the Brittonic languages.

If (1) is the case, \**Lindēssī* would be a new Brittonic plural based on the tribal or group-name \**Lindēss-*, which, because of the loss of final syllables, shows no overt marking of number; this *-ī* should not of course be mistaken for the British plural marker of the same phonological shape which is echoed in (sub-)Roman Latin sources in the tribal names *Votadini*, *Dobunni* and so on, and which happens to coincide in form with the Latin element that represents it in these texts. If this idea is correct, the name is a group-name or ethnonym metonymically applied as a place-name (as very frequently in early Brittonic: *Dyfed*, *Devon*, *Powys*; and as also in early English: *Essex*, *Dorset*, *Wales*). Against this idea is the fact that other Modern Welsh names derived from place-names using the element *-wys*, which is formally consistent with being the regular descendant of *-ēs(s-)*, are themselves plural and therefore do not carry an extra number-marker: *Lloegrwys* ‘English people’, *Rhegedwys* ‘those of [the kingdom of] Rheged’, *Gwenhwys* ‘those of Gwent’, all already in the works of Taliesin (late 6th century; Williams 1960: 41, 43, 20 resp.; cited here in their modern Welsh forms).<sup>22</sup> The fact remains that formally the element \**-ēs(s-)*, if from from Latin *-ensēs* > *-essēs* (following Jackson 1953: 543), could represent either an original singular or a plural form, and it is not inconceivable that a special plural form could have been built on this base. The use of *-i* in such a way is particularly noticeable with words in Welsh borrowed from Latin (*proffwyd*, *fffenestr*, *eglwys*, *plwyf*), though not exclusively so.

If (2) is the case, the place-name suffix is the *-i* discussed by Jackson (1953: 351–3). This appears principally in river-names (see Thomas 1938: 127–73 for a large number), but not exclusively. As Thomas notes (1938: 127), it can form district-names from personal names (as with *Arwystli*) and appear in others such as *Echni* (a name for Flat Holm (Glamorgan) in the Severn Sea) and *Eryri*, the tract of mountains in Snowdonia. If *Lann Menechi* in Llandaff recorded in the Book of Lan Dâv (Evans and Rhys

1893: 159) contains a noun *menechi* ‘monk’s or monks’ land, monastery’, a suggestion made by Thomas (1938: 127; ‘tir y mynach neu’r myneich’), it is an exact parallel for a name in *-i* based on a noun denoting a human being or human beings (PrW *\*mönach* sg. or *\*möneich* pl.) such as is generally accepted as the base of *Lindsey*.<sup>23</sup> A district-name offering a possible further parallel is the “regio[nem] quae vocatur Guunnessi” in Nennius (§42); this is structurally obscure but may be a metonymic use of a tribal name (though not, of course, with the suffix *-ēs(s)*, which is spelt *-uis/-uys* by Nennius’ time).

This proposal seems to me to be the best solution of the name-form *Lindissi*; it is ‘place of the *\*Lindēss* [group-name]’, a true name of a place rather than a metonymic usage of a group-name for the place associated with that group.

I have not dealt here with the question of *\*Lindisfari* as a morphologically distinct name for Lindsey. This traditional equation is historically mistaken, for reasons fully set out in Coates (2000c); the burden of the argument is that this term as applied to Lindsey is a misappropriation of the name of Lindisfarne, possibly by those who were responsible for drafting the late-seventh century document known as the Tribal Hidage.

In an unpublished paper (2000), David Roffe argues that Linwood does not have the most obvious etymon, OE *\*lind-wudu* ‘lime (linden)-wood’ (for which see Cameron 81). Since it is close to the point at which the three ridings of Lindsey meet, he speculates that it might really be for *\*Lindeswude* ‘wood of the people of Lincoln’ or *\*Lindisse-wude* ‘the wood of Lindsey’. The DB form *Lindude* does not warrant this, but it is formally perfectly possible that it represents *\*Lind-wudu* ‘Lincoln or Lindsey wood’, where *Lind-* is the base of the relevant names; a near, but not precise, parallel might be Wychwood (O, Gl), ‘wood of the Hwicce’, which contains the full tribal name rather than just its base. Roffe points out also that there are indications that Linwood and nearby Lissington had some of the features of central places in early post-Conquest years (they were capita of an honour and a soke respectively), and he makes the suggestion that Lissingleys, the area of pasture common to a number of communities and including the actual junction of the ridings, was the meeting-place of Anglian Lindsey. Its name may be related to the complex of names under discussion. Although the reduction would be extremely drastic, it is not completely impossible that it could be *\*Lindis(s)ing-lēas* ‘wood/clearings associated with the [polity of] Lindsey’, with connective *-ing*. Lissington could be parallel, with *tūn* in place of *lēas*. However, both of these names are better taken as containing the common OE male personal name *Lēofsiġe*, as Cameron (81) suggests for Lissington.



