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THE PLACE-NAMES OF SUFFOLK

BY THE

REV. WALTER W. SKEAT
LITT.D., D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D., F.B.A.
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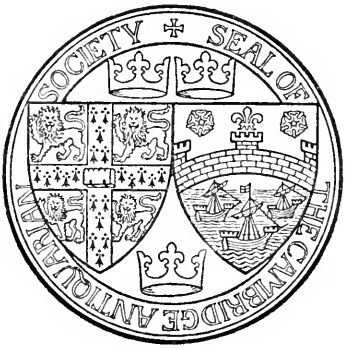

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PREFACE

THE MS. copy of this work was arranged by Professor Skeat but his death occurred before the proof-sheets could be submitted to him.

The Council of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society therefore publish the work as Professor Skeat left it.

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF SUFFOLK

Prefatory Remarks.

To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society will always belong the credit of initiating a series of works upon the Place-names of Counties, founded upon strictly scientific investigation. My Place-names of Cambridgeshire was published by them in 1901; those of Huntingdonshire in 1903; and of Bedfordshire in 1906. My Place-names of Hertfordshire was published by the East Herts. Archæological Society in 1904; and of Berkshire, by the Clarendon Press, in 1911. Mr W. H. Duignan, of Walsall, published his Notes upon Staffordshire Place-names in 1902: and upon those of Worcestershire in 1905, and has just given us (1912) an account of those of Warwickshire. The West Riding Place-names, by Prof. Moorman of Leeds, was published by the Thoresby Society in 1910; and the Place-names of Lancashire, by Dr H. C. Wyld and Dr T. O. Hirst, appeared in 1911. This makes ten counties in all.

Being anxious to increase the series, I now attempt to give some account of the Place-names of Suffolk. I was led to select this county because Dr Copinger, in his six volumes of Collections for a History of Suffolk, has taken the enormous trouble of collecting all the old spellings of place-names which his exhaustive researches enabled him to discover, duly entering them under their respective articles, in alphabetical order; and since such a collection of old forms constitutes no inconsiderable portion of the task of the investigator, I was under the impression that all due preparation had been made. I found his work of very great service, but he unfortunately made the regrettable mistake of omitting to indicate his authorities! The result was, of course, that the principal books of reference, such as Domesday Book, the Red Book of the Exchequer, the Hundred Rolls, Testa de Nevill, and the Inquisitiones post Mortem had to be consulted in detail all over again. Still,

I did not find it necessary to go further, as the material was then ample; and I now give the references for all the more important forms.

Further information as to the methods pursued and the results to be expected can be found in the introductions to my previous essays of the same character, and need not be here repeated.

Abbreviations.

The following is a list of the more important sources of information, with the abbreviations that denote them.

D.B.—Domesday Book (part relating to Suffolk). The page quoted does not refer to the Book as a whole, but to the paging of the Facsimile of the part relating to Suffolk.

E.D.D.—English Dialect Dictionary.

F.A.—Feudal Aids (Record Series); vol. i.

H.R.—Rotuli Hundredorum, vol. i.

Ipm.—Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem sive Escaetarum; ed. J. Caley; vol. i. (Record Series).

N.E.D.—New English Dictionary (Oxford).

R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer; ed. W. D. Selby (Rolls Series).

T.N.—Testa de Nevill (temp. Henry III and Edw. I).

V.E.—Valor Ecclesiasticus; temp. Henry VIII.

Of course I constantly refer to the well-known editions of the Anglo-Saxon Charters by Kemble and Birch, to Thorpe's Diplomatarium Ævi Saxonici, and to Earle's Select Charters. Also, to the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson; and to Searle's Onomasticon, from which I quote Anglo-Saxon personal names, verifying them in many instances by a reference to the Charters. Amongst numerous books of reference which I have consulted, I may particularise the following:

Bardsley, Rev. C. W. A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames. London, 1891.

Björkman, E. Nordische Personennamen in England. Halle a. S., 1910.

Bosworth, Rev. J. and Toller, Prof. T. N. An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford, 1882.

Copinger, W. A. The County of Suffolk: its History as disclosed by Existing Records. London. 5 vols. 1904–5.

Duignan, W. H. Notes on Staffordshire Place-names. London, 1902

——. Worcestershire Place-names. London, 1905.

McClure, E. British Place-names in their Historical Setting. London, 1910.

Middendorf, Dr H. Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch. Halle, 1902.

Moorman, F. W., B.A., Ph.D. The Place-names of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Thoresby Society, 1910.

Nielson, O., Ph.D. Olddanske Personnavne. Kjöbenhavn, 1883.

Rygh, O. Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne. Kristiania, 1901.

Searle, Rev. W. G., M.A. Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum. Cambridge, 1897.

Taylor, Rev. J., Litt.D., LL.D. Names and their Histories. London, 1896.

Turner, J. Horsfall. Yorkshire Place-names, as recorded in the Yorkshire Domesday Book. Bingley; printed for the Author.

Victoria History of the County of Suffolk.

Wyld, Prof. H. C. and Hirst, T. O., M.A., Ph.D. The Place-names of Lancashire. London, 1911.

Zachrisson, R. E. A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names. Lund, 1909.

I have also consulted the following works that have special reference to the County:

Kirby, J. The Suffolk Traveller. 2nd ed. London, 1764.

Raven, Rev. J. J. The History of Suffolk. London, 1895.

Shorberl, F. Suffolk; being vol. xiv. of The Beauties of England and Wales. London, 1813.

Walters, Cuming. Bygone Suffolk. London, n.d.

I am grateful for several hints that these local books have afforded; but cannot help regretting that (with the notable exception of the Victoria History) they occasionally drop into etymology, with reprehensible results. There seems to be a rather general notion, in local works, that the river Gipping gave its name to Ipswich; with other similar fables.

The Place-names are arranged in alphabetical order according to the suffixes which they contain; this avoids much repetition.

The suffixes found in Suffolk are, most of them, readily intelligible, and may conveniently be here enumerated. The chief ones are:—*-acre*, *-bach*, *-beck*, *-bergh*, *-borough* (*-bury*), *-bourn*, *-bridge*, *-brook*, *-by*, *-camp*, *-clay*, *-dale*, *-dene* (*-den*), *-down* (*-don*), *-edish*, *-ey* (*-ea*), *-field*, *-fleet*, *-ford*, *-gate*, *-grave*, *-hale* (*-hall*), *-ham*, *-haugh*, *-heath*, *-hill*, *-ho* (*-hoe*), *-holt*, *-hurst*,

-ing, -land, -ley, -low, -meadow, -mere, -pool, -set, -stall, -stead, -stoke, -stone, -stow, -thorpe, -toft, -ton, -tree, -wade, -well, -wich (-wick), -wold, -wood, -worth, -yard.

To these I add a few names that cannot be included amongst such compounds.

The list of names is from Kelly's Post Office Directory of Suffolk.

The atlases consulted are Bacon's County Atlas, Philips' County Atlas, and Pigot's County Atlas (1831). The last of these gives the boundaries of the hundreds, which are very clearly shown in the map prefixed to Kirby's Suffolk Traveller. I have also made frequent use of the ordnance map upon the one-inch scale.

The various suffixes will now be discussed, in alphabetical order, as given above.

1. Acre.

The suffix *-acre* represents the A.S. *æcer*, a field. It only occurs in Benacre.

Benacre. Between Lowestoft and Southwold. Spelt *Benakr'*, H.R.; *Benagra*, D.B., p. 182[1]. From A.S. *bēan*, bean; so that the sense is 'bean-field.' The Supplement to Bosworth and Toller quotes the phrase "æcer bēanlandes," a field of bean-land, from Kemble, C.D. iii. 366. Ill spelt *bēan-eccer* in Birch, C.S. ii. 18, l. 18.

2. Bach.

This interesting word only occurs as a suffix in Debach. It is the prov. E. *bach(e)*, a valley through which a stream flows; M.E. *bache* or *bach*, as in Layamon, and in P. Plowman, C. viii. 159, discussed, s.v. *Bache*, in the N.E.D. The A.S. forms are *bæc, bec*, m. and n.; *bæce, bece*, as given in the Supplement to Bosworth and Toller, p. 60. We may explain it simply by 'valley'; remembering that it is etymologically connected with the prov. E. *beck*, a stream.

Debach. Spelt *Debeth*, error for *Debech* (by the common error of writing *t* for *c*, or of misreading), Ipm.; *Debaht*, error for *Debahc* (= *Debach*), H.R. D.B. has *Depebecs*, p. 240;

[1] The reference here, and elsewhere, is to the Part of the Facsimile edition of Domesday Book relating to Suffolk, photozincographed in 1863.

Depebek, p. 262; so that it represents the A.S. dat. form *dēopan bæce*, lit. 'deep valley'; which explains the spelling *Debenbeis* (with *n*), in D.B., p. 126. See Birch, C.S. iii. 344 (no. 1111), where we find:—"of tham *diopan bæce*."

The present local pronunciation is Debbidge, in strict accordance with the usual popular sound-changes.

3. Beck.

This well known prov. E. word for 'a small stream' is known in Suffolk and Norfolk as well as in the North. It occurs in Gosbeck.

Gosbeck; to the E. of Needham Market. Spelt *Gosebeck*, *Gosebek*, Ipm. From A.S. *gōs*, a goose. It simply means 'goose-brook,' or 'goose-stream.' Kemble has a *Gosebroc*, lit. 'goose-brook.'

4. Bergh.

This suffix not only occurs in Babergh, the name of a hundred, but also, as the old forms show, in Finborough. The confusion of *bergh* with *borough* is common, though they were kept separate in the older forms of our language. Bergh represents the A.S. *beorh*, a hill, a barrow, a mound; the modern form is *barrow*.

Babergh hundred. Spelt *Baben-berga*, D.B., p. 12; but the second *b* is an error for *d*, owing to the influence of the third *b*. *Baberga* also occurs, D.B., pp. 223, 225, 271. More correctly, *Badbergh* (hundred), *Badberewe* (hundred), H.R.; *Baddebury hundred*, Ipm.; so that the D.B. form should have been *Baden-berga* (with a Latin *-a* suffixed). *Baden* is the A.S. *Badan*, as in Badan-den, Badan-pyt; both in Kemble; and *Badan* is the gen. of *Bada*. The sense is 'Bada's hill,' or 'Bada's barrow.' The change from *db* to modern *b* is well illustrated by Babraham (Cambs.), originally Badburgeham, meaning 'Badburh's home,' or 'Badburh's ham.'

Finborough. There is a Finborough to the S.W. of Stowmarket, and a Great Finborough to the W. of it. The suffix *-borough* has been substituted for an earlier *-bergh*. We find *Fineburge* in R.B. and *Finebury* in Ipm.; but *Finebery* in

H.R.; and *Fineberga* in D.B., pp. 9 and 336; *Finbergh* in Ipm., p. 55; and *Finbarowe* even in V.E. The earliest spelling is *Finbeorh*, in a Wilts. charter, dated 957; though perhaps in a copy of later date; Birch, C.S. iii. 186. The name is a compound; and the former element may be safely identified with the A.S. word *fīn*, 'a heap,' which is fairly well authenticated, and not only occurs alone, but in the compounds *līm-fīn*, a lime-heap, or heap of lime, and *wudu-fīn*, a heap of wood: see the note in Napier's Glosses, p. 66, gloss 2456. The sense is, accordingly, 'a heap-barrow,' or an artificial mound made by heaping up materials. Near Great Finborough Hall there is a tumulus named the Devil's Hill.

5. Borough, Bury.

Borough is the usual modern E. form of the A.S. *burh*, a fort, borough, town; and *bury* represents its dative case *byrig*; so that the two may be taken together. *Borough* occurs in Burgh, Aldborough, Blythburgh, Grundisburgh and Rumburgh. *Bury* occurs alone in Bury St Edmund's and in the compounds Chedburgh, Kettleburgh, Sudbury.

Burgh. There are three places with this name referred to in Domesday Book. Burgh. Three miles N.W. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Burc*, D.B., p. 25; *Burch*, p. 70; *Burh*, p. 212; *Burg*, p. 301; which represent the A.S. *burh*, a fort; mod. E. borough. According to the map of Roman Suffolk in the Victoria County History this is on the line of the Roman road from Stratford St Mary to Dunwich and is on the site of the Roman station Combretonium.

Burgh. On the Waveney, at the beginning of Breydon Water. Spelt *Burch*, D.B., p. 329. There is a celebrated castle there, of Roman origin. This Burgh Castle is that mentioned in Beda, Hist. Eccl. iii. 19—"in castro quodam quod lingua Anglorum Cnobheres burg, id est urbs Cnobheri, uocatur." So that its name in Beda's time meant 'Cnobhere's burgh.' But Cnobhere was evidently forgotten at the time of the Norman Conquest, and it has become simply Burgh.

Burgh. In Colneis Hundred. Spelt *Burch*, D.B., pp. 68, 119; *Burg*, D.B., p. 286. This probably represents the Roman

fort, known in later times as Walton Castle, near Felixstowe, now washed away by the encroachments of the sea.

ALDBOROUGH, or (in Kelly's Directory) ALDEBURGH. Spelt *Aldeburc* in D.B., p. 71. The *e* may be explained as the termination of the weak feminine suffix of the nominative case; A.S. *sēo ealde burh*, Mercian *sēo alde burh*, i.e. 'the old borough.' Prof. Moorman thus explains Aldborough in the West Riding, and quotes, from a document of the thirteenth century, the entry:—"Aldeburgh, Vetus Burgh." It is clear that the river Alde took its name from the town, and not conversely. Many river-names are more modern than some suppose them to be. See DEBENHAM.

There is a difficulty about the development of the primary vowel; since the O. Merc. *ald* has given us the form *old*. However, this modern adjective is really due to Norman influence, which lengthened the *a* before *ld*, so as to produce an early Mid. E. form *āld*. But in the phrase *sēo alde burh*, the final *e* of *alde* easily dropped out; and then the old short *a* remained short (or was shortened) before the combination *ldb*.

BLYTHBURGH; or borough on the river Blythe. Spelt *Bliburg* in R.B., H.R., T.N.; because the Norman scribes failed to pronounce the E. *th*; also *Bliburgh*, H.R. In D.B., the E. voiced *th* was written *d*, so that it appears as *Blideburc*; p. 3. The river-name *Blythe* is old; there was a river named *Blithe* in Northamptonshire, mentioned in a charter dated 944; see Birch, C.S. iii. 541, four lines from the bottom; from the A.S. *blīthe*, 'the blithe,' or 'pleasant.' Hence also Blytheford and Blything.

GRUNDISBURGH. Spelt *Grundesburgh*, *Grundesbury*, Ipm.; *Grundisbur'*, H.R.; *Grundesburh*, D.B., p. 70; with many slight variants of no importance, but all implying the same origin; I may notice *Groundesburgh* and *Groundesborough*. There is no such name as Grund recorded in English, but Rygh gives Grundi as a Norse name, which occurs in rather numerous place-names abroad. Hence the sense may be 'Grundi's borough'; and we may attribute the name to Norse influence.

RUMBURGH. I do not know where to find the early forms;

but Dr Copinger gives us ten, viz. Rumberwe, Romboroughe, Rumburn (?), Rumbing (?); and Romborough, Romburgh, Romburg, Romborow, Romborrow, Romebury. The A.S. form may well have been *rūm-burh*, i.e. roomy or wide borough. We may exemplify this by comparing it with Rum-cofa, perhaps 'wide cove,' given in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 915, as the old name of Runcorn (Cheshire); and especially with *rūm-beorgas*, 'wide barrows,' in a charter dated 972, the authenticity of which has been challenged, but apparently for no good reason; see Birch, C. S., iii. 589, last line. The almost total absence of a vowel after the *m* is much against the explanation 'Ruma's borough.' Dr Wyld explains the Lancs. Rumworth as 'Ruma's worth,' and at the same time gives us *Rumburgh* as the form of Rumburgh, Suff., as occurring in the Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, ii. A. 3289, dated 1409. This is the best spelling, and supports my explanation.

Bury. This form occurs alone, and represents the A.S. *byrig*, dat. case of *burh*, a borough. The dat. case is common in place-names, as the prep. *æt*, 'at,' was often either expressed or understood before them. Hence, for example, the surname Atterbury, from the A.S. formula *æt thǣre byrig*, 'at the borough.' At a later time, when the dative had been assimilated to the nominative, and the gender of the substantive had been changed from fem. to masc., we find the formula *at then borough*, which gave the surname Attenborough. The town's name also appears as Bury St Edmund's, 'at the borough of St Edmund'; from the famous East Anglian king and saint who was buried there, and whose death is fully described by Ælfric, in his Lives of the Saints. The A.S. Chronicle gives his slaughter by the Danes under the date 870; and the form 'sancte Eadmundes byrig' in 1107. In an A.S. Charter dated 945, Bury is alluded to as "in loco qui dicitur *æt Bæderices wirthe*"; and again, in Ethelweard's Chronicle, under the date 870, as "*in..Beaduricesuuyrthe*"; so that the original name of Bury was really 'Beadurīc's worth.' See the suffix WORTH (below).

Beadurīc is compounded of *beadu*, battle, and *rīc*, dominion. Misspelt and explained 'power in prayer' in Bygone Suffolk, p. 79.

CHEDBURGH. To the S.W. of Bury. Despite the modern form, I refer this to the suffix *bury*, though it makes no difference to the sense. Spelt *Chedburye*, Ipm.; *Cedeberia* (with Norman *ce* for *che*), D.B., p. 208. Dr Copinger gives several spellings, of which the best are:—*Cheddebur*, *Chedeberi*, *Chedeberwe*, *Chedebor'*, *Chedebury*. It is hardly possible to say whether the suffix was *bergh* or *bury*; I only place it here for convenience, though I suspect that it once ended in *bergh*, despite the spelling *Chedburye* in Ipm. (A.D. 1262). The prefix *Chede-* represents the A.S. *Ceddan*, gen. of the known name *Cedda*; hence the sense is 'Cedda's bury,' or 'Cedda's barrow.' For the suffix *bergh*, 'a barrow,' see BABERGH (above).

KETTLEBURGH. Near Framlingham. I suppose that the suffix was at first *bury*, in deference to the forms in D.B., viz. *Cetelbirig*, p. 27, *Chettlebiriga*, p. 26, *Ketelbiria*, p. 89; but it also has *Kettleberga*, p. 134, and we find *Ketelebruge* (for *-burge*) in R.B. But the suffix was certainly confused with *bergh*, 'a barrow' (see BABERGH), as shown by *Ketelberghe*, Ipm., *Keteleber'*, H.R., *Kettleberg*, T.N. The prefix is exactly the same as in Kettlewell, in the West Riding, which, as Prof. Moorman explains, is not from a genitive *Ketils*, but from a genitive *Ketilan*, in which the *-an* gave rise to the *-e* in *Ketel-e-* in some of the forms above. Ketila was a pet name for some form beginning with Ketel- or Ketil-, such as Ketelberht or Ketil-frith. Hence the sense is 'Ketila's bury'; possibly 'Ketila's barrow.' *Ketil*, Norse *Ketill*, was a famous Scandinavian name, and appears in many Norwegian place-names. This is a clear case of Norse influence.

SUDBURY. "Anciently called South-Burgh, as Norwich is said to have been called North-Burgh," Kirby. Here there is no doubt as to the suffix, nor as to the origin of the name. We find *Sutberie* in D.B., p. 12; *Suthbury*, Ipm.; *Sudbyr'*, H.R.; from the dat. case *Suthbyrig*, which actually occurs (with reference to Sudbury) in a Suffolk document known as the Will of Ælfflæd; see Birch, C.S. iii. 603, l. 7. Hence the sense is 'South bury'; from the A.S. *sūth*, south.

6. Bourn.

Bourn means a burn, or small river (A.S. *burn*); and occurs in Blackbourn, the name of a hundred, and in the place-names Newbourn and Sudbourn; all of obvious origin.

Blackbourn. This appears in D.B., p. 11, as *Blacbruna h'.* and *Blackebrune*, p. 313, and means 'black bourn.' Ixworth, Bardwell, and Fakenham are all in Blackbourn hundred; so that the stream here intended is that which flows by all these places, and enters the Little Ouse below Euston Park.

Newbourn. This is the name of a village, which is so called from a stream that flows through it southward, and then, turning to the east, enters the river Deben at Kirton Creek, to the N.E. of Kirton. Curiously enough, the name is very old, and occurs as *Neuburne* in R.B.; *Neubrunna*, D.B., p. 178. Dr Copinger gives several old spellings of it, all without any reference. However, the sense is obvious.

Sudbourne. To the S.W. of Aldeborough. Spelt *Sutburna* in D.B., p. 72; *Sudburna*, D.B., p. 207; *Sutborne* in a late A.S. charter, in Kemble, C.D. iv. 245, l. 7 from the bottom. From the A.S. *sūth-burn*, i.e. 'South burn.' Sudbourne Marshes are traversed by a maze of confluent streams, the waters of which find their way to the river Alde. Sudbourne Park is considerably to the south of the village, and the reference may be to the stream which flows from the Park into the Butley river.

7. Bridge.

This suffix, of obvious meaning, only occurs in Risbridge and Woodbridge.

Risbridge. This is the name of a hundred only, in the extreme west and south-west of the county. The chief river hereabouts is the Stour, and the hundred may well have been named from a bridge over it, in the days when bridges were scarce. We find the forms *Risbrigg*, H.R.; *Risebrige*, T.N.; and *Risebruge* in D.B., p. 11. The *e* in *Rise-* strongly suggests the genitive suffix *-en*, later form of *-an*, from a personal name

in *-a*. Both in Ris-bridge and in Ris-by, we should suppose that the reference is to the maker of the bridge or to the founder of the town or village. If the name is that also found in Risborough (Bucks.) it certainly had an *h* before the *r*. With respect to Risborough, we find three forms of various dates, viz. *Hrisan*, gen. of *Hrisa*; the later form *Hrisen*, for *Hrisan*; and the form *Hris-*, without any suffix at all. The references are as follows:—*Hrisan-byrye*, Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 153, last line; *Hrisan-beorgan*, id. p. 553; *Hrisen-beorgas*, id. p. 549; *Hris-beorye*, id. p. 331, l. 5. I should therefore explain Risbridge as meaning 'Hrīsa's bridge.' There was also a Norse name Hrīsi; see RISBY. Hrīsa was probably its Anglo-Saxon equivalent.

WOODBRIDGE. The sense is obvious. But it is worth notice that the Norman often pronounced *wood* (A.S. *wudu*) as *'ood*, without the *w*. Hence we find the spelling *Udebrygge* in D.B., p. 27; but, by the time the scribe (or another scribe) arrived at p. 90, he found it better to spell it *Wudebrygge*.

8. BROOK.

This well-known suffix occurs in Holbrook, Rushbrooke, Stradbroke, Washbrook, and Wickhambrook.

HOLBROOK. Spelt *Holebrok*, Ipm.; *Holebroc*, H.R.; D.B., p. 29; A.S. *Holen-brōc*, with reference to Suffolk (according to Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 110, l. 4); but a better form is *Holan-brōc(e)* for which Kemble gives many references. Here *holan* is for *holum*, the old dative form. The place-name is best represented by the nom. *hol brōc*, 'hollow-brook'; i.e. a brook whose banks rise above it. The brook flows into the Stour at Holbrook Bay.

RUSHBROOKE. Spelt *Rescebroc*, H.R.; *Ryscebroc*, D.B., p. 166; *Ryssebroc*, in Ælfgar's Will, in Thorpe, Diplom. p. 508; better *Riscbrōc*, Birch, C.S. ii. 81. From A.S. *risc* (also *resce*), a rush; and *brōc*. The sense is 'rush brook.'

STRADBROKE. There is here but a small brook, flowing northward towards the Waveney. We find *Stradbroke maner'*

de Eia honore, with reference to Eye; Ipm. Ill spelt *Statebroc*, D.B., p. 137. In Matt. v. 41, where the A.V. has "a mile," the Latin version has *mille passus*, and the A.S. version has *thūsend stapa*, lit. "a thousand of steps"; but the Northumbrian version has *thūsend strēdena*, showing that there was once a word *strǽda*, m., or *strād*, f., meaning "a stride" or "a step," the obvious original whence the verb *to straddle* is derived. Hence Stradbrook simply means 'a brook across which one can easily stride' or straddle.

WASHBROOK. To the S.W. of Ipswich. The brook flows eastward into the Orwell. The etymology is by no means obvious, as it has only been associated with the verb *to wash* in popular etymology. There was a personal name *Wassa*, gen. *Wassan*, whence the tribe of Wassings; as appears in various names in Kemble's Index, such as *Wassan-burne* (Washbourn), *Wassan-dūn*, *Wassan-hām*, *Wassing-burg* (Washingborough, Linc.), *Wassinga-tūn* (Washington, Suss.), *Wassing-well*. The original sense was 'Wassa's brook'; whence the old spelling *Wassebroc* (Copinger).

WICKHAMBROOK. Compounded of Wickham and brook. Not connected, except by the accident of name, with Wickham Market (see pp. 63, 64), which is exactly to the east of it, but more than thirty miles away. The brook flows eastward into the Glen and so joins the Stour.

9. BY.

This suffix is of much interest, as it is well known to be a sure indication of Danish occupation. We find that such occupation was after all, in this county, really very slight. There are but four examples, viz. Ashby, Barnaby (or Barnby), Risby, and Wilby. The two former are within a few miles of the east coast; and Wilby is only some twenty miles from it. Risby, however, is far from the same, farther even than Bury. By is the modern Dan. *by*, Old Dan. *byr*, Icel. *býr* (more commonly *bœr*), a farmhouse, farm, or town; allied to Dan. *bo*, Icel. *būa*, A.S. *būan*, to build.

ASHBY. It is extremely unlikely that *Ash* should here be a true English word, as it would hardly combine with a true Norse suffix such as *-by*. It has been proved by Björkman that the English often accommodated Norse words to their own pronunciation; and it is to be noted that Copinger records, as old spellings of this name, not only *Asheby*, but *Askeby*, a spelling which frequently occurs in Ipm. We even find Ashby in Lincs., where the old form is Askeby. The prefix Aske- represents the form *Aska*, gen. sing. of *Aski*, a Norse personal name. The real meaning is 'Aski's town.'

BARNABY, BARNBY; to the S.W. of Lowestoft. The same name as Barnby-on-Don, in the W. Riding, which is spelt *Barnaby, Barneby* in Ipm. For the Suffolk Barnaby, D.B. has *Barnebei*, p. 5; *Barne-by*, p. 43. This is a clear indication, as Prof. Moorman points out, that the former element in the name is not from the A.S. *Beorna*, but from the Dan. personal name *Barni* (gen. *Barna*), a name recorded by Nielsen in his *Old danske Personnavne*. The sense is 'Barni's farm,' or 'Barni's town.'

