VII.—LEICESTERSHIRE PLACE-NAMES.

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THE sources from which old forms of the names are taken, with the abbreviations by which they are denoted, are as follows:—

- B.M. Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum. Vol. i. Index Locorum. 1900.
- Burton, W. Description of Leicestershire. 1622. Second edition, 1777.
- C.I. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem. 1904, etc.
- Cat. A.D. Catalogue of Ancient Deeds. 1890, etc.
- Charter Rolls, Calendar of. 1903, etc.
- Close Rolls, Calendar of. 1905, etc.
- D.B. Domesday Book: Facsimile of the part relating to Leicestershire. 1862.
- F.A. Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids. Vol. iii. 1904.
- H.R. Rotuli Hundredorum. Vol. i. 1812.
- K.C.D. Kemble, J. M. Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici. 1839, etc.
- L.S. Leicestershire Survey in Round (J. H.), Feudal England. 1895.
- Map in Camden (W.), Britannia. 1637.
- Nichols, J. History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester. 1795–1811.
- Pipe Roll. The Great Roll of the Pipe, ed. J. Hunter. 1844.
- Rec. Bor. Leic. Records of the Borough of Leicester, ed. M. Bateson. 1899, etc.
- Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H. Hall. 1896.
- Subsidy Roll. The Earliest Leicestershire Lay Subsidy Roll, ed. W. G. D. Fletcher. *n.d.*
- T.N. Testa de Nevill. 1807.
- Tax. Eccl. Taxatio Ecclesiastica. 1802.
- V.E. Valor Ecclesiasticus. Vol. iv. 1821.

The charters in the collections of Kemble and Birch are not very helpful, as the number of those referring to Leicestershire is small; a large proportion of these are forgeries, and the remainder have been preserved only in late copies, so that it seems useless to give any dates to the examples from these sources. But a late copy sometimes preserves a good early form, thus K.C.D. 916 is the only example I have for Burbage which preserves the *-h-* of the first element.¹

Domesday Book is the earliest authority for most of our names. Apart from scribal errors, such as *Holesford* for Bottesford, it

¹ This is wrongly identified with Burbage, Berks, in Kemble's Index. A comparison of this charter with 939 shows that both refer to the same places, and there Burbage, Barwell, Scraftoft, and Packington are said to be "in Leicestrensi provincia". Both 916 and 939 are charters of St. Mary's Abbey, Coventry, which holds Burbage, Leicestershire, in D.B.

shows typical misspellings of Norman scribes, e.g. initial *t* for *th* is almost universal, *s* is sometimes put for *sc*; but the D. B. spellings in Leicestershire are, on the whole, less corrupt than in many other counties. There is, for instance, no example of an added *e* before initial *s* + consonant.

For the twelfth century we have a valuable authority in the Leicestershire Survey, first published in Feudal England by Dr. J. H. Round, who shows the date of it to be between 1124 and 1129. Unfortunately it is only a fragment, the whole of Guthlaxton Hundred and the beginning of Gartree are missing. The spellings show that it is the work of Norman scribes. Forms dating from the twelfth century onwards are found in B.M. Most of these are dated and many are excellent spellings. The Records of the Borough of Leicester also begin in this century.

For the thirteenth century there is plenty of material, the Public Record Office Calendars of Close Rolls, Charter Rolls, and Inquisitions Post Mortem, the Feudal Aids of 1284-5, the Rotuli Hundredorum (the date of the Leicestershire examples is 1275-6), and the Taxatio Ecclesiastica of 1291.¹

The Lay Subsidy Roll of 1327 is a valuable authority for the fourteenth century, and the Feudal aids of 1402 and 1428 for the fifteenth.

In the sixteenth century we have the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535. In this most of the names appear in their modern spellings or forms differing from these only in unimportant details.

Burton's work is interesting to the philologist in that several of his spellings show a more advanced phonetic development than the current spellings, and may be compared with the popular pronunciation given in Nichols, in Hope's Glossary of Dialect Place-Nomenclature, and in Evans's Leicestershire Words, Phrases, and Proverbs (English Dialect Society, 1881).

Arranging the names according to language, we find that CELTIC names in the county are few.

Leicester appears in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as *Ligora*-, *Ligera*-, and *Ligraceaster*. Geoffrey of Monmouth and others connect the name with King Lear,² but the true etymology was

¹ Unfortunately the editor of this has not based his work on the original documents, but on a transcript of the fifteenth century.

² Perrett (W.), Story of King Lear. Berlin, 1904.

given by William of Malmesbury: "*Legrecestra . . . a Legre fluvio praeterfluente sic vocata*," *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, Rolls Series, p. 311. This is an old name for the Soar, and seems to be the same as *Liger(is)*, the Loire in France, which, according to Holder: *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* is connected with Lat. *rigare*, to water. Hence Leicester is like Exeter, Cirencester, and other names in being formed by adding Lat. *castra* to a Celtic river-name. The -r-, now lost, is found in the twelfth century in *Legrecestria* and *Leircestria* in two B.M. charters, besides the quotation from William of Malmesbury above. On the other hand, it is lost as early as 1086 in the D.B. *Ledecestre*, a misspelling for *Leicestre*, as explained by Zachrisson: *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*, pp. 116-17.

Leire. 1086 *Legre* D.B., 1284-5 *Leyre* F.A. Another example of the Celtic river-name.

Glen. The forms go back with no change of spelling to D.B. It appears to be the same as the common noun "*glen*", a word of Celtic origin (N.E.D.).

Breedon. 1275-6 *Bredon* H.R. apparently contains a Celtic element, cf. Welsh *bre*, a hill, which enters into the names of several hills in Wales.¹ Breedon would then be tautological,² while in modern times it has become Breedon-on-the-hill, with a further repetition. The same etymology is given for Bredon, Worcestershire, by Duignan.

The ENGLISH and SCANDINAVIAN names are frequently difficult or impossible to distinguish, while some names appear to be hybrids. Hence it is most convenient to take these names together. So far as they can be distinguished we find that in the hundreds of Framland and East Goscote, i.e. in the east and north-east of the county, Scandinavian names predominate; in the rest of the county they occur in small numbers here and there, they are very seldom found along the Warwickshire and Northamptonshire borders or in the Charnwood Forest district. There is a great resemblance between the Scandinavian names in this county and those in Lincolnshire, and the name Humberstone points to an historical connexion between them.³ Although for

¹ Evans, *Welsh-English Dictionary*.

² See -DON, p. 64.

³ See p. 68.

convenience classical Icelandic parallels are quoted, it is obvious that in many cases the place-names go back to much more primitive Scandinavian forms.¹ Since many of the English and Scandinavian names are derived from personal names, references are given to the following :—

Lind, E. *Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn ock fingerade Namn*. 1905, etc.

Nielsen, O. *Olddanske Personnavne*. 1883.

Searle, W. G. *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*. 1897.

Most of the English and Scandinavian names consist of two elements, and can be conveniently grouped according to the second.

-BACH.

