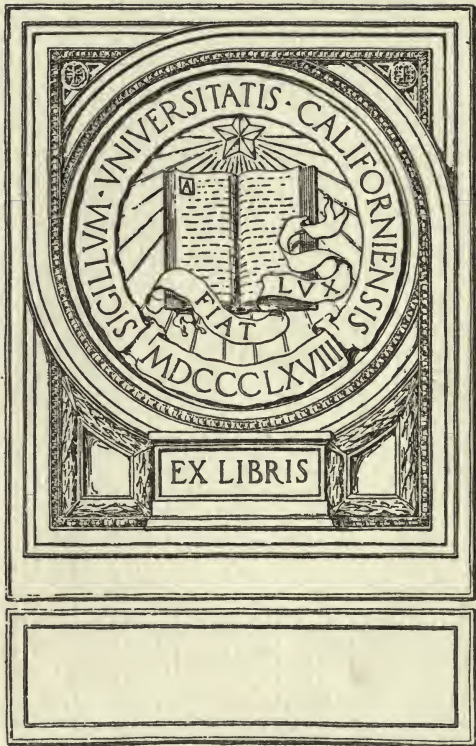


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THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

OXFORDSHIRE

THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

BY

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

THIS study of the Place-Names of Oxfordshire was originally a dissertation in the School of English Language of the University of Liverpool. It has since been entirely revised and largely rewritten for the purposes of publication.

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For any errors that may remain the writer alone is responsible.

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PREFACE

A WORK on the Place-Names of an English County may be expected to interest two very different classes of readers. On the one hand there are members of the general public who may show some curiosity—slight, it must be admitted—to know the meanings of the names of the places with which they have, in one way or another, formed associations. On the other hand are professed scholars, philologists, historians, archaeologists, who in the history of a place-name may find, each man according to his taste, more or less instruction and delight. Place-names are words, and they are usually compounds. The investigation of the development of their forms, then, and the unravelling of the mystery of their ancient meaning, are tasks which belong in the first place to the philologist. His be it to collect with laborious patience the earliest attainable records of each name, to arrange these chronologically, to decide what the ancient spellings mean, that is, what sounds they were intended to express, to describe the changes through which the name has passed, from its starting-point down to the present day, and to determine what were the precise elements of which it was primitively made up—in a word, to give the etymology of the name.

It must be admitted that the general reader who dips into the following pages, to discover the meaning of *Rousham* let us say, will probably be somewhat disconcerted by the length of the explanation, by the number of early forms and 'types', by the crowd of technical details and expressions. Such a reader merely wants to know that the name is 'the home of Rolf', all the rest will be to him 'like a tale of little meaning, though the words are strong'. And yet all this technical paraphernalia is just what, in the eyes of the philologist, is

essential, and he would by no means be content with a bare statement of results, with no indication of the process whereby these are reached, no enumeration of the facts upon which they are based.

The historical study of the names of places and persons existing in England has been pursued with some vigour during the last few years, not only on the Continent, but even in this country. The names of about a dozen English counties have been subjected to investigation, pretty much on the lines followed in the present volume, and the writer knows of at least four more counties whose names are at the present moment under inquiry. Even when all these are published, an enormous amount of work still remains to be done in the mere interpretation of the names in the other counties. But when all the names in all the counties of England have been investigated, and the greater number of them, let us hope, satisfactorily explained, we shall still be only at the beginning of the possibilities of this field of study.

For an etymological dictionary is at best but a series of disconnected articles, its pages are not the place for far-reaching generalizations, or statement of principles. It is true that several monographs, which deal only with the names of a single county, contain introductory remarks upon the principal sound changes observable in the group of names with which the work deals. Some, like the present volume, enumerate all the examples of popular etymology which occur, and note the influences of Norman French spelling and other points of general philological interest. All this is excellent, and indeed is essential, if the work is to be widely useful to scholars. Each volume furnished with treatises of this kind makes a definite contribution of a number of details to the history of the English language, besides being of special value as a part of the history of English names.

But may we not look forward to something more vitally important and interesting than the etymology of isolated

words, or even than the amassing of instances of particular sound changes? What renders English place-names of peculiar importance to the philologist is that they are not only, for the most part, compounds, but very often very long compounds, consisting originally of far more syllables than are to be found in any other English words. Under these conditions, place-names necessarily develop, in the course of their history, juxtapositions of sound which are not found elsewhere in the language; more than this, the conditions of stress are such as can occur in no other words in English, since no other words are so long. In fact these conditions of stress and of sound juxtaposition are found, elsewhere, only in sentences or word-groups. Again, the first elements of many place-names are personal names, and many of these, in Old English, as in all the other Germanic languages, were themselves compounds. In such names as *Cynewulf*, *Cēnwulf*, *Cynehelm*, *Eādgar*, *Wulfgar*, *Eādburg*, and hundreds of other personal names, both elements were quite intelligible, and owing to their easy identification with the independent words from which they were derived, they almost certainly preserved, for a very long period, their individuality within the compound. This is to say, that the second elements of such compound names were pronounced with a certain degree of stress, less indeed than that of the first element, but sufficient to protect them from the usual shortening process which overtook syllables that were quite devoid of stress. That these old compounds subsequently underwent weakening of stress in the second element is shown by occasional spellings, such as *Apulf* (for *Æpelwulf*), *Kenelm*, &c., which occur in the O.E. period.

The point is that when these proper names first entered into a further combination in place-names, both elements preserved their independence of form and stress. Thus in such compounds as *Wulfgārescot*, or *Hrōþwulfeswurþ*, the scheme of stress must have been something like $\frac{1}{\vee} \frac{2}{\vee} - \frac{3}{\vee} \frac{2}{\vee}$.

The figures placed over the line represent the various degrees of stress, 1 being the strongest, and 3 the weakest, while 2 represents an intermediate degree which occurred on the second and fourth syllables. The subsequent history of these names was that the first syllable in each retained its chief stress, the second was weakened and shortened, but remained as a syllable, the third or flexional syllable, originally the weakest syllable in the compound, was lost altogether, while the fourth survives in a weakened and shortened form; thus the modern names are respectively *Wolvercot* [wulvəkət] and *Roddlesworth* [rodlzwəp]. The latter of these is in Lancs., the former in Oxfordshire. The above might appear to be the normal treatment of such compounds, but we find that the Lancashire *Knowsley* (popularly called nauzli), goes back to *Kēnulfeslæh*, and must originally have had precisely the same conditions of stress as prevailed in the two names before mentioned. Yet here, the first syllable, formerly the most strongly stressed in the group, has completely disappeared, and the second syllable has become the bearer of the principal stress. As early as 1199 we find the form *Knūvesle*. In this case, starting from a scheme of stress $\overset{1}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{2}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{3}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{2}{\underline{\quad}}$, there must have developed first of all $\overset{2}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{1}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{3}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{2}{\underline{\quad}}$ = *Kēnulfeslèi*. In other words, the stress-order was changed from : strongest, weaker, weakest, weaker, to : weaker, strongest, weakest, weaker, thus putting the strongest stress in between two weaker stresses.

The next stage was the reduction of the 'weaker' stress of the first syllables to 'weakest', thus putting it on a level with the third syllable, and giving the scheme $\overset{3}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{1}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{3}{\underline{\quad}} \overset{2}{\underline{\quad}}$. Subsequently the two 'weakest' syllables disappeared. We might summarize the tendencies observable in the history of this name by saying that the degrees of stress are first changed in order, so that the strongest is flanked by the two secondary stresses, instead of being followed by them; the first of the secondary stresses is then weakened on account of its position

immediately before the chief stress, and finally the two syllables which have the weakest in the compound are eliminated. The above seems a perfectly natural series of changes. They certainly took place in the name *Knowsley*, but why did they not take place also in *Roddlesworth*? If they had done so, this name would be *Dowsworth*, from **R(o)dulv(e)swurþ*, where *Rd-* must have become *D-*. The history of *Kelmscot* [Kemsköt] is somewhat similar to that of *Knowsley*, as regards the loss of the first syllable, though on the model of this we should expect a modern **Knelmscot* [nemsköt]. The task of discovering the actual laws at work in the development of place-names is rendered much more difficult by the fact that not only are the modern spellings often quite unreliable as guides to the real modern pronunciation of a name, but the early forms themselves by no means always represent the pronunciations of the period in which they were written down, but may be copied from much earlier documents. In the modern period, the genuine form of a name may be entirely lost, and its place taken by a sham pronunciation based on the spelling. As to the spelling, it may represent various things—the pronunciation of the fourteenth century or earlier, a popular etymology of any period, or merely the ingenuity of the map-maker.

We are at present quite unable to formulate the laws of the interchange of stress in place-names, or of the effects of these in retaining, modifying, or eliminating syllables. We do not know, except in the roughest general way, which syllables of these compounds retained their original length in M.E. in what we call vaguely 'unstressed' positions. It is clearly not enough to assume that stress was always on the first syllable, and that the following syllables in a long compound were all equally 'weak'. We must recognize various degrees of 'weakness', various degrees of 'strength'. We must find out in what order these various degrees tended to succeed one another, and how this order affected the retention

or elimination of syllables, how long vowels were treated, according to the varying amount of stress which they received. Until these laws are properly formulated, it cannot be said that we have a scientific account of the development of place-names. The whole thing is often little better than a conjuring trick. We see that a given modern form has arisen from a given early form—that may be quite certain—but we do not know how the thing is done. The same conditions appear to yield different results in different names, as in the examples quoted above. At present we are quite content to say 'a shifting of stress has occurred' in this or that name, without making the least attempt to show why such a shifting occurred, or why if it occurred in one case it did not occur in all the others, where the original conditions appear to be identical. This is a very unsatisfactory state of things.

It is deplorable, but it cannot be altered until two things have happened. First of all we need a complete survey of all the place-names in the country, on the lines followed in this and similar books dealing with other counties, and secondly, we must have a pronouncing dictionary of all modern English place-names. Of course it would be desirable that each monograph which deals with the names of a particular area should give the local pronunciation of each name dealt with. Unfortunately this is very rarely possible. The people, and they are few enough, who are trained to do historical linguistic work, and who are willing to investigate a particular group of place-names, are often quite unable to visit the places in order to find out the details of local pronunciation. Besides, it would take months of work, and involve enormous expense, for a single individual to travel to all the villages in a large county. No, this part of the work ought to be undertaken by the various county Dialect, Historical, Archaeological Societies and what not. Each county ought to be mapped out into areas, and apportioned to the members of the local societies, who should make

a systematic survey, collecting particulars of pronunciation from 'the oldest inhabitants', the schoolmasters, the doctors, and the local clergy. It is a great pity that the Dialect Dictionary did not include the pronunciation of names, as with the elaborate organization of correspondents and collectors this should have been comparatively easy to accomplish.

In the meantime let us hope that the number of special monographs, like the present one, will continually increase, and that the other work just mentioned will be begun, and when both are approaching completeness, we shall have the raw materials from which the great laws and principles may be studied, which govern the evolution of the forms of place-names. At present our material is too scanty.

Enough has been said, probably, to indicate that there is a large field of inquiry as yet quite unexplored. It is difficult to say how far a knowledge of the laws of stress will take us in explaining what is now mysterious. It may turn out that the same group or compound might be stressed in more than one way, thus yielding more than one type of a single name. This would also help us to explain disparity of development in names where the original conditions of stress were apparently the same.

Until much more is known than at present about English place-names, it is well to avoid dogmatic assertions regarding them. There is a certain province of knowledge concerning the development of vowels and consonants which is common to place-names and ordinary English words, and here we are safe. The moment, however, we leave this well-beaten track, and are confronted by combinations of sounds which occur in place-names only, by conditions of stress which are unknown in other words, we are still at the beginning of our discoveries.

HENRY CECIL WYLD.

LIVERPOOL, *November*, 1911.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ch.	Charter.
Gm.	* German.
Gmc.	Germanic.
Icel.	Icelandic.
L.	Late.
Midl.	Midland.
N.	Norse.
nom.	nominative.
Norm. Fr.	Norman French.
Nth.	North or Northern
O.Fr.	Old French.
O.Fris.	Old Frisian.
O.H.G.	Old High German.
O.Sax.	Old Saxon.
O.W.N.	Old West Norse.
Sc.	Scotch.
Sth.	South or Southern.
W.Sax.	West Saxon.
<	. . . develops into . . .
>	. . . is derived from . . .

An asterisk before a word denotes a reconstructed form.
 † after a date denotes that it is approximate.

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TABLE OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

(i) as in <i>bit</i> .	(t) as in <i>take</i> .
(e) „ <i>bet</i> .	(d) „ <i>dog</i> .
(æ) „ <i>bat</i> .	(þ) „ <i>thin</i> .
(ī) „ <i>beat</i> .	(ð) „ <i>this</i> .
(ʏ) „ Fr. <i>u</i> as in <i>vu</i> .	(n) „ <i>no</i> .
(ā) „ <i>father</i> .	(l) „ <i>lip</i> .
(u) „ <i>put</i> .	(r) „ <i>rod</i> .
(ū) „ <i>boot</i> .	(s) „ <i>see</i> .
(o) „ <i>pot</i> .	(z) „ <i>size, rise</i> .
(ō) „ <i>saw</i> .	(ʃ) „ <i>fish</i> .
(ā) „ <i>bird</i> .	(ʒ) „ <i>pleasure, Fr. rouge</i> .
(ə) „ <i>father</i> .	(j) „ <i>year</i> .
(a) „ <i>duck</i> .	(p) „ <i>pie</i> .
(ai) „ <i>nine</i> .	(b) „ <i>big</i> .
(ei) „ <i>day</i> .	(f) „ <i>fig</i> .
(au) „ <i>house</i> .	(v) „ <i>vine</i> .
(ou) „ <i>note</i> .	(w) „ <i>well</i> .
(oi) „ <i>boil</i> .	(m) „ <i>my</i> .
	(k) „ <i>kite, cat</i> .
	(g) „ <i>go</i> .
	(ŋ) „ <i>sing</i> .
	(h) „ <i>hay</i> .
	(χ) „ Gm. <i>ach</i> , Scotch <i>loch</i> .

Phonetic representations are usually placed within square brackets.
Stress is marked thus (á).

INTRODUCTION

PART I. PHONOLOGY

A. VOWELS.

§ 1. *Shortening of original Long Vowels before Combinations of Consonants or by lack of stress.*

ā. Bradwell Grove, Broadwell [brædl], > brād-; Brockhampton, Gathampton, &c., > -hām- or ham(m); Standlake, Standhill, Stanton, > stān-.

æ (O.E.). Clanfield > clæene-; Stratton > stræt-; Latchford, Lashbrook, > *læce-; Bladon > blæ- (or blā-).

ē (L.O.E. = O.E. ēā). Adderbury > Eadburg-; Aston, Ascot > Asthall > east-; Bampton > bēam; Radcot > reād; Hempton, Henton, Henley, > hēan-.

These pl. ns. in *e* have undergone a later (M.E.) shortening *after* the change of æ < ē had taken place.

ē. Kencot > Cēn-; Shenington > Scēne- (*scēne-*); Windrush > Wēnric (influenced by popular etymology).

ī. (1) O.E. ī. Ditchley > dīc- (cp. Grim's Dyke); Whitchurch > hwīt-; Wickham > wīc-; Swyncombe, -brook, > swīn-.

(2) O.E. ēā. L.O.E. ī. Shipton, Shiplake, Shifford, > scēap-, scīp-.

(3) O.E. ih. Britwell, Brittenton, > Beorht, Bright- (cp. Bighthampton, Brightwell).

ō. Brockhampton > brōc-; Gosford > gōs-; Murcot, Moreton, > mōr-; Taston, Tusmore, > Thōr?; Osney > Ōsa.

ū. Fulbrook, -well-, > fūl-; Dunthorp > dūn-; Sutton > sūp-.

Diphthongs.

ēā. (*V.* under **ī**, **ǣ**.)

ēō. Preston, Prescote, > *prēōst(a-)*; Epwell > Eoppan-.

īē. (*V.* under **ē**.)

§ 2. *Late (M.E.) Shortenings.*

O.E. **ǣ**, M.E. **ē**. Deddington > Dǣd-.

O.E. **ǣ + g** (M.E. **ēī**). Eynsham [en¹ʃam] > Ægen-, M.E. *ain* [æin]. This is a shortening accompanied by the loss of the second element of the diphthong. Cp. Yelford > Ægel- (Aieleforde 1086).

O.E. **ā** < M.E. **ō**. Crawley > crāwe-, M.E. Crowe- (Mod. Eng. [kro^u]), or perhaps an O.E. shortening; *v. p.* 13. The *-w* has affected this development. Holton > hāle- (dative case of *-healh, -hāle*); Holwell > hālig.

O.E. **ea**, M.E. **ǣ** (in open syllables). Gathampton > *geat*. (Cp. Mod. Eng. *gate*.)

§ 3. *Lengthening of original Short Vowels.*

O.E. **e**. Cleveley > *clif*- (dat. *cleofum*¹), *cleofu-*. In Islip [aislip] there is a Mod. diphthongization of *i* to *ai*, probably on account of the spelling.

O.E. **o**. Bould > *bold*; Cokethorpe > *cocē*?; Stoke > *stoc(c)e* (*æt þǣm stoc(c)e*); Knowle Bury > *cnoll* (cp. the form *Cnoll-bury*); Stonesfield > *Stontesfeld*, for *Stuntesfeld*.

O.E. **u**. Bourton > *burg-*; Cumbe > *cumb-*; Souldern > *sul-*.

O.E. **ea**, M.E. **e**. Weald > *ea*.

§ 4. *Rounding of Vowels.*

(a) Before **-l**. Alkington (Awkington 1535), Alvescot, Alchester, Albury, Baldon, Caulcott, Salford, &c.

(b) Before **-n** (Norm. Fr. influence; due to attempt at nasalization). Launton.

¹ O.E. *cleofa*, 'slope, chasm,' is also possible.

(c) After **w-**. *wer-* < *war* < [wō]. (1) **a** < **ō**: Wardington, Warborough, Warpsgrove, Warton. (2) **i** < **u**: Woolaston > Wiglāf-; Woodlays > *wīd-* (helped by popular etymology).

(d) After various lip consonants (sometimes only in one type). (1) **Br-**: Burcott > Bridicote (1198, &c.); Britwell (Bruttewell 1216-1307) > *briht*. (2) **F-**: Filkins (Fulkinge 1229). (3) **P-**: Pudlicote < Pydela or *pidele-*; Pishill (Pushull 1274-9) > *piſe*.

§ 5. Raising of Vowels.

e < **i**. (1) After *ch-*: Chimney > Ceomman- (influenced also by popular etymology); Chinnor > Chenhora (1200, &c.); Chilworth > Ceola-. (2) Hincksey > Hengestesige (through influence of [ŋ]); cp. pronunciation of England, &c.

§ 6. Lowering of Vowels.

i < **e**. Medley > *mīdd-*.

e < **a**. Alvescot, Balscot, > Elvescot (1250), Belescot. These names may, however, be accounted for by assuming two types (1) *-el*, (2) *-al*. The development would be:

O.E. Eal } < L.O.E. *æ*l < M.E. $\left\langle \begin{array}{l} el. \\ al. \end{array} \right.$ This type (*al*) has survived, and has < [ōl]. It is then possible that, for instance, in *Alvescot* (q. v.) the *e* type predominated till 1274, when the *a* type begins to be found in documents: the latter then replaced the *e* type and developed normally to [ōlskōt]. Cp. Shellswell > Sceald-, where the two types are found in documents and the *e* type has survived.

M.E. **-er-** < **-ar-**, through influence of *r*. Cp. Eng. *hearth*, *clerk*, &c. Ardley > Erdulvele (1274-9); Arncot > Erncot (1274-9); Barford > Bere- > Beran-; Barton > *bere-*; cp. Berrick; Charlton > *ceorla-*; Hardwicke > *heord-*; Marston > *mersc-*; Sarsden > Cercesdene (1201), &c.; Yarnton > Earding-, &c., &c.

§ 7. *Formation of Diphthongs, &c., by Vocalization of Consonants.*

au > ov-. Cowley > Cofa-.

au > ov- or **-ol**. Rousham > Rollesham or Rovesham (see under this pl. n.).

ei > æg. Eynsham (before reduction to [enʃəm]) > Aegen-Cp. § 2 above.

(ū), (jū) > ew > ev. Lewknor > *Leveca- > Leoveca; Sewell > *Sefa- > Syfa-; Tew > Tiwe, Teowe, &c. (1200).

ō > aw > āg [āǰ]. Fawler > Favelore (1074-9), &c.

ō > aw. Crawley > *crāwe-* (or perhaps **ō > ō + w**). Cp. § 2.

ō > alv? Chawsey > Chalvsey? (1274-9).

ōt > ōwt > ōht > -ōct-. Broughton > *brōc-*.

§ 8. *u < o through influence of Spelling.*

o > u. Bolney > Bula-; Cop Court > Cuba-, Cubba-; Rotherfield > *hrīþer, hrȳþer* (O.E. *y < u(y)* which is incorrectly written *o*); Somerton > Sumor- (cp. Summertown); Stonesfield (see also under this pl. n.) > Stuntesfeld (1200-1695); Thomeley > Thuma-, Tuma-.

B. CONSONANTS.

§ 9. (1) *Loss of Consonants due to Combinative Sound-changes.*

(a) *Loss of Point-Stops before other Consonants in Combination.*

-db- < -b-. Curbridge > Crudbrugge (1382), &c.; Abberburi (1270) (Type A) > *Eadburge byrig*.

-ldb- < -lb-. Albury > Aldeburi (1086).

-rdb- < -rb-. Warborough > Weardburg (915-22).

-ldc- [ldk] < -lc- [lk]. Caulcott > *Caldecote.

-lds- < -ls-. Shelswell > Shaldeswell (1299); Chilson > Childestone (1291).

-ldch- [ldtʃ] < -lch- [ltʃ]. Alchester > Aldchester (1695).

-dl- < -l-. Milton > Middelton (1200-); Milcombe > Middlecumb (1225). Perhaps through *Mi(d)el-.

-dt- < -tt-. Wootton > Wudeton (871). Perhaps, however, merely a case of assimilation by unvoicing.

-stc- [stk] < -sc- [sk]. Ascot > Estcote (1274-9); Prescott > Prestcot (1428); Wescote (1695) > Westcot.

-ltf- < -lf-. Salford > Salt(e)ford (777-1279).

-sts- < -s-. Hincksey > Hengesteseye; Chilson > Childestone (1291).

-tf- < -f [ff]? Nuffield > *Nutfield?

-ts- < -s-. Islip > Itteslape (1217), or > Islip (1217), &c.

-nts- < -ns- [nz]. Stonesfield > Stontesfeld (1274-9).

-ftl- < -fl-. Iffley > Ivetlay (1213); Yestley (1535).

-ntf- (for -ndf-) < -nf-. Sanford (1086, 1274-9, &c.) > Santford > Sandford.

(b) *Loss of Back Stop before other Consonants.*

-lkf- < -lf-. Chalford > Chalkeford (1316); Chalgrove > Cealcgræf (926).

-kch- [ktʃ] < -ch- [tʃ]. Dorchester > Dorkecestre (1200), &c.

(c) *Loss of Point-open before other Consonants.*

-þt- < -t-. Norton > *norþ tūn* (815); Sutton > *sūþ tūn*; Horton > Horthton? (1149).

(d) *Loss of Lip-teeth before other Consonants.*

-fl [vl] < -l-. Wilcote > Wyvelcote (1535).

-lft- < -t-. Shilton > Shulfton (1200).

-lfg- < -lg-. Wolgarcote (Type B) > Wulgarcote (1316).

-lvs- < -ls-. Alvescote [ǫlskət].

-fl-, -vl- < -l-. Fawler > Fauflore (1274-9), &c.

(e) Loss of Nasal before other Consonants.

-nl- < -l-. Horley > Hornelie (1186), &c.

-rnc- (= [rns] or [rntʃ]) < **-rc-** (= [rs] or [rtʃ]). Burcestre (1414-31) > Berrencester (1231), &c.

Also in numerous cases where **n** > **-an** (weak genitive) has been lost; e. g. Cadwell > *Cadenwell; Ledwell > *Lednwell; Culham > Culneham (1482-91); Oxford > Oxeneford (1086).

(f) Loss of l before other Consonants.

-lm- < -m-. Brighthampton > Brihtelmeston (1161).

-lv- < -v-, -w-. Chawsey > Chalvesey? (1274-9); Rousham (Type B) > *Rolvesham.

-lm- < -m-. Kemscott (1695, &c.) > Kelmscott [kemskot] (as in modern spelling); Williamescot > Willemescot > *Wilhelmescott.

-lc- [lk] < -c [k]. Swacliff (1695), &c. (for Swalclif > Swaleweclyve (1272)).

(g) Loss of Consonants between Vowels.

-d-. Bainton > Badynton (1200).

-n-. Kingham > Kaingham > Caningeham (1086).

(h) Loss of w initially in unstressed Syllables.

-tw-, -dw- < -d-. Fritwell, [fritl] according to Hope (1883); Bradwell, Broadwell [brædəl] or [brædl]; Westwell [westl] or [westəl].

-rw- < -rr-. Berrick > Berewic (1228).

Also in pers. ns. ending in *-wine, -wen, -wulf*, &c. Cuddesdon > Cūpenes dun > *Cūpwines dūn; Elvenden > Elvinton (1200-) > *Aelfwenetūn; Rousham > Rodulveshame (1267), *Hrōþwulfes hām; Ardley > Ardulveslie (1086); > *Eardwulfes lēah.

(i) Loss of h under similar conditions.

Bucknell > Bukenhull; Asthall > ēāst healh; St. Aldates > Ealdhæth.

(k) *Loss or Vocalization of f, v between Consonants.*

Lewknor > Levekenore (1178), &c.; Sewell > Sevevell (1217); Fawler > Favelore (1213-25).

-v- < -w- < -u- and combines with preceding vowel.

(l) *Loss of r before other Consonants.*

-rs- < -ss-. Bicester > Burcestre (1414-31), Burcestur (1149); Cassington > Carsington (1535); Tusmore > Toresmere (1316); Taston > Thorstane? (1316), if this etymology is correct.

-rl- < -l-. Chalgrove > Ceorla græf? (956).

(m) *Loss of Lip-stop after Point-Consonant.*

Adderbury > Adberbur (1200-).

(n) *Loss of h [x] < w in combination.*

-lht- [lxt] < -lt-. Holton > *healgtun, cp. Halweton (1274-9); or else > hāle, dative of healh (for *healhe).

(2) *Change in Consonants due to Combinative Causes.*

(a) *Opening of Stop before Second Stop.*

-kt- < -ht- < -wt-. Broughton [brōtn] > brōc tūn; Houghton > hōc tūn.

(b) *Change of Back Nasal Stop (ŋ) to Point Nasal before Point-stop (t); (ŋt) < (nt).*

Launton > Langeton (1535), &c.

(c) *Change of Point-open (p) to Point-stop between certain Consonants.*

-lpr- < -ldr-. Souldern > *sulan þorn.

-rpr- < -rdr-. Burdrop > *burg þorp or þrep.

(3) *Dissimilative and Assimilative Changes.*

(Many of these have been included above under Combinative Changes.)

(a) *Assimilation of Consonants.*

-t—d- < -d—t-. Oddington > Otendone (1086) (Assimilative + Dissimilative change); Tiddington > Titen-done (1086).

-pf < -ff-. Rofford > Roppán forda (1002).

-dt < -tt-. Wootton > Wudetun (871).

(b) *Voicing and Unvoicing of Consonants due to following Consonants.*

1) Voicing: -kb < -gb-. Begbroke > Bekebroke (1274-9), &c.

2) Unvoicing: -ds < -ts-. Cutslow > Cudeslawe (1200); -gs < -ks-. Hincksey > Hengestesie; -df < -tf-. Santford (1056) > Sandford (956), &c.

3) Voicing between vowels: -f < -v-. Cleveley > *Cliffe-, *Cleofe-.

(c) *Partial Denasalization of m and n. Development of 'Parasitic' Consonants.*

1) -mt < -mpt-. Bampton > **bēām tūn*; Brighthampton > Brihtelmeston (1161); Gatehampton > *geat hām tūn*, or *ham, hamm*; Chiselhampton; Hampton Gay; Hampton; Hempton > *hēān tūne*. Cp. *Henton* also > *hēān tūne*, where this change has not taken place.

2) -ml < -mbl-. Thomley > Tumbleia (1086) > Tumeley. (The **b** is here again lost.)

-mf (> -nf > -n(d)f-) < -mpf-. Sampford (1233).

3) -n- + cons. < -n- + -d- + cons. Binsey: Byndesay (1537) > *Bynmes-ig* or *ēā* (the **d** is here again lost); Handborough > Haneborough, &c. (1086-1535) (the **d** is merely graphic); Standlake > *stān lacu*—Stanlake, &c. (1150-1695); Windrush > Wenerych (1298).

(4) *Metathesis.*

-þorp < þrop. Dunthrop; Heythrop—Herthrop (1200), &c.; Thrup; Burdrop (with change of þ to d), *v. p. 21*; Neithrop; Southrope; Tythrop.

-kre < -ker-. Alkerton > Alkrintone (1086), &c., till 1695.

-ru < -ur-. Burcott > Brudecot (1316), &c.; Curbridge >

Crottebrugge (1342), Crudbrugge (1384), &c.; Mapledurham > Mapuldreham (1086).

-re- > -er-. Ambrosden (pronounced according to Hope [aməzdən]) > Ambresdene (1086).

(5) *Changes due to the Influence of Spelling.*

Confusion of initial th (þ) and t (perhaps on account of Norm. Fr. spelling).

1) **þ < t**. Tusmore > Tuřsm'e, Thuresmere (1200).

2) **t < th**. Thomley > Tumbleia (1086); Taston > Thorstan (1274-9)?

Change of s + h to j. Eynsham [enfəm]; Rousham [raufəm]. See under these pl. ns.

Addition of initial N- owing to use of article. Noke > *æt þære āce* or *æt þām ācum* (M.E. *Atten oke*): Acham (1086, 1200), Oke (1274-9), Noke (1366). Nash > *æt þæm æsce* (M.E. *allenash*): Asshe, Tenésshe (1149).

Change of -sht- to -st-. Marston > Mershton (1316). (Confusion with the strong genitive suffix may also have influenced the change.)

Change of -þ- to -d-. Cropredy > Cropriþi (1250†, written about 1450); Cuddesdon > Cuþenés dūne (956). Cp. further p. 19 above.

(6) *Isolutive Changes.*

1) *Loss of ġ initially*. Iffley > Gifetelea (1005); Islip > Giðslep (C. D.), Yistlep (1274-9).

2) *Addition of y [j] initially*. Yarnton > *Eardington; Ardington, &c., till 1535; Yelford > Eleforde (1274-9, 1535).

See, however, discussion under these names. There may be two types, and the phonetic development may be: 1) Éardin- < Ardin-; Ægele- < Ele-. 2) Eárdin- < Yarn-; Ægele- < Yele-.

Treatment of -ofer, -hofer; v between vowels or before r.

Chinnor (-hofer)—Chenore (1086), Chenhora (1200),

Chynnoure (1272-1377); Shotover — Scottover (1227), Sotovr' (1233), Shothour (1234), Sotour (1234), Schott-hovere, Shotovere (1298), Schothore (1397); Lewknor (-ofer) — Levecanole (*for* -ore) 1086, Leovetanōr (-our) 1184; Stonor? (*or* > -ora).

It is very difficult to decide whether the change of O.E. *-ōfer*, M.E. *-over*, to *-oure*, *-or* took place because of the position of the *v* before *r* or when that letter occurred between the two vowels, i.e. whether the forms in *-oure*, *-or* are due to the development of *-ovre* or of *-over*. The forms do not prove anything conclusively, although they indicate, if anything, the possibility of the change of *-ovre* to *-oure*. *-ovr* in the earlier forms is replaced by *-our*, *-oure* later, whereas *-overe*, *-hovere* does not seem to undergo a change of this nature. It is to be noted that there is no case of such form as **-ouere*, **-houere*. The change was probably [ōurə] < [ōwrə] (lip-back) < [ōrə] (over-rounded ō) < [ūre] which is written *-oure*. This was then weakened by the unstressed *-or* [ər].

On the other hand it must be admitted that the evidence of other words where **v** has < **w** in *accented* syllables points to the condition of the change being that the **v** is intervocalic. *Lewknor* for instance > *Levekenore*, &c.; the process here is that the **v** < **w**, which then combines with the vowel to form [ū] or [jū]. *Levekenor* < *Lewekenor* < *Lewknor* [ū] or [jū]. Cp. further, *Cowley*, > *Cofelea*, which < *Covele* < *Cowle* [u] < *Cowley* [au]. Here, however, it is possible that the second vowel had been lost before the change of **v** into **w** and **u**; e.g. there was an intermediate form **Levkenor* which < **Lewknor*, and *Covle* < *Cowley*; cp. *Cofle* (1246).

PART II

CHANGE OF SUFFIXES; LEVELLING OF SUFFIXES; POPULAR ETYMOLOGY

CHANGE OF SUFFIXES.

1. Original *-dūn* replaced by *-tūn* (*-tōne*): Attington, Ducklington, Easington, Garsington, Goddington, Headington, Oddington, Shenington, Tiddington.

2. Original *-tūn* (*-tone*) replaced by *-dūn* (*-done*): Assendon.

In most of the above cases it is possible that the change is due to a process of levelling two originally different suffixes rather than to an actual replacement.

3. Cases of sporadic confusion in suffixes. *-don* and *-ton*: Baldon, Toot Baldon, Bensington, Cassington.

Original *-cot* replaced by *-court* (Norm. Fr. *curt*, Lat. *co-(h)ortem*): Cop Court.

(*ġe*)*dēlf* (a quarry) replaced by *-d + hill*: Standhill. (O.E. *stāngedelf* < Standelve < Standel (1695), which is expanded into Standhill.)

-den (*-denu*) replaced by *-don* (*-dūn*), or perhaps levelled (*v.* below, p. 24): Checkendon, Dunsdon, Gangsdown.

-grave (*græf*) replaced by *-grove* (*-grāf*): Chalgrove, Warpsgrove.

-ing replaced by *-ins*: Filkins.

-le (*-lēah*) replaced by *-hill* (*-hyll*): Pink Hill.

-mere (*-mere* or (*ġe*)*mære*?) replaced by *-more* (*mōr*): Littlemore, Tusmore. In Finmere there is an occasional confusion between the two suffixes.

-ston (*stān*) replaced by *-ton* (*tūn*): Taston, Wroxton.

In *Cropredy* a suffix *-rībig* has been added to replace the ending *-ri*.

LEVELLING OF TWO ORIGINALLY DISTINCT SUFFIXES.

The chief case of this is that of *-den* (*-denu*) and *-don* (*-dūn*), where the latter probably referred to the hill, the former to the valley below. The examples are: Bladon, Bullingdon, Elvenden (cp. Elfyngton (1535), Elvinton (1200)), Oddington (both *-den* and *-don* levelled under *-don*, which is later replaced by *-ton*), Sarsden.

See also under cases of replacement. Cases of occasional substitution will be found noted under the respective words.

CHANGES DUE TO POPULAR ETYMOLOGY.

(See also under *Change of Suffixes*.)

Bablock Hythe (*-lock* for *-lake* > *lacu*); Berrick Salome, Brightwell Salome, *v.* under these pl. ns. (Salome > Solham); Bolney and Belle Hatch, *v.* under Bolney; Brightonhampton (connected with *-ham*, Hampton); Chimney (*i* for *e* helped by popular etymology); Chippinghurst (*Chipping*, for *Chipen*, *Chiben* (O.E. *Cibban), by popular etymology; cp. *Chipping Norton*); Fifield (*-feld* for *-f + hīda*, *-fide*); Forest Hill (*Forest* for *forst*, 'frost'); Kingham (*King-* for *Kaing-*, *Keing-* > *Caning-*); Maple-Durham (*Durham* due to analogy of place of same name); Steeple Aston, Barton (perhaps for *Staple* Aston?, Barton); Stonesfield (*Stones-* for *Stuntes-*, *Stontes-*, *Stuns-*, &c.); Windrush (River) (*Wen-* or *Wæn-* replaced by *Wind-*).

PART III. NOTES ON SOME O.E. ELEMENTS

-cott, -cote. There are two forms of this word in O.E., the first is *cot*, genitive *cotes*, plural *cotu*, plural genitive *cota*; the second a weak noun *cote*, genitive *cotan*, plural *cotan*. From the first, the names in modern *-cott, -cot* are formed; from the second, probably from the dative case, those in *-cote*. For the lengthening of the *o* cp. *Stoke* > *stoce* by the side of *Wood-, Water- stock, >-stocc*.

The meaning of *cot, cote* is originally 'a single cot, cottage, house, or bedchamber' (B.-T.). Later it probably came to mean 'a collection of cottages', 'a settlement.'

-ey. Names in *-ey, -ea* have two possible origins. The suffix may represent:

(1) O.E. *ēā*, 'a stream, river, water'; O.Fris. *a, e*; O.Sax. *aha*; O.H.G. *aħa*; Norw. *ae*. Cp. also Goth. *ahva*, Lat. *aqua*.

(2) O.E. *īēġ, ēġ*, 'island' or a marshy piece of land.

In the Oxfordshire names it is difficult to determine which of the two elements is represented in a modern name in *-ey*. O.E. *īēġ, ēġ* can be readily determined if the name is represented in the O.E. charters; e.g. Chimney (O.E. *Ceommenig*), Hincksey (O.E. *Hengestesig*). See under these names. The discussion of the elements will also be found under the pl. ns. in *-ey*. Another possibility is that *-ey* may represent an entirely different O.E. suffix with the loss in M.E. of a final consonant. This is the case of Oxsh. *Bolney*, where the second element is O.E. *hȳþ*; similarly *Chelsea*, which, according to Zachrisson (p. 86), is derived from **Cælic hȳþ* (cp. also Earle, Land Chs.), and *Stepney*, which probably > **Stybbanhȳþ*. *Childrey* (Berks.) is O.E. *Cillan riþ*. Cp. *Cillarīþe*, C. D. vi. 131, ch. 1290.

The Oxsh. names show the following probable etymologies: O.E. *īēġ, ēġ*: Chimney, Eye, New Hincksey, Kingsey, Oseney, Witney. O.E. *ēā*, 'a stream, river': Binsey (probably),

Overy (probably > **ofer-ēā*). O.E. *hȳþ*: Bolney. O.E. *ēā, īēġ* must have had some influence on the development. It will be seen that *īēġ, ēġ* is most frequent.

-grove. The word *grove* as a second element in pl. ns. has three possible origins; (1) O.E. *grāf*, 'a grove'; (2) O.E. *græfa*, 'bush, bramble, brushwood'—a mutated form of the former word (cp. *Crawf. Chs.*, p. 61, and *Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs.*, p. 334); and (3) O.E. *græf*, 'a trench, grave.' The last word is connected with O.E. *grafan*, 'to dig.' Cp. *Mod. engrave*. None of these words should normally give *Mod. -grove*. *Grāf* is shortened owing to lack of stress and would give M.E. *graf*, *grave*, *Mod. -grave*. Similarly O.E. *græfa*, *græf* with a *Mod.* lengthening and diphthongization of *æ* to (*ei*). *-grove* is due to the influence of the independent word: consequently the forms in *-grave* often persist till quite a late date. The only two examples in Oxfordshire are *Chalgrove* and *Warpsgrove*; the former is still written *Chalgrave* in the 1695 *Camden*, while the latter has *-grave* in 1535. The change may have been helped in some pl. ns. by the common contraction *-g've* in M.E. which may have been expanded to *-grove*.

For **-hall**, &c. (O.E. *healh, -hāle*), *v.* under *Holton, Asthall*.

For **-ham** (O.E. *-hām, ham(m)*, &c.), *v.* under *Ham Court*.

-ing. The suffix *-ing* in pl. ns. may have at least four origins. It may represent:

(a) The weak genitive or dative of a pers. n. or adjective in *-an* which < M.E. *-en*, and is replaced by *ing*, probably through confusion with the patronymic *-ing*.

(b) The patronymic ending of an O.E. pers. n. in *-ing*, *-ingas*, *-inga*, or the same suffix used in a local sense.

(c) The suffix *-wine, -wen, -win*, < M.E. *-ine, -en, -in*, and replaced by *-ing*.

(d) O.E. *ing*, 'a meadow, piece of land,' as used in the dialects. *ing*, 'a meadow, low-lying land near a stream, water-meadow' (E. D. D.).

According to Wyld (*d*) two origins: **inga*, which < *ing*, and **ingja*, which < **incġ*. Cp. under *Filkins*, and cp. *Billinge* (Lancs.). He suggests that it is cognate with Lat. *ancrae* and Gk. ἄγκος, a valley, O.H.G. *Angar* and E.Fris. *inge* (Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 362). Cp. also Middendorf, p. 83. Besides the two pl. ns. cited above the form in *incġ* is possibly the origin of the second element in *Lockinge* and *Wantage* (Berks.). Cp. *Waneting*, C. D. vi. 86, ch. 1262; vi. 131, ch. 1290. The modern pronunciation [dʒ] points to an open consonant in O.E.

The *Catholicon Anglicum*, p. 115, has *enge*, 'a meadow'; the word was thus in existence in M.E. In O.E. it may occur as a first element in *Ingceburne*, C. D. iv. 157, ch. 813 (anno 1062); *Incgenæs hām*, vol. iv. 127, ch. 593 (967-75)—(here a pers. n. might be represented); *Incghæma gemæro*, iii. 400, App., ch. 311 (an Oxfordshire charter of 880); *Ingham*, *Ingepenne*, and *Ingeþorp* (all in Kemble's Index). There is, however, also a pers. n. *Ing*, which may be contained in some of these names.

The origin of *-ing* in Oxfordshire place-names is as follows:

(a) (1) *-ing* replaced *-en* > *-an*, the genitive of the weak pers. n.: Attington, Baldyngdon (1369), &c., Baldington (1535), Bletchingdon, Bullingdon, Chadlington, Chippinghurst, Easington, Emmington?, Goddington, Headington, Oddington, Piddington?, Tiddington, Wardington, Wiggington.

(2) *-ing* replaced *-en* > *-an*, dative of an adjective or > *-en*: Newington (*nīwan-*), Shenington (*scēnan-*).

(b) *-ing* > *-inga*, genitive plural of patronymic: Bensington, Gagingwell, Goring? (see (*d*) below), Hensington, Kingham (Caningeham 1086), Kiddington, Kidlington, Kirtlington, Mollington, Watlington.¹

Class (a) and Class (b) are exceedingly difficult to distin-

¹ In some of these names only forms in *-ing-* occur. O.E. *inga* should give M.E. *inge*. See now my article on *ing* names in *Essays and Studies by members of the English Association*, vol. ii, p. 158.

guish. Some names cannot be definitely assigned to either class. A discussion of the doubtful cases will be found under the separate names. Unless there is some evidence of the existence of the family of which the patronymic is assumed the ending *-ing* is probably secondary.

(c) O.E. *ing*, a meadow, perhaps in Filkins (*v.* under this pl. n.).

It will be seen that by far the greater portion of names in *-ing* are due to the dative or genitive of a weak form, and that the *-ing* is not original.

-ley, -lay, &c. O.E. *lēah*, 'lea, meadow, open space, untilled land.' The original idea seems to be 'a clearing', land from which forest has been cleared, as distinct from *feld*, which appears to be land which has always been open and clear (see Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 368).

The derivation is usually from the dative *lēāge*, L.O.E. *læge*, and this form gives the M.E. variants, *-leye*, *-leie*, *-lei*, *-le*, and *-laia* (latinized), &c. In some names the last type has survived as Mod. *-lay*.

-low. O.E. *hlāw*, *hlæw*. The pl. ns. in *-low* owe their ending to the form *-hlāw*. The *ā* is here introduced by analogy from the oblique cases. The O.E. is nominative *hlæw*, dative plural *hlāwum*. The more correct form is retained in such pl. ns. as *Lew* (Oxf.), and *Lew Trenchard* (Devon), &c. The meaning is originally 'a burial-mound', but is later applied to any mound or piece of rising ground. In some cases, when used with the genitive of a pers. n., it indicates that the bearer of the name was buried at the place; in other cases he was probably merely the owner of the mound or tumulus.

-or. The ending *-or* in pl. ns. has three possible origins. It may represent (1) O.E. *ōra*, (2) O.E. *ōfer* (3) perhaps O.E. *hofer*.

(1) *ōra* in O.E. means 'a margin, rim, bank, shore'. It is a common element in pl. ns. Cp. *Byrhtes ora*, C. D.,

ch. 597; *Bucganora*, C. D., ch. 18, &c. (= *Bognor*, Suss.); *Billanora*, C. D., ch. 287, &c.; besides many other references. Cp. further *Oare* (Berks.), which Professor Skeat explains as O.E. *ōra*, and *Bagnor*, *Cumnor*, and *Windsor* in the same county (Skeat, Pl. Ns. Berks., pp. 81-2). The latter name, however, may contain *ōfer* or *-hofer*. Skeat has a form *Wyndeleshore* (Red Bk. of the Exch.); and I note *Undesoure* (for *Windsoure*), Index, p. 822, and *Windsoures* in a family name, in Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii. 453-4; also *Wyndleshores*, loc. cit., p. 312. *ōra* occurs in *Stonor*, *Clare*, *Golder*.

(2) *ōfer*, *ōfor*, means 'a bank, shore (of a river or sea)'. It is cognate with Gm. *Ufer*. Both as an independent word and as a first or second element in pl. ns. it is common in O.E. C. D. has *Over* (? Cambs.), ch. 809 (see Skeat, Pl. Ns. Cambs., p. 70). Cp. further *Acofre*, C. D., chs. 710, 1298; *Genenofre*, C. D., chs. 681, 683; *Heanofer*, C. D., ch. 570 (cp. Mod. *Hanover*); and other cases. *Bigenevre* (D. B. i. 25), *Biggeneure* (Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii. 45, anno 1262), early forms of *Bignor* (Suss.), perhaps indicate a mutated form **ēfer*. *-ōfer* is found in M.E. as *-ovre*, *-oure*, *-ore*, and is frequently levelled under *-or* > O.E. *ōra*. It occurs in *Lewknor*.

(3) *hofer* means 'a hump, bump, swelling, tumour on animal bodies'. Prof. Wyld has suggested that it probably occurs in place names with the meaning 'a hump of land, a hill', though I can find no direct proof of its use in O.E. in this sense. It is found in W.-W. as a gloss to *gibbus*, *struma*, *tuber* (24. 21, 52. 18, 337. 37, 553. 23). The adjective *hoferede* is also found (= *gibberosus vel strumosus*). In M.E. *hoferede* occurs with the meaning 'humpbacked' (Stratmann-Bradley).

The following examples of *hover* in the dialects are worthy of note; they may represent a survival of this O.E. word. *Hover*, adj. (1) 'light, puffy, raised' (used of bread, hops, soil); (2) 'cold, shivery, hunched up' (of birds or animals). The word *hover* (connected with M.E. *hoven* and perhaps O.E. *hebban*—Skeat) seems to be used in the dialects in the

following significations: 'a cover, shelter, "hold", 'a floating island or bed of reeds' (see N. E. D.).

There seems to be no case of the occurrence of this word in O.E. pl. ns., but some of the M.E. spellings with *-hover*, *-houer* can hardly point to any other origin. In *Shotover* (see p. 190) the *h* may merely be due to the spelling *th* for *t*, but this explanation would not account for *Chinnor* (q.v.), where the *-or* is probably originally *hofer*, altered by lack of stress and confusion with O.E. *ōfer*, *ōra*.

I notice the spelling *Cumeneshora* in C. D. v. 33, ch. 32, but this is a very late copy of a charter of 683; and, further, *Æschore*, C. D., ch. 771; *Goldhora*, ch. 661; *Tieleshora*, ch. 1012. These, however, do not prove anything; the *h* is probably merely graphic. See the forms of *Chinnor* and *Shotover* below; and, further, Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs., Pt. II, under *hofer*.

-over. This suffix may represent either O.E. *ōfer* or O.E. *hofer*. See *-or*, above, and compare *Shotover*.

-ton. O.E. *-tūn*. Originally 'an enclosure, hedge' (cp. Gm. *Zaun*), and applied later to the settlement which grows up inside the enclosure. In the unstressed position it is shortened to *-tun*, which is written *-ton* in M.E. orthography to prevent confusion; later it is weakened to the Mod. unstressed [tən], [tn].

PART IV

PECULIARITIES OF M.E. ORTHOGRAPHY

M.E. Scribal Peculiarities (chiefly Norm. Fr.) in Oxfordshire Place-Names.

Where no date is added the form is from D. B.

VOWELS.

(1) **e** for *ǐ* > O.E. *ǣ*.

(a) In *-berie* > O.E. *-byriġ*: Aldeberie, Haneberge, Ideberie, Misseberie, Wandesberie, &c.

(b) Independently in stressed syllables: Beneseye (1122), Kedelyngton (1227-8), Ledenestan (1316), Menistre (1200-) (also Min'stre), Periet, &c. (1267), Peritone, Petintone, Redrefeld, Retherfeld Peppard (1287), Tetindon (1200), &c.

(c) In unstressed syllables other than O.E. *-byriġ*, &c., (*ȳ*) < **e**: Bulheth (1231), &c., > *-hȳth*; Rollandret > **-rȳth* > *rīth*; Witecerce > *-cyr(i)ce*.

-helle, O.E. *-hulle*, &c.: Cercelle, Buchehelle.

(2) **o** for **u** (scribal): Ardolvesle (1229), Borton, Brotte-well (1274-9), Bokkenhull (1316), Bolinden (1274-9), Boreforde (1323), Dochelintone, Folewell (1274-9), Rotherefeud (1200), &c., Optone, Wotton.

-an- < **-aun**; *attempt to reproduce Norm. Fr.* (ð): Lawnton (1525) Laungele, Saumford, Saunford (1206-1307), Saundford (1227-77), Staunthone (1270), Staundon (1284-5), Aumbresden (1227-77), Baunton (1252), Mod. *Bampton*. In Mod. *Launton* this change has been permanent.

CONSONANTS.

wer for **wr**, &c.: Werochestan.

h for **hw**: Huchewode.

d for **th** [th]: Bollehede, Bulhed (1274-9), > *hȳth*, perhaps influenced by O.E. *hēāfod*, 'head'; Celelorde (for Celeworthe), Horspadan.

t for **d** (final): Langefort (in Saltfor (1200) the final consonant is not expressed at all), Clenefelt (1274-9).

c for **t**: Bolehuch, Icheslep (1228), Icheslep, &c. (1212), Iveclay (Iffley) (1218), Kurclinton (1200), Rollrich (1695)—Rodlandrich (1307), Reccote (1200), Frechewell (1200).

t for **c**: Leovetanor (1184), Puntele (1376), Cotthrop (1274-9).

p, ph for **f**: Graptone, Elephescote (1200).

th for **t**: Esthcote, Dedinthone (1270), Fretheswell (1210), Northun (1228), Rethcote (1200-) (or Retcote > Redcote).

ch for **c** [k]: Eschote (1160-80), Bechlea (1086, 1167), Bechebroc, Berewiche, Blochesham, Chersitone (also Cersitone), Dorchecestre, Dochelintone, Fileching (1269), Fullebroch (1168), Chenicota (1160-80), Chidintone, Chingestone, Acham, &c., Stanlache (1150-60), Tachelie.

qu for **c** [k]: Quodesdon (1316).

c for **ch** [tʃ]: Cedelintone (also Chedelintone), Calkford (1274-9) (also Chalford), Celgrave, Cestretone (1152-4), Celelorde, Cercelle, Witecerce.

s for **ch** [tʃ]: Secendene (also Cecadene).

c, ch for **s**: Cerchesden (1180), &c.

sh for **ch** [tʃ]: Shibenhurst (1140-1).

z for **ch** [tʃ]: Cerzhulle (1168). Norm. Fr. scribes more often denote [ts] by **z**.

s, ss for **sh** [ʃ], **sch** [stʃ]: Crawmares, Craumerse (1227), Crowem'sse (1274-9), Merston (1200-, 1274-9), &c., Siplak (1200-), &c., Siptone (777), Sireburn (also Shireburn) (1200), Sotovr' (1233), Wenris, Wenrisse (1274-9).

Addition of initial H: Henestan, Heiwelme (for Hewelme) (1200-), Hippesdene (1200-), Histesleape (1167), Hardintone.

Addition of Le, L' (def. art.): Lawelme, Lewelme (1200-), del Ewelme, de Lewelme (1286).

ss for x [ks]: Misseberie.

Vocalization of **l** to **u**:

(1) **al** < **au**: Audebir' (1274-9), Baudindon (1216-1307), Wyfaude (1274-9).

(2) **el** < **eu** in *-feud* (O.E. *-feld*): Clarefeud (for Clanefeud) (1274-9), Ellesfeud (1208), Rotherefeud (1200-).

l for **r**: Clawelle, Levechanole, Cropelie.

r for **l**: Brokesham (1290), Aldewere (1315), Berescote.

v for **w**: Advelle, Volgacote (1250-64).

st for **ht** [xt]: Bristewelle (1200), Bristhelmeston (1245, &c.), Isteslape (1165), Istelep (1100-), &c., Histesleape (1167), Rolendrist (1270).

ct for **ht** [xt]: Bricteuell (1274-9), Bricthemeston (1169), Icteslep (1233).

l for **n**: Eglesham.

r for **n**: Clarefeud (1274-9), Sidreham.

ch for **cl**: Chenefelde.

gl for **cl**: Glanfield (1200-)

ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF PLACE-NAMES, WITH TABULATED FORMS,
AND ACCOUNT OF EACH NAME

A

Abesditch or Avesditch.

1695 Avesditch. Map in Camden.

According to the Victoria County History, vol. ii, pp. 306, 342, this is the name of an entrenchment running near the R. Cherwell from just below Souldern to near Kirtlington. It is also called Ash Bank or Wattle Bank. See the latter name below.

Dr. Bradley suggests it may represent O.E. *efes-dīc*, 'the ditch or embankment by the "eaves" or border of a wood.' Cp. perhaps *efslea*, C. D. iv. 45, ch. 750.

Adderbury.

TYPE I. (-db-).

- 1086 Edburgberie. D. B. i. 154 b.
1216-1307 Edburbur', Edburbur', Adberbur, Edburubir',
Atborebir'. Testa de N. 116, 7, 101, 120.
1232 Edburbiri. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 151.
1239 Eadurbiry. Eynsh. Ch. i. 5, ch. 1.
1269 Edburbury, Adurbury. Quo Warr. 667.

TYPE II. -bb- (-b-).

- 1227-31 Eaburebir' (perhaps for Edburebir), Eburbir.
Cl. Rlls. (1227-31), 162, 349.
1270 Abberburi. Eynsh. Ch. i. 14.
1272-1377 Abberburi, Abberburye. Quo Warr. 667.
1320 Abberbury. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376.
1346 Abburburi. Feud. Aids, iv. 179.
1535 Abberbury. Map in Val. Eccl.

TYPE III. -dd- (-d-).

- 1428 Addurbury. Feud. Aids, iv. 187.
 1535 Adderbury. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 240.
 1654 Adarberi. Oxf. Par. Reg. 23.
 1695 Adderbury. Map in Camden.

‘(At) the fort of Eadburg.’ O.E. *æt Eādburġe byrig*.¹ Eādburg is a well-known O.E. feminine name. The most noted woman of this name was the daughter of Offa, King of Mercia. She is a signatory to two charters, C. D. i. 210, ch. 174, and i. 218, ch. 180.

For the use of this name as the first element of a pl. n. compare *Eadburgebyrig*, C. D. iii. 361, ch. 722, vi. 131, ch. 1290, &c. This is the original form of the Mod. *Adderbury*, though it is doubtful whether the forms in these charters refer to the Oxsh. place.

The phonetic development shows a bifurcation into two types, II and III above. Type II, which is the more common in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, would give Mod. **Abberbury*. Cp. *Abraham* (Lancs.), which is originally *Eādburġe hām*, where the *b* type has survived (Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 41).

Type III is less common during the period mentioned, but increases in frequency later and results in the Mod. form. This type shows a change of -*db-* to -*dd-* (-*d-*) with loss of *b*.

It is necessary to postulate the existence of these two collateral types during the M.E. period, as it is impossible for *Abberbury* to have developed into *Adderbury* by phonetic change.

The forms are, on the whole, regular. -*berie* would seem to indicate Kentish influence, but Professor Skeat shows that O.E. *y*, M.E. *i* is often represented in A.F. spelling by *e* (Pl. Ns. Hunts., p. 355, &c.). -*birie* is the normal Midl. form

¹ When O.E. forms are given in this way they are reconstructed and are not necessarily found in O.E. sources.

and *-burie* is *Sihn*. The form *Atborebir'* (Testa de N.) has a scribal error of *t* for *d* and the common M.E. spelling *o* for *u*.

For the change of *Eād-* to *Ad-*, *Ed-*, see *Introd.* p. 13.

Adwell.

- 1086 Advelle. D. B. i. 159.
 1272 Adewell. Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii. 183.
 1274-9 Edewelle. Rot. Hund. ii. 788.
 1327-77 Addewell. Non. Inq. 135.

The first type, from which the Mod. name is descended, possibly represents O.E. *Adan wiella*, 'the spring, well of Ada.' Both *Ada* and *Adda* are on record as O.E. names, for which see *Searle*. If the form in *Rot. Hund.* is to be taken seriously, it would suggest O.E. *Eada* (*Searle*, p. 175), a weak, shortened form of such names as *Eadbeald*, *Eadbeorht*.

Akeman Street.

- 1298 Akeman Strete. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 94, ch. 650.

The name of a Roman road on which *Benson* stands. Compare O.E. *Aceman*, as in *Acemannesceaster*, the O.E. name for *Bath* (*A.-S. Chron.*, Parker MS., ann. 937). *C. D.* has also the same pl. n. See *Index* under *Badum* (*æt*).

