

Medieval Field-Names in Two South Durham Townships

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This paper is meant as a brief account of some rich field-name material I have come across in the process of preparing the English Place-Name Society's volumes for Durham beginning with Stockton Ward in the south-east of the county.¹

In my discussion of the Scandinavian settlement names of County Durham presented to the then Council for Name Studies at its spring conference in 1987 and subsequently printed in *Nomina*,² I concluded that there was 'an arc of [Scandinavian] settlement in some density' in the Middle and Lower Tees valley but that there remained 'areas along the Tees where all trace of Scand[inavian] or Scandinavianised p[lace-]n[ames] is absent—notably around Darlington and around Hartlepool'.³

Long before this in 1948 the Danish scholar, Kristian Hald, had showed that the late twelfth-century field-names of the English-named Lincolnshire village of Benniworth, Old English (OE) *Beonninga-worþ* 'the enclosure of the Beonningas, the people called after Beonna', were full of evidence of widespread Danish influence. Some of the names preserved traces of Scandinavian inflexions and many were derived wholly or partly from Scandinavian words.⁴ The significance of Hald's paper was to demonstrate that in areas subject to Danish occupation the evidence of

¹ This is a revised version of a paper originally presented at the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland at Henderson Hall, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 5–8 April 2002.

² V. Watts, 'Scandinavian settlement-names in County Durham', *Nomina*, 12 (1988–89), 17–63.

³ *Ibid.*, 57. See also V. Watts, 'Northumberland and Durham: the place-name evidence', in *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain. Thirteen Studies of Place-Names in their Historical Context*, edited by B. E. Crawford, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester, 1995), pp. 206–13.

⁴ K. Hald, 'Vore marknavnes ålder', *Namn och Bygd*, 36 (1948), 14–33 (pp. 24–33). Cf. *idem*, 'A reply to Peter Sawyer on "the two Viking Ages of Britain"', *Medieval Scandinavia*, 2 (1969), 185–87.

major settlement names needs to be set in the field-name context. Within the Danelaw the occurrence of an English-named village cannot be taken as negative evidence against Danish settlement: for that the field-name evidence needs to be investigated.

Following Hald's example in 1973 Kenneth Cameron examined the twelfth-century field-name evidence of another English-named Lincolnshire village, Dunholme, OE *Dunna-h_m*, 'Dunna's homestead', located on the western fringes of an area settled by Danes in numbers.⁵ Of eighty-odd names he found twenty-five with eleven generics of English origin (*brycg, busc, croft, feld, furh, furlang, hyll, mersc, st_n, stodfald* and *wella*), twenty-three with ten generics of Scandinavian origin (*bekkr, deill, eng, gata, haugr, holmi, kjarr, skarð, stng* and *toft*), and twenty-seven whose generics were ambiguous as between English or Scandinavian origin (*æcer/akr, dæl/dalr, d_c/dík, land, m_r/mór, pytt/pyt, s_c/sík, st_g/stígr*).⁶ He concluded that this mixture reflected the situation pretty exactly of this English-named village on the edge of Danish settlement.

In his last two publications on field-name evidence, this time in Scandinavian-named vills,⁷ Professor Cameron listed the Scandinavian elements occurring in field-names by frequency of occurrence so that in Haverstoe, Walshcroft and Yarborough Wapentakes in Lincolnshire the common elements include *bekkr, bryggja, bý* (in the formula *Northiby, Suthiby, Westiby, Austiby*), *dammr, deill, eng, garðr, gata, geiri, haugr, hlaða, inntak, kirkja, kjarr, mikill, steinn, stng, toft, vað* and *vrá* and the well-attested elements *baun, brakni, breiðr, brot, fit, hafri, hfuð* and *kriki*. Cameron concluded:

Taken together, the evidence obtained from minor names and field-names in three wapentakes in north-east Lindsey reinforces that of the major

⁵ K. Cameron, 'Early field-names in an English-named Lincolnshire village', in *Otium et Negotium. Studies in Onomatology and Library Science Presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, edited by F. Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), pp. 38–43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