## LUTTON (83–4)

This appears generally as *Lutton(a)* or the like, but two early forms are the Domesday spelling *Luctone* and the *Lochtona* of c. 1175 (CDEPN: 387). The name is plausibly explained as ‘the farmstead, village by the pool’ (OE *luh*), but the special character of a *luh* should be emphasized. The word seems to be a borrowing from Celtic, as seen in Welsh *llwch*, which now has among its applications specifically ‘tidal pool’, i.e. one replenished by each tide. Note however The Lough on Holy Island (Nb), which is non-tidal, and for some discussion of the relative likelihood of the Irish and Welsh cognates’ appearing in Northumberland toponymy, see Coates and Breeze (2000: 242–3). Lutton’s position, at the seaward limit of habitation behind the so-called Roman Bank in the silt Fenland, makes the interpretation involving a tidal pool plausible. Further, we know that the first five centuries of the common era were a time of marine transgression in this area (Chatwin 1961: 76), so there was a high probability of such pools at a time when the name of the place is likely to have been fixed. There are several possible scenarios for the existence of such a pool. Perhaps it was caused by backing-up at and after high tide in the ancestor of Lutton Leam, either for local geomorphological reasons (as with the case of the inland marine lake Lough Hyne in County Cork) or through a sluice, gap or breach in any original Roman seabank (if indeed it was Roman; any such gap would have been obliterated by the 13th-century reconstruction works; Rackham 1986: 386). Or a pool may have remained on the seaward side of the bank in a depression in the saltmarsh at ebb-tide.<sup>24</sup>

If *luh* represents PrW *\*lux*, with a fricative [x], then it is another borrowing that testifies to fairly late Brittonic survival in the Fens (cf. the stories or legends attaching to Crowland involving demons jabbering in British at St Guthlac; Gonser 1909: 25–6, 135–6). But the ancestor of the PrW form, a late Brittonic *\*luk(k)*, could have been used in the OE place-name, and [k(k)-t] could have developed in English like the [k-t] in *lēactūn* which regularly appears as modern *Laughton* or *Loughton*, with an intermediate stage of [x-t] represented in the Domesday spelling. If so it is curious, though, that only one <ch> or <gh> survives in subsequent spellings.

Perhaps after all, in view of these uncertainties, it is worth considering the possibility that the Domesday form might be defective or misleading, and that the first element is really an OE *\*lūt(e)* cognate with a LG word of the same form and meaning ‘fishing-net’. This is the word proposed by Tengstrand (1940: 219–25) as the first element of the compound *\*lūte-gār* ‘trapping-spear’ in place-names of the type *Ludgershall*. The same root also appears in *lūtian* ‘to lie hidden’, which offers a ready interpretation of the type ‘place to hide, e.g. whilst

wildfowling'. On balance, Lutton is as likely to allude to an aspect of the local economy as an aspect of the physical landscape.

#### MARTON and WELL wapentake (87 and 136)

*Martone* 1086 (and always with <a>)

Marton is offered as an example of the ubiquitous OE *mere-tūn* 'pool farm' (Cole 1992), but with consistent Old Northumbrian <æ> in the first element (Cameron 87). Cole believes the *mere* to refer somehow to "the frequently inundated flood plain of the Trent" (1992: 37). Cameron confidently ascribes an 11th-century record in the 12th-century Eynsham cartulary, *Martineuuelle*, to this place and says the name refers to Well wapentake. The meeting-place of Well is not known, but since Marton is conveniently on the Roman road Till Bridge Lane (Margary no. 28), and since the place is central for Well wapentake with its panhandle stretching to Normanby by Spital up on the Heights, shown on Morden's map of 1695, it is quite possible that the wapentake took its name from a well or spring at Marton rather than vice versa as Cameron seems to imply.

Note that there is also a lost 13th-century *Martine-*, *Martynwell(syke)* in Holme, Manley wapentake (PN L 6: 78), some 15 miles (24 km) NNE of Marton, which is not, however, from an Eynsham document.

#### MELTON ROSS (87)

*Medeltone* 1086

*Meltuna* c. 1115

*Meltona* 1146

*Mealtun* c. 1160

*Melton'* 1200

*Meuton'* 1204

Melton Ross is a village dominating a gap in the Wolds which is followed by major modern east–west transport routes. It lies a little under 2 miles (3 km) west of the Roman settlement at Kirmington referred to in Coates (2005b).