Possibly a dialectal form of **becch*, answering to O.E. **becc* = O.N. *bekkr*, a stream, the valley through which a stream flows. See Bache (N.E.D.). This suffix is found in

Burbage. *Burhbeca* K.C.D., 1086 *Burbece* D.B., 1385 *Burbach* B.M., O.E. *burg*; see -BOROUGH (2).

Cotesbach or **Cottesbach.** 1086 *Cotesbece* D.B., 1284-5 *Catisbek* F.A., 1216-1307 *Cotesbac* T.N., 1428 *Cotesbeche* F.A. The first element is a personal name **Cott*; cf. Cottisford, Oxon, and the corresponding weak form *Cotta* in Searle.

-BOLD.

O.E. *bold*, *botl*, a building. Found only in Newbold in Worthington, Newbold Folville, Newbold Saucey, and Newbold Verdon. The last three take their second names from the families which held them in the thirteenth century.

-BOROUGH (1).

O.E. *beorg*, a hill, found in

Harborough, Market. 1228 *Haverberg* Close Rolls, 1230 *Haverbergh* *ibid.*, 1312 *Mercat Heburgh* B.M., 1447 *Haverbergh*, *Harburgh* *ibid.*, 1535 *Haverborowe* V.E. O.N. *hafri*, oats.

Wellsborough. 1284-5 *Wenlesbergh* F.A., 1327 *Whenlesberewe* Subsidy Roll, *Whellesburgh* Burton. The first element is a personal name; cf. Wenlesmere in K.C.D. Index.

Whatborough. 1086 *Welberga* D.B., 1124-9 *Watebergia* L.S.,

¹ See e.g. Arnesby, p. 61.

1327 *Whatteberwe* Subsidy Roll, 1428 *Whatbergh* F.A., 1535 *Whatborowe* V.E. O.E. *hwæte*, wheat.

-BOROUGH (2).

O.E. *burg*, a fortified place, always appears in Leicestershire as -borough, not -bury, except in Bury Camp, which seems to be a modern name. There are four examples, of which the most interesting are—

Burrough-on-the-hill. 1086 *Burc*, *Burg*, in *Burgo* D.B., 1124–9 *Burg* L.S., 1216–1307 *Burgh* T.N. This is simply O.E. *burg*. But a longer form exists, 1327 *Erthburgh* Subsidy Roll; Burton gives the old name as *Erdburrow*, Nichols as *Erdborough* or *Erdingborough*. The last points to O.E. *Eardan*, gen. of *Earda*; cf. the many personal names in *Eard* given by Searle. There are still remains of large ancient earthworks at Burrough.

Loughborough. 1086 *Locteburne*, *Lucteburne* D.B., 1124–9 *Luaeb'* L.S., 1231 *Lucteburg* Close Rolls, 1216–1307 *Lutteburgh* T.N., 1275–6 *Lutherburg* H.R., 1410–11 *Louthborowe* Cat.A.D., 1428 *Loughburgh* F.A., 1535 *Loughborowe* V.E.

-BOURNE.

O.E. *burna*, a stream, fountain. Found only in

Medbourne. 1086 *Medburne* D.B., 1275–6 *Medburn*, *Medburne* H.R., 1428 *Medburn* F.A., 1535 *Medburne* V.E. O.E. *mǣd*, a mead, meadow.

-BY.

O.N. *býr*, a village. D.B. frequently writes *-berie* for this suffix, e.g. in *Appleby*, *Arnesby*, *Asfordby*, *Barkby*, *Ingarsby*, *Quenby*, *Shoby*, and *Somerby*. This suffix is found more than sixty times in the county; a few examples are—

Arnesby. 1086 *Erendesberie*, *Erendesbi* D.B., 1216–1307 *Erndesby* T.N., 1284–5 *Erndesby*, *Erdnisby* F.A., 1428 *Ernesby* F.A., from an early form of the O.N. personal name *Jörundr*; cf. the place-name *Errindlev* connected with the personal name *Jarund* in *Nielsen*.

Asfordby. Type I. 1086 *Osferdebie* D.B.

Type II. 1124–9 *Asfordebia* L.S., 1428 *Asfordeby* F.A., 1535 *Asfordby* V.E.

Type III. 1190–1204 *Esfordebi* B.M., and the surname *de Esfordeby* is frequently found in Rec. Bor. Leic.

Type IV. 1086 *Esseberie* D.B. This is due perhaps to confusion with Ashby (*Essebi* D.B.).

The personal name **Āsfriðr* is not known to be extant in O.N., but several examples of Asford are given by Searle. Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin*, pp. 170-1, calls Asford an Anglo-Scandinavian name. Type I shows the corresponding O.E. *Osferð* (Searle). Type III shows the East Scandinavian mutated form *Æs-*. Burton's spelling, *Assorby*, shows the development of the pronunciation beyond the standard spelling.

Bescaby. 1124-9 *Berthaldebia* L.S., 1216-1307 *Berscatteby*, *Berscaldeby* T.N., 1327 *Berscoldeby* Subsidy Roll, 1622 *Bertsanby* or *Beselby* Burton. The O.N. personal name **Biartskialdi* is not extant, but both themes are given by Lind.

Enderby. 1086 *Andretesbie*, *Endredi* D.B., 1284-5 *Endredeby* F.A., 1286 *Endirdeby* B.M., 1428 *Enderby* F.A. contains the O.N. personal name *Eindriði* (Lind).

Naneby hamlet, Market Bosworth. Type I. 1257 surname *de Navesby* Rec. Bor. Leic., ? 1270 surname *de Navisby* *ibid.*, 1356-7 *Navesby* (quoted by Nichols).

Type II. 1383-4 *Navenby* (quoted by Nichols), 1327 *Naneby* Subsidy Roll.

Type I represents the strong and Type II the weak form of a personal name. Searle gives O.E. *Hnæf*; is this the corresponding O.N. ?

Rearsby. 1086 *Redresbi*, *Reresbi* D.B., 1124-9 *Resebia* L.S., 1327 *Rerisby* Subsidy Roll, 1428 *Reresby* F.A. contains the O.N. personal name *Hreiðarr* (Lind). The monophthongization points to the O.Danish form *Rethær*.

Rotherby. 1086 *Redebi* D.B., 1124-9 *Rederbia* L.S., 1274-5 *Retherby* C.I., 1428 *Retherby* F.A., 1535 *Rotherby* V.E. contains the same personal name as the last.

Shoby. 1086 *Seoldesberie* D.B., 1124-9 *Siwaldebia* L.S., 1428 *Sywoldeby* F.A., *Shouldby* Burton. O.N. personal name *Sigvaldr* or *Sigvaldi* (Lind).

Welby. 1086 *Alebi* D.B., 1124-9 *Alebia* L.S., 1216-1307 *Aleby*, *Alleby* T.N., 1327 *Oleby* Subsidy Roll, 1428 *Oleby* F.A., 1535 *Welbe*, *Welbye* V.E. contains the O.N. personal name *Āli* (Lind).