Albury.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Alwoldesberie. D. B. i. 160.
 1274-9 Awaldesbur'. Rot. Hund. ii. 699.
 1216-1307 Alewaldebur'. Testa de N. 102.
 1346 Alweldesbury. Feud. Aids, iv. 183.

TYPE II.

- 1086 Aldeberie. D. B. i. 161.
 1274-9 Aldebur'. Rot. Hund. ii. 714.
 1216-1307 Aldebur, Aldeb'r. Testa de N. 100.
 1274-9 Audebur. Rot. Hund. ii. 35.

1316 Aldebury. Parl. Writs, ii. 352.

1695 Aldbury. Map in Camden.

The Mod. *Albury* is descended from Type II. Type I, which would probably give the same result, is originally 'the bury of Ælfweald', a pers. n. which, according to Searle, is found as *Ælwold* in 1044; Type II represents *æt ealdan byrig*, 'at the old bury.' Cp. the following name.

Aude- shows a Norm. Fr. vocalization of *l*.

Alchester¹ (par. Wendlebury).

1695 Aldchester. Map in Camden.

Etymology doubtful in the absence of older forms. If Camden's form is genuine it probably denotes an original *æt ealdan ceastre*, 'the old city (camp).'

St. Aldates (Oxford) [səntouldz].

1274-9 Scē Aldati. Rot. Hund. ii. 789, &c.

1327-77 S. Aldat'. Non. Inq. p. 142.

Probably O.E. *Ealdhæth*, the name of a priest in the Liber Vitae (O. E. T. p. 155, l. 54 and p. 157, l. 119). The phonetic development is normal; the unstressed *-hæth* < *-ate*.

The above forms are obviously latinized.

Alkerton.

1086 Alcrintone. D. B. i. 156.

1216-1307 Alkrinton. Testa de N. 101.

1509-47 Awkeryngton. Map in Val. Eccl.

1695 Alkerington. Map in Camden.

'The "tūn" of Ealhhere or of the descendants of Ealhhere. O.E. *Ealhere(s)* (*Ealhheringa*) *tūn*. *Ealhhere* is a common pers. n. in O.E. As the first element in a pl. n. it is found in *Ealhæres byrgels*, C. D. v. 348, ch. 1184, and *Ealcheres*

¹ A roman fortification. See Vict. County History, ii. 320. According to Trice Martin's Record Interpreter, p. 347, this is possibly *Alauna civitas*; if this is correct, it may denote a pre-English origin.

dic, v. 105, ch. 1053. In M.F. we find such forms as *Alcher*, *Alcherio*, *Alchere* (Ellis, ii. 13), *Alcher*, *Alcherus* (ii. 280, 281). These forms point to a pronunciation with *k* (*ch* = *k*), though the reason for the change is not clear. Possibly it has been affected by the common M.F. pers. n. *Algar* (Ellis, ii, pp. 16, 17, 18, and 281) which > O.E. *Ælfgār*, *Ealhgār*. From this pers. n. (*Alker) the modern form *Alkerton* is derived. The genitive *-s* must have been lost early. The early forms all show *-ing* (*-in*), possibly due to the influence of a patronymic form *-inga*. This type has survived in the Lancs. *Alkington*.

The change to *Alkerton* may be accounted for by a metathesis and loss of (ŋ), or by the existence of two types, with and without *-ing-*.

The form in Val. Eccl. shows the early modern diphthongization of *a + l* to *aw* [au].

In such a form as **Ealh(e)ringatūn* the *h* may have been stopped before *r*. A similar change takes place, however, in *Alkmund* for *Ealhmund*, which is found in Fl. of Worc., Sym. Durham (cit. Searle), and as *Alchemont* (Ellis, ii. 12).

Alvescot.

- 1086 Elfegescote. D. B. i. 160 b.
 1216-1307 Elephescote. Testa de N. p. 78.
 Elwescote, Elvescote, Elfescote, Elfeiscot. Testa
 de N. pp. 106, 108, 114, 118.
 1274-9 Alfayscote, Alfescot, Alfeyscote. Rot. Hund. ii.
 698, 861-2, 698.
 1276 Aluescote (2) (for Alvescote). Abbr. Plac. 192.
 1316 Alvescote. Parl. Writs, ii. 351.

'The homestead of Ælfhēah.' O.E. *Ælfhēāges cot*. *Ælfhēah* is a common pers. n. in O.E. It is found incorporated in a pl. n. in C. D. v. 320, ch. 1164, *Ælfhēāges gemæro*, the boundary of *Ælfhēah*. The local pronunciation of *Alvescot* is [ōlsköt] or [ælsköt]. Cp. *Alveston* [ōlstən], probably > *Ælfhēāges tūn* (Gloucs.), *Alston* > *Ælfsiges tūn*

(Pl. Ns. Worcs., Duignan, p. 3), *Alstone* > *Ælfwearðes tūn* (Pl. Ns. Staffs., Duignan). [C.D. has a form *Ælfsiges cotan*, vi. 8, ch. 1221, in a charter relating to Oxsh. and Berks. This would give a Mod. [ōlskət] or [ōlsikət], but the M.E. forms of *Alvescot* (-eis, -eys, &c.) point conclusively to *Ælfhēah*.] *Alscott* (Devon) is > *Ælfrædes cot*, as shown by the Testa de N. form *Alvrediscott* (p. 184). Ellis has M.E. forms of *Ælfhēah*, such as *Alfah*, *Alfeg*, *Alfeih* (n. 15): cp. also *Alphea*, Birch, ch. 1196; *Alphee*, ch. 775. The pers. n. is also present in the name *St. Alphege* (a latinized form).

For loss of *v*, O.E. *f*, cp. p. 17 above.

Ambrosden.

- | | | |
|---------|-------------|---|
| 1086 | Ambresdone. | D. B. i. 157 b. |
| 1234 | Ambresden. | Cl. Rlls. p. 457. |
| 1316 | Aumbresden. | Feud. Aids, iv. 168, Hen. III (1231-4). |
| 1327-77 | Aumbresden. | Non. Inq. 135. |
| 1509-47 | Ambrysdon. | Map in Val. Eccl. and text p. 159. |
| 1566 | Amersdon. | } Oxf. Visit. pp. 57, 264. |
| 1634 | Ambersden. | |
| 1695 | Amersden. | Map in Camden. |

'The dean or valley of *Amber (=Eanbeorht?)' C. D. has such pl. ns. as *Ambresbyrig*, *Amberesburg*, v. 116, ch. 1058; v. 130, ch. 1067, &c. = *Amesbury* (Wilts.); *Ambresleah*, iii. 375, app. ch. 56, &c. = *Ombersley* (Worc.); *Amerden*, iv. 246, ch. 907; *Amberleah*¹ (-le), ii. 341, ch. 464. All these names and the one above point to an original first element *Amb(e)res*—the genitive of a pers. n. There is no such name on record in O.E. except, perhaps, the late latinized form of *Eanbeorht*, which is found as *Ambertus* in Birch, i. 567, ch. 409, a charter dated 833, but which is obviously at least two centuries later. Förstemann (p. 98) gives a Gmc. *Ambr*, which he suggests is developed from **Amar*, with the

¹ In these last two names the prefix *Amer-* may be Celtic. Where the genitive *s* occurs, a pers. n. is more likely.

addition of a parasitic *b*. He connects this with Gmc. *Amal* and *Aman*. Such a form as *Ambr* would give O.E. *Amber*. The name *Ambrosius* (Bishop of Milan, 4th cent., &c.) is certainly not Gmc. The Mod. form *Ambrosden* is quite late, and is doubtless due to identification of the first element with the name of the saint.

Skeat has suggested that *Ombersley* (Worc.) might perhaps contain *Æmbriht*, a form of *Eanbeorht*. (Duignan, Pl. Ns. Worcs., pp. 121-2).

For confusion between *-don* and *-den* cp. *Intro.* p. 24.

For the forms above in *Aum-* cp. p. 31 above.

Ardley.

- 1086 Ardulveslie. D. B. i. 157.
 1149 Ardusley. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
 1229 Aldovesly (for Ardolvesly), Ardolvesl' (3). St.
 Fride. Ch. ii. 224.
 1216-1307 Ardulveke (for Ardulvele), Ardulvele. Testa
 de N. 101, 104.
 1259 Erdusley. Osn. Reg. 42, ch. 38.
 1274-9 Arduſ, Erdulfe. Rot. Hund. ii. 822, i. 44.
 1316 Ardele. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.

'The lea of Eardwulf.' O.E. *Eardwulfes leāh*. Eardwulf was a common pers. n. in O.E. (Searle, p. 242). C. D. has *Eardulfes lea*, vi. 129, ch. 1289. The D. B. form above shows the early loss of the *-w*, which is followed by the complete disappearance of the syllable *-wulf*. Cp. *Rousham* below. The genitive *-s* has been lost quite early. The form in *-eke* is obviously a wrong reading of the MS., *l* and *k* being easily confused in M.E. writing.

Arncot.

- 983! Earnigcote (probably 11th cent.). C. D. vi. 112,
 ch. 1279.
 1086 Ernicote. D. B. i. 156 b2.

- 1200 Ernycote, Arnicot. Osn. Reg. 21, ch. 21.
 1274-9 Ermcot (Ernicot?), Ernecot. Rot. Hund. ii. 38,
 715.
 1316 Arnycote. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.

It is noteworthy that many names in *-col(e)* have in their early forms an *i* prefixed to the *c*. Compare Bodicote, Burcot, Copcourt, Kencott, Pudlicote, and Wilcote, below. This *i* may represent *-ing-*, so that Arnicot may be originally **Earningcot*. The force of the *ing* is not certain, but it may denote the patronymic form of some one whose full name had *Earn-* as its first element. *Earnwiġ* would be a likely name.

Ascot-under-Wychwood.

- 1086 Estcote, Esthcote. D. B. i. 156 b, 158.
 1124-30 Escota. St. Fride. Ch. 13, ch. 8.
 1162-7 Estkote. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 242, ch. 1072.
 1160-80 Estchote. Eynsh. Ch. i. 77, ch. 75.
 1274-9 Ascot, Estcot. Rot. Hund. ii. 821, 730.
 1291 Ast Cote. Call. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96), p. 159.

'The east home or cottage.' O.E. *ēast cot*. Cp. *Aston*, *Asthall*, *Asterley* below. The development of *ēā* into *a* before the combination *-stc* is normal (v. Introd. p. 13). In such names as *Eastcote* (Northants), *Eastcott* (Devon), the normal development has been influenced by the analogy of the independent word *East-*.

The spelling *-th-* is a Norm. Fr. peculiarity; it represents *-t-*. *-ch-* similarly represents *-k-*.

For *Wychwood* see this name below.

Assendon (near Henley).

- 1614 Assenton. Index, p. 26.
 1695 Assington. Map in Camden.

Probably 'Assa's down'. O.E. **Assan dūn*.¹ The forms above represent a type when *-don* has been replaced by *-ton*.

¹ Cp. *Assandun*, A.-S. Chron. ann. 1016.

Cp. Introd. p. 23 above. For *Asa*, *Assa* cp. *Asancumb*, C.D. iii. 379, app. ch. 115, and perhaps also *Asendick* (> *Asandic*), *loc. cit.*, i. 78, ch. 66, &c. Ellis has *Asa* twice in ii. 42; *Asi*, which may, however, represent *Æscwiġ* (cp. Birch, *Aswiġ*); and *Asso* (ii. 290).

For change of *-an* < *-en* to *-ing-* see p. 26 above.

Asthall.

1086 Esthale. D. B. i. 158 b.

1216-1307 Estalle. Testa de N. 103.

1274-9 Easthall, Esthulle. Rot. Hund. ii. 694, 360.

The form *East-* is abnormal; the ending *-hulle* shows a temporary substitution of O.E. *-hulle*, 'a hill.' Cp. *Ascot* and the following pl. n.

Asthall Leigh, Asterley, or Asterleigh.

TYPE I.

1199-1216 Esthallunceleia. Index, p. 27.

1200 Estallingeya. Reg. Godst. Nunn. 209.

1250† Esthallingleye, Esthallingleies. Index, p. 27.

1316 Astallingele. Feud. Aids, iv. 165.

TYPE II.

1216-1307 Esterleg. Testa de N. 101.

1316 Asterle. Feud. Aids, iv. 162.

1346 Astreleyge. Ibid. 185.

1428 Asterleghe. Ibid. 189.

TYPE III.

1412 Asthalleleys. } Index, p. 27.

1475 Astally. }

1535 Astalleighe. Val. Eccl. ii. 192.

1695 Astally. Map in Camden.

All the types agree in having the suffix *lēah*, 'a lea, clearing.' The first part of Type I may represent O.E. **ēast-healingas*, 'the dwellers in the east "healh".' Cp. such a name as *Heantuninga gemære* cited under *Hampton Gay* (below).

C. D. v. 396, ch. 1212. Cp. also *ēasthealh*, *westhealh*, C. D. iii. 19, 18. Type II indicates an O.E. *ēastra*, the comparative of *ēast*, 'more to the east.' Cp. Skeat's note on *Eastrea* (Pl. Ns. Cambs., p. 53). Type III may be of independent origin or may represent Type II with loss of the syllable *-ing*. All three types would give Mod. [æstəli]. The meaning is then either 'the lea (of the dwellers) in the east "healh"' or 'the lea nearer the east'.

For the meaning of O.E. *healh* see discussion under *Holton* below.

Aston (near Bampton).

- Esttune. C. D. iv. 275, ch. 940.
 1211-1307 Eston. Testa de N. 106, 107, 108, &c.
 1269 Estone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 11.
 1274-9 Aston. Rot. Hund. ii. 689.

'The east town.' O.E. *ēast tūn*. Cp. *Ascot* above. *Aston* and *Easton* are very common place-names. In the case of *Easton*, as in *Eastcote*, &c., the development has probably been affected by the influence of the independent word. The normal phonetic development is *Aston*. (See Introd. p. 13.)

There are numerous examples of *ēast tūn* as a pl. n. in C. D.

Aston Rowant.

- 1086 Estone. D. B. i. 159.
 1361 Aston Rohant. Cal. Ch. in Bodl. p. 5.
 1428 Aston Ruant. Feud. Aids, iv. 192.
 1574 Aston Rohant. Oxf. Visit. p. 190.

In the same place as the 1361 form occurs there is a reference to *Alianor Rohant*. The word is originally a family name.

Aston, Steeple. See *Steeple Aston*.

Attington.

- 1274-9 Attendon. Rot. Hund. ii. 821.
 1316 Atyndon. Feud. Aids, iv. 167.
 1346 Attyndon. Ibid. 181.
 1535 Attington. Val. Eccl. ii. 213.

'The hill of Atta.' O.E. *Attan dūn*. The Rot. Hund. form points conclusively to this etymology. For the change of *dūn* to *-ton* see Introd. p. 23, and p. 27 for that of *-en* to *-ing*.

Atta as a pers. n. is found in the Liber Vitae (O.E. T. p. 158, l. 179). As a Gmc. name Förstemann (p. 151, &c.) gives examples of *Atta*, *Atto*, under *Atha*. He connects it with Goth. *atta*, 'father.'

B**Bablockhithe.**

- 1274-9 Babbelak. Rot. Hund. ii. 733.
 1291 Babbelake. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) 188.

'The landing-place or harbour at the stream of Babba.' O.E. *Babban lacu + hȳþ*. *Babba* is a known name in O.E. It is found as the first element in a pl. n. in C. D. iii. 174, ch. 623. *Babbanbeorge* (perhaps *Bamborough*, Yorks.), also *Babban fæling* (ch. 262), *Babban mēd* (ch. 389). Cp. also the patronymic *Babbing* in *Babbingden* (3), C. D. i. 229, ch. 187. *lacu* in O.E. pl. ns. had the meaning of 'a small stream of running water'. Later it gets the meaning 'a pond, pool, lake'. The E. D. D. iii. 508 also gives the meaning of *lake* as a 'brook, rivulet, or stream'. In several counties the word is applied *only* to a running stream. *-lacu* here then probably refers to a small stream flowing into the River Thames. The change in vowel is due to lack of stress, also perhaps to a confusion with the word *lock*.

For *-hithe* > O.E. *hȳþ* see under *Bolney* below. Cp. also Mod. *Hythe* and *Rotherhithe*.

Badgemoor (near Henley). Etymology undiscoverable in the absence of old forms.

1086 Begeurde. D. B. i. 157 b (J. L. G. M.)

Bainton (near Bicester).

1086 Baditone. D. B. i. 159 b.

1200 Badynton. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 198, ch. 937.

1316 Beynton. Feud. Aids, iv. 169.

1480 Baynton. St. Fride. Ch. i. 484, ch. 12.

A *d* seems normally to disappear between vowels; cp. *Bodicot* by the side of *Boicote*. The resulting diphthong here develops into Mod. [ei]. **Beading(a) tūn*, the 'tūn' of (the descendants of) *Beada*, is a possible etymology. Bartholomew's Gazetteer has a cross-reference from *Badington* to *Bainton*.

Baldon, Marsh.

TYPE I. (-e-, -en-, &c.)

1050 Bealddunheamagemære. C. D. iv. 124, ch. 793.

1054 Bealdanhemagemære (with change of suffix). C. D. iv. 134, ch. 800.

1086 Baldentone, Baldedone. D. B. i. 156, 157.

1274 Baldendon, Baldon. Rot. Hund. ii. 724, 749, 818.

1428 Merschebaldon. Feud. Aids, iv. 198.

1695 Bauldon. Map in Camden.

TYPE II. (-in-, -ing-, &c.)

1216-1307 Baudindon, Baldindon. Testa de N. 101, 102.

1316 Baldindon. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.

1320 Baldingtone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376.

1327-77 Mersch Baldyndon. Non. Inq. 135.

1369 Baldhyndon, Baldyngdon, Baldynghton. St. Fride. Ch. i. 234, 236, 238.

1535 Baldington. Val. Eccl. ii. 229.

The original suffix is undoubtedly *-dūn*, 'a hill.' It has been confused with *-ton* in many forms at all periods. Cp. *Intro.* p. 24.

The first element is O.E. *Bealda*, a weak, shortened form of such names as *Bealdwine*, *Bealdhere*, &c. It is found in an O.E. pl. n. *Bealdan geat*, C. D. iii. 79, ch. 570. The phonetic development in Type I is **Bealdandūn* < *Baldendon* < **Baldedon* < **Bald(d)on*.

Type II shows the common change of M.E. *-en* (>*-an*) to *-in*, *-ing*. Cp. *Intro.* p. 27. This type has not survived, though it persists until a late date. It is quite possible that such a type is descended from O.E. *Bealdwine*, which would appear in M.E. as *Baldin*.

The suffix *-hæma* in the gen. of the pl. *-hæme*, 'dwellers in a hām.' See Sweet's Dictionary.

For *Marsh* see under *Marston* below. Cp. perhaps *Mersc* (Oxfsh.), C. D. ch. 862.

Baldon, Toot. See under *Toot Baldon*.

Balscote (near Banbury).

TYPE I.

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1086 | Berescote (<i>r</i> for <i>l</i>). D. B. i. 156 b (J. L. G. M.). |
| 1204 | Belescote. Obl. Rlls. p. 231. |
| 1230 | Belescot. Cl. Rlls. (1227-31, Hen. III) p. 404. |
| 1233 | Belecot'. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4, Hen. III) p. 347. |

TYPE II.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1216-1307 | Baliscote. Testa de N. 100. |
| 1219 | Balescot'. Exc. e Rot. Fin. i. 34. |
| 1535 | { Balnescott. Map in Val. Eccl.
Balscott. Val. Eccl. ii. 213. |
| | |
| 1695 | Bolscot. Map in Camden. |

'The cot, homestead of Bæll.' O.E. *Bælles cote*. O.E. *æ* has two developments, as shown by the two types above.

Cp. *Bællēs wæg*, C. D. ^{viii}. 424, ch. 408; *Beles ham*, *Belles ham* (for *Bæles*, *Bællēs hām*), vi. 104, ch. 1274, &c. = *Balsham*, Cambs. (See also Skeat, Pl. Ns. Cambs., p. 20.)

Bæll corresponds to the Mod. family name Ball.

The form in Camden suggests that the rounding of *a* before *l* had already taken place. The *n* in the Val. Eccl. form is merely scribal. *r* for *l* in D. B. is common.

Isaac Taylor (Words and Places) suggests that *Balscote* is originally *Belel's cot*, for which there is no confirmation.

Bampton.

TYPE I.

- 1050-72 Bem tune. C. D. iv. 275, ch. 940.
 1140 Bamtone. Osn. Reg. 14.
 1180 Bemtone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 93.
 1216-1307 Bampton. Testa de N. 101.

TYPE II.

- 1086 Bentone. D. B. i. 154 b.
 1200-18 Banton. Eynsh. Ch. i. 160.
 1252 Bawnton. Cal. Rot. Ch. 71.

The meaning is probably 'the tree-enclosure'. O.E. *bēām-tūn*. For the development of O.E. *ēā* to *a* and *e* see p. 13 above.

The fluctuation between *m* and *n* is due to the following point-consonant, which would tend to change the lip-nasal (*m*) to a point-nasal (*n*).

The form *Bawnton* is due to Norm. Fr. influence. Cp. under *Launton* below.

The forms *on Bean dune* (900†), A.-S. Chron. ann. 614, *Beandune*, Hy. of Huntingdon, p. 56, are sometimes identified with Bampton (Oxon.). See Plummer's note under the year 614.

For the use of *bēām* compare Bamford (Lancs., &c.) > *bēām ford*, Beam Heath (Chesh.), and the numerous Gm. names in *Baum*-, *-baum*.

Banbury.

- 1086 Banesberie. D. B. i. 155.
 1239 Bannebiry. Eynsh. Ch. i. 4.
 1216-1307 Bannebur', Bannber'. Testa de N. 102, 109.
 1274-9 Bannebur, -byr, -bir. Rot. Hund. ii. 705, 708.

'The fort of Bana.' O.E. *æt Banan byrig*. The name *Bana* is found incorporated in a place-name in *Bananweyl*, C. D. iii. 137, ch. 598. The D. B. form of *Banbury* above has a strong genitive suffix *-es* in the first element. The other forms and the Mod. name all point to a weak pers. n.

Barford St. John, Barford St. Michael.

- 1086 Bereford. D. B. i. 156, &c.
 1216-1307 { Bereford Chayney, Olof, } Testa de N. 103, 108,
 { Parva. } 134.
 { Bereford Olof. }
 1535 Bareford. Val. Eccl. ii. 222.

- 1336 Bereford S. Michaelis. }
 1378 Berford S. Michaelis. } Index, p. 41.

'The ford of Bera or Bæra.' O.E. **Beran ford*. Cp. *tō bæran ford*, C. D. v. 177, ch. 1093. The former name would give M.E. *Bereford* and Mod. *Barford*. Middendorf (p. 10) takes *bæran* as the dative of O.E. *bær*, 'bare,' but this is very improbable.

St. John and St. Michael, the names of two churches, have been added as a distinguishing mark. In M.E. the family names *Chayney* and *Olof*, and the Latin *parva*, served for this purpose. In the Pipe Rlls. (xxix. 27) it is recorded that in 1179 *Radulfo de Chaisneto* held land in *Bereford*. Judging by this and similar M.E. forms the name is derived from L.Lat. **caxanetum* (cp. Fr. *chénaie*). It corresponds to the Mod. Eng. family n. *Chayne* [tʃeini], and, in meaning, to Eng. *Oake*, *Oakes*.

Barnard Gate (near Eynsham).

1805 Barnet Gate. Map in Camden.

Probably a M.E. name. According to Mrs. Parker (English Dial. Soc. pt. 12—Oxfsh. Words) this place is pronounced *Barnut Yat*. The pronunciation is interesting as showing the normal development of O.E. *geat*. Cp. under *Newyatt* below. *Barnut* (cp. the form above) may stand for the pl. n. *Barnet*, which has been explained as Norm. Fr. in origin (Skeat, Pl. Ns. Herts., p. 60).

Barton, Steeple.

1086 Bertone. D. B. i. 156.

1216-1307 Berton Magna, Odonis. Testa de N. 103.

1220 Bertun. Exc. e Rot. Fin. i. 42.

1274-9 Barton. Rot. Hund. ii. 844.

'A barley-enclosure, farm-yard granary.' O.E. *bere-tūn* (B.-T.). An explanation of this word is given in the N. E. D., p. 685. It means originally a place to store barley, or a farm-yard. Cp. *Berrick* below. There are numerous Bartons all over the country.

Cp. Barn > *bere-ærn* (N. E. D.).

For *Steeple* cp. under *Steeple Aston*.

Odonis in the Testa de N. form indicates that Barton belonged to some one whose name in M.E. was Odo.

Bayard's Green (near Stoke Lyne). According to Hope (1883), pronounced *Bayars Green* and *Bear's Green*.

Bayard is a Norm. Fr. name. In 1194 Richard I, who was at Woodstock, summoned the nobles of the neighbourhood to appear at a grand joust or tournament to be held on 'Bayard's Green' (*Three Oxfsh. Parishes*—Oxf. Hist. Soc. vol. xxiv, p. 3). This possibly may have been the origin of the name.

Beacon Hill (near Eynsham). Probably a M.E. creation. O.E. *bēacn* does not seem to be on record as the first or

second element of a pl. n. in the earliest period. There are now numerous places with similar names. They are probably eminences which were formerly used as places to light beacons in times of war or danger. Nearly all the places so named command extensive views. Cp. *Beconsall*, Lancs., earlier *Bekaneshou*, &c. *Beaconfield* (Notts.) and *Beaconsfield* (Bucks.) have also the same origin. Both these places seem to be of M.E. creation, as the older documents (D. B., Testa de N., Rot. Hund., &c.) do not contain them.

Beacon's Bottom. See *Beacon Hill*. Probably of M.E. origin; perhaps means a valley near a hill where a beacon used formerly to be lit. In the Mod. dialects, *bottom*, O.E. *botm*, means the 'lowest part of a valley', also a valley. See Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 295.

Beckley.

- 1086 Bechelic. D. B. i. 158.
 1149 Bekeley. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
 1167 Bechlea. Pipe Rlls. ii. 14.
 1274-9 Beckele, Beckeleya, Beckelee. Rot. Hund. ii. 715,
 716.
 1303 Bekle, Bekkle. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 46, ch. 737.

Beccan lēa is found in C. D. iii. 115, ch. 314, and in other charters. This points to a pers. n. *Becca* as the origin of the first part of *Beckley*, which would then mean 'the lea of Becca'. If the first element is not a pers. n. it is probably O.E. *bec*, 'a beck, stream' (see next word), and the meaning is 'a meadow with a stream round or near it, a water-meadow'. *Brockley* (O.E. *brōc-lēah*) gives much the same idea. The spellings *-ch-*, *-ck-*, and *-k-* all represent the same sound.

Begbroke.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Bechebroc. D. B. i. 161.
 1216-1307 Bekebrok. Testa de N. 103.

- 1220† Beckebroke. Reg. Godst. Nunn. p. 213.
 — Beckbrok. Oxf. Hist. Soc. ; Index to vol. xxiv.
 1535 Begebroke. Map in Val. Eccl.
 1695 Begbrook. Map in Camden.

TYPE II.

- Bagbrooke. Oxf. Hist. Soc. ; Index to vol. xxiv.
 1634 Bagbrooke. Oxf. Visit. p. 243.

Possibly *Becca's brook*, with which cp. preceding name. The *c* is voiced through the following *b*. On the other hand the first element may be O.E. *bæc*; *bec*, 'rapid stream' (B.-T. and Suppl.), and *brōc* here may have the sense of 'swamp'. See discussion on *bec*, &c. in Wyld's Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 287, and Skeat's Pl. Ns. Cambs., pp. 44, 45, and further *brōc* in Pl. Ns. Lancs., pp. 299, 300.

Type II would support an etymology *bæc brōc*.¹

Bensington or Benson.

- 752, 862 Banesinga villa. C. D. i. 98, ch. 81.
 880 Binsinctune, Beonsinctune. C. D. ii. 108, ch. 311.
 900† Bænesingtun. A.-S. Chron. i. 18, 50.
 Benesingtun. Parker MS., ann. 571 and 777.
 1086 Besintone, Besenton. D. B. i. 154 b, 159.
 12th cent. Benesingtun. A.-S. Chron. i. 19, 51. Laud
 MS. ann. 571 and 777.
 1145 Bensynton. Osn. Reg. 14, ch. 14, &c.
 1159 Besenton. Pipe Rlls. i. 34.
 1179 Bensinton. Eynsh. Ch. i. 130, ch. 173.
 1232 Bensint', Bensington. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4), p. 35.
 1274-9 Bensinton. Rot. Hund. ii. 753, 757.
 1366 Benesyngdone. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 125, ch. 673.
 1535 Benston (alias Bensington). Map in Val. Eccl.
 1695 Bensenton. Map in Camden.

¹ In both this name and the preceding the etymology which does not involve a pers. n. is more likely, as *Becca* would probably give Mod. *Betch*-.

‘The “tūn” of the Benesings or Banesings.’ O.E. *Benesinga tūn*. The name *Benesing* is found in two MSS. (Cott. Tib. A. vi. and B. i.) of the A.-S. Chron. (anno 911) as that of a Danish chief. It is a patronymic in *-ing*.

The fluctuation between *-ing-* and *-in-* is found also in names in which *-in-* was the earlier form. Cp. *Kirtlington*. The contraction which the name has undergone, while no doubt due to conditions of stress, is rather abnormal, and the Mod. form may be due to some analogy which cannot now be traced. The earlier forms show a fluctuation between *Ben-* and *Ban-*. Two forms of the name probably existed; the cause of the fluctuation is doubtful. The form *Beonsinctūne* may be due to the influence of the pers. n. *Beonna*. The full form is found in 1366 with a temporary change of *-tūn* into *-dūn* (-done). The other forms are regular. According to Hope the pronunciation of this pl. n. is *Bensum*, probably [bensəm]. I note that *Bilsington* (Kent) has the same origin. Cp. 1189 *Bensinton*, 1225 *Bensingeton*, Index, p. 74.

Cp. *Hensington* below.

Beren’s Hill (near Ipsden). According to Murray (Handbk. to Oxfs.) there was here a very early missionary settlement sent by St. Birinus, but this is probably an etymological figment.

Berwick (Berrick) Prior, Salome.

1086 Berewiche. D. B. i. 159 b.

1216-1307 Berewyk. Testa de N. 106.

1228 Berewic. Cl. Rlls. (1227-31), p. 141.

1695 Berrick Priory, Sulhām. Map in Camden.

‘The barley-farm or village.’ O.E. *bere-wīc*. This was a common name for a village. Cp. *Barton*, *Hardwicke*. The initial *w-* is normally lost in the unstressed syllable, as the modern spelling *Berrick* denotes.

For *Salome* see under *S* below.

Bicester.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Burnecestre. D. B. i. 158.
 1216-1307 Bernecestr', Berencestr'. Testa de N. 112, &c.
 1221 Berrencestr'. St. Frid. Ch. ii. 29.

TYPE II (a).

- 1216-1307 Burnecestr'. Testa de N. 107, &c.
 1274-9 Burcestr'. Rot. Hund. ii. 828.
 1320 Burencestria. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376.
 1414-31 Burcestre. Ibid. ii. 49.

TYPE II (b).

- 1149? Burcetur. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21, &c.

TYPE III.

- 1495 Bysseter. Cal. I. P. M.
 1535-43 (Burgchestur! alias) Bisiter. Leland, v. 109.
 1547-1603 (Burcester alias) Byssiter. Cal. Proc. Chanc. i.

143.

- 1612 Bisceter. Oxf. Par. Reg. p. 102.
 1634 Bister. Oxf. Visit. p. 334.

The second element is O.E. *cæster*, originally 'a camp' and then 'a city'. In an unstressed position there is a tendency for this suffix to become *-cester*, *-cetur*, *-seter* [-*sestə*, -*setə*], and in *Bicester*, which is pronounced according to the 1634 form above [*bistə*], the vowel has been completely lost. Cp. *Rochester*, which is found as *Rossiter*, &c., in M.E. documents, and this form has survived as a pers. n. For a discussion of the development of O.E. *-cæster* see Zachrisson, p. 73, &c.

The first element is probably O.E. *Beorna*, a weak, reduced form of such names as *Beornheard*, *Beornhelm*, &c. Type I is the normal descendant of **Beornan cæster*. Side by side with the normal *Beorn-*, *Beorna* (which are found in the Liber Vitae, cp. O. E. T. p. 154, l. 15, &c.) there is a form in *Byrn*, as in *Byrnelm*, Birch, ii. 250. This would

account for Type II, above, assuming that the *-u-* there represents a Sthn. development of O.E. *y*. The modern vowel supports this, and *Bicester* is the normal development from **Byrnan cæster* with the loss of *-rn-*. For this cp. Introd. p. 18, and *Cassington* below.

Leland's artificial form *Burgchestur* is a good example of the way in which antiquaries used to alter the spelling of place-names in order to make them square with their ideas on etymology.

Binfield Heath (near Henley).

1272-1377 Benefeld. Quo Warr. 669.

1695, 1805 Binfield Heath. Maps in Camden.

Etymology doubtful in the absence of fuller material. Perhaps O.E. **Bynna feld*, 'Bynna's field.' Cp. *Binsey* below, where we have the strong form. The *e* points to original O.E. *y*. (Introd. p. 31). O.E. *bēānfeld*, 'beanfield,' is another possibility. C. D. has also *Benifeld*, *Binningtoun*, in v. 6, 7, ch. 984, dated 664! (probably 12th cent.).

Binsey (near Oxford).

1122 Beneseye. St. Fride. Ch. i. 10.

1140-1, &c. Buneseia. Ibid. i. 21, &c.

1480 Binsay. Ibid. 488.

1537 Bindesey. Ibid. 96.

'The island or water-meadow of Byni.' O.E. *Bynes iæg*. For the second element see Introd. p. 25 above. The 1480 form would indicate *ēā*.

Bynni is found in C. D. i. 166, ch. 137, and in the Lib. Vit. (O. E. T. p. 157, l. 115, &c.). The vowels *e*, *i*, and *u* point to original *y* in O.E. Cp. preceding name.

Bix (Brand, Gybwyn).

1086 Bixa. D. B. i. 157 b.

1216-1307 Bixe, Bixa. Testa de N. 100, 101.

- 1300 Buxe-Jebwyne. Cal. I. P. M. i. 157.
 1307 Boxebrond (for Buxebrand?). Rot. in Cur.
 Scacc. p. 235.
 1316 Buxebponde, Buxegibewyn. Feud. Aids, iv. 170.
 1346 Bixegibben. Feud. Aids, iv. 176.
 1413 Bixjibewyn. Court Rlls. pt. i. 334.
 1509-47 Byxbrond, Byxgybwyn. Map in Val. Eccl.
 1695 Bixbrand. Map in Camden.

This place-name is originally the O.E. adjective *bixen*, *byxen*, 'of, or belonging to, a box-tree.' Cp. O.E. *box*, 'a box-tree.' *Bix* would thus mean 'a place containing box-trees'. There may, however, have been an independent O.E. noun **byxe*, meaning 'a box-tree' or 'a collection or plantation of box-trees'. Compare a similar mutation in the O.E. *þorn*, 'a thorn,' and *þyrne*, 'a thorn-bush.' *Box* in Herts. is explained by Skeat (Pl. Ns. Herts.) as being derived from *æt þam boxe*, 'at the box-tree.' Cp. *Bixle*, C. D. i. 194, ch. 160, *byxlea*, *ibid.* i. 257, ch. 204.

Brand, *Gybwyn* (or *Gibwen*) are family ns. added to distinguish two different places called *Bix*. Testa de N. (p. 111) says that *Robertus Braunt* held land in *Bixa*. This family name may represent *Brand* (see Ellis, ii. 52). With O.E. *Brand* Björkman compares Icel. *Brandr*, O.Swed. *Brander*, O.Dan. *Brand*. He takes the Yorks. *Branzbe* (D. B. i. 321 b) to contain this pers. n. He also notes that O.E. names in *-brand* appear to be absent.

Blacklands (Camp near Swalcliffe). Etymology obvious.

Blackthorn.

1274-9 Blakethurn. Rot. Hund. ii. 716.

'The black thorn-bush.' O.E. *blæc-þorn* or *-þyrne*. C. D. has a form *Blaceþyrn*, vi. 2, ch. 1218, an Oxfsh. pl. n. exactly corresponding to the form above, though it cannot be identified with this actual place. The second element was not originally O.E. *þorn*, 'a thorn' (*spina*), and only

occasionally 'a thorn-bush', but O.E. *þyrne*, M.E. *thurne*, *thirne*, as above, 'thorn-tree' or bush. This has been levelled under the only surviving Mod. form *-thorn*.

Bladon (River and par.).

- 1086 Blade. D. B. i. 156.
 1216-1307 Bladene, Bladen. Testa de N. 107, 118.
 1274-9 Bladen. Rot. Hund. ii. 851.
 1280 Bladen'. Eynsh. Ch. i. 16.
 1272-1377 Bladone. Quo Warr. p. 665.

This is the old name of the river which is now called the *Evenlode*. It is mentioned frequently in C. D. as *Bladen*, *Bladon*, and *Blædene*, e. g. i. 16, ch. 11, i. 82, ch. 69, and twelve other references. If this were an English name it might stand for O.E. **blā(w)*, **blæ(w) denu* or **blæ(w) dūn*, 'the blue (or dark) valley' or 'hill'. We may compare O.E. *blæ-hæwen*, *blæwen* (B.-T.), and *hawi blauum* (for *hæwe-blāw*) (*pigmentum*) in Ep. Erfurt Gloss. (O. E. T. p. 109, l. 1152), and *blāw* in Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 294. The change in the suffix is due to the fact that sometimes the hill was signified, sometimes the valley below. It is, however, quite probable that the name is not English at all, but Celtic, like most river-names.

Blandford Park. A former name of Cornbury Park, after the name of the Marquis of Blandford (Duke of Marlborough). Blandford (Dorset), from which the title is taken, is *Blaneford* in D. B.

Bletchingdon.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Blecesdone, Blicestone. D. B. i. 154, 160 b.
 1139† Blachedon, Blechedon. Reg. Godst. Nunn.
 p. 214, ch. 287.
 1216-1307 Blecchesdon, Blechesdon. Testa de N. 112,
 101, 102, 104.
 1274-9 Blehcchesdone. Rot. Hund. ii. 830.

TYPE II.

- 1279 Blechindon. Abbr. Plac. 197.
 1566 Blettchington. Oxf. Visit. p. 36.
 1574 Blechington. Ibid. p. 209.

‘The hill of Blæcca or Blecca.’ O.E. *Blæccan dūn*. The O.E. pers. n. *Blæcca* is probably connected with the adj. *blæc*, ‘black’. It is found apparently in the first element of *Blæccan pōl* (947), C. D. v. 313, ch. 1159, though this interpretation of Searle may be incorrect, as the same place is mentioned in two other charters (date 963), vi. 66, ch. 1250, and vi. 220, ch. 1368, app. ch. 61, as *blacan pōl*, probably ‘(at) the black pool’. There is no doubt, however, that the name exists as a pers. n. Bede’s History has *Blæcca*, prefect of Lincoln (Sweet, O. E. T. p. 136, l. 108), Plummer, ii. 16, p. 117. The form in *i* is merely graphic.

-ing- represents earlier *-in-*, *-en-*, O.E. *-an*, weak genitive. The fluctuation between strong and weak genitive forms of pers. ns., as in *Bleches-*, *Blechin-*, above, is common in the first elements of pl. ns. *-dun* has been replaced by *-ton*. For these points see *Intro.* pp. 23, 27.

Blount’s Court (near Henley). A M.E. creation. ‘The Court of Blund or Blunt.’ *Blund* (cp. Fr. *blond*, of Gmc. origin) was a family name borne by a great Oxfordshire family. Cp. *Kingston Blount* below.

Bloxham.

- 1086 Blochesham. D. B. i. 154.
 1142-8 Blocchesham. Eynsh. Ch. i. 52, ch. 82.
 1216-1307 Bloxh’m, Blokesham, Blockesham. Testa de N.
 101, 104.
 1290 Blaxham, Brokesham. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96)
 (Edw. I), p. 62, 68.
 1316 Bloxham. Abbr. Plac. p. 324.

'The home of Bloc.' O.E. *Blocces hām*. **Bloc* as an O.E. pers. n. may be postulated by the side of the weak form *Blocca*, which occurs in *Bloccan leah*, C.D. ii. 60, ch. 278. The spellings *-ch-*, *-cch-* of course represent [k]. The form in *a* is probably a scribal error. For the confusion of *l* and *r* in Norm. Fr. spelling see under *Cropredy*, *Crowell*, *Lewknor*, &c., and Introd. p. 33.

Bodicote.

- 1086 Bodicote. D. B. i. 159.
 1216-1307 Bodicot. Testa de N. 100.
 1535 Bodicote. Val. Eccl. ii. 197.
 1695 Bodicot. Map in Camden.'

See remarks under *Arncot*, above. *Boda* and *Bodwine* are on record as O.E. personal names.

Bolney, Boulney (or Belle Hatch) (near Henley).

TYPE I.

- 1086 Bollehede. D. B. i. 161 a.
 1175-6 Buleheð (Milo de). Pipe Rlls. xxv. 32, &c.
 1216-1307 Bolehutha, Bolehuch (for Bole-
 hu/h?), Bulchude (for Bulhude?), } Testa de N.
 Bulehere, Bulchere (for Bulehete). } 106, 112,
 114b, 117.
 1227-77 Bolehuthe. Non. Inq. p. 136.
 1274-9 Bollude, Bulhud. Rot. Hund. ii. 38, 33.
 1313 Bulheth. Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 145.
 1314 Boleheth. Cat. A. D. ii. 571.
 1346 Bolehicch (for Bolehitth?). Feud. Aids, iv. 176.

TYPE II.

- 1428 Bulnehith. Feud. Aids, iv. 200.
 1466 Bulnythe. Cat. A. D. ii. 514.

TYPE III.

- 1290 Bolehay. Inq. P. M. i. 103.

TYPE IV.

1695 Bolney. Map in Camden.

1316 Buletchurche? Feud. Aids, iv. 170.

The first element is O.E. *Bula* or *Bolla*; cp. under *Bullingdon* below, and *Bollan ea*, C. D. v. 43, ch. 1000. *Bola* is also on record as a signatory to charters. In the early forms the *-n* of the genitive has been lost and has been reintroduced later (Type II above), either through the influence of other pl. ns. or from an early type with *-n*, of which I have no examples. Cp. *Bolnhurst* (Beds.), which Professor Skeat says > *Bulan* or *Bolan hyrst* (Pl. Ns. Beds., p. 33); *Bolnore* (Suss.), which probably > *Bolan ōra*.

There are three, or perhaps five, varieties of the second element. First, Type I, which represents O.E. *hȳþ*, 'a landing-place.' Cp. under *Bablock Hythe*. For the varieties in spelling in this Type cp. *Intro.* p. 31.

-hede is probably a variation of *-hȳþ*, though it may be O.E. *hēafod*, 'head, crest of a hill.' Type II belongs to Type I as far as the second element is concerned. Type III has O.E. (*ǵe*)*hæġe*, 'a hedge,' as the second element. Cp. under *Heyford*, *Hailey*, below. Type IV has O.E. *-cā* or *-iēġ*, for which see *Intro.* p. 25. It is possible that the form *-hicche* (in Type I) is not altogether due to a scribal error, but that it may be due to the influence of O.E. *hæcēce*, 'a gate, wicket.' Cp. below.

The form *-churche* is due to a scribal error helped by popular etymology. It may stand for **Bulenhurche*, written for **Bulenhut(t)he*, with a misreading of *r* and *c* for *t* (cp. forms above) and of *tc* for *n*.

The modern name would develop normally from Type IV. There is evidence, however, to show that final O.E. *þ*, in unstressed syllables, tended to disappear, so that the *-hyþ* forms would also give the same result. Cp. *Stepney* (*Stebenhithe*, Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii. 382, 383, &c.), and the forms cited by Zachrisson, pp. 86-7—*Stibenhede* (D. B.), *Stebenhuth* (Feud. Aids, ann. 1316), *Stebunheth* (Ped. Fin., ann. 1568), *Stepney*

(*ibid.* 1575, 1587). Z. also proves that a similar process took place in *Childrey* (Berks.), which occurs as *Cillan rīþ*, C. D. ch. 746; *Cricksea* (Essex), *Chelsey* (from *Cælic hýþ*), *Setchey* (Norf.), all had *-hýþ* in the second element. Cp. further *Sawtry* > *-wræþ* (Skeat, Pl. Ns. Hunts., p. 62), *Adgarley* > *Adgareslith* (1212) > *Eadgāres hliþ* (O.N.), helped perhaps by confusion with *-ley* > O.E. *-lēah-* (Pl. Ns. Lancs., pp. 42 and 349), and *Coldrey* (Hants.) > *Colriþe* (Index, p. 190).

It does not seem necessary to assume with Zachrisson (p. 86) that the change in English pl. ns. is entirely due to Norm. Fr. influence in cases of this kind.

BELLE HATCH is marked on the Ordnance Survey map as contiguous to *Upper Bolney*. Z. and the Editor of Feud. Aids index the two places together. If the names are actually connected the form must be due to such endings as *-huch*, *-hicche* (above) which have been associated with *hatch* > O.E. *hæcce*. Near *Belle Hatch* there are two places—*Play Hatch* (see this pl. n. below) and *Hare hatch*; these may have influenced the change in suffix. Cp. also *Hatch* (Beds.), *Hatchmere* (Chesh.), *Colney Hatch*, &c.

Stevenage (Herts.) also contains the same element (Skeat, Pl. Ns. Herts., p. 65). The Hund. Rolls form of this name is *Stepenacþ*, where one *c* has been replaced by *þ*. For a similar change in the second element cp. *Rollrich Stones* under *Rollright* (below).

Bould (par. Idbury).

1260 Boolde. Reg. Godst. Nunn. p. 238, ch. 321.

1695 Bould. Map in Camden.

'The building,' 'palace.' O.E. *bold*, earlier *bol*. From *bol* is derived a verb *byllian*, and from *bold*, *byldan*, 'build.' From a M.E. form *Bôtel* the Lancs. *Bootle* is apparently derived (cp. Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs.). Other names containing the element are *Newbottle*, *Walbottle*. O.E. *bōld* would normally become Mod. [būld].

Bourton.

- 1086 Bortone, Burtone. D. B. i. 160, 161a.
 1190? Bourton. Osn. Reg. 114, ch. 135.
 1192 Burtona. Eynsh. Ch. i. 84, ch. 90.
 1216-1307 Burton. Testa de N. 100.

'The "tūn" by the fort.' O.E. *burg tūn*. More usually *Burton*. C. D. has *burg tun*, i. 270, ch. 214, probably referring to this place.

Bradwell.

- 997 Braðewelle? C. D. iii. 299, ch. 697.
 1086 Bradewelle. D. B. i. 160.

'The broad well, spring, or stream.' O.E. *se brāda wiella*. The O.E. *ā* is normally shortened before a stop + open consonant, hence *Brādwiella* < *Brādwiella*. Initial *w-* is lost in an unstressed syllable. The result is the modern [brædl]. The C. D. form with *ð* is probably merely graphic and does not imply an open consonant. Cp. Bradford (*brāda ford*), Bradley, &c.

Brighthampton.

- 1086 Bristelmestone. D. B. i. 156 a.
 1161, 1169 Brihtelmeston, Bricthemeston. Pipe Rlls. iv. 9;
 xiii. 83.
 1226 Briht Helmtun. Rot. Lit. Cl. ii. 149.
 1245 Bristhelmeston. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57) i. 285.
 1274-9 Brihtelme'ton, Brihtelminton. Rot. Hund. ii.
 702.
 1272-1377 Bristhelmeston. Quo Warr. 665.
 1316 Brihtelmeston. Abbr. Plac. 324.

'The "tūn" of Beorhthelm or Brihthelm.' O.E. *Briht-helmes tūn*. In O.E. form *Briht-* is found side by side with the normal *Beorht-* in many names, e. g. *Brihthelm*, Birch, ii. 434, ch. 725, &c. Such a form was the ancestor of both the pl. n. above and also *Brighton* (Suss.). The Mod. form is a

new formation on the analogy of the numerous *-hamplons*. The forms in *Brist-* above are merely scribal devices to represent the open sound of the *h*; the form in *-inton* shows a confusion between the strong and weak genitive.

Brightwell Baldwin.

- ?880 (to) berhtan wellan. C. D. ii. 108, ch. 311 and app.
 973 byrhtan wyl. Ibid. iii. 104, ch. 580.
 1086 Britewelle. D. B. i. 155 b.
 1216-1307 Bristewelle. Testa de N. 106 b.
 1227 Brightewelle. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57) i. 57.
 1274-9 Brictevell. Rot. Hund. ii. 765.
 1327-77 Bryhtwelle. Non. Inq. 135.
 1509-47 Brytevell? Map in Val. Eccl.
 1695 Brightwell. Map in Camden.

‘The bright or clear spring or stream.’ O.E. *se beorhta wiella*, or dative (*æt*) *beorhtan wiellan*. Cp. *Britwell* below. The only other possibility is that we have a weak form of the shortened pers. n. *Beorht*, as in *Beorhtwine*, *-helm*, &c. *Beorht* (*Bercht*) is found often as the name of a priest in the Lib. Vit. (O. E. T. p. 156, ll. 104, 113, &c.; and also among the names in Bede’s Hist. (Moore MS.). C. D. v. 305, ch. 1156, ann. 947, has ‘. . . ubi iamdudum incolae prolatum nomen latialiter *Declaratum-Fontem* indiderunt, nunc vero verbi gratia Gewisorum more *Beorhtanwille*.’ This confirms the etymology suggested above.

For the spellings in *-st*, *-et*, &c., see Introd. p. 33.

Brittenton (near Witney).

- 1805 Brightington. Map in Camden.

Perhaps ‘the “tūn” of Beorhta’. O.E. *Brihtan tūn*, where *Beorhta* is a weak form of the reduced pers. n. *Beorht*, short for *Beorhthelm*, *-wine*, &c. For instances of the strong form see under *Brightwell* above. *-en* > *-an* often becomes *-ing*. In this case the *-ing-* type has not survived.

Britwell Salome.

- 1086 Brutwelle. D. B. i. 159 b.
 1216-1307 Bruttewell. Testa de N. 101.
 1274-9 Brittwelle, Brottewell (*o* for *u*). Rot. Hund. ii.
 262, i. 33.
 1307 Bruttewell Solam. Rot. in Cur. Scacc. 236.
 1322 Brutewelle Solham. Index, p. 109.
 1535 Brutewelle. Map in Val. Eccl.
 1614 Bryghtwell Soleham. Index, p. 109.

For *Salome* see under *S* below.

'The bright well.' O.E. *æt þæm beorhtan weillan*. Cp. *Brightwell Baldwin* above. The *i* has normally remained short before the consonantal combination. The *u* forms denote a type where the *i* has been rounded to *y* in L.O.E., probably on account of the lip-consonant. Cp. forms under *Brightwell*.

Brize Norton.

TYPE I.

- 1267 Northone Brun. Eynsh. Ch. i. 246.
 1274-9 Norton Brun. Rot. Hund. ii. 693.
 1316 Norton Brun. Feud. Aids, iv. 162.

TYPE II.

- 1346 Norton Bruyn. Feud. Aids, iv. 183.
 1535 Norton Bruyne. Map in Val. Eccl.
 1546 Norton Broyne. Dugdale, ii. 171.

TYPE III.

- 1464-5 Brimsnorton. Index, p. 554.
 1535 Brenny Norton, Brennys Norton. Val. Eccl. ii.
 192, 212.

- 1546 Breames Norton. Dugdale, ii. 169.
 1674-5 Broynesnorton (cp. Type II). Index, p. 554.

TYPE IV.

- 1535 Brese Norton. Val. Eccl. ii. 212.
 1634 Norton Brune, al. Brice Norton. Oxf. Visit. p. 256.
 1805 Norton Brize. Map in Camden.

A family called *Brun* owned land here in the 13th century ; cp. Hund. Rlls. ii. 693.

The earliest forms above represent the ordinary English pl. n. *Norton*, 'north town,' with this family name appended, as in *Stanton Harcourt*, &c., &c. In view of the Mod. form [braiz], the 14th-cent. *Bruyn-*, and of the 17th-cent. spelling *Broynes-*, we are probably justified in assuming that the earliest spellings (*Brun*) represent a pronunciation [br̄yn]. This [ȳ] appears to be unrounded to [ī], which sound was diphthongized in the 16th cent. The *Broynes* spelling undoubtedly expresses the 17th-cent. pronunciation of this diphthong. With the inversion of order in place and family names, the latter acquired the genitive -s. The origin of the name is doubtful, but if it were an O.E. name (*Br̄yn*), the spellings *Brennys*, *Brenny* would be typical Kentish forms of it. But cp. p. 31 above. (For other spellings of this type in Oxfordshire names, cp. under *Piddington*, *Tiddington*, &c.)

The forms *Brize* and *Brese* appear to correspond to earlier *Br̄ins* and *Br̄ens* respectively, with a loss of the nasal.

Broadstone (par. Enstone). O.E. *se brāda stān*, but the name may be of quite late formation.

Broadwell (See Bradwell, above).

The Mod. spelling implies a pronunciation [br̄ōdwel] from O.E. *brāda wiella*, M.E. *Br̄ōdwell*; but as a matter of fact, so Prof. Wyld informs me, the pronunciation is commonly [br̄æd] as from O.E. *br̄ādwiella*, M.E. *Br̄ādwel*.

Brockhampton (near Newington).

1086 Hantone. D. B. i. 160 b.

1274-9 Brochampton. Rot. Hund. ii. 762.

'The "enclosure" in the ham, or meadow, by the brook.' O.E. *br̄oc-ham-tūn*. *Brook-* here may mean 'swamp' (cp. *br̄oc* in Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 299, &c.). O.F. *hamm*, *homm*

seems to mean to 'pasture near a stream'; *ibid.* pp. 342-3. In the above name O.E. *ō* in *brōc* is shortened in M.E. before the following *-h-*.

Broughton.

1086. Brohtone. D. B. 159a.

Broughton Pogges.

1086 Brotone. D. B. i. 160.

1192 Broctona. Eynsh. Ch. i. 84, ch. 90.

1216-1307 Brocthon, Broucton. Testa de N. 104, 102.

1254 Brouctone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 306, ch. 458.

1300 Brouton. *Ibid.* 305, ch. 456.

'The "enclosure" by the brook.' O.E. *brōc-tūn*. [k] is regularly opened to *h* (back open consonant) in the combination *-kt*. Some of the early forms and the Mod. spelling show diphthonging of *ō* to *ōu* before *h*, a common M.E. process. Cp. *Houghton* > *hōc tūn*, *Aughton* > *āc tūn* (Pl. Ns. Lancs.). The form *brōc-tūn* is found in C. D. i. 268, ch. 212, &c.

The name *Poggs* is a family name of Norm. Fr. origin. In the Eynsh. Ch. we find the form *Pugeys*, i. 196, 368 in *Iubertus le Pugeys*, *Robertus le Pugeys*, also the mention of a court of *Puggeys* in ii. 15, and of *Robert Pogeyys* in ii. lxvi. According to Baring-Gould (Family Names) the name is derived from *Puchay*, near Evreux. In the above pl. n. *Pogges* is now commonly called [pogz], but [poudžis] is also heard.

Stoke Poges probably contains the same name.

Bruern.

1200 Bruern. Osn. Reg. 158, ch. 198.

1217 Bruere. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 267, ch. 1048.

1232 Brueria. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hy. III, p. 73.

1290 Brewern. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) Edw. I, p. 130.

Possibly 'the brew-house'. O.E. *brēaw-ern* (*earn*). The word is found in O.E. in W. W. i. 37. 11 (cit. B.-T.). It is a compound with the well-known O.E. word *ærn*, 'a place,' &c. That the word was in use in late M.E. is shown by

its presence in the Paston Letters (1453, 1465), *brewarne*, &c. (cit. N. E. D.). I owe this suggestion to Professor Moorman.

Bucknell.

- 1086 Buchehele. D. B. i. 158.
 1149 Buckenull. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
 1216-1307 Buckehull, Bigenhull, Bikehell, Bygehull. Testa
 de N. 101, 102, 105, 112.
 1274-9 Buckenulle. Rot. Hund. ii. 826.
 1316 Bokkenhull, Bigenhull. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1535 Buknel. Map in Val. Eccl.

The first element may be either O.E. *buccan-* (weak genitive), 'he-goat,' or it may be a pers. n. *Bucca*. It occurs in the local name *Buccan crundel*, C. D. v. 289, ch. 1147, and the independent name *Bucca* is found in C. D. v. 125, ch. 1065 (cit. Searle). Cp. perhaps further *Buchanford*, C. D. ch. 1051, *Buckanstick*, ch. 415. The spellings of the second element—O.E. *hyll*, 'hill'—show both the Kentish type *-hell* and the Sthn. type *-hull*. The vowel of the former has survived in the Mod. name. The spelling *Bike*, *Bigen* is difficult to account for

Bullingdon (Hundred).

- 1274-9 Bulenden, Bulingdene, Bullingdene, Bolinden,
 Bolingdene, Bolendon, Bulenden, Bulendon. Rot.
 Hund. ii. 38, 30, 46, 805, 713, 711, 718.

'The valley or hill of Bula.' O.E. *Bulan denn* or *dūn*. The double forms might be explained by the place being sometimes called after the hill, sometimes after the valley below. C. D. has *Bulan dun*, iii. 326, ch. 707 (Bullington, Hants), and *Bulan ham*, i. 149, ch. 121.

Kemble (Saxons in Engl. i. 459) assumes that this pl. n. contains a patronymic *Bullingas*, 'The Bullings.' There is no need to assume this, as *-ing-* from *-en* for *-an* (weak genitive) is exceedingly common. Cp. *Introd.* p. 27.

The spelling *o* represents *u*.