Explaining its name as a scandinavianized form of *Middleton*, featuring the element *meðal*, Cameron notes that it has not been ascertained between which two places it might be central. In fact it is roughly midway

between the Roman town of Caistor and the Roman settlement at South Ferriby, where the Humber could be crossed by a ferry, as the later Scandinavian name (< *ferja*) indicates (44). These places are connected by an ancient ridgeway along the Wolds called The Middle Gate or later Middlegate Lane (PN L 2: 50–1), no doubt in use in Roman times (Margary 1973: 240). It can hardly be an accident either that Melton is roughly at the midway point (about 9 miles (14.5 km) from Caistor, about 9.5 (16) from South Ferriby) or that the trackway and the village share an element in their name, at least in translation-equivalence, but the precise relationship between the two must be a matter for speculation. Perhaps Melton was ‘middle farm/village’ and Middlegate ‘Melton street’ with ellipsis of the second element, though if that is the case the distribution of English and Scandinavian elements in the two names is paradoxical.

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

### Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to Peder Gammeltoft for comments and suggestions on this article.

### Notes

1. This element occurs in numerous lake and river names in Denmark, cf. DSÅ I: 73ff. It should perhaps not be ruled out that we have here the proper name of a stream, the one that flows into Anderby Creek. Cf. \**Anur* as in *Anerå*, DSÅ I: 79 or \**Ani* as in Anundsjö in Sweden, DSÅ I: 79.
2. Peder Gammeltoft draws my attention to an example of this word in Norwegian place-names: Andorfjellet, locally pronounced *Ønnarfjellet* (Snåsa, Nord-Trøndelag; NSL 1994: 72–3 favours an origin in *öndurr*, but says that the interpretation of this word is uncertain); and to the Norwegian town of Skien, whose name is supposedly derived from ON *skíð* ‘piece of wood, ski’.
3. In his discussion of the Swedish place-name *Barkåkra*, Wahlberg (2003: 29) glosses ODa *barki* as ‘strupe [= gullet]’, possibly indicating a long, narrow ploughland; so a topographical interpretation is not ruled out formally.
4. For an alternative view of *badde* arguing that it means ‘bad, worthless’, perhaps ‘baleful, baneful’, see Coates (1988b), cited also in VEPN (I: 36).
5. There are two examples of this name in Denmark, cf. *Bēn* in DSÅ I: 131. (Thanks to Peder Gammeltoft for alerting me to these.)

6. The pronunciation /'breisbrig/ was known through to modern times (Cole 1886).
7. Closely similar reasoning is used in PN Ess (299–300) about the possibility that Witham in that county contains *wiht*.
8. The form in <ch-> and some derived forms are said by Lockwood (1975; 1984) to be found in Orkney whilst *shalder* is the form found in Shetland. Nonetheless the promontory at Girsta is mapped as *Chalder Ness*.
9. Sims-Kimbrey (1995: 190) records a Lincolnshire dialect word *meg* 'ugly, ill-dressed', which opens possibilities. She suspects an allusion to the formidable Gipsy "witch" Meg Merrilees in Scott's once extremely popular novel *Guy Mannering* (1815).
10. It may even have been in Old English; see Hofmann (1955: §247).
11. For the reasoning given succinctly, see McMahon (1994: 201): the most pressing necessities for borrowers are likely to be words for newly-encountered flora, fauna and material culture, and therefore nouns.
12. Sausthorpe has only one record containing <ou>, from 1303 (Cameron archive). But the numerous spellings of the type *Sallistorpe* lead me to wonder whether Cameron's etymology, involving the Scandinavian personal name *Sauðr* (or indeed the homonymous word for 'sheep'), is correct. For such a name, *\*Salstorpe* would be credible, given Anglo-Norman spelling-conventions for preconsonantal /l/ and the possibility of inverse spellings, but *Sallistorpe*, with an implied extra syllable, much less so.
13. One might entertain the possibility that *Glan-* perpetuates a Brittonic *\*glan* 'clean, pure; holy'. This element is found in continental river-names (e.g. the *Glane* in the Dordogne, France), in the *Glens* in Northumberland (Ekwall 1928: 177) and Lincolnshire (50), and possibly in an unknown location in south-west Britain (Rivet and Smith 1979: 367–8). But since the name of the Ancholme on which Brigg stands is almost certainly pre-English though not finally explained (3), *Glan-* probably does not represent a name of the river, and the traditional etymology is more secure.
14. Dowling's glossary also contains several other unofficial names for places or streets in Grimsby and Cleethorpes (The Bully, Cleggy, Folly Hole, Freemo, The Gollies, Grannies Lane, Ice Barque Corner, O'er The Pit, Ploggers, Pneumonia Jetty, Rabbit Warren, Sneck Alley, Spectacle Row, Winnipeg), for parts of Immingham (Mud City, and Tin Town or Humberville), and for many pubs, shops and cinemas.
15. The present form cannot be due to the influence of the Scand. personal-name element *Hag-*, because that would have been pronounced [hay-], later in ME spelt <hagh->, <haw->, like the corresponding hypothetical English one. That is why ME/ModE <g> = /g/ is unexpected.
16. For further discussion of the phonological issue, see Coates (forthcoming).
17. Peder Gammeltoft informs me that names in Skåne (Scania) normalize towards *-ar* rather than *-s*.
18. The embedded *-hæma-* in Sevenhampton is of course the genitive plural of *-hæme* 'dwellers', but there is no indication that the underlying place-name was plural in form.
19. Peder Gammeltoft notes in correspondence that, alternatively, the specific could be an anglicised Scandinavian compounded place-name *\*kaldker-* 'cold bog, marsh, brushwood' (my PrScand. respelling of his suggestion). Cf. DSÅ IV: 20, *Kalkerdam*.