⁷ *Ibid.*, and 'The Scandinavian element in minor names and field-names in north-east Lincolnshire', *Nomina*, 19 (1996), 5–27, and 'The Danish element in the minor and field-names of Yarborough Wapentake, Lincolnshire', in *Names, Places and People. An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, edited by A. R. Rumble and A. D. Mills (Stamford, 1997), pp. 19–25.

place-names. The sheer variety of the vocabulary involving over eighty words, many connected with farming and land-measurement, the number of Scandinavian compound field-names and the occurrence of some sixty Scandinavian personal names as the first element of field-names all point to a conclusion that Danish settlement here must have been the result of colonisation on a large scale.⁸

In my 1987 paper I did not deal with field-name evidence, but work done since then for the English Place-Name Society's Durham volumes has now made it possible to see whether in two English-named villis near Hartlepool the field-name evidence confirms or qualifies my original conclusions. The two townships concerned are Billingham (OE *Billing-h_m* 'the homestead on the *billing* or promontory') and Wolviston (OE *Wulfes-t_n* 'Wulf's farm or estate'), both of which were estates belonging to the Prior of Durham in the Middle Ages and are correspondingly well documented with a rich series of field- and minor names in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents preserved in the Durham Cathedral Muniments.

Would this evidence show a situation in two English-named villis in the southern part of County Durham where Scandinavian influence is most to be expected similar to that revealed by Hald and Cameron in Lincolnshire?

In the event, the answers from Billingham and Wolviston could hardly be more different. Of the 250 or so field-names tabulated below I found 118 compounded with thirty-two generics of English origin (*brycg, burna, cl_h, croft, d_l, delf, denu, d_n, fald, feld, *fl_d-geat, ford, furh, gearð, halh, h_afod, hl_w, hop, hyll, l_ah, *lece, mere, mersc, myln, pæð, *pingel, p_l, *r_w, *rodu, *scofl-brdu, s_de, st_n*), fifty-one with nine generics of Scandinavian origin, all of which became naturalised at various dates into northern Middle English (ME) dialects (*afnám, banki, bás, flatr, gata, kefli, kjarr, reinn, toft*), and seventy-six with twenty-two ambiguous generics which could be of either English or Scandinavian origin (*æcer/akr, ærs/ars, balca/bálkr, *busc/buski, cnoll/knollr, cot/kot, *cr_c/krókr, cross/kross, d_c/dík, ende/endi, fenn/fen, fl_r/flór, f_t/fót, hol, land, mre/mri, m_r/mór, s_c/sík, stand, þorn, weg/vegr, wella/vella*).

Similarly with the specifics in these names: sixty are compounded with

⁸ 'The Scandinavian element in minor names and field-names in north-east Lincolnshire', 26.

forty-four specifics of English origin (*ald*, *br_da*, *catt*, *cnearr*, *c_l²`cool*, *cr_we*, *crumb`bent*, *cyln*, *d_ad-mann*, *elle`elder-tree*, *ened*, *fearnig*, **feortere*, *fisc*, **fresc*, *fyrhðe*, *gr_ne*, *hæg*, *h_lig*, *hall*, *h_ope*, *heorot*, *hop`enclosed plot, enclosed valley*, *hr_od*, *lamb* in the Old English genitive plural form *lambra* (*Lambircotes* c.1375), **l_mig*, *ltel*, *md*, *papol`pebble*, *peose*, *pr_me*, **purroc*, **rodu*, *ryge*, *ryscig*, *sceort*, **scrðere`clothier* used as a surname, **scylfing*, *sn_w*, *st_nig*, **todd-hol*, *walcere* no doubt again used as a surname, *wide*, *wiðign*), ten with eight specifics of Scandinavian origin all of which, again, became naturalised elements in Middle English (*blár*, *bóndi*, *dreng*, *fit*, *flak*, *gybr*, *kirkja*, *slakki*), and thirty-one with twenty-five ambiguous specifics (*blæc/blakr*, *blind/blindr*, *cot/kot*, *cwicu/kvikr*, *f_l/fúl*, *gor*, *hangiende/hangandi*, *h_r²/hárr*, *heg/hey*, *horh/horr*, *hræfn/hrafn*, *hungor*, *hungrig/hungr*, *hwæte/hveiti*, *hw_t/hvítr*, *lang/langr*, *micel*, *micla/mikill*, *m_r/mór*, *mos/mosi*, *sand(ig)*, *seox/sex*, *st_or/stjórr* used as a surname, *wer`weir*, *west/vestr*, *wæðer/veðr*, *wifel/*vifill*).