Besides *Bula* in O.E. the variations *Bulla*, *Bola*, and *Bolla* are recorded. The two last-mentioned may not be connected, but all three may have had an influence on the spelling of the old forms of *Bullingdon*. Cp. *Bolney* above.

Burcot.

- 1198 Bridicote (N. de). Ped. Fin. (Pipe Rlls. Series, xxiii. 100).
 1200 Bridecot. Rot. Cur. Reg. ii. 212.
 1216-1307 Bridicote. Testa de N. 120 b.
 1220-30 Bridecote. St. Frīde. Ch. ii. 314, ch. 1183.
 1274-9 Brudecot. Rot. Hund. ii. 748.
 1274 Bridecote. Abbr. Plac. 187.
 1290 Briddecotes, Bridecotes. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) Edw. I, pp. 119, 120.
 1316 Braudecote? Feud. Aids, iv. 167.
 1316 Brudecote. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1428 Brodecote (for Brudecote), Brydecote. Feud. Aids, iv. 200.
 1509-47 Byrdcott. Map in Val. Eccl.

See remarks under Arncot.

The only phonetic changes of importance to note are the loss of *d* before the following stop consonant *c*, and the metathesis of *-ri-*, *-ru-*, to *-ir-*, *-ur-*. Cp. Yorks. *Bridlington*, which is pronounced *Burlington*.

Burdrop (near Cropredy).

- 1654 Burdrup. Oxf. Par. Reg. p. 21.
 1695 Burdrop. Map in Camden.

'The thorp, or village, near the burg.' O.E. *burg-þorp*. The combination *-rþ-* often becomes *-rd-* in pl. ns.; cp. *Hordern* 1298, from **hār-þorn* (Pl. Ns. Lancs.). The same change of *þ* to *d* takes place after *l*; cp. *Souldern* below, and *Souldrop* from *sylu þorp* (Skeat, Pl. Ns. Beds., pp. 46-7). See also p. 19 above.

The form *thrope* is found in Chaucer, and the metathesis probably took place in O.E.

Burford.

TYPE I.

- 685? Berghford. C. D. i. 30, ch. 26.
 900† Beorgfeorda. Parker MS., A.-S. Chron. i. 46 } Ann.
 12th cent. Beorhforda. Laud MS., A.-S. Chron. i. 47 } 752.

TYPE II.

- 1086 Bureford. D. B. i. 154.
 1216-1307 Bureford. Testa de N. 103.
 1274-9 Burghford, Bureford. Rot. Hund. i. 37, 39.
 1323 Boreforde. Eynsh. Ch. i. 328, ch. 553.
 1338 Borforde. Reg. Godst. Nunn. p. 212, ch. 284.

The earliest forms point to O.E. *beorg*, 'hill,' as the first element, though the later forms show confusion with O.E. *burg*, 'city,' &c.

C

Cadwell (near Watlington).

- 1086 Cadewelle. D. B. i. 157.
 1196 Kadewalle, Kadwalle. Ped. Fin. (Pipe Rlls. Series, xvii.
 116).
 1205 Cadewell. Obl. Rlls. p. 335.

'The well of Cada.' O.E. *Cadan wiella*. The O.E. pers. n. *Cada* is found incorporated in a pl. n. in *Cadan hangra*, C. D. iv. 103, ch. 780. Cp. *Ceadda*. The same name is found in *Cadbury* (Somerset) > *Cadan byrig*. The forms in the Feet of Fines show confusion with O.E. *-weall*, 'a wall.'

Calthorpe (near Banbury).

- 1216-1307 Calethorpe, Colethorpe, Coletorp. Testa de N.
 122, 126.

Professor Moorman suggests that we might have the O.E. *cāl*, 'kale, cabbage,' as the first element. This would

certainly satisfy the conditions which the forms above involve, and would accordingly give an etymology, 'the village where cabbages grew.' Similarly Professor Moorman explains the Yorks. *Calton* as O.E. *cāl-tūn*, 'a kale-yard,' 'an enclosure or field of cabbages.' Such an explanation would fail to account for the medial *e*.

Cane End (near Caversham).

1695 Cain End. Map in Camden.

Probably a M.E. creation. *Cane, Cain* is a pers. n. as in Mod. Eng. Cp. *St. Cain* or *St. Keyne*, O.E. *Cane*.

Cassington.

1086 Cersetone, Chersitone. D. B. i. 106, 156 b, 156.

1123 Chersintone, Kersintone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 43.

1230† Karsynton. }
1278† Karsyndon. } Reg. Godst. Nunn. pp. 246, 294.

1274-9 Carsington. Rot. Hund. ii. 854.

1535 Carsyngton, Carssyngton. Val. Eccl. ii. 183, 210.

1634 Casyngton. Oxf. Visit. p. 334.

1695 Cassenton. Map in Camden.

The first element in this name is probably O.E. *cærse*, genitive *cærsan*, 'cress, watercress.' B.-T. also cites O.E. *cærs-will* (C. D. iii. 384, l. 19, &c.) as 'a spring where cress grows'. Cp. *Carswell* (Berks.), in D. B. 63 b 2 *Cherswelle*. The normal form is seen in *Carsington* (Derby). The loss of *r* in the Oxsh. name is noteworthy. Cp. however under *Chalgrove*, *Tusmore*, and *Taston* below. There is also a name *Chersintone* (Yorks.) in D. B. 301 b = Mod. *Grassington*. Cp. also *Cressington*, near Liverpool (Lancs.). Besides that cited above, C. D. has also such forms as *Cærsa bæc*, ch. 118; *Cærscumb*, ch. 1184; *Cærspyi*, ch. 55; *Cærswyll*, ch. 652; and *Cærswyllan brōc* (Oxsh.), iii. 316, ch. 705. It is to be noted that all these references are to wet, low-lying places, e. g. *cumb*, *pyi*, where 'cress' would be likely to grow.

The *-ing-* in the Mod. name is due to some analogy. It may have originated in the genitive *-an*.

Caulcott (near Bicester). 'The cold cottage or home.' Perhaps O.E. *þæt c(e)alde cot*. *Cold* in this sense probably referred either to a bleak, exposed situation, or it may have the same meaning as in *Cold Harbour*, where the N. E. D. gives the explanation of a place where one could obtain a shelter without any fire or food (see N. E. D. under *Harbour*, § 2) [The development has been **Caldcott* < *Calcott* < *Caulcott*, by the normal change of *a+l* into *-ǫl-*.] Cp. *cealdan beorge*, C. D. v. 348, ch. 1184; *on cealdan wyllan*, vi. 142, ch. 1295.

Caversfield (Casefield—Hope, p. 19).

1086 Cavrefelle. D. B. i. 148.

— Kaveresfeld. Cat. A. D. i. 305.

See next word.

Caversham.

1086 Cavesham. D. B. i. 157 b.

1176-7 Chaversham. Pipe Rlls. xxvi. 16.

1231 Kaveresham, Cavresham. Cl. Rlls. 1227-31,
p. 505.

1274-9 Chevereshall? Rot. Hund. ii. 827.
Caveresham. Ibid. i. 38.

1492 Causham. Cat. A. D. i. 68.

1535-43 Causham. Leland, ii. 113.

Dr. Bradley suggests as the first element in this name a pers. n. **Cāfhere*; cp. O.E. *cāf*, 'bold, swift, eager,' and further *Cæfel* (> **Kāfil*?) and *Cæfca* in Searle. The latter name occurs in Crawf. Chs. i. l. 35, ii. l. 26 (see also note on p. 61, where a derivation from O.E. *cāf* is suggested).

It has also been suggested that *Caver* might be a Welsh name, representing the ancient British **Camaros* of a Lincoln inscription. I am told that British intervocalic *m* became *v*.

Cp. perhaps *Caberes bec*, Birch, ch. 505 (cit. Searle). *-b-* in O.E. between vowels usually represents *-v-*.

Chadlington.

- 1086 Cedelintone. D. B. i. 160.
 1216-1307 Chadelinton, Chedelinton. Testa de N. 105, 107.
 1268 Cadelyntone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 404, ch. 595.
 1274-9 Chadelinton. Rot. Hund. ii. 240.

'The hill or "tūn" of Ceadela.' O.E. *Ceadelan dūn* or *tūn*. *Ceadela* is a diminutive compound of *Ceadda* (Chad), a common O.E. pers. n. The form *Ceadela* is either a weak diminutive in *-el + a*, or a late form of *Ceadwalla* with the normal loss of *w* and the weakening of the unstressed *a* to *e*; cp. *Ceadelan wyrth*, C. D. iv. 360, ch. 481.

Chalford (near Enstone).

- 1086 Celford. D. B. i. 157 b.
 1274-9 Calkford, Chalcford. Rot. Hund. ii. 43, 741, 742.
 1316 Chalkeford. Parl. Writs, ii. 352.

'The chalk ford.' O.E. *cealc-ford*. Cp. *Chalgrave*. C. D. has numerous cases where O.E. *cealc-* is used as the first element of a pl. n. In the Index (vol. vi) there are *Cealc -brōc*, *-byras*, *-ford*, *-hyl*, *-hyþ*, *-lēah*, *-rīþ*, &c. The *k* has been lost in the combination *lkf*.

Chalgrave.

- 956 Ceorla graf. { C. D. iii. 436, app. ch. 437.
 { Earle, Land Chs. p. 292.
 926 Cealhgræfan, Cealgrafas, Cealhgræfas. C. D.
 v. 187, &c., chs. 1091, 1096, 1099.
 1086 Celgrave. D. B. i. 159.
 1216-1307 Chalg've, Chaug've. Testa de N. 107, 115.
 1230 Cholgrave. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 108.
 1274-9 Chalg've, Chalgrave. Rot. Hund. ii. 768, 769.
 1695 Chalgrave. Map in Camden.

The ending *-grove* is obviously a late change from *-grave*, which represents either O.E. *grāf*, 'a grove,' *grǣfa*, 'brush-wood, bush,' or *grǣf*, 'a grave, trench.' See Introd. p. 23, and cp. Beds. *Chalgrave*.

The first element presents some difficulty. Earle (Land Chs., p. 292) identifies Kemble's form *Ceorla graf*, 'the grove of the churls,' with the Mod. *Chalgrave*, and an examination of the charter proves the likelihood of this. There are two objections to the etymology; the phonetic development of *Ceorl-* to *Chal-* is difficult to account for, and the M.E. forms of the pl. n. are not consistent with it. The normal Mod. form would be **Charlgrave*. Cp. *Charl-ton*, *-bury* below. We may compare, however, a similar loss of *r* in *Cassington*, *Taston* (see under these pl. ns.). In the pl. n. under discussion the loss of *r* may be due to a dissimilatory process, as suggested by Zachrisson, p. 136. The M.E. forms, even that in D. B., show no sign of *r*. Taken in connexion with Kemble's 926 form they would indicate an original *cealc-grǣf*, 'the chalk-pit,' with confusion with O.E. *grǣfa*. Compare *Chalford* (above) and *Chalgrave* (Beds.), which Skeat explains in a similar manner (Pl. Ns. Beds., p. 22).

On the other hand such forms as *Cel-* (D. B.) and *Chol-* seem to point to the O.E. pers. n. *Cēol-*. *Chelsworth* (Suff.) is, however, O.E. *Ceorles wyrth*, and is found as *Ceorles-* in 10th cent. (Index, p. 167); *Cerles-* in D. B. (i. 368 b), 1274-9; *Cheles-*, Rot. Hund. ii. 199 and 1304; *Chelys-*, Index, p. 167. Cp. Zachrisson, p. 136.

Charlbury [tʃɔlbri].

- 1197-1208 Churlebiry. Eynsh. Ch. i. 402, ch. 589.
 1238 Cherlebiry. Ibid. 1, ch. 1.
 1274-9 Cherlebir'. Rot. Hund. ii. 829.
 1539 Chorlebury. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 251, ch. 797.

'The town of the "churls".' O.E. *ceorla burg* (*æt ceorla*

byriġ). M.E. *Cherle-* is the normal result of the O.E. genitive plural *ċeorla*, which then develops into Mod. Eng. *Charl-*. Cp. Introd. p. 15 above. Side by side with this development to *Charl-* the same word under different conditions of sound-change gives Mod. *Chorl-*, as in *Chorlton*, *Chorley* (Lancs.). The latter type is represented by the 1539 form above and the modern pronunciation. The form in *u* represents a type similar to that from which Mod. *churl* is developed.

Charlton-on-Otmoor.

- 1086 Cerlentine. D. B. i. 224 b.
 1216-1307 Cherleton. Testa de N. 108.
 1274-9 Chereletun, Cherlton-sub-Otemor'. Rot. Hund.
 ii. 45, 829.

'The "tūn" of the "churl(s)"?' O.E. *ċeorla tūn*. Cp. preceding word. The more usual form of this name in Mod. Eng. is *Chorlton*. Cp. *Chorlton* (Lancs.). *ċeorl* in O.E. had the meaning 'labourer, servant (on a farm)'.

For *Otmoor* see this name below.

Chastleton.

- 777? Ceastletone. C. D. i. 158, ch. 130.
 1086 Cestitone? D. B. i. 156 b, 161.
 1152-4 Cestreton. Eynsh. Ch. i. 74, ch. 69 (and very often in M.E. documents).
 1323 Chastletone. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 218, ch. 764.
 1327-77 Chastelton. Non. Inq. 140.
 1535 Chestiltone. Val. Eccl. ii. 182.

It is suggested that the O.E. *ċeastel* in this name is identical with the second element of the word *stān-ċeastl*, found in charters. The dictionaries explain this as 'chestnut-tree', but there is nothing to prove that it does not mean a cairn or a cromlech. *stān-cyst* or *-cysten* may have the same meaning.

Chawsey (or Chazey) Heath (near Reading).

- 1274-9 Chalmsleye (for Chalvesey?). Rot. Hund. ii. 713.
 1285 Chause, Chawsey (in pers. n.). Oxf. City Docs.
 pp. 201, 211.
 1695 Chause Heath. Map in Camden.

'The "island" of Cealf.' O.E. *Cealfes* *īeg̃*. Searle does not put *Cealf* as a pers. n. in his Onomasticon. It was, however, like most names of animals, used to denote individuals. C. D. has *Cealfes wulle*, v. 379, ch. 1202, where the genitive denotes a pers. n. More often he has *Cealf*, *Cealfa*, as in *Cealfdūn*, ch. 447 (Chaldon, Surrey); *Cealfa lēah*, ch. 436, where the animal is probably meant. The *l* in the forms above seems to undergo a vocalization. Cp. under *Alker-ton*, &c., and Introd. p. 14.

Skeat derives *Chawson* (Beds.) from *Cealfes tūn* (Pl. Ns. Beds.). According to Bartholemew it is sometimes called *Chalverston*. The form *Chazey* is difficult to explain—probably the result of some analogy.

For discussion on *Calf* see Pl. Ns. Lancs. under *Cawood*.

Checkendon.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Cecadene. D. B. i. 160.
 Secendene. Ibid. i. 159 a.
 1258 Chekendon. Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 88.

TYPE II.

- 1216-1307 Chakenden, Chakeden. Testa de N. 102, 106.
 1274-9 Chakenden. Rot. Hund. ii. 779.
 1695 Chakenden. Map in Camden.

'The valley of Cæcca.' O.E. **Cæccan denu*. The pers. n. *Cæcca* is found incorporated in an O.E. pl. n. in *Cæccan wel* (Birch, ii. 205, ch. 565). The O.E. *æ* has given two M.E. types in this word, one with *a* and another in *e*. The latter has survived in the Mod. name. For the change of the suffix *-denu* to *-don* > *dūn* see Introd. p. 24.

The more normal result of the pers. n. *Cæcca* would be Mod. *Chach*-. The *k* in the Mod. form may be explained either by the analogy of the strong form *Cæc*, or else it may have arisen by a dissimilative process. The spelling *s* in the D. B. form probably represents *sh* [ʃ], and is due to Norm. Fr. influence.

Cherwell (River).

- 864 Cearwellan. C. D. ii. 79, ch. 290.
 1004? Charewell. St. Fride. Ch. i. 4.
 1005 Cearwylle, Cyrwylle. C. D. iii. 339.
 1274-9 Charewell, Charnwell (for Charewell). Rot. Hund.
 ii. 710, 770.

C. D. has *Cear*-, *Cer*-, *Chare*- as variants of the first element; all these point to an O. E. *čear*, possibly connected with O. E. *čyrran*, 'to turn.' On the other hand the name may be pre-English, like so many river-names.

For vowel [ā] in Mod. pronunciation cp. p. 15 above.

Chesterton.

- 1005 Cestertune. C. D. iii. 339.
 1086 Cestreton. D. B. i. 159 b.
 1129 Chesterton. Osn. Reg. 11, ch. 12.
 1216-1307 Cestreton, Cest'ton. Testa de N. 105, 100.

O. E. *čeaster tūn*. *čeaster* in O. E. had the meaning of a town or village which was at first a fortified camp. (Lat. *castra*.) The ordinary *tūn*, on the other hand, was merely an enclosed group of homesteads out of which the village and town later sprung. *Ceaster-tūn* then means a *tūn* near to an old (perhaps Roman) fortress.

Chilson (near Chipping Norton).

- 1291 Childestone. Tax. Eccl. p. 45.
 1447-8 Childeston. Index, p. 173.
 1457-8 Chilleston. Mins. Acc. p. 215.
 1695 Chilson. Map in Camden.

'The "tūn" of Cild.' O.E. *Cildes tūn*. *Cild* is a known O.E. pers. n. Cp. the Mod. pers. n. *Child*. Cp. *Cildes hamm*, C. D. iii. 449, app. ch. 461. The phonetic development consists in the loss of the *d* and *t*, probably *Childestone* < **Chiltstone* < *Chilston* < *Chilson*. Cp. under *Benson* > *Benston* (1535).

Besides the meaning 'child' in O.E. *cild* also meant 'a royal prince'. Cp. *Childwall* (Pl. Ns. Lancs. p. 91).

Chilworth.

- 1086 Celelorde (for Celeworde). D. B. i. 159 b.
 1216-1307 Chelew'rth. Testa de N. 100 b.
 1274-9 Chulleworth, Cheleworth, Chelesworth, Chellesworth. Rot. Hund. ii. 714, 715, 716.
 1316 Cheleworthe. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1336 Cheleworth (Family Name). Cal. Ch. in Bodl. p. 330.
 1535 Chelworth. Val. Eccl. ii. 195.

'The homestead, farm of Ceola.' O.E. *Cēolan weorþ*. *Cēol* is a shortened (pet) form of some name such as *Cēolmund*, *-beald*, *-beorht*, *-red*, &c., of which numerous examples are found. The strong name is found as the first element of a pl. n. in *Ceoles cumb* (C. D. iii. 455, app. ch. 485), and the weak form in *Ceolan hyrst* (ii. 216, ch. 377). Sweet gives a form *Cēol-* as the first element in such names as those mentioned above (O. E. T. p. 618).

The Rot. Hund. forms show a fluctuation between the strong and weak genitival suffix. For the change of *Che-* to *Chi-* cp. the two following names. *Chelsing* (Herts.) is probably *Ceoles ing*. Cp. also *Chelworth* (Wilts.).

Chimney.

- Ceommenige. C. D. iv. 275, ch. 940.
 1274-9 Chemen, Chemeneye. Rot. Hund. ii. 705.
 1316 Chymeney. Parl. Writs, ii. 351.

- 1327 Chemeneye. Cat. A. D. i. 468.
 1360 Chymeneye. Eynsh. Ch. ii, ch. 602.
 1695 Chimley. Map in Camden.

'The "island" of the brook called *Ceommene*.' O.E. *Ceommen* *iēg*. For the meaning of *-ey*, O.E. *iēg*, see *Intro.* p. 25. Cp. *Ceomman briçg* (now Kim Bridge, Hants), C. D. ii. 219, ch. 625, and *Ceominalaca*, iii. 339, ch. 711. The change from the normal M.E. form in *e*, *Chemeneye*, to the Mod. form in *i* may be explained by the influence of the Eng. word *chimney*, with which this place-name was probably identified. Camden's spelling with *l* is interesting, as *chimley* and *chibley* were very common vulgarisms for *chimney* as early as the 16th cent. (see N. E. D. p. 349). It seems, however, that the change of *e* to *i* is not entirely due to popular etymology, since *Chymeney* occurs as early as 1316, while the earliest example of *chimney* given by the N.E.D. is one in 1330. The tendency for *e* < *i* was therefore in evidence before the influence of the popular etymology. Cp. the same process in *Chilworth* (above). No doubt the influence of *chimney* encouraged the survival of the form in *i*.

Chinnor.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Chenore. D. B. i. 160 b.
 1216-1307 Chenhora, Chennora, Cennor, Chenovre. Testa de N. 106, 107, &c.

TYPE II.

- 1241 Chynhore. Index, p. 174.
 1274-9 Chinnore. Rot. Hund. ii. 783, &c.
 1272-9 Chynovere. Cal. Pat. Rlls. i. 225.
 1272-1377 Chynnoure. Quo Warr. 668.

TYPE III.

- 1216-1307 Cheinora? Testa de N. 107.

It has been suggested that the first element in this word is O.E. *cine* or *cinu*, 'a chink, fissure, chasm, cavern' (*rīma*,

fissura). Cp. B.-T. and Suppl. The original vowel, however, seems to be *e* (see Type I), and the change to *i* is due to the preceding *ç*.¹ Cp. under *Chilworth* and *Chimney*.

The second element is O.E. *ofer*, 'a bank,' or *hofer*, 'a hump, hill.' See *Introd.* p. 28.

Chippinghurst.

- 1086 Cibbaherst. D. B. i. 157.
 1122 Chibbenhurst. St. Fride. Ch. i. 11.
 1140-1 Shibenhurst. St. Fride. Ch. i. 22.
 1246 Chibenhurst. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 299.
 1250† Chibbehurst. Cal. Bodl. Ch. p. 293.
 1377 Chibenhurste. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 36.

'The "hurst" of Cibba.' O.E. *Cibban hyrst*. O.E. *hyrst* has the meaning of 'a copse, thicket, or wooded hill'. It is common in place-names. The first element of the modern place-name is due to popular etymology. The early forms all point to an O.E. pers. n. *Cibba* or *Cybbā*. This name is found in *Cybban stān* (Birch, iii. 201, ch. 1002). The normal development of **Cibban hyrst* was into *Chibenhurst*, but the form *Chiben-* was confused with the common M.E. suffix *cheping* or *chipping*, which meant 'a market-place' (see *Chipping Norton* below). Consequently we find the alteration to Mod. *Chippinghurst*, which would really mean 'a wooded spot where a market was held'.

Chipping Norton.

- 1246 Norton Mercatoria. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 297.
 1289 Cheping Norton. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) Edw. I,
 p. 27, &c., &c.

'The north "tūn" at which a market was held.' O.E. *ċeāpian* means 'to buy, bargain' (Gm. *kaufen*). Many places were called *Chipping-* places or *Cheaping-* places, probably

¹ Cp., however, *chenes*, 'chinks, nooks,' in Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (Bk. I, ch. 41).

because they were market towns. Cp. *Cheapside* (in London and Berks.), *Chippenham* (Wilts.), *Chipping* (Lancs.), *Chipping Hill* (Essex), &c. C.D. has *Cēāpmanna dēl*, vol. vi. 41, ch. 1235, though *Cēāpman* may possibly be used here as a pers. n. (cp. Gm. *Kaufmann*), but the genitive plural indicates 'the valley of the dealers, traders'. Cp. also *cēāp-strǣl*, Birch, ii. 303, ch. 630 (Boundaries of Winchester).

The change of O.E. *ēā*, M.E. *ē* to *i* in Mod. Eng. is not without parallel. Cp. *silly* > M.E. *sēlig*. The vowel has undergone a late shortening, perhaps due to lack of stress.

Chiselhampton.

- 1086 Hentone. D.B. i. 160.
 1216-1307 Chiselhampton. Testa de N. 117.
 1274-9 Chiselamton. Rot. Hund. ii. 749.
 1380 Cheselhampton (in pers. n.). Oxf. City Docs.
 p. 37.
 1509-47 Cheselhampton. Map in Val. Eccl.

O.E. *ceosel* + *hām-tūn*. *ceosel* in O.E. has the meaning 'gravel, sand'. Cp. Gm. *Kiesel*. There is also a form *cyssel*, *cīsil*, from which the vowel in the Mod. form of this pl. n. arose. C.D. has *Ceosol-burne*, *-den* (*Chiselden*, Wilts.), *-hyrst* (*Chislehurst*, Kent). *Chesel* (Wilts.) is probably a survival of the *e* type.

The Corpus glossary gives *ceosol* as a gloss to *gurgustium*, 'a hut, cottage.' If this is a genuine word it may possibly occur as the first element in the pl. ns. above. Leland (ii. 116) gives '*Chisilhampton* vulgo *Chisilton*'. This seems to imply that the middle element was lost in pronunciation by the 16th cent. *ham(m)*, 'an enclosure,' is more probable as the middle element.

Churchill.

- 1086 Cercelle. D.B. i. 157.
 1168 Cerzhulle. Pipe Rlls. xii. 207.
 1157-8 Lange cherchull. }
 1199 Cherchell. } St. Fride. Ch. i. 29, 43.

- 1216-1307 Cercelle. Testa de N. 102.
 1274-9 Churchhull. Rot. Hund. ii. 745.
 1537 Churchill. St. Fride. Ch. i. 96, ch. 96.

O.E. (*æ*t-) *cyric-hylle*. The D. B. spelling appears to be entirely Kentish in type; *e* is however a common Norm. Fr. spelling for M.E. *i* > O.E. *y*, cp. Introd. p. 31. The spelling *z* (Pipe Rlls.) is probably a Norm. Fr. attempt to render the Eng. sounds [tʃ], though *z* more often represented the sounds [ts].

Clanfield.

- 1086 Chenefelde (for Clenefelde). D. B. i. 159.
 1216-1307 Glanfeld. Testa de N. 104.
 1274-9 Clanefeld, Clarefeud (-*r*- for -*n*-). Rot. Hund.
 ii. 793, 688, 693.
 Clenefelt, Clanfeld. Ibid. ii. 793, i. 30.
 1316 Clanefelde. Parl. Writs, ii. 351.

'The clean field.' O.E. *se clæna feld*, or, in the dative (*æ*t *bæm*) *clænan felda*. The D. B., Testa de N. forms are probably due to scribal errors. Note the vocalization of *-feld* to *feud*, and cp. Introd. p. 33. The Mod. form must be from an early type with an uninflected first element, and consequent shortening to **Clænfeld*, before *-nf*-. C. D. has such forms as *Clænan crundel* (ch. 1199), *Clænan mæd* (ch. 1168), *Clēnan mōr* (vi. 57, ch. 1244). The meaning is probably 'clean' in the sense of 'bare', 'uncultivated', or it may be 'devoid of weeds', &c.

Clare (near Watlington).

- 1274-9 Cleor. Rot. Hund. ii. 770.
 Cleyore. Bracton, vol. iii, case 566.
 1370 Clayore. Cat. A. D. i. 391.
 1316, 1428 Clayore, Clayor. Feud. Aids, iv. 171, 192.
 1423 Cleyore (2). Cat. A. D. i. 426.
 1695 Clare. Map in Camden.

'The clay-bank.' O.E. *clæg* or *clæig* *ōra*. Cp. *Claydon* below. *ōra* in O.E. means 'a border, margin, edge, bank'. It is often confused with *-or* > *ōfer*. Cp. under *Lewknor*, *Chinnor*, &c. The name may refer to the clay bank of some small stream. The reduction of *Cleyor* to *Clare* is unusual. *Clare* in Suffolk is *Claram* in D.B., *Clare* in Rot. Hund. probably a pers. n., as *Clare* is found as a witness in C. D. (> *Goldor*, see below). It is to be noted that *Clare* and *Golder* (situated together) occur in documents both together.

In Rot. Hund. ii. 814 confusion between the vowels in the two names has arisen; the result is the forms *Cloore* (for *Cleor*) and *Geldore* (for *Goldore*).

Clattercote.

1227 Clatercote. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 18.

1239 Clatercote. Eynsh. Ch. i. 5, ch. 1.

There is a *Clater Park* in Herts., *Clatterfoot End* (Essex), *Clatterford* (I. of Wight).

Clatter in this name may be the dialect word, which, according to the E. D. D., is used in Devon to mean 'a pile of loose stones or boulders; *débris* and rocks scattered about the hill-slopes'. This is probably a secondary usage from the O.E. vb. *clatrian*, 'to clatter' (Sweet); cp. O.E. *clatrunġ*, 'clattering, noise,' &c. (= *crepaculum*). (See B.-T and Suppl. and W. W. ii. 57. 37.)

Claydon.

1109 Cleindon. Eynsh. Ch. i. 37.

1159-62 Claindona. Ibid. ii. 158, ch. 204.

1216-1307 Claydon. Testa de N. 114.

1239 Cleydoneweye. Eynsh. Ch. i. 5.

1274-9 Claydona, Cleidona. Rot. Hund. i. 707, 710.

1695 Cleydon. Map in Camden.

'The clayey hill.' O.E. *clæg-dūn*. *Clæg* is a frequent

element in place-names. Cp. C. D. *Clægbrōc*, vi. 52, ch. 1241; *Clægwyl*, ibid. iii. 73, ch. 570; *Clæghyrst*, Birch, iii. 45, ch. 887, &c.

The forms in *-n* are derived from the inflected cases. > **of þære clægan dūne*, **on þā clægan dūne*, &c. The nominative form has survived in the Mod. name. Cp. *Clare* (above), *Clayhithe* (Cambs.), *Clayton*.

Cleveley (par. Enstone).

1316 Clyvele. Feud. Aids, iv. 165.

1695 Cleavley. Map in Camden.

'The cliff-meadow.' O.E. *clif-teāh* or *clifa-teāh*. Cp. *Clifton Hampden*. C. D. has *Cliveteāh*, vi. 227, app. ch. 319. Cp. Mod. *Clive* (Chesh., &c.) = (*æt þæm*) *clife*, *Cleveland*, *Clevedon*, &c. The Mod. form is clearly derived from the Mercian type *cleofa-*, M.E. *clēve*.

Clifton Hampden.

1199 Cliftun. St. Fride. Ch. i. 43, ch. 40.

'The "tūn" on the cliff.' O.E. *cliff tūn*. Cp. *Cliftūn*, C. D. ii. 167, ch. 410, &c.

Cogges.

1086 Coges. D. B. i. 156.

1166 Cogas. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 222, ch. 974.

1216-1307 Coges. Testa de N. 103.

1220 Coggeswoode? Osn. Reg. 88, ch. 95.

1258 Goggeswoode? Osn. Reg. 203, ch. 266.

1274-9 Cogges, Cogg. Rot. Hund. i. 867-8.

Cokethorpe or Cockthorpe (near Witney).

1212-3 Coctorp. Index, p. 186.

1274-9 Cocthop, Cotthrop (for Cocthop). Rot. Hund. ii. 701, 706.

The etymology is doubtful without other forms. Perhaps O.E. *Cucan þorp* (cp. *Cuxham*), with spelling-pronunciation,

o being merely a M.E. spelling for *u*. Cp. *Cucan healas*, C. D. 461. If not a pers. n., the first element may be O.E. *coc*, *cocc*, 'a cock,' as perhaps in *Cocbrōc*, C. D. v. 198, ch. 1103, or *cōc*, 'a cook.'

See also *Cookley Green*, below.

Cold Norton (near Chipping Norton).

- 1086 Nortone. D. B. i. 160.
 1216-1307 Caldenorton, Kaldemorton. Testa de N. 116,
 120.
 1228 Northan, Northun. Cl. Rlls. 1227-31, p. 140.
 1232 Calde Norton. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III,
 p. 74.
 1233 Colde Narton. Ibid. p. 189.

'The cold or exposed north "tūn".' O.E. (*ceald*) *norþ-tūn*. So called on account of its exposed position. For further discussion see under *Caulcott* above.

Cookley Green (near Watlington). Perhaps 'the growing (quick) meadow', O.E. (*æt*) *cucan* (*cwican*) *lēage*. Cp. *Coke-thorpe* and *Cuxham*. We should have to assume a late lengthening. *Cuca* (pers. n.) is another possible origin of the first element.

The Sussex *Cuckfield*, in spite of its spelling, is pronounced [kukfild], and the river *Cuckmere* has also [u].

Coombe (near Woodstock).

- 1086 Cumbe. D. B. i. 155 b.
 1216-1307 Cumbes, Cumb, Cumbe. Testa de N. 100,
 113, 117.
 1239 Cumba. Eynsh. Ch. i. 1.
 1274-9 Coumḃ. Rot. Hund. i. 34, 35.

'In or at the valley.' O.E. *æt þæm cumbe*. O.E. *cumb*, a borrowing from Celtic, is usually found as a second element. Cp. *Holcom*, *Milcombe*, &c.

Copcourt (near Aston Rowant).

- 1199 Cobicote, Cupicot. Rot. Cur. Reg. i. 266, ii. 25.
 1316 Copecote. } Feud. Aids, iv. 171, 192.
 1428 Cobbecotes. }
 1574 Cobcott, Copcote. Oxf. Visit. pp. 206, 207, 208.

See remarks under Arncot. *Cobba*, *Coppa*, *Cuba*, and *Cuppa* are all recorded as O.E. pers. ns.—possibly variants of a single Gmc. name. C. D. has *Cobbanden*, *Coppanford*, and *Cuppan wæel*. The existence of forms in *u* and *o* points to original *u*, as this is represented in M.E. by *o*; the *b* was unvoiced by the following *c* [k]. Cp. *Copnor* (Hants), *Coppathorne* (Cornw.), *Coppenhall* (Chesh.), *Cobden* (Herts.), and *Cobham*.

There is also an O.E. word *cop*, 'a head, hill,' but the early spellings of the first element are all against its identity with this word, except that of 1316. Note the replacement of original *cot* by *court* in the second element, and cp. under *Nethercot* below.

Cornbury Park.

- 1086 Corneberie. D. B. i. 154 b.
 1268-81 Cornebery. Eynsh. Ch. i. 393.
 1353 Cornebyri. Ibid. 283.

The meaning of O.E. *corn*, *corna* in pl. ns. is not quite clear. Dr. Bradley thinks that it is possibly a fragment of a British name. May *Cornbury*, however, denote a granary? The forms, however, suggest O.E. *corna*, as in *Cornalip*, *Cornabrōc*, *Cornawudu*, C. D. iv. 287, ch. 952 (Mod. Cornlyth, Cornbrook, Cornwood, Worcs.), which Duignan says are untranslatable (Pl. Ns. Worcs., p. 43). Cp. *Cornwel*. *Corn-* in *Cornwall* may mean 'a corner' (Middendorf, p. 29).

Cornwell.

- 777? Cornwel. C. D. i. 158, ch. 130
 1086 Cornewelle. D. B. i. 161.
 1216-1307 Cornwell. Testa de N. 101.

Possibly 'the spring near the cornfield'. O.E. *corn-wiella*. The C. D. form points to this etymology. Cp. *Cornhill* (Northumb., &c.).

Cote (near Bampton).

1086 Cote. D. B. i. 159.

1695 Coate. Map in Camden.

'At the cottage or homestead.' O.E. **æt þæm cotum*, or *cote*. The Mod. form implies M.E. *côte*, which may represent either a singular or plural dative. The vowel is normally lengthened in M.E. in the open (first) syllable.

Coton (par. Wardington).

1377 Coton, Cotonende (Norf.?). Cat. A. D. i. 346.

Cotun (in pers. n.). Ibid. 400.

Skeat (Pl. Ns. Beds., p. 8) explains the Beds. *Coton* as O.E. *æt þæm cotum*, dative plural of *cot*, 'a cottage, homestead.' The meaning is therefore 'at the homesteads'. The change to *-ton* is due to the influence of O.E. *-tūn* as shown by the last form above. According to I. Taylor (Names and their Histories, p. 347) the Yorks. *Coatham* has the same etymology.

Cottisford (or **Cottsford**).

1232 Cotesford, Codeford? Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, pp. 36, 37.

1274-9 Coteford. Rot. Hund. ii. 837.

1316 Cotesforde. Feud. Aids, iv. 169.

1805 Cotsford. Map in Camden.

Perhaps 'the ford near the homestead(s)'. O.E. *cot-ford*, with later addition of *s* to denote the plural. The forms in Rot. Hund. and Cl. Rlls. would point to this. The plural of *cot* in O.E. is *cotu*, *cota*, so that a derivation from a genitive plural is also possible with an *s* added later. A derivation from **cotes ford* is improbable. It is quite possible that a strong pers. n. **Cott* existed in O.E. *Cotta*

is on record as the name of a witness in C. D. and Birch. C. D. has *Cotan healas*, v. 401, ch. 1216 (Searle, 144), though this need not necessarily be a pers. n. Cp. *Cotswolds* in Gloucs.

Cowley.

- 1004 Covele. C. D. iii. 328, ch. 709.
 1086 Covellie. D. B. i. 155 b.
 1149 Covelay. Osn. Reg. p. 32, ch. 27.
 1170-80 Covele, Coveley. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 202, 203,
 ch. 943.
 1199 Cuueleia. Ibid. i. 43, ch. 40.
 1227 Cowley. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 5.
 1246 Coffe. Ibid. 299.
 1274-9 Covele. Rot. Hund. ii. 712, 713.
 1294 Cuvelay. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) Edw. I, p. 384.

'The lea of Cufa.' O.E. *Cufan lēah*. C. D. has *Cufan lēa*, vi. 234, boundaries of Ch. 424 (anno 949). The name *Cufa* occurs as an independent pers. n. in C. D., Birch, and in O.E. T. p. 441, ch. 33, l. 14 (a Kentish charter of 803). The development shows voicing of O.E. *f* [v] between vowels, and a later vocalization of this to *u*, which combines with the preceding *u* to form *ū*. M.E. *ū* becomes [au]. The spelling *o* for *u* is usual in M.E. in the neighbourhood of *v*, *w*.

Many Mod. pl. ns. in *Cow-* are derived from O.E. *cū*, 'a cow.' There was probably also an O.E. name *Cofa* by the side of *Cufa*. Cp. *Cuba*, *Coba* under *Cop Court*. This is probably found in Mod. *Coventry* > **Cofan trēō*. Cp. *Cowley* (Glouc.), in D. B. *Couelege* (163).

Crawley.

- 1274-9 Craule? Rot. Hund. ii. 704.

'The meadow of the crow(s).' O.E. *crāw- lēah*. The word *crāw* is common in place-names. Cp. *Crāwan born*

(Birch, i. 304, ch. 216), *Crāwelēainga mearc* (ii. 844, ch. 620), &c. It denotes either the bird or a pers. n., in this instance doubtless the former.

Cropredy.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Cropelie. D. B. i. 155 (*l* for *r*).
 1109 Cropperia. Eynsh. Ch. i. 36, ch. 7.
 1195 Croperi (in family n.). Abbr. Plac. p. 3.
 1216-1307 Crop'peri. Testa de N. 120.
 1239 Cropperi. Eynsh. Ch. i. 4.
 1291 Cropperye. Cal. Pat. Rlls. (1281-92), p. 414.
 1297 Crepperye. Ibid. p. 265.
 Cropprye. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1296-1302), p. 92.
 1300 Cropperey (in family n.). Eynsh. Ch. i. 305,
 ch. 456.
 1316 Croppe (in family n.). Feud. Aids, iv. 167.
 1320 Cropperie. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376, ch. 551.
 1327-77 Croppry. Non. Inq. p. 139.
 1329 Croppry. Cal. Pat. Rlls. (1327-30), p. 523
 1333 Croppri. Ibid. (1330-4), p. 501.

TYPE II.

- 1275? (written about 1450) Cropriithi (Adam de). Reg.
 Godst. Nunn. p. 283, ch. 389.
 1405 Croprydy. Cal. I. P. M. iii. 218.
 1421 Croprydye. Ibid. iv. 53.
 1449 Cropridy. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 49, ch. 614.

TYPE III.

- 1460 Cropredy. Cal. I. P. M. iv. 296.
 1634 Cropredie. Oxf. Visit. 333.

TYPE IV (variant of Type III).

- 1330 Cropperdy. Inq. ad Q. D. 162.
 1805 Croperdy. Map in Camden.

TYPE V (combination of Types III and IV).

- 1398 Cropperedye. Cal. I. P. M. iii. 301.

TYPE VI.

1316 Cropurthe? Parl. Writs, ii. 352.

It has been suggested that Type I may be originally O.E. **croppan rīþ*. *rīþ* is a common second element in O.E. pl. ns. Cp. *Cillan rīþ* (Childrey), *Scottan rīþ* (Shottery: see references under *Bolney*), and, as these names show, normally loses the final consonant. Cp. *Bolney* below, where the same process has taken place. It is to be noted, however, that none of the forms in Type I show any sign of the final *þ*, which appears as *-t*, *-th*, and *-d* until quite a late date in similar names. For details see under *Bolney*. This throws some doubt on the etymology *croppan rīþ*, and the only other possibility seems to be that O.E. *perige*, 'a pear-tree,' has had some influence on the second element, or that the name represents O.E. **crop perige*.

As regards the meaning of the second element, *rīþ* usually denotes 'a small stream', as in dialectal *riþe*, E. D. D. The meaning of *croppa* is difficult to ascertain. It may possibly be a pers. n. We may compare *Croppan þorne*, C. D. vi. 215, ch. 1358, &c., which may contain O.E. *croppa* (by the side of *crop*), 'the top or flower of a herb' (B.-T.). Such a meaning would not be consistent with *-rīþ*. On the other hand there seems to be a possibility that *crop* in O.E. meant 'a crop, plantation', as well as 'a sprout or top of a herb, berry, ear of corn, a bunch of berries or blooms, cluster, &c.' (B.-T.). One of its meanings in M.E. is also 'the top of a tree', so that a combination of *crop* and *perige* is not impossible. Middendorf (p. 31) suggests that *cropp* = 'a top, summit'. The only case of its use in C. D. seems to be *croptūnes gemæro*, iii. 465, app. ch. 518. It is also possible that *crop* was used in O.E. in the sense of 'a hump'. Cp. the 'crop' of a bird, one of the meanings of this word in O.E., and Icel. *kroppr*, 'a hump or bunch on any part of the body,' and, in Mod. usage, 'the body' (Vigfusson).

The second element has been replaced later by O.E. *rīþig*,

'a small stream.' This is found as an independent word, and also in *bordripiġ*, C. D. vi. 221, ch. 1368; *hweowelripiġes*, *ibid.* iii. 289, ch. 691, &c.; and *pippel riġes*,¹ v. 330, ch. 1171. The form above, *Croprithi*, points conclusively to this substitution. The *b* then changed to *d*, for which see *Introd.* p. 21.

A third type has changed the vowel in the second element to *e*. It is difficult to explain this change; possibly it was helped by confusion with M.E. *reedi*, 'reedy.' Cp. O.E. *hrēod*.

Type IV shows a metathesis to *-erdy*, and this is represented by the Mod. pronunciation, which Professor Wyld informs me is [kropədi].

The forms have few peculiarities. *l* for *r* is common in D. B. Cp. *Introd.* p. 33.

Crowell.

- 1086 Clawelle. D. B. i. 157 b.
 1216-1307 Crouel. Testa de N. 127.
 1274-9 Crawelle, Croowelle. Rot. Hund. ii. 783, 725.
 1805 Croel. Map in Camden.
 'The crow-well.' O.E. *crāw-wiella*. Cp. *Crawley*. The D. B. form with *l* shows a common change of *r* to *l*, probably merely scribal. Cp. the D. B. forms in *Lewknor*, *Cropredy*, and *Introd.* p. 33.

Crowmarsh Giffard, Crowmarsh Battle.

- 1086 Craumares. D. B. i. 157.
 1216-1307 Craum'se, Crowem'se. Testa de N. 100, 101.
 1227 Craumerse. Cl. Rlls. (1227-31), p. 265.
 1273 Craumersch. St. Frid. Ch. ii. 34, ch. 724.
 1274-9 Crowem'sse. Rot. Hund. ii. 774.
 1316 Craumershe Bataill. Feud. Aids, iv. 171.
 1372 Croozmerch Giffard. Cal. Bodl. Ch. p. 12.
 1695 Cromish Gifford, Cromish. Map in Camden.
 'The crow-marsh.' O.E. *crāw-* or *crāwan mersc*. Cp. *Crawley*, *Crowell*, above. The form in *z* shows an analogical

¹ Can these words contain O.E. *rīþ* + *wēg*?

formation of a strong genitive. *-s-*, *-ss-* is a Norm. Fr. representation of *-sh-* [ʃ] > O.E. *-sē-*. Camden's form shows a weakening of the unstressed syllable to *-ish*.

In D. B. (*loc. cit.*) Crowmarsh is mentioned under the lands of *Walterus Giffard*. According to Hope (p. 152) the surname Giffard is still pronounced *Jiffud*.

Battle means that the place belonged to Battle Abbey. See Testa de N. p. 118. In Cat. A. D. i. 330 we read that *Prestecrawemers* (Preston Crowmarsh) was held of the fee of the abbot 'de la Bataille'.

Crowsley Park (near Henley). 'Crow's clearing, lea.' O.E. **crāwes lēāh*. Cp. *Crawley, Crowell, &c.* The genitival *-s-* suggests that the first element may have been a pers. n., though this by no means follows.

Cuddesdon.

- 956 Cupenes dune. C. D. iii. 436, app. ch. 437.
 1086 Codesdone. D. B. i. 156 b.
 1140-1 Codesdon. St. Fride. Ch. i. 22.
 1154-89 Cuthesdonam. Chron. Abing. ii. 192.
 1167 Cutesduna. Pipe Rlls. xi. 14.
 1316 Quodesdon. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1327-77 Cotesdone. Non. Inq. 134.

'The hill of Cūpwine.' O.E. *Cūpwines dūne*. The form in Kemble indicates the common O.E. name *Cūpwine*. In the development into *Cudesdone, &c.*, we merely have a common change of medial *-þ-* into *-d-* and the loss of *n*. The form in *Qu-* is merely scribal. The short form *Cūþ-* may also have been the first element. Cp. *Cutslow*, below.

Culham.

TYPE I.

- 821 Culanhom. Thorpe, p. 63.
 940 Culanham. Birch, ii. 486, ch. 759.
 940? Culenhema dic? C. D. v. 264, ch. 1135.

- 1274-9 Colnham. Rot. Hund. ii. 853.
 1298 Colnham. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 93.
 1482-91 Culneham. Mins. Accs. p. 336.

TYPE II.

- 821, 940 !
 (11th or 12th cent.) } Culneham. { C. D. i. 270, ch. 214.
 { Ibid. v. 263, ch. 1135.
 1216-1307 Culham. Testa de N. 124.

'The corner or bend of Cula.' O.E. *Culan ham(m)*. *Cula* is found as the first element of a pl. n. in *Culan fen*, C. D. iii. 458, app. ch. 490. The second element in *Culham* is probably the short *ham(m)*, meaning 'the ham of the knee', and applied to the bend of a river, as explained by Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 343. See further discussion under *Ham Court*. Such a meaning is indicated by the situation of the place on a bend of the River Thames. The form *Culanhēma dīc*, 'ditch of the Culham people,' given above is late, and, if genuine, shows that *-hām* had been substituted for *-ham*. Type I, which has retained the *n* of the genitive suffix, persists till quite a late date. It would give a Mod. [kalnəm].

Curbridge.

- 1216-1307 Crudebrege. Testa de N. 104.
 1274-9 Crudebrug'. Rot. Hund. ii. 705.
 1342 Crottebrugge. Eynsh. Ch. i. 390, ch. 372.
 1384 Crudbrugge. Ibid. ii. 147-8, ch. 691.

Such forms as *Crūdan scēate*, C.D. v. 177, *Crūdes silba*, O.E.T. p. 440, ch. 32, l. 3, seem to point to a pers. n. *Crūd*, *Crūda*, the weak form of which may be the first element of Curbridge. Cryda, Creoda, Crida, and Croda are all recorded in Searle.

Another possibility is that the first element is connected with O.E. *crūdan*, 'to thrust, press' (see Sweet's Dictionary).

ū would be normally shortened before *db*. For the metathesis cp. Burcott and see Introd. p. 20.

Middendorf (p. 31) suggests *crud*, Mod. Eng. *curd*, as the etymology of the first element in *Cruddewelle*, Birch, ii. 229, ch. 586. This does not seem very probable.

Cutteslowe (Cutslow).

- 995 Cudeshlaw, Cudanhlæwe. C. D. iii. 289, ch. 691.
 1004 Cudeslāwe. Ibid. 328, ch. 709.
 1004 Cudueshlaye. St. Fride. Ch. i. 7.
 1086 Codeslam (*m* for *w*), Codeslave. D. B. i. 157, 159.
 1200 Cudeslawe. Osn. Reg. 21, ch. 21.
 1250-60 Cwydeslowe? St. Fride. Ch. i. 429, ch. 612.
 1430 Coteslowe. Ibid. 489, ch. 33.

‘The burial-mound (or tumulus) of Cud, Cuda, or Cudda.’ O.E. *Cuddes hlæw* or *Cud(d)an hlæw*. The pers. n. is probably the reduced form of such names as *Cūþwine*, *Cūþbeorht*, &c. This form, containing only the first syllable of a pers. n., is often found in pl. ns. It was probably used in O.E. as a sort of pet name. For *Cuda* see Liber Vitae, Sweet, O. E. T., p. 160, l. 220. As there are three early forms which point to a form *Cud-* with a weak genitive, *Cuda* is probably the original form. The suffix *-hlæw* has another form *-hlāw* which < *-low*. It is common in pl. ns. Cp. *Onslow*, *Enslow*, *Ludlow*, &c.

Cuxham.

- 880 Cuceshamm. C. D. ii. 108, ch. 311.
 995 Cuces hāma gemāra, Cuces hamme. C. D. iii. 289, ch. 691.
 1086 Cuchesham. D. B. i. 159 b.
 1190 Gochesham? Osn. Reg. 54, ch. 51.
 1215 † Cukesham. Reg. Godst. Nunn. ii. 569, ch. 765.
 1274-9 Cuxham. Rot. Hund. ii. 758.

‘The enclosure or settlement of *Cuc.’ O.E. **Cuces hamm* (as in C. D.). The second element is obviously the word *hamm*, ‘something hemmed in, enclosed.’ See under *Ham*

Court below. The form *Cuceshæma gemæra* of 995 ('bounds of the Cuxham people') shows, however, that *-hamm* and *-hām* were even then liable to be confounded. *-hæma* is genitive of *-hæme* pl. 'dwellers in *-hām*.' **Cuc* is the weak form of O.E. *Cuca*, for which see under *Cokethorpe*. The form in *g* is probably a scribal error.

D

Dean (near Chipping Norton).

1086 Dene. D.B. i. 157 b.

'In the valley.' O.E. *æt þære dene*, the dative of *denu*, which is found unlengthened as a second element *-den*.

Deddington.

TYPE I.

1049-52 Dædintun (in pers. n.). C. D. iv. 285, ch 950.

TYPE II.

1086 Dadintone. D. B. i. 155 b.

1216-1307 Daddinton. Testa de N. 103.

1233 Dadynton. Cl. Rlls. Hen. III (1231-4), p. 444.

1270 Dadinthone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 14, ch. 12.

1289 Tadynton. Cal. Cl. Rlls. Edw. I (1288-9 b),
p. 57.

TYPE III.

1154-63 Dedinton. Eynsh. Ch. i. 82, ch. 85.

Perhaps 'the "tūn" of the Dædings', but as none of the early forms has *-ing-* it is probable therefore that this is not original, but developed later from M.E. *-en-* or *-in-*. Such a suffix of the first element might arise either from an earlier *-wine-* in such a pers. n. as *Dædwine*, which see in form *Dēduuini*, L. V. (O. E. T. p. 163, l. 354), or from the genitive of an earlier weak name, *Dæda*. The name *Dēda* itself was borne by an Abbot of Partney c. 720: Bede, Bk. II, ch. 16.

Denton. 'The valley tūn' or 'the Danes' tūn. O.E. *dene-tūn*, or *Dena tūn*. This is a name of frequent occurrence. The old form *dene-tūn* is found in C. D. iii. 387, app. ch. 177, and iii. 381, ch. 492. This form could also represent a pers. n. *Dena*, which is found in Ellis, ii. 73. Cp. Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs. under *Denton*, and Skeat, Pl. Ns. Hunts., pp. 342-3.

Ditchley (par. Spelsbury).

- 1227 Dichelegh. Exc. e Rot. Fin. i. 159.
 1216-1307 Dychend? Testa de N. 114.
 1258 Dichelle. Osn. Reg. 203, ch. 266.
 1298 Dychelehegge, Dychele. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 93, ch. 649.

'The ditch meadow.' O.E. (*æ*l) *dīcē lēāge*. *dīc* is common as a first element in place-names. Kemble's Index has *Dīcford*, *Dīcesgat*, *Dīcgeat*, *Dīchæmatūn*, *Dīctūn* (Mod. *Ditton*, Lancs.), &c. *Ditchley* probably represents the genitive *dīcē* of the fem. word *dīc* or else the genitive plural *dīca* of the masc. *dīc*. A form **dīc lēāh* would probably have given **Dickley*, so that there must have been a vowel between the *c* and the *l*. The Testa de N. form, if genuine, represents a substitution of suffix and the Eynsham form *Dychelehegge* shows an addition of O.E. *hēg* or (*ge*)*hæge*, 'hedge.'

Dorchester.¹

- 900† Dorceceastre, Dorcesceastre, A.-S. Chron. i. 26.
 Parker MS. ann. 635, 6, 9.
 1086 Dorchecestre. D. B. i. 155.
 1173 Dorcacestre. Eynsh. Ch. i. 109, ch. 134.
 12th cent. Dorcaceastre, Dorceceastre. A.-S. Chron. i. 27.
 Laud. M.S. ann. 635, 6, 9.
 1216-1307 Dorkecestr'. Testa de N. 102.

¹ Trice Martin (Record Interpreter) quotes *Dorcina*, *Dorcinni Civitas* as Latin forms of the name,

- 1274-9 Dorchestre, Dorkchestre. Rot. Hund. i. 724, 747.
 1535 Dorchestre. Map in Val. Eccl.

Miller (Pl. Ns. in the English Bede, *Quell. und Forsch.*, No. 78) gives a list of the forms of the above name found in the various MSS. of Bede and also those in C. D., Birch, and the A.-S. Chron. He finds two early forms in Bede: *Dorcot-* and *Dorcetceastre*. The remainder are *Dorcic-*, *Dorci-*, *Dorce-*, *Dorces-* (cp. above), *Dork-*, *Dorka-* + *ceaster*, and variations of these. From this he assumes an etymology of *Dorcot* + *ceaster*, and analyses *Dorcot* into a Celtic first element (*Doru-*, *Duro-* in Brit. Pl. Ns.) + *cott*, the common second element. He suggests that the *-ceaster* may have been added when the place was made an episcopal see.

It appears more probable, judging from the number of forms without *-t-* as compared with the two (or perhaps four, as two others, according to this writer, have a *-t-* erased) with this letter, that *c* and *t* had been confused by a scribe. Such a confusion was exceedingly common in O.E. and M.E. MSS. (*v.* Introd. IV, p. 32). In any case the explanation of Bede's forms is extremely difficult.

Draycott (near Waterstock).

- 1086 Draicote. D. B. i. 159 b 1.
 1274-9 Draycot. Rot. Hund. ii. 725.
 1284-5 Drecot. Feud. Aids, iv. 155.

O.E. **dræg-cott*, probably 'an isolated homestead'. Skeat (Pl. Ns. Cambs., p. 9) explains *dræg* as 'a retreat, place of shelter'. Cp. *dēofla gedræg*, Beowulf 756, said of Grendel's lair. The E. D. D. gives *dray* as 'a squirrel's nest, a nest'. The word (*ge*)*dræg* occurs as a second element in *Dundry* (Somerset), *Dūndræg*, C. D. iv. 164, ch. 816.

Drayton.

- 1086 Draitone. D. B. i. 160.
 1216-1307 Draiton. Testa de N. 103.
 1204 Dracton. Obl. Rlls. 200.

‘An isolated “tūn”.’ O.E. *dræg-tūn*. Cp. preceding word. The name *dræg-tūn* is found in C. D. vi. 139, ch. 1026, and in five other charters in C. D.

The form *Dracton* is probably not genuine or else the *c* merely represents a scribal device for showing a sound [j]. Such a form, if it represented an actual pronunciation, would have given Mod. *Draughton*, as in the Yorks. *Draughton*, D. B. *Dractone*, i. 131. It must represent, if genuine, an earlier **Dracan tun*, late O.E. **Draktun*. This would have become M.E. **Dra(u)htun* before 1204, so that the spelling of that date above cannot represent a contemporary pronunciation in any case.

Ducklington.

- 958 Duclingtune. C. D. vi. 1, ch. 1218.
 1044 Ducelingdune. Ibid. iv. 92, ch. 775.
 1086 Dochelintone. D. B. i. 161.
 1175-90 Duchelingdona. Eynsh. Ch. i. 104, ch. 123.
 1216-1307 Dukelindon. Testa de N. 101.
 1270 Dogelinthone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 13, ch. 12.
 1274-9 Doclindon. Rot. Hund. ii. 846.
 1284 Doklindon. St. Fride. Ch. i. 300, ch. 398.

‘The hill of the ducklings.’ O.E. **ducelinga dūn*. The second C. D. form points undoubtedly to this derivation, and this is corroborated by the preponderance of *-don* forms.

This is the only example of the use of the word *duckling* in pl. ns., nor is *duceling* recorded in O.E. Cp., however, *Doughton* (Glouc.) > O.E. *duc tūn*; also in Kemble’s Index, *Ducan sēāþ*, ch. 308 (perhaps **Duca*—a pers. n.); and *Enford* (Wilts.) > *Eneford*, C. D. v. 216, ch. 1110, ‘the duck ford.’ Cp. further *Gosford*, &c.

Dunsdon (Eye and).