20. A marginal exception is the village whose name is metonymic for the structure which it directly abuts, Dyke (39), just north-east of Bourne and a secondary settlement within that parish, not a separate parish. A case might also be made that Billingham (14), ‘the island of the Billingas’, is also a true Fen parish. It is immediately north of North Kyme, in an angle in Car Dyke but, unlike the Kymes, west of its line. To judge from its name, Billingham was presumably once dependent on a primary settlement in the area of Billingham (14) and Horbling (65–6), some 13 miles (21 km) south; both of these seem to be named from a group named *\*Billingas*.
21. For a discussion of the dialect word *gyme*, which is almost certainly phonologically distinct but which exists in this area, see Coates (2007a).
22. This suffix could formally be from the inherited Celtic collective suffix *\*-ēss-* (cf. Jackson 1953: 332).
23. The Breton counterpart of this word is probably also found in the name of Les Minquiers in the Channel Islands, and its philology is discussed elsewhere (Coates 1991: 66–7).
24. There was also a late-recorded *Immingham Lough* in Immingham parish in the Humber marshland, called ‘a stream’ (1828, and now lost; PN L 2: 165), which may contain the same element (see also Coates 2007a: 106).

## Bibliography

- Bede. See Plummer.
- Bede, O[ld] E[nglish]. See Miller.
- Björkman, Erik (1900/1969), *Scandinavian loan-words in Middle English*, Doctoral dissertation, Uppsala (reprint New York: Greenwood Press).
- Bradley, Henry, ed. (1891), *A Middle English dictionary ... by Francis Henry Stratmann*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cameron, Kenneth (1965/1977), ‘Scandinavian settlement in the territory of the Five Boroughs: the place-name evidence[, part I]’, University of Nottingham professorial inaugural lecture. Reprinted in Kenneth Cameron, ed., *Place-name evidence for the Anglo-Saxon invasion and Scandinavian settlements*, Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, 115–138 [the text refers to the reprinted version].
- (1968), ‘Addenda and corrigenda [to the Survey], vols XXV, XXVI’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 1, 9–42.
- (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, V[ictor] E. (2004), *The Cambridge dictionary of English place-names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chatwin, C.P. (1961), *British regional geology. East Anglia and adjoining areas* (4th edn), London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office.
- Clark, Cecily, (1992a), ‘Domesday Book – a great red-herring: thoughts on some late-eleventh-century orthographies’, in Carola Hicks, ed., *England in the eleventh*