RISBY. At no great distance from Bury. Spelt *Riseby*, T.N.; *Ryseby*, H.R.; *Risby*, Ipm. Kemble also has Riseby, in his Charter no. 984: but the spelling is very late, and of little value. D.B., p. 152, has *Risebi*. I explain the prefix as being like that in RISBRIDGE (above), and suppose that it began with *Hr*. Moreover, it was probably Danish. Hence *Rise-* may have represented the Icel. *Hrīsa*, gen. of *Hrīsi*, which occurs as a nickname; see Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ed. Vigfússon and Powell, vol. ii. p. 315, l. 165: *Sigurðr Hrísi Haraldz sonr*; i.e. Sigurðr, nicknamed Hrísi, son of Harold. If this be right, the sense is 'Hrísi's farm' or 'Hrísi's town.' So also in RISBRIDGE.

WILBY. To the E.S.E. of Eye. Spelt *Wileby*, T.N.; *Wilebegh*, Ipm.; *Wilebey*, D.B., p. 97. The D.B. form in *-bey* must be significant, since Dr Copinger cites, from other sources, such spellings as Wilbeghe, Wilebeigh, Wilbey, Wilbeye, Wilbeygh, Wilebegh, Wylebeg.

At p. xxi of his Introduction to the W. Riding Place-names,

Prof. Moorman has the following note on the termination *-by*. "This word existed in Old Danish in the form *-byr* (Mod. Dan. *by*), and though this form is not unknown in Old Norse, the usual O.N. form is *bör* [or *bær*]. Phonology shows that O.N. *bör* would have become Mid. Eng. *bé*, in just the same way that O.N. *slögr*, sly, became M.E. *slég*." It thus becomes clear that, in this place-name, we have to do, not with the usual Dan. *by*, but with the corresponding O. Norwegian *bör* (Norw. *bö* in Aasen). This shows us that the settler in Wilby was not a Dane, but a Norwegian.

We should expect the prefix Wil- to represent the gen. of a Norse name. Egilsson gives two examples of the name *Vili*, gen. *Vila*. The O.N. *V* was, in A.S. times, a *W*, when Vili would have been Wili. I therefore propose to explain Wilby as meaning 'Wili's farm' or town. The final *-a* in the gen. Wila was easily lost, as in Ris-by (above).

10. Camp.

I have discussed this suffix in the Place-names of Cambs., showing that it represents A.S. *camp*, a field, not really an A.S. word, but borrowed from the L. *campus*. The Supplement to Bosworth and Toller now gives us four good examples.

Bulcamp. A hamlet one mile N.W. of Blythburgh (Kelly). Spelt *bolecamp*, H.R.; *Bulecampe*, D.B., p. 105. Copinger also cites *Bulchamp* (with French *champ*), and *Bulfelda*, where *felda* (field) translates *camp*. The D.B. prefix *bule-* represents the A.S. *bulan*, gen. of *bula*, a bull: see *bula* in the Supplement to the A.S. Dict. The sense is 'bull's field.' Or, if Bula were used as a name, 'Bula's field.'

11. Clay.

This is the usual E. *clay*; it occurs in Hinder-clay.

Hinderclay. The *n* in this form is comparatively modern; all the old forms have *l* in place of it, and the form in D.B. is *Hilderclea*, p. 168. In a late copy of Ulfketel's bequest to the Abbey at Bury, it appears as *Hildercle*; see Birch, C.S., iii. 216, last line. It is not from the A.S. *hild*, battle (gen. *hildi*), as

this will not account for the *r*; but from the O. Norse feminine personal name *Hildr*, of which the gen. was *Hildar*; see Björkman. Hence the literal sense is 'Hildr's clay,' with reference to a farm with a clay soil. Hildr (as said above) was the name of a woman.

12. Dale.

This is a well-known suffix, of obvious meaning; it only occurs in Botesdale and Withersdale.

Botesdale. The spelling *Botolvesdale* occurs in H.R.; which explains it at once as representing 'Bōtwulf's dale.' Bōtwulf, mod. E. Botolph, is a well-known name, and is often shortened to Botulf and Botolf; the spelling Botolph is of course absurd, though perfectly common. The spelling with *o* is Norman; they turned the A.S. *wulf* into *wolf*, but they did not thereby affect the sound of it.

Withersdale. To the N. of Fressingfield, and not far from the river Waveney. Spelt *Wytherisdal* in H.R. But Copinger also records the spellings *Wetheresdale*, *Wethersdale*, which are better. *Wetheres* is the gen. case of the A.S. *wether*, a young ram. The sense is 'Wether's dale'; for Wether must have been a man's name, as the *-es* suggests.

13. Dene.

The suffix *dene* represents the A.S. *denu*, a valley. It is sometimes confused in old documents with *-don*, representing the A.S. *dūn*, a down, and they cannot always be distinguished. But they are kept apart in Suffolk, if we include, as I believe we should, the name Hundon among the *denes* and Darmsden among the *downs*. I keep them separate.

Dene or -den occurs in Depden, Elveden, Framsden, Frostenden, Hundon, Monewden, Owsden, Rattlesden, Wantisden, and Wetherden.

Depden. To the S.W. of Bury. The old spellings are: *Depeden*, H.R., T.N.; *Depedene*, R.B.; *Depdana*, D.B., p. 236. Cf. *Depeden* (Essex), Ipm. And we find 'to dēopan dæne,' Birch, C.S. ii. 135. The D.B. often denotes the A.S. *denu*,

a dene or valley, by *-dana*. The sense is simply 'deep valley.' The long *e* has been shortened, by the stress, before the following *pd*.

ELVEDEN, or ELDEN (Kelly). To the S.W. of Thetford. Spelt *Elveden*, H.R.; T.N.; R.B.: *Elvedena*, D.B., p. 156. From the A.S. *Ælfan denu*, 'Ælfa's valley'; where Ælfa is a pet-name for a name beginning with Ælf-, such as Ælf-rēd or Ælf-rīc. An example of the name Ælfa (ill-spelt Ælffa) occurs in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 562, l. 2.

FRAMSDEN. To the S.E. of Debenham. Spelt *Framesden*, T.N.; *Framisden*, H.R.; *Framesdena*, D.B., p. 36. From the A.S. *Frames denu*, lit. 'Fram's valley.' Searle instances a moneyer named Fram. It is simply the A.S. *fram*, valiant; an adj. well fitted to be used as an epithet.

FROSTENDEN. N. by W. from Southwold. Spelt *Frosteden*, *Frostenden*, T.N. Copinger also notes the forms *Frosenden*, *Frossenden*, as if the *t* had been inserted: and when we compare these with the form *Froxedena*, in D.B., p. 268, we may feel tolerably sure that such was really the case, and that the form in D.B. was the original one; especially when we further compare it with the A.S. *Froxafeld*, which occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 432, l. 22, and is the modern Froxfield (Hants.). Froxa is the gen. pl. of *frox*, a frog; and the sense is 'frogs' valley.' The form Frossenden may be compared with the A.S. variant *froscan*, for *forscan*, gen. sing.; cf. Forscan-feld, Birch, C.S., i. 452.

HUNDON. To the N.W. of Clare. The form is modern, and it was formerly Hunden. It appears as *Hunden*, Ipm.; *Huneden*, H.R.; *Hunendana*, D.B., p. 218. The A.S. prefix was Hunan, as in Hunan-brieg and Hunan-weg, both in Kemble's Index. Moreover, the *u* was long; and several Hūnas are recorded. The sense is 'Hūna's valley,' which suits the position of the village.

MONEWDEN. Sometimes Monoden (Kirby). Five miles S.W. of Framlingham railway-station. Spelt *Monewedon*, Ipm.; *Mungeden*, T.N. The *w* represents an older *g*; Copinger cites a spelling *Monegedene*, and we find *Munegadena*,

D.B., p. 90; *Mungadena*, D.B., p. 135; *Mungedena*, D.B., p. 134; *Mangedena*, D.B., p. 134. The suffix is the A.S. *denn*, a valley: the oldest forms of the prefix are, apparently, those in D.B., viz. *Munega, Munga, Munge, Manga*. I find no A.S. forms which will account for these, and I do not know their origin. As a possible guess, I suggest that the prefix may have arisen from the O. Norse fem. personal name *Mundgerðr*, from which, according to Rygh, the Scand. place-name Munge-rud is derived. If this should be right, the sense would be 'Mundgerthr's valley.'

Owsden (Kelly), or Ousden. Near Lidgate, towards the western border of the county. Old spellings are: *Ovesden*, T.N.; *Ovisdene*, Ipm.; *Ovesdene*, R.B.; *Uvesden*, H.R.; and *Vuesdana*, for *Uvesdana*, D.B., p. 45. Kemble gives Ufesford as a place-name; but, according to Birch, this is a misreading. He also gives Ufford as the old form of Ufford (Northants.), but this may be a contracted form; see the account of the Suffolk Ufford below. Searle gives several examples of the personal name Ufa (of the weak declension, genitive Ufan); corresponding to which we might expect to find the form Ufe (of the strong declension, genitive Ufes). Similarly, corresponding to the weak form Ofa (six examples), a strong form Ofe is known. Hence the form Ufe may safely be assumed; so that the original sense of the place-name was 'Ufe's valley.'

Rattlesden. To the W. of Stowmarket. Spelt *Ratlesdene*, H.R.; R.B.; *Ratilisden*, Ipm.; *Ratlesden*, T.N.; *Ratlesdena*, D.B., p. 165. Rattlesden is certainly referred to in a Charter of Edward the Confessor, printed in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245, where we find:—"in comitatu Sudfolc, Hertest, Glemesford, Hecham, *Rattesdene*," &c. But the copy is not very well spelt, and we may suspect that the form intended was Ratlesdene, in conformity with all the other evidence. An A.S. *Ratles would imply a nom. *Ratel; or, if we compare the A.S. *hrætel-wyrt*, answering to our modern *rattle-wort*, we might infer such a form as *Hrætel. In any case, we may assume that the valley here discussed was named from a man whose personal designation was *Ratel or *Hrætel. There we must leave it, for want of evidence.

WANTISDEN. Three miles to the S.E. of Wickham Market railway station (Kelly). Old spellings are: *Wantesden*, Ipm.; *Wantesdena*, D.B., pp. 32, 207. Apparently the sense is 'Want's valley.' The personal name Want is recorded in the Liber Vitæ of Durham.

WETHERDEN. To the N.W. of Stowmarket. Spelt *Wetherdone* (error for *Wetherdene*, as other records show), Ipm.; *Wetherden*, *Weatherden*, cited by Copinger; *Wederdena*, D.B., p. 159, with *d* for *th*. A simple compound, meaning 'wether-valley.'

14. DOWN.

In names that end in *-don*, the suffix is the unstressed form of *down*, A.S. *dūn*, a hill.

Examples occur in Ballingdon, Brandon, Claydon, Darmsden (for Darmsdon), Hawkedon, Raydon, Reydon, and Thorndon.

BALLINGDON. A hamlet near Sudbury. I find no old spellings. If the form is correct, it may mean 'down (or hill) of the Bællings,' or of 'the sons (or family) of Bæll.' Bæll is recorded as a personal name. Cf. D.B., Balles-bi, i.e. Balby (Yorks.).

BRANDON, or BRANDON FERRY (Kelly). Spelt *Braundone*, R.B.; *Brandona*, D.B., p. 202; *Brandone* (late), in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245. I explain it from the O. Norse *Branda*, gen. of *Brandi*, a weak form used beside the strong form *Brandr* (gen. *Brands*). See the account of Brandr in Rygh, who shows that Brandr was in very common use, and that Brandi also occurs in place-names. The sense is 'Brandi's down.' Brand- occurs also in English in compounds, such as Brand-wulf. The result is conjectural.

CLAYDON. To the E. of the river Gipping. It occurs in D.B. as the name of a hundred, distinct from Bosmere; but Bosmere and Claydon are now taken together as forming but one hundred. Spelt *Cleydon*, H.R.; T.N.; Ipm. But D.B. has *Claindune* or *Claindone* frequently, with *Clain-* as the former element, in which the *n* must be accounted for. It may easily represent the adjectival suffix *-en*; the form *clayen*, 'made of clay,' or 'clayey,' occurs in Wyclif's translation of Job iv. 19 (N.E.D.). The sense is 'clayey down.'

DARMSDEN. To the S.E. of Needham Market. The name originally ended in *-don* or *-doun*, representing the A.S. *dūn*, a down. Copinger gives *Dermodesdon*, *Dormesdon*; but more important spellings are those in D.B. and Ipm. D.B. has *Dermodesduna*, pp. 28, 205; and Ipm. has the still fuller form *Deormondesdoune*, p. 218; which explains it at once. *Deormondes* represents the A.S. *Dēormundes*, gen. of *Dēormund* (a known name); and the original sense was 'Dēormund's down.'

HAWKEDON. Nearly to the S.S.E. of Bury, in the direction of Clare. Old spellings are: *Haukdon*, T.N., Ipm.; *Haukedon*, H.R.; *Hauochenduna*, D.B., p. 136 (with *che* for *ke*); *Hauokeduna*, D.B., p. 232. At first sight, we might suppose that *Hauochen-* answers to the A.S. *Heafecan*, given as occurring in *Heafecanberh*, in Kemble's Charters, nos. 291 and 292; but, according to Birch's revision of these charters, the name has here been misread, and appears in the charters in the forms *Heasecan* (thrice) and *Heahsecan* (once); proving that the supposed Heafecan has no real authority. The form in D.B. can hardly be correct, as the O. Merc. *hafoc*, A.S. *heafoc*, is a strong masculine (gen. *hafoces*, *heafoces*), no case of which can end in *-an*. It is therefore worth noting that Copinger also gives the old spellings *Haukesden* and *Hawkesden*, though without a reference. Kemble has several forms beginning with Hafoces- (followed by *hlāw*, *ōra*, *pyt*, and *tūn*), so that the D.B. form should rather have been Hauochesduna. That Hafoc was a man's name, with a gen. Hafoces, can be safely concluded from its frequent occurrence in place-names. We find Hawkesbury (Glouc.), Hawksdale (Cumb.), Hawksdown (Devon), Hawkshead (Lancs.), and Hawkesworth (Notts); besides Hauxton (Cambs.), which is merely a form of Hawkston. It is known that the genitival *-s* disappeared, occasionally, at rather an early date, in some place-names, whilst in others it has remained. The probable sense, in this case, is 'Hawk's down'; where Hawk (O. Merc. *Hafoc*) was a personal name. This can be proved by two considerations: (1) the occurrence of *Hafeces hlāw*, i.e. 'Hawk's burial-mound,' in Birch, C.S., ii. 377, l. 18; and (2) the fact

that the Icel. *haukr*, 'a hawk,' was a common personal name (Rygh).

RAYDON and RAYDON ST MARY are to the S.E. of Hadleigh; REYDON lies to the N.W. of Southwold, far from the others. Both were formerly spelt with *ei* or *ey*; so that we may select Reydon as being the better form. Old spellings are: *Reydon*, Ipm.; *Reidune*, H.R.; *Reydon*, T.N.; but D.B. has *Reinduna*, p. 194. *Rey* is an occasional form of E. *rye*, A.S. *ryge*; and the D.B. form *rein* represents the A.S. adj. *rygen*, belonging to or abounding in rye. We actually find the A.S. form of *Reydon* in Ælfflæd's Will, in which it is spelt *Rigindūn* (for *Rygendūn*); see Birch, C.S., iii. 603, l. 29. Hence the sense is 'down abounding in rye,' or 'rye-down.' For the form *rey*, see the N.E.D., s.v. *rye*.

THORNDON. To the S. of Eye. Spelt *Thornedon*, R.B.; answering to the A.S. *Thorndūn*, of which Kemble has four examples. The sense is obviously 'thorn down.'

15. EDISH, OR EDDISH.

The prov. E. *eddish* (also written *edish*) is in general dialectical use, with the sense of 'aftermath,' or second crop of grass or clover; the A.S. form being *edisc*. It is the origin of the modern *-dish* in Brundish and Cavendish.

BRUNDISH. Nearly to the N. of Framlingham. Ipm. mentions a *Burnedishe* in Staffs. Copinger gives a number of spellings, among which are *Bornedisce*, *Burnedich(e)*, *Burnedish*, and *Burnedissh(e)*; all of which would result from an A.S. **burn-edisc*. I have no doubt that it means 'bourn-eddish,' i.e. a meadow beside a bourne or stream that was mown for aftermath.

CAVENDISH. Nearly to the E. of Clare. Spelt *Kavanedis*, *Cavendish*, Ipm.; *Cauenedis*, T.N.; *Cavenedys*, H.R.; *Kauanadis*, D.B., p. 335. The prefix is the same as in Cavenham (below), and represents *Cafan*, the gen. case of the personal name *Cafa*. The sense is 'Cafa's eddish,' or 'Cafa's meadow for aftermath.'

16. Ey.

This very common suffix represents the Anglian *ēg*, A.S. *ēeg* *īg*, an island. It meant not only 'island' in the modern sense, but peninsula, or any piece of land wholly or partially surrounded by brooks or marshy country. In D.B. and Latin documents it is often expressed by *eia*. It occurs alone in Eye, and in composition in Bawdsey, Bungay, Campsey Ashe, Kirsey, and Lindsey.

Eye. It is situate, says Kelly, "at the confluence of two rivulets, in a low situation." One of these streams is the river Dove. Note the spellings *Eye, Eya*, H.R., T.N.; *Eya, Eie, Eye, la Eye*, R.B.; *Eiam* (acc. case), D.B., p. 78. The final *e* is due to the use of the dative case, the prep. *æt* (at) being understood, as usual. Thus, in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 855, we find "on Scēap-īge," i.e. in Sheppey. For the A.S. *īg*, the Anglian, Old Mercian, and Old Norse form was *ēg*, which accounts for the former *e*. The A.S. *īg* is connected with *ēa*, a stream; the two forms are often ignorantly confused.

Bawdsey. The name perhaps belonged originally to Bawdsey Manor, which is at some distance from the present village, and near Bawdsey Point. The reference is to its situation in the peninsula between the river Deben and the sea, which terminates in Bawdsey Point. Old spellings are: *Baudeseye*, Ipm.; *Balders'*, H.R.; *Baldeseia*, D.B., p. 73. But Copinger gives other spellings, such as *Balderescia* (with *c* for *e*), *Baldreseia, Baudersey, Baudreseye, Baudrissey*; which clearly show that the fuller form was *Baldereseye*; and *Balderes-* of course represents the O. Merc. *Baldheres*, gen. of *Baldhere*, the Mercian form of the A.S. *Bealdhere*, a known name. The sense is 'Baldhere's island.'

Bungay. The situation is remarkable, as the river Waveney is here extremely deflected, and forms a horse-shoe bend round the peninsula lying to the N.W. It is therefore on an *eye*, in the old sense of that word. The old spellings are, accordingly, *Bungeye*, H.R.; *Bungeia*, R.B.; *Bongeia*, D.B., p. 15; *Bungheam* (acc. case), D.B., p. 39. The prefix Bung- is of Norse origin;

from the Icel. *bungi*, a convexity, elevation; Norweg. *bunga*, a little heap; closely allied to the Dan. *bunke*, a heap, a pile, and connected with the E. *bunch*. The original sense of the word, according to Falk and Torp's Dan. Etym. Dict., was 'rounded elevation.' The sense is 'rounded elevation on a peninsula'; just as the old name of Durham was Dūn-holm, i.e. 'down-island,' or 'hill-island.' It may be added that I have already given this explanation in my Place-names of Cambridge, where the pronunciation of *ng* as *ngg* is exemplified, as in Gamling-ay.

A favourite derivation of this name was, once upon a time, the F. *bon gué*, or 'good ford' (if there was one). Of course philology forbids the derivation of forms that occur in Domesday Book from modern French; and it is well to remember that the Norman for 'ford' was *guet* or *wet*, and that the Norman did not pronounce *gu* like the *gu* in the F. *gué*, but like the *gu* in *anguish*. The author of this egregious fable has not told us how to obtain the sound of *gay* from that of *gwet*.

Campsea Ashe, or Ashe by Campsea (Kelly). We need not trouble about Ashe, which refers to the familiar tree-name. The place lies between Saxmundham and Woodbridge, and there are several Ashes in the neighbourhood, viz. Ash Corner to the W.; the remains of Mill Ash Abbey to the S.S.W.; and Ash Green and Ash High House to the S.E. The name is spelt Campsey Ash in the Ordnance Map. D.B. has *Campes ea*, p. 26; some other old spellings are quoted by Copinger, viz. *Ashe juxta Campessey*, *Ayssh juxta Camsey*, *Campeseia*, *Campessey*. The suffix appears to be *-ey*, island. As to the prefix, I am uncertain; but Rygh gives a Norse personal name Kampi, as appearing in some place-names, which may have become Camp in English; whence 'Camp's island.'

Kersey. To the N.W. of Hadleigh. I have already discussed this name in a paper for the Philological Society, printed in the Transactions for 1907–10, at p. 253. I there show, in opposition to the statement in the N.E.D. as to there being no known connexion between Kersey and Kersey cloth, that the

Suffolk cloth-making is expressly mentioned in Hall's Chronicle, under the date 1526. Indeed, the poet Skelton, in his piece entitled "Why Come ye nat to Courte," refers to the "cloth-making" of Sprynge of Lanham, ll. 930--2. Dyce, in his note, strangely explains "Lanam" as "Langham in Essex," whereas it is the usual pronunciation of the Suffolk Lavenham, and "the coats of arms of the Springs, wealthy clothiers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and great benefactors of the church" can still be seen in Lavenham Church; see Bygone Suffolk, p. 76. This proves the point as to the naming of Kersey cloth from Kersey in Suffolk; especially when taken in conjunction with my note upon Lindsey (below). The old spellings are: *Kerseye*, H.R.; *Kareshey* (error for *Karesey*), Ipm.; *Kereseye*, in 1279 (see Bardsley); *Careseia*, D.B., p. 217. All from the A.S. *Cæres-īg*, of which the gen. case *Cæres-īge* occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 603, l. 3 from the bottom. Here *Cæres* is the gen. of *Cær*, the same name as the *Car* mentioned in Searle. Hence Kersey means "Cær's island" or "Car's island." This name of Car looks like Celtic. Kersey cloth was known in 1376 (Victoria Hist. of Suffolk); and Kersey Priory is as old as 1158.

Lindsey. Not far from Kersey, and associated with it in the old days of the cloth manufacture in Suffolk. But the old name was Lellesey or Lillesey, even as late as the sixteenth century. Old spellings are: *Lelleseye*, Ipm. (A.D. 1263); and Copinger gives *Lelessey*, *Lellesey*, *Lelsey*, as well as *Lillesey*, *Lyllesey*. Ipm. also has a *Lylleseye* in Sussex (perhaps an error for Suffolk). However, the authentic A.S. form was rather Lill than Lell; Kemble's index has *Lilles bēam*, 'Lill's tree,' as well as *Lilles hám*, or 'Lill's home.' Moreover, the related weak form Lilla also appears in the same, as in *Lillan-hrycg*, 'Lilla's ridge,' and *Lillanwelle*, 'Lilla's well.' We may therefore well suppose that the original name meant 'Lill's island.' The subsequent change to Lindsey may have been due to confusion with that name, which was better known. A large portion of Lincolnshire was called Lindsey, which appears even in modern maps. I have already shown, in

my paper on Kersey, that the material called Linsey-wolsey certainly took its name from the Suffolk town; for otherwise it could never have had the name of *Lylse wulse* in the time of Skelton, who, in his poem entitled "Why Come ye nat to Courte," at l. 128, has the expression: "To weve al in one lome [loom] A webbe of *lylse-wulse*"; with a punning reference to his enemy, the cardinal, who was one of the most celebrated men that Suffolk has ever produced. (The spelling *Lynsey* occurs in V.E.)

17. Field.

This is a well-known suffix in place-names, and appears in Ashfield, Bedfield, Bedingfield, Bradfield, Bramfield, Bredfield, Charsfield, Cockfield, Cratfield, Crowfield, Fressingfield, Homersfield, Huntingfield, Laxfield, Metfield, Mickfield, Pakefield, Redlingfield, Ringsfield, Shadingfield, Stanningfield, Stansfield, Sternfield, Waldingfield, Waldringfield, Wattisfield, Westerfield, Whatfield, Wingfield, and Withersfield; i.e. just thirty times.

Ashfield. There is an Ashfield Magna to the N. of Elmswell, and another Ashfield nearly to the E. of Debenham. The meaning is obvious, but the Norman scribes had much ado to spell it, as there was no *sh* in Norman at all. Hence we find in D.B., at p. 193, the form *Asfelda*, at p. 29, *Assefelda*, and at p. 173, *Euscefelda*. And they sometimes spelt Ash as Esse.

Bedfield. Nearly to the N.E. of Debenham, and to the N.W. of Framlingham.

Old spellings are scarce; but Copinger gives the form *Bedefeld*, which is quite satisfactory. Here the prefix *Bede-* represents the A.S. *Bedan*, the gen. case of *Beda*, which is a famous name. The sense of Bedfield is 'Beda's field,' just as that of Bedford is 'Beda's ford.' The name must have been common; and no doubt the men who gave their names to Bedfield and to Bedford were not the same; and the 'venerable Bede' was a third. The last mentioned lived at an early date, when the name was spelt Bæda.

BEDINGFIELD. To the S.E. of Eye. Spelt *Bedingfeld* in Ipm.; D.B. has *Badingafelda*, p. 59, and *Bedingafelda*, p. 276. The correct A.S. form would be *Bedinga feld*, i.e. 'the field of the Bedings' or 'of the sons of Beda.' Beding is the regular patronymic form from that source.

BRADFIELD. Kelly has a Bradfield St Clare and a Bradfield St George; as well as Bradfield Combust or Brent (i.e. burnt) Bradfield, so called because its old hall was burnt in 1327. The old spellings are *Bradefel*, T.N.; *Bradefeld*, H.R.; and *Bradefella*, D.B., p. 21. Bradfield (Sussex) appears as *Bradanfeld* in several A.S. charters; see Kemble's index. Here *brādan* is the weak dat. of the A.S. *brād*, broad; and the sense is 'broad field.' The long *a* is shortened by the stress, before the *df*.

BRAMFIELD. To the S. of Halesworth. Spelt *Bramfeld* H.R.; but *Brunfelda* in D.B., p. 24, under the account of *Walepola* (Walpole). Copinger also notes such spellings as *Bromfield* and *Brumfield*, which are of some help, and show that it is quite different in origin from Bramfield, Herts., which seems to have meant 'Branda's field.' See further under BRAMFORD.