Wyfordby or **Wyverby**. 1086 *Wivordebie*, *Werdebi*, *Wordebi* D.B., 1124-9 *Wyfordebia* L.S., 1428 *Wywordby* F.A., 1535 *Wyfordby* V.E. Searle gives the O.E. personal name *Wigfrið*; the corresponding O.N. does not seem to be extant.

-CLIFF.

O.E. *clif*, a cliff, high river-bank.

Ratcliffe. 1086 *Radeclive* D.B., 1284-5 *Radeclve* F.A., 1428 *Radecliff* F.A., 1535 *Ratclyff* V.E. O.E. (*ðæt*) *rēade clif*, the red cliff. Nichols speaks of the "hill of red marle hanging over the river" at Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreak.

Sketchley. Burton gives old spellings *Skeileschive* and *Soketesclive*, Nichols adds *Skeitesclive*. In MS. Harl. 6281 we find *Skettescliff*. This MS. belongs to the latter half of the sixteenth century, but the form may be copied from an earlier document. These forms suggest that the original ending was -cliff. The first part appears to be O.N. *Skjötr*; the use of this as a personal name is confirmed by the surname Skeat, so well-known to philologists.

-COTE.

O.E. *cot*, strong neuter, or *cote*, weak feminine, a cottage, house. Occurs in fourteen names.

Cotes. t. Henry II *Cothes* B.M., thirteenth century *Kotes* ibid., 1327 *Cotes* Subsidy Roll, M.E. *cotes*, a new plural formation from *cot* or *cote*.

Coton. 1284-5 *Cotes* F.A., 1327 *Cotene* Subsidy Roll. Either a survival of the weak feminine plural or, more probably, from the dative plural *cotum*.

Chilcote. 1086 *Caldecote* D.B. (Derbyshire), 1216-1307 *Childecot*, *Childecote* T.N. The D.B. form obviously contains O.E. (Anglian) *cald*, cold; cf. Calcott Hill, Worcestershire, Coldcotes, Yorkshire, etc. The T.N. and the modern forms seem to show a mutated form for some reason.

Hugglescote. 1233 *Hukelescot* Close Rolls, t. Edward I *Huchiscote* B.M., 1216-1307 *Hoclescote* T.N., 1535 *Hukilscote* V.E. seems to contain a strong personal name not extant; the corresponding weak form occurs in Hucclecote, Gloucestershire.

-CROFT.

O.E. *croft*, a small enclosed field or pasture near the farmstead. Occurs alone and in Ulverscroft (see p. 78).

-CROSS.

O.E. *croſ* is found before the Conquest in the North and East of England. It is borrowed from O.N. *kros*, which comes from Lat. *crux* through Ireland. Found only in **Twycross**. 1086 *Tuicros* D.B.

-DALE.

O.E. *dæl*, a valley, dale.

Ragdale. 1086 *Ragendele* D.B., 1124-9 *Rachedale* L.S., 1291 *Rakedale* Tax. Eccl., 1428 *Ragedale*, *Ragdale*.

The alternative form Wreakdale is not ancient, and is derived by analogy from the name of the River Wreak.

-DON.

O.E. *dūn*, a hill. In Bardon, Billesdon, Bowden, Bredon,¹ Garendon, Quorn(don), and Sibson.²

Bowden. 1086 *Bugedone* D.B., 1234 *Bughedon*, *Budon* Close Rolls, 1402 *Boudon* F.A., 1535 *Bowdon*, *Bowden* V.E. Searle gives the O.E. personal name Buga. The change to -den seems due to confusion (owing to weak stress) with O.E. *denu*, a valley, a common suffix in the place-names of many counties, but not found in Leicestershire.

Garendon. 1124-9 *Geroldon* L.S., 1158-9, 1160-1 *Gerendone* Red Book of Exchequer, 1268 *Geroldon* Charter Rolls, 1271-2 *Gerondon*, *Geridon* C.I., 1275-6 *Gerendon*, *Gerudon*, *Gerewedon* H.R., 1535 *Garendon* V.E. Hope gives the pronunciation Garitun.

-EY.

O.E. *ēg*, island, piece of land nearly surrounded by water.

Fleckney. 1086 *Flechenie* D.B., 1246-9 *Flecheneya* B.M., 1216-1307 *Flekeneye*, *Flekeney* T.N.

Poultney. 1086 *Pontenei* D.B., 1284-5 *Pultenay*, *Pulteney* F.A., 1428 *Pulteney* F.A.

Sheepy. 1086 *Scepehe* D.B., 1270-1 *Schepeye* C.I. O.E. (Mercian) *scēp*, sheep.

O.E. -*fæsten*, a fortress, a place of strength.

Stockerston. Type I. 1086 *Stotone*, *Stoctone* D.B.

Type II. 1288 *Stocfaston* B.M., 1327 *Stokfaston* Subsidy Roll, 1535 *Stokerston* alias *Stokefaston* V.E.* O.E. *stoc(c)*, a post, stock, stake. Type I substitutes the more common ending -*TON*.³

¹ See p. 59.

² See p. 76.

³ See p. 71.

-FIELD.

O.E. *feld*, open land as opposed to woodland. Four examples.

Glenfield. Type I. 1086 *Clanefelde* D.B., 1284-5 *Clenefeld*, *Clynefeld* F.A., 1327 *Clenfeld* Subsidy Roll.

Type II. 1232 *Glenesfeld* Close Rolls, 1270-1 *Glenefeld* C.I., 1428 *Glenfeld* F.A.

Type I represents O.E. (*se*) *clæna feld*, the clean "field"; cf. Clanfield, Oxon. Type II is due to the analogy of "glen".

-FORD.

O.E. *ford*, a ford. Seven examples.

Desford. 1086 *Deresford*, *Diresford* D.B., 1232 *Deresford* Close Rolls, 1284-5 *Desford* F.A. The O.E. personal name *Dēor* (Searle).

-GATE.

O.E. *gæt*, dat. *gæte*, a gate. Found only in Bradgate Park, where the first element is O.E. *brād*, broad.

-GRAVE.

O.E. *græf*, dat. *græfe*, a trench. Four examples.

Belgrave. 1232 *Belegrave* Close Rolls, 1275-6 *Belegrave* H.R., 1428 *Belgrave* F.A. Searle gives an O.E. personal name *Beola*, but the difficulty here is that the name did not exist until the twelfth or thirteenth century. The older name is seen in 1086 *Merdegrave* D.B., 1124-9 *Mardegrave* L.S. Searle gives a personal name *Merdo* found in D.B.

Priestgrave. 1278-9 *Prestgrave* C.I. O.E. *prēosta*, gen. pl. of *prēost*, a priest. But this name is not ancient; in 1086 we find *Abegrave* D.B. from the O.E. personal name *Aba* (Searle).