- 1086 Dunesdene. D. B. i. 155.
 1274-9 Dunesdene. Rot. Hund. ii. 38.
 1316 Denesden? Feud. Aids, iv. 170.

'The valley of Dun.' O.F. *Dunnes denu*. The names *Dunn*, *Dun* are common in O.E. as pers. ns. (Searle, p. 172). For the change of *denu* to *don* v. Introd. II, p. 23.

If the form in F. A. be genuine we have an assimilation of the first to the second element, a phenomenon which is not common.

Dunstew.

- 1086 Teowe, Tuuam. D. B. i. 156, 158 (J.L.G.M.)
 1209-10 Donnestywe. Eynsh. Ch. i. 352, ch. 520.
 1252 Dunnes Tywe. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 379.
 1272 Dunstuwe. Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 160.
 1316 Dunstowe. Feud. Aids, iv. 163.

The first element is a late addition. The second shows confusion with O.E. *stōw* in the F. A. form.

Cp. *Great, Little, Tew*, below.

Dunthrop (Heythrop and).

- 1086 Dunetorp. D. B. i. 156 b.
 1274-9 Duntrop. Rot. Hund. ii. 875.

'The thorp by the down.' O.E. *dūn þorþ*, *þroþ*. For the change of *-þr-* into *-tr-* see Introd. p. 19, and cp. *Souldrop* (Beds.) and *Souldern* below. This change takes place especially after *n*, *r*, *l*, and, of course, after *t*.

Dyke Hill (a fortress near Dorchester).

Dyke represent O.E. *dīc*, 'a ditch,' with a change of *ī* [i] to *k*. Cp. *Ditchley, Grim's Dyke*.

E.

Easington.

- 1086 Esidone. D. B. i. 160.
 1150† Esendon. Reg. Godst. Nunn. p. 322, ch. 437.
 1274-9 Esindon. Rot. Hund. ii. 756.
 1316 Esyndon. Feud. Aids, iv. 172.

1327-77 Emyndone. Non. Inq. 135.

1349 Eysindone. Index, p. 245.

'The hill of Esa.' O.E. *Esan dūn*. *Esa* is a known pers. n. in O.E. It is found in the 9th cent. genealogies (Sweet, O. E. T., p. 170, l. 80) as *Oesa*, also in Flor. of Worc. (anno 547) as the son of *Ingur*, ancestor of the king of Bernicia. *Esbearn* is found in C. D. and Birch. Judging from the form in the genealogies *Esa* is a mutated form of *Osa*, and the vowel is probably long. There is also a common form *Ese*, e. g. (Sweet, *loc. cit.*, 171, l. 114, &c.). *Es-* is sometimes due to confusion with *Æse-*. The development is normal; *en* > *an* is replaced by *ing*, *don* > *dūn* by *-ton*.

The Yorks. *Easington* is probably a case of a genuine patronymic (see Mootman, West-Riding Pl. Ns.).

East End (near Woodstock).

1316 Estend. Feud. Aids, iv. 165.

End is often used in O.E. with the meaning of a boundary. Cp. *King's End* below.

Elsfield.

1086 Esefelde. D. B. i. 158.

1149 Elfefelde (for Elsefelde). Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.

1216-1307 Elsefeld. Testa de N. 105.

1231-2 Elshfyld. St. Frid. Ch. ii. 40, ch. 731.

1292 Elesfeud. Eynsh. Ch. i. 328, ch. 490.

1298 Ellesfeld, Elesfeud. Ibid. ii. 96, ch. 652.

1300 Elfesfelde, Elfefelde (for Elsefelde). Osn. Reg. 82, ch. 93.

Perhaps 'the field of Elle'. O.E. *Elles feld*. *Ella* and *Elle* are known names in O.E. The latter is found in the Lib. Vit. (Sweet, O. E. T., p. 164, l. 380) in the form *Ælli*; also in Bede's History (Moore MS.), *loc. cit.*, p. 134, l. 46, *Ælli*, *Ælle*. *Ælla* is also a common pers. n. C. D. has *Ællan stapol* (Allan stapule), vi. 92, ch. 1265, &c.; also

Ælle as *Ællesburne*, iii. 35, ch. 551; and *Ælle*, king of Sussex, A.-S. Chron. (Parker and Laud MSS.), anno 477, 485, &c. Either *Ælles-* or *Elles-* would normally become Mod. *Els-*. These are probably variants of the same Gmc. name. The forms in *f* (Osn. Reg.) are probably due to the common confusion of *f* and *s* [ʃ] in M.E. MSS. If genuine they would point to a first element *Ælf-*, or perhaps *Ælfsigē*. The forms *-feud* (above) are Norm. Fr. scribal peculiarities. Cp. Introd. p. 33.

Cp. *Ellesmere* (Shropsh.), *Ellesborough* (Bucks.), &c., and the numerous *Elstons*, though some of these are probably > *Ælfes tūn* or *Ælfsigēs tūn*.

Elvenden (near Goring).

1216-1307 Elvinton? Testa de N. 131.

1535 Elfyngton. Val. Eccl. ii. 222.

With the material at our disposal it is impossible to say exactly what the first element was. O.E. *Ælfa* (a reduced weak form of *Ælfwine*, *Ælfred*, &c.), O.E. *Ælfwine* or O.E. *Ælfwen* (fem.) are all possible. The last name would seem most probable on account of the absence of the genitive *s* and the form of the modern name, but one cannot be certain. Another possibility is O.E. **ielfena denu*, 'the vale of the elves.' For the change of suffix see Introd. p. 24.

Emmington.

TYPE I.

1086 Amintone. D. B. 157 b 1.

1216-1307 Aminton, Ammingeton. Testa de N. 100, 114.

TYPE II.

1274-9 Eminton. Rot. Hund. ii. 784.

1401-2 Emynton. Feud. Aids, iv. 173.

'The "tūn" of the descendants of Amma or Emma.' O.E. *Amminga* (*Emminga*) -tūn. To judge by the forms

the original vowel was *a*-. Cp. *Amman brōc, wel*, C. D. v. 297-8, ch. 1151. This is probably a variant of the more usual *Emma* (*Imma*), a fem. name, as in C. D. i. 9, ch. 6 (a starred charter—probably forged), which has *Æmma*. This name is also found in Wm. of Malsbury as the name of the daughter of the king of the Franks (Bk. I. cap. 15). Bede (Hist. Eccl. Bk. IV. cap. 1) mentions *Emme Senonum*, Bishop of Sens 658-75, according to Plummer's note.

We must assume two types in the development of the pl. n., *a* and *e*, or else the replacement of *a* by *e* through the influence of the name *Emma*.

Emmir Green (near Reading).

1695 Emer Green. Map in Camden.

Enslow, or Gibraltar (near Bletchington).

Etymology doubtful without old forms. We may, however, suggest 'the mound of *Enne'. O.E. *Ennes hlæw*. *Enslow, Enstone, Taston, Lidstone* are probably all named after tumuli. The three last mentioned are close together in a region where mounds, stones, &c., are abundant.

The existence of the name *Enne* may be assumed on the evidence of the weak *Enna* as in *Ennan beorh*, C. D. v. 380, ch. 1202. *Eni* is also found in the names in Bede (Moore MS.); Sweet, O. E. T., p. 139, l. 171; in the North. genealogies (ibid. p. 171, l. 118), &c.

Enstone.

- 1086 Henestan. D. B. i. 157.
 1212 Ennestan. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 247, ch. 1019.
 1251 Ennestane. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 360.
 1284-5 Ennaston, Ennestan. Feud. Aids, iv. 160.
 1298 Enestan. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 93, ch. 649.
 1327-77 Ennestane. Non. Inq. 139.

Probably 'the stone of Enna'. O.E. *Ennan stān*. See

under *Enslow*. It has been suggested that this is derived from O.E. *Entan stān*, 'the giant's stone.' There is no ground for this etymology in the early forms, though they do not prohibit it. C. D. has *Æntan hlēw*, *Entan hlēw*, v. 265, ch. 1236, &c.; *Ænta dīc*, iv. 35, ch. 743 (anno 1031). If a *t* once existed it would normally be lost between *n* and *s*.

Epwell.

956 Eoppan wyllan broc. C. D. iii. 438, 442, app. chs. 442, 448, 1195.

Eoppan welles. C. D. iii. 438, app. ch. 442.

1216-1307 Eppewelle. Testa de N. 120.

1316 Eppewelle. Parl. Writs, ii. 352.

'The well of Eoppa.' O.E. *Eoppan wiella*. *Eoppa* is a common pers. n. in O.E. Thirteen references are given in Searle, p. 230. The form in *I-* is probably merely scribal.

Evenlode (river and village in an enclave of Warwickshire).

O.E. *efene*, *emne* (*ǵe*)*lād*. The former name of this river was the *Bladen*. C. D. has the following forms: *Eulangelade*, i. 148, ch. 120. *Eunelade*, i. 158, ch. 130; iv. 249, ch. 912; vi. 219, ch. 1367. *Eownilade*, iii. 384, app. ch. 136. *Eouuengelad*, i. 178, ch. 147. *Eowenland*, ii. 405, ch. 514. *Eowlangelade*, iii. 38, ch. 554; vi. 216, ch. 1362.

The second element seems to be O.E. (*ǵe*)*lād*, 'a track, (water) course, river.' Cp. ... mariscem, quam etiam circumfluit *Iaegnlaad*, C. D. i. 190, ch. 157; ... ad aquae ripam *Iaenlade*, *ibid.* i. 163, ch. 135. B.-T. also cites *Cappelād*, *Wodelād*. Cp. further *Hlincgelāde*, Birch, iii. 454, ch. 1189. The same element is contained in *Lechlade* (Gloucs.) and *Cricklade* (Wilts).

The variety in the first element indicates a pre-English origin.

Ewelme.

- 1037 Æwylm. C. D. ii. 180, ch. 355, and app. iii. 408.
 1086 Lawelme. D. B. i. 159 b, &c.
 1216-1307 Ewelme, Lewelme, Euwelme, Heiwelme. Testa
 de N. 100, 106, 106, 117.
 1235 Ewelme. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 204.
 1274-9 Ewelme', Ewelme'. Rot. Hund. ii. 759, ii. 42.
 1286 del Ewelme, de Lewelme. St. Fride. Ch. i. 371,
 ch. 510.

'The spring.' O.E. *æ-wylm*. Besides the references in C. D. *æwylm* is found in Birch, i. 211, ch. 144, *isenan æwylm*; i. 406, ch. 291, *Cræges æwelma*; and ii. 456, ch. 740, *Æwelmes hangra*, &c. The word is obviously composed of *æ-*, a prefix, + *wielm*, 'a swelling, welling' (cp. *āwiellan*). It also means 'the source of a river', e.g. *Audlang higan of hire æwelme*, Thorpe, i. 152. 9. In O.E. it is also used metaphorically, e.g. *God is æwelme and fruma eallra gescæfta* (Ælf. Boeth.). The derivation is probably from the dative. Note the Norm. Fr. addition of *L'*, *del*, &c.¹ The form in *-welm* is due to the influence of the lip-consonant.

Eye (and Dunsdon). 'The island.' O.E. *īeg*, *īg*. The same word as in the suffix *-ey*. The name *īeg* was applied to any piece of land near water, and does not necessarily signify an island in the modern sense. There are several places called *Eye* in England.

Eynesham.

- 900† 12th cent. Egonesham. A.-S. Chron. under year 571,
 i. 13, 19, ann. 571 (Parker and Laud MSS.).
 1005 Egnesham. C. D. iii. 389, ch. 714.
 1086 Eglesham? D. B. i. 155.
 1160 Eveneshā. Pipe Rlls. ii. 9.

¹ I note that Zachrisson in his article on the French def. article in Eng. place-names (*Angliā*, vol. xxiv) quotes Camden to the effect that 'Ewelme is commonly called New Elme, from the Elms growing there .

1163	Egeneshā. Ibid. vi. 49.
1193-1200	Eisnesham. Eynsh. Ch. i. 60, ch. 44.
1210-28	Eylnesham. St. Fride. Ch. i. 165, ch. 211.
1226	Eynsham. Osn. Reg. 56, ch. 53.
1270†	Eygnesham. Eynsh. Ch. i. 61, ch. 44 B.
1274-9	Eynesham, Einesha'. Rot. Hund. ii. 789, 791.
1320	Eignesham. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376, ch. 551.
1566	Ensam. Oxf. Visit. p. 44.

'The home of *Ægen*.' O.E. *Ægenes hām*. The great majority of the early forms and the modern name point to *Ægen-* as the first element. This may be a shortened form of such a name as *Ægenulf* or *Ægenwulf*.

The form from the Chronicles are probably nothing but bad spellings of King Alfred's time. The two forms with *l* are probably due to confusion with *Ægel*, a common personal name. The other peculiarities are chiefly scribal.

It is interesting to note that according to Mrs. Parker (Eng. Dial. Soc. No. 12—Oxfsh. Words) this place is pronounced *Ayensam*, *Aënsam*, and later *Ensam*. Cp. the 1566 form above and further under *Rousham*. *Frodsham*, *Leds-ham* (Chesh.) are pronounced locally [frotsəm] or [frodzəm], [letsəm] or [ledzəm].

Pott (Personen-Namen, pp. 476, 496) gives a Gmc. pl. n. *Aginesheim*, which exactly corresponds to O.E. *Ægeneshām*.

F

Fawler.

1205	Fauflor. Obl. Rlls. 261.
1213-25	Fauelore, Faufore. Eynsh. Ch. i. 48, ch. 25.
1274-9	Faneflore (for Faueflore). Rot. Hund. ii. 709. Favilore. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 729, ch. 985.
1300†	Faufelore. Reg. Godst. Nunn. p. 326, ch. 443.
1316	Ffaveloie (for Ffavelore). Parl. Writs, ii. 352.
1363†	Fauelour (2). Eynsh. Ch. i. 31, ch. 606.

- 1428 Faulour, Fauelaure (for -loure). Feud. Aids, iv. 185.
 1805 Fowler (for Fawler). Map in Camden.

'The coloured or variegated floor.' O.E. (*on*) *fāgan flōre*. This pl. n. is found in C. D. iii. 404, app. ch. 340, in the boundaries of *Eaton* (Oxfsh.). The same charter has *Wifeles lace* as the nearest boundary; then 'ūp andlang ripiges þæt hit cymþ to *fāgan flōran*'. Now Wilcot, which > *Wifeles cott*, is contiguous to Fawler, and it is possible that *Wifel* is the same name here as in Wilcot (q.v.). The identification of Fawler with *fāgan flōre* is practically certain. It is not easy to determine the actual signification of either of these elements. With *flōr* we may compare *bere-flōr* (barley-floor), 'a barn-floor, granary' (B.-T.); also in B.-T. *þirsce-flōr* (a threshing-floor), *þerscel-flōr* (same meaning). *Fāg*, *fāh*, 'coloured, variegated,' is usually a poetic word in O.E., often applied to *sweord*, *wæter*, &c. Thorpe has, however, **ānes fāgan stēdan*, 'a pied steed' (in a will in Dipl. p. 560, l. 38). C. D. has *on fāgan stān* (coloured stone), vi. 219, ch. 1366, &c.

It has been suggested that the expression *fāgan flōre* obviously refers to a tessellated pavement, such as is found in the Roman villa at East End, a few miles away.

The phonetic development consists of the change of *g* to *w* and the combination of this *w* with *w* which arises from the weakened *-f-* of *-flōr* to round the vowel to *-aw* [5]: **fagaflor* < **faweflor* < **fawflor* < **fawvlor* < **fawvlor*.

The forms in *-oure* are probably due to the influence of O.E. *ōfer*, M.E. *-ovre*, *-oure*, for which see under *Lewknor* below.

Fencott (and Murcott).

- 1274-9 Fencot. Rot. Hund. ii. 826.

'The fen-cottage or homestead.' O.E. *fenn cott*. Cp. *fentūn*, C. D. i. 196, ch. 161, &c. *Fenlake* (Beds.) has the same word as a first element.

Fewcott (near Stoke Lyne).

1316 Feucote. Feud. Aids, iv. 169.

1695 Fencote (for Feucote). Map in Camden.

Can the first element be O.E. *feoh*, 'cattle,' &c.?

Field Asserts (par. Asthall). An *assart* or *essart* is in M.E. the legal name for a clearing or a settlement where the land had formerly been waste. According to the N. E. D. it is an O.F. word *essarter* and *assarter*, which is derived from L. Latin *ex-sartare*, where **sartare* is probably the frequentative form of *sar(r)ire*, 'to hoe, weed.' D. B. has (i. 179) ' . . . lviii acrae terrae proiecte (essarz) de silva'; and (i. 184 d) ' . . . ibi est parcus et terra ad 1 carucam de essarz' (cit. Vinogradoff, English Society in 11th Cent.). See further *Dialogus de Scaccario*, Bk. i, cap. xiii (Stubbs's *Select Charters*, p. 206).

Fifield (or **Fyfield**), near Wallingford.**Fifield**, near Burford.

TYPE I.

1086 Fifhide. D. B. i. 157 b.

1191 Fifide. St. Fride. Ch. i. 40.

1216-1307 Fishud, Fishide. Testa de N. 102, 105.

1316 Ffifide. Parl. Writs, ii. 352.

1346 Fifede, Fyffehide. Feud. Aids, iv. 185.

1535 Fyffhide. Map in Val. Eccl.

TYPE II.

1665 Fifeild (in family name). Oxf. City Docs.
pp. 86-7.

1695 Eyfield (for Fyfield). Map in Camden.

'The five hides.' O.E. *fif hīda*. Up to the 17th cent. the ending *-fide*, *-fhide*, &c. is retained. Then there is change to *-field*, probably the result of popular etymology. It is, however, possible that *-field* was an independent suffix, and that the modern name represents an O.E. type *fif hīda feld*,

'the five-hides field,' but the early forms do not favour such a solution. Birch (iii. 503) has a charter referring to *Fifhīdan* in Berks.

Fifehead (Dorsets.) and *Fivehead* (Somers.) have probably the same origin, but show a normal weakening of the unstressed syllable and a confusion with *-head* > *hēafod*.

The *s* in the Testa de N. forms is merely a scribal error. The forms in *Ff-* (really *ff*) show a common M.E. method of representing capital F. The second Feud. Aids form would indicate an original dative—*æt fif(um) hīdum*.

The hide, O.E. *hīd* or *hīgid*, was not a definite measure of land, but varied in different localities. It seems to have been, on an average, 120 acres. See Round, Feudal England, pp. 36-44.

Filkins.

- 1229 Fulking. Cl. Rlls. (1227-31, Hen. III), p. 245.
 1269 Fileching. Eynsh. Ch. i. 11, ch. 7.
 1274-9 Fileking. Rot. Hund. ii. 696.
 1333 Nether fylkings. Index, p. 280.
 1336 Fylkyngche. Cal. I. P. M. i. 271.
 1354 Fylkynge. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 65, ch. 618.
 1355 Filkyng. Cal. I. P. M. ii. 183, 188, 160.
 1370 Filking. Ibid. ii. 298.
 1377 Fylkyng. Ibid. iv. 457.

This name probably contains the O.E. *Filica*. It is found twice in C. D. in the form *Filican slæd* (vi. 47, 161, chs. 1238 and 1035, dated 962 and 1008). The name may be a diminutive in *-uc* or *-oc* of the original *Fēol-*, *Fil-*, usually found in compounds. For discussion of these diminutives see under *Lewknor*. The *ch* in *Fileching* represents a Norm. Fr. spelling to denote absence of fronting before *i*. The form *Fulking* may be due to some analogy with the common M.E. pers. n. *Fulk*, a derivative of *Folc*, or else it may be merely graphic.

The final element may possibly be O.E. *ing*, 'a meadow'. Cp. Introd. p. 26. The form *Fylkyngche* may represent a pronunciation [indžə], which > Prim. Germ. **ing-jo*, O.E. **inġe* as compared with the normal *-ing* > Prim. Germ. **inga*. Cp. *Lockinge*, *Wantage*, *Billinge*. *-ing* may also be the patronymic suffix.

The final *-s* in *Filkins* (cp. also 1333 form above) is apparently a plural suffix.

Wrede (Spr. d. Ostgoten) gives a pers. n. *Filica*. He suggests that it is a secondary form of some such pers. n. as Goth. *Felithanc*, which would correspond to an O.E. **Feolþanc*, the first element being connected with *feolu*. Such forms as *Filicaidus*, *Filicausus*, *Filicausa*, *Filicerni* are given in Spr. d. Langobard. (Q. and F., No. 75). Middendorf (p. 51) suggests that *filican slæd* in C. D. is connected with Lat. *flex*, 'a fern'; this is extremely unlikely.

Finmere.

- 1086 Finmere. D. B. i. 155 b.
 1216-1307 Finem'e. Testa de N. 101.
 1274-9 Finmere, Finem'e. Rot. Hund. ii. 31, 44, 867.
 1316 Ffynemere. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1805 Finmore. Map in Camden.

'The marsh or lake of Fin.' O.E. **Finan mōr* or *mere*. There seems to have been a confusion in the second element between *-mōr* and M.E. *-mere* which > *-mere*, 'a lake,' or even sometimes *-(ġe)mæere*, 'a boundary.' The D. B. form points to O.E. *mōr*. Cp. *Littlemore* (q.v.). It is possible that the *-mere* forms are due to an incorrect reading of the contracted *-m'e*. *Fin* is on record in O.E. and M.E. (probably a Norse borrowing in M.E. names), e.g. in the name *Finnsburg* as in the O.E. poem recounting the battle at that place. *Finn* also occurs in the poem of *Widsiþ* as the name of a king of the North Frisians; the same personage occurs in *Beowulf*, ll. 1068, 1081, &c. In the North. genealogies we have *Fine*

and *Fines* (O. E. T., p. 169, ll. 53, 65); also *Finn*, *Finning* (= the son of Finn), *loc. cit.*, p. 176, l. 110. Cp. also the numerous Gmc. names in *Fin*, *Fin-*, *-fin* given by Förstermann, pp. 506-7.

Finstock.

- 1154-61 Finestoches. Eynsh. Ch. i. 70.
 1191-1205 Fines-stokes. Ibid. i. 40.
 1274-9 Finestok. Rot. Hund. ii. 709.

'The stockade of Fin.' O.E. *Fines stocc*. For *stocc* see under *Stoke*, *Stokenchurch*, &c. For *Fin* cp. preceding word. Middendorf (p. 51) suggests that *fin-* in O.E. pl. ns. is the name of the plant *Ononis arvensis*. The E. D. D. has a word *fin* with this meaning, and also the compound *fin-weed*, and cites examples of its usage in the Midlands and Northants. In the forms *fin læge* (C. D. v. 177, ch. 1093) it may possibly have this meaning. In *Finbeorh* (iii. 452, app. ch. 468) and in Mod. *Finstock*, *Finmere*, a pers. n. is more probable as the first element.

Ellis (ii. 111) has the M.E. name *Fin* as that of a landowner in Lincs. and Bucks. Björkman (Nord. Personennamen, p. 40) gives *Fin*, *Finn* as a Norse pers. n., and compares O.W.N. *Finnr*, O.Swed., O.Dan. *Fin*.

Fordwells (1) near Asthall; (2) near Leafield. Perhaps what it seems—'the springs by the ford'.

Forest Hill.

- 1086 Fostel. D. B. i. 155 b.
 1158 Fforsthull. Osn. Reg. 30, ch. 26.
 1216-1307 Foresthull. Testa de N. 105.
 1219 Foresthulle. Eynsh. Ch. i. 136, ch. 80.
 1274-9 Forsthull. Rot. Hund. ii. 717.
 1327-77 Forsthull. Non. Inq. 134.
 1344 Fersthull (for Forsthull). St. Fride. Ch. i. 76, ch. 79.

'The frosty hill.' O.E. *forst-hyll*.¹ The change in the first element is due to popular etymology. The majority of the early forms, it will be noticed, have *forst*. This first element is found in a charter of 963 *on forst healh* (Birch, iii. 344, ch. 1111). The earliest example of M.E. *forest* cited in the N. E. D. is one in 1297.

It is interesting to note that according to Mrs. Parker's list of Oxfsh. words (Eng. Dial. Soc., pt. 32) this pl. n. is pronounced *Fostul* [fostl]. This would support the derivation from O.E. *forst*. The D.B. form, singularly enough, has lost the *r*, though this is doubtless due to a Norm. Fr. scribe.

Foxcott or Foscott (near Idbury).

1086 Foxcote. D. B. 159 a 1.

1695 Foscot. Map in Camden.

'The fox-dwelling.' O.E. *fox-cot*. Places are often thus named after animals or birds. Cp. *Crawley, Horsley, &c. Foxham* (Wilts.) is given in C. D. iv, 166, ch. 817, who also gives *Foxbæc, Foxesbeorh* (probably used here as a pers. n.), *Foxhyl*, and *Foxlæah* in his index. The form in Camden shows a sound-change of [-ksk-] to [-sk-]. Both this and [fokskæt] seem to be current at the present time.

Professor Moorman suggests that the first element may be O.N. *Foski*. *Fox*, however, may be used as a pers. n. as it is in Mod. Eng. Can the name mean 'a cot whose owner trapped foxes'?

St. Frideswide (church).

1004 Frepeswide, Fryyesuuyda (y for þ). St. Fride
Ch. i. 7, 8, ch. 2.

1191-1205 Fredeswithe. Eynsh. Ch. i. 40, ch. 13.

1194 Frideswide. St. Fride. Ch. i. 42, ch. 39.

1200 Fretheswithe. Ibid. i. 192, ch. 254.

¹ With the D. B. form, however, cp. *fost broc*, C. D. iii. 436, app. ch. 437 (in boundaries of Cuddesdon).

- 1225 Ffrideswith, Ffryswise. Osn. Reg. 57, ch. 54.
 1397-8 Fredeswide. St. Fride. Ch. i. 253, ch. 382.

St. Frideswida (a latinized form of O.E. *Friþuswiþ*) lived from 650†-735†, and is the tutelary saint of Oxford. The development of the name shows simply the common change of O.E. *þ* to *d*, helped by its use in a latinized form with *d*. Cp. Introd. p. 21. *Freþa* is a common variant of *Friþa*-, *u*-; it probably stands for *Freoþa*-, *u*-, developed by *u*-, or *a*-umlaut.

Fringford.

- 1086 Feringeford. D. B. i. 155 b.
 1205 Fringeford. Obl. Rlls. p. 270.
 1245 Faringford. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 285.
 1274-9 Ferigford, Feriggeford, Feringeford. Rot. Hund. (1226-57), i. 44, 42, 829.
 1313 Firingford. Rot. in Cur. Scacc. p. 194.
 1535 Fryngford. Val. Eccl. ii. 162, 188.

'The ford of the Færings or descendants of Fær.' O.E. *Færinga ford*. The same patronymic is found in the names *Faringdon* (Berks.), *Farringdon* (Dors., Hants., Berks., Somers.), *Farrington* (Lancs., Somers.). *Fær*- is found as the first element of such pers. ns. as *Færeman*, *Færþegn*, quoted by Searle from Grueber's Catalogue of English Coins. Ellis (ii. 111) has *Fardein*, *Fargrim*, probably of Scand. origin. Cp. Björkman, pp. 38-9. *Far*- is common in Gmc. names. Förstemann has *Farabert* (p. 497), *Faraburc* (ibid.), *Faragar*, *Farohildis* (ibid.), *Faraman* (p. 498), &c. He connects it with O.E. *faru*, 'a race, family,' which is originally derived from *faran*-, 'to go.' The phonetic development of the pl. n. consists of the loss of *a*, *e*, by the lack of stress.

Another possibility is that Fringford is O.E. *fering-ford*, 'a ford for wheeled traffic.' Cp. *ærningweg*, C. D. v. 303, ch. 1154.

Fritwell.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Fertwelle, Fertewelle. D. B. i. 155 b, 161.
1154 Fertewelle. Eynsh. Ch. i. 39.

TYPE II (a).

- 1199 Fretewelle. Eynsh. Ch. i. 132.
1200 Fretewell. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 219, ch. 968.
1239 Frettewell. Exc. e Rot. Fin. i. 329.
1279-80 Frettewelle. Mins. Accs. p. 380.

TYPE II (b).

- 1200 Frechewell (c for t). St. Fride. Ch. ii. 219, ch. 967.
1245 Frethewell. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 285.
1260 Fretheswelle. Eynsh. Ch. i. 400, ch. 586.

TYPE III.

- 1231-2 Fritwell. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 40, ch. 731.
1537 Frytwelle. Ibid. i. 96, ch. 96.

It has been suggested that the first element in this name represents O.E. *fyrht*, *firht*, *freht*, 'divination, augury,' and that the meaning of the pl. n. is 'a wishing-well'. This seems very probable, though we should expect to find some sign of the *-h-*. Cp. *Brist*, *Briht-*, &c., for *Beorht-*, under *Brightwell*, *Brighthampton*.

The *-th-* forms might indicate a shortened form of such names as *Freothegār* (A.-S. Chron., Parker MS., anno 552), *Frethegōd* (C. D. ii. 355, ch. 477, anno 958), &c. The 1260 form with a strong genitive would certainly indicate that the first element was felt as a pers. n.

By the side of *Freopu-* there was also *Fripu-*, which might account for the Mod. vowel. Cp. *St. Frideswide* above.

According to Hope the pronunciation of this pl. n. is *Frittel* [fritl]. Cp. *Bradwell*, and *Introd.* p. 18.

Fulbrook.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Fulebroc. D. B. i. 158 b, &c.
1216-1307 Fulebrok. Testa de N. 106.

TYPE II.

1168 Fullebroch. Pipe Rlls. xii. 207.

1274-9 Folebrok. Rot. Hund. ii. 744.

TYPE III.

1311 Foulbrock. Cat. A. D. ii. 165.

Probably 'the foul brook'. O.E. *se fūla brōc*. Type I is inconclusive as to the length of the vowel in the first element. Type II would indicate O.E. *full*, 'full,' but by that date the *ū* could have been shortened in a compound. Type III points conclusively to M.E. *ū* and the etymology above. Cp. *fūle wyllan* (C. D. iii. 367, &c.) and Fulwood > *fūl wudu* (Foulwode 1373) (Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs., p. 129).

Fulwell (near Chipping Norton).

1086 Fulewelle. D. B. 158 a 2.

1274-9 Folewell. Rot. Hund. ii. 832.

'The foul or full spring.' Cp. preceding word.

G

Gagingwell (par. Enstone) [gedžinjwel], R. J. E. T.

TYPE I.

1274-9 Goldingeswell? Rot. Hund. ii. 840.

1316 Galdingewell? Feud. Aids, iv. 165.

TYPE II.

1655 Gegingwell. Oxf. Par. Reg. 23.

1695 Gageingwell. Map in Camden.

The *ing* may denote a patronymic or may be used in a local sense. Compare, perhaps, the early forms of Ginge (Berks.), such as *Gæging*, C. D. vi. 6, ch. 1221, which appears also as the name of a brook (ibid. vi. 8).

The second element is O.E. *wiella*.

Gangsdown (near Berwick Salome?).

1086 Gangulvesdene. D. B. i. 159 b.

1231 Gangulvesden. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 13.

- 1274-9 Gangulvesden. Rot. Hund. ii. 770.
 1377 Ganglesden. Index, p. 297.
 1399 Gangelnesden (for Gangelvesden). Cat. A. D. i. 448.

'The valley of Gangwulf.' O.E.* *Gangwulfes demu*. A name corresponding to O.E.* *Gangwulf* is found in the form *Gangulfo* in Bede (Plummer's edition, vol. i, p. 402), and Nielsen (Old danske Personnavne, cit. Searle) has the form *Gangulf*.¹ Förstemann (p. 469) has the form *Gang-*, and *Gangemere* is found in M.E. (see Ellis, ii. 116). The syllable *-wulf*, *-ulv* has been lost; for the change of suffix see Introd. p. 23 above. *-down* is an abnormal form instead of the more usual *-don*.

Garsington.

- 1086 Gersedune. D. B. i. 156 b, 159 b.
 1122? Gersyngton. St. Fride. Ch. i. 11, ch. 5.
 1130 Gersendon. Pipe Rlls. (23 Hen. I) p. 1.
 1170 Garsindon. Reg. Godst. Nunn. p. 334, ch. 456.
 1178 Gersendon. Eynsh. Ch. i. 135.
 1199 Gersunden. Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 4.
 1216-1307 Gersindon. Testa de N. 102.
 1240-1 Gersinden, Garsinton. Exc. e Rot. Fin. i. 334, 345.
 1274-9 Garsindon. Rot. Hund. ii. 39.
 1359 Gersyngdon. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 60, ch. 742.

'(At the) grassy hill.' O.E. *æt gærse dūne*. Cp. O.E. *gærs-tūn*, 'a grass-enclosure,' 'meadow'; Mod. *Garston* (Lancs., &c.); *gerston* in Surrey and Sussex means 'a meadow' (B.-T.). The old forms of the above pl. n. point to O.E. *-dūne*, which was replaced by *-ton*.

The D. B. form points conclusively to the etymology as above. The addition of *-en* which < *-ing* is obviously late. It is possible that the *-en* was added to denote an adjectival

¹ The inverted form *Wulfgang* is perhaps better known. Its Gm. equivalent is seen in Goethe's middle name.

use of *gærs*, although there are no records of a form *gærsen*, *gersen*, or *garsen* in O.E. or M.E. Cp., however, *Grassendale* (Lancs.), *Grassington* (Yorks.).

Gatehampton (near Goring).

1086 Gadintone. D. B. i. 157 b, 159.

1176-7 Gathanton. Pipe Rlls. xxvi. 16.

1216-1307 Sathamton (for Gathamton), Gethampton, Geythampton, Gathamton. Testa de N. 107, 113, 116.

1274-9 Getha'ton, Gathamton. Rot. Hund. ii. 42, 778.

Cp. *Chiselhampton*, *Brockhampton*, above. The forms in *Gat-*, *Get-* may represent a late shortened form of *geat*, M.E. *gat* and *yatt*, though *geat* in this dialect seems to give *yat*, as in *Newyatt*. It is impossible to determine the exact meaning of the middle element; either *hām*, 'a home,' or *ham(m)*, 'an enclosure,' &c., would suit.

Glyme (River). Perhaps of Celtic origin, like most river-names.

Glympton.

1049-52 Glimtune (in pers. n.). C. D. iv. 285, ch. 950.

1186-95 Glintone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 81, ch. 83.

1216-1307 Glinton. Testa de N. 102.

Obviously named after the River Glyme. A 'parasitic *p*' has been introduced. Cp. *Introd.* p. 20, above. The *n* in the forms above are due to the influence of the *t* (the point-stop changes *m* to a point nasal).

Godington.

1086 Godendone. D. B. 159 a.

1391 Goddyngdon, Goddington (2). *Cat. A. D.* i. 396.

'The hill of Goda.' O.E. *Godan dūn*. For *-ing > -en > -an* see *Introd.* p. 26. For replacement of *-dun* by *-ton* see p. 23. The pers. n. *Goda* is very frequent in O.E. It is

probably a weak, shortened (pet) form of such a name as *Godwine*. Cp. *Godenie* > *Godan* *tēg* (*Godney*, Somers.), C. D. i. 85, ch. 73; and *Godan* *pearruc*, vi. 156, ch. 1303.

Godstow (near Wolvercote).

1216-1307 Godestowe. Testa de N. 108 b, &c.

'The place of God.' O.E. *Godes stōw*. The first element either refers to the Deity or is the strong pers. n. corresponding to the weak *Goda* above. It might also possibly represent the adjective *gōd*, 'good,' but this is unlikely, as there seem to be no other cases on record of the use of *gōd* as the first element of a pl. n. Ellis has M.E. *God* in ii. 119, besides *Goda* and *God*. Cp. *Godsbury* (Wilts.), *Godsfield*, *Godshill* (Hants), and *Godscroft* (near Frodsham, Chesh.).

For *stōw* see remarks under *Stow Wood*, below.

Golder (par. Pyrton).

1274-9 Geldore? Rot. Hund. ii. 814.

Goldore. Ibid. 812.

1316 Goldere. Feud. Aids, iv. 171.

1520 Golder. Cat. A. D. ii. 163.

1535 Goldor. Val. Eccl. ii. 274.

O.E. *gold-ōra*. *gold* appears as the name of a weed in monastic documents. It is usually taken as 'marigold' (see N. E. D.) C. D. has a form *Goldhora*, ch. 661; *Goldburne*, ch. 559; *Goldwer* (178), *Goldewel* (61). Birch has *tō gold lēge*, iii. 71, ch. 909 (cit. Midd.). There is also a pers. n. *Golda*, but this would give **Goldenor*, > **Goldanora*.

Clare (Clayor) and *Golder* (Goldor) are usually found together in documents. The places are situated together.

Goring.

1086 Garinges. D. B. i. 158.

1216-1307 Garinge. Testa de N. 112.

- 1291 Garingg, Garinges. Tax. Eccl. p. 30.
 1300 Garynges, Garinges. Eynsh. Ch. i. 346, ch. 520.
 1327-77 Garyng. Non. Inq. p. 136.
 1366 Goryngge. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 125, ch. 673.

This pl. n. perhaps represents O.E. *Gāringas*, 'the descendants of Gār,' where *Gār-* is the shortened form of such names as *Gārbeorht*, *Gārmund*, &c. The genitive *Gāringa* with the loss of a suffix is also possible. For *Gār* cp. Mod. *Gore* and *Gāran forda*, C.D. v. 260, ch. 1133 = Garford, Berks. Cp. further Knotting (Beds.), which Skeat (Pl. Ns. Beds., p. 35) explains as O.E. *Cnottinga*.

Another possible explanation is that the name contains O.E. *gār*, *gāra*, a word used in charters to denote a promontory or tongue of land, probably wedge-shaped (cp. Middendorf, and E. D. D. under *gore*). Examples of its use are: *lō twām gār*, Birch, ii. 255, ch. 601; *of þām gāran*, *ibid.* ii. 410, ch. 775; *on ðe olde gore*, i. 165, ch. 112 (dated 705!), &c. (cit. by Middendorf). *Garingas* might then mean 'dwellers at the *gāra*'.

Gosford (par. Kidlington).

- 1220 Goseforde. Osn. Reg. 88, ch. 95.
 1306 Goseford. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 55, ch. 625.
 1695 Gooseford. Map in Camden.

'The goose ford.' O.E. *gōsa ford*. Though this name is probably derived from the form of the genitive plural, the modern form with shortening suggests a coalescence of the *s* and *f* by an early disappearance of the *e > a*. Camden's form is probably due to an attempt at etymology-making.

The name *Gōsford* is found in C. D. v. 157, ch. 1083. The index has also *Gōsebroc* (ch. 650), *Gōsa beorh* (ch. 462), and *Gōsdæn* (ch. 1077, &c.). We may compare *Oxford*, and also *Goosey* (Berks.) which $>$ *gōs iēg*, 'the goose-island.'

Grafton.

1086 Graptone. D. B. 157 a 2.

1216-1307 Grafton. Testa de N. 128 b.

Either O.E. *grāf*, 'grove,' or O.E. *græf*, 'trench,' followed by *fūn*.

The D. B. spelling in *p* is a Norm. Fr. scribal peculiarity. Cp. *Intro.* p. 32.

Grandpont (Oxford). 'The big bridge.' This is one of the few traces of French influence, and is probably a comparatively modern name.

Greys, Grey's Court, Grey's Hill, Grey's Lane.

M.E. names. All four places named after the family of *Grey*, who have left their name in *Rotherfield Greys*. These places are all quite close to Rotherfield.

Grimsbury, Old, New (Banbury).**Grims** (or **Devil's**) **Dyke** (near Wallingford).

1298 Grymesdiche. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 93, ch. 649.

1695 Grimes dike. Map in Camden.

'The ditch of Grim.' O.E. *Grimes dīc*. There is a *Grimes dīc* mentioned three times in C. D. iii. 440, 446, app. chs. 446, 456, and also in iv. 98, ch. 778; neither of these can be identified with the Oxsh. place, though the etymology is obviously the same.

Grim is a Norse pers. n. often found in charters, &c., of the 10th century. Cp. Björkman, p. 50. Cp. Grimsby, Grimsthorpe, and Grimshaw, which > *Grimes haga* (Björkman, *loc. cit.*) or > *Grimes scæga* (Wyld). B. compares O.W.N. *Grímr*, O.Swed. *Grimber*, O.Dan. *Grim*.

It has been suggested that O.E. *grīma*, 'a spectre,' may have some connexion. This would fit in with the alternative 'Devil's Dyke'.

Gurney (near Reading). According to Bardsley *Gurney* is a family name originally derived from the Fr. town of *Gournai-en-Brai*. It is a common name in Norfolk. Cp. Farrington Gurney (Somers.).

H

Hailey. 'The fenced-in lea.' O.E. (*ge*) *hæge* + *lēah*. The word *hæg* or *gehæg* is cognate with O.E. *haga*, 'a hedge,' Mod. *haw* (as in *haw-thorn* = hedge-thorn). Cp. *Hæglēa*, C. D. v. 530, ch. 1171; and *Hæghylles broc*, *ibid.* v. 153, ch. 1080.

Ham Court (Bampton):

1044 Ham? C. D. iv. 93, ch. 775.

O.E. *hamm*, *homm*, 'a piece of land, dwelling, enclosure' + O.Fr. *curt* (a court). We have here an example of the O.E. *hamm*, *homm*, used in pl. ns. to denote a small enclosed piece of land. It is connected with O.E. *hem*, 'a hem, border' (B.-T.), and Gm. *hemmen*, 'to hem in, set a border.' Kemble connects it also with O.E. *-homa*, 'a coat, covering,' as in *lichoma*, 'a body,' and with *hemede*, 'a shirt.'

According to Professor Wyld (*Pl. Ns. Lancs.*, p. 343) there is also another word *hamm*, *homm*, used in pl. ns. which must be distinguished from the above. This has the meaning of 'a bend of the knee, ham' and also 'a bend of a river or stream'. This word is probably contained in the names *Fulham*, and *Eastham* (Cheshire). C. D. has numerous examples of the uncompounded word *ham* as a pl. n. and usually marked a boundary. The form given in C. D., marked long by mistake, very probably denotes this place.

Hampton Gay.

- 958 Heantuninga gemæra? C. D. v. 395, ch. 1212.
 1086 Hantone. D. B. 158 b.
 1152 Hampton Gaytorum. Osn. Reg. 46, ch. 41.
 1195 Hampton Gayte. *Ibid.* 41, ch. 37.

- 1216-1307 Hampton Gay. Testa de N. 101, 104.
 1219 Geiteshamptonia ? }
 1230 Gaythamphune ? } Cal. Bodl. Chs. p. 328.
 1525 Hampton Gayt. Map in Val. Eccl.; Text, ii.
 216.
 1695 Hampton Gay. Map in Camden.

It is doubtful whether Kemble's identification of this place with the form above is correct. If it is, then the second etymology is the correct one, and we may compare *Hampton* (Worcs.) which, as Duignan shows, was originally *æt hēan tūne*, and where the same change into *Hampton* has taken place. On the other hand we have against this derivation the similar name *Gatehampton* (q. v.) which > *geat hām tūne*, and also the appearance of the *-mp-* as early as 1152. We should have to account for the latter fact by assuming that the change of *n* to *m* and the introduction of the *p* was due to the influence of the word *hām*. The other argument against this etymology is that the form **æt hēan tūne* has actually given us, in two Oxfordshire names, the results *Hempton* and *Henton*. See these names below. Now the difference in consonant in these two words is easy of explanation, but they both agree in having the normal vowel *e* > O.E. *ēā*. If, therefore, we are to derive *Hampton* from O.E. *hēan* we shall have to assume a special sound-change of *ēā* to *a* or else the replacement of M.E. *hen-* by *ham-* on the analogy of O.E. *hām*. On the whole it will be seen that a derivation from O.E. *hām* is more probable. The D. B. form in *n* may then be regarded as scribal; the C. D. form probably does not refer to this place.

Both *Hamtun* and *Hēantun* are common in O.E. charters. The index of C. D. has numerous instances. The appended name *Gay* (earlier *Gayt*) is that of a Norman family to whom the place belonged; see Osney Reg. p. 41, ch. 47. The form *Gaytorum* is a latinized form representing a genitive plural. Later the *t* has been lost, perhaps by lack of stress. The middle element is more probably

the short *-ham(m)*, 'an enclosure,' than the long *hām*; *-ham(m)* is practically synonymous with *-tūn*. Cp. under *Ham Court*.

I see now that Skeat (Pl. Ns. Berks., pp. 96-7) identifies the C. D. form above with *Hinton Waldrist* (Berks.). This disposes of the *hēan tūn* etymology.

Hampton Poyle. See preceding word. Hund. Rlls. (ii. 31) has 'It. dnt qđ *Walts. de la Poyle tenet dimid feodū . . . in manerio de Hampton ad pontem*'. The name *Poyle* is probably of Norm. Fr. origin.

Handborough (Long, Church).

- 1086 Haneberge. D. B. i. 159 b.
 1159 Hagenēbga? Pipe Rlls. 2 Hen. II, p. 37.
 1216-1307 Hanaber'. Testa de N. 118.
 1274-9 Haneberg'. Rot. Hund. ii. 817.
 1280 Hanneberg'. Eynsh. Ch. i. 416, ch. 444.
 1310 Hanborough. Osn. Reg. 65, ch. 60.
 1509-47 Hanburgh. Map in Val. Eccl.

'The hill, barrow of Hana.' O.E. *Hanan beorg*. *Hana* is found as the first element of a pl. n. in C. D. iii. 403, app. ch. 331, in the form *Hanan welle* = Mod. *Hamwell*. *Hana* and *Haneca* are also found as pers. ns. (see Searle).

The Pipe Rlls. form above is probably not genuine; it would give a Mod. **Hainborough*. The *d* in the modern form is the result of a combinative sound-change, though it is not now pronounced. Cp. *Handbridge* (near Chester), D. B. *Bruge*; Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii. 285, *Honebridge*.

Hana in O.E. also meant 'a cock', with a fem. *hænn* or *henn*.

Hanger Hill (near Caversfield), **Hunger Hill** (near Bicester). The Crawf. Chs. (pp. 134-5) has a long and interesting note on O.E. *hangra*, in which the two names above are cited.¹ *Hangra* is there given as meaning 'a wood

¹ I note that the editors (Professor Napier and Mr. W. H. Stevenson) explain the form *Hunger* as a phonetic development of *hangra* com-

growing on the side of a hill-top'. Cp. *Oakhanger* (Chesh., Berks., &c.), which is originally O.E. *āc hangra*, a compound with *āc*, 'an oak.' With the second form above compare *Hungerford*, which according to Skeat, Pl. Ns. Berks., has the same word as a first element, though in a different Ablaut grade.

Hanwell.

1216-1307 Hanewell. Testa de N. 113.

1346 Hanywelle. Feud. Aids, iv. 179.

'The well of Hana.' O.E. *Hanan wiella*. See references under **Handborough* for this form in C. D. Cp. also *Hensington* below.

Hardwick.

1086 Hardewich. D. B. i. 158.

1149 Hordewyke. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.

1239 Herduich. Eynsh. Ch. i. 4.

1245 Herdwick. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 285.

1274-9 Herdewik, Herewyke, Erdewic. Rot. Hund. ii. 42, 30, 44.

'The place of the herd.' O.E. *heord-wīc*. *Hardwick* and *Berwick* (see above), are common pl. ns. in England. Probably each settlement had formerly its *heorde-wīc* and its *bere-wīc*, and in many cases these appellations have been retained in the names of the places. The late form *Heordwīc* is found in Kemble, ch. 916, &c. According to Vinogradoff (Engl. Society in 11th Cent.) *herdwick* in M.E. refers sometimes to a pastoral settlement or even an agricultural clearing in the waste or wood, but usually it signifies the grange and stable of a small manorial settlement as opposed to *berwick*, 'the farm.'

parable to *among* [əman] from O.E. *gemang*. But note *Clehungre* as early as 1261 (Cal. Inq. of Hen. III, p. 137), which points to an original form *hungra* with a different Ablaut.

Harpsden.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Harpendene. D. B. i. 159 b.
 1216-1307 Harpeden. Testa de N. 117.
 1355 Harpeden. Cal. I. P. M. i. 158.
 Harpedone. Ibid. 163.

TYPE II.

- 1216-1307 Harpesden. Testa de N. 111.
 1274-9 Harpesden. Rot. Hund. ii. 33.

'The valley of *Hearp(a).' O.E. *Hearpan denu*. There seem to have been two types in the development of this name. Type I represents the weak form of the name *Hearpa*; Type II the strong form with *-es*. The *s* may have been added on the analogy of other strong names. *Hearpa* (as Skeat points out—Pl. Ns. Herts., p. 21) probably represents an O.E. pers. n., meaning originally 'a harper'. Cp. O.E. *hearþ*, 'a harp.' [The above forms point to a Mercian development owing to the absence of fracture.] We may compare with *Harpsden* the names *Harpenden* (Herts.) (see Skeat, *loc. cit.*), *Harppford*, *Harpley*, *Harpswell*, *Harptree*, &c.

Haseley.

- 939 Hæsellea. C. D. v. 245, ch. 1123.
 1086 Haselie. D. B. i. 155 b, 159.
 1216-1307 Hasele. Testa de N. 106.
 1274-9 Hasele. Rot. Hund. ii. 753.

'The hazel lea.' O.E. *hæsel lēah*. O.E. *hæsel* is a rather common first element in pl. ns. Besides the place above, we have *hæsel* in Birch's Chs. in such compounds as *hæsel-brōc* (ch. 444), *-byrig* (ch. 706), *-den* (chs. 313, 1125), *-dic* (ch. 441, &c.), *-hyll* (ch. 1172), and numerous others. *æ* is normally lengthened in an open syllable and becomes Mod.[ei].

Kemble places this *Haseley* hypothetically in Berks., but the identification with the Oxsh. *Haseley* offers no difficulty.

Cp. *Heswall* (Chesh.), earlier *Haselwelle*, &c., 'the spring by the hazel.'

Headington.

TYPE I.

1004?	(probably 12th cent.)	Hedyndon, Hedington (2). C. D. iii. 327, ch. 709.
1086		Hedintone. D. B. i. 154 b.
1145		Hedyndon. Osn. Reg. 14, ch. 14.
1173		Heddindon. Pipe Rlls. xix. 166, &c.
1199		Hedinden. Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 4.
1246		Hedindun. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 299.
1695		Hedinton. Map in Camden.

TYPE II.

(1) 1004		Hedene dune, Hedenedonae, Hedenedone. St. Fride. Ch. i. 7, 8, ch. 2.
(2) 1172		Heddendon. Pipe Rlls. xviii. 17, &c.

Probably originally 'the down of Headda'. O.E. *Headdan dūn*. Headda is a very common pers. n. in O.E. (see Searle, pp. 36, 37). As the first element of a pl. n. it is found, also compounded with *dūn*, in *Headdan dune*, C. D. vi. 48, ch. 1238, &c. We must assume a long *ēā*, which develops into L.O.E. *ē*, M.E. *e*, *a*. Cp. under *Alvescot*, *Adderbury*, for a similar development. The *a* type in M.E. is not present. It has survived in *Haddington* (Lincs.), *Haddenham* (Cambs., cp. Skeat, p. 22). The modern spelling of the name above points to a Mod. Eng. shortening. Cp. vowel in *Reading*.

Type II (2) points to the above etymology. The forms in Type I show the common change of *-en* to *-ing*. See Introd. p. 27. Type II (1) indicates an etymology *hæþena dūn*, 'the hill of the heathens.' Cp. *hedenes dene*, C. D. v. 122, ch. 1063, which may be originally *hæþenes dene*, *hedenan mos* (881?), iii. 121, ch. 588, and the frequent *hæþena byrgels*, 'the heathen burial-place.' A pers. n. **Hæthwine* is also a possible first element, or a fem. **Hæthwen*, which would account for

the absence of *s* and the presence of *e* in *Hedenedone*, &c. Such names, however, are not recorded.

Heath or Hethe.

- 1216-1307 Heth. Testa de N. 101.
 1258 Hethe. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1257-1300), ii. 12.
 1695 Heath. Map in Camden.

Etymology obvious. O.E. *hæþ*. *Hethe* is merely a retention of the M.E. spelling.

Hempton (near Deddington).

- 1218-20 Hyantona. Eynsh. Ch. i. 158, ch. 211.
 1254 Hentone. Ibid. 306, ch. 458.
 1270 † Henthone. Ibid. 14, ch. 12.
 1316 Hempton. Parl. Writs, ii. 235.
 1384 † Hempton. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 149, ch. 692.

'(At) the high enclosure.' O.E. *æt hēan tūne*. A case of derivation from the oblique case (cp. *Newington*, *Newnham*, below). The Eynsham form in *-ya-* is the surest sign of the former existence of a diphthong *ēā*, which normally becomes M.E. *e* before a combination of consonants. The change of *-nt- < -mt- < -mpt-* may have been influenced to a certain extent by the analogy of the word *hām*. Cp. the development of such forms as *Hampton* > *hām tūn*. In *Henton* (below) this change has not taken place. See also next word.

Henley.

- 1062 Heanleah. C. D. iv. 153, ch. 812.
 675? Henlea. Ibid. v. 20, ch. 988.
 1189 Heanlea. Pipe Rlls. 1 Ric. I, i. 105.
 1216-1307 Henley. Testa de N. 107.
 1274-9 Henlegh, Henleye, Henley. Rot. Hund. ii. 37.
 1332 Henele. Osn. Reg. 197, ch. 262.

‘At the high lea.’ O.E. *æt hēan lēage*. The more usual form is *Hanley*, where O.E. *ēa* becomes *a*. Cp. *Ascot, Aston*, where this is also the case.

The development in *Henley* was probably: O.E. *ēa* < L.O.E. *ǣ* < M.E. *ē*, which was then shortened before *n+l*. See *Intro.* p. 13.

Hensington.

1086 Hansitone. D. B. 156 a, 158 b, 161 a.

1216–1307 Hensinton. Testa de N. 103 b, &c.

1274–9 Hensinton. Rot. Hund. ii. 874.

‘The settlement (*tūn*) of the Hanesings or Henesings.’ O.E. *Hanesinga tūn*. Cp. *Hana* under Hanwell, Handborough, and see under Bensington. Kemble, *Saxon in England* (vol. i. 466), takes *Hanesingas* as the name of a *mark* on the ground of the pl. n. above and Hensingham (Cumb.), which is probably > *Hanesinga hām*.

The two types in *a* and *e* above may be explained as unmutated and mutated forms. Cp. *Bensington*.

Henton or Hempton (near Chinnor).

1086 Hentone. D. B. i. 159 b.

1204 Hentone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 306.

1216–1307 Henton. Testa de N. 112.

1274–9 Henton. Rot. Hund. ii. 787.

1289 ? Hynton, Hyngton (in family name). Osn. Reg. 166–8, chs. 209, 210.

1695 Hempton. Map in Camden.

‘(At) the high “*tūn*”.’ O.E. (*æt*) *hēan tūn*. Cp. *Hempton* above.

Heyford (Lower, Upper, At Bridge).

1086 Hegford, Haiford. D. B. i. 159 b, 158.

1163 Hageford. Pipe Rlls. vi. 50.

1239 Heyford. Eynsh. Ch. i. 1, ch. 1.

1428 Heighford ad pontem. Feud. Aids, iv. 190.

‘The ford by the hedge or fence.’ O.E. *ġehæg* + *ford*. See (*ġe*)*hæg* under *Hailey*, and also *Heythrop*. The forms on record all point to (*ġe*)*hæg*; the spellings in *-ai-*, *-ag-* can have no other origin. Cp. further the Mod. family name *Hayward*, originally ‘the guardian of the hedge’, and Mod. place-names like *Heywood*, *Heyton*.

Heythrop (and Dunthrop).

- 1216–1307 Hettrop, Hertrop, Hetrop. Testa de N. 101, 106.
 1259 Heythrop. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1257–1300), ii. 19.
 1274–9 Hetrop. Rot. Hund. ii. 740.
 1284–5 Hethrop. Feud. Aids, iv. 160.

‘The fenced-in village.’ O.E. *heġe þorp*, lit. ‘hedge-village’. See *Intro.* p. 20, on *þorp*, and cp. *Burdrop*, *Souldern*. In the above word the normal form in *-throp* seems to have gained the ascendancy over the more usual form in combination *-trop*, unless we are to assume that the sound *þ* existed all the time and that the spellings in *-tr-* represent merely a Norm. Fr. peculiarity.

The Testa de N. form with *r* and *tt* are probably merely scribal—they may be misreadings for *i*.

Highmoor or **Highmore** (par. Bix and Rotherfield Greys).
 1695 Highmore. Map in Camden.

Hincksey.

- Hengestes ig (Berks.). C. D. v. 401, ch. 1216.
 1200 Henxsey. Osn. Reg. 21, ch. 21.
 1223–4 Henxhey. Ibid. 60, ch. 55.
 1251 Henxtheshey. St. Fride. Ch. i. 175, ch. 225.
 1250–60 Henxtesey. Ibid. 181, ch. 235.
 1290–1300 Henxseye. Ibid. 184, ch. 242, 186, ch. 245.

‘The island of Hengest.’ O.E. *Hengestes īġ*. *Hincksey* is on the other side of the Thames in Berkshire, but may be regarded as belonging to Oxford. The etymology is

clearly shown by the forms in C. D.: *Hengestesie* (821), i. 270, ch. 214; *Hengestes ig*, v. 401, ch. 1216. The name *Hengest* originally meant 'a stallion'. The phonetic development of the name involves a raising of *e* to *i*, which seems to have taken place at a comparatively late date. The change into **Hengstsey* < **Henkstsey* < *Henksey* is obviously what is to be expected in the combination *-gstes-*. The change of *e* to *i* is normal before *ng* [ŋ] or [ndž]. Cp. *hinge* and pronunciation of England [iŋglənd].

Hinxton (Cambs.), *Hinxworth* (Herts.), probably contain the same pers. n.