BREDFIELD. To the N. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Bredfelde*, *Bredefeld*, Ipm.; *Bredefelda*, D.B., p. 75. This is a highly interesting example, as it introduces a Frisian form. The prefix is not the A.S. *brād*, broad, as in Bradfield, but the O. Frisian *brēd*, or *breed*, with the same sense. That is, the sense is 'broad field,' as in the former case, but there is a difference of dialect.

CHARSFIELD. To the W. of Wickham Market. Spelt *Charsfeld*, Ipm.; *Ceresfella*, D.B., p. 26; *Cerresfella*, D.B., p. 186. D.B. has *Ce* for E. *Che*, and usually turns the A.S. *feld* (field) into *fella*. In the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 33, l. 28, we find the spelling *Caresfeld*; a form difficult to account for. The D.B. form *Cerres* may be right. If so, the sense is 'Cerr's field,' the A.S. *Cerr* becoming E. *Char*, as in Cert, the A.S. form of Chart (Kent). The A.S. *Cerr* is suggested by the form *Cerringes*, the A.S. spelling of

Charing (Kent); see Birch, C.S. i. 411; cf. also p. 410, l. 25. Cerring is the patronymic form of Cerr, so that there is evidence for the name.

Cockfield. The railway station is on the line from Bury to Lavenham. Spelt *Cocfelde, Cokefelde*, R.B.; *Cokefeld*, H.R. Oddly spelt *Cochanfelde* in Birch, C.S. iii. 603, l. 1; also *Cokefelde* in a late hand, in the same, p. 604, l. 2. Compare *Coccan-burh* in Kemble's index. The sense appears to be 'Cocca's field.'

Cratfield. Nearly to the E.S.E. of Halesworth, beyond Cookley. Spelt *Cratfeld*, Ipm.; *Cratefeld*, T.N.; Ipm.; *Cratafelda*, D.B., p. 269. The prefix does not appear to be English, but rather Dan. *krat*, a thicket, a copse; Mid. Dan. *krat*, a thorn-bush; Swed. dial. *kratt*, the same. The sense would be 'field covered with brambles.'

Crowfield. To the N.E. of Needham Market. The name has been modified, and its original sense was other than it seems to be. Spelt *Croffeud* (for *Croffeld*), Ipm., p. 55; *Crofelda*, D.B., p. 187. Copinger also records the forms *Croffeld* and *Croftfield*. All of these suggest an A.S. form *croft-feld*, with the sense of 'croft-field'; i.e. a small enclosure.

Fressingfield. Otherwise Fresingfield (Kirby). Spelt *Fresing-feld*, H.R.; *Fresing-feud* (for *-feld*), Ipm., p. 161*a*; *Fresen-feld*, Ipm., p. 161*b*. Copinger also reports the forms *Fresyngefeld, Fresyngfeld*, and the like. But the A.S. form is rightly *Fresena feld*, i.e. 'field of the Frisians,' in agreement with the form *Fresenfeld*. Here *Fresena* is the gen. pl. of *Fresa*, a Frisian. This is a very interesting result; note that there is a similar allusion in the names Freston and Friston.

Homersfield. Kelly has "Homersfield, or St Mary South Elmham." Spelt *Humersfeld*, R.B.; *Humeresfeld*, R.B.; *Humbresfelda*, D.B., p. 197. In the last form the *b* is probably intrusive, as it does not appear in the modern form. *Humeres-* of course represents the gen. case of a masc. personal name, which can hardly have been other than *Hūnmǣr. For,

though this name is not on record, Hūn- (never Hūm-) is a common prefix in such names, and -mār, as in Ælf-mār, Æthel-mār, is a common suffix. I explain this name as 'Hūnmār's field.'

Huntingfield. Near Heveningham, to the S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Huntingefeld*, R.B., Ipm.; *Huntyngfeld*, H.R.; *Huntingafelda*, D.B., p. 61, representing an A.S. Huntingafeld, i.e. 'field of the Huntings.' Hunting is a tribal name, from the personal name Hunta, our modern Hunt. It does not refer to A.S. *huntung*, a hunting.

Laxfield. To the W.S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Laxfeld*, H.R.; *Laxafella*, D.B., p. 26; *Laxafelda*, D.B., p. 27. Cf. *Læxa-dyne*, Birch, C.S. iii. 602, l. 9; and *Leaxan oc*, in the same, ii. 510 (in a late copy of a charter). It hence appears that Laxfield represents an A.S. form *Læxan feld*; where *Læxan* is the gen. case of *Læxa*, a personal name. This name is quite un-English, and is obviously founded upon the extremely common Norse word *lax*, 'a salmon.' It was probably a mere epithet, though the original sense may have been 'salmon-er,' i.e. a fisher for salmon. The final *-a* is often agential in Old English.

The D.B. form Laxin-ton (for A.S. Læxan-tun) occurs in the D.B. for Yorkshire. And there are Laxtons in Northants. and Notts.

Metfield. To the S.E. of Mendham, which is on the Waveney. I find no old spellings; but Copinger records *Metefeld* and *Medefeld*. The latter is obviously the older form, and shows that the old sense was simply 'mead-field,' or 'meadow-field'; i.e. a field for mowing.

Mickfield. Near Debenham, westwards. Spelt *Mikelefeld*, T.N.; *Mikelfeld*, Ipm.; *Mucelfelda*, D.B., p. 273. Obviously 'mickle field,' i.e. large field.

The A.S. formula *on miclan feld* occurs in Birch, iii. 342 (no. 1109), which accounts for the hard *k* (*ck*); its preservation is due to the contraction of *micelan* to *miclan* in the dative case. Cf. Micklefield in the West Riding.

PAKEFIELD. To the S. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Paggafella*, D.B., p. 5; with *gg* (hard *g*) for *k*; but Copinger records the forms *Pakefeld* and *Pakelefeld*. The prefix *Pake-* is short for *Paken-*, as in PAKENHAM, which see. *Pakele-* seems to be a diminutive, as if for *Pakelen*, for an A.S. **Pacela*, a weak form allied to the A.S. *Pacel*, as seen in *Pacles-hām* (Kemble). I explain Pakefield as representing 'Paca's field,' with the same prefix as in PAKENHAM.

REDLINGFIELD. To the N. of Debenham. Spelt *Ridlingfeld*, Ipm.; better with *e*, as in *Redelingfeld*, *Redelyngfeld* (Copinger); *Radinghefelda*, D.B., p. 79. In the last form, the *ghe* is for A.S. *ga*, and an *l* or *el* has been omitted; so that it points back to an A.S. *Rādelinga feld* or *Rādlinga feld*. The name of *Rādel* is on record; hence we may explain it as 'the field of the Rædelings,' or Rædlings; or 'the field of the sons (or tribe) of Rædel.'

It is not impossible that contraction has taken place, and that the original form was Rædwulfinga feld, or 'the field of the Rædwulfings.'

RINGSFIELD. To the S. of Beccles. D.B. has *Ringesfella*, p. 4. The prefix Hring- occurs in several A.S. names, though not found alone. But we may take it to be Norse. Rygh says that the Norse Ringr, originally Hringr, was a personal name, and is preserved in a large number of place-names. I explain this as 'Hring's field,' where Hring represents O.N. Hringr, so that it is really 'Hringr's field.' The final *-r* is merely the suffix of the nom. case, and answers to the *-us* in L. *Marc-us*. The prefix Rings- occurs also in RINGSHALL.

SHADINGFIELD. Spelt Shaddingfield by Kirby. Between Beccles and Blythburgh. The *g* is modern, and a better spelling would be Shadenfield. Spelt *Shadenfeld*, H.R.; *Shadnefeud*, Ipm.; *Scadenafella*, D.B., p. 16. Here the *-ena* is the mark of the gen. pl. of a weak noun, and the nom. sing. would be **scada*, or A.S. **sceada*. This exact form is not found; but it evidently resulted from the form *sceatha*, by the substitution of Norman *d* for the voiced *th*; the gen. pl. was

sceathena. Though *sceatha* is literally 'one who does scathe or damage,' it is a fairly common word for robber or thief; and the sense is 'field of thieves.' It might even mean 'field of pirates,' as the compound *wīcing-sceatha* was used in that particular sense. How the field acquired its name, we have no means of knowing, though it would probably be an interesting story, if it could be recovered. As the *a* was originally short, the spelling Shaddingfield can be justified.

STANNINGFIELD. To the S. of Bury. Spelt *Stanefeld*, H.R., Ipm.; *Stanfella*, D.B., p. 21. It is clear that the *-ing* is comparatively modern. The original was probably *stānen feld*, i.e. 'stony field.' The usual adj. is *stānen* (with *ā*), but *stānen* also occurs; as in the dat. *stānenan bricge*; Birch, C.S. iii. 113, l. 24.

STANSFIELD. To the N. of Clare, at some distance. Spelt *Stanesfeld*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Stanefeld*, R.B.; *Stanesfelda*, D.B., p. 182. *Stānes* is the gen. case of *Stān*, which is here a man's name, as in Stansfield in the W. Riding. The sense is 'Stan's field.' Stone is now used as a surname.

STERNFIELD. Near Saxmundham. Spelt *Sternfeld*, Ipm.; *Sternefella*, D.B., p. 72. But an *es* has been lost, in a difficult position between *rn* and *f*; hence we also find *Sternesfella*, D.B., p. 71; *Sternesfelda*, D.B., pp. 33, 128. The apparent meaning is 'Stern's field.' This personal name is not otherwise recorded; but cf. A.S. *styrne*, E. *stern*, adj. 'severe.'

WALDINGFIELD. Spelt *Waldingefeld*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Waldingefelda*, D.B.; p. 159. A.S. *Wealdingafeld*; Birch, C.S. iii. 603; O. Merc. *Waldingafeld*. Meaning: 'field of the Waldings,' or 'of the sons of Walda.'

WALDRINGFIELD. Spelt Wandringfeld, misprint for *Waudringfeld* (with *u* for *l*), Ipm.; *Waldringafelda*, D.B., pp. 69, 178. Meaning: 'field of the Wald(he)rings,' or 'sons of Waldhere.' Waldhere is a known name.

WATTISFIELD. Spelt *Watesfelda*, D.B., pp. 37, 100; but *Watlesfelda*, D.B., p. 170. Copinger also gives *Watlesfeld*,

Watelesfeld, Wattelesfeld. A.S. form **Wætles feld,* where Wætles is the gen. of *Wætel, the strong form allied to Wætela, whence Wætling and Wætlinga strǣt or Watling Street. Sense: 'the field of Wætel.' Though Wætel is not precisely recorded, it is a correct form, and is also the obvious origin of Wateles-tone in Ipm. p. 113.

Westerfield. Spelt *Westerfeld,* Ipm., p. 97; *Westrefelda,* D.B., pp. 28, 29. Meaning: 'field more to the west'; cf. Icel. *vestari, vestri,* more to the west. It is more to the west than Bealings to any one coming from Woodbridge and the river Deben.

Whatfield. Spelt *Whatefeld,* Ipm.; *Quatefeld,* H.R. (with *qu* for *wh*); *Gawatfelda,* D.B., p. 23. A.S. form Hwǣte-feld; meaning 'wheat-field.' Though A.S. has not this precise compound on record, we find *hwāteland,* 'wheat-land,' and *feld* as a suffix. Whatfield was sometimes called Wheatfield (see The Beauties of England). "This Town is chiefly remarkable for growing the most excellent Seed-Wheat"; Kirby.

Wingfield. Spelt *Wyngefeld,* H.R.; also *Wingefeld* in Thurkytel's will, in Thorpe, Diplomat. p. 580; a rather late document. *Winge* represents an earlier *Wingan,* as in *Wingan-hām,* in Kemble's index; from the nom. *Winga.* Meaning: 'Winga's field.' (Distinct from Wingfield, Beds., which was originally Winanfeld, i.e. 'Wina's field.')

Withersfield. Spelt *Wetheresfeld,* Ipm., T.N.; *Wytheresfeld,* H.R.; *Wedresfelda,* D.B., p. 233 (with *d* for *th*). Literally 'wether's field'; cf. Withersdale (above). It is probable that Wether was a personal name.

18. Fleet.

Fleet, A.S. *flēot,* not only means an estuary or shallow channel, but also a shallow stream, or even a drain or ditch; see the E.D.D. It only occurs in Herringfleet.

Herringfleet. As Herringfleet is some four miles inland, it has nothing to do with herrings, though herring is a very

familiar word in that district. How old the prefix Herring may be in this case, I do not exactly know; but in the fourteenth century, at any rate, the form was Herling. Old spellings are: *Herlingflet*, Ipm. p. 223 (as late as 1306); H.R.; *Herlingaflet*, D.B., p. 8. We find *Herlinga-ham* in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 563, A.D. 1046. The sense is: 'fleet (or shallow stream) of the Herlings,' or 'of the sons of Herla.' *Herle* occurs in A.S. as a prefix in several personal names.

19. Ford.

This well-known suffix occurs in Battisford, Blythford, Boxford, Bramford, Brockford, Carlford, Chillesford, Cosford, Cransford, Culford, Glemsford, Kentford, Lackford, Marlesford, Melford, Mutford, Orford, Playford, Poslingford, Samford, Stratford, Thetford (mostly in Norfolk), Ufford, Wangford, Wilford, and Yoxford.

Fords were once notable places, and it is remarkable how many of them gave names to the hundreds into which the county was divided; as will be noted below.

Battisford. Old spellings; *Batesford*, T.N.; *Batisforde*, Ipm., p. 258; *Battisforde*, Ipm., p. 48; *Betesfort*, D.B., p. 259. If we could depend upon the first vowel in the last form, this would be the same name as *Bettesford*, which occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 585, l. 13. But it is better to assume a form Battesford, which would mean 'Batt's ford.' The name Batt has not been hitherto noted, but the allied weak form Bata occurs in *Batancumb*, in Kemble's index. Cf. Batsford, Glouc.

Blythford or Blyford. Spelt *Blideforda*, D.B., p. 150. The usual modern Blyford is due to a Norman pronunciation, and is of rather early date. Compare *Blyford* in Ipm.; which probably refers to Blythford, though said to be in Norfolk. The sense is, of course, 'ford through the river Blithe.' In the Will of Eadwine, dated 1060, but extant in a late and ill-spelt copy, occurs the strange form Blitleford, which is probably an error for Blitheford; see Thorpe, Diplomat. p. 590, l. 15.

Boxford. Spelt *Boxford*, H.R.; Ipm. The sense is 'ford near the box-tree.' Fords are often named from trees that serve to mark the spot. Compare Boxford in Berks. The river Box is named from Boxford.

Bramford. Spelt *Bramford*, Ipm.; *Brunfort*, D.B., p. 2; *Branfort*, D.B., p. 17 (both incorrect forms). Copinger also gives the spellings *Braumforde* and *Bromford*.

Bram probably represents the prov. E. *brame*, a blackberry, though the name has not been recorded earlier than 1425 (see N.E.D. or E.D.D.); but the dimin. *brǽmel* occurs in A.S., and is now *the bramble*. I suppose that the name meant 'ford near the bramble.' Our *bramble* is etymologically connected with *broom*, which may account for the spelling Bromford (above) just as Bromfield means 'broom field.'

Brockford. Spelt *Brocford*, H.R.; T.N.; *Brockfort*, D.B., p. 161. The sense is 'brook-ford' or 'ford through the brook.' The long *o* in the A.S. *brōc*, a brook, is shortened in the stressed syllable before *cf*. Compare Bromfield for 'broom-field.'

Carlford. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Carlesford*, H.R.; but *Carleford* in D.B., p. 4. *Carleford* represents the A.S. *carla ford*, where *carla* is the gen. pl. of *carl*, a churl, a rustic, not an English word, but borrowed from the Norse *karl*, a churl, a peasant. *Carlesford* is an alternative form, from the gen. sing. *carles*. The sense is 'churls' ford' or 'churl's ford'; where churl means a rustic, a peasant.

Chillesford. Formerly *Cheselford*, H.R.; *Cesefortda*, D.B., p. 32 (with inserted *t* and lost *l*). Copinger also gives the forms *Chesilford*, *Chesylford*, *Chyselford*. All from the A.S. *ceosel*, *cisel*, M.E. *chisel*, gravel; showing that *Chilles* is a mere perversion of *Chisel*, as in Chiselhurst (Kent). The sense is 'gravel-ford' or 'gravelly ford.'

Cosford. The name of a hundred. Formerly *Corsford*, H.R.; *Corsforth*, Ipm.; *Corsforde*, D.B., p. 176. *Cors* was a river-name, also spelt *Corsa*. Kemble's index has *Cors-brōc*, '*Cors-brook*'; *Corsa-burne*, '*Corsa-bourne*'; *Corsan-strēam*,

'Corsa's stream,' which was also simply called *Corsa*. Hence also *Corsan-tūn*, or 'town on the Corsa'; see Birch, C.S. ii. 498. The sense is 'ford through the Cors.' The meaning of Cors is unknown; it looks like the Welsh *cors*, a fen; cf. *corsen*, a reed.

CRANSFORD. Spelt *Cranesford*, Ipm.; but *Craneforda*, D.B., p. 35. The sense is 'crane's ford.' Cf. Cranford (crane ford), Middlesex, and such names as Ox-ford, Swin-ford, Hors-ford. When an animal's name is prefixed to a ford, it roughly indicates the depth.

CULFORD. Spelt *Culeforda*, D.B., p. 167; *Culeforde* (dative) in Birch, C.S. iii. 219, in a late A.S. charter. We can hardly dissociate this name from the curious form *Culum-ford*, which occurs in Birch, C.S. ii. 432; which must be further compared with the expression seven lines below, viz. "on tha lace adun on *culum*; up of *culum* on tha ealdan lace." Middendorf (in his Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch, Halle, 1902, p. 33) explains *cūle* as a weak fem., meaning 'a hole, depression, pit,' like the E. Fries. *kūle*, Du. *kuil*. If this be right, *Culeforde* represents an earlier A.S. *Cūlanforda*, dat., meaning 'ford near the hole, or pit, or hollow.' And the above passage means: "along the stream down into the pits; up out of the pits to the old stream." *Culum* is the dat. pl.

GLEMSFORD. Spelt *Glemesford*, H.R.; and in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. Also *Clamesford* (with *C* for *G*), D.B., p. 203. Apparently, for A.S. *Glǣmesford, or 'ford of Glǣm.' But no such personal name is on record. See GLEMHAM.

KENTFORD. Spelt *Kenteford*, H.R.; *Kentford*, Ipm., p. 314. Short for Kennetford; 'ford through the river Kennet.' Kennet is a known river-name; known to be of Celtic origin; spelt *Cyneta* in A.S.; from a Celtic type *Cunetio. Cf. Kintbury in Berks.

LACKFORD. To the N.W. of Bury. "Lackford, the ford over the Lark, just where that parish [i.e. Lackford] joins Icklingham All Saints"; Raven's Suffolk; p. 64. Lackford

is also the name of a hundred; and it is remarkable that this hundred took its name from the place, as the latter is really in Thingoe hundred, and just outside Lackford hundred itself. Spelt *Lakford*, H.R.; *Lacforda*, D.B., p. 45. From the A.S. *lacu*, a running stream. [This word is often confused with the L. *lacus*, but the A.S. word cognate with *lacus* (and not borrowed from it) is *lagu*; and the E. *lake* is merely borrowed from the F. *lac*.] But the native word *lacu* is still extant in the prov. E. *lake*, explained in the E.D.D. as meaning 'a brook, rivulet, or stream,' very common in S.W. dialects. There is, in fact, *no* lake at Lackford, but there is a stream. The name means 'stream-ford,' or 'ford through the stream.' The modern name of the stream is the Lark; and it is much to be suspected that this singular name arose from the M.E. *lake* (from *lacu*), in which the *a* was pronounced as in *father* and in *lark* (if the *r* be suppressed). Another name for the Lark is (or was) the Burn, which means bourn or stream, and merely translates the A.S. *lacu*. I further suspect that the Linnet, which flows into the Lark at Bury, received its name from playful association with that of the larger river. Both names are comic.

Marlesford. Near Wickham Market. Spelt *Marleford*, Ipm.; *Marlesforda*, D.B., p. 11; *Merlesford*, D.B., pp. 12, 27. The sense is 'Mærl's ford' or 'Mærle's fond.' The name Mærl (or Mærle) may safely be said to be of Norse origin, as it is recorded in the compound Mærle-swegen, of which Searle gives four examples: and see Mærleswegen in Björkman. The suffix *swegen* is certainly Norse, as it is an A.S. spelling of O. Norse *sveinn* (E. *swain*).

Melford, often Long Melford. Spelt *Meleford*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Melaforda*, D.B., p. 157. There are several Milfords in other counties; but connexion with these is doubtful, as 'mill' would hardly appear as *Mela* in D.B. The prefixes *Mela-*, *Mele-* rather suggest connexion with the A.S. *Mælan*, gen. of *Mæla*, as in *Mælan beorh*, in Birch, C.S. ii. 291, l. 3. If this be right, the sense is 'Mæla's ford'; but it is only a guess.

The Mel- in Melton and Mellis appears to be quite distinct from that in Melford.

MUTFORD. This is the name of a hundred as well as of a village. Spelt *Mutford*, *Mutteford*, H.R.; *Mutford* and *Mutforda*, D.B., p. 5; but *Muthford* in Ipm., p. 26 (A.D. 1263), which is an important variant, and may be taken to represent an older form. It is not easy to find the ford referred to, but I think it must be near Mutford Hall, where a stream flows into the Hundred River, if I rightly understand the ordnance map. The name may signify as much, if we connect it with the A.S. *mūtha*, the mouth of a river, the place where one river meets another. If this be right, the sense is 'ford near the junction of the streams.' A similar explanation is given of Mitton in Worcestershire; viz. from the A.S. variant *mythe*, with the same sense. And the compound *mȳthford* is found in Birch, C.S. ii. 481, l. 21.

ORFORD. This also is the name of a former hundred, though no longer in use for that purpose. The place is on the N.W. bank of the river Alde. Formerly *Oreford*, H.R., T.N., Ipm. From the A.S. *ōra*, a border, edge, bank; meaning 'ford at the bank or shore.' Perhaps it was where the ordnance map marks the Quay and the Ferry. On one side of the Alde is the mainland; on the other, the King's Marshes. I find, in the Victoria Hist. of Suffolk, i. 57, that the river Alde was called the Ore below Aldeburgh; and at p. 29, I find "the Ore or Alde." This at once suggests that Orford was taken to mean the 'ford through the Ore'; but that this is the true origin may be doubted. It is much more likely that the lower part of the Alde was called the Ore because Orford suggested such alteration. The fact remains, that the A.S. *ōra* does not mean a river, but a river-bank or a brink of any kind.

PLAYFORD. N.E. of Ipswich, on the river Finn. Spelt *Playford*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Plegeforda*, D.B., p. 68. From the A.S. *plega*, 'play,' with, in poetry, the occasional sense of 'battle.' It may possibly commemorate the scene of a long-forgotten encounter.

POSLINGFORD. Copinger has collected 22 old forms of this

name, of which only 5 end in *ford*; the majority of 17 end in *worth*: and it is certain that, as in other cases, *ford* has been substituted for *worth*, which meant 'a farm' or 'a holding'; see the names under WORTH. Both Duxford and Pampisford, in Cambs., have suffered the same alteration. The old spellings most worth notice are: *Poselingwrth*, H.R., T.N.; *Poselingewrth*, T.N.; *Poslindewrda*, D.B., p. 182; *Poslingewrda*, D.B. 233. The existence of the form *Postlinges* in R.B., and of the present Postling in Kent, suggests that the full form was Postlinga-weorth, i.e. the 'farm (or holding) of the Postlings,' a tribe or family otherwise unknown.

SAMFORD. The name of an old hundred, and still in use. Spelt *Samford*, *Sandford*, H.R.; *Sanforde*, *Sampforde*, R.B.; *Sanfort*, D.B., p. 12. Evidently for 'sand-ford,' or ford with a sandy bottom. Cf. Sandford in Oxfordshire.

STRATFORD. Spelt *Straffort*, D.B., p. 56; *Stratfort*, D.B., p. 243. Like other Stratfords, it means a place where 'a street' or old road is continued beyond a stream. The present road from Marlesford to Farnham crosses the river Alde near Stratford St Andrew. And the road from Colchester to Ipswich crosses the Stour near Stratford St Mary.

THETFORD. Nearly all of this town is in Norfolk, but it is just on the border of the county, and is worth notice. It is situate on the Little Ouse, but a smaller river here joins the other, upon which modern ingenuity has bestowed the name of Thet! Here, as in other cases, the river is named from the town, and not otherwise. For the ingenious people who devised this name evidently did not know that the old name was really Thedford, or more strictly Theedford; for the *e* was once long. Indeed, the spelling *Theedford* occurs in the Liber de Hyda, p. 10. It is spelt *Thēodford* and *Thēotford* in the A.S. Chronicle; the more correct spelling *Thēodford* appearing in the Laud MS., under the dates 870, 1004, and 1010, and in the early Parker MS. under 870. The prefix Thēod means nation, people, race; also, people in general; and in composition it has the sense of general, popular. Hence the

sense is 'popular ford,' or ford in frequent use, on the road from Bury northwards. Isaac Taylor strangely denounces this explanation, but answers his own objection by saying that the German Dietfurt means 'ford of the people.' There is another Thetford in Cambridgeshire which has the misfortune of not possessing any Thet to derive itself from.

Ufford. Spelt *Ufford*, H.R., Ipm., R.B.; *Ufforda*, D.B., p. 89. *Uf-* is short for *Uffan*, as in *Uffan-lege* (dative) in Birch, C.S. ii. 175, last line; and *Uffan* is the gen. of *Uffa*. The sense is 'Uffa's ford.' Uffa is a known name, and distinct from the commoner Offa.

Wangford. In Blything hundred. Yet there was also a Wangford hundred, by confusion of two or three distinct names, as will be shown. And first, as to the place-name. There are really *two* such place-names; for Kelly says there is a Wangford near Southwold, and another near Brandon. This makes *three* Wangfords; and they seem to be all of different origin.

(1) Wangford in Blything hundred; to the N.W. of Southwold. Cf. *Wangford*, H.R.; *Wangeford*, Ipm. Spelt *Wankeforda* in D.B., p. 268, where it is associated with Frostenden. As *nk* occurs in Norman for the A.S. *ng*, the A.S. name must have been Wang-ford, just as it is now. The sense is obvious, when it is remembered that both the A.S. *wang* and the modern prov. E. *wang* (also *wong*) mean a flat field. The sense is 'the ford near the flat field.' "Wangford Green was all open common till 1817"; Raven, Hist. Suffolk, p. 31.