- century: proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, Stamford: Paul Watkins (Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2), 317–31.
- (1992b), ‘Onomastics’, in Richard M. Hogg, ed., *The Cambridge history of the English language, vol. 1: the beginnings to 1066*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 452–89.
- Coates, Richard (1988a), ‘Virgins and haws: the progeny of Germanic \*hag- in Old English’, in Richard Coates, *Toponymic topics: essays on the early toponymy of the British Isles*, Brighton: Younsmere Press, 74–80.
- (1988b), ‘Middle English *badde* and related puzzles’, *North-West European Language Evolution (NOWELE)* 11, 91–104.
- (1991), *The ancient and modern names of the Channel Islands: a linguistic history*, Stamford: Paul Watkins.
- (2000c), ‘Un-English reflections on Lindisfarne’, in Coates and Breeze (2000), 241–59.
- (2005a), ‘The grammar of place-names in Scandinavian England: a preliminary commentary’, in Peder Gammeltoft, Carole Hough, Doreen Waugh, eds, *Cultural contacts in the North Atlantic region: the evidence of names*, Lerwick: NORNA, SPNS and SNSBI, 72–82.
- (2005b), ‘Two notes on names in *tūn* in relation to pre-English antiquities: Kirmington and Broughton, Lincolnshire’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 37, 33–6.
- (2006), ‘Behind the dictionary forms of Scandinavian elements in England’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 38, 43–61.
- (2007a), ‘Azure Mouse, Bloater Hill, Goose Puddings, and One Land called The Cow’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 39, 73–143.
- (forthcoming), ‘Some observations on the Scandinavian toponymy of Lincolnshire’, Paper to the 14th Nordic Onomastics Conference, Borgarnes, Iceland, 11–14 August 2007, Uppsala: NORNA.
- Coates, Richard, and Andrew Breeze, with a contribution by David Horovitz (2000), *Celtic voices, English places*, Stamford: Shaun Tyas.
- Cole, Ann (1988), ‘The distribution and usage of the place-name elements *botm*, *bytme*, and *botn*’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 20, 38–46.
- (1992), ‘Distribution and use of the Old English place-name *mere-tūn*’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 24, 30–41.
- Cole, R.E. (1886), *South-West Lincolnshire glossary (Wapentake of Graffoe)*, London: Trübner, for English Dialect Society, vol. 52.
- Cox, Barrie (1976), ‘The place-names of the earliest English records’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 8, 12–66.
- (1998), ‘Baumber in Lindsey’, *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 30, 27–32.
- Cullen, Paul (1997), ‘The place-names of the lathes of St Augustine and Shipway, Kent’, Dissertation for the degree of DPhil, University of Sussex, unpublished.
- DEPN = Ekwall, Eilert (1936/1960), *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (4th edn), Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dowling, Alan, ed., for the Doughty Centre Local History Group (1995), *Egging back o’ Doig’s: a glossary of words and expressions used in Grimsby, Cleethorpes and district*, Hull: University of Hull Centre for Education, Development and Training.
- DSÅ = Kousgård Sørensen, John (1968–95), *Danske sø- og ånavne* (8 vols), Copenhagen.

- Ekwall, Eilert (1922), *The place-names of Lancashire*, Manchester: The Chetham Society.
- (1924), ‘The Scandinavian element’, in A[llen] Mawer and F[rank] M[erry] Stenton eds, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (EPNS vol. I (1)), 55–92.
- (1928), *English river-names*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- (1931), *Studies on English place- and personal names*, Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.
- (1959), *Etymological notes on English place-names*, Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup (Lund Studies in English 27).
- EPNE = Smith, A. H[ugh] (1956), *English place-name elements* (2 vols), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (English Place-Name Society vols 25, 26).
- Evans, D. Ellis (1967), *Gaulish personal names*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, and John Rhÿs, eds (1893), *The text of the Book of Lan Dâv*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Faarlund, Jan Terje (1994), ‘Old and Middle Scandinavian’, in Ekkehard König and Johan van der Auwera, eds, *The Germanic languages*, London: Routledge, 38–71.
- Falk, Hjalmar, and Alf Torp (1903–6/1996), *Etymologisk ordbog over det norske og det danske sprog*, Oslo: Bjørn Ringstrøms Antikvariat.
- Fellows-Jensen, Gillian (1978), *Scandinavian settlement names in the East Midlands*, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag/ Institut for Navneforskning (Navnestudier 16).
- (2001), ‘English place-names and settlement history - seen with the wisdom of hindsight’ (The Hilda Hulme memorial lecture 2001), London: University of London, School of Advanced Study.
- Field, John (1993), *A history of English field-names*, Harlow: Longmans.
- Forster, Klaus (1981), *A pronouncing dictionary of English place-names*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Förster, Max (1917), ‘Die altenglische glossenhandschrift Plantinus 32 (Antwerpen) und Additional 32246 (London)’, *Anglia* 41, 94–161.
- Franck, Johannes, new edn N. van Wijk (1892/1912), *Franck’s etymologisk woordenboek der nederlandsche taal*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Gammeltoft, Peder (2001), *The place-name element bólstaðr in the North Atlantic area*, Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel.
- Gelling, Margaret, and Ann Cole (2000), *The landscape of place-names*, Stamford: Shaun Tyas.
- Gillett, Edward (1987), *A history of Grimsby*, Hull: Hull University Press. [1st edn Oxford: Oxford University Press 1970.]
- Gonser, Paul, ed. (1909), *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter (Anglistische Forschungen 27).
- Gordon, E.V., new edn A.B. Taylor (1957), *An introduction to Old Norse* (2nd edn), Oxford: Clarendon Press. [1st edn 1927.]
- Haugen, Einar (1976), *The Scandinavian languages*, London: Faber and Faber.
- HE. See Bede.
- Healey, Hilary (1997), *A Fenland landscape glossary for Lincolnshire*, Lincolnshire County Council: Lincolnshire Books.
- Hofmann, Dietrich (1955), *Nordisch-englische Lehnbeziehungen der Wikingerzeit*, Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard (Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana 14).
- Hogg, Richard M. (1992), *A grammar of Old English, vol. I: Phonology*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Holmberg, Karl Axel (1969), *De svenska tuna-namnen*, Uppsala: Lundequistka (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 45).