Seagrave. 1086 *Satgrave*, *Setgrave*, *Segrave* D.B., c. 1220 *Sedgrave* B.M., 1272-3 *Sedgrave* C.I., 1428 *Segrave* F.A. This seems to contain O.E. *sæt*, ambush, place where one lies in wait.

-HAM.

The forms are too late to decide whether this is O.E. *hām*, home, or *hamm*, a meadow. Seven examples.

Lubbenham. Type I. 1086 *Lubanham*, *Lubeham* D.B., 1428 *Lobenham* F.A., 1535 *Lubbenham* V.E.

Type II. 1086 *Lobenho* D.B., 1275-6 *Lubenho* H.R., 1216-1307 *Lobehou* T.N.

Phil. Trans. 1916-20.

Nielsen, under Lubbi, quotes a personal name Lubba from English sources. The strong form of the same name appears in Lubbesthorpe. For Type II see the suffix -HOE.

-HEAD.

O.E. *hēafod*, head, found only in

Shepshed. 1086 *Scepeshefde*, *Scepehefde* D.B., 1124-9 *Shepesheved* L.S., 1275-6 *Shepesheved* H.R., 1428 *Shepyshed* F.A. O.E. *scēp*, a sheep. Cf. Swineshead, Beds, and Farcet (O.E. *fearres hēafod*, bull's head), Hunts.

-HILL.

O.E. *hyll*, a hill, occurs as a separate word in Beacon Hill, etc., as part of a compound in

Gopsall. 1086 *Gopeskille* D.B., 1216-1307 *Gopshull* T.N., 1284-5 *Gopshill* F.A., 1327 *Copshull* Subsidy Roll. An unrecorded personal name which occurs again in Coppishill (pronounced Gopse-hill), Gloucestershire.

Westrill. No old forms. According to Nichols (not a safe guide to etymology) the name means western hill.

-HOE.

O.E. *hōh*, dat. *hō*, *hōge*, a heel, also a projecting ridge of land.

Hose. 1086 *Hoches*, *Howes* D.B., 1124-9 *Houwes* L.S., 1275-6 *Howes* H.R., 1327 *Houwes* Subsidy Roll, 1428 *Howes* F.A., 1535 *Hoose* V.E. O.E. *hōgas*, plural of *hōh*. Cf. Hoon, Derbyshire, from the dative plural, though Howes is frequently found in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Cranhoe. 1086 *Craveho*, *Craweho* D.B., 1327 *Crawenho* Subsidy Roll, 1428 *Cranehowe* F.A., 1535 *Cranowe* V.E. Probably a personal name.

Sparkenhoe Hundred. 1291 *Sparkenhoe* Tax. Eccl., 1402 *Sparknowe* F.A., 1428 *Sparkenho* F.A.

-HOUSE.

Found in two names of M.E. origin, both plural in the earliest examples.

Bassetthouse. 1371 *Basseteshouses*, *Bassethouses* MSS. Add. 26922-3, 1444 *Basseteshouses*, *Bassethouse* MSS. Add. 26924-7. "Antiently the inheritance of the Bassets, Barons of Sapcote" (Burton).

Woodhouse. 1327 *Wodehouses* Subsidy Roll, 1402 *Wodehous* F.A., 1428 *Wodehous* F.A., 1535 *Woodhouse*, *Woodhouse* V.E. Houses in the wood, i.e. Charnwood Forest.

-HURST.

O.E. *hyrst*, a wooded eminence, a hillock, a grove of trees. Found only in

Bringhurst. 1227 *Brunighurst*, *Brunghurst* Charter Rolls, 1278-9 *Brinegehurst* C.I., 1291 *Bremyngherste* Tax. Eccl., 1332 *Briminghyrst* Charter Rolls, 1428 *Bryngthirst*, *Brynghurst* F.A. O.E. *Bryninga*, gen. pl. of *Bryning*, son of *Bryne*, a personal name recorded by Searle.

-LEY.

O.E. *lēah*, dat. *lēage*, a piece of open ground, meadow, pasture, or arable land. Fourteen examples.

Charley. 1086 *Cernelega* D.B., 1124-9 *Cherlega* L.S., 1270-1 *Charleye* C.I., 1535 *Charley* V.E. This seems to contain an O.E. personal name **Cearna*, cf. *Cearna graf* and *Cearninga gemæro* in K.C.D. Index. The same name appears again in Charnwood Forest.

Noseley. 1086 *Noveslei* D.B., 1229 *Nouesle* Close Rolls, 1275-6 *Nouysle* H.R., 1428 *Nouesley* F.A., 1535 *Nowesley* V.E. Probably a personal name.

Witherley. 1281-2 *Wytherdele* C.I., 1428 *Wytherdele*, *Wytherley* F.A., 1535 *Wederley* V.E.

-LAND.

O.N. *lundr*, a grove, changed by analogy with "land".

Framland Hundred. Type I. 1086 *Franelund*, *Franklund* D.B., 1216-1307 *Framelund* T.N., 1275-6 *Framelund* H.R.

Type II. *Fremelhunt*, *Fremelhunte* Red Book of Exchequer. This is simply a corrupt spelling of Type I by analogy with the suffix in e.g. *Cheshunt*, Herts.

Type III. 1086 *Franland* D.B., 1124-9 *Framelaund* L.S., 1428 *Frameland* F.A., 1535 *Framland* V.E.

Swithland. 1229 *Swydelond* Close Rolls, 1236 *Swythlund* *ibid.*, 1316 *Swythelound* Charter Rolls, 1428 *Swythlond* F.A., 1535 *Swithland* V.E. According to Cleasby and Vigfússon O.N. *sviða* is used in Norway for land cleared by fire. The English Dialect Dictionary gives as a Leicestershire word the verb *swidden* or *swithen*, to burn superficially, as heather, etc. This is

O.N. *sviðna*, a derivative of *sviða*, to scorch, with which the noun *sviða* is connected.

Lount hamlet, no old forms, is perhaps O.N. *lundr*.

-MINSTER.

O.E. *mynster*, a monastery, is found only in

Buckminster. 1086 *Bucheminstre* D.B., 1124-9 *Bucheminest'* L.S., 1275-6 *Bukmynstr'* H.R., 1428 *Bukmynstre* F.A., 1535 *Buckmynster* V.E. Searle gives the O.E. personal name *Bucca*, which is derived from O.E. *bucc*, a buck.¹

-STOCK.

O.E. *stoc(c)*, tree-trunk, log.

Stoke Golding. t. Henry III *Stoke*, *Stokes* B.M., 1428 *Stoke* F.A. From the dative *stoce*.

Ibstock. 1086 *Ibestoche* D.B., 1275-6 *Ibb'nstoke* H.R., 1284-5 *Ibistok* F.A., 1428 *Ibbestok*, *Ibstoke* F.A., 1535 *Ibstokke* V.E. O.E. personal name *Ibba* (Searle).

-STON(E).

O.E. *stān*, stone. In Guthlaxton Hundred, Harston, Humberstone, Whetstone, and Wigston Parva.