(2) Wangford in Lackford hundred; to the S.W. of Brandon. Probably so called by confusion with the former; but really for Wainford. I find *Wayneford* (Suffolk) in T.N.; and Copinger notes such spellings as *Waynford* and *Wainford*, though these may refer to the hundred. However this may be, I find in D.B., p. 156, a name which I read as *Wainforda*, though in the Victoria County History, at p. 494, it is printed *Wamford*, and explained as Wangford; being certainly in

Blything Hundred. I prefer my own reading, because *Wamford* is nonsense, and we cannot fairly connect such a form with Wangford no. 1 (above). The mistake of writing *m* for *in* is common, if a mistake it be. I also find *Wamford* in R.B., but suspect that also to be wrong, as there certainly was a Wainford *somewhere*, and we have not yet come to the hundred, which had no more claim to be called Wainford than it had to be called Wangford. I assume then that Wainford is here the right form; and the sense is obvious, viz. 'wain-ford,' or a ford through which a wain could pass, as being but shallow. The A.S. form would be *wægn-ford*. There is a Wainfleet in Lincs., and *fleet* means a shallow stream.

(3) Wangford hundred. The original name was neither Wangford nor Wainford, but occurs in D.B. in another form. Thus, at p. 4, it is *Wanneforda*, and so again at pp. 15, 109, 178; but *Waineforda* at pp. 35, 94; and *Wenefort* at p. 39. *Waineforda* and *Wenefort* may have been due to confusion with Wainford; but the prevalent form Wanneford requires an explanation for which neither Wangford (Norman Wankford) nor Wainford will suffice. I am inclined to accept the guess made in Raven's Hist. of Suffolk, at p. 3. He says that the Waveney was also called Wanney (which is likely), and suggests that "Wainford" here means "Wanneford." Of course the suggestion, as so presented, is impossible; no one ever heard of a *wain* being called a *wanney*. But 'Wanney-ford' may very well suggest an origin for the form Wanneford in D.B. As thus presented, the guess seems reasonable.

I therefore interpret the available evidence as showing that Wangford near Southwold was always so called, and meant 'ford near a *wang*'; and it was perhaps the oldest name of the three. Secondly, that Wangford near Brandon was at first called Wainford, or 'ford for a wain.' Thirdly, that Wanneford hundred alluded to a ford across the Waveney, which forms its northern boundary.

Wilford. The name of a hundred. There is no place with this name in Suffolk, though there is one in Notts. Spelt *Wyleford*, *Willeford*, H.R.; *Wileford*, D.B., pp. 76, 186. In the

Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, at p. 33, l. 3, we find: "de wileford"; and the Index says that it means "Wilford, co. Suffolk"; without indicating its exact locality. If we can rely upon the form Wileford, in which nearly all the authorities agree, perhaps we may explain it as 'Wili's ford'; see WILBY. The sense 'willow-ford' is not impossible, but is less likely.

YOXFORD. Spelt *Yokisford*, Ipm.; *Ioxford*, *Iokesford*, H.R.; *Gokesford*, D.B., p. 298; *Iokesford*, D.B., p. 105. The sense is 'Yoke's ford,' where Yoke is used, apparently, as a man's name or nickname. In the A.S. and Northumbrian version of the Gospels, the Lindisfarne MS. (Northumbrian) translates *coniugem* in Matt. i. 20 by *gebede* vel *geoc*, lit. 'bedfellow or yoke'; showing that *geoc* could have the sense of 'spouse.' The river at Yoxford is called the Yox; but the above spellings contradict the antiquity of its name. Some further light comes from comparing it with Yoxall in Staffs., former *Yokes-hale*, where *Yokes* can only be a gen. singular. At any rate, this second example shows that the form Yox is modern; and that the river-name is of no value. Yoxford means 'Yoke's ford'; and it is only the interpretation of Yoke that is doubtful. Another sense of *yoke* is pointed out by Duignan, who refers us to Birch, C.S. i. 584, l. 2, where *xvi gioc londes* means 'sixteen yokes of land,' showing that 'a *yoke* of land' denoted a definite portion of land; whence the use of prov. E. *yoke* to mean 'a small farm.' If a small farm had acquired the local name of *Yoke*, we might explain 'Yoke's ford' as meaning a ford in its immediate neighbourhood, or one used by the farm-servants. This is again one of the cases in which the literal sense is obvious, but the exact interpretation is unattainable, because we cannot tell to what the name refers.

20. GATE.

There are two distinct words of this form, viz. *gate*, a street, from the O. Norse *gata*, a street, road, way, and *gate*, a movable barrier, answering to the A.S. *geat*. The suffix is only found

in Burgate, Lidgate, and Plomesgate, which will be considered together.

Burgate. Spelt *Burgata*, D.B., pp. 276, 277. A.S. *Burhgat*, occurring in the dat. case as *burhgate*; Birch, C.S. i. 8, l. 4 from bottom; variant of *burhgeat*, a borough-gate. Of course the exact reason for the name is lost.

Lidgate. The birthplace of Lydgate the poet. Spelt *Lidgate*, H.R.; *Lydegate*, *Litgate*, Ipm.; *Litgata*, D.B., p. 309. For A.S. *hlidgeat*, explained as 'a swing-gate' in the Dict., but I suspect that it was rather a *clapper-gate*, i.e. an old-fashioned kind of stile, one end of which falls when pressed down, but rises again when the pressure is removed; cf. A.S. *hlid*, a lid of a box. The dat. *hlidgeate* occurs in Birch, A.S. ii. 284; spelt *hlidgate* in the same, p. 164.

Plomesgate. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Plumesgate*, H.R.; *Plumesgata*, D.B., p. 32. The exact origin of the name is necessarily lost. It is remarkable that the A.S. *plūme*, a plum, was feminine, with a genitive in *-an*; but here we have to deal with a masc. sb. **Plūm*, gen. **Plūmes*; whence the sense 'Plūm's gate.' The plum is referred to in the place-names Plumstead, Plumpton, and Plumtree.

21. Grave.

The A.S. *græf*, a grave, also means a ditch, a trench, a cutting or entrenchment. This suffix occurs in Gedgrave, Hargrave, Hengrave, Kesgrave, Palgrave, and Redgrave.

Gedgrave. The parish (says Kelly) is a new one. Gedgrave Hall lies to the S.W. of Orford, and near it are the extensive Gedgrave Marshes. Spelt *Gategrave*, H.R.; *Gatagraua*, D.B, p. 27; *Gategraua*, D.B., p. 93. Copinger also gives the spellings *Gadegrave*, *Gadgrave*, and *Gedgrave*. The original prefix was obviously *Gata-*, as in *Gata-ford*, *Gata-tūn*, *Gata-wīc*; all in Kemble's index. As Gatton is in Surrey, it is unlikely that Gata- is of Norse origin. It would therefore seem to be the

A.S. *gāta*, gen. pl. of *gāt*, a goat. The literal sense is 'burial-place of goats'; though *grave* might merely mean trench, or even enclosure. It is obviously impossible to learn the circumstances of the case.

HARGRAVE. Spelt *Haregrave*, Ipm.; *Haragraua*, D.B., p. 309. The A.S. form is *Haran-grafa*; in Birch, C.S. iii. 492, l. 15. Here *grafa* is a weak sb., closely related to *græf*, a grave, and no doubt had the same sense of trench. *Haran* is the gen. of *hara*, a hare. The sense is 'hare's trench'; or 'Hare's grave,' taking Hare as a man's name. We cannot tell.

HENGRAVE. Spelt *Hemgrave*, Ipm.; *Hemegrave*, H.R.; *Hemegretha*, D.B., p. 154. The last spelling seems to be due to some mistake. The exact form of the prefix is not recorded; but it may have been *Hēma. The word is not in the dictionaries, but is found as a suffix in some place-names; and it is a derivative of *hām*, a home. Thus Kemble's index has Niwen-hēma gemēro, or 'the boundaries of the dwellers in Newnham'; literally, 'the boundaries of the new-homers.' Hence a possible sense is 'grave of the dwellers in the home'; possibly 'a family burial-place.' We cannot ascertain the circumstances.

KESGRAVE. To the E. of Ipswich. Copinger records the early forms *Kessegrave* and *Kekesgrave*, of which the latter must be the older. Prof. Moorman shows that Kexmoor in the W. Riding was originally spelt Ketelsmore, and Kex is the natural contraction of Kekes. The name *Ketel* is Norse, originally spelt *Ketill*; and the occurrence of the hard *K* before the *e* is in itself an indication of Norse origin; since the A.S. *Ce* became *Che*. The name has been much corrupted, probably because the prefix was un-English. The successive changes must have been from Ketills or Ketels to Ketes; then to Kekes, Kex, and Kes. The original sense was probably 'Ketill's grave.'

PALGRAVE. Spelt *Palegraue*, H.R.; *Palegraua*, D.B., p. 161; *Palegrave* (in the dat. case), in Birch, C.S. iii. 314; in a grant

dated 962. Perhaps from the A.S. *pāl*, a pole, a pale, a stake; a word borrowed from the L. *pālus*. If so, the sense may be 'grave enclosed with palings.'

REDGRAVE. Spelt *Redgrave*, H.R. When we compare it with Redditch in Worcs., there seems to be no reason why it may not have meant 'red trench,' or a trench cut through red soil.

22. HALE, HALL.

The suffix *hale* is of much importance, as it is in common use in many counties, and frequently appears in disguised spelling, usually assuming the form of *hall*.

It has become *-all* in Aspall, and *-ale* in Kelsale; and has been changed into *-hall* in Benhall, Blaxhall, Buxhall, Ilketshall, Knettishall, Knodishall, Mildenhall, Peasenhall, Rickinghall, Ringshall, Spexhall, Uggeshall, and Westhall. The suffix in Foxhall was originally *-hole*, while that in Lawshall and Stradishall was *-sele*. But all the words that *now* end in *-hall*, *-all*, or *-ale*, will be taken together, for convenience. Not one of them originally ended in *-hall*; whereas fifteen of them once ended in *-hale*.

The O. Merc. *hale*, A.S. *hēale*, only appears in the dative case; the nom. ended in *h*, the O. Merc. form being *halh*, and the A.S. *healh*. *Halh* has given us the modern *haugh*, which is explained in the E.D.D. as meaning 'low-lying, level ground by the side of a river'; while the prov. E. *hale* (from the above dative case) is similarly defined as 'a piece of flat alluvial land by the side of a river.' The old sense of *halh* or *healh* seems to have been a corner, nook, or sheltered place; it seems safe to define it as 'a sheltered spot, beside a river'; perhaps we may call it 'a nook' for the sake of brevity.

ASPALL. Spelt *Aspenhalle*, Ipm.; *Espala*, D.B., p. 196; *Aspella*, D.B., p. 275; *Aspala*, D.B., p. 339. Copinger gives many spellings, of which the best are *Aspale*, *Asphale*, *Asphal*. The etymology is evidently from the A.S. *æsp*, an asp-tree or aspen-tree, and *hale*, as explained above. The variant *Aspenhalle*

is valuable, as giving *aspen*, which is really an adjectival form, made by adding *-en* (as in *gold-en*, *wood-en*) to the A.S. *æsp*. The sense is 'aspen-nook.'

BENHALL. Spelt *Benhall*, Ipm., p. 161; but *Benhale* earlier, Ipm., p. 121. D.B. has *Benhala*, pp. 57, 128; *Benehala*, pp. 57, 130; *Benenhala*, pp. 56, 130; *Benehalla*, p. 34. The right form, amongst these, is *Benenhala*; where *Benen* represents A.S. *Beonan*, gen. of *Beona*; a personal name occurring in *Beonanfeld*, in Kemble's index. The sense is 'Beona's nook.'

BLAXHALL. Spelt *Blakeshal*, H.R.; Ipm.; D.B. has *Blachessala*, pp. 31, 53; with *che* for *ke*, and *s* wrongly repeated; *Blaccheshala*, D.B., p. 53. Copinger also gives *Blacheshala*, *Blakeshale*. The prefix represents A.S. *Blæces*, gen. of *Blæc*, lit. 'black,' used as a personal name, like Black at the present day. The sense is 'Black's nook.'

BUXHALL. Spelt *Bukeshale*, R.B., T.N.; *Buckeshale*, T.N.; *Buckeshala*, D.B., p. 139. It appears as *Bucyshealæ*, in the dat. case, in Ælfflæd's Will; in Birch, C.S. iii. 602. *Bucys* is an inferior spelling of *Bucces*, gen. of *Bucc*, lit. 'a buck,' but here used as a man's name. The sense is 'Buck's nook.'

FOXHALL. To the E. of Ipswich, and S. of Kesgrave. There is also a Foxhall Hall, which is not tautological, since it stands for Foxhole Hall; as old spellings show. Spelt *Foxehole*, H.R.; *Foxehola*, D.B., p. 212. The form Foxe- shows that the prefix represents the A.S. gen. pl. *foxa*, 'of foxes'; and the whole word represents *foxa holu*, 'holes of foxes,' or 'foxholes,' which has been turned into 'foxhole,' by neglecting the pl. suffix *-u*.

ILKETSHALL. Spelt *Ilketeleshale*, H.R.; shortened to *Ilketeshale*, Ipm. D.B. has *Ilcheteleshala*, p. 40; shortened to *Ilcheteshala*, pp. 40, 151; with *che* for *ke*. From a Norse name, as the use of *ke* shows. The sense seems to be 'Ilketill's nook.' *Ketill* is very common in Norse names, or in names adapted from them; but I find no compound with the prefix *Il-*. There can hardly be any doubt that Ilketill is a reduced form of the known name Ulfketill; so that the original sense was really

'Ulfketill's nook.' Indeed, it is likely enough that the reference is to a famous Ulfeytel who was alderman of East Anglia, and inflicted a serious defeat upon the Danes in the year 1004; see the A.S. Chronicle. Nevertheless, his name was of Norse origin; Ulfcetel was a very common Norse name, and Björkman (p. 169) gives the shortened form Ulketel, for which D.B. has substituted Ilketel, spelt Ilchetel because D.B. has *che* for *ke* regularly.

KELSALE. Spelt *Keleshulle*, R.B. (wrongly); but *Keleshale*, H.R.; Ipm.; and *Keleshala*, D.B., p. 59. Copinger has many other forms, giving the prefix as *Cheles* (in Norman spelling, with *che* for *ke*), *Kales*, *Kelis*, *Keils*, *Kels* (very rarely with *ll*); so that the vowel was long. Perhaps the prefix was Cēoles, gen. of Cēol, a known name; for though Cēol would normally be palatalised to *Chele*, this process was sometimes arrested by Danish influence, as in the case of Kellington in the West Riding, which is from Cēolinga-tūn; see Prof. Moorman's explanation of this name. The very same thing seems to have occurred again in the case of Kelshall (Herts.), which has the same prefix, though the suffix *-hall* has there been substituted for 'hill'; see my Place-names of Herts., p. 34. Thus the name probably means 'Cēol's nook.'

KNETTISHALL. Also sometimes Knattishall, as in Philips' County Atlas. Kirby calls it Knattishall or Gnattshall. Spelt *Gnateshal*, T.N.; also *Ghenetessala*, D.B., p. 81, with *ss* for *sh*; *Gnedeshalla*, D.B., p. 174; *Gnedassala*, D.B., 336. The use of *a* or *e* in the first syllable, and the spelling with *gn*, suggest that the prefix was associated with the A.S. *gnættes*, gen. of *gnætt* or *gnæt*, a gnat; but it probably represents the Norse name *Knöttr* (gen. *Knattar*), given by Rygh. If so, the sense is 'Knöttr's nook.' The English turned Knattar into Knattes.

KNODISHALL. Spelt *Knoteshal*, H.R.; *Cnotesheala*, D.B., p. 106; *Chenotessala*, D.B., p. 116 (with *Chen* for *Kn*, and *ss* for *sh*). Also *Knoteshalle*, Ipm. Apparently from a personal name *Cnōt; but I can only find Cnott, with a short vowel, as

in *Cnottis rōde*, in Kemble, vi. 217, l. 10. This would give us the sense of 'Cnott's nook,' or 'Knott's nook.' Prof. Moorman refers Knottingley in the W. Riding to an O. Norse personal name *Knottr*; but the form given by Rygh is *Knöttr* (gen. *Knattar*); as in Knettishall above.

Lawshall. In this case, the evidence shows that the suffix was neither *hall* nor *hale*, but *sele*. This *sele* is the A.S. *sele*, m. (gen. *seles*), also found as *sæl*, n. (gen. *sæles*, *seles*), a habitation, dwelling-place, house. The form in D.B. is *Lawesselam*, p. 196. Copinger gives many other forms (without noting the sources); the chief are *Lausel*, *Lausele*, *Lawcell*, *Lawsele*, *Lawsell*. The word appears to be a compound sb.; and, as *aw* usually corresponds to an A.S. *ag*, it could easily be derived from the A.S. *lagu*, a lake, and *sele*, a dwelling; meaning 'a dwelling-place near a lake.' If this be so, the situation of this dwelling-place would not be near the present Hall, but near the Hall in Chadacre Park, about a mile to the S.W., where a small lake is marked upon the ordnance map, as being an expansion of the Chad Brook. See *lay*, sb. (1), by-form *law*, a lake, a pool, in the N.E.D.

Mildenhall. Spelt *Mildenhal*, H.R.; miswritten *Mitdenehalla*, B.D., p. 16. But fortunately, the true dat. form *Mildenhale* occurs in a charter of Edward the Confessor; see Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 418, l. 13. *Milden* is a late spelling of *Mildan*, gen. of *Milda*, which represents some name beginning with Mild, such as Mildred, which was formerly masculine. The sense is 'Milda's nook.' For the prefix, cf. *Mildan-hald*; Birch, C.S. i. 452.

Peasenhall. Spelt *Pesenhale*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Pesenhala*, D.B., p. 102; *Pisehalla*, D.B., p. 64. The prefix is the A.S. *pisena*, gen. of *pisan*, which is the pl. of *pisa*, a pea. This pl. *pisan* became *pesen* in Mid. Eng., and *peasen* in the sixteenth century. The sense is 'peas-nook'; or a sheltered spot where peas were grown. Or the prefix may represent *pisan-*, combining form of *pisa* when forming a compound.

RICKINGHALL. Spelt *Rykinghale*, Ipm. D.B. has *Rikinchala*, p. 95; *Richingehala*, p. 161; *Rikinghala*, p. 58. From A.S. *Rīcinga*, which occurs in *Rīcinga-ham*, in Kemble's index. *Rīcinga* is the gen. pl. of *Rīcing*, a son of Rīca. The sense is 'nook of the sons (or family) of Rīca.'

RINGSHALL. Spelt *Ringeshale*, Ipm.; *Ringeshal*, T.N.; *Ringeshala*, D.B., p. 249. The prefix is the A.S. *Hringes*, gen. of *Hring* (borrowed from the O. Norse *Hringr*), and the sense is 'Hringr's nook.' See RINGSFIELD.

SPEXHALL. Copinger gives as old spellings such forms as *Speccyshale*, *Spectyshale* (obvious error for *Speccyshale*), *Spetteshale* (error for *Specceshale*), *Speckshall*, &c. The suffix is clearly *hale*. The prefix can only take the form of Specces, gen. of an A.S. *Specc, which is unknown. If it were a name, we should then have 'Speck's nook' as the sense. The E.D.D. says that *Speck* is the Norf. word for a wood-pecker, which would represent an A.S. **specc*, and would be cognate with the G. *Spech-t*. Kluge says that the E. *speight*, a wood-pecker, is borrowed from German, but thinks that the G. *Specht* may be allied to the A.S. *specca*, a speck; with reference to the parti-coloured plumage of the bird. My guess is that the name means 'wood-pecker's nook.' Compare Yaxley, i.e. 'cuckoo's lea.'

STRADISHALL. Here the suffix is not *hale*, but *sele*, a dwelling-place; as in LAWSHALL (above). D.B. has *Stratesella*, p. 233. Copinger gives such forms as *Stradesel*, *Stradesele*, *Stradesyll*; and H.R. has *Stratesele*, *Strattesele*. I suppose the original form to have been the A.S. *strāt-sele*, i.e. 'dwelling near a street' or old road. The A.S. *strāt* is frequently represented by Strat- in Strattons and Stratfords. The medial *-is-* or *-es-* was easily introduced as a fictitious genitive suffix, as it is common in many place-names, and was suggested by the *s* in the suffix *-sele*. About a mile and a half from the present Stradishall church we find a Wickham *Street* marked on the ordnance map, which leads directly to Wickhambrook. The present road from Stradishall to Clare passes through a

place where the map has a Chilton *Street*; and a road joining Wickham Street to Chilton Street would pass through or near Stradishall.

Uggeshall. Spelt *Huggethale*, error for *Uggec(e)hale*, T.N. D.B. has *Uggiceheala*, p. 38: *Wggessala*, p. 337; *Ulkesala*, p. 102. All these are bad spellings, but they lead back to the form *Ugges-hale*, evidently compounded of the suffix *hale* and of *Ugges*, gen. of *Ugg*, not an English name, but adapted from the Dan. Uggi, allied to the Icel. *uggr*, fear, which has given us the adj. *ugly*. The sense is 'Uggi's nook.' (Uggr is one of the names of the god Odin in the Edda.)

Westhall. Spelt *Westhale*, H.R.; R.B. The sense is simply 'west nook.'

23. Ham.

This is an extremely common suffix, and arises from two distinct sources, which cannot in many cases be separated; so that all the names in *-ham* must be considered together. The modern *-ham* represents either (1) A.S. *hām*, a home, or village, or village community, shortened to *hăm* in an unstressed position; or (2) the A.S. *hamm*, also *ham*, meaning an 'enclosure' or 'a place fenced in,' connected with the modern English *to hem in*. In the few cases in which the ultimate origin can be ascertained, the fact will be noted.

This common suffix occurs in the following, viz. Akenham, Aldham, Aldringham, Badingham, Barham, Barnham, Barningham, Barsham, Baylham, Blakenham, Brantham, Brettenham, Bucklesham, Cavenham, Chattisham, Coddenham, Cretingham, Dalham, Darsham, Debenham, Denham, (Santon) Downham, Elmham, Fakenham, Falkenham, Farnham, Felsham, Finningham, Fornham, Framlingham, Freckenham, Gisleham, Gislingham, Glemham, Helmingham, Henham, Heveningham, Higham, Hintlesham, Hitcham, Horham, Icklingham, Ingham, Langham, Lavenham, Layham, Letheringham, Martlesham, Mendham, Mendlesham, Mettingham, Needham Market, Pakenham, Parham, Redisham, Rendham, Rendlesham, Rougham, Saxham,

Saxmundham, Shottisham, Soham, Somersham, Stonham, Syleham, Thelnetham, Thornham, Tuddenham, Walsham, Wattisham, Wenham, Whelnetham, Wickham Market, Wickhambrook, Willingham, Willisham, Witnesham, Worlingham, Wortham, and Wrentham; more than eighty in number.

AKENHAM. Ill spelt *Acreham*, D.B., p. 17. *Aken* represents the A.S. *Acan*, gen. of *Aca*, a known name. Cf. *Acan-tūn*, in Birch, iii. 603. We may generally take *-ham* to mean 'home' after a personal name in the genitive, unless there is evidence to the contrary. The probable sense is 'Aca's home.'

ALDHAM. Spelt *Aldham*, Ipm.; *Aldeham*, D.B., p. 14. The *e* in *Alde-* indicates the use of the definite form of the adjective. For O. Merc. *se alda ham*, nom., or *æt thām aldan hāme*, dative. It means 'the old home.'

ALDRINGHAM. Spelt *Aldringham*, H.R.; but *Alrincham* in D.B., p. 59. The A.S. personal name *Eallrinc* occurs in Birch, C.S. ii. 45 as a witness; answering to O. Merc. *Allrinc*. The gen. suffix *-es* has been lost, as occasionally happens. The sense is 'Allrinc's home.'

BADINGHAM, or BADDINGHAM. Near Framlingham. Spelt *Badingham*, H.R.; *Badincham*, D.B., p. 96. The name *Bada* occurs in the Liber Vitæ of Durham, and elsewhere. The sense is 'home of the Badings,' or 'of the sons of Bada.' (A.S. *Badinga hām.*) Compare BADLEY, BADWELL.

BARHAM. Spelt *Bergham*, Ipm., p. 241; *Berham*, D.B., p. 236; *Bercham*, p. 49. The prefix is the O. Merc. *berh*, A.S. *beorh*, a hill, a barrow; and the suffix is, in this case, probably *hamm*, an enclosure. The sense is 'hill-enclosure'; or 'enclosure beside a hill.' There is a small hill near it. (N.B. Barham, Kent, is A.S. *Beoraham.*)

BARNHAM. Spelt *Bernham*, T.N.; D.B., p. 37. From A.S, *bern*, *berern*, a barn. The sense is 'barn-enclosure'; or 'enclosure with a barn.'

BARNINGHAM. Spelt *Berningham*, R.B.; D.B., p. 170: *Berningcham*, D.B., p. 147. For O. Merc. *Berninga hām*, A.S. *Beoringa hām*. The sense is 'home of the Bernings' (A.S. Beornings), or 'of the sons of Bern' (A.S. Beorn).

BARSHAM. Spelt *Barsham*, T.N.; *Barsham*, D.B., p. 94; *Bersham*, D.B., pp. 109, 110. From the A.S. *Bære*, gen. *Bæres*. The sense is 'Bære's home.' Bære is a known name.

BAYLHAM. Spelt *Beilham*, Ipm.; *Beylham*, Ipm.; *Baylham*, Ipm.; *Beleham*, D.B., p. 112. The diphthong *ei* suggests a Scandinavian origin; and as the Mid. E. *slei*, 'sly,' is from the O. Norse *slœgr* (in Zoega's O. Icel. Dict.), so I suppose *beil-* may be from the O. Icel. *bœli*, a farm, dwelling. The sense may be 'farm-enclosure.'

BLAKENHAM. Spelt *Blakenham*, H.R.; *Blacheham*, D.B., p. 142 (with *che* for *ken*). The corresponding A.S. form is *Blacan-hām*, i.e. 'Blaca's home.' Blaca is a known name.

BRANTHAM. Spelt *Brantham*, Ipm.; D.B., p. 31; *Brantestuna*, D.B., p. 30. Copinger also gives the spelling *Brentham*. It seems to be derived directly from the A.S. *brant*, 'steep'; if so, the sense is 'the steep enclosure,' or 'enclosure near the steep slope.'

BRETTENHAM. Spelt *Bretenham*, H.R.; T.N.; Ipm.; *Bretham*, D.B., p. 22; *Bretenhama*, D.B., p. 177. Not to be connected with the Britons; because the A.S. *Brytt*, a Briton, is a strong sb., with the gen. sing. *Bryttes* and gen. pl. *Brytta* (without *n*). The origin is rather from the A.S. *brettan*, *bryttan*, gen. of *bretta*, *brytta*, mostly in the sense of 'lord,' or 'prince'; though the literal meaning is 'distributor'; cf. Icel. *bryti*, a steward. The probable meaning is 'prince's home.' It is clear that Brettenham suggested the name of Breton (as it is spelt in Kirby, p. 270) for the river that rises near it, though the name is now shortened to Bret, which disguises the connexion.