There are no examples in this list of any of Cameron's common and well-attested generics other than *gata*, *kjarr*, possibly *bryggja*, and *toft*. But *toft* is already borrowed into late Old English and common in Middle English, as are also *gata* and *kjarr* in northern dialects, and Middle English spellings in *brigge* are actually ambiguous as between /brig/ and /bridz/. ME *brade* (OE *brada*) occurs in several names with no trace of ON *breiðr* and one name, *Lambircotes* 1375, seems to show traces of the Old English *es*-stem genitive plural *lambra* which is not evidenced in Old Norse where nouns of this class were early assimilated to the *a*-stem declension.⁹

Traces of Old Norse (ON) *afnám`a plot of land newly enclosed*, *blár`blue*, *bóndi`peasant land-owner*, *fit`grassland on a river bank* and *reinn`a boundary strip* occur in Almon Nook, *Aunam* c.1375, *Blafote* c.1375, *Bondflat* 1361, *fittie carre* 1608, and *le Wheterenes* 1316, but these can all be explained as Middle English formations with elements which became more or less widely generalised.

There are no Old Norse compound field-names and no obvious Old Norse personal names. *Hildiger* in *hylgeresmers* 1333 probably represents

⁹ A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), § 635; H. Krahe and W. Meid, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft II: Formenlehre*, Sammlung Götschen Band 780 (Berlin, 1969), § 25.

Continental Germanic (CG) *Hildigar*. There are by contrast four possible Old English personal names: OE *Hiddi* used as a surname may lie behind *hiddesland*, OE **Pymmi* or ME *Pymme* from the attested Old English weak form *Pymma* behind *pymesdyk'* c.1375, *Wulfstan* occurs in *Wlstanemer'* c.1330, and perhaps an OE **Craffa*, genitive singular **Craffan*, in *Craffendenes* 1615. Such a name would be an apophonic variant of *crabba* 'a crab' and may be compared with Bavarian *krapf* 'a cripple'. On the other hand, the late spelling perhaps conceals OE *cr_wa-fenn* 'crows' fen'.

Two names deserve special mention, *Pekeshers* 1368 and *Tibyrislaw* c.1320. The former is identical with the ancient name of Peak Cavern in Derbyshire, *Pechefers* (for *Pechesers*) 1086, *Peak's Arse* 1636. Peak here is OE *p_ac* 'a peak' as in the Tribal Hidage *Peacsætna lond* [7th]c.1000 B 297.¹⁰ The occurrence, however, of an alternative name for Peak Cavern, *Devillsarse* 1630, has suggested to some that *p_ac* might have been an alternative name for the Devil or for some pagan spirit cognate with OE *p_ca* and ON *púki*. The latter has been thought to be a late borrowing of the former: both derive from a Germanic root *piuka/pauka/puka* 'swell, swollen'. Why it is used in a Billingham field-name and what feature it may have been applied to is unknown.

The latter is the nicest find I have come across in the collection since it survives in the name of a modern housing-estate road, Tibbersley Avenue, Billingham. The original site is completely built over today by modern chemical works but the recorded forms are *Tibyrislaw* c.1320, *Tibberlawe* c.1375, and *Tiversley Homestall* 1775. It is, I think, *T_dbeorhtes hl_w* 'Tidbeorht's barrow', which I suggest to have been a tutelary burial at the edge of a territory later known as *Billinghamshire*, at the end of the long low ridge or *billing* on which the medieval village stands still marked by its Anglo-Saxon church tower overlooking the Tees estuary and adjacent lowlands, just like Beowulf's tutelary burial overlooking the sea on *Hronesnæs*.