Hoar Stone (near Enstone). 'The grey stone.' O.E. *se hāra stān*. *Hār* in O.E. means first 'grey', and then, probably by application to grey hair, 'old.' The expression *hār stān* is constantly used in place-names to denote boundary-marks, also *hār apulder* (apple-tree) (Middendorf, p. 66). For instance of *hāran stan* (757), see Birch, i. 262, ch. 183. Cp. *Hargrave*, &c.

Holcombe (near Newington).

1246. Holecumbe. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 299.

'The valley in the hollow.' O.E. (*ætl*) *holan cumbe*. O.E. *cumb* really means a hollow between two hills, so that there is a repetition of two practically synonymous terms in this place-name. Both these elements are common in old charters. C. D. has *Holan cumbe*, vi. 154, ch. 1302, and many other references. A pers. n. *Hola* is also possible.

Holmwood (near Henley). 'The wood on the hill.' O.E. *holm + wudu*. *holm* means originally, as in O.S., 'a mound, hill, rising land' (B.-T.). Middendorf takes it to mean 'Landwinkel zwischen zwei zusammenfliessenden Flüssen oder Bächen'. In O.E. literature it is only used in the poetic sense of 'ocean, stream'. The independent word has probably given the Mod. *Hulme* (Lancs., Norfolk, Chesh.). It is not found in C. D. in combination as a pl. n., though many Mod. names

seem, as far as the Mod. forms are a sign, to contain it, e.g. *Holmfild* (Kent), *Holmfirth*, *Holmhead*, *Holmpton* (Yorks.). The word is originally Norse. Cp. O.Norse *holmr*, of which Vigfusson says, 'even meadows on the shore with ditches behind them are in Iceland called *holms*.' Another possible explanation would be 'the holly-wood'. A variant of M.E. *holin*, the word for 'holly', was *holm*. This, as Skeat has pointed out, is the origin of *holm* in *holm-oak*.

Holton.

TYPE I.

- 1274-9 Halcton, Halgeton, Halwetun. Rot. Hund. ii. 39,
715, 716.
1316 Halghton. Feud. Aids, iv. 168.
1327-77 Haleuhton. Non. Inq. p. 134.

TYPE II.

- 1227 Haleton. Rot. Lit. Cl. ii. 164 b.
1429 Halton. Index, p. 377.
1509-47 Halton. Map in Val. Eccl.
1695 Holton. Map in Camden.

'The nook or hidden settlement.' O.E. *healh tūn* or (*æt*) **hāle tūne*. O.E. *halh*, *healh* is doubtful in meaning. Some explanations that have been given are: (1) Kemble, in C. D. iii. xxix, levels it under *heall* with the meaning 'hall', orig. 'a stone-building'. (2) B.-T. quotes Kemble and gives it as doubtful. (3) Middendorf (p. 69) explains it as '(Erd)vorsprung, Fels, Anhöhe, Abhang', 'a rock, elevated piece of land,' cognate with Latin *calx*, *calcis*. (4) Jellinghaus (*Anglia*, xx. 285) quotes Etmüller for the view that *healh* = *crusta*, *collyrida*, cognate with M.H.G. *hal*, which means 'a shell, crust, covering'. (5) Skeat (*Pl. Ns. Herts.*, p. 29) takes it to mean 'a nook', and then 'a nook of land at the bend of a river, a sheltered spot'. This is also indicated by Bede's interpretation of *Strenæshalc* (*Strensall*, Yorks.), which he says means *sinus fari* (iii. 25).

It is to be noted that the Mod. Eng. *hall* is used in most dialects to mean 'a house, farm-house'. Mod. Eng. *haugh* (dial.) = 'low-lying level ground by the side of river' (E. D. D.). It is possible that confusion between the meanings of the two words took place, as it inevitably did in their forms. (For further discussion see Pl. Ns. Lancs., pp. 340-1.)

That the derivation is from *health*, or rather from a form **healge tūn* (formed by analogy from the nom. as the usual dat. was *hēāle*), is shown by the forms in Type I. *Halwe-* is the normal M.E. development of O.E. **halge*, and if this type survived we should have expected Mod. **Hallowton*. The form *Holton* seems to be due to an O.E. *Hāl(e)ton* with a late shortening of M.E. long *o* [5] > *ā*. If from a form with short *a* we should have to explain the change of *a* < *o* by the influence of the following *l*.

There are numerous *Haltons*, which is the more normal form, and fewer *Holttons*; some of the latter may represent *holan tūn* (cp. *Holcombe* above), or even *holt-tūn* (the wood-town), with the same meaning as *Wootton* below.

Holwell.

- 1086 Haliwelle? D. B. i. 158.
 1274-9 Halywelle, Haliwelle. Rot. Hund. ii. 696.
 1316 Halewell. Feud. Aids, iv. 162.
 1354 Haliwelle. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 66, ch. 618.
 1593 Hollwell. Index, p. 376.

'The holy well or spring.' O.E. *se hāliga wiella* or *æt hālgan welle*. From the modern form of this name the obvious etymology would be O.E. (*æt*) *holan wiellan*, 'the hollow well.' C. D. identifies *tō*, of *holan wyll* (v. 302, ch. 1154) with the above name in Oxfsh., and in the Hund. Rolls a form *Holewelle* pointing to **holan wiella* is found. Unfortunately the identification of these references with the modern Oxfsh. *Holwell* is impossible. Kemble's form is given in a description of the boundaries of *Brightwell*, at least thirty miles away from the

modern *Holwell*, and the Rot. Hund. form is given among such places as *Swalcliff* and *Shutford* as being in the hundred of Banbury (NE. Oxsh.). Under these circumstances we have to reject the above forms and to consider the forms *Haliwelle*, which in the Hund. Rolls and the Eynsh. Ch. refer to a place in the hundred of Bampton, near *Kelmscott*, *Bradwell*, *Filkins*, *Westwell*, &c., just where the modern *Holwell* is situated. The identification thus points conclusively to the etymology as shown above, though the D. B. form is in the hundred of Pyrton and therefore not admissible.¹

One would expect either *Holywell* or **Halwell* from *hālig wyll*. To explain the modern form we must assume a type *hālgā-* for the first element, with a M.E. form *hōlwe*, the length of the vowel being due to analogy with the M.E. type *hōli*. The above forms *Hali-* point to shortening of the vowel as in the *hālwe-* type; the *-i-* is due to analogy with *hōli*. Cp. *Holton*, above, > **hāletūn*.

It must be admitted that *holan wel* is exceedingly common in O.E. charters, as besides the references cited above, it occurs at least a dozen times in Kemble's charters; but, on the other hand, the expression *tō hālgan welle*, &c., is also common, as witness the numerous *Holywells*. D. B. has also *Holewelle* for *Holwell* in Leicestershire, but *Halegewelle* (79), Dorset (231, 234 b), probably represents modern Holwell in that county, and *Halgewelle* (101) is probably *Holwell* (Devon).

Hookend (near Henley). Probably 'the boundary by the hook.'

Hook Norton.

TYPE I.

922†	Hocneratune. Parker MS. Ann.	} A.-S. Chron. i. 98, 99.
	917.	
1050†	Hocceneretune. Worc. MS. Ann.	}
	914.	

¹ According to Notes on Oxfordshire Domesday this is *Holywell*, Oxford.

- 1086 Hochenartone. D. B. i. 158.
 1216-1307 Hogenarton. Testa de N. 105.
 1227 Hokenarton. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 48.
 1263 Okenardton. Cal. Inq. (Hen. III), p. 168.

TYPE II.

- 1129 Hokenorton. Osn. Reg. p. 11, ch. 12.
 1195 Hokenortun. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 266.
 1251 Hogenorthon, Hogemortone (*m* for *n*). Cal.
 Ch. Rlls. i. 369.
 1316 Hoggenorton. Parl. Writs, ii. 352.
 1346 Hognorton. Feud. Aids, iv. 183.
 1535 Hokenorton. Map in Val. Eccl.
 1655 Hooking Norton, Hookin Norton. Oxf. Par.
 Reg. 22.

The oldest form, *Hocneratune*, is doubtless the purest, but cannot at present be explained. *Hocnera-* looks like a genitive plural. It may be pre-English.

The earlier *-narton* has been replaced by *-norton* through the influence of the name *Norton* > *norþ tūn*; cp. *Chipping Norton* above.

The form *Okenardton* may be due to a popular etymology, which connected the first element with the River Oke. But the loss of *H* may be merely scribal. The *d* here may be due to the influence of the other type, *norþ tūn*.

The first element has been changed to *Hog-*, *Hoge-* by popular etymology, and, according to Murray's Handbook to Oxfordshire, the place is to-day called *Hog's Norton*. Camden (ed. 1805, vol. ii, p. 4) remarks that the inhabitants of the place were formerly noted for their rudeness and ill-breeding.

Horley.

- 1086 Hornelie. D. B. i. 157.
 1213 Horuī (for Hornī). Obl. Rlls. 505.
 1216-1307 Hornele, Hornle'. Testa de N. 103, 113.
 1239 Hornle. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 241.

- 1274-9 { Hornley, Horley. Rot. Hund. i. 32, 46.
 { Hordlegh? Hordeleye? Ibid. ii. 850.

‘The meadow of Horna.’ O.E. *Hornan tēah*. Cp. *Horn-ton* below. *Horna* is a weak form of *Horn*, the patronymic form of which is found in *Hornton*. *Horley* and *Hornton* occur together in documents and the two places are situated close to each other.

n is lost normally in the combination *-rnl-*.

The Rot. Hund. forms in *-d-* probably refer to another place.

horn (cp. *hyrne*), ‘a corner, tongue of land,’ is also possible as the first element.

Hornton.

- 1194 Hornigeton (for Horningeton). Rot. Cur. Reg.
 i. 197.
 1216-1307 Horninton. Testa de N. 104.
 1239 Horminton (for Horninton?). Cal. Rot. Ch. (fol.)
 p. 55.

‘The settlement of the Hornings or sons of Horn.’ O.E. *Horninga tūn*. *Horn* is a well-known Eng. name, probably of Norse origin. *Horning* is patronymic in *-ing*. Cp. *Horningga*, C. D. iv. 28, ch. 740; *Horningdun*, C. D. iv. 164, ch. 785; *Horningaden*, C. D. vi. 66, ch. 1250. Norm. Fr. scribes often wrote *-ing-* as *-in-*.

Horsepath [hōspæþ].

- 1086 Horspadan. D. B. i. 158 b.
 1122 Horspath. St. Fride. Ch. i. 11, ch. 5.
 1216-1307 Horspeth, Horsepathe. Testa de N. 100, 105.
 1695 Hosparthe. Map in Camden.

Etymology obvious. O.E. *hors (horsā) pæþ*. Both these elements are common in pl. ns. *Horspæþes forda* occurs in C. D. v. 157, ch. 1083. The forms are regular: *d* for *þ* is a Norm. Fr. peculiarity in spelling of D. B. Camden has put

the *r* in the wrong syllable. Cp. the common *Horsley* > *horsaleāh*, as in Earle, Land Charters, p. 149 (cit. Midden-dorf); *Horsabrōc*, C. D. iii. 397, app. chs. 291, 292; and for *pæþ* cp. *Pæþfeld*, Birch, i. 483, ch. 306; *fugelān pæþ*, iii. 140, ch. 958, and *Morpeth* (North.), which is probably O.E. *mōr-pæþ*, 'the moor-path.'

Horton (cum Studley).

1149 Horthton? Osn. Reg. 21, ch. 21.

1216-1307 Horton, Orton. Testa de N. 105, 107.

1229 Horton. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 94.

Possibly 'the dirty or muddy "tūn".' O.E. *horu tūn* or *hor(h) tūn*. This seems to be the etymology of the numerous *Hortons*. Cp. *Horawudu* (792), Birch, i. 367, ch. 264; *Horatūn* (874), Birch, ii. 156, ch. 538 (perhaps *Horton*, Kent); *Horpyt* (949), iii. 37, ch. 882; and *hor-wylla*, Kemble, C. D. iii. 162. The form in *-th* may be due to an attempt at popular etymology (perhaps a confusion with O.E. *heorþ*, 'hearth'?) or even on the analogy of the common *Norton* > *norþ tūn*. On the other hand it may be a form of *horu*, as Stratmann-Bradley gives *horuþe*, *horþe* (Wicl., Deut. vii. 26) = 'filth', *sordes* (p. 351).

Huntercombe (in Nuffield).

1316 Huntercombe. Feud. Aids, iv. 171.

'The valley of Hunter.' Perhaps a M.E. creation. The O.E. form would be *Hunta*. This name may, however, stand for *Huntan cumb*, the replacement of *-a* by *-er* being due to analogy. Cp. Huntingdon > *Huntan dūn*, C. D. vi. 192, ch. 1330, &c.

I

Icknield Street.

1366 Ikeneldeswey. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 125, ch. 673.

Icknield Street is often found in C. D., though not always in reference to the Oxsh. road of that name. *Ikenilde stræet*,

v. 252, ch. 1129, is probably the Berks. portion: also *Ichenilde wege*, v. 297, ch. 1151, &c. The forms point to a fem. pers. n. *Icenhild* in O.E.—the *ē* [ɪf] having been changed to [k] through the following *n*. The name has been connected, probably incorrectly, with that of the *Iceni*.

Idbury.

- 1086 Ideberie. D. B. i. 15.
 1216-1307 Idebur', Idebir'. Testa de N. 102, 113.
 1260 Ydebury. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 275, ch. 1075.
 1280 Idbury. Ibid. ch. 1058.

'(At the) fort of Ida.' O.E. *æt Idan byrig*. The O.E. pers. n. *Ida* is given by Sweet in his North. List of Kings (O.E. T., p. 148) from the Moore MS. of Bede's History; also as the son of *Eoppa* (*Eopping*) in the genealogies (*loc. cit.*, p. 170, l. 6). Cp. *Ida* quoted by Searle from Grueber (Onomasticon, p. 314) and the feminine name, that of the second wife of Eustace, Countess of Boulogne, mentioned by Ellis, vol. i. 438. *Idbury* could be derived from either *Ida* or *Īda*, as the latter would be shortened in M.E. before *-db-*. There is also a name *Idda* in O.H.G. given by Förstemann (p. 943) by the side of *Ido* and *Ida* (fem.).

Iffley.

- 1004 Gifetelea, Sifetelea (for Gifetelea). St. Fride. Ch. i. 7, ch. 2. Gifetelea. Ibid. 8, ch. 2.
 1086 Givetelei. D. B. i. 157 b.
 1165 Ivittelai. Pipe Rlls. viii. 70.
 1195 Iveteleye. Osn. Reg. 40, ch. 37.
 1213 Iveclay (for Ivetlay). Obl. Rlls. p. 507.
 1216-1307 Iveteley, Yvetele. Testa de N. 101, 105.
 1233 Iftel'. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 230.
 1234 Ghysteleye, Ghiftel'. Ibid. pp. 421, 500.
 1274-9 Ivetele, Iftele, Yftele, Yfteleya. Rot. Hund. ii. 39, 711, 712, 718.

- 1284-5 Yflete (for Yftele?). Feud. Aids, iv. 159.
 1316 Yiftele. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1327-77 Zyfteleye. Non. Inq. p. 134.
 1509-47 Yestley (for Yeftley). Map in Val. Eccl.
 1695 Ifley. Map in Camden.

Etymology undiscoverable. The suggestion in Murray's Handbook to Oxfordshire that the name means 'field of gifts' is absurd. The oldest forms indicate a first element **gīfet* or *gīfete*.

Note the confusion of *c* and *t* in the 1213 form above and the various devices for expressing the initial [j] sound.

Ipsden.

- 1086 { Bispesdone? D. B. i. 160 b.
 { Yppesdene. Ibid. 160.
 1216-1307 Ippesden, Ypesden, Hipplesdene. Testa de N.
 112, 114, 118.
 1233 Ippeden, Irpeden. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III,
 pp. 257, 321.
 1274-9 Yppesden. Rot. Hund. i. 202, ii. 781.
 1291 Ipsedene (for Ippesdene?). Tax. Eccl. p. 30.

'The valley of *Ippe.' O.E. **Ippes denu*. The pers. n. *Ippe* is not on record in O.E. There is, however, the form *Ippa*, as in *Ippan beorh*, C. D. iii. 434, app. ch. 436; *Ippan burnan*, C. D. iii. 461, ch. 507; and Searle quotes a form *Ippo* from Förstemann 769, which corresponds to O.E. *Ippa*. We may, perhaps, assume a strong form by the side of the weak *Ippa*.

The D. B. form first quoted can hardly refer to this place, though the fact that it is in the hundred of Benson might lead us to make this identification and to derive it from O.E. *Biscopes denu*. It is very unlikely, however, that an initial *ō* should have disappeared, and that, moreover, no other document should give any sign of the *B* or of the comb. *-st-*.

The suffix is also different, though *-don* (> *dūn*) and *den* often interchange.

The *H-* in the T. de N. forms is merely graphic, and is a common Norm. Fr. scribal peculiarity. Cp. *Intro.* p. 32. Ipsley (Warw.) is > *Ippes lēah*. Cp. *Ippesleg*, T. N. p. 84.

Islip.

- Giðslep. C. D. iv. 215, ch. 862.
 1086 Letelape. D. B. i. 160 a. (J. L. G. M.).
 1165 Isteslape. Pipe Rlls. viii. 70 (for Ihteslape, &c.).
 1167 Histesleape. *Ibid.* xi. 14.
 1204 Igteslap. Rot. de obl. et de fin. p. 222.
 1213 Icceslap (for Itteslap). St. Fride. Ch. ii. 50,
 ch. 739.
 1217 Itteslap, Islep. *Ibid.* 267, ch. 1048.
 1216-1307 Istelep, Itteslap. Testa de N. 120, 134.
 1222 Ihteslepe. Eynsh. Ch. i. 148, ch. 98.
 1228 Scheslep (for Icheslep). St. Fride. Ch. ii. 224,
 ch. 976.
 1229 Ytteslep. *Ibid.* 226, ch. 979.
 1233 Icteslep. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 352.
 1245 Istelep. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 286.
 1274-9 Yistlep, Ysteflepe (for Yihteslepe, &c.). Rot.
 Hund. ii. 831, 838.
 1278 Islepe. Eynsh. Ch. i. 292, ch. 432.
 1284-5 Ysslop. Feud. Aids, iv. 158.
 1316 Islepp. Parl. Writs, ii. 254.
 1347-8 Islep. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 9.
 1366 Yslepe. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 16, ch. 306.
 1509-47 Islipp. Map in Val. Eccl.

Two passages in an account of the boundaries of Arncot (*Earnigcotan*), C. D. vi. 112, ch. 1279, furnish a clue to the etymology of this name. They read: '... of þam ealdan *slæpe* up andlang *Giht*; of *Giht* on ðæt riðig: ... eft on *Giht* to ðan ealdan *slæpe* ðær hit ær ongan.' The early

forms of Islip cited above correspond exactly to an O.E. **Gih̄t slǣp*, the initial *G* [j] being lost at an early date. The *ð* in the C. D. form probably represents *th* for *ht*. Cp. under *Britwell* above. The meaning of *Gih̄t* is not obvious. *slǣp* in O.E. means 'a slippery, miry place?' (B.-T.). The editors suggest that *on occan slæw*, C. D. iii. 48, may contain a misreading for *slæp*. The word is connected with O.E. *slipan*, 'to slip,' O.Icel. *sleipr*, 'slippery,' O.H.G. *sleifa* = 'labina' (B.-T.). In Norwegian *sleip* means rollers for boats. The E. D. D. gives *slape*, 'slippery,' *slapeness*, *slapy*, *slapish* from the dialects. *Gih̄t* is the old name for the River Ray,¹ on which Islip stands. I have to thank Dr. H. Bradley for this etymology.

For the spelling-variations see Introd. pp. 31-33. The phonetic development shows a normal loss of initial *g* [j], a loss of *t* before *s*, the weakening of *-lepe* to *-lip*, and the lengthening of *i* and consequent development to the diphthong [ai]. The latter process may, however, be merely due to the spelling. The present-day pronunciation is [aislip].

K

Kelmscott.

1274-9 Kelmescote. Rot. Hund. ii. 695, &c.

1695 Kemscott. Map in Camden.

'The homestead of Cynehelm, Cœnhelm, or Cylm.' O.E. *Cynehelmes*, *Cœnhelmes*, or *Cylmes cott*. The old forms do not throw much light on the etymology of the word. In all the documents the same form *Kelmescote* appears. It is

¹ It appears as *Ychte* (indexed as *Itchen?*) in the Receipt Roll of the Exchequer (1185), ed. by Hubert Hall for the London School of Economics. The mod. Ray > æt þære eā. Dr. Bradley tells me that several rivers now so named are known to have had an earlier name, e.g. the *Nen* in Shropshire, the *Worf* near Swindon.

noticeable, however, (1) that the initial letter is always *K*, (2) that the same name with initial *Ch-* appears in Warw. (e. g. *Chelmescote*, *Chelmundescote*, Pipe Rlls. Ser. x. 93) to be originally *Cēōlmundes cott*. We must evidently derive our name, then, from some O.E. word with an initial *back* consonant [k]. The three names suggested above are possible. It is probable that *Cylm* is merely a reduced or pet form of *Cynehelm*, in which case we are dealing with the same name. It may be the original of the name *Culm* given by Grueber (cit. Searle, p. 145). If the derivation is from *Cynehelm* we should have O.E. *Kenelmes cote* (*Kenelm* is a frequent reduced form of the fuller name) < **Kenlmescot* < *Kelmscot*. Cp. *Kelmesham* (Worc.), which Duignan (p. 94) takes to be > *Cynehelmes hām*, though the evidence is as scanty as for *Kelmscot*; also *Kelmstow* > *Cynehelmes stōw* or *Cēnhelmes stōw*. For the use of the name in O.E. charters cp. C. D. i. 109, ch. 90, *Cynelmesstan* (which Kemble in his Index erroneously modernizes into **Chelместon*, and which Searle seems to have overlooked), and *Cynelminghām*, C. D. v. 150, ch. 1078.

The other name, *Cylm*, occurs in *Cylmes cumb* (973), C. D. iii. 97, ch. 578, and vi. 102, ch. 1273, anno. 970†. This Kemble gives as Mod. *Chelmescomb*, but the back (hard) sound of the *k* would have been retained before a *y* [u]. Such a form as *Cylmescot* should give us Mod. **Kilmscot*, but for the change of O.E. *y* to Mod. *e* we have many other examples (cp. *Intro.* p. 31). A late change, shown by Camden, is the loss of the *l* before *m*. The modern pronunciation is also [kemskot].

Kencott.

- 1160-80 Chenicota. Eynsh. Ch. i. 77, ch. 75.
 1190-1220 Kencot. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 25, ch. 713.
 1216-1307 Kenicot. Testa de N. 101.
 1229 Kenecot. Cl. Rlls. 1227-31.

- 1274-9 Kenecote. Rot. Hund. ii. 696.
 1316 Kenycote. Parl. Writs, ii. 351.

See remarks under Arncot.

Names in *Cæn-*, *Cēn-* are common.

Cp. *Kenoldus* > *Cænweald*, Ellis, ii. 153.

Kiddington, Nether, Over.

- 1086 Chidintone. D. B. i. 161.
 1216-1307 Kudinton. Testa de N. 101.
 1232 Cudinton. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 133.
 1316 Over-Cudynnton, Neper-Cudyngeton. Reg. Godst.
 Nunn. p. 340, ch. 465.

‘The “tūn” of the Kiddings or sons of Kidd.’ O.E. **Cydinga tūn*. The two spellings *u* and *i* in M.E. and the modern form point to an O.E. pers. n. in *-y-*. *Cydd*, *Cyddā*, *Cyddi* are all on record. The first is found in a pl. n. in *Cydes īg* (C. D. iii. 466, app. ch. 546) on the boundaries of Fifield (Berks.). The name is derived from the patronymic form of these names. The D. B. and other spellings in *-in* are merely Norm. Fr. attempts to transcribe the sound [in] Cp. *Kidmore* below, and for *Nether*, *Over* see under *Nethercot*, *Worton*.

Kidlington.

- 1086 Chedelintone. D. B. i. 158.
 1149 Cudelyngton. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
 1214 Kedelinton. Cal. Bodl. Chs. p. 331.
 1216-1307 Kudelinton, Cudelinton. Testa de N. 101, 103.
 1227-8 Cudelinton, Kedelyngton. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 24,
 ch. 956.

‘The settlement of the Kidlings or sons of Cydel.’ O.E. **Cydelinga tūn*. By the side of the forms *Cydd*, *Cyddā*, &c. (see Kiddington above) we may assume a diminutive form in *-el*—**Cydel*. Cp. *Cucel*, *Cucol* in *Cuceles hyl*, C. D. iv. 30, ch. 741; *Cucolan stan*, C. D. ii. 109, ch. 312, with the normal

Cuca, Cuc-. Cp. also the names *Drægel, Drocel, Pæbbel, Pidel* (>*Pidel*) in Kemble. The patronymic form of such a diminutive would then be **Cydeling, Cydelingas*, and this is probably the origin of the first element in the name above. The form in *Ke-* is a typical Norm. Fr. representation of O.E. *Cy-*.

Kingham.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Caningeham. D. B. i. 159 b.
1354 Canyngesham. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 68.

TYPE II.

- 1216-1307 Kaingham, Kaingeha', Keingh'm, Keyngeham.
Testa de N. 102, 106, 113, 117.
1274-9 Keingham. Rot. Hund. ii. 733.
1316 Keyngham. Ibid. 164.

TYPE III.

- 1284-5 Kengham. Feud. Aids, iv. 160.
1535 Kengham, Kynkham. Map in Val. Eccl., V. E.
ii. 257.
1695 Kingham. Map in Camden.

'The home of the Canings.' O.E. **Caninga hām*. Although this patronymic is not on record in O.E. it is shown by the forms above to be the first element of this word. A form *Cana* is found in D. B. See Ellis, Introd. ii. 65, for this name, and also *Cano* and *Cane*. Cp. *Cane End* above. It is shown in the mod. pers. n. *Canning*, and the pl. ns. *Cannington* (Somerset) and *Canning Town* (Essex).

The development into *Kingham* has obviously been influenced by the analogy of *Cyning* < *King*, which is also common as a first element (cp. *Kingston Blount*, &c.). The medial *n* seems to have been lost quite early, giving the diphthong *ei, ai*, which was changed by the influence of *Kyng* (King) to *y, i*. The Eynsh. and D. B. forms above are the most primitive; the former has an analogical *s*. The

other forms are fairly normal, the majority having the diphthong. The *-k-* in Val. Eccl. form probably does not represent an actual pronunciation.

King's End (near Bicester).

1316 Kingesende. Feud. Aids, iv. 169.

End is used in the sense of boundary. *King* is a pers. n., and has probably no royal significance in this name.

Kingsey.

1267 Kingeseye. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1257-1300), ii. 71.

'King's island.' O.E. *Cyninges tēg*. Possibly so called on account of having once been royal property.

Kingston Blount (near Aston Rowant).

1086 Chingestone. D. B. 159 a, 159 b.

1274-9 Kingeston. Rot. Hund. ii. 786.

'The King's "tūn".' O.E. *Cyninges tūn*. In the Hund. Rolls (*loc. cit.* above) we find that this place was given to *Hugonem le Blund*, thus showing the origin of the second name. Cp. under *Bloun's Court*.

Kirtlington.

Kyrtlington. A.-S. Chron. i. 122, ann. 977.

1086 Certelintone, Chertelintone, Cherieltintone (for Chertelintone?). D. B. i. 154, 157, 158.

1210-20 Kertlington. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 214.

1216-1307 Curtlington, Kurclinton? Testa de N. 103, 101.

1220-8 Kertlinton. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 216.

1274-9 Curlinton, Curtlington, Cretelington. Rot. Hund. ii. 842, 843, 31.

'The "tūn" of the Cyrtlings or sons of Cyrtla.' O.E. *Cyrtlinga tūn*. The O.E. *Cyrtla* is found in the Crawford Charters, i. 19 and ii. 10, 'on cyrtlan geat,' 'of cyrtlan geat.' In the note on p. 52 it is stated that nothing further

is known about the word. Kemble (Saxons in England, i. 460) assumes the patronymic *Cyrtlingas* on the ground of the Oxsh. name. Skeat (Pl. Ns. Cambs., p. 70) tentatively suggests a derivation 'from O.E. *cyrtel*, "a kirtle," as in Icel. *geita-kyrila*, "clad in a goat-skin kirtle," as applied to a country lass.' The D. B. *ch-* and *c-* both represent a back sound. *-e->-y-* is normal in D. B. and Norm. Fr. scribes. The last D. B. spelling is obviously a misreading for *Chertelintone*. The form in *Kurc-* is probably merely graphic. Cp., however, *Kirklington* (Yorks.) which is *Kyrtelyngton* in Kirkby's Inquest (Surtees Society, vol. 49. p. 183), and *Kirtlington* in the *Nomina Villarum* (*loc. cit.*, p. 339), the change to *Kirk-* being probably due to Norse *kirkja*, 'a church.' The form in the Hund. Rolls above has a *-t* omitted and *Cret-* shows a metathesis. We cannot be certain that this is a case of a patronymic ending in spite of the fact that the earliest forms of the name contain *-ing*.

Knollbury Bank (near Chipping Norton). 'The fort on the small hill or bank.' O.E. *æt cnoll-byriġ* + *bank*. O.E. *cnoll* and M.E. *banke* mean practically the same thing. The place is an earthwork built on a mound, from which it gets its name. For the word *cnoll* we may compare the pl. n. *Knowl* (Pl. Ns. Staffs., Duignan, p. 89), and in O.E. *cnollġete* (Birch, ii. 246, ch. 596), *cnollan ġet* (Birch, iii. 344, ch. 1111), and *tō hafuc cnollum* (Birch, ii. 469, ch. 748), and other instances as given by Middendorf, p. 28. According to Kelly this place is also called *Knowle Bury*.

L

Langford.

- 1086 Langefort. D. B. i. 154 b.
 1216-1307 Langeford. Testa de N. 125.
 1274-9 Langeford, Longeford. Rot. Hund. ii. 700,
 721.

'The long ford.' O.E. *se langa ford*. Cp. *Langley*, *Launton*, below. The unrounded form *lang* has been preserved in this place-name. Both *Longaford* (ii. 267, ch. 410) and *Langanford* (ii. 245, ch. 396, &c.) are found in C.D. The final *-t* in D.B. is a common Norm. Fr. substitution for *-d*. The double forms in the Hund. Rolls are to be noted.

Langley.

- 1199 Langeleian. St. Fride. Ch. i. 43, ch. 40.
 1239 Langele (in pers. n.). Eynsh. Ch. i. 3.
 1216-1307 Lankeleg, Langeleg, Langelegh. Testa de N.
 107, 124, 132.
 1274-9 Laungele. Rot. Hund. ii. 739.
 1320 Langleye. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376, ch. 551.

'The long lea.' O.E. (*æ*l) *langan lēage*. Cp. *Langalege* (C.D. iv. 296, ch. 962, and v. 84) and *Langan lēagæ* (ibid. v. 84), besides numerous other references. *Langley* and *Longley* are both common pl. ns. The most interesting form is that of the Hund. Rolls, for which see remarks under *Launton* below.

Langtree (Hundred).

- 1224 Langetre. Rot. Lit. Cl. ii. 66.

Etymology obvious. Cp. preceding names. A tree was often used to denote a boundary of a hundred.

Lashbrook (par. Shiplake).

TYPE I.

- 1189-99 Lechebroc. Index, p. 662.

TYPE II.

- 1086 Lachebroc. D. B. i. 157 b.
 1316 Lachebroc. Feud. Aids, iv. 171.

'The swamp by the stream.' O.E. *læce-brōc*. Cp. *Latchford* below. The sound [ʃ] *sh* instead of [tʃ] *tch*, as in

Latchford below, has arisen under a different condition of sound-change. Cp. *Lashbrook* (Devon) in Feud. Aids, *Lecchebrok*, *Lachebroch* (Zachrisson, 158). The appearance of *sh* [ʃ] instead of *ch* [tʃ] as in *Latchford* might indicate the possibility of a first element *Læcces-* (Leech's), a pers. n., but one would expect to find some sign of the genitive suffix *-s*.

Latchford (par. Haseley).

1274-9 Lacheford, Lecheford. Rot. Hund. ii. 771, 772.

1316 Lecheford. Parl. Writs, ii. 354.

1535 Lachford. Val. Eccl. ii. 214.

'The ford over the stream.' O.E. *læce-ford*. The word *læce*, 'a stream,' is not on record as an independent word in O.E., but it is probably the origin of the first element in this pl. n., and is also present in *Lechlade* (Gloucs.). *Lache* (Chesh.) is probably *æt þæm læce*, 'at the stream'; and *Latchford* (Chesh.) is 'the ford over the stream', the stream in this case being the River Mersey. The word is connected with O.E. *læccan*, 'to wet.' Skeat (Pl. Ns. Herts., p. 56) explains the Herts. place of this name as *>Læcces ford*, 'the ford of Læce', where *læce* is the O.E. word for a 'doctor, leech'. He cites *tō læcces forda* (Earle, Land Chs., p. 388).

Launton.

TYPE I.

1086 Lantone. D. B. i. 154 b.

1274-9 Langetun. Rot. Hund. ii. 45.

1316 Langeton. Feud. Aids, iv. 170.

1535 Langton. Val. Eccl. ii. 162.

TYPE II.

1525 Lawnton. Cal. Bodl. Chs. p. 332.

1695 Launton. Map in Camden.

'The long "tūn".' O.E. *se langa tūn*. The vowel in *Launton* is due to the M.E. change of *-an* to *-aun*, due to French influence. Originally this change seems to have

only affected words of French origin, e. g. *laundry*, *haunt*, *jaundice*, and it was probably due to an attempt to reproduce the French nasalized sound [ã]. Afterwards it seems to have affected pers. ns. and pl. ns. Cp. *Saunders* by the side of *Sanders*. In Type I above *Langetun* retains the original; in Type II *Langton* < *Lantone* < *Launton*. The D. B. form probably represents *Langtone*, *-nt* being the usual transcription for *-ngt-*. Cp. *-ington*, which D. B. usually writes *-inton*. Cp. *Langtune* (C. D. iv. 118, ch. 790) and the Mod. pl. ns. *Langton* and *Longton*, &c. Zachrisson (pp. 153, &c.) gives instance of *-aun* > *-an* in Eng. Pl. Ns. He seems to think (footnote, p. 154) that the spelling *Launton* above dates only from the beginning of the 18th cent., and suggests that the change may be merely a dialectal one of *a* < *o* before a nasal. Cp. E. D. Gram. § 30, &c. The more probable explanation is that we have to deal with two types, as the *au* type appears above at least as early as 1535.

Leafield-cum-Wychwood. O.E. *lēah-feld* (see also *Wychwood* under *Wychwood Forest* below). There is no case on record of this combination in O.E. charters, but cp. *lēacumb*, Birch, iii. 363, ch. 1125.

Ledwell (par. Sandford St. Martin).

- 1086 Ledewelle? D. B. i. 156 a.
 1129 Ledwell. Osn. Reg. 22.
 1274-9 Ledewelle. Rot. Hund. ii. 844.

Possibly 'Leoda's spring'. O.E. *Lēodan wielle*. *Lēoda* probably represents a weak shortened form of such pers. ns. as *Lēodwine* (cp. under *Lidstone* below) and *Lēodhere*.

Leigh.

- 1086 Lege. D. B. i. 158 b.
 1216-1307 Legh. Testa de N. 110.

'The clearing or lea.' O.E. (*æt þæm*) *lēāge*.

Lew (near Bampton).

1086 Lewa. D. B. i. 160 b 2.

1316 Lewe. Feud. Aids, iv. 162.

‘(At the) mound or burial-place.’ O.E. *hlæw* or *æt þæm hlæwe*. Cp. the suffix *-low* as in *Ludlow*, &c., and *Intro.* p. 28. In C. D. iv. 92, &c., in the boundaries of Witney (*Wittannige*), Ducklington is given as *Duceling dūne*, the River Windrush as *Wenric*, *Wænric*, and a place *hafoces hlæwe* is mentioned. It is quite possible that this refers to *Lew* above, and that later the first element has been lost, as is sometimes the case in pl. ns.

Lewknor.

1086 Levecanol, Levechanole, Levecanole. D. B. i. 155 b, &c., 156 b, 160 b.

1154-89 Leovechanoram. Chron. Abing. ii. 192.

1178 Levechenore, Levekenore. Eynsh. Ch. i. 64, ch. 47, 47, ch. 23 a.

1184 Leovetanōr (in pers. n.). Cal. Bodl. Chart. p. 326.

1198 Levequenore. Ped. Fin. xxiii. 100.

1216-1307 Luvekenor. Testa de N. 107.

1271 Leukenore. Cal. I. P. M. i. 36.

1274-9 Leukenore, Lewekenore. Rot. Hund. i. 30, 43.

1285 Leuknore. Cal. I. P. M. i. 87, 157.

1307 Lukenore (in pers. n.), Leukenore. Rot. in Cur. Scacc. p. 152.

1535 Lewkenor, Lewknor. Map. in Val. Eccl.; Text, p. 234.

1558-1613 Lewknor. Cal. Procds. in Chanc. ii. 406.

‘The shore or bank of Leofeca.’ O.E. *Leofecan ōfer*. The first element in this word is the pers. n. *Leofeca*. The only instance we have of its occurrence is in Florence of Worcester’s *Chronicles* (*Mon. Hist. Britt.*, p. 584 d). (See reference in *Plummer’s A.-S. Chronicle*, ii. 183). *Leofeca*

is there mentioned by Florence of Worcester as the father of *Wulfgeat* (see also Crawford Charters under *Wulfgeat*). The proof that this form in *-eca* of the more usual *Leof* is genuine is shown by the presence of the numerous analogous compounds in *-uc*, *-oc*, &c. This suffix became *-ec* in M.E.¹ For instance, we have *Honnoc* or *Hannoc* in the *Liber Vitae* (Sweet, O. E. T., p. 159, i. 199), *Deneca* by the side of *Dene* in the name *Denchworth* (K. C. D. v. 400: *Deneceswurthe*), and *Hanecanhamme* (K. C. D. ii. 275). See also *Filkins. Leuca* (a weakened form of *Leofeca*) is also found in Lazamon's *Brut*, l. 3 (MS. Cott. Otto. C. xiii), and *Leucae*, a landowner, in a charter in Ormerod's *Hist. Cheshire*, i. 282. Corresponding Gmc. names are found, such as *Lieviko*, *Liavako*, *Lioviko* (Heyne, *Altniederdeutsche Eigennamen*). The word was weakened into M.E. *Lewekenor*, and then followed the normal M.E. development of the combination *-ewe-* into Mod. Eng. [ū]. (See Part I, Phonology, p. 16).

The second element may be either O.E. *ofer*, 'a shore or bank,' or O.E. *hofer*, 'a hump or hill'; see Introduction, p. 29, and under Shotover. The *-or* in *Windsor* has a similar origin, and is found in M.E. as *Wyndleshovre* > **Wyneleshofer*. The *-or* in *Lewknor* is probably > *ofer*, 'a shore,' as we have the negative proof of no form in *hor*, *hovre*, &c., being found, and also the fact that a stream actually runs through the place itself. The Domesday forms in *l* are due to a common Norm. Fr. interchange of *l* and *r*. Thus, for instance, *Havering* in Essex is found as *Havelingas*, *Beckering* (Lincs.) as *Beckelinge*, &c. (see Stolze, § 29). See also *Cropelie* for *Croperie* under *Cropredy*, and also *Crowell*, &c. The *Testa de Nevil* form is probably due to a scribal error, or it may represent a form *Lufeca* which existed side by side with *Leofeca*.

The *t* in *Leovetanor* is without doubt a wrong reading of the document, *t* and *c* being easily confused in M.E. writing.

¹ Names in *-eca* are also common in O.E.

This form is then the most primitive, as is often the case when it has become incorporated in a family name.

Lidstone (near Chipping Norton).

1274-9 Lydenestan. Rot. Hund. ii. 740.

1316 Ledenestan. Feud. Aids, iv. 165.

1695 Ludstone (for Lidstone?). Map in Camden.

‘The stone of Leodwine.’ O.E. *Lēodwines stān*. This pers. n. is on record in O.E. Sweet in the *Liber Vitae* gives the form *liodwini* (O. E. T., p. 166, l. 470). Ellis has the very common name *Leduuinus* in i. 444 and ii. 561. There seems to have existed forms in *Lud-* and *Lyd-* by the side of *Leod-* (cp., further, under *Ledwell*, *Filkins*, *Lewknor*). The name above is derived from such a form as **Lydwine*. The *n* has been normally lost.

Lineham (par. Milton-under-Wychwood).

1086 Lineham. D. B. i. 156 b.

1216-1307 Linh'm. Testa de N. 101 b, &c.

1306 Lynham. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 212, ch. 760.

‘The flax-enclosure.’ O.E. (*æt*) *line-ham(m)e*. O.E. *lin* has the meaning ‘flax, linen, something made of linen’, and also is used to denote the plant. Cp. the Mod. *lin-seed*, which contains *līn* as its first element. C. D. has numerous pl. ns. in *lin-*, as, for instance, *lincumb*, *lindūn*, *linland*, *linlēah*, *lintūn*, &c. (Index, vol. vi). Some of these may perhaps contain O.E. *lind*, ‘a linden-tree,’ e.g. *lintūn* may > *lind tūn*. Skeat, however, suggests that *Linton* (Cambs.) is derived from O.E. *lin-tūn*, as in C. D. iii. 368, and that *Lin-* represents O.E. *līn-* as above. *Līn-ham(m)* is obviously as likely to have existed as *līn-tūn*. The Mod. vowel [ai] indicates a derivation from the dative case.

Littlemore.

1216-1307 Littlemor. Testa de N. 112.

1253-4 Litulmore. Osn. Reg. 60, ch. 55.

- 1274-9 Litlemor, Lutlemor. Rot. Hund. ii. 792, 793-4.
 1316 Litlemere. Feud. Aids, iv. 168.

'The little swamp.' O.E. *se lýtla mōr*. The *u* in the Rot. Hund. form represents a southern development of O.E. *y < u*. Both these elements are found in O.E. pl. ns., e. g. *Lyttanbyrig*, C. D. iv. 300, ch. 967; *Lyttanbrōc*, *ibid.* vi. 126, ch. 1288; and also *Litlemor*, v. 392, ch. 1210 (probably in Wilts.). *mōr* is also common both as a first and second element. Cp. *Morton*, *Moorton*, below, &c.

Littleworth (par. Benson). 'The little farm-stead.' For *-worth*, O.E. *weorþ*, cp. under *Chilworth* above.

Lobb (par. Haseley). No early forms. The Devonshire place of the same name has the following old forms: D. B. *Loba*, *Lobe* (pp. 107, 115. 2); Feud. Aids, *Lobbe*, *Lobbe Philip*, i. 359, 373, &c. According to Bardsley, there is a pers. n. *Lobb* which has the meaning of 'a country bumpkin, a clownish rustic'. Cp. *lubber*. This may be connected.

Ludwell (near Woolton).

- 1086 Ludewelle. D. B. i. 154 b.
 1216-1307 Ludewelle. Testa de N. 107, &c.
 1257 Ludewell. Cal. Bodl. Chs. 332.
 1274-9 Lodewelle. Rot. Hund. ii. 863.

'Luda's spring.' O.E. *Ludan wiella*. Cp. *Ludan beorh*, C. D. v. 391, ch. 1291.

M

Madmarston (camp near Swalcliffe).

- 1665 Madmerston hill. Plot, Nat. Hist. Oxfs. ¹

This name is perhaps a combination of Marston (O.E. *mersc tūn*; cp. p. 150) with a personal name *Mada*, but in the absence of old forms it is impossible to be certain. For a similar formation compare Tadmarton below.

¹ Quoted by Dr. H. Bradley.

Mapledurham.

- 1086 Malpedreham (for Mapledreham), Mapeldreham.
D. B. i. 157 b, 159.
1239 Mapulderham. Exc. e Rot. Fin. i. 328.
1274-9 Mapeldereham, Mapelderham, Mapeldurham.
Rot. Hund. i. 33, 38.
1509-47 Mapylderam. Map in Val. Eccl.
1695 Maple-Durham. Map in Camden.

'The maple-tree enclosure.' O.E. *Mapulder ham*. O.E. *Mapulder*, *-dor*, *-dur* was equivalent to *Mapul treow*; both forms are found in the O.E. charters. Cp. also *Apulder*, as in *Appuldurcomb* (Isle of Wight), and further *Mapuldurwell* (Hants). Birch has *Mapuldor comb* (ann. 955) iii. 84, ch. 917, &c. The word has undergone a change of stress, or else we should have a Mod. **Mapuldrem*. Probably the change was due to the analogy of the independent pl. n. *Durham*, and the identification of the first element with the independent word *Maple*. We have here undoubtedly the short *-ham*, *-hamm*.

The Sussex *Appledram* (from O.E. *apuldor hamm*, 'the apple-tree enclosure') shows the normal phonetic development of the last two syllables to *-dram* [dræm]. Cp. *Apeldreham*, Index, p. 17.

Marston.

- 1216-1307 Merston. Testa de N. 114.
1274-9. Merston. Rot. Hund. ii. 711.
1316 Mershton. Feud. Aids, iv. 168.
1329-30 Mershton (in pers. n.). St. Fride. Ch. ii. 98, ch. 795.
1363 Mereston. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 57, ch. 616.

'The marsh-"tūn".' O.E. *mersc-tūn*. O.E. *mersc* is common as a first element in pl. ns. The combination *-sht-* has < *-st-* without any obvious reason. It may perhaps have been due to the influence of the Norm. Fr. spelling *s(s)* for *sh* to represent [ʃ],

but this can hardly have been the sole cause. The analogy of the *s* of the genitive suffix of other pl. ns. + *tūn* has probably helped the change of *-sh-* to *-s-*. The *-er-* has developed normally to Mod. Eng. *-ar-*. *Marston* (Yorks.) has probably the same etymology.

Medley (near Oxford).

1147 Midley. Osn. Reg. 69, ch. 68.

1216-1307 Mitteleg. Testa de N. 116 b.

1536 Midley. Map. in Val. Eccl.

'The middle lea.' O.E. *se midda lēah* or *midel lēah*. Cp. *Milton* below. The Mod. Eng. form would lead us to assume an etymology *mēde-lēah* with shortening of *e* before *d* and *l*, but the old forms point conclusively to the vowel *i*. Cp. *Middellēā*, C. D. iv. 74, ch. 767, v. 300, ch. 1152. The change of *Midley* to *Medley* is obviously quite modern, and the cause of such a change is difficult to find. There may have been some analogy with the word *mēde* which < Mod. Eng. *mead*. I am informed that *Midley* is still a common local pronunciation. For a similar change in the first element cp. Lancs. *Medlar* from *midel hærh*.

Merton.

1086 Meretone. D. B. i. 160.

1227 Meriton. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 5.

1239 Merithona. Eynsh. Ch. i. 1.

1274-9 Meriton. Rot. Hund. ii. 715.

1695 Merton or Meritané. Map in Camden.

'The lake-"tūn".' O.E. *merc-tūn*. O.E. *mere* (Mod. *meer*) means (1) the sea, (2) a lake, pool—the latter especially in charters. Middendorf (p. 92) gives numerous instances of this word as a second element. For its use as a first element cp. *Mercwell*, C. D. ii. 328, ch. 709; *Meretūn*, C. D. iii. 75, ch. 570 = *Martin Hussingtree* (Worcestershire), cp. Duignan. Kemble in his Index seems to "confuse this prefix with O.E. (*ǵe*)*mære*, 'a boundary,' and marks it long.

Middleton-Stoney.

TYPE I.

1086 Mideltone. D. B. i. 155b.

1216-1307 Middleton, Middelton. Testa de N. 119, 24.

TYPE II.

1216-1307 Midelinton, Mudelinton. Testa de N. 100, 107.

1294 Middelington. Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii. 436.

‘The middle-“tūn”.’ O.E. *middel-tūn*. (Cp. *Milton* below). The full form *Middle-* has been retained in this pl. n.

Stoney represents O.E. *stān-īeg*, ‘the stone island.’ For the use of O.E. *ēg*, *īeg* see *Introd.* p. 25.

Type II points to a locative form, **tō*, of *midd(e)lan tūne*.

Milcombe.

TYPE I.

1086 Midelcūme. D. B. 157 a, 161 a.

1225 Midlecumb. Rot. Lit. Cl. ii. 6.

1274-9 Midelcūb. Rot. Hund. ii. 849.

TYPE II.

1200 † Myldecombe. Reg. Godst. Nunn. 350.

1212 Mildelcombe. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 67.

1216-1307 Mildecu’be. Testa de N. 109.

‘The middle valley.’ Cp. *Medley* above, and preceding name.

Type II shows metathesis. The frequency of the *-ld-* forms may have been caused by the influence of a popular etymology which connected the first element with O.E. *milde*, ‘mild, gentle,’ though there is no evidence to show that this adjective was ever applied to material things. Cp. *Stolze*, p. 30, for change of *-dl-* to *-ld-*.

Milton.¹

1086 Middeltone. D. B. i. 155 a.

1270 † Middelton. Reg. Godst. Nunn. p. 360, ch. 487.

¹ Kemble equates *micclan tūn*, C. D. ch. 714, with this name, but the later forms disprove this.

1274-9 Milton. Rot. Hund. ii. 750.

1350 Muddlyngton. Cat. A. D. ii. 414.

'The middle "tūn".' O.E. *middel tūn*. (Cp. *Middleton-Stoney* above). The *d* has here been lost in the combination *-dll-*. Milton is a common pl. n. in Mod. Eng., and in every case the etymology is as above. Kemble has *Middeltūn* (Milton, Cambs.), iv. 245, ch. 907, besides numerous other examples. The *d* has been lost early, as the Hund. Rlls. form shows; this change may have been helped by the influence of the word *mill*.

(The) **Minchery**.

1661 Mincherie or Minchionred. A. Wood, Life (N. E. D.).

1805 Mincherry. Map in Camden.

The name of a range of buildings in the parish of Littlemore. It is derived from M.E. *minchen* (O.E. *mynecenu*), 'a nun,' with the suffix added in Mod. Eng. from the analogy of similar names in *-ery*, e. g. *monastery*.

Minster Lovell.

1086 Minstre. D. B. i. 157 b.

1216-1307 Pwa Menistre, Parva Mu'stre (for Munstre).
Testa de N. 101.

1274-9 Ministr' Lovell. Rot. Hund. ii. 736.

1320 Munestr'. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376, ch. 557.

'The monastery.' O.E. *mynster*. *i*, *e*, and *u* [*y*] all represent O.E. *y*. Cp. Introd. p. 31. *Mynster* is an O.E. loan-word from Lat. *monasterium*.

Lovell is a family name of Norm. Fr. origin, probably = 'little wolf.' The *Lovells* owned *Minster* from 1274 to 1487. In the Hund. Rlls. ii. 737 we read that 'Johann' Lovel tenet maner' de Ministr'. D. B. and Testa de N. assign it to other possessors.

The word *mynster* is found in O.E. charters, e. g. *Lullingmynster*, Birch, ii. 178, ch. 553 (Will of Ælfred, 880-5);

Exanmynster (ibid.). Cp. Mod. *Leominster* and *Exminster*. Birch has also *nīwan mynstre, caldan mynstre*, &c., iii. 416, ch. 1163.

Mixbury.

- 1086 Misseberie. D. B. i. 158.
 1216-1307 Mixebur'. Testa de N. 104.
 1316 Myxbury. Parl. Writs, ii. 353. :
 1428 Mixtbury. Oxf. City Docs. p. 180.

Perhaps O.E. (*æf*) *mixen-byrig*, 'the dung-hill bury.' Cp. *Mixon* (Staffs.), which Duignan (p. 102) explains as O.E. *mixen*. A loss of *n* would easily take place in such a combination as [-ksnb-]. The D.B. form has *ss* as a Norm. Fr. spelling to represent *x* [ks]. The spelling *Mixt-* is due to a combinative sound-change which has developed a *t*, or may be an attempt at etymology. C. D. (v. 17, ch. 987) has *Mixtenham(mes)*, which probably represents *Mixen-hamm* with a combinative sound-change which has developed a parasitic *t*. The charter is late, probably written in the 12th cent. (an obvious forgery).

Mollington.

- Mollintun. C. D. iii. 362, ch. 722.
 1086 Mollitone. D. B. i. 157.
 1216-1307 Molinton. Testa de N. 103.
 1302 Mollyngtone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 348, ch. 512.

-ing- seems to be of quite late introduction, though *-i,-in* may possibly represent this particle. The *i* in the D. B. form makes it improbable that the *-ing* should represent a weak genitive *-an*, as is the case in many modern names in *-ing*. The name *Moll* is found in the *Liber Vitae* (Sweet, O. E. T., p. 165, l. 407); also *Moll Æpelwold* (A.-S. Chron., Laud MS., annos 759, 761, 774, and 790). Kemble (*Saxons in Engl.*, i. 468) assumes a patronymic *Mollingas* on the grounds of the name *Mollington* in Oxsh., Cheshire, and Warwickshire.

The Cheshire name is *Molintone* in D. B. (264 b 2); the Warwickshire form is *Mollitone*; cp. above.

Mongewell [mandžə].

- 1086 Mongewel. D. B. i. 161.
 1216-1307 Mungewell. Testa de N. 100.
 1634 Mungwell. Oxf. Visit. p. 336.
 1660 Mungell. Parish Registers.¹

The first element is uncertain. The pl. n. *Mongeham* (Kent) seems to be, judging from the form in D. B., > O.E. *Mundīnga hām*, 'the home of the Mundings.' *Monkton* (Somers.) is found as *Mongton* in Cal. Inq. (Hen. III), i. 54.

Moorton (near North Moor).

- 1200- Mortun, Morton. Testa de N. 133 b, 117 b.
 1695 Moorton. Map in Camden.

'The "tūn" by the moor or swamp.' O.E. *mōr tūn*. The *ō* has not undergone shortening here (cp. *Moreton* below). This is probably due to the influence of the independent word and the neighbouring 'North Moor'. *mōr tūn* is common in C. D. (see Index, vol. vi). Kemble also has *mōr dūn* (Mordon, Surrey), *mōr leāh* (Morley, Yorks., Derby), *mōre well*, &c.

Moreton (near Thame).

- 1216-1307 Morton. Testa de N. 128, 130.
 1695 Morton. Map in Camden.

See preceding word. The *ō* has been shortened before *-rt*.

Murcot (**Fencot** and).

- 1149 Morkote. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
 1274-9 Morcot. Rot. Hund. ii. 831, 832.

'The homestead by the moor, swamp.' O.E. *mōr-coll*. The vowel in the Mod. form is probably due to a late shortening of L.M.E. *ū* > *ō*. There are several *Murtons* by the side

¹ Communicated by Rev. T. Hughes.

of the more usual *Morton*, *Moreton*, or *Moorton*. *Mōrcotun* (> *æt mōr-cotum*) is found in C. D. iv. 166, ch. 817.

Murdakeshyde (Old Hundred).

1229 Murdakeshyde. Eynsh. Ch. i. 2.

1272-1377 Murdak. Quo Warr. 664.

1274-9 Murdak. Rot. Hund. i. 33.

'The hide of Murdac.' O.E. *Murdaces hīgid* or *hūd*. This was the name of an old hundred which does not now exist, and is one of the few traces of Celtic influence to be found in Oxsh. The name *Murdac*, *Murdoc* is given by Ellis, ii. 187, 356, as referring in D. B. to landholders in Yorks., Sussex, and Oxsh. They were probably Norsemen of Irish descent. The name was common in Oxsh. in the 12th-13th centuries. The name is also found in Scottish Charters (Lawrie), pp. 64, 65, 86, and 349; and *Murdoch Isle*, *Murdostoun* (Scotland) are probably derived from it. Cp. the Mod. pers. n. (Scotch) *Murdoch*.

N

Nash (par. Beckley).

1149 † Asshe, tenesshe. Osn. Reg. p. 22, ch. 21.

'(At the) ash-tree.' O.E. **æsc* + M.E. *atten* > *æt þæm*. Cp. *Noke* below. The *N-* is a M.E. addition and a part of the definite article. The two forms cited show exactly the method of formation. *tenesshe* stands for *attenesshe* > *attenesshe* > *æt þæm æsce*. The initial *A-* has already been lost; the *-le-* is lost later, leaving *Nesshe* which < *Nesh* and *Nash*.

Neithrop (or **Netherthorp**). 'The lower village.' O.E. *nīper* (*neoper*) *þorp*. The alternative form shows the etymology. Cp. next word and *Netherton* (Chesh.).

Nethercote (near Woodstock).

1086 Hidrecote? D. B. i. 156.

1274-9 Nothercot, Netherecot, Nethercot, Nithercot, Nothercote, Rot. Hund. ii. 43, 732, 786, 862.

1566 Nethercourt. Oxf. Visit. p. 29.

1574 Nethercat. Ibid. p. 182.

'The lower or low homestead.' O.E. *neoper* (*niper*) *cot*. *Neper-*, *niper-*, *neoper-* existed side by side in O.E. The forms in *o* are probably due to the last-mentioned variant, or may be new formations, perhaps influenced by the vowel in the second element. Cp. *Nyberan Stanford*, C. D. vi. 153, ch. 1301; *Nyberantūn*, *ibid.* vi. 144, ch. 1296. For confusion between *-cott* and *court* cp. under *Cop Court* above.

Nettlebed.

1272-1377 Nettlebed. Quo Warr. 666.

1274-9 Netelbedd. Rot. Hund. ii. 751.

1293 Nettelbedde. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) Edw. I,
p. 290.

1316 Nettelebed. Rot. in Cur. Scacc. p. 294.

1366 Nettlebed. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 16, ch. 603.

Etymology obvious. O.E. *netele bedd*. *Bed* is used in this sense of a bed of flowers, &c., in O.E. as well as the more usual signification of a place on which to lie down. Cp. *Wyrt-bedd*, Herb. 7. 1, Leechdoms. i. 96. 22 (cit. by B.-T.); *Hrēod-bedd*, 'a reed bed' (B.-T.). For *netele* there are several references in C. D. Cp. further *Netelcumb*, C. D. iv. 70, ch. 764, and *Netlesstede*, *ibid.* ii. 215, ch. 377.