Humberstone. Type I. 1086 *Humerstane* D.B., c. 1150 *Humberstan* B.M., 1428 *Humberston* F.A.

Type II. 1124-9 *Humberstay[n]* L.S., 1291 *Humberstayn* Tax. Eccl.

Humberstone, Lincs, derives its name from the River Humber and O.N. *steinn*, a stone. "It looks as though the Lincolnshire name had been transplanted into Leicestershire by settlers coming from the parts of Lincolnshire that abut on the Humber" (Lindkvist, p. 65). Type II shows the Norse origin.

Whetstone. 1086 *Westham* D.B., t. Henry III *Hwetstan* C.I., 1240-50 *Westan* B.M., 1271-2 *Whestone* C.I., 1318 *Whetestan* Charter Rolls, 1535 *Wheton* V.E. O.E. *hwetstān*, a whetstone.

Wigston Parva. *Wicgestan*, *Wiggestan* K.C.D., 1086 *Wicestan* D.B., 1157 *Wigestana* B.M., 1227 *Wyggestana* Charter Roll, 1327 *Wyggeston* Subsidy Roll. Searle gives the O.E. personal name *Wicga*.²

¹ Mawer in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July, 1919, p. 236.

² N.B.—The etymology of Wigston Magna is different, see p. 72.

-STOW.

O.E. *stōw*, a place, found only in

Wistow. 1086 *Wistanestou* D.B., 1216–1307 *Wistenestowe* T.N., 1329 *Wistowe* Charter Rolls. This is one of the rare cases in which we can identify the man who gives his name to a place; *Wigstān* was a member of the Mercian royal family, who was murdered by his cousin in A.D. 850 for political reasons. But, like *Kenelm* of Mercia and *Edward* of Wessex, he was regarded as a martyr; and, according to *Capgrave's Life of St. Wistan* (*Bollandist Acta Sanctorum*, June 1), the place where the murder was committed was afterwards called *Wistanostowe*. *Wistow* church is dedicated to *St. Wistan* (*Nichols*).

-THERN.

O.E. *þyrne*, a thorn-bush.

Hathern. 1086 *Avederne* D.B., 1124–9 *Hantirna*, *Hanthirn* (? read *Hau-*) L.S., t. *Henry III* *Hauthirne*, *Hauthyrne*, *Hautherne* C.I., 1275–6 *Havethirne* H.R., 1291 *Hawethyrn* Tax. Eccl., 1340 *Hawethorn* Charter Rolls, 1428 *Hatherne* F.A., 1535 *Hathern* V.E. O.E. *haga-þyrne*, hawthorn-bush.

Stathern. 1086 *Stachedirne* D.B., 1124–9 *Stacthirn* L.S., c. 1150–60 *Stachederna* B.M., 1235 *Staketherne* Close Rolls, 1275–6 *Stakederne* H.R., 1428 *Stathern* F.A. O.E. *staca*, a stake.

-THORPE.

O.E. and O.N. *þorp*, a village, appears as a separate word in *Thorpe Acre*, *Thorpe Arnold*, *Thorpe Langton*, *Thorpe Parva* (or *Littlethorpe*), *Thorpe Satchville*, *Barkby Thorpe*, and *Knight Thorpe*. The additions in *Catthorpe*, *Countesthorpe*, and *Primethorpe* take place in the M.E. period. Besides these there are seventeen examples of compounds.

Bromkinsthorpe (liberty, *Braunstongate*, *Leicester*). Type I. 1086 *Brunechinestorp* D.B., 1233 *Bruneskinnestorp* Close Rolls, 1283 *Brunskynisthorp* B.M., 1314 *Brounkynnesthorp* Rec. Bor. Leic., 1428 *Brunkynghthorpe* *ibid*.

Type II. 1327 *Bruntynghthorpe* Subsidy Roll, 1535 *Bruntynghthorpe* V.E., *Bruntingthorpe* *Burton*.

Type III. 1086 *Brandinestor*, *Brandestorp* D.B.

Lindkvist derives Type I from O.N. *Brūnaskinn*, brown complexion, used as a nickname. Type II seems due to confusion with

Bruntingthorpe, which contains the personal name Brūnstān (Searle), being *Brunestanestorp* in D.B. Type III suggests the O.E. personal name Brandwine (Searle).

Edmondthorpe. 1086 *Edmerestorp* D.B., 1124-9 *Thorp* L.S., 1428 *Thorpedmer* F.A., 1535 *Edmundthorp* V.E. The O.E. personal name Ēadmær (Searle), for which the more familiar Edmund is substituted in the sixteenth century.

Elmsthorpe. 1284-5 *Aylmerthorp* F.A., 1428 *Aylmer-, Aylmers-thorp* F.A., 1535 *Elmesthrope* V.E. From the O.E. personal name Ægelmær, a late form of Æðelmær, which is recorded by Searle.

Osgarthorpe. Type I. 1086 *Osgodtorp* D.B., 1124-9 *Osgodestorp* L.S., c. 1200 *Angodestorp* B.M., 1275-6 *Osegotthorp* H.R.

Type II. 1263 *Asgarthorp* Charter Rolls, 1390-1 *Osgaresthorp* Cat. A.D.

Type III. 1535 *Osgathorpe* V.E. This form might come from either Type I or Type II.

Type I contains the personal name Ösgöd (Searle), an anglicizing of O.N. Åsgautr (Lind), older Ansgautr. Type II substitutes O.E. Ösgār (Searle), O.N. Åsgeirr (Lind). Hope gives the pronunciation Asgethorpe, which may be due to the O.N. vowel, but may develop from the Os-forms.¹

Shelthorpe (in Woodthorpe). 1327 *Serlethorp* Subsidy Roll, 1333 *Serlesthorp* *ibid.* Searle gives both the weak Særle and the strong Særle as O.E. personal names.

-TOFT.

O.N. *topt*, *toft*, a knoll, grassy place, homestead.

Knaptoft. 1086 *Cnapetot* D.B., 1284-5 *Knapetoft* F.A., 1428 *Knaptoft* F.A. From the O.N. personal name Knappi (O. Rygh, Gamle Personnavne i norske Stedsnavne).

Scraptoft. *Scrapetoft*, *Scraptofte* K.C.D., 1086 *Scrapentot* D.B., 1275-6 *Scraptoft* H.R. O.N. *skarpr*, used of land, meaning barren. Lindkvist refers to Norwegian dialect *skrapmark*, land thinly covered with grass.

Wartoft (in Castle Donington), originally called *Wavertoft Grange* (Nichols). The O.E. *wāfre*, restless, seems to have been used as a noun for the aspen, with its quivering leaves.

¹ See p. 78.

-TON.

O.E. *tūn*, enclosed land round a single dwelling. More than 110 examples.

Bilstone. 1086 *Bildestone* D.B., 1216-1307 *Bildiston* T.N., 1284-5 *Bildeston* F.A. A Danish personal name, *Bild*, seems to have existed in England (Björkman, *Zur englischen Namenkunde*, p. 24).