The evidence examined points to the generally English character of the Billingham and Wolviston field- and minor names. It is, however, slightly later in date than that available to Cameron and Hald and consequently

¹⁰ B = W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols and index (London, 1885–99).

includes a number of Middle English coinages with Scandinavian elements which had by then become widely naturalised in northern dialects. Nevertheless the underlying English character of the medieval field- and minor names in these two villis is evident and substantiates my conclusion of 1987, namely that Scandinavian influence in County Durham was severely restricted. It is further evidence of the high skill and great success with which the Community of St Cuthbert defended its possessions from alienation to Viking overlords both in the earlier ninth-century crisis and in the later short-lived tenth-century Irish-Norwegian supremacy.

The material: Billingham and Wolviston field-names

(a) Old English generics (32)

brycg (*Staynbrigges* c.1375, *le Haybrygg* 1378, *Stanybrig* 1304, *Wlleswaybrig* c.1300)

burna `stream' (*le Burnsyde*, *Stobburnegate* c.1375, *Bruntoftburn* c.1240, *ffisshburnlecche* 1371–73, *Rauenesdenburne* 1305 × 1306)

cl_h `ravine' (*Catteclouleche* c.1240)

croft (*le Croftes*, *le Southcroft* c.1375, *le Croftes* 1304)

d_l (*Bradedale* 1325, *keueldale* 1189 × 1212)

delf (*dryngesdelfe* 1333)

denu (*Edmondens* 1380–83, *fflakden*, *Horden* c.1375, *Craffendenes* 1615, *crauthornedenes* c.1300, *dedmanesdenes* c.1300, *Denes* 1280, *Edmundenes* 1329 × 1330, *Fartirwelleden* c.1300, *harestandene* c.1240, *Hasseldeens* 1673, *Litelden*, *purrokeden* early 13th, *Rauenesdenburne* 1305 × 1306)

d_n (*Papildounmere* c.1375, *Heppedun* early 13th, *snaudun* c.1240)

fald `a fold' (*le maysterfald* 1304, *le Wystfald* 1325)

feld (*le Frethfeld* 1368, *kevelfeld* c.1280)

***fl_d-geat**¹¹ (*fflodeyates* 1348, *Neuton flodeyat* 1316)

ford `ford' or **forð** `in front of' (*Northfrothwelflat*, *Southforthwelflat* c.1375)

furh `furrow' (*foulfar* 1408 `foul furrows')

¹¹ First recorded c.1225 in *Oxford English Dictionary*, edited by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1989), s.v. *flood-gate*.

- geard** (*Bruntofyard* 1316)
- halh** (*le haulgh in campo boreali* 1384, *Nicholshalgh* 1336)
- h_afod** (*Hordenheued* c.1375, *croukthedsand* 1613, *les Heuedlandes* 1348)
- hl_w** (*Tybiryslaw* c.1320, *vlaweflat* c.1375, *Blakelau* early 13th, *Chnareslawe* 1229 × 1244, *Quarrelau* early 13th)
- hop** (*scridereshope* 1323, *Whytheshope* c.1320, *Wiveshope* 1359)
- hyll** (*ffundeshill*’, *Ryel* c.1375, *mikilhil* c.1240, *le Mylnehille* c.1330, *Sexhille* 1229 × 1240)
- l_ah, ley** (*le Schorteley* 1336, *soritmikeley* [reading uncertain] 1304)
- *lece** ‘watercourse’ (*Catteclouleche* c.1240, *ffisshburnlecche* 1371–73, *ffisshpollech*’ 1336 × 1337)
- mere** ‘pond’ (*Crawemere*, *Papildownmere* c.1375, *Tesemer* 1408, *le Thristelymere* c.1375, *Brademere* c.1275, *le Colemer*’ 1312, *dunemere* early 13th, *Goremere* mid 13th, *Henriesmer* c.1320, *hertesmere* 1234 × 1244, *Lamim[er]e* early 13th, *langemere* c.1240, *le ressymer* 1312, *Wellsmere* 1359, *Wlstanemer*’ c.1330, *Wydmer* c.1280, *Wyflesmer* c.1280, *Withinm[er]e* c.1240, *Wytmergate* 1312)
- mersc** (*Lytilmers* 1343, *ffresmers*, *le Merseflat*’ c.1375, *hylgeresmers* 1333)
- myln** (*le milnflat*, *le milneknoll*’, *le Wynmylne* c.1375, *le Mylnehille* c.1330, *snaudun mylne* 1312, *le Wyndemylne* 1312)
- pæð, peth** (*le Pethe* 1308, *petheflat* c.1280)
- *pingel**¹² (*pynkell*’ c.1375)
- p_l** (*Endepole* c.1300, *fiscpolflat* c.1240, *ffishepoles* 1348, *Walkerpole* 1320)
- *r_w** (*Neuraw* 1378)
- *rodu** ‘clearing’ (*hanganwelrode* 1348)
- *scofl-brdu** ‘a narrow strip the width of a shovel’ (*shoul bred* 1614)
- s_de** (*le kersyde*, *moresideflat*’, *Rodesyde* c.1375, *Crouelsyde* c.1330, *le greneside* 1312, *le keuilfe[l]dsyde* 1323, *langside* 1348, *le medusydes* 1312, *le pethsydes* 1312, *purroxdenside* 1348, *Schiluingeside* 1304, *Slackeside* 1669)
- st_n** (*harestandene* c.1240)