BUCKLESHAM. Spelt *Bokelesham*, H.R.; *Bukelesham*, D.B., p. 23. These forms suggest an A.S. form *Bucles (or *Buccles) hām, i.e. *Bucel's (or *Buccel's) home; but the forms Bucel,

Buccel are not recorded. They look like a diminutive from the known name Bucca. Compare Buckle Brook, Lancs.

CAVENHAM. "For shortness called Canham"; Kirby (1813). Spelt *Cauenham*, H.R.; Ipm. (printed *Cavenham*); *Kauanaham*, D.B., p. 245, where it is apparently miswritten as *Kanauaham*. The third *a* is superfluous, and may have been due to confusion with *Kauanadis*, which is the misspelling in D.B., at p. 335, of *Kauanedis* (Cavendish). The right form is Cauanham, where *Cauan* is the gen. of *Caua* (in Searle's Onomasticon), which should rather be written as *Cafa*; for *f* is the right symbol for *v* between two vowels. The sense is 'Cafa's home.' See CAVENDISH.

CHATTISHAM. Spelt *Chatisham*, H.R.; *Chatesham*, Ipm.; *Cetessam*, D.B., p. 14. *Chates* represents an A.S. **Ceattes*, gen. of **Ceatt*. This exact form does not occur; but the corresponding weak form *Ceatta* is found in *Ceattan-brōc*; in Kemble's index. The sense is 'Ceatt's home'; or 'Ceat's home.' Compare Chettisham, Cambs.

CODDENHAM. Spelt *Codenham*, Ipm.; D.B., pp. 9, 115. For A.S. *Codan hām*, where *Codan* is the gen. of *Coda*, as in *Codan-ford*, *Codan-clibe* (Birch, C.S. i. 295). The sense is 'Coda's home.' See COTTON.

CRETINGHAM. Spelt *Creting*, H.R.; *Cretinges*, T.N.; *Gretingaham* (for *Cretingaham*), D.B., pp. 39, 305. It seems safest to refer these forms to the A.S. *Cretta*, as this is a known name. Then *Creting* (H.R.) would represent the gen. pl. *Crettinga*, 'of the sons of Cretta'; *Cretinges* (T.N.) would represent the nom. pl. *Crettingas*; and the place-name will mean 'home of the sons (or family) of Cretta.'

DALHAM. Spelt *Dalham*, H.R.; R.B.; D.B.; p. 219; Dælham, Birch, C.S. iii. 612, last line. From A.S. *dæl*, a dale. The sense is 'dale-enclosure,' or 'enclosure in the dale.' 'Dale-home' is less probable; but quite possible.

DARSHAM. Spelt *Dersham*, Ipm.; H.R.; D.B. p. 4; *Dersam*,

D.B., p. 24; *Diresham*, D.B., p. 108. For A.S. Dēores hām; i.e. 'Dēor's home.' The literal sense of *dēor* is 'deer.'

DEBENHAM. Spelt *Debeham*, H.R.; R.B.; *Depham*, D.B., p. 192; *Depbeham*, on the same page; *Depbenham*, D.B., pp. 49, 50. Also *Depham*, Ipm.; *Debham*, in a late copy of a charter, in Kemble, iv. 245.

The spellings *Depbenham*, *Depbeham* are only variants of *Debbenham*, *Debbeham*, as shown by the D.B. spelling of *Upbestuna* for Ubbeston. The original form was certainly the adj. *dēop*, 'deep,' in the dative case *dēopan*; in the phrase *æt thām dēopan hamme*, 'at the deep enclosure'; or, less probably, *æt thām dēopan hāme*, 'at the deep home.' Under the stress, the *ēo* was shortened, giving Deppenham and Debbenham; Depham and Debham resulted immediately from the nom. *dēop hamm* (or *hām*). There is a Deopham in Norfolk; and the modern Deptford is spelt Depeford in Chaucer; meaning 'deep ford.'

It follows that it is wholly impossible even to imagine that Debenham took its name from the river Deben; on the contrary, the river was named from the place, because it there takes its rise. "The country round this Town is very deep and dirty, but the Town itself is clean, standing on a rising Hill"; Kirby.

DENHAM. There are two places of this name; one near Bury, and one near Eye (Kelly). Spelt *Denham*, H.R.; T.N.; D.B., p. 59; *Deneham*, Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 403. In the last, the prefix Dene- represents the A.S. *denu*, a valley, rather than *Dena*, 'of the Danes.' The sense may well be 'valley-enclosure,' or 'enclosure in the valley.'

DOWNHAM, or SANTON DOWNHAM, as distinguished from Santon in Norfolk, on the other side of the Little Ouse (Kelly). The soil is of light sand; and Santon means Sand-town. *Dunham*, D.B., pp. 157, 203. There is another Downham in Norfolk, at some distance to the N.W. Downham is probably the A.S. *Dūn-ham* (=*Dūn-hamm*), i.e. 'hill-enclosure.' Kemble and Thorpe mark the *a* in *ham* as long, but without authority;

according to Thorpe, at pp. 383, 422, and 424 of his Diplomatarium, the MS. has '*Dunham*' in each passage; and all the passages occur in quite late charters. Were the *a* long (which I doubt) the sense would be 'hill-home.'

ELMHAM. The South Elmhams are parishes in the Northern division of the county; viz. South E. All Saints, South E. St George, St James, St Margaret, St Michael, and St Peter. Spelt *Elmham*, H.R.; T.N.; *Elmeham*, D.B., p. 94. The sense is 'enclosure (or home) near the elm.'

FAKENHAM. Spelt *Fakeham*, R.B., T.N.; *Fachenham*, D.B., p. 174; *Fakenham*, in a late copy of an A.S. document, in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 594. The prefix represents an A.S. *Facan, gen. of *Faca; cf. the recorded names Fac-ualdus and Facca. The sense is 'Faca's home' or 'enclosure.'

FALKENHAM. Spelt *Falkeham*, T.N.; *Faltenham*, error for *Falcenham*, D.B., p. 120; cf. Falchenham in Birch, C.S. iii. 659. Nearly the same name as that of Fawkham, Kent, which appears in a Latin charter as *Falcheham*, in Birch, C.S. iii. 375 (l. 6 from bottom); but in a better A.S. charter as *Fealcna-ham*, in the same, iii. 374, l. 5. Here *Fealcna* must be the gen. pl. of *Fealca*, which can only be the L. *falco*, a falcon, done into English spelling; whence also the gen. sing. *Fealcan*. This A.S. form is otherwise unknown, but it may have been in occasional use, as the Lat. pl. *falcones* appears in the Epinal and Corpus Glossaries, both of the eighth century. The sense is 'the enclosure of the falcon'; or 'Falcon's enclosure.' Compare HAWKEDON, above.

FARNHAM. Spelt *Farnham*, D.B., p. 72: *Ferneham*, D.B., p. 128. The A.S. form is Fearnham, in Kemble's index. The sense is, probably, 'fern-enclosure' rather than 'fern-home.'

FELSHAM. Spelt *Felisham*, Ipm.; *Fealsham*, D.B., p. 164. Copinger also notes the form *Falesham*. The prefix answers to the A.S. *Fǣles*, which appears in *Fǣles-græfe*, in Birch, iii. 587, l. 3 from bottom (twice). The nom. case is *Fǣle*; cf. A.S. *fǣle*, adj., faithful, good. The sense is 'Fǣle's home.'

FINNINGHAM. Spelt *Feningham*, Ipm.; *Finingaham*, D.B., p. 58. Copinger also gives *Finingham*. The spelling with *eo* ought to be significant, as *eo* usually becomes *in*; but not conversely; and *fen-ing* might mean a fen-man. The sense is either 'home of the fen-men,' or 'home of the sons of Finn.' But in the latter case we should expect to find *nn* in the old spellings.

FORNHAM. There are three places of this name near together, viz. F. All-Saints, F. St Martin, and F. St Geneviève. Spelt *Fornham*, Ipm.: D.B., p. 162. *Forna* was a somewhat common name, as there are half-a-dozen examples of it; we may conclude that the original form was *Fornanhām*, i.e. 'Forna's home.' The syllable *an* would be very easily lost, owing to the repetition of *n*. Rygh gives *Forni* as a Norse name; whence (says Björkman) the A.S. *Forna* was borrowed.

FRAMLINGHAM. Spelt *Framlingham*, Ipm.; *Framelingham*, H.R.; *Framelingham*, D.B., p. 44; *Framelingaham*, D.B., pp. 90, 297. The last suggests 'home of the Framelings'; but whether that is quite the correct form, we have no further evidence.

FRECKENHAM. Spelt *Frekenham*, H.R.; *Frakenaham*, D.B., p. 201. Also *Frekeham* (twice) in a twelfth century copy of an A.S. charter originally dated 895; in Birch, C.S. ii. 212, 213. We also find *Frecan-thorn* in Birch, C.S. ii. 270. *Frecan* is the gen. of *freca*, a bold man, a warrior. The form in D.B. suggests the gen. pl. *frecena*, as if it were 'home of the warriors'; rather than the gen. sing. *frecan*, which would give 'home of the warrior.' Cf. the patronymic Fræcing; Birch, C.S. i. 474.

GISLEHAM. Spelt *Gisleham*, D.B., pp. 5, 43. The form *Gīslan-ford* occurs in an A.S. charter; Birch, C.S. iii. 588. Here *Gīslan* is the gen. of *Gīsla*; compare the names *Gīsl-beald*, *Gīslbeorht*, &c. But *Gīsli* (says Rygh) was a common Norse name, and *Gisle-* well represents its genitive *Gīsla*; moreover the Norse initial *g* remained hard, whilst the A.S. *g* usually became *y* and then disappeared. The sense is 'Gīsli's home.'

GISLINGHAM. Spelt *Gyslyngham*, H.R.; *Gislingaham*, D.B., p. 11; *Gislingheham*, D.B., p. 83. The sense is 'home of the Gīslings,' or 'of the sons of Gīsli.' See the preceding name.

GLEMHAM. Spelt *Glemham*, Ipm.; D.B., p. 245; *Gliemham*, D.B., pp. 33, 129; *Glaimham*, D.B., p. 56. The forms *Gliem-*, *Glaim-*, show that the vowel was formerly long. Perhaps for *Glǣm-hamm; from the A.S. *glæm*, gleam, brightness. This suggests the sense 'gleam-enclosure'; as if it were in a sunny situation. Cf. GLEMSFORD. This solution is, of course, conjectural. The name of the river Glem is probably unoriginal; for otherwise, we should expect the form Glemford. Glemham and Glemsford are a long way apart.

HELMINGHAM. So spelt in Ipm., T.N.; *Helmingheham*, D.B., p. 22. Compare *Helmyngton* in Kemble's index. For A.S. *Helminga-hām*; 'home of the Helmings,' or 'of the sons of Helm.'

HENHAM. Near Wangford. So spelt in H.R., T.N.; also *Heneham*, T.N. Copinger also gives *Heenham*. Spelt *Henham*, D.B., p. 268. The dat. case *Hēan-hammæ* occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 649. Here *hēan* is the dat. of *hēah*, high; and *hammæ* is the dat. of *hamm*. The sense is 'at the high enclosure.' See HIGHAM.

HEVENINGHAM. To the S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Heveningham*, Ipm.; *Heueningham*, H.R.; *Heueniggeham*, D.B., p. 107. The form *Hefan-croft* occurs in Kemble's index; where *Hefan* is the gen. of *Hefa*, a known name. Thus the A.S. form would be *Hefaninga-hām, i.e. 'home of the Hefanings' or 'of the sons of Hefa.'

HIGHAM. Near the Stour, to the W. of E. Bergholt. Spelt *Heham*, Ipm.; *Heyham*, H.R.; *Heiham*, D.B., p. 285. A charter relating to Higham (Kent) is endorsed 'boc to héh-ham' in a hand of the eleventh century; Birch, C.S., i. 301. *Hēh* is the O. Merc. form of A.S. *hēah*, high. The sense is 'high enclosure.' The dat. case occurs in HENHAM.

HINTLESHAM. Spelt *Hyntlesham*, Ipm.; *Hintlesham*, T.N.; D.B., p. 17; and in a late A.S. charter, in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 569. Also *Hintelesham*, R.B., H.R.; *Hentlesham*, *Huntlesham*, T.N. The variation in the sound of the first vowel, which appears as *y*, *i*, *e*, and *u*, can be accounted for if we assume it to have been originally *y*. Hence the sense is 'home of Hyntel'; where Hyntel is a name not yet recorded. But it is a regular diminutive of A.S. Hunta, which would give *Huntila, *Hyntel.

HITCHAM. Spelt *Hicham*, Ipm.; *Hecham*, H.R.; D.B., p. 208; *Hetcham*, D.B., p. 221. The dat. *Hecan-īge* occurs in an A.S. charter; Kemble, C.D., vi. 221; and the name *Heca* occurs again in the A.S. Chronicle. The A.S. form would be *Hecanhām*, i.e. 'home of Heca.' Copinger records the spelling *Heacham*; so that Heacham (Norf.) is the same name.

HORHAM. Spelt *Horham*, H.R.; *Horam*, D.B., p. 97. The spelling Horham occurs in Bp Theodred's Will; see Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 513. From the A.S. *horu*, mud. The sense is 'mud-enclosure,' or 'muddy enclosure.' The same prefix occurs in Horbury and Horton, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

ICKLINGHAM. Spelt *Ikelingham*, H.R.; T.N.; *Ecclingaham*, D.B., pp. 16, 271. The prefix is the same as in Ickleton, formerly Icklington, Cambs.; see the A.S. spelling Icelingtūn in Ælfhelm's Will; in Birch, C.S., ii. 630. The sense is 'home of the Iclings' or 'of the sons of Icel.' Icel and Iceling (of which Icling is an abbreviation) both occur in the A.S. Chronicle. The *Iclingas* or Iclings were a Mercian family. See my accounts of Ickleford, Cambs., and Icleford, Herts. Of course none of these names is in any way connected with the Icenhild Way, as the antiquaries so often delight in saying, in contempt of phonetic considerations. Sometimes they invoke the Iceni!

INGHAM. Spelt *Yngeham*, R.B.; *Ingham*, D.B., p. 167; *Incham*, D.B., p. 135. In an Oxfordshire charter, dated 880, there is mention of "Ingheāma gemāere," or 'boundary of the men of Ingheām'; where the occurrence of *ā* shows that the *a* in *ham* was long, and the sense 'home.' Ingheām, variant of

Inghām, is a compound word, and the prefix *ing* represents the O. Norse *eng*, a meadow; as in Ingbirchworth in the W. Riding of Yorkshire. The prefix is certainly Norse; we do not find any trace of it in such counties as Beds., Berks., Cambs., Herts., Hunts., which show scarcely any sign of Scandinavian influence. (Inkpen, Berks., means 'Inga's pen,' where Inga is a personal name.) The sense of Ingham is 'meadow-home.' There is another Ingham in Norfolk, and a third in Lincs.

Langham. Four miles N. [by W.] of Elmswell station (Kelly). Spelt *Langeham*, R.B.; *Langham*, D.B., p. 173. I suppose it means 'long enclosure'; from the A.S. *lang*, long.

Lavenham. Spelt *Lauenham*, H.R.; D.B., pp. 149, 275; *Lauanham*, in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 521, l. 2. Here *Lauan* represents the A.S. *Lafan*, gen. of *Lafa*, a name recorded in the Liber Vitae of Durham. The sense is 'Lafa's home.' Often shortened to Lanham, and actually spelt Lanam by Skelton, in his Why Come ye nat to Courte, l. 930. Dyce wrongly explains it as meaning Langham (Essex).

Layham.. To the S. of Hadleigh. Spelt *Leyham*, T.N.; H.R.; Ipm.; *Leiham*, D.B., p. 246. But it is spelt *Hligham* (in connexion with Hadleigh) in Ælfflæd's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 526, l. 10. I cannot explain this form *hlīg*, in which the final *g* was, however, a mere glide, except by connecting it with the O. Friesic *hlī*, O. Norse *hlȳ*, warmth, Dan. *ly*, shelter, cover, and the O.N. *hlȳr*, warm, A.S. *hlēow*, shelter, protection; prov. E. *lew*, shelter, and E. *lee*. Cf. A.S. *hlȳwan*, to keep warm; in Napier's Glosses, i. 252. The modern form also presents difficulty; there may have been confusion with the verb *to lay*. See *Lay*, verb, in the E.D.D., sect. 24; where *lay* is given as a sb., meaning 'shelter for wild fowl.' There is a probability that the right sense is 'sheltered enclosure'; with reference to protection from cold.

Letheringham. Spelt *Letheringham*, Ipm.; *Letheringaham*, D.B., p. 216; *Ledringaham*, D.B., p. 135. I think the A.S. form of the prefix must have been *Lēoderinga*, gen. pl. of *Lēodering*, for Lēod(h)er-ing, i.e. son of *Lēod-here*, a known name, formed from two very common elements. If so, the sense

is 'home (or enclosure) of the sons of Lēodhere.' Compare Letheringsett, Norf.

MARTLESHAM. To the S.W. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Marclesham* (with *c* for *t*), Ipm., p. 218; but *Merlesham* (without *t*), D.B., p. 287, which can hardly be right. Copinger also gives the forms *Martelisham, Marthelisham, Martilsham, Mertlesham, Mertlisham*; all from a base *Mart-, Marth-, Mert-*. The only name with a similar base is Mart-ley, Worc.; and the only Teutonic word at all resembling this is the A.S. *mearth*, a marten; O. Norse *mörðr*. A base *Mart- might give a dimin. *Mertila, A.S. *Mertel; whence we might obtain the sense of 'Mertel's home.' But we have no sufficient evidence of this; so that the name remains unsolved.

MENDHAM. On the Waveney; to the S.W. of Bungay. So spelt in T.N.; R.B.; Ipm.; D.B., p. 175; also in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will, in Thorpe, Diplomat, p. 513; and *Myndham*, on the same page; also *Myndaham*, Birch, iii. 210, l. 17; see below.

MENDLESHAM. Spelt *Mendlesham*, R.B.; *Mendelisham*, Ipm., p. 8. D.B. has the forms *Melnessam*, p. 10; *Munlesham*, p. 11; *Mundlesham*, same page. The variation of the vowel, from *e* to *u*, suggests that the original form had the A.S. *y*, and that the prefix represents an A.S. **Myndel*, formed from an earlier **Mund-il*, due to adding the dimin. suffix *-il* to the A.S. *Mund*. Cf. G. *mündel*, a pupil. Both *Mund* and *Munda* occur as A.S. personal names. If this be right, the original sense was 'Myndel's home' or 'Myndel's enclosure.' And a possible sense of MENDHAM (above) is 'Mynda's home' or 'Mynda's enclosure'; where *Mynda is from a stem **Mund-jon-*, formed, in the usual way, as a weak masculine; from the base *Mund*.

METTINGHAM. E. by N. from Bungay. Spelt *Metingham*, H.R.; R.B.; *Metingaham*, D.B., p. 40. The last form implies 'the home (or enclosure) of the sons of Mǣte'; supposing the A.S. adj. *mǣte* to be used as a proper name. The usual sense of *mǣte* is 'moderate, small, poor,' which would easily become an epithet and give a name. Cf. the form Mǣtelm (for *Mǣthelm) in Birch, C.S., ii. 469, l. 20.

NEEDHAM. Spelt *Nedham*, H.R. Copinger also records the form *Nedeham*. Cf. A.S. *nēod, nīed*, need, necessity; used in numerous compounds. The sense is 'a home in need,' a home which one is driven to occupy; a place of refuge.

PAKENHAM. Spelt *Pakenham*, Ipm.; *Pachenham* (with *che* for *ke*), D.B., p. 162. Also *Pakenham*, in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 514. The form implies an A.S. *Pacan, gen. of *Paca; a name not otherwise known; but also required to explain PAKEFIELD. The sense is 'home (or enclosure) of Paca.'

PARHAM. Spelt *Parham*, Ipm., p. 161; *Perreham*, D.B., pp. 9, 27. Copinger gives *Parkham* as a variant, which has the same sense. For *park* (F. *parc*) goes back to a Teut. form **parr-uc* (A.S. *pearr-oc*), where *-uc* is a dimin. suffix; from an older form **parr*, which doubtless meant 'an enclosure.' Cf. prov. E. *par*, an enclosed place for domestic animals; from the verb *parren*, to enclose or bar in. The pp. *parred*, confined, occurs in 1400, and represents an unrecorded A.S. **pearran*, or **parrian*, which I take to be a shortened form of A.S. *sparrian*, to bar in or fasten in with *spars* or bars. Thus Parham properly signifies 'an enclosure made with bars,' or 'a railed-in enclosure.' See *Park* in my Etym. Dict.

REDISHAM. To the S. of Beccles. Spelt *Redesham*, Ipm.; H.R.; D.B., p. 111. *Redes* represents the A.S. *Rēades*, gen. of *Rēad*, lit. 'red.' Though Rēad is not recorded as a personal name, it is very clearly implied in the A.S. *Rēadingas* (now Reading, Berks.), lit. 'sons of Rēad.' Indeed, the forms Read, Reade, Reid (all from A.S. *Rēad*) are still in common use as surnames. The sense is 'Rēad's home,' or 'Rēad's enclosure.'

RENDHAM. To the N.W. of Saxmundham. Spelt *Rendham*, Ipm.; but *Rindham*, D.B., p. 127; *Rindeham*, D.B., p. 128; and *Rimdham* (for *Rindham*?), D.B., p. 54. The A.S. *rinde*, the rind or bark of a tree, is here unsuitable. We should rather compare Rinde-ham with the A.S. *hrinda*, which occurs in the phrase "oth hrindan brōc" in Birch, C.S., ii. 60; where *brōc* means 'brook.' The sense of *hrindan* is not known; if it

is the gen. of Hrinda as a personal name, the sense of Rendham may have been 'Hrinda's home' or 'enclosure.' But this must remain a conjecture. (There is a Norse female name *Rindr*, but the genitive is *Rindar*.)

RENDLESHAM. Spelt *Rendlesham*, Ipm.; D.B., p. 26. But the name is very old, and is explained by Beda, in his Ecclesiastical History, bk iii. ch. 22, where he speaks of "Rendlaesham, id est, mansio Rendili"; so that the sense is 'Rendil's home.' Rendlaes is an old form of Rendles, the regular genitive of Rendil, which drops the *i* when the form is lengthened by a syllable.

ROUGHAM. To the E.S.E. of Bury. Spelt *Rougham*, Ipm.; *Ruhham*, D.B., p. 163. We find *on ruwan hammas*, 'to the rough enclosures,' in Birch, C.S., ii. 492; where *ruwan* is the acc. pl. of the A.S. *ruh*, rough, uncultivated. Hence Ruh-ham here means 'rough or uncultivated enclosure.'

SAXHAM. Spelt *Saxham*, Ipm.; *Saxam*, D.B., p. 9; *Saxham*, D.B., p. 222. The prefix *Sax-* here represents the O. Merc. Saxan, gen. of Saxa (A.S. Seaxa), a personal name. The sense is 'Saxa's home,' or 'Saxa's enclosure.' The O. Norse Saxi is also common in place-names.

SAXMUNDHAM. Spelt *Saxmundeham*, H.R.; *Saxmondeham*, D.B., p. 116. An *s* has been dropped; the original form must have been Saxmundesham, where Saxmundes is the gen. case of Saxmund, an O. Merc. form. Though Saxmund is not in Searle's list, it is perfectly regular; since Sax- is a common prefix, and -mund a common suffix. The sense is 'Saxmund's home' or 'enclosure.'

SHOTTISHAM. To the S.E. of Woodbridge; the same name as Shottesham, Norfolk. Spelt *Shotesham*, Ipm.; *Scotesham*, D.B., p. 75. The same prefix occurs in Scottes-healh, in Birch, C.S., iii. 240, l. 2. Here *Scottes* is the gen. of *Scot*, used as a personal name, and pronounced *Shot* in later A.S., and still in use. Compare SHOTLEY (Suff.), Shottesbrook (Berks.), &c. Whether this Scot is the same as the A.S. Scot, meaning

(1) a Scot of Ireland, and (2) a Scot of Scotland, can hardly be determined.

SOHAM. There is an Earl Soham, so called from the Earls of Norfolk; also a Monk Soham, called Soham Monachorum in Ipm., p. 295; so called because the Monks of Bury were patrons of the Rectory (Kirby). The same name as Soham in Cambs. Spelt *Saham*, Ipm., p. 218; R.B.; H.R.; D.B., p. 26; so that the *o* represents, as usual, an A.S. *ā*. And this Sāham is short for Sāg-ham, as shown by the variant form Sæg-ham, in a charter of the twelfth century; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 368, l. 8. I explain the A.S. *sāg* as meaning 'a depression' or 'hollow'; from *sīgan* (pt. t. *sāg*), to sink down. See my Place-Names of Cambs., p. 23. The sense is (probably) 'enclosure near a hollow.'

SOMERSHAM. Spelt *Somersham*, Ipm.; *Sumersham*, R.B.; D.B., p. 247; *Sumersam*, D.B., p. 113. There is another Somersham in Hunts., which (in my Place-Names of Hunts.) I explain as 'summer's enclosure,' or 'enclosure for the summer.' The A.S. gen. sing. *sumeres* is sometimes thus used adverbially, meaning 'in the summer.'

SOUTH ELMHAM. See ELMHAM (above).

STONHAM. Stonham Aspall is to the N.E. of Needham Market. Near it are Earl Stonham, called Stonham Comitis in Ipm., with reference, says Kirby, to Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk; and Little Stonham or Stonham Parva, also called Stonham Jerningham, from the family of that name. Stonham Aspall is so named from the family of that name, but the family was named after the place called ASPALL (above). Perhaps it is worth while to note that the surname Jerningham is an example of attempting to give an English look to a French name. As Bardsley points out, the original form was Gernagan; which, with an initial *J* for *G*, became Jernagan. Then the suffix *-agan* was "Englished" by turning it into *-ingham*, which is so common an ending in English place-names. All the same, the initial *J* is quite enough to detect its French origin.

Stonham is spelt *Stanham* in Ipm., R.B., H.R., and in D.B., p. 140. All from the A.S. *stān*, a stone. It meant 'stone enclosure,' with reference either to a wall or to stony soil; we can hardly say which.

Syleham. On the Waveney; N.W. of Wingfield. Spelt *Silham*, H.R.; also in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will, in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 513; *Seilam*, D.B., p. 298. Copinger also notes the spelling *Sulham*. The vowels *y*, *i*, *u*, and *e* (wrongly *ei* in D.B.) all point back to an A.S. *y*; and the etymology (like that of Sulhamstead in Berks.) is from the A.S. *sylu*, a miry place. The sense is 'enclosure in (or near) a miry place.'