Branston. 1086 *Brantestone* D.B., 1124-9 *Branteston* L.S., 1216-1307 *Brandiston* T.N., 1284 *Braundeston* Charter Rolls, 1428 *Braunston* F.A. A personal name, either O.E. *Brand* or O.N. *Brandr*.

Braunston. 1086 *Brantestone* D.B. The same as *Branston*, but the spelling shows Anglo-French influence.

Evington. 1086 *Avintone* D.B., c. 1150 *Avintona* B.M., 1271-2 *Evynton* C.I., 1428 *Evyngton* F.A. The O.E. personal name *Eafa* is recorded by Searle.

Gilmorton. 1086 *Mortone* D.B., 1284-5 *Morton* F.A., 1327 *Gilden Morton* Subsidy Roll, 1344 *Gildenmorton* Charter Rolls, 1535 *Gilmoreton* F.A. O.E. *mōr*, a moor. For the prefix cf. *Guilden Morden*, Cambs, for which Skeat suggests O.E. *gylдена*, gen. pl. of *gylða*, a guild brother.

Laughton. 1086 *Lachestone* D.B., 1223 *Leicton* B.M., 1233 *Lehton* Close Rolls, t. Henry III *Leyton* C.I., 1428 *Laughton* F.A. The normal development of O.E. *lēah-tūn*, a vegetable garden, is seen in the B.M. and C.I. forms, but *Laughton* is found also in Yorkshire and Sussex. The phonetic development is fully treated in Roberts: *Place-Names of Sussex*.

Orton-on-the-hill. 1086 *Wortone* D.B., 1330 *Overton* B.M., 1428 *Overton* F.A. In some cases it is difficult to decide if *Orton* or *Overton* comes from O.E. *ofer*, over, upper, or *ōfer*, a river-bank. The addition of on-the-hill is in favour of *ofer*. Cf. the following two names.

Coleorton. 1086 ? *Overtone*, ? *Ovretone* D.B., 1124-9 *Overtone* L.S., 1428 *Overton* F.A., 1535 *Cole Orton* V.E. O.E. *ofer*. Nichols speaks of its beautiful high situation. The addition of *Cole* comes from the coal-mines, which Burton mentions as "ancient".

Overton. Cold. 1086 *Ovretone* D.B., 1124-9 *Caleverton* L.S., 1327 *Coldoverton* Subsidy Roll, 1535 *Coldoverton* V.E., *Could Orton* Burton. O.E. *ofer*. It is the highest point in the district,

600 feet above sea-level. The prefix *Cold* comes from its bleak, exposed situation.

Peckleton. 1086 *Pechintone* D.B., t. Henry III *Pecclinton* B.M., 1284-5 *Pellinton* F.A., 1428 *Pokynnton* F.A., 1535 *Peculton* V.E. In the Index to Rec. Bor. Leic. I the name Hugo de Peyghtilton occurs, but the editor has modernized the text. The forms suggest an O.E. personal name beginning with *Peoht-*; Searle gives *Peohtgils*, *Peohtwald*, and *Peohtwulf*.

O.E. *stān-tūn* from *stān*, a stone, appears in various modern forms :—

Stanton-under-Bardon. 1086 *Stantone* D.B., 1284-5 *Stanton subtus Berdon* F.A.

Stanton, Stony. 1086 *Stantone* D.B., 1363 *Stonystaunton* B.M., 1535 *Stony Stanton* V.E.

Staunton Harold. 1086 *Stantone* D.B., 1124-9 *Stanton* L.S., 1216-1307 *Staunton Harel* T.N., 1327 *Stanton Harald* Subsidy Roll.

Staunton or **Stonton** Wyville. 1086 *Stantone* D.B., 1428 *Stonton* F.A., 1535 *Staunton Wyvell* V.E.

Thrussington. 1086 *Turstanestone* D.B., 1124-9 *Turstanestona* L.S., 1189-1216 *Tursteinestun* B.M., 1275-6 *Thurstanton* H.R., 1428 *Thurstyngton*, *Thruscyngton* F.A., 1535 *Thrussington* V.E. Searle gives the O.E. personal name *Thurstān*, but it is merely an adaptation of O.N. *þorsteinn*. The B.M. form plainly points to O.N.

Tur Langton. 1086 *Terlintone* D.B., 1124-9 *Thurlington* L.S., 1275-6 *Tyrlinton* H.R., *Tirlangton* Burton. The modern form is due to the neighbouring Church Langton, the old forms suggest O.E. *þyrrlantūn*; the personal name is supported by *þyrrian stān* in K.C.D. Index.

Wigston Magna. 1086 *Wicingestone*, *Wichingestone* D.B., 1284-5 *Wykyngeston* F.A., 1327 *Wykyngeston* Subsidy Roll, 1428 *Wykyngeston*, *Wykynston* F.A., 1535 *Wigeston* V.E. The personal name *Wicing* found in O.E. (Searle) or *Vikingr* in O.N.

This suffix is still living; these old names may be compared with

Ellistown, which derives its name from the collieries and brick-works established about 1870 by the late Mr. J. J. Ellis (Kelly's Directory).

-TREE.

O.E. *trēo*, tree, found only in

Gartree Hundred. 1086 *Geretreu*, *Gertreu*, *Geretrewes* D.B., 1275-6 *Gertre* H.R., 1428 *Gertre* F.A., 1535 *Gartre* V.E.

-WICK.

O.E. *wīc*, a dwelling-place, habitation.

Wycomb. 1086 *Wiche* D.B., *Wickham* Burton. O.E. *wicum*, dat. pl. of *wīc*.

Wykin. 1327 *Wykyn* Subsidy Roll, 1592-1659 *Wyken*, *Wiken*, *Wicken* B.M. The same etymology as the preceding.

Hardwick, anciently *Herdewicke* (Nichols), O.E. (Mercian) *heorda*, gen. pl. of *heorde*, a herdsman.

Whitwick. 1086 *Witewic* D.B., 1124-9 *Witewic* L.S., 1289-90 *Whytewyk* C.I., 1428 *Wytewyk* F.A., 1535 *Whittwyk* V.E. It is not clear whether this contains the weak form of the O.E. adjective *hwīt*, white, or the personal name *Hwita*, which is the same adjective used as a nickname.

-WELL.

O.E. *well*, *welle*, a spring. Seven examples.

Caldwell or **Chadwell.** Type I. 1086 *Caldewelle* D.B., 1275-6 *Caldewell* H.R.

Type II. 1291 *Schadewell* Tax. Eccl.

Type I comes from O.E. (Mercian) *cald*, cold; Type II from the *ceald* form. With Type II cf. *Chadwell*, Essex.

Shawell. 1086 *Sawelle* D.B., 1275-6 *Scathewell*, *Schathewell* H.R., 1284-5 *Showell* F.A., 1428 *Shathewell* F.A., 1535 *Shawell* V.E.

-WOLD.