¹² First recorded in the sixteenth century in *Oxford English Dictionary*, edited by Simpson and Weiner, s.v. *pingle*.

(b) Old Norse generics (9: all naturalised elements in Middle English)

afnám `land taken in from the waste' (Almon Nook, *Aunam* c.1375)

banki (*fflakdenbank*, *le Redebank* c.1375)

báss ON, dialect **beace** `a cowshed' (*Bascar* 1613)

flatr (*Bondflat* 1361, *Edmondenflat*, *Grymesflat*, *le Marseflat*, *le milneflat*, *moreflatt*, *moresideflat*, *Northfrothwelflat*, *le Shortflat*, *Southforthwelflat*, *Totheflat*, *vtgangflatend*, *vtlaweflat* c.1375, *le Coteflat* 1316, *fiscpolflat* c.1240, *ginin- Gimirflat* early 13th, *Halywellflatt* 1430, *hungri flat* 1229 × 1244, *Mauldeflat* 1316, *le parkesflatt* 1320, *petheflat* c.1280, *pruncnolflat* 1316, *stanflat* early 13th, *todholoflat* 1316)

gata `road' (*Bartoungate*, *Duresmegat*, *Stobburnegate*, *Weresgate* c.1375, *Aldigate* 1348, *anngat wai* 1613, *le Haygate* 1325, *le kyrkegate* 1308, *plankegat* 1316, *snaudunegate* c.1300, *Wytmergate* 1312)

kefli (*keueldale* 1189 × 1212, *kevelfeld* c.1280, *le keuilfe[l]syde* 1323, *Southekevyle* 1424)

kjarr `marsh' (*le kersyde* c.1375, *Pekersker* 1365, *Riekkerhend* 14th, *le Southeker* c.1375, *le Westker* 14th, *le Kerre* 1430)

reinn ON, dialect **rean** `strip, boundary' (*le Whetereues* for *-renes* 1316)

toft (*Toftis* c.1280)

(c) Ambiguous generics (22)

æcer/akr (*hopeacre* c.1375, *Byacres* for *Ryacres* 1316 × 1317)

ærs/ars (*Pekeshers* 1368)

balca/bálkr (*Bruntoftbalke* c.1300)

***busc/buski** (*Hellebuske* c.1300)

cnoll/knollr (*le milneknoll*, *le Stanyknoll*, *le Thristleyknoll* c.1375, *farnignoll* c.1280, *pruncnolflat*, *Sandyknoll* 1316)

cot/kot (*Lambircotes* c.1375, *le Wethercot* 1378)