Newington.

— Niwantun. C. D. iv. 232, ch. 896.

997? Newintone. C. D. iii. 299, ch. 697.

1216-1307 Newenton. Testa de N. 100.

1240† Newnton. Reg. Godst. Nunn. p. 362, ch. 490.

1274-9 Niwenton. Rot. Hund. ii. 842.

'(At the) new "tūn".' O.E. (*æt*) *nīwan tūne*. This is an example of derivation from the dative case with later confusion of *-en* > *-an* with the patronymic ending *-ing*. (Cp.

Introd. p. 26, and *Newnham Murren* below.) The forms in Kemble point to the above etymology. Besides those quoted there are numerous other examples of this pl. n. in the Index. Cp. the Cambs. *Newington*, and *Niwan mynstre* (Newminster).

Newland (near Witney).

1417 Nova Terra. Index, p. 540.

Etymology obvious. Cp. *Freeland*. Both names are probably M.E. formations and comparatively recent in creation. The O.E. charters do not seem to have any record of such forms as **niwe land*, **frēoge land*, though there are numerous pl. ns. of which the second element is *-land*. (Cp. Middendorf, pp. 84-5.)

Newnham Murren.

TYPE I.

- 940 Niwanhæminga (londgemære). Birch, ii. 487, ch. 760.
 1054 Niwanhæma gemera. C. D. iv. 124, ch. 793; iv. 134, ch. 800.
 1216-1307 Newenh'm, Newenh'm Morin. Testa de N. 100, 117, &c.
 1274-9 Newenhan, Niwenh'm. Rot. Hund. ii. 30, 39.
 1566 Newnam Morryn. Oxf. Visit. p. 136.
 1695 Newnham Warren! Map in Camden.

TYPE II.

- 1086 Niweham. D. B. i. 159 b.
 1216-1307 Neuh'm Morin. Testa de N. 111, &c.
 1274-9 Nyweham. Rot. Hund. ii. 759, &c.

'(At the) new settlement.' O.E. (*æt*) *nīwan hāme*. The *n* is here the survival of the dative *-an*. The form *-hæma* indicates the long *hām*, 'a home,' and not *ham(m)*, 'an enclosure,' &c., as the latter could not appear in a mutated form. The form *-hæma* is a genitive plural, synonymous with the form

in Birch, *-hæm-īnga*, with the meaning of 'the inhabitants of Nīwan hāme'.

The forms show two types: (1) where the dative form has persisted and left the *n*, (2) where it has been lost by phonetic change or replaced by a nominative form. The first type has survived.

The name *Murren* is difficult to explain. It is probably a family name. It appears as early as the 13th cent. under the form *Morin* which may = *Murin* (*o* often replacing *u* in M.E. after *m*). Testa de N. (p. 116) says that Ricardus Morin had to provide one soldier in the *honor* of Wallingford. Cp. Willelmus Morin, Rot. Hund. ii. 41-2, Rogerus Morin (ibid. 720), Simon' Morin (728), all holding lands in Oxfordshire. Camden's form *Newnham Warren* is obviously not genuine.

Newton Purcell.

TYPE I.

- 1216-1307 Niweton, Neweton. Testa de N. 119, 126.
1274-9 Neuton, Newton. Rot. Hund. ii. 44.

TYPE II.

- 1225 Neunton (v. l. Neuton). Osn. Reg. 207.
1316 Newenton Purcell. Parl. Writs, ii. 253.

O.E. *nīwe tūn* or *æt nīwan tūne*. Cp. *Newington* above. Type I is from the nominative, Type II from the dative case. The family n. *Purcell* was added to avoid confusion with other *Newtons*. Rot. Hund. (ii. 44) has 'Otlele Prcel tenet villat' de Neuton'. It is originally a Norm. Fr. name > Lat. *porcellum*, 'a little pig,' and probably used as a rather uncomplimentary, if not insulting, nickname. Cp. Bardsley.

Newyatt (near North Leigh). 'The new gate.' O.E. *nīwe geat*. *Yat* or *Yate* is the correct M.E. form descended from O.E. *geat*. The Mod. form [geit] is explained by the influence of the plural *gatu*, *gatum*, with [g] instead of [j].

The vowel in *-yatt* remained unlengthened through lack of stress. Cp. *æt Geate*, C. D. i. 176, ch. 145 (= Yate, Gloucs.), and, as a second element, amongst numerous other examples cited by Middendorf, pp. 59-60, *sand geat*, Birch, iii. 632, ch. 1307; *swȳn geat*, iii. 583, ch. 1282, &c. Cp. further the Mod. family name *Yates*.

Noke.

- 1086-1163 Acham, Acam. D. B. i. 161.
 1170-90 Acha. Pipe Rlls. vi. 49.
 1213 Aca. Eynsh. Ch. i. 93, ch. 104.
 Ake. Eynsh. Ch. i. 150.
 1213-28 Ake. Eynsh. Ch. i. 150, ch. 200.
 1216-1307 Ak'. Testa de N. 100.
 1274-9 Ok, Oke. Rot. Hund. i. 45, ii. 761.
 1366 (Atte) Noke. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 123, ch. 623.

'At the oak-tree(s)' O.E. *āc* + M.E. *atten*. Cp. *Nash* (above). The forms above demonstrate exactly the changes undergone by O.E. *āc*. The forms *Acham*, &c. are Norm. Fr. spellings for O.E. *āce* or *æt þæm acum*; *ch* = *k*. The *ā* is rounded to [ɔ̄]—*Oke*, and then the *N-* is transferred from the article in the phrase *atten oke*. Cp. the family n. (Mod.) *Noake*, *Noakes*, *Nash*, and also Mod. Eng. *newt*, O.E. *efete*.

Northbrook (near Somerton).

- 1086 Norbroc, Nortbroc. D. B. 158, 158 b.

Etymology obvious. The first D. B. form shows the normal phonetic development, i. e. loss of *þ* in the combination *rþb*. Cp. *Norton*, *Sutton*. The *-th-* has been re-introduced through the influence of the independent word.

Northmoor.

Norton: Brize, Chipping, Cold, Hook. See *Brize Norton, Chipping Norton, &c.*

Nuffield. Etymology doubtful without any forms, but probably 'the nut-(tree) field.' O.E. *hnutu-feld*. The *t* has been assimilated to the *f* by a combinative sound-change. Cp. *Nutfield* (Surrey). O.E. *hnutu* is common in combination to form pl. ns. Cp. Mod. *Nutbourne* (Sussex), *Nut Grove* (Lancs.), *Nuthurst* (Suss. & Warw.), *Nutley* (Hants & Suss.), &c. C. D. has, amongst other examples, *Hnutlēah* (Hants = *Nutley*, above), v. 207, ch. 1107; *Hnutscilling* (*Nutshalling* or *Nursling*, Hants), iv. 105, ch. 781. (Cp. Earle, *Land Chs.* 429, for *Nutshalling*). Cp., further, *hnuttwīc*, Birch, ii. 413, ch. 207.

Nuneham Courtenay.

TYPE I.

- 11050 Niwanhæma gemera. C. D. iv. 124, ch. 793.
1218-1307 Nēwenh'm. Testa de N. 100.

TYPE II.

- 1292 Niwenham. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96), Edw. I,
p. 236.

For etymology see *Newnham Murren* above. The *Courtenays* possessed *Nuneham* in 1214 and held it until 1460.

O

Oakley (near Chinnor).

- 1149? Ocle. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
1157-8 Acleye. St. Fride. Ch. i. 29, ch. 23.
1451 Ocle. Index, p. 561.
1480 Ockele. St. Fride. Ch. i. 438, ch. 33.
1537 Ocle. St. Fride. Ch. i. 96, ch. 96.
1695 Oakeley. Map in Camden.

O.E. *āc-lēah*, 'oak-lea.' M.E. *ō* which > O.E. *ā* is normally shortened in the M.E. period to *o* before *-cl-* (giving the more usual *Ockley*), but here it has become [ou] probably

on account of the influence of the independent word. Both *Ockley* and *Ockham* (Surrey) contain O.E. *āc. āc-lēā, āc-lēāh* is common in O.E. charters. See Kemble's Index, and cp. *Aughton* (Lancs.) *Acton* (Chesh.) > *āc-tūn, Oakhanger* (Berks.) > *āc-hangra, &c.*

Oddington.

- 1086 Otendone. D. B. i. 160 b.
 1246 Otindun. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 298.
 1274-9 Otindon, Otūgdon, Otendun. Rot. Hund. ii. 45,
 835-6.
 1284-5 Otinden. Feud. Aids, iv. 158.
 1300-20 Ottington. Oxf. Hist. Soc.; Index to vol. xxiv.
 1428 Otyntown. Feud. Aids, iv. 191.
 1553 { Odyngeton. Map in Val. Eccl.
 { Otingdon. Val. Eccl. ii. 214.

'The hill of Ota.' O.E. *Otan dūn*. Although Skeat (Pl. Ns. Herts., p. 24) assumes that this name is originally *Oddinga tūn*, 'the town of the Oddings,' and that *Odding* is the patronymic of *Odd*, we must admit that all the evidence of early forms is diametrically opposed to this etymology. From the forms above it will be seen that the *d* in the first element is quite late, and that the second element was originally *-dun*. The change to the modern form may be explained as a sort of extended metathesis, or it is possible that an intermediate form **Oddingdon* may have arisen by assimilation, and then the reverse process may have produced the result *Oddington*. However, it is certain that the original consonant in the first element was *t*, a statement which is supported by the fact that a region in the immediate vicinity of *Oddington* is called *Ot Moor* (see this pl. n. below). These two places are probably named after the same person. *Ota* is found as a pers. n. in the pl. n. *Otanhyrst*, C. D. i. 248, ch. 198; *Otan sihtre*, i. 216, ch. 179; and with *-tt-* in *Ottan forda* (Otteford), i. 297, ch. 230.

Osney.

- 996-1006 Osanig. Thorpe, p. 550.
 1174 Osanea. Pipe Rlls. xx. 77.
 1191-1205 Oseneye. Eynsh. Ch. i. 40, ch. 13.
 1235 Oseney, Osseney. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 198.
 1274-9 Osseneye, Osnye. Rot. Hund. i. 34, ii. 811.
 1320 Osoneye. Rot. in Cur. Scacc. p. 251.

'The island (water-meadow) of Osa.' O.E. *Osan* *īēg*. *Osa* is a case of a weak form of a reduced name, the fuller forms of which are seen in *Osbeald*, *Osbearn*, *Osbeorht*, *Osfrith*, &c. The name is probably connected with *ōs*, 'a divinity, god,' Goth. **ansus*. For its use in O.E. pl. ns. cp. *Osan* *lēā*, C. D. vi. 115, ch. 1281; *Osan* *stoc*, iii. 310, ch. 701. Sweet has a name *Osa* in the genealogies (9th cent.) (O. E. T., p. 168, l. 13). The *ss* in the Rot. Hund. form above is probably merely graphic. The Pipe Rll. form would indicate O.E. *-ēā* as the second element.

Otmoor.

1535-43 Ottemor. Leland, v. 110.

'The moor march of Ota.' O.E. *Otan* *mōr*. Cp. *Oddington* above. The place is sometimes written *Ot Moor*. The genitival suffix *-an* has been lost.

Oddington (above) > *Otan* *dūn*, and *Ot Moor* are probably named after the same man. It is doubtful whether Leland's form is genuine, as he is quite capable of coining it to suit the etymology.

Overthorpe House (near Banbury). 'The village on the bank or slope.' O.E. *ofer* *þorp*. For *ofer* cp. Lewknor (q.v. above). It is often used as a first element in the pl. n. *ofer-tūn*, Mod. *Overton*, which is equivalent to *Overthorpe*.

Overy (par. Dorchester).

1546 Overeye. Dugdale, ii. 170.

ofer-īēg, 'the water-meadow on the bank,' is a possible etymology. Dr. Bradley suggests *ofer* *ēā* = *trans flumen*.

Oxford.

- Oxnaford. A.-S. Chron., ann. 910, 912, &c.
 997 Oxaneford. C. D. iii. 299, ch. 697.
 1004? Oxoneford, Oxenford. Ibid. 329, ch. 709.
 1004 Oxæneford. St. Fride. Ch. i. 8, ch. 2.
 1049-52 Oxnafordi. C. D. iv. 285, ch. 950.
 1086 Oxeneford. D. B. i. 154.

‘The ford of the oxen,’ i. e. ‘where oxen often passed.’ O.E. *oxena ford*. The origin of Oxford is so obvious as to raise doubts in the minds of some writers on that account. Thus, for instance, Murray (Handbk. to Oxsh. p. 12) suggests that the accepted etymology may be incorrect, and that the name *Oxford* is probably a ‘corruption’ of *Ousenford*, ‘the ford on the Ouse,’ and, further, that the Ouse was the ancient name for the River Isis. This is a good example of what can be produced by the application of a healthy imagination to the science of place-names. The fact is that the name Isis is due to a fanciful separation of *Tamesis*, the latinized name for the River Thames, into *Tam* and *Isis*.

For the first element in Oxford compare *Oxenebriçg*, *Oxenafield*, *Oxengæt*, *Oxnalēah*, &c., in Kemble’s Index, and, further, Mod. *Oxton*, *Oxney*, *Oxley*, all of which probably contain O.E. *ox* or *oxena*. For the meaning cp. *Gosford* (above); *Rutherford* (Scotland, and a family name), which > *hrȳpera ford*, ‘the ford of the cattle’; *Harford* (Gloucs.) > *heor(o)t-ford*, ‘the hart-ford’, C. D. i. 109, ch. 90.

P**Park Corner** (near Swyncombe).

1225 Parroc. Osn. Reg. 175, ch. 220.

Etymology obvious; probably a M.E. creation. O.E. *pearroc* meant any sort of an enclosure. *The Parks* (Oxford) = O.E. *Pearrocas*, denoting a number of enclosed fields.

Peppard Common (hamlet). See under *Rotherfield Peppard* below.

Perry. See *Waterperry*, *Wood Perry*.

Piddington.

1086 Petintone. D. B. i. 160.

1170-80 Pidentone. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 95.

1216-1307 Pydinton, Piddinton. Testa de N. 102, 105.

1417 Pedyngton. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 114, ch. 814.

'The "tūn" of (the sons of) *Pida or *Pydda.' O.E. **Pidan tūn* or **Pydinga tūn*. The spellings in *y* and *e* (Norm. Fr. or Kentish for normal *i* > *y*) point to an O.E. *y* as the vowel of this word. The *t* in the D. B. form is a Norm. Fr. substitution for the ordinary *d*. Kemble has *Pidewælla*, ii. 160, ch. 346, &c., which > *Pidan wiella*, and also *Piddes mere*, iii. 77 (cit. Skeat, Pl. Ns. Hunts., p. 334). Skeat takes the name *Pidley* (Hunts.) as O.E. **Pidan lēah*. We might assume a form **Pyda* by the side of **Pida*, the rounding being probably due to the lip-consonant. Cp. *Pita* and *Pyta*, where the same change is seen. The *-ing* is perhaps a late development from O.E. *-an*.

Pinkhill (lock near Eynsham).

1274-9 Pinnesle?, Pincle. Rot. Hund. ii. 42, 856.

1316 Pyncle. Feud. Aids, iv. 163.

1376 Puntele (for Puncle?). Rot. in Cur. Scacc. p. 294.

'The "lea" of Pinca.' O.E. *Pinca lēah*. Cp. *Pincahannes dīc*, C. D. iii. 406, app. ch. 347, and *Pinca den*, ibid. iii. 82, ch. 570. It is probably the first element in *Pinchbeck* (Lincs.), though the *-ch-* is difficult to account for, and in *Pinkney* (Norf.). The suffix *-lēah*, *-le* has undergone a late change to *-hill*. The form in *-t* is a scribal error for *c*. Cp. Introd. p. 32.

Pishill.

1216-1307 Pushulle, Pichull. Testa de N. 107, 118.

1274-9 Pushulle. Rot. Hund. ii. 814, 817.

- 1346 Pussell. Feud. Aids, iv. 175.
 1469 Pyssehill, Pissehill. Cat. A. D. i. 554.
 1695 Pushil. Map in Camden.

Probably O.E. *pis(e)-hyll*, 'a hill on which peas grew.' *Pise* has also in O.E. a form in *y*; cp. *pysan*, *pysena*, frequently found in the *Leechdoms*. This would account for the frequency of the *-u-* forms above.

Kemble has among other examples of this element *Pisleāh* (*pislege*), iii. 449, app. ch. 461. Cp. also *Piscrundel*, Birch, iii. 12, ch. 867. The *c* in the Testa de N. form denotes *s*.

Play Hatch (near Dunsden).

- 1695 Plea Hatch. Map in Camden.

For the second element see under Bolney (Belle Hatch). The origin of *Play* is uncertain. Cp., perhaps, Plaistow, which according to the N. E. D. is O.E. *plēg-stōw*, 'a playground'; see also *playstead* in N. E. D. A 'play-hatch' may have been used in some game. Cp. *Plaw Hatch* (Essex), *Plawhatch* (Sussex), *Plawsworth* (Durh.), *Playden* (Sussex), *Playford* (Suffolk), and *Plealey* (Shrops.).

Ploughley (Hundred).

- 1274-9 Ploudhleghe (for Ploughlegh?). Rot. Hund. ii. 822.

O.E. *plōg-*, *plōh-lēah*. O.E. *plōg* has the meaning not of Mod. *plough*—which was *sulh*, &c.—but of a 'plough of land,' 'a carucate.' The modern meaning is probably due to Norse influence. Cp. Icel. *plōgr*, 'a plough.' Cp. *Plowland* (Yorks.), *Plowden* (Shrops.).

Pochedelowe (Old Hundred).

- 1175 Pokedelawa. Pipe Rlls. xxii. 14.
 1274-9 Powedelowe. Rot. Hund. ii. 31.
 1284-5 Powedelowe. Feud. Aids, iv. 157.
 1293 Pochedelowe. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) Edw. I, p. 290.
 1316 Poghedelowe. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.

The second element is O.E. *hlǣw*, *hlāw*, either 'a tumulus, burial mound' or any rising piece of land. The only word at all like the first element is O.E. *pohhede*, 'pouched' (a Celtic borrowing)—which seems improbable as the first element in such a pl. n., unless it had a figurative use, applied to land. Professor Moorman suggests 'a puckered hill', i. e. 'a hill gathered into folds'.

Dr. Bradley suggests that this name may contain the verb *pook*, 'to heap up,' recorded in the N. E. D. only from 1587, which may possibly be old. It would give a not unlikely sense.

Port Meadow (near Oxford).

1661-6 Portmede. A. Wood, City of Oxford, *passim*.

A meadow belonging to the town, in which, according to D. B., the citizens had common rights of pasturage in the time of Edward the Confessor.

Portways (near Pyrton). *Portways* is a common name used of a road. Cp. *Portweg*, C. D. iii. 160, ch. 612, and *Portstræt*, iii. 329, ch. 709, &c. *Port* in O.E. meant a town as well as a port, as it is used of inland places.

Postcombe (near Lewknor).

1274-9 Postelcūbe (and in family n.) Rot. Hund. ii. 782.

1695 Postcumb. Map in Camden.

O.E. *postel* may be a shortened form of *Apostle*, and this pl. n. may accordingly mean 'the valley of the apostle'. It would be difficult to ascertain the reason for this name, if it be correct. Cp. Bardsley under *Postlethwaite*, *Posselwhite*, &c. According to the E. D. D. there is a word *possel* used in Shropshire to denote 'a wet, swampy piece of ground'. This may be connected; the addition of *t* would not offer any difficulty.

It has also been suggested that the suffix *postel* may be a Norm. Fr. word. The N. E. D. gives two words: (1) *postel*,

'a door-post, gate-post,' O.Fr. *postel*, Mod. Fr. *poteau*; (2) *postel*, 'a postern.' The first word is found as early as 1175; the second seems to appear first in the *Cursor Mundi* about 1400. Neither of these senses combines very well with *-cumb*, but cp. the numerous names in *Staple*, such as *Stapleton*, *-ford*, &c., and cp. *Steeple Aston* below.

Prescote (par. Cropredy).

1428 Prestcot. Feud. Aids, iv. 186.

'The cottage of the priest(s).' O.E. *æt prēost(a) cotan*, cp. *Preston*. The name *Preost* may also have been used as a pers. n.; cp. the modern pers. n. *Priest*. The *t* has been lost in the combination *-stc-*, so that the original form was either *prēostcot*, or the *e > a* between the *t* and *c* was lost early.

Preston Crowmarsh (near Wallingford).

931? Perestone? C. D. iii. 408, app. ch. 355.

— Prestecrawemers. Cat. A. D. i. 330.

1274-9 Prestecrom'se, Prustecrom'se. Rot. Hund. ii. 751, 63.

The identification of the form in C. D. is doubtful. The charter is a forgery. The other forms point to Crowmarsh 'of the priests'. Cp. Monkton Farley (*Farlegh Monachorum* in Cat. A. D., *loc. cit.*). For Crowmarsh see under C.

Pudlicote (near Chipping Norton).

1181 Pudelicota. Eynsh. Ch. i. 123, ch. 162.

1216-1307 Pudelicote. Testa de N. 100.

1254 Pudelkirke? Eynsh. Ch. i. 307, ch. 458.

1270 Podelicote. Ibid. i. 275, ch. 402.

1279 Podelincote (in family n.) Ibid. ii. 31, ch. 606.

1320 Podlicote. Ibid. i. 376, ch. 551.

1447-8 Pudlecote. Index, p. 600.

'The cottage homestead by the puddle' (?) O.E. **pydele cott*. The word **pydele* is not on record in O.E. There are two streams called *Piddle* (Worc. and Dorset). Cp.

further, *Puddle* or *Piddle-Hinton*, *Puddle* or *Piddletown* (Dorset), &c. It is possible, however, that the first element may be a pers. n., in which case we should have to assume a form **Pydelan cot*. **Pydela* could be explained as a diminutive of **Pida* or **Pyda* (see under *Piddington*). Cp. *Pita*, *Pyta*, and *Pyttel* (the strong form of the diminutive) in *Pytteles ford*, C. D. iii. 455, app. ch. 484. If the *n* in the 1279 form is genuine, it would support this etymology. See, further, remarks under *Arncot*.

Pyrton.

- 1086 Peritone. D. B. i. 157.
 1205† Piriton. Reg. Godst. Nunn., p. 324, ch. 440.
 1216-1307 Periton, Pirinton, Puriton. Testa de N. 101,
 105, 106, 107.
 1274-9 Puriton, Piriton, Pirton, Pyriton. Rot. Hund.
 ii. 30, 33, 751, 812, 813, 818.

'The pear-tree enclosure.' O.E. *pyriġ-tūn*. Cp. *Water Perry* below. *Pyriġe*, *piriġe* is found as a first element in *Pirigford*, C. D. iii. 32, ch. 549, &c.; *Pirighom*, vi. 215, ch. 1358; and the pl. n. above *Pirigtune* (Wilts., Worcs., &c.) ii. 53, ch. 271, &c. The spellings *e*, *i*, *u* all denote O.E. *y*; the second syllable has been lost and Mod. *Pyrton* may be the development of either M.E. *Per(i)ton* or *Pir(i)ton*.

R

Radcot Bridge.

TYPE I.

- 1216-1307 Radcote. Testa de N. 116.

TYPE II.

- 1216-1307 Redcote, Rethcot, Reccot. Ibid. 102, 104, 118.
 1274-9 Reccote. Rot. Hund. ii. 699.
 1316 Retcote. Parl. Writs, ii. 351.

TYPE III.

- 1383-5 Rottecote. Mins. Accs. p. 216

'The red cottage.' O.E. *rēad cott + brycg*, *rēad* in this case probably referred to the colour of the land or soil. Cp. *Redbourne*, *Radwell*, &c. C. D. has, among other cases, *rēadan dīc*, v. 1117, ch. 1059 (Mod. Redditch); *Rēadeburne*, iii. 73, ch. 570 (Mod. Redbourne); *Rēadan clif*, v. 157, ch. 1083 (Mod. Radcliff). For the change of *rā* to *a* and *e* see *Intro.* p. 13.

The forms in *-t- (-th-)* show the unvoicing of the *d* before *c* [*k*].

Radford (near Enstone).

1316 Rodeford? *Parl. Writs*, ii. 352.

Possibly 'the ford by the road'. O.E. (*gē*)*rād-ford*. In the absence of other forms the etymology is doubtful. If the form above actually refers to this place it must represent a type in which the O.E. *ā* has been rounded and the resulting *ō* shortened in L.M.E. The other type, in which *ā* has been shortened before *d + f* is represented by the modern name.

It is doubtful whether the word *rād* is used in pl. ns. *Middendorf* (p. 105) gives *radelēah*, *Birch*, iii. 85, ch. 917; but this is probably a late form for *rēadelēah*, 'the red meadow' (*Radley*); *rēadanford* occurs three times in C. D. v. 232, ch. 1117, &c.

Ramsden.

1274-9 *Rammesden*. *Rot. Hund.* ii. 736.

1316 *Rammesden*. *Parl. Writs*, ii. 352.

'The valley of the ram (or the raven).' O.E. *rammes denn* or *hræfnes denn*. Both these names may be used either as names of animals or as pers. ns. O.E. *hræfn* or *Hræfn* has a late form *Hramn* (*Hremn*), which might give *Hramnes denn* < *Ramsden* with loss of initial *h*. C. D. has *Remnesdūn*, *Hremnesdūn* (for *Hræfnes dūn*) (*Ramsdon*, *Suss.*), v. 313, ch. 1159, vi. 67, ch. 1250. *Ramsey* is *Rammesīga*,

Ramesia, *Hramesege* in C. D., *Ramsbury* (Wilts.) is *Rammesbiri*.

The genitive suffix would tend to show that the word was used as a pers. n. Cp. *Rambeorgas*, C. D. iii. 73, ch. 570. Förstemann (p. 869, &c.) gives *Hraban*, *Hramn* as the second element of 125 personal names.

Rewley Abbey.

1294 de Regali loco. Dugdale, v. 699.

1535 Regalis locus. Val. Eccl. ii. 221.

1546 Rewley. Dugdallè, ii. 171.

'The royal place.' *locus* has been anglicized into *-ley*.

Rofford or Rufford (par. Chalgrove).

1086 Ropeford. D. B. i. 160, 162.

1205 Roppesford. Obl. Rlls. i. 334.

1316 Ropford. Parl. Writs, ii. 354.

'The ford of Ropa (Roppa).' O.E. *Rop(p)an ford*. This pl. n. is found in C. D. vi. 143, ch. 1296; the charter is an Oxfsh. one, referring to the boundaries of ten hides of land at Haseley. The same charter has *Roppān brōc*, *Ropān brōc*. *Hroppān brōc* is given in iii. 381, app. ch. 123. These two names are probably identical. The form in *-es* shows an addition of the strong genitive suffix due to analogy. The *-p-* has been assimilated and opened to *f*; *-pf-* < *-ff-* (*f*).

Roke (near Wallingford).

1252 † Rokes. Index, p. 622.

1535 Roke. Map in Val. Eccl.

1695 Rooke. Map in Camden.

Rokemarsh (near Roke).

An O.E. pers. n. **Hrōc* seems to have existed. Cp. *Hrōces ford*, which is explained in Crawf. Chs., p. 72; *Hrōces wyl*, C. D. ii. 54, ch. 272; and, in the weak form, *Hrōcan lēah*, C. D. vi. 5, ch. 1221. Searle cites continental names such as *Hroccolfus* (Eng. **Hrōcwulf*), *Roghard* (**Hrōcheard*).

Cp. M.E. *Rohardus*, Ellis, ii. 207, and the uncompounded *Roc*, *ibid.* ii. 206.

The names may also contain O.E. *hrōc*, 'a rook,' and with *Rokemarsh* we could then compare *Crowmarsh* above.

Rollright (Great, Little).

TYPE I.

- 1086 Parva Rollandri, &c. D. B. i. 155.
 1184 Rollandrith. Reg. Godst. Nunn. ii. 532, ch. 713.
 1216-1307 Rollendi Magna, Parva, Rollendrich. Testa de
 N. 113, 108, 118.
 1227-77 Rollend, Rollendrith. Non. Inq. 134, 140.
 1269 Rollendriche. Cal. Rot. Ch. 98.
 1286 Roulandrithe. Eynsh. Ch. i. 324, ch. 485.
 1307 Rodlandrich. Cal. Rot. Chart. (fol.) p. 139.
 1337-8 Rollenderith. Index, p. 623.
 1695 Rollrich (Stones). Map in Camden.

TYPE II.

- 1199 Rollendricht. St. Fride. Ch. i. 43, ch. 40.
 1239? Rollandryght. Cal. Bodl. Chs. p. 333.
 1270 Rolendrist: Eynsh. Ch. i. 15, ch. 17.
 1436 Rollandrichte. Index, p. 623.
 1441-2 Rodelandryght, Rollandryght. Index, p. 623.
 1695 Rowlwright. Map in Camden.

TYPE III.

- 1300-3 Rollandret. Feud. Aids, iv. 160.

'The stream of *Hrōþland.' O.E. **Hrōþlandes rīþ*. Although the name *Hrōþland* is not on record as an O.E. pers. n., it no doubt was in common use. Its existence is shown, first, by the exceedingly common Gmc. pers. n. *Hrodland* (*Hruotland*, *Hruadland*, &c.) (Förstemann, p. 909); secondly, by the existence of O.E. pers. ns. which are compounds of *Hrōþ-*, e. g. *Hrōþwulf* (see *Rousham* below), *Hrōþgār* (in *Beowulf*), *Hrōth-weald*, *wine*, &c.; thirdly, by the presence of the name in M.E. and Mod. Eng. (from Fr.) as *Rolland*,

Roland, Ellis, ii. 384. *Land* is also common as a first element in O.E. pers. n. Cp. *Land-beald*, *-beorht*, &c. (Searle). The second element I take to be O.E. *rīþ*, 'a stream.' This word is frequent in O.E. charters. Cp. also *rīþig* under *Cropredy*. It is found in Mod. Eng. dialects as *rithe*, 'a small stream, usually one caused by showers of rain' (E. D. D.). C. D. has, amongst other examples; *Cillariþ*, *Cyllanrīþ*, v. 400, ch. 1215, &c., &c. = *Childrey* (Berks.); *Hennarīþ*, vi. 51, ch. 1240, &c. = *Hendred* (Berks.); *Scottariþ*, i. 63, ch. 55 = *Shottery* (Warwick), &c. The normal development, then, of *-rīþ* seems to be either that it undergoes a loss of the final *-þ* through lack of stress and *<-ry* [ri], or else *-þ <-d*, and we have the result *-red*. Cp. under *Bolney* for similar development of O.E. *hýþ*.

In *Rollright* other causes have been at work. It seems that the suffix *-rith* was at early date written *-riht*, *-richt* (< Mod. *-right*). Probably a careless scribe inverted the letters, and this change was undoubtedly helped by the spelling *-rich*, a Norm. Fr. error for *-rith*. Cp. remarks under *Bolney*, *Lewknor*, *Kirtlington*, &c. *-rich* being meaningless, was easily converted into *-richt*. Lack of stress would also render the final syllable vague (cp. *-dri*, *dr'*, &c.); this would help the change. The forms are easily explainable on this assumption. The *-rist* form is a Norm. Fr. attempt at *-riht*. The form *Rollrich* in Camden seems to be a survival of a Norm. Fr. scribal error of reading *c* for *t*.¹ The late disappearance of the syllable *-land* and the change of *-þl <-dl <-ll-*, an assimilatory process, are to be noted.

Skeat (Pl. Ns. Cambs., pp. 42-3; Pl. Ns. Herts., pp. 61-2) explains some names in *-reth*, *-red* as > O.E. *-wræþ*, 'a wreath, twist of fences.' It is possible that the form above in *-ret* (Feud. Aids) has been affected by this word; otherwise it is difficult to account for the vowel (*e*), but cp. *Hendred* (Berks.), above.

¹ I am informed by Mr. R. J. E. Tiddy that a pronunciation *Rollrich* *Stones* still survives; Prof. Wyld has heard of [roulrik].

Rotherfield (Greys, Peppard).

- 1086 Redrefeld. D. B. i. 161.
 1192 Rutrefeld. Eynsb. Ch. i. 84, ch. 90.
 1216-1307 Rotherefeud. Testa de N. 114.
 1245 Rutterfeld. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 284.
 1246 Rutthereffeld (for Ruttheresfeld?). Ibid. 293.
 1274-9 Rotherfeld, Ruderefeld Pippard, Rutheresfeld,
 Ruyerefeld. Rot. Hund. ii. 33, 38.
 1289 Retherfeld Pippard. Cat. A. D. i. 443.
 1316 Rethfelde Grey, Ruthfeld Peppard. Parl. Writs,
 ii. 354.
 1272-1377 Ritthereffeld. Quo Warr. 664.

'The field of the cattle.' O.E. *hrȳpera feld*. Cp. Rutherford, Rotherhithe, &c. *Hrȳperan feld* is found in C. D. ii. 115, ch. 314, and in other charters. *Hrȳper*, *hrīper* in O.E. had the meaning of horned cattle; *hrīper* is the normal form (> **hrinþis*), cp. Gm. *rind*. For the form in *-ȳ* we must assume a different ablaut grade **hrunþis*. The D. B. form above is a Norm. Fr. transcription of the name. Only the Quo Warr. form above has the normal M.E. vowel. The forms in *u* represent a southern development of O.E. *y*. This was written later *o* on the analogy of O.E. *u*, which is often replaced in M.E. orthography by *o*. This spelling evidently affected the pronunciation which became [røðə] through its influence. Cp. such names as *Molyneux*, *Constable* (where the spelling-pronunciation [məlinjū, kənstəbl] instead of [malinjū, kənstəbəl] is sometimes heard). Compare further Mod. Eng. *whortle* > M.E. *wurtel* > O.E. *wyrte*, cp. *wyrt*. Cp. Skeat, Etymological Dict., and Koepfel, Spelling-Pronunciations (Quellen und Forschungen, 89).

The form in *-feud* shows a Norm. Fr. vocalization of *l*. The forms in *t*, *d*, *tt*, are Norm. Fr. scribal substitutions for *th*. The form in *Ruyere-* shows a misreading of *y* for *þ*. Cp. Ye olde . . . for The olde . . .

It is possible that forms in *o* are also influenced by the O.E. pers. n. *Hrōphere*, which would give M.E. *Rothere*.

Grey and *Peppard* are family names. Rot. Hund. (ii. 33) says that Raðs Pipard has a fief in Rotherfield. See, further, index to Rot. Hund. under Pipard, Pippard, and F. A. iii. 170, where Johannes Pipard is mentioned in connexion with Rotherfield Peppard. F. A. iii. 174 has also; Johannes, filius et heres Johannis de Grey de Retherfeld.

Rousham.

TYPE I.

- 1216-1307 Rokulvesham? Testa de N. 116.
 1259 Rodelsham. Osn. Reg. 42, ch. 38.
 1267 Rodulveshama. Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii. 69.

TYPE II.

- 1086 Rovesham, Rowesham. D. B. i. 159a, 158b.

TYPE III (a).

- 1190 Rowlesham. Osn. Reg. 109, ch. 128.
 1270 Roulesham. Mins. Accs. p. 319.
 1316 Roulesham. Parl. Writs, ii. 352.
 1327-77 Roulesham. Non. Inq. 138.

TYPE III (b).

- 1149 Rolesham. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
 1216-1307 Rollesham. Testa de N. 113.
 1274-9 Rolesham. Rot. Hund. ii. 863.
 1316 Rolusham. Feud. Aids, iv. 178.
 1535 Rollysham. Map in Val. Eccl.

TYPE III (c).

- 1634 Rousam. Oxf. Visit. 334.
 1695 Rowsham. Map in Camden.

‘The home of Hrōpwulf.’ O.E. *Hrōpwulfes hām*. *Hrōpwulf* is a well established name in O.E. It is found in Beowulf as the name of Hrōþgār’s nephew. Cp. further

under *Rollright* above. In M.E. such forms as *Hrolf*, *Rolf*, &c. are found in all the indices of Ellis. *Rolleston* (Staffs.) is *Hrōþwulfes tūn*, *Roddlesworth* (Lancs.) is *Hrōþwulfes weorþ* (Wyld, Pl. Ns. Lancs.).

In the development of the forms above there are two main types to account for. Type I shows, as nearly as possible, the original form of the name. Type II has lost the *d* and *l* at an early date. This type would develop normally into *Rousham*. Cp. *Lewknor*, &c.

The form of the first element in Type III may be due to *Rollo*, the Norm. Fr. type of the pers. n. This itself is from O. Norse *Hrólf*, which is borrowed direct in M.E. under the forms *Roulf-*, *Raulf-*, *Rolf-*. (See Björkman, p. 113.) Type III (*a*) is difficult to account for.

The vocalization of *ol* to *ou* is an early modern change.

The Mod. (local) pronunciation is probably represented by the 1634 form. Cp. under *Eynsham* above.

Rycote (near Thame).

TYPE I.

- 1086 Reicote. D. B. i. 159 b.
 1216-1307 Rukoton, Rukote. Testa de N. 100, 112.
 1274-9 Rucote. Rot. Hund. ii. 753.
 1316 Rucote. Parl. Writs, ii. 354.

TYPE II.

- 1695 Ricot. Map in Camden.

Perhaps O.E. *ryge cot*, 'the rye cottage.' The M.E. *u* [y] appears to represent O.E. *y*, though we should then expect a Mod. **Rewcot*. Another type where O.E. *-yge* < M.E. *-ize*, *-ie* < L.M.E. *-i* < Mod. Eng. [ai] may have existed. There are numerous pl. ns. in *Rye*, &c., as *Ruyton* (Shrops.), *Ryburgh* (Norf.), *Rycroft* (Yorks.), *Ryefield*, *Ryeford*, *Rylands*, &c. It is also possible that the word may be connected with O.E. *rūh*, *rūg*, 'rough.'

S

Salford.

- 777? Salteford. C. D. i. 158, ch. 130.
 1086 Salford. D. B. i. 161.
 1216-1307 Saltfor. Testa de N. 112.
 1274-9 Salford. Rot. Hund. ii. 728.
 1327-77 Salford. Non. Inq. 140.
 1593 Salforde, al. Sawforde. Index, p. 639.

'The salt ford.' O.E. *sealt-ford*. *Sealt* is a common first element in O.E. pl. ns. C. D. has such pl. ns. as *sealt-brōc*, *-cūmb*, *-lēg*, *-ham*, *-lēāh*, *-mere*, *-strǣt*. The exact signification of the word in some of these compounds is difficult to determine. *Salt*, *salty* hardly seem to fit in with *-strǣt*, for instance. Salt, however, was a commodity of great importance in early times, and it may be that some of these places were named from some accidental connexion with salt or the production of salt. Cp. *Salford* (Lancs.).

The loss of *t* in the comb. *-lth-* is normal. Skeat (Pl. Ns. Beds., p. 21) takes the name *Salford* (Beds.) as > *salig*, *sealh* + *ford*, 'the willow ford.' This can hardly be the etymology of the Oxsh. name in the light of such forms as above.

Salome (as in **Berwick**, **Britwell**, **Salome**); pron. [sæləm].¹

- 1307 Bruttewell Solam. Rot. in Cur. Scacc. 236.
 1322 Brutewelle Solham. Index, p. 109.
 1383 Sullum. Court Rlls. pt. i, p. 274.
 1432 Sullam. Ibid. p. 336.
 1614 Bryghtwell Soleham. Index, p. 109.
 1695 Berrick Sulham. Map in Camden.

¹ Communicated by Rev. J. C. Mansfield.

A family name. Testa de N. (pp. 112, 114, 116, 117) mentions that *Amaricus de Suleham* held land in Britwell and Henton. See, further, Rot. Hund. ii. 33, 43, 787, 788. It may be in origin a place name. The form in the Court Rlls. points to *sul(h)um*, which is also spelt *Solham* (-o- for -u-), and later *Salom*. The reason for the addition of the final *e* is not obvious. *-ham > -um* is common.

See under *Souldern* below for *sulh*, 'a furrow, enclosure, plough.' *Salome* might originally mean 'at the furrows' if originally a place name. Cp. *Sulham*, *Sulhampstead* (Berks.), and, further, the note in *Crawf. Chs.*, p. 47.

For *Berwick*, *Britwell*, see these names, above.

Sandford.

- 956 Sandford. C. D. ii. 315, 322, chs. 442, 448.
 1050 Santford. Ibid. iv. 124, ch. 793.
 1054 Sandfordes. Ibid. iv. 134, ch. 800.
 1086 Sanford. D. B. i. 156 b.
 1200 Saunforde. Osn. Reg. 21, ch. 21.
 1216-1307 Sandford, Samford, Saumford. Testa de N.
 102, 105, 106.
 1233 Sampford, Samford. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen.
 III, p. 245.
 1274-9 Sandford, Sanford. Rot. Hund. ii. 712, 722.
 1327-77 Saundford. Non. Inq. 134.
 1593 Sampford, al. Sanforde. Index, p. 641.

'The sand, sandy ford.' O.E. *sand ford*. The form in C. D. *Santford* has the *t* unvoiced through the following *f*. The forms in *m*, *mp* are due to combinative sound-changes, whereby the *f* (lip-teeth) has changed the point nasal to a lip nasal, and a parasitic *p* has been developed (see *Introd.* p. 20).

The *au* forms are interesting as representing a Norm. Fr.

change of *an* to *aun*—probably an attempt to represent the nasalized *ã*. The *d* has been lost between *n* and *f*, though retained in the spelling.

Sarsden.

- 1152-70 Sercesd(ene) (in pers. n.). Eynsh. Ch. i. 112, ch. 139.
 1180 Cercedene, Cerchesdene. Ibid. i. 112, ch. 123, 161.
 1181-97 Cherchesdena. Ibid. i. 122, ch. 160.
 1201 Cercedene, Cercedene. Ibid. i. 134, ch. 182.
 1274-9 Churchesdon? Rot. Hund. ii. 728.
 1275 Circesdene. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 294, ch. 1068.
 1290 Cerceden. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 90, ch. 648.
 1327-77 Cerceden. Non. Inq. 139.
 1398 Schercheden. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 296, ch. 1069.
 1414-31 Sercheden (2). Eynsh. Ch. ii. 48, ch. 614.
 1428 Sersedn. Feud. Aids, iv. 188.
 1539 Saresden. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 251, ch. 797.

'The valley of Serc.' O.E. **Serces denu* (as in the earliest form). *Serc* is found in the Lib. Vit. of Durham (ed. Surtees Society), p. 51. Björkman takes this name to be originally Scandinavian, and gives O.W.N. *Serkr* (cit. Lind) as the corresponding Norse pers. n. According to the forms above the first element has been influenced by popular etymology. At first written *Serc-*, a new orthography *Cerc-* must have caused a confusion with *Cerc* [tʃertʃ], a M.E. spelling of O.E. *cyriče*, as in *Cerchulle* (Churchill). See above under this pl. n. Accordingly we find spellings with *Ch-*, and even one form *Churches-* (though it is not certain whether this identification is correct, as in this case the second element for the only time is also changed). That the pronunciation was still [s], or at least that one type had [s], is shown by the reappearance of the *s* forms in the 15th century and by the Mod. form. It may be suggested that

the original form was really *cyriče*, and that the single early form in *s* is a scribal error. The objection to this is twofold: first, such a word as *cyriče* would not be used in the genitive singular (i. e. possessive case) in a pl. n.; secondly, the phonetic development could not be explained.¹ If we assume the above etymology all that has happened is the loss of *c* [k] between *r* and *s*, i. e. [-rksd-] < [-rzd-], and the normal Early Mod. change of *er* to *ar*. Undoubtedly the first element has been affected in its spelling by O.E. *cyriče*, but it is not derived from it.

The second form cited above shows a change of the strong genitive suffix in [s] to the weak suffix *-en* > *-an*. It is not absolutely necessary to assume an O.N. pers. n. **Serc*. The name may be a late form of O.E. *Særič*, which is found in M.E. as *Saric*, *Sericus* (latinized), *Seric* (Ellis, i. 483, 485, ii. 212, &c.); *Saric* is given as the name of a landowner in Oxsh. and Wilts. *Seric* (ii. 212) is exceedingly common; according to Ellis's Introd. to D. B. persons of this name held land in eleven different places. Cp. M.E. *Sercar* (Ellis, ii. 212). Any such pers. n. may have been originally the first element of Sarsden.

Sewell or Showell (near Swerford).

- 1086 Seewelle, Sivewelle. D. B. i. 156 b, 157.
 1189-91 Suwella. Eynsh. Ch. i. 45, ch. 22.
 1217 Seewell. Csn. Reg. 204, ch. 271.
 1270 Sewelle. Eynsh. Ch. i. 15, ch. 12.
 1274-9 Sowelle. Rot. Hund. ii. 875.

‘The well of Syfa.’ O.E. *Syfan wiella*. Cp. *Syfan wyl*, C. D. v. 234, ch. 1118.

The forms in *u*, *i* are normal as representing O.E. *y*. So also the forms in *e* as Norm. Fr. for *i* > *y*. (For the

¹ It is also to be noted that the genitive of O.E. *cyriče* is *cyričean*, so that the medial *s* would still be unaccounted for.

transition of *-eve-* < *-ew-* [ju] cp. *Leawknor* and Introd. p. 16. The combination *-fw-* < *-vzw-* has been reduced to *w*.)

According to Duignan (Pl. Ns. Staffs., p. 135, &c.) *Showells* (earlier *Sewelle*) is 'a sort of scarecrow' (cp. O.E. *sēawian*); but the forms in the pl. n. above point to the pers. n. *Syfa*.

Shelswell.

TYPE I.

- 1274-9 Scheldeswell, Seldefwelle (for Seldeswelle). Rot. Hund. ii. 44, 836.
 1284-5 Seldeswell. Feud. Aids, iv. 157.
 1428 Shelleswell. Ibid. iv. 201.

TYPE II.

- 1289 Shaldewell. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1257-1300), ii. 339.
 1299 Shaldeswell. Ibid. ii. 481.
 1695 Shallswell. Map in Camden.

Possibly 'the well of *Sceald*'. O.E. *Scealdes wiella*. Were it not for the genitive in *-s* which has been retained in the Mod. name we might derive this pl. n. from O.E. **sceald*, 'shallow,' M.E. *schald*, as noted by Stevenson (Trans. Phil. Soc., 1895-8, p. 532), and found in *Shelford* (Skeat, Pl. Ns. Cambs., p. 62). Searle, however, gives a pers. n. *Scealda* (weak), though his example *Scealdan ford* (C. D. v. 256, ch. 1131) is not relevant, as this undoubtedly means 'at the shallow ford'. The *a* type stands for a Merc. *Scald*; the *e* type for the normal *Sceald* < M.E. *Scheld*, Mod. Eng. *Sheld*. The *d* is normally lost; *s* initially is a Norm. Fr. spelling for *sh*, *sch* [ʃ].

Shenington.

- 1086 Senendone. D. B. i. 163 b.
 1305 Schenyndon. Eynsh. Ch. i. 349, ch. 514.

- 1354 Shenindone. Index, p. 657.
 1366 Schenindon. Index, p. 657.
 1535 Shynyngton. Map in Val. Eccl.

‘At the beautiful hill.’ O.E. *ǣt scēnanan dūne*. Compare *Shenington* (Gloucs.) *Shenedon*, *Schenedon* in Cal. Inq. (Hen. III), pp. 157, 159, where the etymology is clearly shown. The original pl. n. probably occurred in the dative. The *-an* < *-en*, and was then confused with *-ing* (cp. Introd. p. 26). C. D. has *scēnedūn*, iii. 377, app. ch. 61.

The *ē* has undergone shortening in the development of the word. Cp. *Headington*. *Sheen* (Surrey) may be O.E. *scēne*, with or without the loss of a suffix.

Shifford.

- 1005 Scipford. C. D. iii. 339, ch. 714.
 1086 Scipford. D. B. i. 155.
 Sipford. Eynsh. Ch. i. 2.
 1216-1307 Sipford. Testa de N. 131.
 1280 Scyfford. Eynsh. Ch. i. 280, ch. 411.
 1284 Schifforde. Ibid. i. 368, ch. 539.

‘The sheep-ford.’ O.E. *scēap-ford*. Cp. *Oxford*, *Shipton*, &c. The change of O.E. *scēap* to L.O.E. *scīp* (Northumb. dialect) has been explained by Bülbring (Elementarbuch, § 154). It is from such a form in L.O.E. that *Shifford*, *Shipton*, &c., are derived. The C. D. form is late enough for the word to have undergone such a change. The *ī* is shortened before the combination *pf*, and then *p* is assimilated to the following *f*. The spelling *Sīp-* is Norm. Fr. *S* very often stands for [ʃ]. *Shefford* (Beds., Berks., &c.) is the result of the normal W. Sax. *scēap* + *ford*. Cp., on the other hand, Yorks. *Skipton*, *Skipwith* (-*k-* by Norse influence). It is phonetically possible that we have O.E. *scīp*, ‘a ship,’ as the first element, and that the meaning is ‘a ford crossed by a ferry’. Cf. *Bridgeford* (Notts.)

Shillingford (near Warborough).

- 1200 Scillingford. Reg. Godst. Nunn. ii. 538, ch.
724.
- 1216-1307 Shalingford. Testa de N. 109.
- 1278 Shillingford. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1257-1300), ii.
209.
- 1316 Scillingeford. Ibid. iii. 330, 424.
- 1320 Sillingeford. Ibid. iii. 330, 424.
- 1332 Shelyngford. Reg. Godst. Nunn. ii. 545, ch.
733.

‘The ford of Scilling or of the Scillings.’ O.E. *Scillinges* or *Scillingaford*. The latter etymology is perhaps more probable on account of the absence of any form with the genitive *s*. This name could hardly mean ‘the shilling ford’, though from its form there is nothing to hinder such an etymology. *Scilling* is a pers. n. or a patronymic. The name is found in *Widsiþ* (l. 103) and several times in C. D.; also in a charter of Cynewulf (778) as *Scillinges* (Sweet, O. E. T., p. 427, ch. no. 3, l. 13).

The form in *a* is probably a scribal error; the form in *e* is the Norm. Fr. representation of *i* > L.O.E. *y* > O.E. (W.Sax.) *ie*, due to the front consonant *sc* + *i*. Cp. *Shellingford* (Berks.). There are three *Shillingfords*; also *Shillingthorpe* (Lincs.), *Shillingstone* (Dorset), and *Shillington* (Beds.); the latter, however, > *Scyteleinga tūn* (Skeat, Pl. Ns. Beds., p. 16).

Shilton.

- 1216-1307 Shilfton, Shulfton (Berks.?). Testa de N. 111 b,
124, 125.
- 1428 Sulton. F. A. iii. 202.

‘The “tūn” on the peak.’ O.E. *scylf-tūn*, as in C. D. For *scylf*, ‘a peak, tor, crag,’ cp. *Hnæfes scylf*, C. D. iii. 130, ch. 595; *scylfrycg*, ‘the ridge of the peak,’ ibid. 400, app. ch. 311 (cp. Mod. Shelfridge), and *scelf-dūn*, i. 195, ch. 161

(= Shelton, Beds., &c.). Cp. also *stān-scylf*, 'a peak, rock' (B.-T.).

Shilton used formerly to be in Berks. If the Testa de N. forms, however, do not refer to this place, it may well be that Shilton gets its name from the Shill brook, on which it stands. Otherwise Shill is a 'back-formation' from Shilton.

Shiplake.

1216-1307 Siplak. Testa de N. 100.

1227-77 Schupelak. Non. Inq. 136.

1269 Syplak. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1257-1300), ii. 125.

'The sheep-stream.' O.E. *sēāp(a) lacu*. Cp. *Bablock Hythe* and *Shifford* above. The *s* for *sh* is a characteristic Norm. Fr. peculiarity. The form in *u* [*y*] may represent M.E. [*y*], the southern development of an O.E. **sēȳp* for *sēȳp*.

Shipton-on-Cherwell.

TYPE I.

1005 Sceptun. C. D. iii. 339, ch. 714.

TYPE II.

777 (11th or 12th cent.) Siptun, Siptone. C. D. i. 158, ch. 130.

1086 Siptone. D. B. i. 156.

1213-28 Siptune. Eynsh. Ch. i. 156.

1216-1307 Shipton. Testa de N. 100, 101.

1274-9 Schipton, Sipton. Rot. Hund. ii. 734, 840.

TYPE III.

1268 Shepton. Cal. Rot. Ch. 96.

TYPE IV.

1284-5 Schupton. Feud. Aids, iv. 156.

Cp. *Shifford* and preceding name. Type III represents the normal vowel from O.E. *ēā*, L.O.E. *ǣ*. For Type IV see

under *Shiplake*. Cp. *Skipton* (Yorks.). For *Cherwell* see this name above.

Shipton-under-Wychwood. See preceding word and *Wychwood* below.

Shirburn.

- 1086 Scirburne, Scireburne. D.B. i. 158.
 1216-1307 Shireburn, Sireburn. Testa de N. 101, 106.
 1274-9 Shyreborn. Rot. Hund. ii. 818.
 1315 Shyrebourne. Eynsh. Ch. i. 367, ch. 537.
 1361 Schirborne. Index, p. 662.

'The clear stream or well.' O.E. *se scīra burna*. Mid-dendorf (p. 113) takes *scīr* in O.E. pl. ns. to mean 'Scheide, Grenze', 'a division, boundary,' as in Mod. *shire*. He instances *of scīran mere, on scīre mere* (Birch, i. 262, ch. 183) among the cases of its occurrence. In the cases quoted, and in the name above, it might be better to take *scīr* as the O.E. adjective meaning 'bright, clear'. Cp. for meaning *Brightwell, Britwell*. It is apparently used in this sense in the passage in 'The Battle of Maldon', l. 98, '. . . west ofer Pantan, ofer scīr wæter'; also in other cases (B.-T., p. 836).

The forms are regular; Mod. [ʃɪbən] has the normal vowel > *i* + *r* M.E. There are several *Sherborns* and *Shirburns*.

Shocks Coppice (par. Shorthampton). A M.E. creation. *Coppice* and *Copse* are originally the same. Cp. Fr. *couper*, 'to cut.'

Shorthampton.

- 1216-1307 Shorth'mpton. Testa de N. 101.
 1274-9 Sçorthampton. Rot. Hund. ii. 737.
 1293 Schorthamtone, Schorthampton. Eynsh. Ch. i. 335, ch. 50.

The short or low 'hampton.' O.E. *sceort* + *hām* + *tūn*; cp. *Gathampton*, *Chiselhampton*, &c. *sceort* is a frequent element in O.E. pl. ns. For instance, Mod. *Shortwood*; cp. *Scortanwidu*, C. D. vi. 65, ch. 1249. Also in Kemble's Index, *Sceortandīc*, *Sceortegrāf*, &c.

The O.E. element *ham(m)* with short *a* would suit the sense better, being synonymous with *tūn*.

Shotover Hill.

- 1086 Scotorne (for Scotorve, for Scotovre). D. B. i.
154 b.
- 1142 Scoythore. St. Frīde. Ch. ii. 23, ch. 710.
- 1227 Scottover. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 5.
- 1231 Shotovr'. Cl. Rlls. (1227-31), p. 527.
- 1233 Sotovr. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 276.
- 1234 Shothour, Sotour. Ibid. pp. 421, 457.
- 1274-9 Scottovre, Sottovre, Sottor, Sotove. Rot. Hund. ii.
710, 723, 735.
- 1290 Shothovre. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) Edw. I, p. 88.
- 1294 Shothor. Ibid. p. 368.
- 1298 Schotthovere, Shotovere. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 96, ch.
652.
- 1307 Shotovre. Ibid. i. 322, ch. 483.
- 1377 Shorthore, Schothore. St. Frīde. Ch. ii. 36, ch.
725.

The second element of this name is possibly O.E. **hofer*, for discussion of which see Introd. p. 29. Though it must be admitted that the *-hover* forms of the name are comparatively late and could possibly be explained as due to the tendency of Norm. Fr. scribes to write *t* as *th* and, further, that the evidence in favour of the existence of O.E. *hofer* in the sense of a hill is not very strong, yet the position of the place favours this etymology and makes O.E. *ōfer*, 'a bank,' an absurdity.

The first element is also doubtful. A pers. n. **Sēōta* (or

**Scotta*) is possible, probably connected with O.E. *scēotan*, 'to shoot,' and meaning originally 'a shooter'. Cp. *Scēotheri*, *Scēotweald* (Lib. Vit., O. E. T., p. 158, l. 168). Cp. further the pers. n. *Scott*, *Scotta*, as in *Scottes healh*, C. D. vi. 2, ch. 1218, *Scottarīþ* (for **Scottanrīþ*), Earle, Land Chs., p. 310 = *Shottery*, Warw.). Middendorf (p. 113) suggests that *scot* in pl. ns. has the meaning 'Schutzwand, Sperrwand, Holzbekleidung' &c., with the idea of 'something shot out'. He compares Low Gm. *schott*. This is a possible explanation.

According to Murray (Handbook to Oxfs., p. 104) Shotover is variously derived from *Château Vere* or *Château Vert*. A glance at the early forms of the name is sufficient to show the absurdity of this suggestion.

Shutford.

- 1254 Shutford. Cal. Rot. Ch. (fol.), p. 81.
 1200-1300 Schutford. Cat. A. D. ii. 366.
 1390 Shiteford. Cal. I. P. M. iii. 113.