O.E. (Anglian) *wald*, high land covered with wood. Occurs in *Prestwold*, *Wymeswold* (from the O.E. personal name *Wigmund*, *Wimundeswald* D.B.) and

Horninghold. 1086 *Horniwale* D.B., 1291 *Horningwold* Tax. Eccl., 1428 *Horningwold* F.A. Searle gives the personal name *Horn*.

-WORTH.

O.E. *weorð*, enclosed homestead, habitation with surrounding land. Twelve examples.

Bosworth. *Husbands.* 1086 *Basurde*, *Bareswerde*, *Baresworde* D.B., t. Henry III *Borisworth* C.I., 1275-6 *Baresworth* H.R., 1428

Boresworth F.A. O.E. *Bār*, the name of the animal boar, used as a personal name (Searle).

Bosworth, Market. 1086 *Boseworde* D.B., 1234 *Bosewurth* Close Rolls, 1284-5 *Boseworth* F.A., 1428 *Bosworth* F.A. The O.E. personal name *Bosa* (Searle). The market is mentioned in 1275-6 H.R.

Diseworth. 1086 *Diwort* D.B., 1124-9 *Dichesword* L.S., c. 1180 *Digaðeswrð*, *Diğðeswrthia* B.M., t. Henry III *Dytheswrth* Cat. A.D., 1216-1307 *Dychesworth*, *Dichesworth* T.N., 1324 *Dygesworth* Cat. A.D., 1428 *Dyseworth* F.A. Some personal name, perhaps beginning with *Dycg-* (Searle).

Kibworth. 1086 *Chiburde* D.B., 1124-9 *Chiburd* L.S., 1327 *Kybbeworth* Subsidy Roll, 1402 *Kybworth* F.A. The O.E. personal name *Cybbā*, which does not seem to be extant except in *Cybban stān* in K.C.D. Index.

Other names, not in the above scheme.

Barrow-on-Soar. 1086 *Barhou* D.B., 1271-2 *Barwe upon Sore* C.I., 1275-6 *Baruwe*, *Barewe* H.R., 1402 *Barowe* F.A., 1428 *Barough* F.A., 1535 *Barowe*, *Barrowe* V.E. These forms suggest O.E. *bearu*, dat. *bearwe*, a grove. Barrow, Gloucestershire, has the same etymology, but Barrow, Suffolk, comes from O.E. *beorg*, a hill.

Birstall. 1086 *Burstelle*, *Burstele* D.B., 1124-9 *Burstall* L.S., 1275-6 *Burstal* H.R., 1216-1307 *Burstel* T.N., 1535 *Burstall* V.E. There is an O.E. word *burgsteall*, position for a fort, which Goodall gives as the etymology of the Yorkshire Birstall. But in Wright-Wülcker's Vocabularies *burhsteal* is the gloss to *clivium*, *discensum*, and in modern dialects the word survives with the meaning a path up a hill. According to N.E.D. the etymology of this is O.E. *beorg*, a hill, ? *stigel(e)*, a stile. Halliwell gives the meaning "seat on the side or pitch of a hill", which points to O.E. *beorgsteall*. Evidently two or three words are confused. See N.E.D. *Borstall* and E.D.D. *Borstal*. Alexander gives the meaning of *Borstall*, Oxon, as a hill seat, dwelling on a hill; while Skeat explains *Burstall*, Suffolk, as a path on a hill.

Redmile. 1086 *Redmelde* D.B., 1241-2 *Redmilde* C.I., 1284-5 *Redmyld* *ibid.*, 1428 *Redemylde*, *Redemyle* F.A., 1535 *Redmyld* V.E.

The suffix appears to be a derivation of O.E. *molde*, earth, mould, with mutated vowel. The meaning would then be red earth.

Seal, Over and Nether. 1086 *Scela, Scella, Sela* D.B., 1124-9 *Seyla, Scegla* L.S., t. Henry III *Parva Sheyle* B.M., 1275-6 *Sheyle* H.R., 1216-1307 *Sceile* T.N., 1428 *Shele, Nethersheyle* F.A. There is a dialect word *sheal*, a hut, shed, cottage, temporary shelter for shepherd, summer residence. This word is found only in the North of England and the Lowlands of Scotland, but the derivative *shealing* exists in Berks and Hants (E.D.D.). The etymology is uncertain, probably the O.E. cognate of O.N. *skjöl*, shelter. The form *Seal* shows Norman pronunciation of *s* for *sh*.

Wanlip. 1086 *Anelepe* D.B., 1124-9 *Anlepie* L.S., 1428 *Onlep, Onelep* F.A., 1535 *Anlep, Onlip* V.E. From O.E. *ānlēpe*, solitary.

The **Mythe**. 1328 *Muthe* Charter Rolls, *Mūthe* Burton. O.E. *gemȳðe*, junction of two streams, here the Sense and the Anker. Cf. The Mythe near Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire.

There are a few FRENCH names in the county. In most cases the etymology is obvious, but it may be of interest to give early references to them.

Beaumanor. 1265 Charter Rolls.

Beaumont. 1275-6 H.R.

Belvoir. 1124-9 L.S.

Grace Dieu, originally the name of the priory founded by Roise de Verdun in 1240.

Launde. 1166 Red Book of Exchequer.

Mountsorrel. t. Henry III C.I., but the surname *de Munsorel* occurs in 1206-7 Rec. Bor. Leic. In V.E. appears as *Mountsorrell* or *Mountstrell*, the latter form being marked *sic* by the editor, though it is genuine, and occurs again in some of the parish documents of St. Peter's, Mountsorrel. It seems to be due to accentuation *Mountsoréll*, by syncope *Mounts'rell*, whence *Mountstrell*.

To these may be added the modern hybrid **Coalville**, formed about 1836.

One name in the county is MEDIAEVAL LATIN.

Merevale. 1155-8 *monachi de Mireuall'* Pipe Roll, 1189-90 *de Miriuall* *ibid.*, 1286 *Mirivall* Rec. Bor. Leic., 1535 *Meryvall* V.E. From the ablative (*de*) *mira valle*, the beautiful valley.

In conclusion, attention may be called to a few of the more interesting phonetic changes.

Loss of *-t-* in the combination *-ston*.

Clawson. Long. 1086 *Clachestone* D.B., 1124-9 *Claxton* L.S., 1428 *Claxton* F.A., 1637 *Clauston* Map. O.E. personal name *Clac* (Searle).

Wilson. Early Henry II *Wyuelestunia* B.M., 1535 *Wilston* V.E. The O.E. *wifel*, a weevil, used as a personal name.¹ The same name is found in Willesley, 1086 *Wiulesleie*, *Wiwleslei* D.B. (Derbyshire).

Sibson. 1086 *Sibetesdone* D.B., 1284-5 *Sibbesdon* F.A., 1428 *Sibesdon*, *Sibbeston* F.A., 1535 *Sibbiston* V.E. The O.E. personal name *Sigebeorht* (Searle). Here the original ending is *-DON*, but the word passes through the stage *Sibbeston* before reaching the present form.