***cr_c/krókr** (*Iakiscrok* 14th, *Saltcrok* 1343, *Lyntecrokes* 1320, *snaudun crok* 1316)

cross/kross (*albam crucem* early 13th, *Whitcrosse* 1316)

d_c/dík (*faukus dykes*, *haydike*, *pymesdyk* c.1375, *Aldyke* c.1300, *Dike*, *Dikesende*, *Halledik* early 13th, *le Haydick* 1316)

ende/endi (*Riekkerhend* 14th, *vtgangflatend* c.1375, *Dikesende* early 13th)

fenn/fen (*Quikefen* c.1230)

fl_r/flór, dialect **floor** `flat land lying at the ffoot of slopes' (*fflurum* c.1375, dative pl.)

f_t/ftót (*Blafote* c.1375)

hol¹, holh/hol `hole', **hol²/holr** `hollow' (*Hepeholl* 1316, *Howlmire* 1615)

land (*Blaklandes* c.1375, *cromlandes*, *le Langlandes* c.1375, *le messangerland* 14th, *peselandes* c.1375, *Tiddesland* 1478, *Belassiseland* 1359, *Bertramland* 1424, *Blakeland* early 13th, *le Heuedlandes* 1348, *Hiddesland* 1430, *houtonland* 1353, *Knyghtland* 1430, *kylneland* 1424, *landsych* c.1280, *Massamland* 1412, *Nedillerland* 1430, *Offyngtonland* 1424, *Spensarland* 1430 held of the communer of Durham, *Stereland* 1359 (Cuthbert Ster c.1350))

(ge)mre/mri `boundary' (*Le Meer* c.1340)

m_r/mór (*le syst[er]mores* 1323)

s_c/sík (*ffulesike* 1320, *landsych* c.1280)

stand (*Willstand* 1380)

þorn `a thorn-tree' (*le Thoren* c.1375, *crauthornedenes* c.1300)

weg/vegr (*Wlleswaybrig* c.1300, *anngat wai*, *le Coleway* 1613)

wella/vella (*flakdenwell*`, *Northfrothwelflat*`, *Southforthwelflat* c.1375, *le blyndewelle(s)* 1308, *Crowell* early 13th, *Fartirwelleden* c.1300, *Halywellflatt* 1430, *Hangande welle* early 13th, *Harstanwelleden* c.1320, *muswelle* c.1300, *Raueneswelleburne* 1316 × 1317)

(d) Old English specifics (44)

ald (*Aldyke* c.1300, *Aldigate* 1348)

br_da (*Bradedale* 1325, *Brademere* c.1275)

catt (*Catteclouleche* c.1240)

***cnearr** `a rugged rock' (*Chnareslawe* 1229 × 1244)

c_l² `cool' (*le Colemer* 1312)

cr_we (*Crawemere* c.1375, *crauthornedenes* c.1300, *Crowell* early 13th)

crumb `bent' (*cromlandes* c.1375)

cyln (*kylneland* 1424)

d_ad-mann (*dedmanesdenes* c.1300)

elle `elder-tree' (*Hellebuske* c.1300)

- ened** `duck' (*Endepole* c.1300)
fearn(ig) (*farnigknol* c.1280)
***feortere** `farther' used as a surname (*Fartirwelleden* ' c.1300)
fisc (*ffisshburnlecche* 1371-3, *fiscpolflat* c.1240, *ffishepoles* 1348)
***fresc** (*ffresmers* c.1375)
fyrhðe `fenland overgrown with brushwood' (*le Frethfeld* 1368)
gr_ne (*le greneside* 1312)
hæg `hedge' (*le Haydick* 1316)
h_lig (*Halywellflatt* 1430)
hall (*Halledik* early 13th)
h_ope `hip, dogrose' (*Heppedun* early 13th, *Hepesholl* ' 1316)
heorot (*hertesmere* 1234 × 1244)
hop (*hopeacre* c.1375)
hr_od `reed' (*le Redebank* ' c.1375)
lamb (*Lambircotes* c.1375, OE genitive pl. *lambra*)
***l_mig** `loamy' (*Lamim[er]e* early 13th)
ltel (*Lytilmers* 1343, *Litteltoft* ' c.1375, *Litelden* early 13th)
md (*le medusydes* 1312, *Wetmedu syde* c.1300)
papol `pebble' (*Papildounmere* c.1375)
peose `pea' (*peselandes* c.1375)
pr_me `a plumb' (*pruncnolflat* 1316)
***purroc** (*purrokedden* early 13th)
***rodu** (*Rodesyde* c.1375)
ryge (*Riekkerhend* 14th, *Ryel* c.1375, *Byacres* for *Ryacres* 1316 × 1317)
ryscig (*le ressymer* 1312)
sceort (*le Shortflat* ' c.1375, *le Schorteley* 1336)
***scrdere** `clothier' used as surname (*scridereshope* 1323)
***scylfing**, derivative of **scelf**, **scylf** (*Schiluingeside* 1304)
sn_w (*snaudun* c.1240)
st_n(ig) `stony' (*fflakdenstanes*, *le Stanyknoll*, *Staynbrigges* c.1375, *Stanybrig* ' 1304, *stanflat* early 13th)
***todd-hol** (*todholoflat* 1316)
walcere (*Walkerpole* 1320)
w_de (*Wydmer* c.1280)
wiðign `willow' (*Withinm[er]e* c.1240)