- Holthausen, Ferdinand (1934), *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Howorth, [Sir] Henry H. (1896), 'The chalky and other post-Tertiary clays of eastern England', *Geological Magazine* 33, 449–63.
- Insley, John (1994), *Scandinavian personal names in Norfolk*, Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell International (Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi 62).
- (2006), 'The Owl of Ousden and a morphological conundrum', In Peder Gammeltoft and Bent Jørgensen, eds, *Names through the looking-glass. Festschrift in honour of Gillian Fellows-Jensen*, Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel, 119–30.
- Jackson, Kenneth [Hurlstone] (1953), *Language and history in early Britain*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Jónsson, Guðni, ed. (1946), *Íslendingabók og Landnámabók*, Reykjavík: Sigurður Kristjánsson.
- Jørgensen, Bent (1981–3), *Dansk stednavneleksikon*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
- Kluge, Friedrich (new edn Walther Mitzka) (1883/1963), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (19th edn), Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Kruisinga, E[tsko] (1909/1925), *A handbook of present-day English* (4th edn), part I, Utrecht. [Select list of proper-name pronunciations is on 274–311.]
- Landmark/Ordnance Survey (no date), Website [www.old-maps.co.uk](http://www.old-maps.co.uk) (visited frequently during 2002–4).
- Lexer, Matthias (1885/1969), *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch* (33rd edn, = reprint of 29th), Stuttgart: S. Hirzel.
- Liebermann, Felix, ed. (1889), *Die Heiligen Englands*, Hanover: Hahn.
- , ed. (1903–16/1960), *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (3 vols), Tübingen: Max Niemeyer (reprint [no place]: Scientia Aalen).
- Lloyd-Jones, John (1931–63), *Geirfa barddoniaeth gynnar Gymraeg* (2 vols), Cardiff: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- Lockwood, W.B. (1975), 'Faroese bird-name origins V', *Fróðskaparrit* 23, 22–31. [On *tjaldur* 27–31.]
- (1984), *The Oxford book of British bird names*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Luick, Karl, eds Friedrich Wild and Herbert Koziol (1914–40/1964), *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, vol. I. Stuttgart: Bernhard Tauchnitz (reprint Oxford: Blackwell).
- Mander, Lucas (2003), 'Oystercatcher (*Haematopus ostralegus*)', *Humber Estuary Low Tide Count 2003–2004 Newsletter* 2 (October 2003), Hull: Institute of Estuarine and Coastal Studies, and English Nature. Available online at [www.hull.ac.uk/iecs/oct03.pdf](http://www.hull.ac.uk/iecs/oct03.pdf) (visited 07/01/2004).
- Margary, Ivan D. (1973), *Roman roads in Britain* (3rd edn), London: Baker.
- Mawer, Allen (1920), *The place-names of Northumberland and Durham*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McMahon, April M.S. (1994), *Understanding language change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MCOE = diPaolo Healey, Antonette, and Robert L. Venezky, eds (1980), *A microfiche concordance to Old English*, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- MED = Kurath, Hans, and Sherman M. Kuhn, eds (1956–2002), *Middle English dictionary*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Menger, Louis Emil (1904/1966), *The Anglo-Norman dialect: a manual of its phonology and morphology*, New York: Columbia University Press (reprint New York: AMS Press).