Thelnetham. On the Little Ouse, to the N.W. of Botesdale. There is some strange mystery about this name and that of Whelnetham. In both cases, there is evidence that the *n* is unoriginal, and has taken the place of a *v*. In the present case, the spellings are: *Telneteham* or *Teluneteham*, D.B., p. 21; *Theluneteham*, D.B., p. 94; *Teluetteham*, D.B., p. 148; *Teolftham*, D.B., p. 172. The last of these is very striking; it is impossible that *f* should be miswritten for *n*; it must rather refer to a sound related to *v*. It should also be noticed that there is a Thelveton in Norfolk, and that Copinger notes the spelling *Telvetham*. For further discussion of this difficult name, see under *Whelnetham*.

Thornham. Spelt *Thornham*, H.R., Ipm., R.B.; *Tornham* (with *T* for *Th*), D.B., p. 10; *Thornham*, D.B., pp. 80, 83. Also *Thornham* in an A.S. charter; Kemble, C.D., iv. 110, l. 2. Kemble's index also has *Thornhāma dīc*, with reference to Wores.; where the *ā* shows that, in some instances, the word was Thornhām, with long *a*. This gives the sense 'Thornhome'; or a dwelling-place near thorn-trees. The sense 'thorn-enclosure' is also admissible, and may here be meant.

Tuddenham. There are two places of this name; Tuddenham St Martin, near Ipswich, and Tuddenham St Mary, near Mildenhall (Kelly). Spelt *Tudenham*, H.R.; T.N.; D.B., p. 25

Tudeham, R.B.; D.B., p. 323. Tuddenham near Mildenhall appears in an A.S. charter, dated 854, as *Tuddan hám*; Birch, C.S., ii. 81; the *a* being marked as long. The sense is 'Tudda's home.' Tudda is a known name.

WALSHAM, or WALSHAM-LE-WILLOWS. To the E. of Ixworth. N. and S. Walsham are in Norfolk. The A.F. *le* was, no doubt, believed to be the definite article at an early date; but it is clear that it had originally the form *les* (as in French) and was a preposition, meaning 'near'; being derived from the Lat. *latus*, side; whence the sense of 'beside.' We find *Walesham*, R.B., T.N.; *Walsam*, D.B., p. 94. Kemble's index has *Wales-hō*, *Wiales-flēt*, and *Weales-hūð*; so that the most probable original form (as indicated by *Wales-ham* in R.B. and T.N.) was *Weales-hām* (or *-hamm*). *Wēales* is the gen. of *Wealh*, 'a stranger, a foreigner,' usually 'a Briton.' The sense is 'stranger's home,' or 'stranger's enclosure, near the willows.'

WATTISHAM. Near Bildeston. Spelt *Watesham*, R.B. Copinger also notes the forms *Wathesham*, *Wathisham*, evidently with A.F. *th* for *t*; also *Wachesham*, *Wachisham*, with *th* miswritten as *ch*. All the forms are equivalent, and can be reduced to *Watesham*; and there is no evidence to connect this immediately with the prefix in WATTISFIELD (above). The form *Wates* requires an A.S. nom. *Wæt*; and though we have no record of this except in Latin, we find the allied weak masc. *Wata*, and the dimin. *Wætel*, as in Watling Street, and in Wattisfield. The sense is 'Wæt's home' or 'Wæt's enclosure.' The Latinised form is Wattus, spelt "Uuattus rex" in Birch, C.S., i. 113.

WENHAM. Great Wenham was also known as Brent Wenham, i.e. Burnt Wenham; also called *Wenham Combusta*, Ipm., p. 93. Little Wenham is two miles S.E. of Raydon station (Kelly). Spelt *Wenham*, H.R.; T.N.; D.B., p. 29. We find "terram de Wenintone" in Birch, C.S., iii. 281 (no. 1061). Here Wenin is for Wenan, gen. case of a personal name Wena,

not otherwise known, though the compounds Wenburh and Wenbeorht occur. The sense is 'Wena's home' or 'enclosure.'

WHELNETHAM. Great and Little Whelnetham lie to the S.E. of Bury. Here, as in the case of Thelnetham, we have evidence that the *n* is unoriginal. In D.B. we find the extraordinary form *Huelfiham*, p. 165. In Ipm., p. 116 (no. 89), we find Parva *Whelnetham*; but at p. 249 (no. 34), the same place is referred to as *Whelwitham*, which looks like the original from which *Huelfiham* was made, by the turning of an E. *w* into a Norman *v* (here written as *f*). It is clear that Thelnetham and Whelnetham must be explained together. I can only guess at this riddle, and the theory I propose is the following, viz. that there were already, before the Conquest, two places in Suffolk named Witham (probably contracted from an earlier Witanham or 'home of Wita'); and that these places (which are little more than 15 miles apart) were distinguished by the prefixes Thel- and Hwēl (= Hwēol). They thus became, respectively, Thelwitham and Whelwitham; or, with *v* for *w*, Thelvithan and Whelvitham; or, in the spelling of D.B., *Teolf(i)tham* and *Huelfi(t)ham*. How the sound of *v* was afterwards exchanged for that of *n* in both cases (showing that they certainly affected each other), it is hard to say; but we have positive evidence that such a change really took place. It remains to explain the prefixes Thel- and Hwel-. *Thel* is the A.S. *thel*, a plank, particularly one used to form a wooden bridge over a stream, as in the case of Theale (Berks.) and of Thelbridge (Devon). *Hwel-* is the A.S. *hwēol*, mod. E. *wheel*. The A.S. *hwēol* is also used in the sense of 'circle,' and may denote that this Witham was of circular form. This is the best I can make of this extraordinary pair of names, both of which present very unusual features. I am informed that, not long since, the pronunciation of the latter place was Wheltham, a shortened form which ignored the middle syllable.

WICKHAM MARKET. Spelt *Wicham*, R.B.; D.B., p. 11; *Wycham*, H.R.; *Wiccham*, D.B., p. 10; *Wikham*, p. 26. The A.S. form is *Wīc-hām*; see Kemble, C.D., vi. 98, l. 6. From A.S. *wīc*, a village; and *hām*, a home. The *a* was long, because we

find *Wīc-hāma* in Kemble, v. 243, l. 8. The sense is 'village-home.' But there was also a *Wic-hamm*, or 'village-enclosure'; Birch, C.S., iii. 610.

WICKHAMBROOK. The same as the above; with the addition of *brook*, A.S. *brōc*. There is also a WICKHAM SKEITH, near Finningham; from the family name Skeith, which is obviously of Norse origin. The Icel. *skeith* means a space, a certain length in a course; and Vigfússon notes that it occurs in place-names.

WILLINGHAM. Spelt *Wilingham*, T.N.; *Willingaham*, D.B., pp. 6, 109, which may be the original form. If it be so, the sense is 'home (or enclosure) of the Willings,' or 'of the sons of Willa.' Willa is a known name. But Willingham in Cambs. is differently spelt in D.B., and means 'home of the Wifelings,' or 'of the sons of Wifel.'

WILLISHAM. Spelt *Wylavesham*, Ipm.; *Willauesham*, T.N.; *Wylewesham*, H.R.; *Willaluesham* (error for *Willauesham*), D.B., p. 141. Also *Willauesham* in Lēofgifu's Will (A.D. 1045); in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 570. All from *Willaues*, representing the A.S. *Wīglāfes*, or *Wīlāfes*, gen. of *Wīglāf* or *Wīlaf*, a well-known name. The *g* is here a mere glide, and the difference in sound between the two forms was very slight in late A.S. The name *Wīglāf* occurs in Beowulf, ll. 2602, 2631, 2745. The sense is 'Wīglāf's home.'

WITNESHAM. Near Ipswich. Spelt *Witnesham*, Ipm., p. 241, col. 1; *Witlesham*, col. 2. But Copinger also gives such forms as *Wittelesham*, *Wyttylisham*, answering to *Wittlesham* in D.B., p. 294; so that the *n* was once *l*. The change is not uncommon. Further, Copinger gives the form *Whitnesham*, with initial *Wh*; and a comparison with Whittlesford (Cambs.) and Whittlesea (Cambs.) tends to confirm this. I would therefore explain it from the name **Hwītel*, the only original form which will explain those names, being itself a derivative from Hwīt, i.e. white. Thus the original sense was, probably, 'Hwītel's home' or 'Hwītel's enclosure.'

WORLINGHAM. Spelt *Werlingham*, H.R.; T.N.; *Warlingaham*, D.B., p. 253; *Werlingaham*, D.B., p. 4. In Birch, C.S., ii. 295, l. 5 from bottom, we find "weræles wellæ," suggesting that there was once a name spelt Weræl, equivalent to Werel, whence a derivative Werling (shortened from Wereling) would easily result. However, it seems safe to explain the above name as meaning 'home (or enclosure) of the Werlings'; which may have meant 'sons of Werel.' The prefixes in Worlingham, Worlington, and Worlingworth are all different.

WORTHAM. So in T.N.; spelt *Wordham* (with *d* for *th*) in D.B., p. 80; *Wortham*, D.B., pp. 84, 148. Spelt *Wrtham* (for *Wurtham*) in Kemble, C.D., iv. 293. From A.S. *worth*, an enclosed homestead; and (probably) *hamm*, an enclosure; the compound having the sense of 'farm-enclosure.' See Bosworth and Toller's A.S. Dict., p. 1267.

WRENTHAM. To the N. of Southwold. Spelt *Wrentham*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Wretham* (probably an error for Wrētham = Wrentham), D.B., p. 237. Copinger also gives the form *Wrantham*. Not A.S., but Friesic. Koolman gives the E. Friesic *wranten*, to grumble, and *wrante*, sb., a grumbler. Hexham's Mid. Dutch Dict. has *wranten*, to wrangle, to quarrel, or to chide; and *wrant*, a wrangling, or a quarrelsome man. Outzen gives the N. Fries. *wrante*, to whimper; cf. Dan. *vrante*, to be peevish. From the base *wrant* would be formed an A.S. **wrantian*, **wrentan*, to grumble; and hence **wrenta*, a grumbler, which could be used as a nick-name. Hence Wrentham would mean 'Wrenta's home' or 'Wrenta's enclosure.'

24. HAUGH.

The mod. E. *haugh* is from the O. Merc. *halh*, A.S. *healh*, a sheltered place, hence, low-lying land beside a stream; as has already been explained under HALE, which is, grammatically, the dat. case of *haugh*. The sole example is Pettaugh.

PETTAUGH. To the S. of Debenham. Spelt *Pethage*, T.N.; *Pethagh*, Ipm.; *Petehaga*, D.B., p. 194; *Pettehaga*, D.B., p. 320. Copinger also notes the forms *Pethaugh* and *Pethale*, which are important as showing that we are here dealing with *haugh* and

hale, not with *haw*, a hedge; though the spelling *Pethawe* occurs also. The forms in D.B. show four syllables, so that the word is not a mere compound with *pet*, 'a pit.' The prefix Pete- represents the A.S. Peotan, gen. of Peota, which occurs in a Worcester charter dated 851, as the name of a witness; see Birch, C.S., ii. 56. I explain Pettaugh as 'Peota's haugh'; or rather (with a simple vowel) as 'Peta's haugh.' And see PETTISTREE.

25. HEATH.

The mod. E. *heath* appears in A.S. as *hǣth*. There are three places that end in *-heath* at the present day, but in only one of these, viz. Leavenheath, is the suffix original. The other two are Horningsheath and Lakenheath. But I shall take all three together, for practical convenience.

HORNINGSHEATH. Near Bury. Often called Horringer, and marked as Horningsheath or Horringer on Bacon's map. This remarkable variation is due to the fact that the suffix *-heath* was substituted, at an early date, for another suffix that contained *-er-*, which is even now not quite forgotten. Spelt *Horningesherth*, H.R.; Ipm. Copinger records numerous forms, but in all of them the prefix is equivalent to *Horninges*; whilst the old suffix appears as *herth* (once *harth*), *erth, herde, herd, erda, erd*; and (by mistake) as *worda*. D.B. has *Horningesworda*, p. 152, and *Horningeserda*, p. 222, with the usual Norman neglect of initial *h*, and change of *th* to *d*. The suffix represented by the Middle English *herth* (whence the other forms result) is the A.S. *heorth*, mod. E. *hearth*, which was sometimes, though rarely, used to denote 'a dwelling,' or 'house'; see the A.S. Dict. The original sense was 'Horning's hearth,' which was afterwards turned into 'Horning's heath.' Horning means 'son of Horn,' which is a known personal name. The form 'Horningges hæð,' i.e. Horning's heath, occurs in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 514. But this copy abounds in quite late spellings, so that it proves but little.

LAKENHEATH. Spelt *Lakingheth*, H.R.; *Lakinghethe*, H.R.; *Lakenham* (by some mistake), T.N.; *Lakingahethe*, D.B., p. 223;

Lakinghuthe, Ipm., p. 24; *Lakinghith*, Ipm., p. 221. Also *Lacinga-hiδ*, Birch, C.S., ii. 567; *Lakinghéδe*, Kemble, C.D., iv. 18, l. 7; *Lakynge-hyδe*, Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 308, l. 4. The spellings *huthe*, *hythe* are absolutely inconsistent with 'heath,' and can only represent the A.S. *hȳth* (dat. *hȳthe*), a hithe, a landing-place. The prefix *Lacinga* is the gen. pl. of *Lacing*, which is not a patronymic (as in the case of Lockinge, Berks., where the form is Lācing, with long *a*), but a derivative from the A.S. *lacu*, a stream; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 465. Lacing meant 'a stream-dweller,' or dweller beside a stream, viz. a southern affluent of the Little Ouse, at a time before the present lodes or drains were made. The sense is 'hithe of the dwellers beside the stream.' Lakenheath had much more water near it in early days than it has now. At a later period, the suffix *hithe* was exchanged for *heath*.

Leavenheath. To the N.W. of Nayland. Copinger gives, without references, the old spellings *Levenesheath*, *Levenesheth*, *Leveney*. Here *Levenes* is certainly a late form of *Lēofwines*, gen. of *Lēofwine*, an extremely common name (whence our modern Levin, Lewin, &c.). Kemble has *Lēofwines dene*, Cod. Dipl. iv. 68. The sense is 'Lēofwine's heath.'

26. Hill.

A well-known suffix. The A.S. form was *hylle*, whence the varying Mid. English forms *hille*, *helle*, *hulle*, *hylle*.

There is but one example, viz. Haverhill.

Haverhill. Spelt *Hauerhill*, H.R.; T.N.; *Haverhulle*, Ipm.; *Haverhille*, Ipm.; *Hauerhella*, D.B., p. 185. Not from *haver*, 'oats,' because that word is unknown in English till after 1300; but from A.S. *hæfer*, a he-goat. The sense is 'goat hill.'

27. Hithe.

From the A.S. *hȳδ* (gen. and dat. *hȳδe*), a hithe, a landing-place, a haven. The only apparent example is Covehithe; but Lakenheath was once Lakenhithe, as shown above.

COVEHITHE. Near the coast, to the N. of Southwold. The village is a little way inland. The hithe must have been where Covehithe Broad now appears on the ordnance map. The sense is 'cove-hithe,' or 'cove-landing-place.' See COVE.

According to Copinger, Covehithe is the place sometimes alluded to by the name of North Hales. North refers to its position as regards South Cove, which is not far off. *Hales* is an old word, now obsolete, in use in English from 1330 to 1606, meaning 'tents, booths, huts, or temporary structures'; from the Old French *hale*, mod. F. *halle*, a covered market-place; from the O. High German *halla*, which is cognate with E. *hall*. It occurs in D.B., p. 15, ill spelt as *Northals*, as a solitary example of the use of the O. Fr. *hales*, long before its general introduction into English.

28. HOE, or HOO.

The A.S. *hōh* signifies 'the heel,' and is the parent of the modern E. *hough* and *hock*; but it is also common in place-names, with the sense of 'spur of a hill' or 'projection on a hill-side.' With loss of the final *h*, and change of the A.S. *ō* into *oo* (as in A.S. *cōl*, mod. E. *cool*), it has become Hoo. Sometimes it appears as Hoe or Ho, which preserves an older pronunciation. It appears in the name Hoo; and as a suffix in Culpho, Dallinghoo, and Wixoe. The suffix in Thingoe is different.

HOO. To the S.W. of Framlingham. Spelt *Hoe*, T.N.; *Hou*, R.B.; D.B., p. 74; *Hov* (for *Hou*), D.B., p. 215. The spellings Ho, *Hogh*, *Hohg*, occur in Kemble's index, with reference to Hoo in Kent; and Hohg, with reference to Hoo, Suff. From the A.S. *hōh*, 'spur of a hill,' as said above. The hill-spur, above the river Deben, is clearly shown in the ordnance map by the contour-line marked 100.

CULPHO. To the N.E. of Ipswich. Spelt *Culpho*, H.R.; T.N.; *Culphowe*, R.B. Also *Culfho*, H.R.; R.B.; *Culfo*, T.N.: *Quilfo*, T.N. D.B. has *Culfole*, *Culfola*, p. 131; where perhaps the addition means 'lea.' The suffix is plainly the A.S. *hōh*,

'spur of a hill'; it is on high ground. The original prefix seems to have been *Culf*; and *Culfo* (for *Culf-hō*) was respelt, with a Norman *ph* for *f*. *Caulf* is noticed by Searle as occurring in Ellis's lists of land-owners and tenants in D.B., so that it is a late form, and a manifest contraction for the very common name *Cūthwulf*, also *Cūthulf*, in which the *th* would readily disappear. The gen. *-es* is also lost, as is not uncommon in early names. There can hardly be a doubt that the name meant 'Cūthwulf's hōh,' or a hill-spur named after a Cūthwulf.

Dallinghoo. Between Ipswich and Framlingham. Spelt *Dallingahou*, D.B., p. 27; *Dalingahou*, D.B., p. 90; *Dalingeho*, in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 33, l. 2. For A.S. *Dalinga hōh*, 'hill-spur of the Dalings.' I understand Dalings to mean dal-ings, or dalemen, or 'dwellers in a dale'; just as Centingas means Kent-ings, or men of Kent. We may suppose them to have moved uphill out of a valley.

Thingoe. Not the name of an existing village, but of a hundred; a fact which suits the name. Spelt *Thinghowe*, H.R. D.B. has *Thingehov*, p. 221; *Tinchou*, p. 18; and *Thingohov*, p. 202 (with needless repetition). Also *Thinghowe*; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 418.

The suffix has evidently been assimilated to that in Culpho, Dallinghoo, and Wixoe. But the spelling *howe* (in H.R. and Thorpe) suggests that it was once the prov. E. *how*, *howe*, a small detached hill or mound, from the Icel. *haugr*, a mound. The prefix Thing, from the A.S. *thing*, O. Norse *thing*, meant 'an assembly, a meeting for consultation or deliberation,' a meeting of the men of the hundred; so that the sense is 'meeting-mound.' In Gage's Suffolk, p. x, it is said that the Thing-how was an 'aceruus' or artificial mound just outside the North gate of Bury.

Wixoe, or Whixoe. On the Stour, to the S.E. of Haverhill. Spelt Wixoe in Bacon's map, but Whixoe in his index. Spelt *Witeskeou* (!), D.B., p. 267; *Wydekesho*, H.R.; T.N. The prefix answers to the A.S. *Hwittuces*, which occurs in *Hwittuces hlæwe*; in Birch, C.S., iii. 70, l. 11. *Hwittuc* is a

diminutive from *Hwīta*, lit. 'white one,' from *hwīt*, white. The sense is 'Hwittuc's hill-spur.' The shape of the hill can be traced on the ordnance map by help of the contour-line marked 200.

29. Holt.

The A.S. and mod. E. *holt* means a small wood or copse. It occurs in Bergholt, Occold, Ramsholt, and Southolt.

East Bergholt. Near the mouth of the Stour. Spelt *Berkholt*, H.R.; *Bergholte*, Ipm.; *Bercolt*, T.N.; D.B., p. 13. Copinger gives five other forms beginning with *Berc-* or *Berk-*; and one example of *Bircholt*. The prefix is certainly the O. Merc. *berc*, A.S. *beorc*, a birch; and the sense is 'birch-copse.' The modern form is not a happy one.

Occold. Near Eye. Formerly Occolt, which is a better spelling. Spelt *Acolt*, D.B., p. 10; for *Acholt*. Spelt *Acholt*, in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245; for A.S. *āc-holt*; from *āc*, an oak. The sense is 'oak-copse.'

Ramsholt. S.S.E. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Ramisholt*, Ipm.; *Rammesholt*, D.B., p. 76. Apparently 'Ram's holt'; Ram or Ramm might be a personal name. More probably, as in Ramsey, it stands for the A.S. *hræm*, variant of *hræmn*, a raven; and the sense was 'Raven's holt.' Raven could also be a personal name.

Southolt. The sense is 'south copse.'

30. Hurst.

A *hurst* means 'a wooded eminence,' or 'a small wood.' It occurs, much disguised, in Hartest. The A.S. form is *hyrst*.

Hartest. N.N.W. of Long Melford. Spelt *Hertherste*, Ipm.; *Hertherst*, T.N.; *Herterst*, D.B., p. 224; ill spelt *Hertest*, D.B., p. 203; and in a late copy of a charter, in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245. Also *Harthurst*, *Herthurst* (Copinger). The sense is 'harthurst.'

31. -ING.

In the case of Ingham, the prefix is Norse, and means 'a meadow'; but there is no other example of it in Suffolk. As a suffix, it occurs, in this county, only as a patronymic, or with the signification of 'dweller in' or 'dweller near'; for which see BLYTHING. In the plural, it refers to a tribe or family. It occurs in Ash Bocking, Barking, Bealings, Blything, Cowlinge, Creeting, Exning, Gedding, Gipping, Milden, Nedging, Shimpling, Sweffling, Thredling, Wratting.

ASHBOCKING or ASH BOCKING. E. of Needham Market. The prefix Ash merely means 'ash-tree'; but the place was often called Ash simply, in olden times; and D.B. has *Essa*, p. 9; which is a Latinised form of *Esse*; and *Esse* is the Norman spelling of A.S. *æsce*, dat. of *æsc*, an ash. It was afterwards called Ash Bocking, because it was in the possession of the Bocking family for some centuries (Kelly). This family had its name from Bocking in Essex; called 'æt Boccinge,' in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 539. And *Boccing* here meant, originally, 'a son of Bocc.' *Bocc* occurs in *Bocches-hale* (for *Bocceshale*), in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 583, note 3.

BARKING. The same as Barking in Essex; which is spelt *Berking* in Ipm., p. 100. The Suffolk Barking was also formerly *Berking* (Copinger). Spelt *Berchingas*, nom. pl., in D.B., p. 204; *Beorcingan*, dat. pl. (for *Beorcingum*), in Birch, C.D., iii. 602. As the A.S. *beorc* means 'birch-tree,' and does not appear as a proper name, we may explain Beorcingas, nom. pl., to mean 'dwellers beside a birch-tree or birch-grove.' Note that Berking is from the O. Merc. form *berc* rather than the A.S. *beorc*.

BEALINGS. Great Bealings and Little Bealings are near Woodbridge. Spelt *Beling*, T.N.; *Belinges*, H.R.; D.B., p. 70: *Belings*, Ipm. The name *Beola* is noted by Searle as being that of a moneyer, in the time of Cnut, but I suspect that the name was Norse; from Bele or Beli, a name which occurs several times in the Edda. In any case, we may explain Belinges (for A.S. *Belingas or *Beolingas) as a tribal name.

BLYTHING. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Blidinga* (with *d* for ð), D.B., p. 3. Blything is a hundred on the E. coast, containing Southwold and Dunwich, and the river Blythe flows through the midst of it. The river-name (meaning 'blithe' or 'pleasant') is an old one, and another river of the same name is mentioned in a Northants. charter, dated 944; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 179, l. 3. I understand *Blithinga*, gen. pl., to be the gen. of *Blithingas*, or 'the dwellers beside the Blythe.'

COWLINGE. N.N.E. of Haverhill. Spelt *Culing*, H.R.; *Culinges*, T.N., Ipm.; *Cvlinge*, D.B., p. 24. It evidently represents an A.S. *Cūlinga*, gen. pl. (as in Culinga gemære, Birch, C.S., i. 318); and '*Cūles feld*' occurs in a Hants. charter, dated 909, in Birch, C.S., ii. 284. Hence the Cūlingas were 'the sons of Cūl.' It seems to be not quite the same name as Cowling in the W. Riding of Yks., which refers to 'the sons of Coll'; as Prof. Moorman shows. The form *Culinges* in T.N. represents the nom. pl. Cūlingas.

CREETING. West Creeting and Creeting St Mary lie to the N. of Needham Market. Spelt *Cretinges*, T.N.; *Creting*, H.R.; *Cretinge*, R.B., Ipm. But D.B. has *Cratingas*, p. 22; *Cratinga*, p. 47; *in Cratingis*, p. 48. Probably from the A.S. *Cretta*, a name of which two instances are known. Creeting may represent a gen. pl. *Crettinga*; and the nom. *Crettingas* means 'the sons of Cretta,' or 'the family of Cretta.'

EXNING. To the N.W. of Newmarket. The spelling *Ixning* is commoner, at an early date; and the place was once considered to be in Cambridgeshire, as its position suggests. Spelt *Ixninge*, *Ixnynge*, and even *Ixningham*, Ipm.; *Ixninges*, R.B.; *Yxninge*, R.B.; *Ixning* and *Exning*, H.R.; *Ixuing*, *Yxning*, T.N. No doubt the prefix is related to that of Ixworth, which is also in Suffolk; and the latter is known. Ixworth appears in a very late charter (no. 1019) as Ixeworthe; and in another (no. 1018) as Gyxeweorde (with *d* for ð); both in Birch, iii. 219. But *Gyxe-* stands for *Gixe-*, with *i*, not *y*; because before *y* a *G* remains hard, whilst before *i* it disappears. And *Gixe* is a very late form of the true gen. *Gixan*, from a nom. *Gixa*. It is now

clear that Ixning was a later form of Gixan-ing, or rather of the gen. pl. *Gixaninga*; which meant 'of or belonging to the Gixanings' or 'of the sons (or family) of Gixa.' Note particularly the spelling *Ixenyng* in Ipm. (Index Nominum). The longer form Ixningham is quite legitimate; it means 'home (or enclosure) of the Gixanings.' Gixa = Gisca; see IXWORTH.