(e) Old Norse specifics (8)

blár (*Blafote* c.1375)

bónði (*Bondflat* 1361, *pratum bondorum* c.1300)

drengr used as a surname (*dringesdelf* 1333, *Dringland* 1346)

fitty 'coastal marshland' (ON *fit*) (*fittie carre* 1608)

flak 'turf' (*fflakden* c.1375)

gymbr, dialect **gimmer** 'one-year old ewe-lamb' (*ginin- Gimirflat* early 13th)

kirkja (*le kyrkegate* 1308)

slakki, dialect **slack** (*Slackeside* 1669, cf. 'his watter slake at the more hedes not open', *Billingham Court Rolls* 1610)

(f) Ambiguous specifics (25)

blæc/blakr (*Blaklands* c.1375, *Blakeland*, *Blakelau* early 13th)

blind/blindr 'blind, hidden by vegetation, having no outlet' (*le blyndewelle(s)* 1308)

cot/kot (*le Coteflat* 1316)

cwicu/kvikr 'alive, unstable' (*Quikefen* c.1230)

f_l/fúll 'foul' (*ffulesike* 1320)

gor 'dirt, filth' (*Goremere* mid 13th)

hangiende/hangandi 'hanging' (*Hangande welle* early 13th)

har²/hárr 'grey' (*harestandene* c.1240)

heg/hey (*haydike* c.1375, *le Haybrygg* 1378, *le Haygate* 1325)

horh/horr 'dirt' (*Horden* c.1375)

hræfn/hrafn (*Rauenesdenburne* 1305 × 1306)

hungor, hungri/hungr (*hungri flat* 1229 × 1244)

hwte/hveiti 'wheat' (*le Whetereues* for *-renes* 1316)

hw_t/hvítr (*Wytmergate* 1312)

lang/langr (*le Langlandes* c.1375, *langemere* c.1240, *langside* 1348)

micel, micla/mikill (*mikilhil* c.1240)

m_r/mór (*moreflatt*, *moresideflat*, c.1375)

mos/mosi (*muswelle* c.1300)

sand(ig) (*Sandyknoll* 1316)

seox/sex 'six' (*Sexhille* 1229 × 1240)

st_or/stjórr 'a steer' probably used as a surname (*Stereland* 1359)

wer 'weir', cf. ON **verja** (*Weresgate* c.1375)

west/vestr (*Le Wystfald* 1325)

weðer/veðr `a wether' (*le Wethercot* 1378)

wifel/*vifill `beetle' (*Wyflesmer* c.1280)

(g) Personal names

OE **Craffa*, apophonic variant of *crabba* `crab', cf. Bavarian *krapf* `cripple' (*Craffendenes* 1615)

OE *Hiddi* (*hiddesland* 1430)

CG *Hildiger*¹³ (*hylgeresmers* 1333)

OE **Pymmi* or ME *Pymme* from OE *Pymma* (*pymesdyk*' c.1375)

OE **T_dbeorht* (*Tibyrislaw* c.1320)

OE *Wulfst_n* (*Wlstanenmer*' c.1330)

¹³ G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen, 1968), p. 141.