- Miller, Thomas, ed. (1890–8), *The Old English version of Bede's "Ecclesiastical history of the English people"* (2 vols), London (etc.): Oxford University Press, for the Early English Text Society (vols 95/6, 110/1).
- Mills, A. D[avid] (1996), *The place-names of the Isle of Wight*, Stamford: Paul Watkins.
- Moberg, Lennart (1944), *Om de nordiska nasalassimilationerna mp > pp, nt > tt, nk > kk, med särskild hänsyn till svenskan*, Uppsala: University of Uppsala (Undersökningar till en atlas över svensk folkkultur, språkliga serien 1).
- (1975), 'Hunö', *Ortnamnssällskapet i Uppsala Årsskrift* [no volume number], 20–4.
- Morris, John, ed. (1980), *Nennius: British history and the Welsh annals*, Chichester: Phillimore.
- Nennius. See Morris.
- Nicolaisen, W.F.H. (2001), *Scottish place-names* (2nd edn), Edinburgh: John Donald. [1st edn London: Batsford 1976.]
- NSL = Sandnes, Jørn, & Ola Stemshaug (1997), *Norsk stadnamnleksikon*, 4th edn. Oslo: Samlaget.
- Owen, A[rthur] E.B. (1975), '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).
- Plummer, Charles, ed. (1896), *Venerabilis Baedae historiam ecclesiasticam gentis anglorum* [etc.], Oxford: Clarendon Press. [Abbreviated as HE.]
- Rackham, Oliver (1986), *The history of the countryside*, London: J.M. Dent.
- RIB = Collingwood, R[obin] G[eorge], and R[ichard] P[earson] Wright (1965), *Roman inscriptions of Britain, vol. I: inscriptions on stone*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. [2nd edn, with emendations, 1995.]
- Rivet, A. L[eo] F., and Colin Smith (1979), *The place-names of Roman Britain*, London: Batsford.
- Roffe, Peter (1994), 'Hereward and the barony of Bourne', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 29, 7–10. Available online at [www.roffe.freemove.co.uk/articles/hereward.htm](http://www.roffe.freemove.co.uk/articles/hereward.htm) (visited 15/11/2002).
- (2000), 'Lissingleys and the meeting-place of Lindsey', available online at [www.roffe.freemove.co.uk/lindsey.htm](http://www.roffe.freemove.co.uk/lindsey.htm) (dated 11/2000; visited 31/12/2003).
- Roffe, Peter, R.H. Healey, and V. Ancliffe (2003), 'Medieval earthworks of south Lincolnshire: the present state of knowledge. Kyme, South; Screddington: Thorny Close', available online at [www.roffe.freemove.co.uk/earthworks/moats/kyme.htm](http://www.roffe.freemove.co.uk/earthworks/moats/kyme.htm) and [.../screddington.htm](http://www.roffe.freemove.co.uk/earthworks/moats/screddington.htm) (site dated 01/12/2003; visited 31/12/2003).
- S: (followed by a number) = a document in Sawyer, Peter H., ed. (1968), *Anglo-Saxon charters: an annotated list and bibliography*, London: Royal Historical Society (Guides and Handbooks 8).
- Sandnes, Berit (2005), 'What is Norse, what is Scots in Orkney place-names?', in Peder Gammeltoft, Carole A. Hough and Doreen Waugh, eds, *Cultural contacts in the North Atlantic region: the evidence of names*, Lerwick: Nordiska samarbetskommittén för namnforskning, Scottish Place-Name Society and Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, 173–80.
- Scott, Walter (1815), *Guy Mannering*, edition *ad libitum*.
- Sims-Kimbrey, Joan M. (1995), *Wodds and doggerbaw: a Lincolnshire dialect dictionary*, Boston: Richard Kay.
- Stenton, Frank M. (1943/1971), *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Straw, Allan (1963), 'Some observations on the 'Cover Sands' of north Lincolnshire', *Transactions of the Lincolnshire Naturalists' Union* 15, 260–9.
- Streetmap.co.uk (no date), OS Landranger 1: 50000 map. Available on website [www.streetmap.co.uk](http://www.streetmap.co.uk) (visited frequently in 2002–8).
- Svensson, Ann-Marie (1997), *Middle English words for "town": a study of changes in a semantic field*, Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis (Gothenburg Studies in English 70).
- Sweet, Henry, ed. (1885/1886), *The oldest English texts*, London: Early English Text Society.
- Tengstrand, Erik (1940), *A contribution to the study of genitival composition in Old English place-names*, *Nomina germanica* 7, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri.
- Thomas, R[ichard] J[ames] (1938), *Enwau afonydd a nentydd Cymru*, Cardiff: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- VEPN = Parsons, David N., and Tania Styles, with (for fasc. I) Carole A. Hough (1997–), *The vocabulary of English place-names: I (á-box); II (brace-cæster)*, Centre for English Name-Studies, Nottingham: English Place-Name Society.
- Wahlberg, Mats, ed. (2003), *Svenskt ortnamnslexikon*, Uppsala: Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet.
- Watts, V[ictor] E., with contributions by John Insley (2002), *A dictionary of County Durham place-names*, Nottingham: English Place-Name Society (Popular series 3).
- Williams, Ifor (1960), *Canu Taliesin*, Cardiff: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru.
- Wright, Joseph (1898–1905), *English dialect dictionary* (5 vols, the 5th also being separately published as *The English dialect grammar*, 1905), Oxford: Frowde.
- Wright, Thomas, ed.; 2nd edn Richard Paul Wülcker (1857/1884), *Anglo-Saxon and Old English vocabularies* (2 vols), London; reprinted Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft (1968).
- Yalden, Derek W. (2002), 'Place-name and archaeological evidence on the recent history of birds in Britain', *Acta zoologica cracoviensia* 45 [special issue], 415–29.
- Yorke, Barbara (1993), 'Lindsey: the lost kingdom found', in Alan Vince, ed., *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, Lincoln: City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit, 141–50.
- Zachrisson, R[obert] E[ugen] (1924), 'The French element', in A[llen] Mawer and F[rank] M[erry] Stenton, eds, *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (EPNS vol. I (1)), 93–114.
- Zoëga, Geir T. (1922/1942), *Íslenzk-ensk orðabók* (3rd edn), Reykjavík: Sigurður Kristjánsson.