'The ford of Scytta.' O.E. *Scyttan ford*. Cp. *Scyttan dūn, mere*, C. D. iii. 381, app. ch. 123, and see under *Shotover* above. *Scytta* and **Scotta* are obviously connected. The development of O.E. *y* < M.E. *u* [y] is southern. The I. P. M. form has the normal vowel. The Mod. name has probably been influenced by the word *shut*. Middendorf (p. 114) explains *scytte* in a similar manner to *scott* (see *Shotover*); he takes it to mean 'a dam, enclosure'. The first element can be explained either way.

Sibford (Ferris, Gower).

- 1216-1307 Sibford, Sybeford, Sibesford, Sibbeford. Testa de N. 100, 104, 108, &c.
 1231 Sibleford. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 135.
 1233 Sibeford. Ibid. i. 181.
 1274-9 Silbeford. Rot. Hund. ii. 32.

1346 Sybbeford Gouwers. Feud. Aids, iv. 128.

1805 Sibford Gore. Map in Camden.

‘Siba’s, Sibba’s ford.’ O.E. *Siban*, *Sibban ford*. Both forms of this pers. n. are on record in O.E. charters. Either would fit in with the forms above. The *s* in the Testa de N. form is analogical. The forms in *-bb-*, *-bl-* are probably misreadings of *-bb-*. Cp. *Sibson* (Hunts.) > *Sybbes tūn*, *Sibthorpe* (Notts., &c.).

Testa de N. (p. 108) says that Sibilla, countess of Ferrers, holds £10 worth of land in Sibford. Testa de N. (pp. 101, 104) mentions Thomas Goher as also holding land in Sibford. (See further D. B., i. 250 a—cited by J. L. G. M., Notes on Oxsh. Domesday.)

Signet (Upton and).

1316 Seynate et Upton. Feud. Aids, iv. 162.

1695 Sinet. Map in Camden.

1805 Signet. Map in Camden, ed. Gough.

Somerton.

1086 Sumertone. D. B. i. 155 b.

1216–1307 Sum’ton. Testa de N. 104.

1245 Sumerton. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1225–57), i. 285.

1414–31 Somertone. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 48, ch. 614.

‘The summer-town.’ O.E. *sumor-tūn*. Possibly with the meaning of ‘a warm, secluded, and sheltered situation’.¹ Cp. such names as *Caulcott* (*caldan cote*) above, *Winterton* (Lincs., &c.), &c. *Somerford* (Staffs.) is O.E. *sumor-ford* (perhaps ‘a ford only passable in summer’, Duignan, p. 140). Duignan (*loc. cit.*) seems to consider the explanation of *somer-* as O.E. *sumor-* in pl. ns. as not entirely satisfactory. C.D. has *Sumerford* and *Sumæresforda* (i. 30, ch. 26, &c.). The latter

¹ An exactly opposite sense, ‘a tūn only inhabitable in summer,’ is quite possible. Dr. Bradley thinks that a *sumor-tūn* was a place to which the cattle were removed in summer.

has probably for its first element a pers. n., **Sumer*, corresponding to O.H.G. *Sumar* (Förstemann, 1368), and forming the first element of O.E. names (> Norse) like *Sumarleda* (Prob. O.N.), *Sumerled* (Birch, iii. 280, ch. 1044), *Sumerlida* (ch. 1130), also in M.E. *Summerlede* (Ellis, ii. 233). Also cp. *Sumeresham* (iv. 246, ch. 907), where the first element is a pers. n.; *Sumerledetūn* (*Somerleyton*, Suffolk) vi. 200, ch. 1339. On the other hand C.D. has two forms corresponding to Mod. *Somerton* (Norfolk and Som.) *Sumertūn*, iv. 111, ch. 785 (*Winttertonne et Sumertonne*), &c. Cp. *Summertown* below. For *Sumerlida*, &c., see Björkman, pp. 133, 134.

Souldern.

- 1155-61 Suleporhna. Eynsh. Ch. 157, ch. 41.
 1189-91 Suleporne. Ibid. i. 45, ch. 22.
 1216-1307 Solphorn (for Solphorn = Solpörn). Testa de N. 104.
 1236 Shulthorne. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 168, ch. 718.
 1239 Sullethorne. Ibid. i. 1, ch. 1.
 1270 Solthorne. Ibid. i. 14, ch. 12.
 1271-2 Sulthorn. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 253, ch. 1074.
 1274-9 Sulporne, Sulsorne. Rot. Hund. ii. 822, 824.
 1284-5 Solthorn. Feud. Aids, iv. 158.
 1307 Suthorn, Suththorn (for Sulthorn). Rot. in Cur. Scacc. 152.
 1316 Soultherne. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1327-77 Sulthorn. Non. Inq. 133.
 1381 Soldurne. Cal. I. P. M. iii. 35.
 1385 Sulderne. Cal. Rot. Ch.
 1399 Sultherne. Cal. I. P. M. iii. 255.
 1414-31 Sulduerne, Sulthorne. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 48, ch. 614.
 1539 Showldren. Ibid. ii. 251, ch. 792.

- 1509-47 Suldern, Sulderne. Val. Eccl. ii. 161, 221.
 1695 Souldern. Map in Camden.
 1709 Soldern. Oxf. Par. Reg. i. 111.

The first element of this word is difficult to explain. The second is undoubtedly O.E. *þorn*, 'a thorn-bush.' The change from *-þorn*, '-thorn,' to Mod. *-dern*, is analogous to that of *-þorþ*, '-thorþ,' to *-drop*, except that the metathesis has not taken place in the former name, though the 1539 form above shows a temporary substitution of *-dren* for *-dern*. [The actual change of [þ] to *d* may be partly accounted for by lack of stress, but the change of *-lþ-*, *-rþ-* to *-ld-*, *-rd-* was not uncommon in the dialects of M.E., e.g. *lodliche*, Ancren Riwle, p. 212 (ed. Morton) (> O.E. *lāþlice*), *quod* (= O.E. *cwæþ*), further, *Soul-drop* from *Sal-þorþ* (Skeat, Pl. Ns. Cambs.). Cp. remarks under *Hardhorn* in Wyld's Pl. Ns. Lancs., &c. Norm. Fr. influence may also have helped the change, but this, after all, was chiefly merely scribal. Cp. Zachrisson, p. 82, &c.]¹ The change in the vowel is due to lack of stress; it may, however, have been influenced by O.E. *þyrne*, the collective plural form of *þorn*. This word would normally appear in M.E. as *-þern* (a Kentish or Norm. Fr. form instead of *-þirn*). A thorn-bush is commonly used to denote a landmark in O.E. charters. Besides the independent word there are numerous cases in which *þorn* appears either as a first or second element, e.g. *ānlipigan þorn*, *on ānne þorn*, *appelþorn*, *brādanþorn*, *gemærborn*, *loppedeþorn*, *Swalwanþorn*, &c. (cit. Middendorf, p. 139). Cp. further, Thornton > *þorn-tūn*, Thornbury (Gloucs.), *born-byrig* (Earle, Land Chs., p. 154), *þorn-cumb*, *-den*, *-dūn*, *-lēah* (Thornley), *-wic*, &c.; v. Index C. D., vol. vi. The first element is perhaps the same as in *Souldrop* (Cambs.), which Skeat has explained as containing *sol-*, 'a miry pool,

¹ Cp. Wright's Dialect Grammar, pp. 337, &c. M.E. *quod* is explained by Tresperson (Mod. Eng. Grammar, p. 21) as due to the influence of *said*.

pond,' or O.E. *syle*, 'a miry place.' The Mod. vowel and the old forms of Souldern are not, however, consistent with either of these etymologies; everything points to original short *u*, which had two types in its development: (1) where it was lengthened to *ū*, M.E. [ou, ow], and developed normally to Mod. [au]; (2) where it did not undergo lengthening, as shown by the M.E. forms in *o* = [u] and the Mod. forms in *u* and *o* (1709, &c.). It is possible that this first element is O.E. *sulh*, *sulig*, 'a furrow, enclosure, gully,' also 'a plough'. Cp. *sulung*, *swulung*, used in charters as a measure of land, which in Kent was equivalent to a hide. Cp. also remarks in *Crawf. Chs.*, p. 47. An O.E. *sulh þorn* or *æt sūle þorne*, 'the thorn-tree by the furrow,' might be the original form. *sulh* is lengthened to *sūl*, *sūla* with normal loss of *-h* (cp. *healh*, *hāle*); the forms with short *u* could be explained as formations on the analogy of forms which had retained *-h*.

C. D. has such forms as *Sulhford* (iii. 378, app. ch. 91), *Sulgeat* (v. 298, ch. 1151), *Sulig grāf* (iii. 461, app. ch. 507), *Sulig cumb* (iii. 73, ch. 570). All these probably contain O.E. *sulh-*; *-ig* seems to be an adjectival suffix. Cp. *Sulgrave* (Northants) with *Sulig grāf* (*grǣf*) above, and, further, *Salome* above.

Southrope (near Hook Norton).

1316 Suthrop. *Feud. Aids*, iv. 164.

'The south village.' O.E. *sūþ þorp*. For the change of *-þorp* to *-throp* see *Heythrop* above. The *ū* has retained its length and developed to *ou* [au] through the influence of the independent word. Cp. *Astrop* (Northants), *Astrope* (Bucks.) which > *ēast þorp*.

Spelsbury (or Spilsbury).

1180-97 Spelesberi. *Eynsh. Ch.* i. 121, ch. 157.

1216-1307 Spellesbur' .bir. *Testa de N.* 102, 113.

1223-4 Spellesb'y. Osn. Reg. 60, ch. 55.

1343 Spillesbury. Cal. Rot. Ch. 177.

'The bury of *Spel.' O.E. (*æ1*) **Speles byrigē*. No pers. n. *Spel* is on record in O.E. The grounds for assuming its existence are (1) the existence of a corresponding pers. n. in O.H.G. Förstemann (col. 1356) gives, under *Spil*, *Speli*, *Spiligern* = O.E. **Spelgeorn*, *Spilihard* = O.E. **Spelheard*. The name may be connected with O.E. *spelian*, 'to represent, act as representative of another,' *speliend*, 'a representative, vicar' (B.-T.). F. (*loc. cit.*) connects it evidently with Gm. *spielen*, and suggests as a meaning *gaudium* rather than *ludus*. (2) Such pl. ns. as *Spelbrōc* (C. D. iii. 73, ch. 570), *Spelesberie* (D. B. 238 b, Warw.) are found in O.E. Skeat (Pl. Ns. Herts., p. 71, under *Spelbrook*) suggests that the form cited in C. D. = *Speldbrōc*, and connects it with a form **Spelda*, as in *Spalding* (Lincs.), *Spaldwic* (Hants). *Spelbrook* might, however, > **Spelanbrōc*, a weak form of *Spel-* as above. *Spilsby* (Lincs.) is probably derived from a connected word. *Spelsbury* (Oxfsh.) is sometimes spelt *Spilsbury*. *Spellow* (Lancs.) may > **Spelanhlæw*.

Stadhampton.

1316 Stodham. Feud. Aids, iv. 167.

1535 Stodham. Val. Eccl. ii. 170 and Map.

1695 Stadham. Map in Camden.

1805 Stadhampton. Ibid.

'The enclosure for the stud (of horses).' O.E. *stōd-ham(m)* + *-ton*. Cp. under *Studley* below. *-ton* is quite a late addition.

The change from *o* (> O.E. *ō*, Mod. [a], cp. *Studley*) to *a* is difficult to account for: there must have been some analogy at work; perhaps the *a* in *-ham* had some influence. Cp: *Hincksey* and remarks on that name.

Standhill (par. Pyrton).

- 1274-9 Staindelf, Standelf. Rot. Hund. ii. 777, &c.,
872.
1316 Stanydelne (for Stanydelve). Feud. Aids, ii. 171.
1346 Stanydeln (for Stanydelv). Ibid. 175.
1357 Standeleve. Cal. I. P. M. ii. 242.
1395 Standelve. Ibid. iii. 184.
1399-1402 Standelve. Mins. Accs. 320.
1428 Stanydel. Feud. Aids, iv. 192.
1695 Standel. Map in Camden, ed. 1695.
1805 Standelph. Ibid., ed. 1805.

'The stone quarry.' O.E. *stān gedelf*, a common name in O.E. charters, e.g. C. D. vi. 144, ch. 1296, in the boundaries of *Hæselteā* (perhaps *Haseley*, Oxsh.), v. 304, ch. 1155, &c., &c. The final *f* < *v* and was lost, the ending *-del* being replaced by *-d* + *-hill*.

For *delf*, 'a quarry,' > O.E. *gedelf* see N. E. D. and E. D. D., where numerous examples are given of its occurrence. Cp. O.E. *delfan*, 'to dig, delve.' Cp. *Stāngrave* (> *æt stān-græfe*), found in Birch, iii. ch. 1351 (a late charter). It will be noticed that the 1805 edition of Camden still retains the original suffix. Cp. *Stonydelph* (Warw.), which has obviously the same etymology; *Delph* (Yorks.) > *æt þæm (ge)delfe*; *Nordelph* (Norf.), which perhaps > *norþ gedelf*. For a similar loss of final *f* and confusion with *-hill* compare *Oxhill* (Warw.), which > *Ohtes scýlf* (cp. *Octesselfa*, *Octeshelva*, *Osteshull*, Cal. Ch. Rlls. ii. 64, 65, 73).

Standlake.

- 1150-60 Stanlache. Eynsh. Ch. i. 88, ch. 95.
1192 Stanlac. Ibid. i. 84, ch. 90.
1216-1307 Stanlak. Testa de N. 100.
1230 Stanlack, Stanlak. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 112, 121.
1268-81 Stanlake. Eynsh. Ch. i. 280, ch. 411.
1274-9 Stanlak, -e. Rot. Hund. ii. 702-3.

- 1302 Standlake. Eynsh. Ch. i. 369, ch. 541.
 1360 Stanelake, Stanlake. Ibid. ii. 4-6, ch. 1360.
 1695 Stanlake. Map in Camden.

'The stony stream.' O.E. *stān-lacu*. *-lake* in O.E. pl. ns. has not the usual meaning as in the Mod. word. It refers to a *running* stream of water as well as a pool of standing water. Cp. under *Bablockhithe*. *Stān-* would then refer either to the banks of the stream or perhaps to rocks situated in its course. Cp. *stān-mere*, C. D. i. 197, ch. 162, which may mean 'the stone-boundary', O.E. *stān(ge)mære*, or may also mean 'the stone lake' (as above)—*stān-mere*, also *stānmeres hlinc*, iii. 380, app. ch. 123, where *mere* can hardly denote *gemære*. (Cp. Merton, *anté*). C. D. has also the common *Stanley* > *stān lēah*. Cp. also *Stanton*, *Stonor*. The phonetic development consists in shortening of *ā* before *-nl* and the development of a parasitic *d* (see Introd. pp. 13, 20).

Stanton Harcourt.

- 1086 Stantone. D. B. i. 155 b.
 1216-1307 Stanton Harecourt. Testa de N. 112 b.
 1239 Stanthona. Eynsh. Ch. i. 1.
 1270 Staunthone. Ibid. 12, 14.
 1284-5 Stanton Harecurt, Staundon. Feud. Aids, iv. 156, 159.

'The stone-tūn.' O.E. *stān-tūn*. This is a common pl. n. in O.E. Cp. *Stāntūn*, C. D. ii. 137, ch. 330 (*Stanton*, Shrops.), &c. It is found as Mod. *Stanton* or *Staunton*. The latter form (shown in two forms above of this type) is due to Norm. Fr. influence (cp. Introd. p. 31).

Harcourt is the name of the family. Testa de N. (*loc. cit.*) has 'De feodo Riči de Harecēt de feodo dim' milit' in Stanton jūr'. The Hund. Rlls. (ii. 856) have: 'Ricardus de Harecurt tenet manerium de Stanton,' &c. Abbr. Placit., p. 58, has *Witto de Harewecurt*. The name is from *Harcourt* in Normandy.

Stanton St. John [s̄indžən].

1216-1307 Stanton. Testa de N. 100.

1354 Stauntone Seynt Johan. Eynsh. Ch. i. 396, ch.
581.

Called *St. John* from the St. John [sindžən] family, who once owned it. The Hund. Rlls. (ii. 713) have: 'Priorissa de Littlemor tenet . . . inter ipsam et dominum *Johannem de Sancto Johanne* unam mesuag' . . . in villa de *Forsthulle* ad manerium de *Stanton*.'

Steeple Aston.

1086 Estone. D. B. i. 156.

1216-1307 Stepeleston, Stepelston. Testa de N. 100, 103.

1320 Stapelaston. Rot. in Cur. Scacc. 325.

The obvious etymology of the first word is perhaps the correct one, and the place is so named on account of its church steeple, and in order to distinguish it from *Aston* and *Aston Rowant*. See these names above. *Steeple* may, however, be originally O.E. *stapol*, 'a pole or pillar.' The 1320 form would then be normal. The forms in *e* and the Mod. name could be explained as being due either to the Mercian forms *steapol*, *steapul* (with *-u* umlaut) in O.E., or to the influence of popular etymology. Cp. *Staple* (Wilts., Kent, &c.), *Staplehill*, *Stapleford* (Chesh., &c.), and the numerous *Stapletons*. Professor Moorman suggests that M.E. *staple* may have been used here in the sense of 'a market'. Cp. its Mod. use in such expressions as 'staple product'. If this is the case, the usage is parallel to that of *Chipping* in *Chipping Norton*, &c., and the meaning of the pl. n. would be 'the east "tūn" where a market was held'.

Stoke, North, South.

1086 Stoch. D. B. i. 155, 160.

1216-1307 Stok. Testa de N. 100.

'A fenced-in place.' O.E. (*æt þæm*) *stocce*. Cp. such pl. ns. as *Tavistock*, *Basingstoke*. C. D. has numerous examples of *Stoc*, e. g. v. 124, ch. 1065, which he indexes as Oxf.? *-ch* for *k* is a common Norm. Fr. spelling. Cp. *Waterstock*, *Woodstock*, below.

Stoke Lyne.

1086 Stoches. D. B. i. 157 b.

1634 Stokelyne. Oxf. Visit. 335.

Most *Stokes* have now some other name added for purposes of identification. *Lyne* is probably a family name, though it may be originally connected with O.E. *līn*, 'flax,' for which see *Lyneham* above.

Stoke Talmage.

1086 Stoches. D. B. i. 159.

1216-1307 Stok Talemach. Testa de N. 113, 116.

Testa de N. (p. 120) says that Petrus Talemasche held land in Tetsworth (two miles from Stoke T.). See further Rot. Hund. ii. 813, 820.

Stokenchurch.

1274-9 Stokencheriche. Rot. Hund. ii. 785.

1292 Stockenechurche. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 229.

1399 Stokyingcherche. Cat. A. D. ii. 165.

'The church made of logs, or wooden church.' O.E. *stoccen cyrice*. Cp. *Stoke* above. O.E. *stoc*, *stocc*, meant 'a log, post, trunk, stock'. The adjective *stoccen*, *stoccen* had the meaning 'made of logs, stocks'. Cp. the passage in C. D. iii. 73, ch. 619—'æfter ðære herestræt tō þære ealde *stoccene sancte Andreas cyricean*'—a charter of Eadgar dated 971 referring to land in Somers. near the monastery of Glastonbury. Cp. also *Stokenham* (Devon). Earle (Land Chs., p. 465) seems to regard *stoccen* in the passage cited above as a noun. He translates: 'to the old stokken of St.

Andrew's church.' The meaning is, however, made clear, as Middendorf points out (p. 127), by the charter in Birch, ii. 53, where the passage occurs—'et de dono . . . *ligneam* capellam Sanctae Mariae . . . quae Anglice *Stockkin* appellata sita est . . . *lapideae* capellae Sancti Nicholai et Anglice *Stonin* appellata est.'

Stonesfield.

- 1086 Stuntesfeld. D. B. i. 158.
 1204 Staindefeld? Obl. Rlls. 206.
 1216-1307 Stuntesfeld. Testa de N. 107.
 1230 Stundesfeld, Stuntesfeld. Eynsh. Ch. i. 234, 339 A.
 1274-9 Stuntesfeld, Stu'tesfeld, Stontesfeld. Rot. Hund.
 i. 46, ii. 867, 872.
 1535 Stonyfelde. Map in Val. Eccl.
 1662 Stunsfield. } Oxf. Par. Reg. i. 106, 108.
 1674 Stansfield. }
 1695 Stunsfield. Map in Camden.

The second element is O.E. *-feld* (field). The first element is obviously originally *Stuntes*. This probably represents a pers. n. which was originally the O.E. adjective *stunt*, 'stupid, foolish.' Cp. M.H.G. *stunz*, Icel. *stuntr*, and O.E. *styntan* (> **stuntian*), 'to make or become dull,' hence 'to stunt'. The word is preserved in Mod. Eng. *stunted*, which, according to Skeat, originally meant 'short' either metaphorically or literally, and was later confined to the literal sense 'short in stature', probably by influence of Scand. *stultr*, 'short, stunted.' Cp. further Björkman, Scand. loan-words in M.E., i. 221. The change consists in *o* for *u* which causes a spelling-pronunciation (Phonol. p. 16), the loss of *t* in the combination [-nts-], and the change of **Stonsfield* or *Stunsfield* (1695) to *Stonesfield* by a popular etymology. The form *Stonyfelde* (1535) shows another attempt at an etymology. The form in the Obl. Rlls., if genuine, is probably due to a confusion with such names as *Stanidelf* > O.E. *stāngedelf*, for which see under *Standhill* above.

Stonor.

1274-9 Stonor (in family n.). Rot. Hund. ii. 812, &c.

Johannes de Stonor is mentioned in F. A. iii. 176 and Thomas Stonor (*ibid.*, 200) in connexion with Bix (one mile from Stonor). The latter also held land in Chinnor and Sydenham (*ibid.* iii. 192). The Hund. Rlls. mention Ricardus Stonore frequently as holding land in the hundred of Pyrton. See Hund. Rlls. (*loc. cit.* above and *passim*). If the name is originally an English pl. n. it may denote O.E. *stān-ōra*, 'the stone bank.' Cp. *Stānōraleah* (-lege), C. D. iii. 380, app. ch. 123.

Stowood (par. Beckley).

TYPE I.

1142 Stwawode! St. Fride. Ch. ii. 23, ch. 710.

1231-2 Stawode. *Ibid.* 42, ch. 732.

TYPE II.

1233 Stowde (for Stowode). Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 189.

1274-9 Stovord (for Stowood?), Stowude (2). Rot. Hund. ii. 39, 40.

1298 Stouuewod, Stowood. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 96, ch. 252.

Probably 'the wood by the (holy) place'. *stōw* in O.E. meant (1) 'a place, spot, locus'; (2) 'a place which is built, a collection of houses, a house, habitation, dwelling, settlement'; (3) 'a holy place'. Cp. *Godstow* above. It is found in the expression *tō þære hāligan stōwe*, as in Birch, iii. 59, ch. 889, and from this use probably arose the signification of 'a holy place'. The forms in Type I, however, seem to indicate that the *o* is not original, but developed from *a*, which, if long, would give M.E. *o*. If these forms represent actual pronunciations, the etymology *stōw wudu* is impossible. -*vord* may be due, to a certain extent, to confusion with -*ford*. There is a place *Stowford* mentioned in Eynsh. Ch. ii. 96. Cp. *Stow* (Lincs.), *Chepstow* > *ċēap stōw*, &c.

Stratton Audley.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Stratone. D. B. i. 158.
1216-1307 Stratton. Testa de N. 105.

TYPE II.

- 1182 Stretton. Index, p. 707.

'The "tūn" on the street.' O.E. *stræt-tūn*. This is a common name in O.E., and probably denotes in some cases that the *-tūn* was situated on or near an old Roman road. *Stræt-* is a Latin loan-word > *strāta* (*via*) with the normal fronting. Another form of the same word is found in *Stretford* (Lancs., &c.), *Stretton*, &c., where the *e* represents O.E. (non W. Sax.) *ē*, which has been shortened before *tf*. Cp. Type II above and Introd. p. 13. C. D. has *stræt-tūn*, *-lēā*, *-ford*, *-ham*, &c.

In the Cal. of Inq., p. 261, we find James de *Aldithele*, *Audithele*, *Aldeleye* mentioned in connexion with *Stratton*, *Stretton*, and *Whercewyk* (Wretchwick, which is close to Stratton Audley). This points to the probability of *Audley* being originally O.E. *Ealdgyþe leāh*, 'the lea of Ealdgyþ.' *Ealdgyþ* is a known fem. name. The name *Audley*, &c., was first a pl. n., then a family name, and later applied again to *Stratton* to form a pl. n. There is an *Audley* in Staffs., from which the family name may have arisen. Duignan (Pl. Ns. Staffs.) finds the etymology as above.

Studley.

- 1008? Stodlege. C. D. iii. 339, ch. 714; Eynsh. Ch. i. 1.
1149 Stodleye. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
1232 Stodleghe. Cl. Rlls. (1281-4) Hen. III, p. 115.
1274-9 Stodt, Stodleie, Stodleye. Rot. Hund. ii. 790, 795, 806.

'The "lea" of the stud (of horses).' O.E. *stōd-leāh*. Besides the reference cited above, C. D. has several other instances of *stōd-leāh*. Cp. further *Stōd-ham*, iv. 281, ch. 945

(= *Studham*, Herts.). The *ō* has developed normally to *u* [a]. Cp. *Stadhampton* above.

For the use of O.E. *stōd* cp. C. D. iii. 363, 'ic geann mīnon hēahdēorhunton ðæs stōdes ðē is on Colingahrycge,' and iv. 30, 'ic gean . . . healfes ðæs stōdes æt Trostingtūne,' &c. Cp. also *stōd-fald*, 'an enclosure for horses, a paddock'; *stōd-hors*, 'a stud-horse' (B.-T.).

Stutridge (near Lewknor). The etymology is doubtful in the absence of old forms, but is possibly 'Stuta's ridge', O.E. *Stutan hrycg*. The existence of *Stut*, *Stuta* as pers. ns. may be inferred from the forms *Stutheard* (*Stutardes cumb*, C. D. iii. 424, app. ch. 408, and iii. 456, app. ch. 485), *Stuthere* (as in *stuterer hyl*, *loc. cit.*, v. 48, ch. 1006). Förstemann gives such forms as *Stotonhausen*, Fries. *Stuthenborch*, Sax. *Stuteslo*, and O.H.G. *Stozzes wilare* (col. 1365).

O.E. has also a word *stut*, 'a gnat, midge,' which could also serve as a first element. Cp. *Midgeley* (Yorks.).¹

Summertown. See *Somerton* above. The form of the first element would point to a comparatively Mod. coinage.

Sunnymeade (near Summertown, Oxford). The second element of this pl. n. is O.E. *mēd*, 'a meadow' = Lat. *pratium* in glosses, the dative of which, *mēdwe*, has given Mod. Eng. 'meadow'. Cp. *læs* and *læswe* = Mod. *Leasowe*. The word is connected with O.E. *māwan*, 'to mow,' and probably signifies originally 'the mown place'. There is more doubt about the origin of the first element. No such word as **sunig* is on record in O.E., so that if the adjective *sunny* is originally the first element, the pl. n. must be of M.E. or modern formation. This is quite possible, as it does not seem to appear in M.E. documents. There is also a pers. n. *Sunna*, as in *Sundon*, *Sunbury*, &c., which is a possible first element.

¹ I note now the form *Stodrugge*, Court Rlls. i. 334. (Public Record Office; List and Indexes, vol. vi). Is this *stōd*, as in *Studley* above?

Sutton (par. Stanton Harcourt). 'The south "tūn".' Cp. *Aston, Weston, Norton*. The *þ* has been assimilated to the following point-consonant and lost; the *ū* has been shortened before *-þt*. C. D. has numerous examples of *sūþ tūn*.

Swalcliff.

- Swaleweclive (in family n.). Cal. Bodl. Ch. p. 297.
 1216-1307 Sualeclive. Testa de N. 120.
 1272 Swalewelyve. Cal. Rot. Ch. 160.
 1316 Swaltclyve. Parl. Writs, ii. 352.
 1385 Swalclyve. Eynsh. Ch. i. 405, ch. 597.
 1547 Swakeley? Cat. A. D. ii. 166.
 1509-47 Swacliff. Map in Val. Eccl.
 1695 Swacliff. Map in Camden.

'The swallow-cliff.' O.E. *swealwe*, *swealwan* or *swealwa cliff*. Cp. *Clifton, Cleveley*, above. C. D. has *Swealwan clife* (v. 337, ch. 1176), *Swealewan hlyp*—the swallow-leap (Hants), *Swealwan þorn*, &c. The *-we* has been lost at an early date, and later the *l* seems to have been lost in such forms as *Swacliff*. The form in *-t* is probably a scribal error; *t* for *c* is common. The form in *-ley* shows a temporary substitution of O.E. *-lēah* for the less familiar *-cliff*. Birch has (ii. 481, ch. 756) 'rupis irundinis' id est 'swealewan clif' (cit. Middendorf, p. 131).

Björkman (p. 134) gives a pers. n. *Sualeua* (Ellis, i. 278, ii. 45, &c.), which he takes to be Norse, and compares the fem. name *Suala* > **Swalwa*.

Swallow is also a river name. Cp. *Swealwe fluminis*, C. D. i. 250, ch. 199. As Swalcliff is on the R. Swale, this may be the first element, otherwise Swale is a 'back-formation' from the place-name.

Swerford.

- 1086 Surford. D. B. i. 161.
 1199 Swerreford. Rot. Cur. Reg. ii. 59.
 1216-1307 Swerford. Testa de N. 101.
 1274-9 Swureford. Rot. Hund. i. 33.
 1695 Swarford. Map in Camden.

Swere (River). The name Swere is doubtlessly pre-English. Swerford is obviously named from it. Note the form in *ar* in Camden and compare the prominent *Swarvord* recorded by Hope (1883). The form in *u* is probably due to the influence of the preceding *w*. Cp. *sweostor* and *swustor* and Bülbring, p. 259, &c.

Swinbrook.

- 1086 Swinbroc. D. B. i. 160.
 1216-1307 Swynbroc. Testa de N. 101.
 1232 Swymbroc. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 71.
 1274-9 Swynebroc, Swynebrok. Rot. Hund. ii. 737.
 1311 Swenebrock. Cat. A. D. ii. 165.

'The brook of the swine.' O.E. *swīna brōc*, or, in singular, *swīn-brōc*. C. D. has this pl. n. several times—e.g. v. 290, 332, chs. 1148, 1172, &c.—as *swīnbrōc*. Cp. also *Swynburne*, *Suīnburnan*, v. 184, ch. 1096, &c.; *Swīndūn*, *Swīnes-hēafod* (*Swindon*, *Swineshead*, Lincs.), chs. 300, 1037, &c. Numerous other instances (such as *Swīnford*) may be given. The form in *-m* (above) is probably a scribal error: it may, however, indicate a change from *n* (point-nasal) to *m* (lip-nasal) through the influence of the following lip-consonant.

Swyncombe.

- 1086 Suinecombe. D. B. i, 159 b.
 1233 Swanescumbe. } Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, pp. 333,
 1234 Swinescumbe. } . 515.
 1316 Sweynecombe. Parl. Writs, ii. 352.

'The swine-valley.' O.E. *swīna* (or *swīn*) *cumb*. Cp. preceding word. C. D. has *swinecumbes heafod*, iii. 455, app. ch. 485. The form in *á* (Cl. Rlls.), if genuine, may be due to O.E. *swān*, 'swineherd, young man, knight.' Cp. Mod. *swain*, through the cognate O.N. *sveinn*. The form in the Parl. Writs has evidently been influenced by the Norse word. Cp. the 1311 form of *Swinbrook* above.

Sydenham.

- 1086 Sidreham (for Sidneham?). D. B. i. 161.
 1216-1307 Sidenham, Sideham. Testa de N. 100, 107.
 1233 Sideham. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 354.
 1274-9 ? Sideleme, Sidenham. Rot. Hund. ii. 713, 714.
 1316 Cydenham. Feud. Aids, iv. 171.
 1346 Sydenham. Ibid. 175.

'The enclosure of Sida.' O.E. *Sidan ham*. Such a name is found in C. D. iii. 414, app. ch. 379, which has *sidanhamme*.

The existence of a pers. n. *Sida* is indicated (1) by the presence of the same name as a second element of a pers. n. in M.E., e.g. *Lefsida*, Ellis, ii. 66 (though this may = O.E. *-swiþ*); (2) by the existence of pers. ns. in *Side-*, e.g. *Sideflæd* (fem.), C. D. vi. 210, in a Manumission; *Sidegar* (Sidgar), Ellis, ii. 214. Cp. further the continental *Sidepert* (O.E. **Sidebeorht*). There are numerous cases of *Sideman* and *Sidewine*; (3) by the diminutive *Sidel* in *Sideles ham*, C. D. iii. app. ch. 464; this may account for the form in *l* above (Rot. Hund.), and a double diminutive *Sideloc* (on a coin of Will. I); (4) lastly, Förstemann (p. 1315) has *Sido* (O.E. *Sida*). Middendorf (p. 117) suggests that '*op sidan hamme*', above (C. D.), contains O.E. *sīd*, 'wide.' This is a possible explanation.

T

Tackley.

- 1086 Tachelie. D. B. i. 157.
 1175-6 Takkelea (N. de). Pipe Rlls. xxv. 31.
 1176 Taccheleia. Eynsh. Ch. i. 97, ch. 112.
 1270 Tackele. Eynsh. Ch. i. 13, ch. 12.
 1274-9 Takeġ. Rot. Hund. ii. 858.
 1320 Takkele. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376, ch. 587.
 1429 Takele. St. Frīde. Ch. i. 429, ch. 612.

'The "lea" of *Tacca.' O.E. **Taccan leāh*. Only the diminutive *Tæcel* is on record as a pers. n. in O.E. This

is found in *Tæceles brōc*, C. D. iv. 47, ch. 751. C. D. has also a pl. n. *Tach burh* (ii. 145, ch. 386) which indicates **Tac(c)an burg*, but which Searle does not note.

Tadmarton.

- 956 Tadmærtūn. C. D. ii. 315, 322, chs. 442, 448, &c.
 Tademertūn. Ibid. v. 367, ch. 1195.
 Tademærtune. Ibid. app. ch. 453, iii. 444.
 1086 Tademertone. D. B. i. 156 b.
 1154-89 Thademartonam. Abing. Chron. ii. 192.
 1192 Tadmarton. Osn. Reg. 71, ch. 70.
 1327-77 Tademarton. Non. Inq. 138.

It is tempting to derive *Tadmar-* from an O.E. pers. n. *Thēōdmær*. This is a common Gmc. name (cp. Förstemann), and is recorded in the O.E. period as that of an archbishop, and of a moneyer (see Searle and references there given). It is possibly the first element in the Yorks. *Todmorden*. On the other hand the earliest spellings of *Tadmarton*, recorded above, do not square very satisfactorily with the view that the first element is O.E. *Thēōdmær*. It is more probable that the name should be analysed as O.E. **Tāddan*, or *Tādan*, or *Tæddan*, *mere-tūn*, 'the lake-town of Tada.' For this cp. *Tadanleah*, C. D. ch. 1094, &c., and *Merton* above. The O.E. pers. ns. of this class are ambiguous in form in the Charters.

Tangley Hall (near Burford).

- 1540 Tyngeley? Index, p. 726.

See Taynton below. The first element of these two names may possibly be identical and represent a river name.

Taston (near Charlbury).

- 1274-9 Thorstan' (in family n.). Rot. Hund. ii. 746.
 1316 Thorstane. Feud. Aids, iv. 165.

Possibly 'Thor's stone'. O.E. *Thōres stān*: cp. *Tusmore* below. Although the phonetic development of this pl. n.

is rather extraordinary, the above is probably the correct etymology. Another possibility is that the *Th-* denotes *t* and that the name represents *tor-stone*, *tor* meaning a rock. Cp. *on ðone torr*, C. D. ii. 28, *on gyran torr*, iii. 412, *horsa torr*, *lyllan torr*, iii. 133 (cit. B.-T.). In the neighbourhood of Taston there are numerous stones of local interest, from which some of the neighbouring places, such as *Enstone*, *Hoar Stone*, *Lidston*, *Broadstone* (q. v. above), obtain their names. For the phonetic development we may compare (1) *Tusmore* > *Thōr-* (below) for the change of *Th-* and *T-* (see also Introd. p. 21); (2) *Cassington* for *-rs-<-s-*. There may also have been some analogy with *Aston*. Camden marks an *Ascot* just near.

Taynton.

- 1086 Teigtone (for Teigntone), Tentone?. D. B. i.
 154, 157.
 1216-1307 Teinton. Testa de N. 108.
 1274-9 Teinton, Teynton. Rot. Hund. ii. 34, 733, 742.

The first element may be the river name *Teigne* as in *Teignmouth* (Devon). See D. B. i. 103 b, 106 b. Taynton and Tangle Hall are both on a stream flowing into the R. Windrush.

Tetsworth.

- 1241 Tytelesworth. Abbr. Plac. p. 117.
 1216-1307 Tettesw'rch. Testa de N. 120.
 1274-9 Tetteswrthe. Rot. Hund. ii. 774.
 1284-5 Tottlesworth? (for Tettlesworth?). Feud. Aids,
 iv. 167.

'The homestead of Tytel.' O. E. **Tyteles wyrþ*. For *Tytel* see under Tiddington below. For change of *y* to *e* see Introd. p. 31. The name *Tetta*, as in *Tettan burne* (Crawf. Chs. ii, l. 18), may be connected.

Tew, Great and Little.

- 1086 Tewe, Teowe, Tewam, Teova. D. B. i. 155 b,
 156, 156 b.
- 1216-1307 Parva, Magna, Tiwe, Tiwa. Testa de N. 100,
 101, 102, 103.
- Tiwe (Hugo de). Ibid. 101, 103.

Cp. perhaps, *Teowelege*, C. D. iii. 379, app. ch. 118;
Teowes þorn, iii. 387, app. ch. 174 (both in late charters).
See also *Dunstew* above.

A pre-English origin is possible.

Thame.

- 675 Tamu, Thamū. C. D. v. 16, 21, chs. 987, 988.
 Tame. A.-S. Chron. i. 119, anno 971.
- 1004 Tame. St. Frīde. Ch. i. 3, ch. 2.
- 1086 Tame. D. B. i. 155.
- 1216-1307 Thame. Testa de N. 102.

Thamē is identical with the first element or root of the
name Thames. See Dr. Bradley's essay on Place-Names in
Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association,
vol. i.

Thomley [þamli J. P. M.].

- 1086 { Tumbleia. } D. B. i. 156 a 1, i. 159 b 1.
 { Tobelia. }
- 1124-30 Thumeleya. St. Frīde. Ch. i. 14, ch. 8.
- 1163 Tumelega, Tumulega. Pipe Rlls. vi. 50.
- 1199 Tumeleia. St. Frīde. Ch. i. 43, ch. 40.
- 1215 Thumele. Osn. Reg. 57.
- 1274-9 Thomef. Rot. Hund. ii. 714.

'The meadow of Tuma.' O.E. *Tuman lēah*. *Tuma* is
a known pers. n. in O.E. The name is found in *Bede* (ed.
Plummer, ii. 268) as a shortened form of *Trumwine*. A
moneyer of the name *Tuma* is recorded by Searle. Ellis
(ii. 243) has a pers. n. *Tumi* and a name *Tumme*, perhaps
corresponding to O.E. *Tumma*, as in the Lib. Vitae (O. E. T.,

p. 562). The change of *T-* to *Th-* can only be ascribed to a spelling-pronunciation. In M.E. orthography [t] is represented by both *t* and *th*, while [p] is sometimes represented by *t*. Cp. under *Tusmore* and *Intro.* p. 21.

The *o* is also due to spelling-pronunciation. It is to be noted that a *b* was developed in the early forms; this was lost at a later date.¹ Cp. *Intro.* p. 20 above.

Thrup (near Kidlington).

1086 Trop. D. B. i. 159.

1170-5 Tropa. Eynsh. Ch. i. 94, ch. 107.

1279† Thorp. Reg. Godst. Nunn. 267, ch. 367.

1537 Throppa. St. Fride. Ch. i. 96, ch. 96.

'The village.' O.E. *þorp*. Cp. *-þorp* in *Burdrop*, *Dunthrop*, &c. It is rather surprising to find pl. ns. in *-þorp* so numerous in a county as far south as Oxsh. Jellinghaus (p. 322) seems to consider the form *thrupp* as a Danish or Westphalian dialectal form of *þorp* borrowed in O.E. There is sufficient evidence, however, to prove that such a change as that of *-þorp* to *-thrupp* could be accounted for by phonetic development. Metathesis is common. Cp. *Burcott*, &c., and *Intro.* p. 20. The older forms, too, go to show that *Thrupp* was originally *þorp*. The change of *o* to *u* [a] is difficult to explain. We should expect Mod. **Thropp*, as in *Heythrop*, &c.

Tiddington.

1086 Titendone. D. B. i. 160 b.

1216-1307 Tetindon. Testa de N. 105.

1274-9 Tetindon. Rot. Hund. ii. 34, 714.

1284-5 Totinden (for Tetinden?). Feud. Aids, iv. 167.

'The hill of *Tytta.' O.E. **Tyttan dūn*. The forms in M.E. with *i* and *e* point to original O.E. *y* as the vowel, *e* being a common Norm. Fr. symbol for *i > y*. *Tytta* as an O.E.

¹ The *b*, however, may be original and denote a name *Tumba* (a shortened form of such names as *Tūnbeorht* or *Trumbeorht*).

pers. n. may be inferred from the fact that there is on record a diminutive weak form in *-el+a*. *Tyttla* (= *Tytt+el+a*). The name is found in the Lorica Glosses (O. E. T., p. 171, l. 119). Fl. of Worcs. has also *Tytel* (cit. Searle), and Bede has *Tytilus* (ed. Plummer, ii. 15, p. 116). For the phonetic changes see Introd. pp. 19, 31, and for the replacement of *-dōn* by *-ton* p. 23 above.

Middendorf (pp. 134-5) assumes an O.E. *tittle* = 'teat, nipple' as the first element in such forms as *tittandūne*, Birch. ii. 347, ch. 667; iii. 583, ch. 1282; C. D. iii. 77, ch. 570, but this is much more likely to contain a pers. n. *Titta*, of which *Tytel*, *Titel* (cp. *Titillus*, Bede, cit. Searle, and *Titelescumbe*, C. D. ii. 420) is a diminutive.

*Tilgersley.

1257-9 Tilgaresle. Eynsh. Ch. i. 219, ch. 313, &c.

1274-9 Tilgardesle, Tilgardesleke (for Tilgardeslege?). Rot. Hund. ii. 859.

1383 Tilgaresleye. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 77, ch. 633.

'The meadow of Tilgār.' O.E. **Tilgāres lēah*. *Til-* in O.E. is a first element of many pers. ns., such as *Til-beorht*, *-frith*, *-gār* (as in *Tilgares dīc*, C. D. iii. 342, ch. 714). This last is in a charter referring to the boundaries of *Eynsham* (anno 1005), and as Tilgersley is usually given as being near Eynsham it is probable that its first element is *Tilgār*, and that the *d* in the later forms is due to confusion with *-geard*. *-geard* and its Gmc. equivalent is a known suffix in pers. ns. Cf. Gm. *Libegart* (= O.E. **Lōfgeard*), *Folcgeard*, *Heregeard*, &c. *Tilgeard* would, however, have given **Tilyersley* or **Tillersley*.

Toot Baldon.

TYPE I.

1274 Todbaldiston. Abbr. Plac. p. 192.

TYPE II.

1312 Totbaldyndone. Index, p. 36.

1316 Totbaldindon. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.

1428 } Tot Baldyngton. { Feud. Aids, iv. 199.
1535 } Val. Eccl. ii. 229.

The earliest form of this name suggests an etymology —‘Theodbaldes tūn or dūn.’ This pers. n. is common in O.E. The usual Mod. form of this pers. n. is, however, *Tibbald*, *Tibbles*. On the other hand, *Toot* may be an independent word. Middendorf (p. 135) gives O.E. *tōt*, *tōte*, ‘a projection, small hill, tuft (of grass),’ as in *Tōlleie*, Birch, i. 94, ch. 59 A (which may, however, contain O.E. *Tōta*, a pers. n., as in Searle, p. 458, and be derived from *Tōtan tēah*). Cp. also *Totham* (Essex) and *Tottenham*. *Tōt* is probably connected with O.E. *tōtian*, which, according to Sweet, means ‘to peep out, protrude, project’, and the root idea may be ‘a look-out place’, ‘projection.’ Cp. Mod. Eng. *tout* (originally ‘to spy out’). According to the E. D. D. *toot* means (1) ‘a peep, glance’, (2) ‘a hilly promontory’.

If the etymology is either *tōt* or a pers. n. *Tōta*, *d* in the form cited above must be explained as due to voicing through the following *b*, and the *s* as a genitival suffix supplied by analogy of strong pers. ns. The later forms suggest that the speakers felt the name as *Tot + balden*. For *Baldon* see *Marsh Baldon* below. The change from *-tūn* to *-dūn* is common. See *Introd.* p. 23.

Tusmore.

1086 Toresmere. D. B. i. 157 b.
1216-1307 Thuresm’e, Turesm’e. Testa de N. 101, 104.
1274-9 Tursmer’. Rot. Hund. ii. 825.
1284-5 Thouesmer, Thouersmer. Feud. Aids, iv. 158.
1316 Toresmere. Ibid. iv. 169.
1374 Turesmere. Cal. Chs. in Bodl. 373.
1535 Towresmere. Val. Eccl. ii. 221.

‘The boundary (or lake) of Thōr (Thūr).’ O.E. *Thōres* (*gē*)*mære* or *mere*. From the forms of this pl. n. it is impossible to decide the origin of the second element. Either

mere, 'a lake, meer,' or (*ǵe*)*mære*, 'a boundary,' both common as elements of pl. ns., would give the result *-mere* in M.E. Cp. *Littlemore*, &c.

For *Thōr* cp. under *Taston* above. *Thōr* was the Scand. name corresponding to the Latin deity Jupiter, and also used as the name of a man. Ellis has *Thor*, *Tor* (ii. 240, &c.) as the M.E. form. For the loss of *r* before *s* cp. *Cassington*, and see Introd. p. 19. For the change of *Th-* to *T-* cp. p. 21 above. The vowel change is $\bar{o} < \bar{u} < a$. Cp. Mod. Eng. *blood* [blad] > O.E. *blōd*.

It is also possible that the initial *t* is original and that *Th-* in the early forms represents that sound.

Tythrop (near Thame).

1086 Duchitorp. D. B. i. 155 b (J. L. G. M.).

1216-1307 Tuphrop (*p* for *t*). Testa de N. 106.

1274-9 Twythrop, Tvytroph (for *-thorp*). Rot. Hund. ii. 43, 784, &c.

Probably *twī-*, *twȳ-* *þorp*, 'the double village,' perhaps on either side of a stream or road. Cp. *Twyford* (Bucks.), O.E. *twīford*, 'the double ford.' Cp. further *twīwel*, C. D. vi. 166, ch. 1308, and O.E. *twifeald*, 'twofold.' The change from *Tw-* to *Ty-* is not without parallel; *swu-* is often replaced by *su-* (cp. under *Souldern*), and, further, *swulung* and *sulung*, *swustor* and *sustor*. Middendorf (p. 134) gives a form *tīg*, *tīh*, which he takes to mean 'a grass-plot, pasture' on the ground of dial. *tie*, *tye*, 'an extensive common land.' He cites O.E. *tīgwellan* (Birch, ch. 1023) and *tūn-tīh* (ibid., ch. 326). If this word is genuine it may be the first element of *Tythorp*, or at least have influenced the development from *Twy-* to *Ty-*.

U

Upton (and **Signet**).

1086 Optone. D. B. 154 b.

'The high-town.' O.E. *upp-tūn*. There are over forty *Uptons* in England, also *Upware*, *Upbury*, *Upham*, *Upthorpe*, &c.

C. D. has several instances of *Uptūn* (see Index). The meaning is probably that the original 'tūn' was situated on a hillside, away from the river. The D. B. form shows the common substitution of *o* for short *u*.

Cp. O.E. *uppan*, 'above,' perhaps present in *Uppingham* (Rutland).

W

Walcote (par. Charlbury).

- 1216-1307 Walecot. Testa de N. 106.
 1274-9 Walecote. Rot. Hund. ii. 737.
 1316 Walcote. Feud. Aids, iv. 165.

'The homestead of the strangers or serfs.' O.E. *wēala* (for **wealha*) *cot*. *Wealh-* in O.E. meant (1) 'a foreigner, a Celt' (cp. *Wēala*, 'the Welsh'); (2) 'a slave, servant'. It is the first element in most of the pl. ns. *Walton*, *Walcote*, &c. The genitive plural is *wēala*, which gives correctly Mercian *Wale-*. It is possible that many of the *Waltons* = *weall-tūn*, 'the wall-town,' but such forms as those above point to a genitive plural *-a*. C. D. has *Walecote* (Mercian for *weala cote*), iv. 139, ch. 806—a late charter (1051-60); also *Wealcotes lēah*, vi. 88, ch. 1263, where *weal-* probably = *weall*, 'a wall.' Such forms as *Wealadenz*, *Wealaget*, *Wealeshūð* (for *-hȳþ*), *Walesho*, *Wialesflēt*, &c. (see Index, vol. vi) prove that the first element was probably *Wealh-*; *weall* could not be used in a possessive sense. In the forms *Weales-*, &c. (genitive singular) *Wealh* is probably a pers. n., 'the stranger.'

For the meaning cp. Charlton, Charlbury, above.

Warborough.

- 856 Wæardæs bæorh, Weardesburg, Weardburg. C. D. v. 112, ch. 1056.
 915-22 Weardburg. Ibid. ii. 156, ch. 1343.
 944 Weardæs beorh. Ibid. v. 291, ch. 1148.
 1274-9 Wardburg'. Rot. Hund. ii. 751.
 1315 Wareborough. Osn. Reg. 64, ch. 60.

1316 Warburgh. Parl. Writs, ii. 354.

1321 Warborow. Reg. Godst. Nunn. ii. 541, ch. 729.

'The fortress where watch was kept.' O.E. *weard-burg*. *Weard* in O.E. really means 'a guard, watcher', but is also used to signify the 'act of watching, guarding, a watch, guard'. In the forms in C. D. with genitive *-es* the meaning is probably the former, or they may represent a pers. n. *Weard-*. The original meaning is, however, as above, and as *burg* originally meant a fortification (cp. *beorgan*) it is quite applicable. A common expression in O.E. charters is *weard settl*, 'the seat where watch was kept,' 'the sentinel-post,' as in Birch, i. 257, ch. 179. C. D. has also *Weard dūn*, 'the hill where watch was kept,' iii. 465, ch. 526 = *Warden* (Kent). Cp. also *Warbreck*, 'look-out hill', earlier *Wardebrec*, &c., Pl. Ns. Lancs. Cp. the corresponding Gm. Wartburg.

Wardington.

1216-1307 Wardinton. Testa de N. 120.

1274-9 Wardinton. Rot. Hund. ii. 707.

'The "tūn" of Wearda or of the Weardings.' *Wearda* is found as a pers. n. in *Weardan hyl*, ch. 1101. It appears to be a weak pers. n. formed from O.E. *weard*, 'a guard' (cp. preceding name). The forms above do not support a derivation from the patronymic. For the common change of *-an* < *-en* and the replacement by *-ing* see Introd. p. 27. It is also possible that *Wardin-* stands for O.E. *weardung*, 'watching, guarding,' and the sense is 'the watching-town'.

Warmodescumbe (Mod. ***Warmescombe**) nr. Watlington.

1280 Warmodescumbe. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1257-1300), ii. 225, &c.

1413 Warmotescumbe, al. Wermyscombe, Warmescombe. Court Rlls. i. 334.

'The valley of Wærmōd.' O.E. *Wærmōdes cumb*. *Wærmōd* is a known O.E. pers. n., meaning originally 'careful of

mind', 'alert', 'watchful'. It is found in use as the first element of a pl. n. in *Weremōdes lāw* for *Wærmōdes hlǣw*, C. D. vi. 221, ch. 1368. Cp. other names in *Wær-* such as *Wærfriþ*, *Wærmund*, *Wærheard*, &c.

I note now *Wormondiscombe*, Index, p. 842. This indicates a pers. n. *Wærmund*. Cp. Wormsley Park, below.

Warpsgrove.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Werplesgrave. D. B. i. 156.
 1205 Werplesgrave. Obl. Rlls. p. 248.
 1216-1307 Werpflæg' (*f* for *s*), Werpelgrave. Testa de N. 101 b, 106 b. (See further Type II below.)

TYPE I a.

- 1316 Worplesgrave. Parl. Writs, ii. 354.

TYPE II.

- 1205 Werplesgrava. Obl. Rlls. p. 258.
 1216-1307 Werplesgr've. Testa de N. 113.
 1274-9 Werplesgrave. Rot. Hund. ii. 755, 756.
 1520 Wappesgrave (for Warpesgrave?). Cat. A. D. ii. 163.
 1535 Warpesgrave. Map in Val. Eccl.

The second element in this word in either O.E. *grāf*, *grǣfa*, or *grǣf*, meaning 'a grove, brushwood', &c., or 'a trench'. See Introd. p. 26.

The first element shows two collateral types. Type I is the fuller, and seems to be a diminutive of **weorþ*, to judge by the 1316 form. Professor Wyld has made the ingenious suggestion that this word may be connected with O.E. *weorþ* as in *wandeweorþ*, 'a mole.' The first part of this name has given Mod. *want*, a dialectal name for a mole, and the ending is connected with O.E. *weorþan*, 'to throw.' The word is often found in Wright-Wülcker's glosses as a translation of Latin *talpa*: e.g. *wandeweorþe*, W.-W. 49. 41; *wandewurþe*, *ibid.* 119. 9, 320. 25. Cp. further M.E. *mold-werþ* as a translation of Lat. *talpa* (Wiclif's Bible, cit. Stratmann-

Bradley), which corresponds to Gm. *maukwurf*, M.H.G. *molt-wërfe*, 'a mole,' literally 'one who throws up earth'. The dialects preserve this word as *mouldywarp*, &c. (E. D. D.).

It is possible that **weorpel*, a diminutive of this word, was used as a nickname. Cp., for meaning, under *Wilcot*, which > *Wifeles cot*, probably 'Weevil's cot'.

A name **weorpel*, **weorpul*, 'the thrower' (cp. *weorpan*), is also a possible formation apart from any connexion with the use of this verb in *wandeweorþ*, &c. Note the form *seale-weorpan*, C. D. iii. 78, ch. 570, which Kemble explains as *sealt-werþe*, 'the throwing-out or *detritus* of salt-sand' (Preface to vol. iii of C. D.). Cp. also *Sandgewyrþe*, Abing. Chron. i. 52. Can the second element in these words have any connexion with the first element of Warpsgrove?

We may further note the following words in the E. D. D. : (1) *worþle*, *wapþle*, *warþel*, &c., 'a bridle-way'; (2) *warþ*, 'to cause a deposit on land of alluvial soil to silt up,' &c.; (3) *warþ-and-grove*, 'marsh land.'

Cp. *Worþlesdon* (Surrey).

Warton. Etymology undiscoverable without old forms.

Water Eaton.

821 Eatun. C. D. i. 270, ch. 214.

864 Eatun. Ibid. ii. 79, ch. 290.

904 Eatun. Ibid. ii. 151, ch. 340.

1130-40 Eaton. St. Fride. Ch. ii. 208, ch. 952.

1270 Water Eaton. Ibid. ii. 209, ch. 953.

'Water enclosure' or 'the enclosure by the river'. O.E. *ēa tūn*. The O.E. *ēa*, M.E. *ee*, *e*, represents here the word for river. See Introd. p. 25. The prefix *Water* is pleonastic, and must have been added after all sense of the original meaning was lost, to distinguish the place from the other — *Wood Eaton*. The addition of the prefixes *Water* and *Wood* respectively to these two names seems to have synchronized. Cp. *Wood Eaton*.

Water End. Etymology obvious: cp. other names in *End*.

Waterperry.

1086 Pereiun. D. B. i. 158 b (J. L. G. M.).

1149 Pure. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.

1184 Pyrye. Ibid. 127, ch. 216.

1200 Waterperye. Ibid. 19, ch. 19.

1267 Periet. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1257-1300), ii. 69.

1300 Purye. Eynsh. Ch. i. 347, ch. 510.

'The pear-tree near the water.' O.E. *pyrige* (+ *wæter*). The *Water* is the River Thame. Cp. *Waterstock*, *Water Eaton*, by the side of *Woodstock*, *Wood Eaton*. The prefix *wæter-* denotes here that the place is on a stream or situated near marshy land; *wudu-* denotes a dry and wooded situation.

pyrige is a Lat. loan-word in O.E. (cp. L. *pirum*, a pear). Originally *pirige*, the M.E. spelling *u* and the Mod. *e* show that it soon became L.O.E. *pyrige*, probably on account of the initial lip-consonant having a rounding effect on the vowel. The Mod. vowel seems to be due to a Kentish development of *y* to *e*, or we should expect Mod. **Pirry* or **Purry*. The independent word *pear*, O.E. *peru*, may, however, have influenced the vowel. For the use of *pirige* in pl. ns. see *Pyrton* above.

Waterstock.

1216-1307 Wat'stoke. Testa de N. 120.

'The stockade near the water.' O.E. *wæter* + *stocc*. Cp. under *Waterperry*, *Stoke*, and *Woodstock*.

Watlington.

880? Wætlinctun. C. D. ii. 108, ch. 311.

1086 Watelintone. D. B. i. 161.

1121 Watlyngton. Osn. Reg. 13, ch. 13.

1190 † Watlentun. Reg. Godst. Nunn. ii. 569, ch. 764.

1215 † Watlington. Ibid. ii. 569, ch. 765.

1216-1307 Watlinton. Testa de N. 112, &c.