The form *Musson* exists beside *Muston*, and these are all the examples in which the change is recognized in the official spelling, but popular pronunciations furnish several more examples. Burton gives *Sison* (*Syston*), *Nichols Cosen* (*Coston*), *Evans Coonjeson* (*Congerston*²), *Raunson* (*Ravenstone*), *Throols'n* (*Thurlaston*), *Throoms'n* (*Thurmaston*), *Throoks'n* (*Thurcaston*). Hope adds *Crōsn* and *Crōzen*, as well as *Crōstun* (*Croxton*) and *Nelson* (*Nailstone*). *Swepson* for *Sweepstone* is common. The earliest example I have found for this change is in 1517 *Grymson* B.M.

Loss of *-k-* before *s*.

Snareston. 1086 *Snarchetone* D.B., 1327 *Snarkeston* Subsidy Roll, 1355-6 *Snarkeston* Cat. A.D.

Sysonby (beside *Sextonby*). 1086 *Sixtebeni*, *Sixtenebia*, *Sistenebi* D.B., 1124-9 *Sixtenebia* L.S., 1275-6 *Syxtanby* H.R., 1327 *Sixteneby* Subsidy Roll, 1428 *Sixtenby* F.A., 1535 *Sysonby* V.E. O.N. personal name *Sigsteinn* (Lind) with Danish monophthongization. For the loss of *-t-* cf. preceding paragraph.

To these we must add Long *Clawson* (see above), and to these official spellings Burton adds *Barston* (*Barkstone*), *Nichols Sawceby* (*Saxby*), *Sosilby* or *Sausuby* (*Saxelby*), *Sprawston* (*Sproxton*), and *Hope Crōsn*, *Crōzen*, *Crōstun* (*Croxton*). Note that when the preceding vowel is *a* it is rounded.

¹ Mawer in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July, 1919, p. 243.

² See p. 78.

-*k*- is lost before other consonants in Stathern,¹ Kirby Bellars, and Kirby Muxloe (but Kirkby Mallory), and Hope's Blōfurdby (Blackfordby).

O.E. *sc* gives *sk*, owing to Norse influence in

Scalford. Type I. 1086 *Scaldeford* D.B., 1124-9 *Scaldeford* L.S., 1304 *Skeldeford* Charter Rolls, 1428 *Scaldeford* F.A., 1535 *Scalford* V.E.

Type II. *Shaldeford* Rec. Bor. Leic.

The existence of O.E. *sceald*, shallow, was first pointed out by W. H. Stevenson in *Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1895-8, p. 532, but he doubts whether Scalford, Leicestershire, is an example owing to its lack of palatalization. Type II seems to make this doubt unnecessary.

Skeffington. Type I. 1086 *Sciftitone* D.B., 1124-9 *Sceftintone* L.S., 1231 *Skeftinton*, *Skeftintun* Close Rolls, 1275-6 *Skeftinton* H.R., 1428 *Skeffyn-ton* F.A.

Type II. 1160 *Scheftintona* B.M., t. Henry II *Csceftitun* *ibid.*, 1273-4 *Scheftinton* C.I., 1275-6 *Scheftinton* H.R.

O.E. personal name *Sceafta*, cf. *Sceaft*-, *Sceft*- (Searle).

With these we may consider

Markfield. 1086 *Merchenefeld* D.B., 1225 *Merkenefeld* Rec. Bor. Leic., 1241-64 *Marcefeld* B.M., 1270-1 *Merkinfeld* C.I., 1428 *Merkefeld* F.A., from O.E. *Mercena*, gen. of *Merce*, Mercians.

On the other hand, O.N. *sk* is palatalized in Ashby, Bushby, and

Shearsby. 1086 *Suesbi*, *Suevesbi*, *Sevesbi* D.B., 1270-1 *Chevysby* C.I., 1275-6 *Schevesby* H.R., 1535 *Shethesby* V.E., *Shevesby* Burton, contains the O.N. personal name *Skeifr*, probably in its Danish form *Skew* (Nielsen).

In some names *o* > *a*.

Brascote. 1086 *Brocardescote* D.B., 1275-6 *Brokariscot* H.R. The O.E. personal name *Brōchard* is recorded in *Brochardesford* K.C.D. Index.

Narborough. 1235 *Northbrug*' Close Rolls, 1284-5 *Northburgh* F.A., 1535 *Norborow* V.E., 1637 *Narborow* Map.

Ratby. 1086 *Rotebie* D.B., 1233 *Roteby* Close Roll, 1284-5 *Roteby* F.A., 1428 *Rotteby* F.A., 1535 *Rotby* V.E., *Ratby* Burton.

Starmore. 1086 *Stormode*, *Stormeorde* D.B., 1275-6 *Stormesworth* H.R., 1327 *Stormesworth* Subsidy Roll, 1402 *Stormesworth* F.A. A personal name *Storm* and -*WORTH*. In addition to these

¹ See p. 69.

Hope gives the pronunciations Narmunton (Normanton) and Quarn (Quorn), also Asgethorpe¹ (Osgarthorpe).

Some words contain an inorganic *-r*.

Atterton. 1281-2 *Atterton* C.I., 1428 *Atterton* F.A. Moorman explains Attercliffe, Yorks, as *atte cliffe*, with intrusive *r* from the dative sing. fem. *þære*, by analogy with such names as Atterbury. But Goodall sees in Attercliffe the O.N. personal name Attær.

Congerston. 1086 *Cuningestone* D.B., 1275-6 *Cogeneston* H.R., 1216-1307 *Cungeston* T.N., *Cunston* Burton. O.N. *konungr*, king, which in England appears with *u* in the root syllable instead of *o*.² The pronunciation Coonjeson, given by Evans, must be influenced by the spelling.

Shearsby. See above. **Stockerston.** See p. 64.

Ulverscroft. 1174 *Wlviscroft* B.M., 1270-1 *Wlvescroft* C.I., 1535 *Ulvescroft* V.E., *Ullescroft* Burton. A personal name O.E. Wulf or O.N. Ulfr. Burton says it was "antiently called Osolvescroft", which would contain O.E. *Öswulf*, but I have found no evidence for his statement.

Old forms and etymologies of place-names in other counties quoted for comparison will be found in works by the following:—

- Alexander (H.), Oxfordshire.
- Baddeley (W. St. C.), Gloucestershire.
- Duignan (W. H.), Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire.
- Goodall (A.), South-West Yorkshire.
- Moorman (F. W.), West Riding of Yorkshire.
- Mutschmann (H.), Nottinghamshire.
- Roberts (B. G.), Sussex.
- Sedgefield (W. J.), Cumberland and Westmorland.
- Skeat (W. W.), Beds, Berks, Cambs, Herts, Hunts, Suffolk.
- Stenton (F. M.), Berkshire.
- Walker (B.), Derbyshire.
- Wyld (H. C.) and Hirst (T. O.), Lancashire.

¹ See p. 70.

² Napier, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xi, 74-5.