## Summary of key findings

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

#### *English*

- OE *cimbe* 'projecting end of a cask-stave', hence 'projection beyond some bound or mark' [Kyme]

OE *hūf* ‘species of owl’ [Howell in Asgarby] (cf. the acknowledged alternative form *ūf*)

### **Scandinavian**

*and-dyri* (?pl. *and-dyrr*) ‘porch’ [Anderby]

*bar-* ‘barley’ or ‘bare’ [Baythorpe in Swineshead]

\**bratt-* ‘a steep place’ [Bracebridge] (but the proposed single instance of this element in EPNE is to be discounted)

\**eta* ‘manger’ [Fulletby]

*full-matir* (?) ‘full provisions’ [Fonaby]

*full-nyt* ‘full-milk’ [Fulnetby]

*gróðsam-* ‘fertile’ [Grasby]

\**teldar* ‘oystercatcher’ in the Norn form *tjalder* [Chowder Ness in Barton on Humber]

## **2. Newly-identified given- or by-names**

### **English**

\**Hagu-ward* or the corresponding lexical word ‘enclosure-ward’ [Hagworthingham]

\**Hygica* (?) [Hykeham]

### **Scandinavian**

\**Kamp-* ‘Whisker(s)’ [Cauthorpe]

EScand. \**Kodle* ‘Cuttlefish’ [Cuttleby, Cleethorpes]

*Anglo-Norman*

\**Peluke-Acre* (?) ‘Seize(r of) Acre’ [Claxby Pluckacre]

**Index of place-names organized by parish**

ALGARKIRK .....	38	Cuttleby .....	55, 93
ANDERBY .....	39, 93	COUNTHORPE .....	54
ASGARBY Howell .....	68, 93	CROFTON .....	54
BARKWITH .....	40	DALBY Dexthorpe .....	56
BARROWBY .....	40	DRIBY .....	56, 63
BARTON UPON HUMBER Chowder Ness .....	52, 93	FALDINGWORTH .....	57
BAUMBER .....	41	FULLETBY .....	57, 58, 93
BRACEBOROUGH .....	44	GAYTON LE MARSH and GAYTON LE WOLD .....	61
BRACEBRIDGE .....	44, 93	GLANFORD BRIGG .....	42, 61
BURWELL .....	47	GOSBERTON .....	38
BYTHAM, CASTLE and LITTLE .....	48	GRASBY .....	62, 93
CAISTOR Fonaby .....	57, 93	GRIMSBY .....	47
CAMMERINGHAM .....	50	<i>Kalkerthorp</i> ’ .....	72
CLAXBY PLUCKACRE ..	53, 94	Little Russia .....	63
CLEETHORPES .....	53	Top Town .....	63
Burcom .....	47	GUNNESS .....	64
		HAGWORTHINGHAM ...	65, 93
		HAMERINGHAM .....	66

HAUGHAM .....	68	LINCOLN and LINDSEY .....	79
HUMBY .....	69	LOUTH	
HYKEHAM, NORTH and SOUTH .....	70, 93	Fanthorpe .....	57, 60
KEELBY .....	72	LUTTON .....	83
KELSEY, NORTH and SOUTH .....	73	MARTON .....	84
KELSTERN .....	75	MELTON ROSS .....	84
KETTLETHORPE		RAND	
Laughterton .....	78	Fulnetby .....	57, 93
KEXBY .....	76	SKELLINGTHORPE	
KIRTON (Holland and Lindsey) .....	38	Hartsholm .....	67
KYME, NORTH and SOUTH .....	76, 92	SWINESHEAD	
LANGTON BY WRAGBY .....	78	Baythorpe .....	43, 93
		TATHWELL	
		Cadwell Park .....	50
		THORNTON LE MOOR	
		<i>Cauthorpe or Canthorpe</i> .....	51