'The town of Weatla or the Watlings.' O.E. *Weatling(a) tūn*. Cp. *Watling Street*. The earliest recorded form of this pers. n. is *Watlingus* (Baldon Book of Durham, p. 10, Surtees Soc.) under the date 1183. Florence of Worcester (anno 1013) mentions the road made by *King* (sic) *Weatla*. Roger of Hoveden (12th cent.) has also an account of this under the same year. See Searle. There is no genuine evidence as to who *Weatla* actually was: it is probable that the name is of mythological origin. We may perhaps compare O.E. *Wata* as in *Watan cumb*, C. D. iii. 385, app. ch. 150.

Wattlebank (see also *Abesditch*, above).

Etymology obvious. O.E. *watel-*, *watul-banc*. C. D. has *Wattleburne*, v. 27, ch. 990. The above name is probably, however, of M.E. origin. *-banc* (cp. O.E. *benc*) is not a common second element in O.E. charters. *Wattlefield* (Norf.) is probably of the same origin.

Weald (near Bampton).

- 1086 Welde. D. B. i. 160 b.
 1229 Walde. Cl. Rlls. (1227-31), p. 242.
 1253 Wealde. Eynsh. Ch. i. 4.
 1269 Welde. Eynsh. Ch. i. 11, ch. 7.
 1274-9 Welde. Rot. Hund. ii. 688.

'The wood, forest, weald.' O.E. (W.Sax.) *weald*. Cp. Gm. *Wald*. The same name as in the 'Weald' (Kent). *Weald* is derived from the normal W.Sax. form, later *wæld*, &c. The Mercian form *wäld* (cp. the 1229 form above) has normally given Mod. *Wold*, as in *Cotswolds*, *Stow on the Wold*, &c. C. D. has *Welde*, *Walde* = (*æt þæm wealde*), iv. 1567, ch. 813.

Wendlebury. TYPE I.

- 1086 Wandesberie. D. B. i. 160.
 1216-1307 Wendebur. Testa de N. 117.

TYPE II.

1216-1307 Wendlebur'. Testa de N. 102.

1274-9 Wendelbur', Wendlebur'. Rot. Hund. ii. 834.

TYPE III.

1274-9 Wendlingbur'. Rot. Hund. ii. 45.

Probably '(at) Wendel's city'. O.E. (*æt*) *Wendeles byrig*. *Wendel* is a known O.E. pers. n. Cp. *Wændles* (for *Wendles*) *cumb*, C. D. vi. 120, ch. 1283, a Berks. charter; *Wendlesclif*, *ibid.* i. 181, ch. 150; and *Wendlesbiri*, iv. 190, ch. 826, a pl. n. corresponding to a Mod. **Wendlesbury*. *Wendel* is a diminutive of the pers. n. *Wenda*, for which compare *Wendanmære*, C. D. v. 220, ch. 1116. The pl. n. above has lost the *-s-* of the genitive or has arisen from a form without a genitival ending.

Wendel probably stands for a Gmc. **Wandil*. Förstemann (pp. 1255, &c.) gives numerous names under *Wand*, *Wend*, *Wandal*, *Wandil*. The D. B. form above has for its first element a pers. n. **Wand-* with unmutated *a*; perhaps connected with *Want* (*uont*) in the Lib. Vit. (O. E. T., p. 158, l. 166). The same document has *Wendil-* in *uendil-bercht* (*loc. cit.*, p. 156, l. 97). Middendorf (p. 146) assumes a noun *wende-*, *wendel-*, with the meaning 'turn, boundary' (O.E. *wendan*) in *wendan mære*, *wendlesdün*, &c., Birch, chs. 730, 1229, &c. Such a derivation would account for the absence of *s* in *Wendlebury* above, but such a form as *wendles-* could hardly point to anything but a pers. n.

The Rot. Hund. form in *-ing* is due to analogy with the patronymic *-ing*.

Westcott Barton.

1216-1307 Westcote Berton. Testa de N. 102.

1695 Wescote Barton. Map in Camden.

Westcott is the 'west cottage or homestead'. Cp. *Ascot*. The *t* is lost in pronunciation as shown by the form in Camden. For *Barton* see this place-name above.

Weston-on-the-Green.

- 1086 Westone. D. B. i. 157.
 1129 Weston. Osn. Reg. 11, ch. 12.
 1274-9 Westun. Rot. Hund. ii. 45.

O.E. *west-tūn*. Cp. *Aston, Norton, Sutton* (above). C. D. has numerous cases of *Westūn*; also in iii. 343, ch. 714, a form *Wæsdǣma* (for *Westhǣma*), which is now, according to Kemble, Weston Subedge (Gloucs.).

Westwell.

- ? Westwyl. C. D. v. 136, ch. 1069.
 944 ? Westwelle. Ibid. v. 298, ch. 1151.
 1086 Westwelle. D. B. i. 160.
 1695 Westal. Map in Camden.

Etymology obvious. The forms in C. D., which Kemble queries in his Index, cannot possibly refer to the Oxsh. Westwell, as they are given in the boundaries of Cholsey (*Ceolesige*) (Berks.) and Blewbury (*Blēobyrig*) (Berks.), while Westwell is in the west portion of Oxsh. on the borders of Gloucestershire.

The 1695 form is interesting as showing the early modern and present-day pronunciation [westəl]. *w* is lost initially in normally unstressed syllables. See Introd. p. 18. Camden's *a* is probably due to the analogy of *Asthall*.

Wheatley.

- 1274-9 Watef, Watele, &c. Rot. Hund. ii. 39, 40, 41.
 1316 Whatele. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1428 Whatele. Feud. Aids, iv. 199.

'The wheat-lea.' O.E. *hwæte-lēah*. C. D. has such forms as: *hwētecumb* (for *hwætecumb*), ch. 394; *Hwætedūn*, chs. 102, 317, &c., perhaps = *Wotton* (Surrey); and *hwætaleāh* in iii. 379, app. ch. 118; also other instances; see Index.

Middendorf (p. 78) considers that such words as above contain O.F. *hwæt*, 'sharp,' 'bold,' It must be remarked,

however, that there is no case on record of this word being used to denote a *physical* quality; in O.E. it always refers to moral and mental boldness, activity—it also means ‘active’ in reference to physical motion.

The forms do not present any difficulty. The *æ* has been normally shortened before *-il-* (cp. Phonology, p. 13). The type as shown above has not survived, or we should expect **Whatley* (cp., perhaps, Somers. *Whatley*). The Mod. name is due to the influence of the independent word ‘wheat’. If *hwæt* is assumed to be the O.E. word, the Mod. form is due to popular etymology.

Whitchurch.

- 1012 Hwitcyrce. C. D. vi. 164, ch. 1307.
 1086 Witecerce. D. B. i. 159.
 1216-1307 Witchirch. Testa de N. 113.

O.E. (*seo*) *hwite cyrice*. Cp. *Whitehill, Churchhill, &c., Whitchurch* (Shrops.). C. D. has numerous instances of this pl. n. Cp. also *Whitechapel* (Lancs., Lond., Yorks.). For the shortening of O.E. *ī* see Introd. p. 13.

Whitehill (par. Tackley).

- 1004 Wihthull (for Withhull). St. Fride. Ch. i. 4, 8, ch. 2.
 1086 Wistelle. D. B. i. 158 b.
 1149 Withhull. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.
 1216-1307 Withull. Testa de N. 103 b.
 1302-46 Wighthulle, Wythull. F. A. iii. 156, 163, 164, 177.

The forms indicate O.E. **wiht*; cp., perhaps, the name of the Isle of Wight. C. D. iii. 431, app. ch. 428, has the name *Wiht*. *-hull* is the southern form of O.E. *-hyll*.

Wickham (near Banbury).

- 1044 Wicham? C. D. iv. 92, ch. 775.
 1086 Wicham. D. B. i. 155 b 1.
 1159-62 Wicheham. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 158, ch. 704.
 1239 Wycham. Eynsh. Ch. i. 4.

‘The village-home or enclosure.’ O.E. *wīc-ham(m)*. Kemble’s identification of the C.D. form with the Mod. place can hardly be correct. The form cited above is from a charter giving the boundaries of *Witney*, and *Wickham* is at least fifteen miles away. O.E. *ham(m)* is more probable as the second element.

wīc is common both as a first and second element in pl. ns. Cp. *Berrick*, *Hardwicke* (above). C. D. has numerous instances of *Wīc hām*, which Kemble invariably marks long in both syllables; also *wīc bold*, *wīc-ford*, *-hyþ*, *-lēah*, *-tūn*, &c. (see Index, vol. vi).

Widford.

- 1086 Widiforde. D. B. i. 164.
 1232 Wythiford. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 71.
 1509-47 Wyeford. Map in Val. Eccl.
 1695 Widford. Map in Camden.

‘The willow-ford.’ O.E. *wīpiġ-ford*, ‘the ford where the willows grow.’ The Cl. Rlls. form points conclusively to this etymology. *Wid-* is obviously late. Birch, iii. 655, has *Wīpiġ-ford* and *Wīpiġ-mere* (Hants); also *Wīpiġ-tēa* (iii. 142) = *Widley* (Hants). Cp. also *Widford* (Herts.), which Skeat (Pl. Ns. Herts., p. 28) has explained as O.E. *wīpiġ-ford*, also *Widdial*, O.E. *wīpiġ-healh* (*loc. cit.*, p. 30). C. D. has *wīpiġ-ford*, vi. 215, ch. 1360—an Oxfsh. charter; the identification of this name with the place above is possible.

Wigginton or Wiggington.

- 1086 Wigentone. D. B. i. 160.
 1200† Wykynton. Reg. Godst. Nunn. 350, ch. 476.
 1216-1307 Wigenton, Winginton. Testa de N. 101, 104.
 1283 Wygynton. Osn. Reg. ii. 198, ch. 263.

‘The “tūn” of Wīg(g)a.’ O.E. *Wīg(g)an tūn*. *Wīga* is a weak shortened form of such pers. ns. as *Wīg-beald*, *-beorht*, *-frith*, *-lāf*, &c. It is found as a name of a signatory in

C. D. v. 62, ch. 1020; also in M.E. in Ellis, ii. 267 (seven times). We should normally expect an open consonant in such a form as *Wiga* by the side of *Wig-*, and we must assume a form with *gg* or *cg*. Such forms as *Wigha* (Ellis, *loc. cit.*) point to a stop-consonant in M.E. There is also a form *Wigga* common in O.E. This is found in the Lib. Vit. (O. E. T., p. 513), and may also have been the first element in *Wigginton*.

For the common substitution of *-ing* for *-en* > *-an* see Introd. p. 27. Cp. *Wigginton* (Herts.) in D. B., *Wigentone*, and perhaps also *Wigan* (Lancs.) (with the loss of a second element).

Wilcote.

- 1086 Widelicote? (*d* for *v*). D. B. i. 156.
 1192-1208 Wyvelicote. Eynsh. Ch. i. 108.
 1224 Wivelecot. Exc. e Rot. Fin. i. 120.
 1273 Wyvelicote. Osn. Reg. 90, ch. 97.
 1274-9 Wivelecot. Rot. Hund. ii. 868.
 1316 Wyvelcote. Parl. Writs, ii. 351.
 1535 Wyvelcote, Wilcote. Map in Val. Eccl.; Text, ii. 208.

See remarks under Arncot. The forms point to a name *Wifel*. *Wifa* and *Wifel* (probably a diminutive) are both found in O.E. incorporated in pl. ns. C. D. has *Wifan stoc*, v. 173, ch. 1091; and numerous names in *Wifel*, e. g. *Wifeles hām*, vi. 43, ch. 1236, and *Wifeles ford*, v. 214, ch. 1109 (= *Wilsford* (Wilts.)), with the same development as *Wilcote* above). C. D. has also a weak form (which Searle has not recorded) in *Wiflahirst* (> *Wiflanhyrst*), i. 229, ch. 187, dated 807, but obviously of a much later date.

For the loss of medial *v* see Introd. p. 19, and compare *Wilsford* (above) and *Wilsthorpe*, *Wilstrop* (Yorks.), D. B. *Wiflestorp*, *Wivlestorp*, which > *Wifles þorp*.

Björkman (p. 175) suggests that *Wife*, as in *Wiflestorp*

above, is a Norse name, and compares O.W.N. *Vifill*. It is also possible that *wifel* is the O.E. name for a *weevil*, used as a nickname. Cp. Middendorf.

Williamscot or Willscot (near Banbury).

- 1274-9 Willamescot, -e. Rot. Hund. ii. 706, 707.
 1284-5 Wilhamescote. Feud. Aids, iv. 156.
 1290-1 Willamescote, Willemescote. Cal. Cl. Rlls. (1288-96) (Edw. I), pp. 115, 170.
 1695 Willamescot. Map in Camden.

'The homestead of William.' O.E. *Wilhelmes cott*. This is perhaps a M.E. formation, though C.D. has *Wilhelm* in *Wilames ord*, v. 356, ch. 1189, in a charter dated 956. *Wilhelm* as a pers. n. is found early; the Lib. Vit. has *uilhelm* four times (O. E. T., pp. 156 l. 80, 161 l. 284, 165 ll. 429 and 456); the Northumb. Geneal. has *Wilhelm* (*loc. cit.*, p. 171, l. 119).

D.B. has only *Willemetone* (Devon) and *Wilemestorp* (Derby), also a shortened form *Wilmestune* (Herts.). The only other Mod. pl. n. which contains this name in full as a first element seems to be *Williamstrip Park* (Gloucs.). The alternative form *Willscott* shows a derivation from the short form *Will-* or a late loss of the second element of the pers. n. The change of *Willelm*, *Willem* to *William* [wiljəm] is probably due to the influence of the ending in the French form of the name.

Windrush (River).

- 779 Wenrisc (Gloucs.). C.D. i. 165, ch. 137.
 1044 Wænric. Ibid. iv. 92, ch. 775, &c.
 1274-9 Weneriche, Wenresche, Wenris, Wenrisse. Rot. Hund. ii. 699, 737, 856, 867.
 1298 Wenerych. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 98.
 1448-50 Wynrych. Oxf. City Docs. 323-4.

This is probably of Celtic origin, like so many river-names. The forms above point to the influence of O.E. *risce*, 'a rush, plant.' *s*, *ss* is a common Norm. Fr. transcription

of [j]. *riſc* is a common element in O.E. pl. ns.; cp. *riſc-bedd*, *-brōc*, *-den*, *-riþig*, *-mere*, &c. in the Index of C. D. The Mod. form *Wind-* is probably due to a fancied connexion with the verb 'to wind', O.E. *windan*.

Jellinghaus suggests that a second element *-rič* is contained in the second form above of C. D., and compares *andlang ričes*, &c., C. D. iii. 246. He connects M.L.G. *ricke*, *recke*.

Witney.

- 1044 Wittanige. C. D. iv. 92, ch. 775.
 1086 Witenie. D. B. i. 155.
 1216-1307 Wytney. Testa de N. 104.
 1231 Wyttenei. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1226-57), i. 140.
 1268-81 Wytteneya. Eynsh. Ch. i. 280, ch. 44.
 1342-5 Whytteneya. St. Fride. Ch. i. 134, ch. 157.
 1530 Wytney. Ibid. ii. 368, ch. 1191.
 1695 Witney. Map in Camden.
 Whitney. Camden, p. 253.

'The water-meadow of Witta.' O.E. *Wittan iæg*. C. D. has also *Wittan mære*, v. 136, ch. 1069, in the boundaries of *Cholsey* (Berks.). As an independent pers. n. *Witta* is found in the O.E. poem of *Widsiþ* and in the *Lib. Vit.* (O. E. T., p. 162, l. 305); also in the names in *Bede's History* (*loc. cit.*, p. 133, l. 25). It is probably connected with O.E. *wita*, 'a counsellor, wise man.' Camden's form in *Wh-* is an attempt to construct his form to suit a fancied etymology, prob. O.E. *hwit-*. Cp. *Wittenham* (Berks.) > *Wittan hām*.

Wolvercote.¹

TYPE I.

- 1086 Ulfgarçote (for Wulfgarçote). D. B. i. 159.

TYPE II.

- 1149 Wolgarçote. Osn. Reg. 23, ch. 21.
 1220 Wolgoryscote, Walgareçote, Wolgareçote. Reg. Godst. Nunn. ii. 574, 575, chs. 774, 775.

¹ Pronounced, according to Hope, *Overcote*.

- 1232 Wolgoricot. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, p. 142.
 1250-64 Volgacote, Wlgaricote. St. Fride. Ch. i. 426,
 ch. 608.
 1274-9 Wolgaricote. Rot. Hund. ii. 805.
 1282-3 Wolgarcote. Eynsh. Ch. i. 313, ch. 420.
 1316 Wolgarcote. Parl. Writs, ii. 351.
 1341 Wolgaricote. Oxf. City Docs. 178.
 1437 Wolgercote. Cal. I. P. M. iv. 173.

TYPE III.

- 1535 { Wolvercote. Map in Val. Eccl.
 { Woolvercote. Val. Eccl. ii. 192.
 1695 Woolvercot. Map in Camden.

'The cottage, homestead of Wulfgar.' O.E. *Wulfgār(es)cota*. *Wulfgār* is a very common O.E. pers. n.; Searle has over two columns of references. As the first element of a pl. n. it is found in *Wulfgāres gemæro*, C. D. iii. 461, app. ch. 508.

The combination *-lwg-* has had two different developments according to the forms in Types II and III above. In Type II the *v* has been lost, in Type III the *g*. It is curious that no form of Type II is found after 1437 or of Type III before 1535. The persistence of the former type in M.E. may be due to scribal tradition. The other was probably current, but does not emerge in writing till a comparatively late date.

Another possibility is that the name has been influenced by O.E. *Wulfhere*, though the late date of the change is against this. There are, however, many Mod. pl. ns. whose first element is *Wolver-*, as *Wolverton* (numerous), *Wolvershill*, *Wolverhampton*; these may have had an influence on the consonant in *Wolgercote*. *Wolverhampton*, according to Duignan, > *Wulfrun-*, and *Wolverley* (Staffs.) > *Wulfward*. *Wolfreton* (Yorks.) is in D. B. *Ulvardun* (for *Wulfhere* or *Wulfgar*).

It will be noticed that among some twenty forms of this pl. n. there is only one which shows any sign of the genitive

suffix *-s*, and that this *s* is absent from the Mod. form. This shows that the absence of the genitival suffix does not prove the impossibility of derivation from a pers. n., since no one could dispute that *Wulfgar* can be nothing else.

Woodcote (near South Stoke).

1274-9 Wodecot. Rot. Hund. ii. 750.

'The wood-cottage.' O.E. *wudu-cota*. Cp. *Wootton* below, and *wudu-cota*, C. D. iv. 27, ch. 739 (a charter of Hants).

Wood Eaton.

(904 Eatun. C. D. 290, 340.)

1086 Etone. D. B. i. 158.

1199 Etun. St. Fride. Ch. i. 43, ch. 40.

1274-9 Wodeeton. Rot. Hund. i. 39.

1316 Wode Eton. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.

1375 Wodetone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 382, ch. 560.

'Eaton by the wood.' O.E. *wuda eātūn*. See *Water Eaton* above. Cp. *Waterstock* and *Woodstock*; also *Water* and *Wood Perry*.

Woodlays (near Wootton).

1086 Wideli? D. B. i. 161, 162.

1109 Wideli. Eynsh. Ch. i. 36, ch. 7.

1239 Wytteleya. Ibid. i. 2, ch. 1.

Perhaps 'the wide lea'. O.E. (*se*) *wīda lēah* or *æt wīdan lēage*. *Wid*, *brād*, &c., are common as first elements in pl. ns. Cp. *Bradwell* above, &c. C. D. has numerous instances of *wīda lēah* (see Index), which would normally give Mod. *Widley* with shortening (as in *Widley*, Hants). Cp. also *Widnes* (Lancs.) > **wīd(an) næss* (Wyld). In the above name the *i* has been rounded and unfronted to [u] in M.E. by the influence of the initial lip-consonant. Cp. under *Woolaston* and *Intro.* p. 15. Popular etymology has also helped to cause the change. *-lay* is another form of *-ley*. The original form of *wudu* in O.E. is, however, *wīdu*, and this may account for the vowel in the forms above.

Wood Perry (near Beckley).

1086 Peregie. D. B. i. 156 (J. L. G. M.).

1537 Wodepery. St. Fride. Ch. 96, ch. 96.

'The pear-tree near the wood.' O.E. *wudu-pyrige*. Cp. *Pyrlton*, *Waterperry*, above.

Woodstock.

1086 Wodestoch. D. B. i. 154 b.

1123 Wudestoke. A.-S. Chron. i. 151.

1216-1307 Wodestokes. Testa de N. 107.

1232 Wudestok. Cl. Rlls. (1231-4) Hen. III, 142.

'The stockade by the wood.' O.E. *wudu-stocc*. Cp. *Waterstock*, *Wood Eaton*, &c.

***Woolaston** or ***Willaston** (near Shelswell).

1216-1307 Willavinton. Testa de N. 127.

1267 Wilavestona. Cal. Ch. Rlls. (1257-1300), ii. 69.

'The "tūn" of Wiglāf.' O.E. *Wiglāfes tūn*. *Wiglāf* is a very common pers. n. in O.E. It is found as a first element in *Wiglāfes treow* (written *Wilafes treow*, C. D. v. 150, ch. 1078, and *Willaves hām*, *loc. cit.*, iv. 268, ch. 981 (obviously a M.E. charter). Searle (p. 497) assumes a pers. n. *Willaf* on the ground of this pl. n., but it is more probable that we have merely a late form of *Wiglāf*. The *i* has been rounded to [u] by the influence of the lip-consonant. Cp. *Willaston* (Cheshire).

Wootton.

871 Wudetun. C. D. i. 270, ch. 214.

1216-1307 Wotton. Testa de N. 107.

1270 Wotthone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 13, ch. 12, &c.

1274-9 Wuttun. Rot. Hund. i. 45.

'The "tūn" by the wood.' O.E. *wuda-tūn*. The *d* has been assimilated to the following *-t-*. C. D. has numerous examples of this pl. n. Cp. also *Woodton* (Norf.), *Woodthorpe* (Derby, &c.), and *Woodcole* above.

Wormsley Park (near Watlington).

- 1100-35 Wdemundesleia. Abing. Chron. ii. 67.
 1274-9 Wodemundeslee. Rot. Hund. ii. 43.
 1634 Wormesley, al. Wordmansleigh. Oxf. Visit. 327.
 1695 Wormsley. Map in Camden.

The first element seems to be a personal name *Weardmund*. Searle cites *Weardbeorht*, *Weardbere*, *Weardman*, and *Weardwulf* from Piper. Förstemann (col. 1539) gives *Wartmunt* from Monumenta Germaniae, ii. 148. The first form above and the alternative 1634 form may indicate the influence of O.E. *Wudeman*, as in *Wudemannes tūn*, C. D. ch. 685 (cit. Searle, p. 505).

Worsham Bottom (near Asthall).

- 1180-97 Wolgaresham? Eynsh. Ch. i. 120, ch. 157.
 1240? Wolmersham. Reg. Godst. Nunn. ii. 551, ch. 740.
 1270-90 Wolmeresham, Wolmersham. Index, p. 812.
 1274-9 Wolmaresham? Rot. Hund. ii. 737.

According to the forms above, 'the home of Wulfmær.' O.E. *Wulfmæres hām*. But it is not certain whether the identification is correct. For O.E. *botm* see remarks under *Beacon's Bottom* above.

Worton (par. Cassington).

- 1086 Vurtone. D. B. i. 161 a.
 1216-1307 Worton, Wurton. Testa de N. 108, 120.
 1274-9 Worton. Rot. Hund. ii. 854.

Possibly O.E. *wyrt-tūn*, 'a garden', in which case the *u* forms represent O.E. *y*. This, however, is only a conjecture.

Worton (Over and Nether).

TYPE I.

- 1274-9 Overton, Nutheroverton. Rot. Hund. ii. 46, 842,
 &c.
 1284-5 Over Overton. Feud. Aids, iv. 155.

TYPE II.

- 1086 Hortone. D. B. i. 156 b, 161 a (J. L. G. M.).
 1241-64 Nethirortana. Eynsh. Ch. i. 212.
 1274-9 Orton, Overorton. Rot. Hund. ii. 34, &c.
 1316 Over Orton, Nether Orton. Feud. Aids, iv. 164.
 1452 Nethioretton. Eynsh. Ch. ii. lvi.

TYPE III.

- 1593 Overorton, al. Overworton. Index, p. 812.

'The "tūn" on the bank, edge.' O.E. *ōfer-tūn*. The 'bank' is that of a tributary of the Cherwell. The phonetic development may be explained by three distinct types: (1) *ofertun* < *Overton*; (2) *ofertun* < **o(f)erton* < *Orton*; (3) *ofértūn* < **owérton* < *Worton* by change of stress. Otherwise *Wor-* must be due to a spontaneous development of initial *w*, as in *one* [wan]. Cp., further, [wats] for *oats* in N.W. and E. Oxf. (Wright's Dialect Grammar, p. 549).

The *Over*, as contrasted with *Nether*, is of different origin. It represents O.E. *ofer* with short *o*, 'upper, above, over.' *Nether* is 'lower'. Cp. under *Nethercot*, *Neithrop*, above.

Wretchwick (near Bicester).

TYPE I.

- 1182 Wrechewich. Index, p. 845.
 1245† Wrechewic. Ibid.
 1274-9 Wrehtkewyk. Rot. Hund. ii. 827.
 1299 Wrecchewyk. Index, p. 845.
 1316 Wretchwike. Parl. Writs, ii. 353.
 1428 Wrechwike. Feud. Aids, iv. 190.

TYPE II.

- 1252 Whercwyk. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 409.
 1253 Whertwyke (*t* for *c*). Cal. Rot. Ch. 78.

'The village of Wræcca.' O.E. *Wræccan wīc*. The existence of an O.E. pers. n. *Wræcca* may be inferred from the Gmc. names in *Wrac-* (unfronted). See Förstemann (1638-9),

where he gives such names as *Wracwulf*, *Wrachard*. A M.E. name *Wraca* is found as that of a moneyer (Searle, p. 505). The name is probably connected with O.E. *wræcca*, *wrecca*, 'an exile' (cp. Mod. *wretch*), and is from a form **wrakjo*. Cp. O.Sax. *wrekkio*. For the forms with metathesis cp. the following pl. n. and Introd. p. 20.

Wroxton.

TYPE I.

- 1086 Werochestan. D. B. i. 159 b.
 1216-1307 Wrocheston. Testa de N. 104.
 1229 Wroxtan. Cl. Rlls. (1227-31), p. 404.
 1272-1377 Wraxtan (for Wroxtan), Wroxtan. Quo Warr. 663.
 1327-77 Wroxston. Non. Inq. 138.

TYPE II.

- 1204 Workstan. Obl. Rlls. p. 233.

'The stone of Wroc.' O.E. *Wrocces stān*. The original ending *-stān* has been replaced by or levelled under *-ton*, as the older forms clearly show (see Introd. p. 23). *Wroc* is found as a pers. n. in O.E. in *Wrocces heal*, C. D. iv. 76, ch. 768. Cp. *Wroxall* (Isle of W.), *Wroxhall* (Warwicks.).

The D. B. form shows a common representation of initial *Wr-* by *Wer-*. Through a similar dislike to two initial consonants we have *Canute* from *Knut*. See Zachrisson, pp. 49 ff. The form in *Work-* shows metathesis.

Wychwood Forest.

- 1086 Huchewode. D. B. i. 154 b.
 1216-1307 Wigewde, Wichewode, Wykewud. Testa de N. 107, 115.
 1274-9 Wichewode. Rot. Hund. ii. 851.
 1280 } Whicchewode. Eynsh. Ch. i. 16, ch. 15; i. 322,
 1307 } ch. 483.

Probably 'the wood of the Hwiccas.' O.E. *Hwicca wudu*. According to Oman (England before the Norman Conquest,

p. 247), the *Hwiccas* were originally settlers in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire. As Wychwood Forest is close to Gloucestershire this would agree with the derivation as above, which I find has been suggested by Earle (*Archaeol. Journal*, xix. 51-2), quoted by Green (*Making of England*).

Thorpe (p. 28, l. 31) has 'þæt is geseted in Hwicca mægþe in þære stōwe ðe mon hāteþ Weogernaceaster'.

The *u* in D. B. is probably due to the influence of the initial *w*. *Hu-* is frequent in D. B. for *Hwu-*.

Wyfold Court (near Henley).

1210-20 Wifalde. Cal. Bodl. Chs., p. 315.

1216-1307 Wyfalde. Testa de N. 134.

1274-9 Wyfaude. Rot. Hund. ii. 764.

The second element is O.E. *fald*, 'a fold for sheep or oxen, stable.' Cp. *bycera fald*, C. D. iii. 80, ch. 570; *Rocisfald*, iii. 123, ch. 123, *Wihthering-falad*, Birch, ch. 339 (cit. by Middendorf).

Court is Norm. Fr.

Y

Yarnton.

TYPE I.

1005 Ærdintone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 22, ch. 1.

TYPE II.

1005 Erdintone. C. D. iii. 339.

1186-96 Herdintona. Eynsh. Ch. i. 44, ch. 21.

1206 Erdinton. Obl. Rlls. 345.

1216-1307 Erdinton. Testa de N. 120.

1274-9 Erdington, Herdington. Rot. Hund. ii. 854, 865.

1320 Erdyngtone. Eynsh. Ch. i. 376, ch. 551.

1535 Erdyngton. Map in Val. Eccl.

TYPE III.

1086 Hardintone. D. B. i. 155 b.

1149 Ardynton. Osn. Reg. 22, ch. 21.

- 1216-1307 Ardinton. Testa de N. 120.
 1535 Yardington. Val. Eccl. ii. 210.
 ——— Yarrington. Oxf. Hist. Soc. ; Index to vol. xxiv.
 1539 Yarnnton. Eynsh. Ch. ii. 251, ch. 797.

'The "tūn" of the Eardings?' O.E. *Earding(a) tūn*. *Eard-* is the shortened form of such names as *Eardwulf* (cp. *Ardley* ante), *Eardbeorht*, &c. From this form the patronymic in *-ing* may be inferred. The forms above point to this origin, but they are not conclusive. The *Æ* in the form in the Eynsh. Ch. (above) is the regular development of O.E. *ea* in L.O.E. This gives two types in M.E.: (1) where *ær* < *ar-*, (2) *ær* < *er-*. Both these are seen in the forms above, e.g. Testa de N., Val. Eccl., and both are levelled in Mod. Eng. owing to the change of *er* to *ar* (cp. Phonology, p. 15).

For the development of initial *Y-* we must assume a change of stress—*éard-* < *eárd-*. Cp. *Yelford* below. It is also possible that O.E. *eardian*, 'to dwell,' is connected. Cp. *eardung*, 'a dwelling, home' (B.-T.). The meaning would then be 'a dwelling-place'. This etymology has also been suggested in the Oxf. Hist. Soc. Series, vol. xxiv. There is, however, no other example on record of such a first element of a pl. n. in O.E. C.D. has *Eard lēah* (= Yardley?, Worcs.), iii. 461, app. ch. 507, which may contain O.E. *eard*, 'a dwelling, home,' as suggested by Midden-dorf, p. 46; cp. also *Earde lēage*, Birch, ii. 451, ch. 737, though this may denote **Eardan lēah*.

The change of *Eard-* to *Yard-* may also have been helped or influenced by the analogy of O.E. *geard*, 'an enclosure, yard, dwelling, district,' &c. *Yardley* (above), if > *Eard lēah*, has the *Y-* due to confusion with this word. The Berks. *Ardington* represents the normal development. Cp. also *Ardingley* (Sussex).

For the late loss of *-ing-* cp. *Benson* above.

The initial *H* is a Norm. Fr. scribal peculiarity. Cp.

Introd., Pt. IV, p. 32. Bartholomew's Gazetteer has a cross-reference from *Yarington* to *Yarnton*.

It is interesting to note that, according to Murray's Handbook a trace of the old form *Eardington* or *Erdington* is still preserved in the practice of branding the cattle of the district with *E* instead of *Y*.

I note that according to the Dialect Grammar the combination *ear* develops into *jie(r)* in S. Oxsh. This is further illustrated by the initial consonant in *Yarnton* and in *Yelford* below.

Yelford.

TYPE I.

1086 Aieleforde. D. B. i. 160.

1245 Eilesford, Eillesford. Cal. Ch. Rlls. i. 285.

TYPE II.

1216-1307 Eleford. Testa de N. 102.

1274-9 Eleford. Rot. Hund. ii. 698.

1535 Elforde. Map in Val. Eccl. vol. ii.

TYPE III.

1695 Yelford. Map in Camden.

'The ford of Ægel.' O.E. *Ægeles ford*. This is obviously a case of the loss of a genitive *-s*. Cp. *Aylesford* (Kent), *Aylesbury* (Bucks.), where the genitive suffix has been retained. *Ægel-* is common in O.E. as the first element of pers. ns., such as *Ægelbeorht* (cp. *Ægelbyrhtingahyrst*, C. D. v. 88, 89, chs. 1041-2) and *Ægelnōþ* (cp. *Ægelnōþes stān*, iv. 56, ch. 755). Cp. also *Ægelweard* in the same charter, and *Ægelweardes mearc*, v. 252, ch. 1129, besides other instances. C. D. has also the forms *Ægelesford* (Kent, see above), ii. 387, ch. 499 (960-3), and *Ægeles-byrig* (chs. 593, 1178), &c. The independent name *Ægel* is found in Lib. Vit. as *Ægili* (700-800?), O. E. T., p. 127, l. 9; the A.-S. Chron. (Parker MS.) has *Ægeles þrep* (anno 455) and *Ægeles burg* (anno 571). Zachrisson (pp. 100, &c.) suggests that this form *Ægel* is a late (Norm. Fr.) form of *Æpel*, but in the face of the many pers. ns. of

which it is an element it can hardly be denied that *Ægel* was an O.E. pers. n. well authenticated and independent of *Æpel*. Förstemann (pp. 27-36) gives a list of Gmc. pers. ns. *Agil* and *Agil-*.

The forms above are regular. We probably have to assume two types—one in which a change in stress resulted in *Ægel* < [*æjəl-] < [æjól-] < [jel-], *yel-*, the other where the normal development of *æġ* to Mod. *ei* took place. Cp. under *Eynsham*. The former type has survived. On the other hand a spontaneous development of initial *P-* may have taken place both in this name and in *Yarnton*.

ADDENDUM.

Dornford (in Wootton), R. Dorn.

- 777 (12th cent.) Deorneford? C. D. i. 158.
 1109 Dærneford. Eynsh. Ch. i. 36.
 1239 Derneford. Ibid. i. 2.
 1320 Derneford. Ibid. i. 376.
 1454† Dernford. Ibid. ii. xvi.

Probably 'the hidden or secret ford'. O.E. *se deorna* (for *dierna*) *ford*. An unmutated *deorne* by the side of *dierne* is possible in O.E. Cp. *Dernaford*, C. D. iii. 405, app. ch. 346, *Deornanmor*, ch. 570, and *Diernanwiel*, iii. 379, app. ch. 115.

The type *Dorn-* seems to have arisen at a quite late period. If the name of the river is original the alteration in vowel may be due to its influence, otherwise the river name may be a 'back-formation' from *Dornford*, and *Dorn-* developed from O.E. *deorn*.

APPENDIX I

PERSONAL NAMES AS FIRST ELEMENTS

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Aceman (Akeman Street). | Boda (Bodicote). |
| Ægel (Yelford). | Bucca (Bucknell). See also |
| Ægen- (Eynsham). | App. II. |
| Ælchere (Alkerton). See | Bula (Bolney, Bullingdon). |
| Ealhhere. | Bynn (Binsey). |
| Ælfhēah (Alvescot). | |
| Ælfwen or Ælfa (Elvendon). | |
| *Amber, or Eanbeorht (Am- | |
| brodden). | Cada (Cadwell). |
| Asa, Assa (Assendon). | Cæcca (Checkendon). |
| Atta (Attington). | Cane, Caningas (Cane End, |
| | Kingham). |
| Babba (Bablock Hythe). | Ceadela (Chadlington). |
| Bæll (Balscote). | Cealf (Chawsey). |
| Bana (Banbury). | Ceōla (Chilworth). |
| Beaduwine or Beadinga | Cild (Chilson). |
| (Bainton). | Cobba (Cop Court). |
| Benesingas (Benson). | Cōenwīg (Kencott). |
| *Bealda (Baldon). | Crāw (Crowsley). Cp. App. |
| Beorhthelm, Brihthelm | II, <i>crāw</i> . |
| (Brighthampton, Britten- | Cruda? (Curbridge). |
| ton). | Cuc- (Cuxham). |
| Becca (Beckley; perhaps also | Cuca (Cockthorpe), or <i>cocc</i> , |
| in Begbroke). See also | <i>cōc</i> . See App. II. |
| App. II. | Cufa (Cowley). |
| Beorn (Beren's Hill?). | Cula (Culham). |
| Beorna (Bicester). | Cuda (or Cudd) (Cutslow). |
| Bera (Barford). | Cūpwine (Cuddesdon). |
| Blæcca (Bletchingdon). | Cyba (*Cibba) (Chipping- |
| Bloc (Bloxham). | hurst). |
| Blund (M.E.) (Blount's | Cydd, Cyddingas (Kidding- |
| Court). | ton). |

- *Cydelingas (Kidlington). Cp. Hana (Handborough, Handwell).
 *Cydel, Cydd.
 Cylm or Cynehelm (Kelmscott). Heādda (Headington).
 Hearp (Harpsden).
 Cyrtlingas (Kirtlington). Cp. Hengest (New Hincksey).
 Cyrtel. *Hensingas (Hensington).
 Horningas (Hornton).
 Dædwine or Dædingas (Deddington). Horna (Horley).
 *Hrōc, *Hrōca? (Roke, Roke-marsh).
 Dena (Denton), Cp. App. II, Hrōpland (Rollright).
denu. Hrōþwulf (Rousham).
 Dun (Dunsden). Hunter (M.E.). Cp. O.E.
 Hunta (Huntercombe).
 Hwiċca (Wychwood).
 Eadburg (Adderbury).
 Eardwulf (Ardley).
 Eardingas or Eardwine (Yarn-ton).
 Iċenchild (Icknield Street).
 Earn- (Arncot).
 Ida (Idbury).
 Elle (Elsfield).
 *Ipp(e) (Ipsden).
 Emma (Amma) (Emmington).
 Enne (Enslow, Enstone).
 Læce (Lashbrook?). See also App. II.
 Eoppa (Epswell).
 Leōda (Ledwell).
 Esa (Easington).
 Lēōdwine (Lidstone).
 Lēōfeca (Lewknor).
 Fileca (Filkins). See also App. II.
 Fin, Fina (O.N.) (Finmere, Finstock). See also App. II.
 Mollingas (Mollington). Cp. Moll.
 Friþuswiþ (St.) (St. Frideswide).
 Murdak (Celt.) (Murdakeshyde).
 Osa (Osney).
 Ota (Otmoor, Oddington).
 Gangwulf (Gangsdown).
 Gāringas (Goring). See also App. II.
 Pinca (Pinkhill).
 God (Godstow).
 *Pydda or *Pida (Piddington).
 Goda (Goddington).
 Grim (O.N.) (Grim's Dyke, Grimsbury).
 *Pydela (Pudlicote) or *pydele*, a puddle. See App. II.

- Rolland. See Hrōthland.
 Roppa (Rofford).
- Sceaald (Shelswell).
 Scillingas or Scilling (Shilling-
 ford).
 Scotta (Shotover) or *scott*,
 Scytta (Shutford) or *scytt*. See
 under these pl. ns.
 Serc (perhaps for Særic) (Sars-
 den).
 Siba (Sibford).
 *Spel (Spelsbury).
 Syfa (Sewell).
 Sida (Sydenham). See also
 App. II.
 *Stuta (Stutridge).
- Tæcca or Taca (Tackley).
 Tytel (Tetsworth).
 Thēōdbald (? Toot Baldon)
 or *tōt*. See App. II and
 under this pl. n.
 Tada (Tadmarton).
 Thōr (O.N.) (Taston, Tus-
 more).
- Tilgār or Tilgeard (Tilgers-
 ley).
 Tuma or *Tumba (Thomley).
 Tytta (Tiddington).
- Wærmōd (Warmodescumbe).
 Watlingas (*Weatla + ing*)
 (Watlington).
 Weardingas (Wardington).
 See also App. II.
 *Weardmund (Wormsley
 Park).
 Wendel (Wendlebury).
 *Weorpel? (Warpsgrove).
 Wifel (Wilcot). See App. II,
wifel.
 Wig(g)a or Wicga (Wiggin-
 ton).
 Wiglāf (Woolaston or Will-
 aston).
 Wilhelm (Williamscot).
 Wita, Witta (Witney).
 Wræcça (Wretchwick).
 Wroc (Wroxton).
 Wulfmæ̅r? (Worsham Bot-
 tom).
 Wulfgār (Wolvercote).

APPENDIX II

WORDS OTHER THAN PERSONAL NAMES AS FIRST ELEMENTS

āc (oak-tree): Noke, Oakley.

æsc (ash-tree): Nash.

ǣ-wylm, *ǣ-welm* (spring): Ewelme.

bēacn (beacon): Beacon Hill, Beacon's Bottom.

bēām (tree): Bampton.

bec (brook, beck): Beckley?, Begbroke? See also App. I, *Becca*.

berg (hill): Burford (influenced by *burg*, for which see below).

bere (barley): Barton, Berrick.

beorht (bright, clear): Brightwell Baldwin, Britwell Salome.

blǣ, *blā*? (blue, dark, dusky): Bladon? See under this pl. n.

blæc (black): Blacklands, Blackthorn.

brād (broad): Bradwell, Broadwell, Broadstone.

bold, *boll* (a dwelling): Bould.

brōc (brook): Broughton, Brockhampton.

bucca (he-goat, buck): Bucknell? See under this pl. n.

burg (fort, city; cp. *beorgan*): Bourton, Burdrop.

byxen (of a box-tree) or **byxe* (a collection of box-trees): Bix.

čealc (chalk): Chalford, Chalgrove. See under this last pl. n.

čeald (cold): Caulcott, Calthorpe?

čēapung (buying, marketing, selling): Chipping Norton. Cp. *čēapian* (to buy).

čeaster (camp, town): Chesterton.

čeorl (churl, servant): Charlbury, Charlton, Chalgrove? See this last place-name in Pt. II.

- cēosel*, (1) gravel, sand, (2) hut? Chiselhampton.
clæg (clay) }
clæig (clayey, *adj.*) } Claydon, Clare.
clæne (clean, devoid of weeds): Clanfield.
clif (cliff): Clifton.
cnoll (hill, summit, bank, mound): Knollbury Bank.
coce (a cock) or *cōce* (cook): Cockthorpe. See also App. I,
 under *Cuca*.
corn (corn, grain): Cornbury Park, Cornwell.
cot (a cot, homestead, hut): Coton, Cotsford?
crāw (crow, or else a pers. n.—*Crāw* masc., *Crāwe* fem.):
 Crawley, Crowell, Crowmarsh, Crowsley: the latter
 probably a pers. n.
croþ (crop, plantation? or mound): Cropredy.
cyning (king, or a pers. n.): Kingsey, King's End (probably
 M.E.), Kingston Blount.
cyriçe (church): Churchill.
- den*, *denu* (a valley): Denton. See also App. I.
ðic (ditch, dike, mound): Ditchley, Dyke Hill.
**dræg* (a retreat, nook): Draycott, Drayton. See under
 these pl. ns.
**dūceling* (duckling); cp. *dūce*: Ducklington.
dūn (hill) or *dun(n)* (dark, dun): Dunthorpe.
- ēa* (water, river): Eaton (Water Eaton, Wood Eaton).
eald (old): Alchester?, Albury.
ēast (eāst): Ascott, Aston, East End, Asthall, Asterley.
- fāh*, *fāg* (coloured): Fawler; perhaps Fawley. Cp. App. I.
fen (fen, marsh): Fencott.
fif (five): Fifield, Fyfield.
fin? (plant, *Ononis arvensis*; mod. dial. *fin*): Finmere,
 Finstock. See also App. I.
ford (ford): Fordwells.
forst (frost): Forest Hill.
fox (Foxcott).
frēo, *frīge* (free): Freeland? (probably a M.E. creation).
fūl (foul): Fulbrook, Fulwell.
- gærs*, *græs* (grass): Garsington.
gār (tongue of land): Goring? See also App. I.

ġeat (gate): Gatehampton.

gold (gold? of colour): Golder.

gōs (goose): Gosford.

græf (a trench) or *grāf* (grove): Grafton.

(*ġe*)*hæġ* (a hedge, fenced-in paddock): Hailey, Heyford.

grand, Fr. (large): Grandpont.

hæsel (hasel-tree): Haseley.

hafoc (hawk): Hawksmoor or = *Hafoc*, a pers. n.

hālig (holy): Holwell.

{ *ham*, *hamm* (enclosure): Stadhampton, Clifton Hampden,
Gathampton, Ham Court.

{ or *hām* (home): Hampton Gay, Chiselhampton, Brockhampton.

(It is impossible to ascertain the origin of the middle element in these words.)

hār (old, grey, also a boundary in *hār stan*): Hoar Stone.

hēah, dative, *hēan* (high): Hempton, Henley, Henton, Highmoor, -more.

healh (mound, nook; see p. 128 above): Holton.

heġe (a hedge, fence, &c.): Heythrop.

heord (herd, flock): Hardwicke.

hnutu (nut): Nuffield?

hol (hollow): Holcombe, or else a pers. n. *Hola*.

holm (hill): Holmwood?

horu (filth, mud): Horton.

hors (horse): Horsepath.

hrōc (rook): Roke, Rokemarsh? See also App. I.

hrȳlther (cattle): Rotherfield.

hwæt (wheat): Wheatley, Wheatfield.

hwīt (white): Whitchurch.

lacu (stream): Bablockhithe.

lang (long): Langford, Langley, Langtree, Launton.

lēah (lea, clearing; see *lēah*, p. 28): Leafield-cum-Wychwood.

lān (flax, linen): Lineham.

lytel (small, little): Littlemore, Littleworth.

mapulder (maple-tree): Mapledurham.

mere (lake, meer): Merton; perhaps in Tadmarton. See under this pl. n.

mersc (marsh): Marston, Marsh Baldon.

**midel* (cp. *mid*, *midden*), *midd* (middle): Middleton-Stoney, Milton, Milcombe, Medley.

mixen (dung-hill): Mixbury?

mōr (marsh, swamp): Moorton, Moreton, Murcot.

mynster (monastery, minster): Minster Lovell.

net(e)le (nettle): Nettlebed.

nīper, *neoper* (lower, nether, below): Nethercot, Neithrop.

north (north): Chipping Norton, Cold Norton, Northmoor, Northbrook.

nīwe, *nēowe* (new): Newington, Newnham, Newland, Newton, Newbridge, Newyatt, Nuneham.

ōfer (a bank): Overthorpe, Worton.

ox: Oxford.

pearroc (park, enclosure, Celt.): Park Corner.

pīse or *pyse* (pea, pease): Pishill.

port (a road): Portways, Port Meadow.

prēost (a priest, or a pers. n.; cp. Mod. Priest): Prescote, Preston.

pyriġe (pear-tree): Pyrton.

(*ġe*)*rād* (road, track): Radford.

ramm (a ram, or a pers. n.): Ramsden or = *Hræfn*,

Hramn (a raven, or a pers. n.).

rēād (red): Radcot Bridge.

ryge (rye): Rycote?

sand: Sandford.

sēāp, *sēp* (sheep): Shifford, Shiplake, Shipton.

sēene, *sēene* (beautiful, fair): Shenington.

sēori (short): Shorthampton.

sēir ('clear, bright', or 'dividing'; cp. *sēieran*): Shirburn.

**sēott*, *sēytt* (a protuberance, thing 'shot out'): Shotover? Shutford. See also App. I.

sēylf (ledge): Shilton.

sēalt (salt): Salford.

sīd (wide): Sydenham? See also *Sīda*, App. I.

stān (stone): Standhill, Standlake, Stanton, Stonor, Middleton Stoney.

- stoccen* (wooden, of logs; cp. *-stoc*): Stokenchurch.
stōd (stud of horses; cp. *stōd-fald*): Studley, Stadhampton.
stōw (place; often 'a holy place'): Stow Wood.
stræt (street, paved way): Stratton.
sulh (a farrow, plough, trench, &c.): Souldern, Salome?
sumor (summer): Somerton, Summertown.
sūþ (south): Sutton, Southrope.
swalewe (swallow): Swalcliff.
swīn (pig): Swinford, Swyncombe.
- tōt* (hill, spying place; cp. *tōtian*): Toot Baldon? See also
Thēōdbald, App. I.
- up, upp* (cp. *uppan*) (up, upper, higher): Upton.
- wæter* (water): Waterperry, Waterstock, Water Eaton.
watele (wattle): Wattlebank.
wealh, (1) stranger, (2) serf, slave: Walcote.
weard (guard, watch): Warborough, Wardington, Warton?
west: Weston, Westwell.
wīc (village): Wickham.
wīd (wide) or *wīdu* (a wood): Woodlays. See below.
wīfel (weevil): Wilcote. See also App. I.
wīpiġ (willow): Widford.
wudu, wīdu (wood): Woodcote, Wood Eaton, Wood Perry,
 Woodstock, Wootton.

SECOND ELEMENTS

- banc* (-bank): Wattlebank.
 -*bedd* (-bed): Nettlebed.
 -*bold* (Bould-), a 'dwelling': Bould.
 -*brōc* (-broke, -brook): Begbroke, Fulbrook, Lashbrook, Northbrook, Swinbrook.
 -*brycg* (-bridge): Curbridge, Newbridge, Radcot Bridge.
 -*burg*, -*byrig* (-bury, -borough), 'a fort, city': Adderbury, Albury, Banbury, Charlbury, Cornbury, Desborough, Grimsbury, Handborough, Idbury, Knollbury Bank, Mixbury, Spelsbury, Warborough, Wendlebury.
 -*ourna* (-burn), 'a stream': Shirburn.
- ceaster* (-chester), 'a camp, city': Alchester, Bicester, Dorchester.
 -*cliff*, 'a cliff': Swalcliff.
 -*cot*, 'a hut, cottage, homestead, settlement': Alvescot, Arncot, Ascott, Balscote, Bodicote, Burcott, Caulcott, Clattercote, Cop Court, Cote, Draycott, Fencott, Fewcott, Foxcott, Kelmscott, Kencott, Murcott, Nethercote, Prescote, Pudlicote, Radcot Bridge, Rycote, Walcote, Wilcot, Williams-cote, Wolvercote, Woodcot.
court (O.Fr. *curt*): Grey's Court, Ham Court, Wyfold Court.
 -*cumbe* (-combe, -com), 'a valley': Coombe, Holcombe, Huntercombe, Milcombe, Postcumbe, Swyncombe.
 -*cyriçe* (-church): Stokenchurch, Whitchurch.
- den(u)* (-den, -don), 'a valley': Ambrosden, Checkendon, Dunsdon, Elvenden?, Gangsdown, Clifton Hampden, Harpsden, Ipsden?, Ramsden, Sarsden.
 -*dīc* (-dyke), 'a ditch, rampart': Grim's Dyke.
 -*dūn* (-don, -tun), 'a hill': Assendon, Attington, Baldon, Bladon?, Bletchington (? -dūn or tūn), Chadlington, Claydon, Cuddesdon, Ducklington, Easington, Headington?, Oddington, Tiddington?
- ēa* (-ey), 'a river, stream'; see *Introd.* p. 25: Overy.
ende, 'a boundary, limit': East End, King's End.
 -*fald* (-fold), 'an enclosure, (sheep)-fold': Wyfold Court.

- feld* (-field): Caversfield, Clanfield, Elsfield, Leafield, Nuffield, Rotherfield, Stonesfield, Wheatfield.
- flōr*, 'a floor': Fawler.
- ford*: Barford, Blandford Park, Burford, Chalford, Cottisford, Fringford, Gosford. Heyford, Langford, Latchford, Oxford, Radford, Rofford, Salford, Sandford, Shifford, Shillingford, Shutford, Sibford, Swerford, Widford, Yelford.
- geat* (-yatt, -gate), 'a gate': Newyatt, Barnard Gate (gat).
- gedelf*, 'a trench' (replaced by -hill): Standhill.
- grāf* (-grove), *græfa*, 'brushwood,' &c.; or *græf*, 'a trench': Chalgrove, Warpsgrove.
- hæcce* (-hatch), 'a hatch, gate': Belle Hatch (see also under -*hȳþ*), Play Hatch.
- hæþ* (-heath), 'a heath': Chawsey (or Chazey) Heath, Hethe or Heath.
- healh* (-hall); for meaning see under Holton: Asthall.
- hām* (-ham): Bloxham, Caversham, Eynsham, Kingham, Lineham, Newnham, Nuneham, Rousham, Worsham.
- hamm*, -*homm* (-ham), 'an enclosure': Cuxham, Mapledurham, Sydenham?, Wickham.
- hamm*, -*homm*, 'a bend': Culham.
- hīd*, -*hūgīd* (-hide, -field), 'a hide (of land)': Fifield, Murdakeshyde (Old Hundred).
- hlæw*, -*hlāw* (-low), (1) 'a mound, tumulus, rampart'; (2) 'a burial mound': Cutslow, Enslow, Lew, Pochedelowe (Old Hundred).
- hofer*? (-or, -over), 'a hump, hill, hummock': Chinnor, Shot-over. See Introd. p. 29.
- holt* (holt), 'a wood': Hopcroft's Holt.
- hrycg* (-ridge), 'a ridge, hill': Stutridge.
- hyll* (-hill, -el), 'a hill': Bucknell, Churchill, Forest Hill, Pishill, Whitehill.
- hyrst* (-hurst), 'a thicket, copse': Chippinghurst.
- hȳþ* (-hithe, -ey), 'a landing-place, harbour': Bablockhithe, Bolney (Belle Hatch).
- wīg*, -*ēg* (-ey), (1) 'an island', (2) 'a marshy piece of land': Binsey?, Chimney, Eye, Hincksey, Kingsey, Osney, Witney.
- ing*? (-ing, -ins), 'a meadow': Filkins, Goring. See Introd. p. 26.

- lacu* (-lake), 'a lake, stream': Shiplake, Standlake, Bablock.
 -*land*: Freeland, Newland.
 -*ġelād* (-lode), 'a watercourse, course': Evenlode River.
 -*lēah* (-ley), 'a clearing': Ardley, Asterley, Beckley, Cleveley, Corkley, Cowley, Crawley, Crowsley Park, Ditchley, Fawley, Hailey, Haseley, Henley, Horley, Iffley, Langley, Leigh, Medley, Oakley, Studley, Tackley, Thomley, Tilgersley, Wheatley.
 -*mēad* (-mead), 'a meadow, pasture': Sunnymead.
 -*mere* (-mere, -more), 'a meer, lake': Finmere, Littlemore, Tusmore?
 -*mersc* (-marsh): Crowmarsh, Rokemarsh.
 -*mōr* (-moor), 'a moor': Badgemoor, Danesmoor, Highmoor Northmoor, Otmoor.
 -*ōfer* (-or), 'a bank (of a stream)': Lewknor.
 -*ōra* (-or), 'an edge, brim, shore': Stonor, Clare, Golder.
 -*pæþ* (-path), 'a path': Horsepath.
 -*pyriġe* (perry), 'a pear-tree': Waterperry, Wood Perry, Cropredy?
 -*stān* (-stone, -ston), 'a stone': Broadstone, Enstone, Hoar Stone, Lidstone, Wroxton.
 -*stoc* (-stock), 'a stock, log, tree-trunk': Finstock, Waterstock, Woodstock.
 -*stōw* (-stow), 'a place' (sometimes 'a holy place'): Godstow.
 -*trēo*, -*treow* (-tree), 'a tree': Langtree.
 -*tūn* (-ton, -don), 'a settlement, enclosure': Alkerton, Aston, Bainton, Barton, Bensington (Benson), Bourton, Bright-hampton, Brittenton, Brockhampton, Broughton, Cassing-ton, Charlton, Chastleton, Chesterton, Chiselhampton, Clifton, Coton, Deddington, Denton, Drayton, Eaton (Water, Wood), Emmington, Farmington, Garsington?, Gathampton, Glympton, Goddington?, Grafton, Hampton Gay, Poyle, Hempton?, Hensington?, Henton, Holton, Hornton, Horton, Kiddington, Kidlington, Kirtlington, Launton, Madmarston, Marston, Merton, Middleton, Milton, Mollington, Moorton, Moreton, Newington, Newton, Brize Norton, Chipping Norton, Cold Norton, Hook

Norton, Piddington, Pyrton, Shenington?, Shilton, Shipton, Shorthampton, Somerton, Stadhampton, Stanton Harcourt, Stanton St. John, Stratton, Summerton (new formation), Sutton, Tadmarton, Taston, Taynton, Upton, Wardington, Warton, Watlington, Weston?, Wigginton, Wootton, Worton, Yarnton.

-þorn (-thorn, -dern), 'a thorn, thorn-bush,' or *þyrne*, 'a thorn-bush': Blackthorn, Souldern.

-þorp (-thorp, -thorpe, -throp, -drop, &c.), 'a village': Burdrop, Calthorpe, Cokethorpe, Dunthrop, Heythrop, Neithrop, Overthorpe, Southrope, Tythrop, Thrup.

-weald (-weald, -wold), 'a wood': Weald.

-well, *-wielle* (-well, -el), 'a spring, well': Adwell, Bradwell Grove, Broadwell, Brightwell Baldwin, Britwell Salome, Cadwell, Cherwell, Cornwell, Epwell, Fordwells, Fritwell, Fulwell, Gagingwell, Hanwell, Holwell, Holywell, Ledwell, Mongewell, Sewell, Shelswell, Westwell.

-weorþ (-worth), 'a farm, homestead, habitation': Chilworth, Littleworth, Tetsworth.

-wīc (-wick), 'a place': Berwick, Hardwicke, Wretchwick.

-wudu (-wood): Holmwood, Stow Wood, Wychwood.

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