GEDDING. Spelt *Geddinge, Geddinges*, R.B. But also known as Gidding, in which form it appears in Pigot's Atlas, 1831. Spelt *Gedinga*, D.B., p. 235; *Geldinga* (error for *Geddinga*), D.B., p. 165. In Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 526, Giddinegforda (dat.) is mentioned in connexion with Kersey and Hadley, and must refer to Gedding. Note that in Ipm., p. 48, *Geddinge* refers to Gedding (Suff.); whilst in the same, p. 25, *Gedding* refers to Gidding (Hunts.). The phonology is not difficult. Both these places really had once the same name, and this name must have begun with an A.S. *Gy*, as otherwise the *G* would not have remained hard. This *Gy* is often spelt *Gi* in later times, and it often appears as *Ge* (with hard *g*) dialectically. It is therefore certain that Gedding once referred to a settlement of 'the sons of Gydda.' The personal name Gydda occurs in Gyddan-den; in Kemble, C.D., v. 289.

GIPPING. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles E. by N. from Haughley railway station; a small hamlet. I find no old spelling, but Copinger records *Gipping, Gypping, Gippyngge*, and *Gyppinges*; all undated. There is also a river Gipping, and I have seen it suggested that Ipswich (formerly Gippes wīc) took its name from the river! But I presume that the *G* in Gipping is hard, and therefore wholly unconnected with the A.S. *Gippes*, in which the *G* was sounded like the *y* in *yield*. The map shows that the river Gipping, before it joins another stream above Stowmarket, comes down from the direction of Gipping, and whilst still small, flows past the end of Gipping Great Wood. It is therefore fairly certain that the river took its name from the place, and not otherwise; just as the Deben comes from the neighbourhood of Debenham. I suppose that the oldest spelling was Gypping, and that it represents a tribal name, from a personal name Gypp or Gyppa; but of such names

no trace seems to exist, unless we can compare Geppa (twice) in Searle's list.

MILDEN. Called Milding* by Kirby (1764). S.W. of Bildeston. This must be included among the names in *-ing*, on account of the older forms. Spelt *Meldinge*, Ipm., p. 198; *Mellinga*, D.B., 159; *Mildinges*, F.A., v. 43. I find no other old spelling; but Copinger recites some seventeen, of which all but two end in *-ing*, *-ingg*, *-inge*, *-ingge*, or *-yng*, *-yngg*, *-inga*. Eleven of them begin with *Me-*; so that the oldest type seems to be Meldinga, which we may associate with the personal name Melda, whence are derived the names Meldreth and Melbourn, both in Cambs. The gen. pl. *Meldinga* refers to a settlement of 'the sons (or family) of Melda.'

NEDGING. Near Bildeston. Spelt *Nedding*, H.R.; *Neddinge*, R.B.; so that the sound of *dg* is unoriginal. D.B. has *Niedinga*, p. 209. In a Suffolk charter relating particularly to Cockfield, in Birch, C.S., iii. 603, l. 3, we find "*æt (H)nyddinge*," which Kemble and Thorpe explain as Nedging, with obvious correctness. This furnishes another instance in which the A.S. *y* is locally rendered by *e*. The initial *H* is printed by Birch between two marks, to show that it has been supplied afterwards. We also find *Neddinge* in a late copy of a charter in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245; it is of no great value. The evidence shows that the name refers to a settlement of Hnyddings or of Nyddings; but there is nothing to help us any further. In the form Neddinge, the final *-ge* must have been palatalised, or sounded as *j*, giving Neddinj; after which the *j*-sound was passed back into the former syllable, and so it became Nedjing, or Nedging.

SHIMPLING. To the W. of Lavenham. There is another Shimpling in Norfolk. Kelly says it is also known as Shimplingthorne; where 'thorne' is the mod. E. 'thorn.' Spelt *Simpling*, T.N.; *Shimpling*, Ipm.; *Simplinga*, D.B., p. 270 (with Norman *S* for A.S. *Sc*); *Scimpling*, H.R. The A.S. form must have been *Scimplinga*, or settlement 'of the Scimplings,' mod. E. Shimplings; i.e. 'of the sons of Scimpel,' mod. E. Shimpel;

a name not recorded. But it probably meant 'jester'; cf. mod. Du. *schimpen*, to scoff at.

SWEFFLING or SWEFLING. Near Saxmundham. Spelt *Swiflinge*, Ipm.; *Sueflinga*, D.B., p. 35; *Sueftlinga*, D.B., p. 34. A.S. *Sueftlinges*; in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 33, l. 2. The name records a settlement 'of Sweftlings,' or 'of the sons of *Sweftel'; a name not otherwise known. Probably it was once *Swǣftel; and it may be allied to E. *swift*. Kemble's index has Swiftan-beorh.

THREDLING. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Tredelinge*, Ipm. (with *T* for *Th*). I find no other old form; Copinger gives *Thrydelingge*, *Thridelingge*. There is no further clue. The *e* (*i*, *y*) may have been due to an A.S. *y*, as in other cases. It appears to refer to a settlement of *Thrydelings; but no such form appears. Possibly for *Thrȳthhildings; since Thrȳthhild is a known female name.

WRATTING. Spelt *Wratting* in T.N.; *Wrotinge*, R.B.; *Wratinga*, D.B., p. 220. The same name as Wratting in Cambs., which appears as A.S. *Wrættincge* in the dat. case, in Ælfhelm's Will; see Birch, C.S., iii. 629; also *Wrættinge*, on the preceding page. The reference is to a tribe of Wrættings or to a man named Wrætting. A man may have been so named from a wart upon his face; since *wret* was the E. Anglian form of *wart* in the fifteenth century (Prompt. Parv.). Cf. Du. *wrat*, a wart.

32. LAND.

Land is well known in mod. E., A.S., and Old Norse. It means tract of country, region, &c. It occurs in Kessingland, Lothingland, Nayland, Shelland, and Swilland.

KESSINGLAND. On the E. coast; S. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Kessinglond*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Kessingland*, T.N.; *Kessingelanda*, D.B., p. 5. But the A.S. form could not have begun with *Ce*, or the *C* would have become *Ch*; and we find, in fact, the alternative spelling Cassingland. It is twice spelt *Cassingland* in Ipm., p. 55; and Copinger quotes six examples in which the

name begins with Cass-. It therefore probably has the same prefix as *Kasing-burna*; in Birch, i. 477. Cf. *Casincg-stræt* and *Casan-thorn* in Kemble's index. The sense is therefore, in all probability, 'land of the Casings' or 'of the sons of Casa.'

LOTHINGLAND. The name of a hundred. This hundred contains Lowestoft and Lake Lothing or Lothing Lake, from which the hundred took its name. The *o* was short, and must be the *o* which the Normans frequently substituted for short *u*; cf. the spellings *Luddingland*, Ipm.; *Ludingland*, H.R.; *Luthingland*, H.R.; *Ludingaland*, D.B., p. 329. We also find *Luðinglond* in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 513. The full form was Luthinga-land, or 'land of the Luthings'; but we have no further information as to this tribe or family. The name may perhaps be connected with the personal name *Luda*, which occurs in *Ludan-beorh*; in Birch, C.S. iii. 204.

NAYLAND. This is a very interesting name, as it is an example of a spelling in which a *n* has been prefixed. It is spelt *Eyland*, *Eylaund*, T.N.; but *Neyland* in Ipm., p. 16 (A.D. 1257); *Neylond*, H.R.; *Eilanda*, D.B., p. 242; rather from the O. Norse *eyland*, an island, than from the A.S. *ēeg-land*, *īg-land*, with the same sense. The situation of Nayland is low, and it is "subject to occasional inundations"; see The Beauties of England, xiv. 158. Its river is the Stour. We can easily explain how the *n* was prefixed. It arose from the fact that there are two places in S.W. Suffolk called Stoke; one was called Stoke-juxta-Clare, or Stoke near Clare, and the other Stoke near Eyland, described in 1327 (in the Index to the Charters) as Stoke-atte-Neilond, of which an older form must necessarily have been Stoke-atten-Eilond; as the Mid. Eng. *atten* represents the A.S. *æt thām*, i.e. 'at the.' The date when the *n* was prefixed seems to have been somewhat earlier than A.D. 1250. Observe that the name is Norse.

SHELLAND. To the W.N.W. of Stowmarket. Spelt *Shellaund*, *Shellonde*, Ipm.; *Sellanda*, D.B., p. 224 (with Norman *S* for A.S. *Sc*). I think the prefix was not the A.S. *scell*, 'a

shell,' but *scelf*, 'a shelf'; note Shelton, Beds., of which the A.S. form was Scelf-tūn, and Shelley, Suff. (below), of which the A.S. form was Scelf-lēah, affording good reason for the change from *ft* to *ll*. The sense is 'shelf-land,' which is precisely the right sense. A *shelf* is a high terrace of land or ledge; and Shelland Green is more than 200 feet above the sea-level. Cf. Shelfhanger, Norf.; Shelve, Salop.

Swilland. N. of Ipswich. Spelt *Swynlaund*, Ipm.; *Swinelonde*, R.B.; *Suinlanda*, D.B., p. 291. From A.S. *swīn*, swine; literally 'swine-land.'

33. Ley.

Ley is a common suffix in many counties and represents the A.S. *lēah*, a lea, a meadow; the sense is rather vague. It occurs in Badley, Bentley, Bradley, Brockley, Butley, Cookley, Eleigh, Gazeley, Hadleigh, Haughley, Hemley, Henley, Hollesley, Kirkley, Oakley, Otley, Shelley, Shotley, Sotterley, Trimley, Westley, and Yaxley; twenty-two examples.

Badley. Near Needham Market; westward. Spelt *Badele*, T.N.; *Badell'*, Ipm.; *Badelea*, D.B., p. 9. For A.S. *Badan-lēah*; cf. *Badan-pyt* (Kemble); *Badan-dene* (Birch, C.S. i. 304). The sense is 'Bada's lea.'

Bentley. Spelt *Benetley*, T.N.; *Benetleye*, H.R., *Benetleia*, D.B., p. 13. The A.S. form is *Beonetlēah* (Kemble). The A.S. *beonet*, prov. E. *bennet*, means 'long coarse grass,' or 'bent-grass.' The sense is 'bentgrass lea.' See *Bent* in my Etym. Dict.

Bradley. A common name. Spelt *Bradeley*, H.R.; *Bradeleye*, *Bradelegh*, Ipm.; *Bradeleia*, D.B., p. 182. For A.S. *brādan lēage*; in Birch, C.S. iii. 29, which is a weak dative case. From A.S. *brād*, broad; and *lēah*. The sense is 'at the broad lea,' or simply 'broad lea.'

Brockley. Spelt *Brokley*, *Brockele*, Ipm., p. 270; *Brokle*, D.B., p. 138; *Broclega*, D.B., p. 155. Cf. A.S. *Broc lēa ford*; Birch, C.S. iii. 288, l. 7 from bottom. Either from A.S. *broc*, a badger; or from *brōc*, a brook; the long *o* in the latter case would be shortened before *cl*. There is nothing to discriminate

between the senses of 'badger lea' and 'brook lea.' Pateley, in Yorks., means 'badger lea,' because the Yorks. *pate* means a badger. This favours the former explanation.

BUTLEY. Hence was named the Butley river, which joins the Ore, and flows into the sea near Hollesley. Spelt *Buttele*, T.N., *Butelai*, D.B., p. 27; *Butelea*, D.B., p. 94. The patronymic *Butting* occurs in *Buttingc-graf*; Birch, C.S. i. 307, last line. The name *Butti* (also *Botti*) is Norse (Rygh). The sense is 'Butti's lea.' The gen. of *Butti* was *Butta*, which would give the *Butte-* in T.N., and the *Bute-* in D.B.

COOKLEY. Near Halesworth. Spelt *Cokeleye*, H.R.; *Cokelei*, D.B., p. 106; *Cukeleye*, Ipm. The prefix seems to be the A.S. *Cucan*, gen. of *Cuca*; a name which appears in *Cucanhēalas* (Birch, C.S. iii. 113) and in *Cucandūn* (Birch, C.S. iii. 140). Thus the sense is 'Cuca's lea.' Prof. Moorman explains Cookridge, in the West Riding, in the same way.

ELEIGH. There is Monks' Eleigh (for which Copinger quotes Illea Monachorum), and Brent Eleigh (for which he quotes Illea Combusta, and Illegh Ars, where *ars* is Norman for 'burnt'). Spelt *Illea Ars*, H.R.; *Illeya*, H.R.; *Illeleia*, D.B., p. 185. The A.S. form is *Illan-lēah*, of which the dat. case *Illan-lēge* occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 602. The sense is 'Illa's lea.' But Ilsley (Berks.) has lost initial *H*, and stands for 'Hild's lea.'

GAZELEY. Otherwise Gaiesley; as in Kirby. E. of Newmarket. Spelt *Gasele*, *Gaisle*, *Gaysle*, H.R.; *Gaysley*, Ipm.; Geisley, Ipm. The A.S. form would be *Gæges-lēah. The name *Gæg is not found, but can be inferred from the patronymic *Gæging*, in Birch, C.S. iii. 257; whence, as I have shown, is derived the name of Ginge, in Berks. The weak form *Gæga appears as Gega in *Geganden* (Kemble), and as Gage in *Gagelēah* (also *Gagenlēah*), also in Kemble's Index; also in Gaydon, Gayton and Gaywood in modern names. The sense is 'Gæg's lea,' or in later spelling 'Gay's lea.'

HADLEIGH. Spelt *Hadlega*, R.B.; *Hadleigh*, Ipm.; *Hædleage*, in a late charter, Thorpe, Diplomat. 527; *Headlega*,

Annals of St Neot, quoted in Plummer's ed. of the A.S. Chronicle, ii. 102; *Hetlega*, D.B., p. 184. In D.B. the *t* stands for *th*; and the true A.S. form appears in a Worcs. charter, dated 849, as *hæðleage* (gen.) with reference to Headley Heath (a tautological name) in Birch, C.S. ii. 40; see Duignan, Place-names of Worcs. The sense is 'heath-lea.' In a similar way the A.S. ð has become *t* in Hatfield (Herts.) which means 'heath-field.'

HAUGHLEY. Spelt *Haweleye*, Ipm.; *Hagala*, D.B., p. 256. The A.S. form is *Hagan-lēah*, in a Worc. charter; in Birch, iii. 587, l. 11 from bottom. The sense is 'haw-lea,' or 'enclosed lea.' The old spellings clearly connect the prefix with *haw* rather than the mod. E. *haugh*, O. Merc. *halh*, A.S. *healh*. Copinger gives many old forms, of which the most intelligible are Haghele, Haghle, Haghlegh, Halley, Haugle, Haule, Hawele, Hawelee, Hawelege, Hawleigh.

HELMLEY. Near Waldringfield; misprinted Henley in Bacon's map, though given as Hemley in the Index. (Henley is due N. of Ipswich.) Hemley is short for Helmley. Spelt *Halmeleia*, D.B., p. 138; *Halmelega*, p. 287; but *Helmelea*, p. 120. The A.S. form should be *Helman-lēah*; compare *Helman-hyrst* in Kemble's index, p. 297, col. 2. The sense is 'Helma's lea.' Helma is a pet name for a name beginning with Helm-, such as Helmbeald, Helmbeorht, &c.; which are numerous.

HENLEY. N. of Ipswich. Spelt *Henleye*, T.N.; *Hanle*, H.R.; *Henleia*, D.B., p. 50. There are several places of this name, answering to A.S. *Hēanlēage*; in Birch, C.S. iii. 519; of which a later spelling is *Hēnlēa*; in Birch, C.S. i. 64. This *Hēanlēage* is the dat. case of *Hēahlēah*, meaning 'high lea.'

HOLLESLEY. Near the mouth of the river Alde. Spelt *Holesle*, H.R.; *Holeslee*, Ipm.; *Holeslegh*, Ipm.; *Holeslea*, D.B., p. 73. Lit. 'Hol's lea.' The name Hol does not appear by itself, but it occurs in the derivative Hol-ing, or 'son of Hol,' in the A.S. *Holinga burnan*; Kemble, C.D. iv. 232; and in the modern names Hollingbourn, Hollington, and Hollingworth.

KIRKLEY; forming part of Lowestoft. Spelt *Kyrkele*, H.R.; *Kirkelea*, D.B., p. 5. The prefix is Norse; from O.N. *kirkja*, a church. The sense is 'kirk-lea'; i.e. 'church-lea.'

OAKLEY. To the N. of Eye. Spelt *Acle*, R.B.; D.B., p. 180. From A.S. *āc*, an oak; and *lēah*. Lit. 'oak lea.' Written *ác-lea*; Birch, C.S. ii. 291.

OTLEY. Spelt *Oteleye*, Ipm., H.R.; *Otteleye*, H.R.; *Otelega*, D.B., p. 133. The prefix is the same as in *Otan-hyrst*; in Kemble's index. The sense is 'Ota's lea.'

SHELLEY. Spelt *Selleye*, H.R.; *Selflega*, T.N.; *Sceueleia*, D.B., pp. 13, 14. The A.S. dat. case is Scelflēage; Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 525. The sense is 'shelf lea.' *Shelf* may answer to the A.S. *scylf*, a crag, a rock, a tor; but the prov. E. *shelf* also means a shoal, a ford; or *shelf* may mean a high terrace or ledge.

SHOTLEY. Spelt *Schottele*, T.N.; *Scoteleia*, D.B., p. 13. Apparently trisyllabic; compare *Scotehō*, *Scotta pæð*, *Scotta-rīð*, in Kemble's index. The sense is doubtful. I incline to consider it as containing the A.S. *scot*, a building, as in the compound *sele-scot*; and to look upon the original form as having been *scota lēah*, 'lea of huts' or of small buildings. Cf. the M.Du. *schot*, 'a closure of boards,' in Hexham. See *Scot* in the A.S. Dictionary. The word *sele-scot* is rendered *tabernaculum* in Matt. xvii. 4 (Old Mercian Version) and in the Vespasian Psalter Ps. xiv. 1.

SOTTERLEY. Spelt *Soterle*, H.R.; T.N.; Ipm., p. 249; *Soterleghe*, R.B.; *Soterlega*, D.B., p. 41. The same old spelling of the prefix occurs in *Soterton*, Ipm., p. 203, which represents Sutterton, Lincs.; so that Sotterley might have become Sutterley. The meaning of the prefix in Sutterton is easily ascertained; since we find the spelling Sutterton in Birch, C.S. ii. 53, but Sutherton in the same, ii. 137. It thus appears that Sotter- has the same sense as the Souther- in SOUTHERTON, q.v. The sense is 'lea more to the south'; possibly because it is to the South of the Hundred River, but a mile away from it.

N.B. Björkman notes a Norse name Sóti, O. Danish Soti, but the gen. is Sota, not Sotar; so that it will not account for the prefix Sotter-; and still less for Sutter-.

TRIMLEY. Certainly for Tremley, with *im* for *em*, a common change. Spelt *Tremlye*, Ipm.; *Tremlega*, D.B., p. 124; *Tremelaia*, D.B., p. 286. Copinger also records the forms *Tremley*, *Tremleye*, *Tremele*, *Tremeley*. The difficulty is to know whether the middle *e* in the last three forms is significant. Perhaps it is best so to consider it, as it is hard to see why it should have been inserted. I can only conjecture that it represents a form *Treman*, gen. of *Trema*, which is a variant of *Tryma*, with the Suffolk *e* for the A.S. *y*, as in a few other cases. Though *Tryma* does not occur, it is easily associated, as an agential masc. in *-a*, with *trymian*, *trymman*, also found as *tremman*, to confirm, strengthen, set in order; whence it might well become a name, as signifying 'one who strengthens.' The base *Trum-* appears in such names as Trum-beorht, Trum-here, &c. The A.S. *trymian* has given us the modern E. *to trim*. Trimley can hardly mean 'trim lea,' because this adjective is comparatively modern, and due to the old verb. In fact, the A.S. adj. is not *trym*, but *trum*, i.e. strong, firm, excellent. The sense probably would be 'Tryma's lea.'

WESTLEY. Spelt *Westlega*, R.B.; *Westle*, H.R.; *Westlea*, D.B., p. 156. Meaning 'west lea.' There is another Westley in Cambs.

YAXLEY. Spelt *Yakesley*, Ipm.; *Iacheslea*, D.B., p. 201. There is another Yaxley in Hunts. The A.S. form is *Gēaceslēa*; in Kemble, C.D., v. 342; from *gēaces*, gen. of *gēac*, a cuckoo. The sense is 'cuckoo's lea.' Fully discussed in my Place-names of Hunts.

34. Low.

The suffix *-low* is not uncommon; it represents the A.S. *hlāw*, a mound; sometimes a burial mound or barrow. The only Suffolk example is Thurlow.

THURLOW. Spelt *Thrillowe Magna*, Ipm.; i.e. Great Thurlow. There is also a Little Thurlow. Spelt *Trillawe*, H.R.; *Trillowe*, H.R. *Thrillauura*, D.B., p. 182; *Tridlauua*, D.B., p. 233; *Tritlawa*, D.B., p. 11. The final *t*, *d* in the D.B. *Trit-*, *Trid-*, point to an A.S. *th*; and the true initial was *Th*

also. Hence it represents an A.S. *Thrȳthe-hlāw*; where *Thrȳth* (gen. *Thrȳthe*) is a known female name. The sense is 'burial-mound of Thrȳth.'

35. Meadow.

Meadow represents the A.S. *mādwe*, dat. of *mād*, a mead; so that *meadow* is, in fact, merely the dative of *mead*, without any variation of sense. The only example is Shipmeadow.

Shipmeadow. Spelt *Scipmedu*, D.B., p. 41. Copinger notes the forms *Shepmedwe*, *Shepmed*; where the *e* is older than *i*. From A.S. *scēap*, a sheep. The sense is 'sheep-meadow.' In Shropshire, a sheep is always a *ship*; and the pl. is *ships*. Cf. Ship-ton.

36. Mere.

The term *mere* was applied to a lake or pool of any size. In some counties, another *mere* is used as a suffix also, with the sense of 'boundary.' But I think this second suffix does not appear in Suffolk names. The examples are five, viz. Bosmere, Hartismere, Livermere, Rushmere, Semer.

Bosmere. This is the name of a hundred. Spelt *Bosemere*, H.R.; *Bosemera*, D.B., p. 9. The prefix is from the A.S. *Bōsan*, gen. of *Bōsa*, a name of which there are several examples; as in *Bōsen-hangran*, in Birch, C.S. ii. 492. The sense is 'Bōsa's mere.' I find, in the Ordnance map, that there is still a pool or small mere, beside the river Gipping, less than a mile below Needham Market. It is situate within grounds belonging to a hall named Bosmere Hall. This pool is called Bosmere in one of Kirby's maps; it was probably larger in days when little care was taken of the waterways. Moreover, it is situate very near the centre of Bosmere Hundred. In the Beauties of England, p. 217, Bosmere lake is called "a lake of 30 or 40 acres."

Hartismere. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Hertesmere*, H.R.; T.N.; D.B., p. 260; *Hertesmera*, D.B., p. 3. The O. Mercian

equivalent is *Herotes mere*, later form *Hertes mere*; where *Herot*, *Hert*, answer to the A.S. *Heorot*, *Heort*, lit. 'a hart.' But it is here a name. The sense is 'Hart's mere.'

LIVERMERE. Sometimes miscalled Livermore; as in Kirby. To the N.N.E. of Bury is Livermere Park, containing a lake of considerable length. Spelt *Livermere*, H.R.; *Livremere*, R.B.; *Liuermera*, D.B., p. 166. Spelt *Leuuremer* in a charter of Edward the Confessor, in Kemble, C.D. iv. 245; but the copy is a late one, and the spelling is that of a Norman scribe. The name seems to be a mere compound, and is easily explained by the A.S. *lǽfer*, *lǽfr*, a yellow flag, the plant *Iris Pseudacorus*, still called *levers* (sometimes *livers*) in prov. E.; see the E.D.D. The sense is 'flag-mere.' See RUSHMERE below.

Perhaps it is well to note here that the same explanation may not apply to Liverpool; which is supposed to have been 'Lēofhere's pool.' See Wyld, Lancs. Place-names.

RUSHMERE. Considered by Kelly to be a part of Ipswich. It lies to the N.E. of the town. Spelt *Rushemore* (with *o* for *e*, a common error), Ipm.; *Riscemara*, D.B., p. 4. The latter spelling is explained by the fact that the usual A.S. form of 'rush' is *risc*; whence *Risc-mere*; Birch, i. 83, l. 3. The sense is simply 'rush-mere.'

SEMER. On the river Brett, some distance above Hadleigh. The Ordnance map shows a small pool near the church. Spelt *Semere*, H.R.; this seems to be the oldest spelling; *Seamera*, D.B., p. 176. It is seldom mentioned; Copinger has also *Saymer*, *Seamer*. It appears to be simply compounded of the A.S. *sǽ*, a sea, lake, pool, pond; and *mere*, a mere. The A.S. *sǽ* was applied to a pool of any size as well as to the sea; and a pool would thus be called simply 'sea'; very likely, *mere* was a later explanatory addition; its sense was very nearly as vague.

37. POOL.

The A.S. *pōl*, a pool, sometimes appears as *-pole* in the suffix of a place-name. It occurs in Walpole. Cf. POLSTEAD.

WALPOLE. To the S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Walepol*, R.B.; H.R.; *Walepola*, D.B., p. 24. It appears as Walepol in a late charter with Norman spellings; in Kemble, C.D. iv. 245; with reference to Walpole in Norfolk. The prefix *Wale-* represents the A.S. *Wēala*, gen. pl. of *Wealh*, a foreigner, a Briton. The sense is 'Britons' pool'; or 'Welshmen's pool.' Cf. Welshpool.

38. SET, SETT.

The suffix *-set*, as in Somer-set, represents the A.S. *-sāte*, a pl. form signifying settlers, residents, or inhabitants. There is also a by-form *-sātan*, pl., with the same sense. It occurs in Bricett, Elmsett, Hessett, Wetheringsett, and, etymologically, in Wissett.

BRICETT. Great Bricett is to the S.W. of Needham Market; the *i* is long, as in E. *ice*. Spelt *Bresete*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Brisete*, T.N., Ipm.; D.B. has *Brieseta*, pp. 226, 273; *Bricseta*, p. 248 (printed *Brieseta* in the Victoria County History of Suffolk). It is in the hundred of Bosmere, and we find in D.B., p. 306, the following note, which seems to allude to Bricett.—"Hundret de Bosemera. In *Brictices-haga* est silua qua poterant pasci xvi. porc'." Again, in D.B., p. 12, is another note:—"Herchesteda: ten' Harold t[empore] r[egis] e[dwardi] V. car' terre: *pro* berewica in *brictesceseia* in comitatu de exsessa [Essex]." It is certain that the latter note refers to Brightlingsea in Essex, lit. 'Brightling's island'; but instead of *-ling's* we here have *-esces*, for *-isces*, i.e. mod. E. *-ish's*. That is, instead of 'Brightling's island' it is here called 'Brightish's island,' which apparently expresses the same thing; the suffixes being adjectival and equivalent. In the same way, *Brictices haga* (better spelt *Brictisces haga*) means 'Brightish haw'; and we may fairly conclude that Bricett was originally *Brictsete* in Norman, or *Beorht-sāte* in A.S. spelling. The A.S. *beorht* is not only an adj., meaning 'bright,' but also a neut. sb., meaning 'brightness' or 'clear light.' I explain *Beorht-sāte* as 'settlers in a bright spot.' This may seem a somewhat strange formation, but it is exemplified and justified by the notorious form *Sumer-*

sāte, or 'summer-settlers,' which exists to-day as Somerset. That Brightset could pass into Bricett is sufficiently obvious; but it would not be easy to assign any other form which would give the same result. The intermediate form would be Brighset, which (if the *gh* be kept silent) fairly accounts for the modern pronunciation.

ELMSETT. Spelt *Elmesete*, T.N.; *Elmesset*, H.R.; *Elmeseta*, D.B., p. 249. We find the gen. pl. *Elmesētene* in Birch, C.D., i. 502, l. 11. The correct nom. pl. of this is *Elmesātan*, i.e. 'settlers at the elm,' or 'beside the elm.' *Elme* is in the dat. case, the prep. *āt*, 'at,' being understood.

HESSETT; also HEDGSETT (in 1813). Spelt *Hegesset*, H.R.; misspelt *Heteseta* (probably for *Heceseta*, with Norman *c* for *g*), D.B., p. 149. Copinger also gives *Heggesete*, *Heggesett*, *Hegsete*, *Hegyssete*. The *g* must have been single, because the M.E. *gg* became *dg*. The derivation is not exactly from the A.S. *hecg*, 'hedge,' but from the allied form *hege*, a 'hay' or fence. The sense is 'hay-settlers'; where *hay* is the prov. E. *hay*, 'a hedge, a fence, a boundary'; E.D.D. The A.S. form is *hege-sāte*.

WETHERINGSETT. Spelt *Wederingesete*, R.B.; *Wederingaseta*, D.B., p. 179; *Weringheseta* (a contracted form), D.B., p. 10. We find the A.S. form *Wederingesete* in Kemble, C.D. iv. 245; but the copy is in late and Norman spelling. The *th* is unoriginal, as in *father*, *mother* (A.S. *fāder*, *mōdor*); several words ending in *-der* were altered so as to end in *-ther* in the fifteenth century. No name begins with *Wether* in Old English; but the *Wederas*, or tribe of *Weders*, are mentioned repeatedly in Beowulf. They were a tribe of Gēats, and their province was called Weder-mearc or 'Weder-mark.' No doubt the Wederings belonged to this tribe. The sense is 'settlers belonging to the tribe of the Weders.'

WISSETT. Spelt *Wyssete*, Ipm.; *Wisete*, R.B.; *Wysete*, H.R.; *Wiseta*, D.B., p. 337; *Wisseta*, D.B., p. 25. The corresponding A.S. form should be *Wī-sāte*; and I take *wī* to represent the A.S. *wīh*, 'an idol,' of which the original sense was really 'a heathen temple,' like that of the O. Sax. *wīh*, Icel. *vē*. The

sense is 'settlers beside or near a temple.' A corresponding name *Vēseti* occurs in O. Norse, and was used as a personal name, though the original sense was 'settler near a temple'; see Björkman and Rygh. The name may have been merely borrowed from Norse; in which case it must be remembered that, as far as Suffolk was concerned, *Wīseti* was merely a personal name, the origin of which may have been but dimly remembered. Rygh gives no less than *seven* place-names in which the Norse name is preserved; such as *Veset-rud*, *Veset-vik*.

39. Stall.

This is the same word as the modern E. stall in cattle-stall; though the sense somewhat varies. It occurs in Burstall and Tunstall.

Burstall. To the W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Burstall*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Burgestala*, D.B., p. 189; *Burghestala*, D.B., pp. 193, 229. The A.S. form is *burg-steall*, lit. 'position for a fort'; not a common word. In the A.S. poem called 'The Ruins,' ed. Grein, l. 29, *brosnade burgsteal* means 'the foundation of the fort has crumbled to pieces.' In Wright and Wülker's Vocabularies, 205. 36, *burhsteal* has the curious sense of 'a path down a hill'; and the prov. E. *borstall* means 'a path up a steep hill'; or, in Kent, 'any seat on the side of a hill.'

Tunstall. Tunstall-cum-Dunningworth is nearly due W. of Aldeburgh. Spelt *Tunstall*, H.R.; T.N.; *Tonestala*, D.B., p. 236; *Tunestal*, D.B., p. 53. A.S. *tūn-steall*, a farmstead; from *tūn*, a 'town,' i.e. a farm; and *steall*, a stall, position, place, stead.

40. Stead.

Stead, a place, position, is the A.S. *stede*. It occurs in Belstead, Boxstead, Harkstead, Hawstead, Henstead, Linstead, Nettlestead, Polstead, Saxstead, Stanstead, Whepstead, Wherstead.

Belstead. S.W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Belstede*, H.R.; *Belesteda*, D.B., p. 51. I am in doubt as to the prefix; but think

it may be Norse. There is a Norse name *Beli*, occurring in the Edda; so that it might mean 'Beli's stead.' The gen. of *Beli* was *Belja*. Searle gives an E. name *Beola*, a moneyer in the time of Æthelred II. and Cnut. This may be merely the same name in E. spelling; and Belstead may represent Beolanstede. See BEALINGS (above).

BOXSTEAD, or BOXTED (Kelly). Spelt *Boxsted*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Boxstede*, T.N.; R.B.; *Boestedu*, D.B., pp. 138, 139. From A.S. *box*, a box-tree; and *stede*, a place. 'A place where box trees grow.'

HARKSTEAD. Spelt *Herkested*, H.R.; *Herkestede*, T.N., *Herchesteda* (with *che* = *ke*), D.B., pp. 12, 280. A similar prefix occurs in *Herces-næs*, *Herces-dīc*, and *Herces-get*; all in Birch, C.S. iii. 103. Compare also *Hærices-hamm*; in Birch, C.S. ii. 298. *Herc* may be a shortened form of *Hæric*. A likely sense is 'Hæric's place' or 'Herc's place' or 'stead.' A weak form *Hereca* is given in Searle, and is probably an allied name. But all these forms, *Hæric*, *Herc*, *Hereca*, are probably un-English, and are really due to an O. Norse *Herekr*, or *Hærekr*, explained by Rygh as a name which is only found in place-names, such as Herikstad (sometimes abbreviated to Herstad), which is obviously a Norse form of Harkstead. I regard Harkstead, accordingly, as due to Scandinavian influence.

HAWSTEAD. Spelt *Hausted*, H.R.; but *Halsteda*, D.B., p. 155. Copinger also gives *Halstead*, *Halsted*, *Halstede*, from other sources; so that an *ld* has been lost. I take the prefix to be the O. Merc. *hald*, A.S. *heald*, sloping; which sometimes appears in place-names. See *healdan graf*, sloping ditch; Birch, C.S. ii. 382; *healdan weg*, sloping way; id. 524; *healdan hlince*, sloping linch, id. iii. 33. The sense is 'sloping stead' or 'sloping place.' The form *hald* is also found in Old Frisian.

HENSTEAD. S.W. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Henestede*, H.R.: D.B., p. 238; *Henstede*, R.B.; *Henested*, *Hensted*, T.N. I regard it as a parallel formation to Henley; and explain it as representing A.S. *æt thām hēan stede*, 'at the high stead' or position. It is not very high, though above the Hundred river.

LINSTEAD. Spelt *Linsted*, Ipm.; *Linestede*, D.B., p. 61. The *e* before the *stede* in the latter form may be due to the *st* following, and need not be considered. From A.S. *līn*, flax; and *stede*, stead. The same prefix occurs in Linton, Cambs. The sense is 'flax-stead'; or place where flax was grown.

NETTLESTEAD. N.W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Netlested*, T.N.; *Netlestede*, R.B.; *Netlestedam*, D.B., p. 28. From A.S. *netele*, *netle*, a nettle. The sense is 'nettle-place.' There is another Nettlestead in Kent; spelt Netlestede in Birch, C.S. iii. 659, l. 19.

POLSTEAD. S.W. of Hadleigh. Spelt *Polsted*, R.B.; *Polstede*, T.N.; *Polesteda*, D.B., p. 241. It occurs as *Polstede* in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 525. From A.S. *pōl*, a pool; and *stede*, a stead, place. Lit. 'pool-stead.'

SAXSTEAD. Spelt *Saxstede*, Ipm.; *Saxteda*, D.B., p. 37. For O. Merc. *Saxan stede*, A.S. *Seaxan stede*. Lit. 'Saxa's stead.' Saxa is a known name.

STANSTEAD. Spelt *Stansted*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Stanesteda*, D.B., p. 255. For A.S. *stānstede*; lit. 'stone stead.'

WHEPSTEAD. Spelt *Whepstede*, T.N.; Ipm.; *Huepestede*, D.B., p. 152. The A.S. form Hwipstede occurs in Ælfhelm's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 596. The prefix must denote a personal name of the form *Hwipa or *Hwepa (gen. *Hwipan, *Hwepan); and the sense must be '*Hwipa's (or *Whepa's) stead.' There certainly was a base **hwip-*, probably with the sense of 'to move quickly' or 'to bend easily'; the A.S. *hwip-er* means unstable, infirm; Wright's Vocab. 245. 25.

WHERSTEAD. To the W. of the river Orwell, below Ipswich. Spelt *Whersted*, Ipm.; *Weruesteda*, D.B., p. 30. Copinger also quotes *Weruestede*, from another source. The prefix *Werue-*, for *Wherue-*, suggests the A.S. *hwearf*, *hwerf*, spelt *hwerf* in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 341, l. 7; where it seems to mean a protecting bank. It further suggests that there was a wharf, bank, or landing-place on the Orwell, near Wherstead; and it is remarkable that the Ordnance map marks a "Wharf" not far

off, on the bank of the Orwell between Wherstead and Freston. It seems probable, accordingly, that Wherstead means 'wharf-stead.' The church is quite half a mile from the river, but the Hall is nearer.

41. Stoke, Stock.

The A.S. *stoc* meant, in the first instance, a stock or log; but is evidently used also in the sense of habitation or settlement; perhaps one protected by stocks or stakes, and so fenced in. It is safest to explain it by 'settlement.' The length of the *o* is doubtful; I see no special reason for supposing that it was long (*stōc*), though it is sometimes so marked. The modern English *stoke* will best answer to A.S. *stoce*, dative, with short *o*; just as the mod. E. *broken* is the A.S. *brŏcen*.

It seems only necessary to add that there is a Stoke-by-Clare, i.e. near Clare; a Stoke-by-Nayland; and a place called Stoke Ash, to the S.W. of Eye. The A.S. *stoc* occurs as a suffix in Tostock.

Tostock. To the E. of Bury. Spelt *Tostoke*, H.R.; *Totstocha* (with *ch* for *k*), D.B., p. 166; *Totestoc*, D.B., p. 8. The last is the fullest form. For A.S. *Tottan-stoc*; a form which occurs in Kemble, C.D. ii. 372. The sense is 'Totta's settlement.'

42. Stone.

Chediston. Near Halesworth. The suffix is not *-ton*, but *-stone*, as the old forms show. Spelt *Chedeston*, *Chedestan*, H.R.; *Cedestan* (with *ce* for *che*), D.B., p. 328; ill-spelt *Cidestan*, D.B., p. 103; misspelt *Sedestana* (with *se* for *ce*), D.B., p. 25. The A.S. *Ce* becomes M.E. *Che*; and the corresponding A.S. form is *Ceddes stān*, i.e. 'Cedd's stone.' This is more likely than *Ceddan stān*, i.e. 'Cedda's stone.' Cedd and Cedda are both real names, and are closely allied.

43. Stow.

Stow is the A.S. *stow*, a place; whence the phrase *to stow away*. There is a hundred named Stow; West Stow, two and a half miles W. of Ingham (N. of Bury); and Stowmarket, near

which is Stow Upland. The hundred may have been named from Stow, which was doubtless the old name of Stowmarket; since *market* is a word of Picard-French origin. Stowmarket is somewhere near the centre of Stow hundred. And *stow* appears as a suffix in Felixstowe.

FELIXSTOWE. Copinger gives eleven spellings of this name. One of them is *Felixstow*. But the other ten are very different, viz. *Filthestowe*, *Fillthustowe*; also (with *c* for *t*, erroneously) *Felchestowe*, *Filchestowe*, *Fylchestow*; *Felyestowe* (with *y* for the A.S. þ = *th*); and (in a contracted form) *Felstow*, *Fylstowe*, *Fylstoe*, *Filston* (error for *Filstou*). It is quite certain that, not long after the Conquest, the prevalent form was *Filthestow*, and that it was afterwards shortened to *Filthstow* and *Filstow*. The name Felixstow is, in fact, not the original one, and does not occur in early documents; but it was known in the time of Henry VIII., as it occurs in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, made during that reign. A distinction is there drawn between "prior' de *Filstowe* modo subpress'" (vol. iii. p. 447) and "monasterio de *Felyxstowe*" (vol. iii. p. 449); so that the names did not then refer to the same place. In Tanner's Notitia Monastica (ed. 1787) there is mention of the monastery of Walton St Felix; and he speaks of a MS. that refers to "the priory of Felixstowe, alias Fylchestowe in Walton." It appears, in fact, that Walton St Felix was a priory founded by Roger Bigod, about 1105; that it was called by the name of Felix; and that it was situate at Walton, about a mile from Filstow, properly so called[1]. The names were confused, and so the name of Filstow was sometimes changed to Felixstow, though many still held to the older name. Thus we find in Raven's Suffolk, p. 150—"Felixtow alias Fylstou." But in the present enlightened days, the more attractive name has prevailed, owing to such advancement of knowledge as has enabled the antiquaries to discover that the historian Beda mentions the labours of St Felix in Suffolk, who "had the see of his bishopric appointed him in the city Dommoc," which was the old name of Dunwich (Hist. Eccl. ii. 15). Dunwich, after all, is not

[1] "The church of St Felix in Walton"; Kirby, p. 88.

Felixstow, but it is in the same county; which is held to be good enough for corroboration of a blunder. One hardy fable is that St Felix *landed* near Felixstowe when he came from Burgundy!

It is more to the purpose to discover the origin of the true name Filstow. On this subject, we read in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 71:—"Felixstowe, co. Suffolk, apparently represents a *Fileth-stow*, as it is called *Filthstowe* in 1316 (Nomina Villarum, 319 a)." They explain that "Fileth is an unexplained word that occurs several times in local names"; and they give examples, in which occur the spellings *fileth*, *filet*, *filed*, *fylet*, and once *felet* (probably by error), in compounds; and uncompounded, in the expression *on filetha*; see Birch, C.S. iii. 494, 589, &c.; ii. 519. Such nouns are often made from verbs, and the right form may be *fyleth* (for *fylleth*), from *fyllan*, to fell trees. It would then correspond to the prov. E. *fellet*, 'the portion of a wood felled annually, a portion of felled wood.' The original sense may have been, simply, 'a place of felled trees,' a place where trees have been felled to make a clearing. It is compounded with *lēah*, a lea, *cumb*, a combe, *hamm*, an enclosure, and *stow*, a place; all implying some special locality, and all suitable. But whatever the right sense may be, we at any rate learn that Felixstow is an ingenious 'learned' alteration of a place that was once named Filethstow, afterwards shortened to Filthstow and Filstow. (I find that Middendorf derives *fileth* from A.S. *fillan*, to flay, skin, with reference to the removal of turf; but no such verb is found in A.S., and the sense is very forced. On the other hand, the verb 'to fell' appears as *fille* in the best (Ellesmere) MS. of Chaucer: "It semed as it wolde *fille* an ook"; Knightes Tale, A 1702.)

44. Thorpe.

Thorpe, more correctly *thorp*, is the O. Frisian and A.S. *thorp*, 'a village'; cognate with Du. *dorp*, G. *dorf*. We find (in Suffolk) Thorpe-Morieux, a hamlet called Thorpe near Aldringham, and Thorpe-by-Ixworth; and also Westhorpe. The first takes the name of Morieux from a Norman family so

called. The O. Fr. *moriel* (of which *morieux* is the plural) is a variant of *morel*, meaning 'mulberry-coloured'; the name *Morel* was often given to a horse. Westhorpe is merely compounded of West and Thorpe. Thorp is not exclusively Scandinavian, as some say.

45. Toft.

Toft meant a green knoll, open ground, or homestead; see my Etym. Dict. It occurs in Lowestoft and in Stowlangtoft. The latter is a mere compound, containing *Stow*, a place, *lang*, i.e. long; and *toft*; and Kirby thinks it was named from a family of Langtofts.

Lowestoft. Copinger gives many forms, including late spellings such as *Laistoft*, *Leistoft*, and *Lestoff*; the last of these represents a common pronunciation of it. An early spelling is *Lowistoft*, H.R.; T.N. D.B., p. 5, has *Lothuwistofte*. Here *Lothuwis* represents an A.S. *Hlōthuwīges*, gen. of *Hlōthuwīg*, usually spelt Hlōthewīg or Hlōdwīg; the form *Hlōthewīg* occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 491, l. 1. This A.S. name is cognate with the Old High German Hluduwig or Hludwig, Mid. High G. Ludewic, G. Ludwig; a famous name, Latinised as Chlodovichus and Chlodovius, which produced the F. Louis. Thus the sense is 'Hlōthuwīg's toft' or homestead.

46. Ton, unstressed form of Town.

Acton. N. by E. from Sudbury. Spelt *Aketona*, D.B., p. 71, and on the same page, *Achetuna*. Copinger gives several forms, of which the most important are *Acketon*, *Aketon*, *Aketone*, *Aketune*; showing (by the *e* before the *t*) that it is not derived from A.S. *āc-tūn*, i.e. 'oak-town,' as is the case with some of the Actons elsewhere. Moreover, this Suffolk Acton appears as *Acantūn* in a list of boundaries of land at Bildeston, which is in the neighbourhood; and this A.S. form is consistent with the forms given above. Hence the meaning of this Acton is 'Aca's town,' Aca is a known name. See Birch, C.S. iii. 603. The A.S. *tūn*, lit. 'town,' had, practically, the sense of 'farm.'

ALDERTON. Near the E. coast, to the S. of the mouth of the Alde. Spelt *Alderton*, Ipm.; but *Alretuna* in D.B., p. 74; and *Alreton* in the Crawford Charters, p. 33. The prefix represents A.S. *alra*, gen. pl. of *alr*, an alder-tree. The sense is 'alders' town,' or 'farm by the alder-trees.'

ALPHETON. W. by N. from Lavenham. Also spelt ALPHEATON (Kelly). Spelt *Alfeton*, *Alffleton*, H.R. The latter spelling answers to the A.S. form *Ælflādetūn* in a Worcestershire Charter; in Birch, iii. 586. *Ælflāde* is better spelt *Ælfflāde*, the gen. of *Ælfflād*, a female name, which accounts for the gen. in *-e* and the spelling *Alffleton* (with the double *f*). The sense is 'town (or farm) of Ælfflād.' She was probably a widow.

AMPTON. N. of Bury, near Ingham station. Copinger records the old forms *Ameton*, *Ametone*, *Ametun*; spelt *Hametuna* (with *H* wrongly prefixed) in D.B., p. 165. The prefix represents the A.S. *Amman*, gen. of *Amma*; cf. *Amman-brōc*, *Amman-well* (both in Kemble's Index). The sense is 'Amma's farm.'

ASSINGTON. N.W. of Nayton. Spelt *Asetune*, R.B.; *Asington*, T.N.; *Asinton*, *Asington*, H.R.; *Asetona*, D.B., p. 271. Copinger also records *Asentune*, *Assinton*, *Asynton*. The A.S. form is certainly *Asantūn*; and the *-an* has been turned into *-en*, *-in*, and *-ing*. We must neglect the *g* in this case. The sense is 'Asa's farm.' Asa is a known E. name.

ATHELINGTON. E. of Occold, which is S. by E. from Eye. Spelt *Athelington*, Ipm.; answering to A.S. *Æthelinga-tūn*; lit. 'town (or farm) of the Æthelings or nobles.' The A.S. *ætheling* means a prince or nobleman. Cf. Athelney, of which the old form was Æthelinga-īg, or 'isle of nobles.' Perhaps I ought to add that to translate *æthelinga* by 'noble' in these instances is by no means certain; since Æthelinga might equally well have the simpler sense of 'son of Æthela,' i.e. 'son of any one whose name began with Æthel'; and such names are numerous.

BACTON. N. of Stowmarket. Copinger gives the forms *Baketon*, *Bakenton*; D.B. has *Bachetuna*, p. 292 (with *che* for *ke*).

The late A.S. *Baketun* occurs in the Crawford Charters, p. 33. For A.S. *Bacan-tūn*. The sense is 'Baca's farm.' Baca is a known name.

Barton. Great Barton; N.E. of Bury. Spelt *Bertuna*, D.B., p. 162. A.S. *beretūn*, lit. 'corn-farm,' or barley-enclosure; from *bere*, barley. There are many Bartons.

Belton. S.W. of Yarmouth. Spelt *Belton*, H.R.; *Beltone*, R.B.; *Beletuna*, D.B., pp. 6, 8. For the prefix, see Belstead.

Beyton. Spelt *Beyton*, Ipm.; *Beytone*, R.B.; *Begatona*, D.B., p. 259. It answers to A.S. *Bēgan-tūn*. The prefix *Bēgan* occurs in *Bēgan-wyrth*; Birch, C.S. iii. 96, l. 29. The sense is 'Bēga's farm.' The prefix in Bayford (Herts.) is not quite the same, as the form in D.B. is *Begesford*; see my Place-names of Herts., p. 27.

Bildeston. N. of Hadleigh. Spelt *Bildeston*, H.R.; T.N.; *Bildestone*, R.B.; *Bilestuna*, D.B., p. 291. The *d* is intrusive, as the last form shows. Alluded to in the form *Byliges-dȳne*; Birch, C.S. iii. 603; where *dȳne* is a derivative from *dūn*. The same prefix occurs in *Bylges-lēge*, in the A.S. Chron., an. 1055. The sense is 'Bylig's farm.'

Blundeston. N.W. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Blundeston*, H.R. *Blundes* is the gen. of *Blund*, which occurs as a personal name in the name-list given in Ipm., vol. i. Of Norse origin; Zoega has: Icel. "*blundr*, m. dozing, slumber; occurs as a nickname." The sense is 'Blund's farm'; Blund (orig. Blundr) being Norse.

Boyton. S. of Butley, and near the Butley river. Spelt *Bointone*, R.B.; *Boituna*, D.B., p. 31. Copinger also has the form *Boynton*. The prefix *Boin-* is short for A.S. *Boian*, late form of *Bogan*, gen. of *Boga*, a known name. The sense is 'Boga's farm.'

Brampton. N.E. of Halesworth. Spelt *Brampton*, T.N.; but *Brantuna*, D.B., p. 15; *Brantuna*, D.B., p. 102. Copinger also gives the form *Bramton*; and the *p* is certainly unoriginal.

The dat. form *Bramtūne* occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 1121. The form with *mt* must be older than that with *nt*; the change from *mt* to *nt* is easy, but that from *nt* to *mt* is abnormal. The same prefix *Bram-* occurs again in *Bramcestria* (Birch, C.S. iii. 280), which is Brancaster in Norfolk; showing that the original form of Brancaster was *Bramceaster* in Anglo-Saxon. The meaning of Bram (which can hardly, in the latter case, represent a personal name) is unknown; but it may be related to the A.S. *brōm*, a broom, with which the mod. E. *bramble* is etymologically connected. The sense of 'bramble-farm' seems possible here. (If a personal name, it is from *Brama*, gen. of *Brami*, a Norse name; see Nielsen.)

Brandeston. *Brandeston* (Leic.) appears in Ipm. We also find *Branteston*, T.N.; *Braundestone*, in the Liber Custumarum; *Brantestuna*, D.B., p. 302; but *Brandestuna*, D.B., p. 216. *Brandes* is the gen. of the known name *Brand*; and the sense is 'Brand's farm.'

Browston, in Belton; a hamlet one mile S.E. of Belton. Copinger gives, as old spellings, the forms *Broweston* and *Broxton*. It answers, by position, to *Brockestuna*, D.B., p. 7; and the last two forms suggest that a guttural sound has been lost, and that the original form was *Brocces-tūn*; with which compare *Brocces-ham*, *-hlāw*, and *-slæd*, in Kemble's Index. The sense may have been 'Brocc's farm.'

Carlton. Carlton Colville is to the S.W. of Lowestoft; and Colville is the name of a Norman family connected with it. Spelt *Carleton*, T.N., H.R.; *Carletuna*, D.B., p. 254; *Karletuna*, D.B., p. 43. For A.S. *Carla tūn*, 'farm of the churls' or husbandmen. *Carla* is the gen. pl. of *carl*, a churl, a husbandman; where *carl* is not the true native word, but borrowed from the O. Norse *karl*, a man, rustic, carle; the A.S. related word is *ceorl*, mod. E. *churl*; as in Chelsworth.

Chelmondiston. Commonly called Chemton (Kirby). Near the S.W. bank of the Orwell. Spelt *Chelmundeston*, H.R.; *Chelmondeston*, T.N. The A.S. form is *Cēolmundes tūn*, i.e. 'Cēolmund's farm.' Cēolmund was once a very common name.

CHEVINGTON. S.W. of Bury. The *g* is a late insertion; it should have been Cheventon. Spelt *Cheventon*, H.R.; *Ceventuna* (with *Ce* for *Che*), D.B., p. 153. The prefix is the A.S. *Ceofan*, gen. of *Ceofa*; and the sense is 'Ceofa's farm.'

CHILTON. Near Sudbury. Spelt *Chilton*, Ipm.; *Ciltona* (with *Ci* for *Chi*), D.B., p. 47. Copinger also gives the spellings *Cheletuna*, *Chelton*, without references. But these forms are doubtless right, and show that *e* was the older vowel. The prefix *Chele-* represents the A.S. *Cēolan*, as in *Cēolan-hyrst*; Birch, C.S., ii. 458. *Cēolan* is the gen. of *Cēola*; and the sense is 'Cēola's farm.' *Cēola* would become *Cheel*, easily shortened to *Chil*.

CLOPTON. Spelt *Clopton*, H.R.: *Clopetuna*, D.B., p. 70. The prefix *Clope-* answers to the A.S. *Cloppa* in *Cloppa-hām*; see Sweet, E. Eng. Texts, p. 451. This *Cloppa* looks like a gen. pl. from a nom. *clop*, as in *clop-æcer*, *clop-hyrst*, in Birch, C.S., iii. 589, 590. In this case, it is difficult to assign the origin; unless we ally it to the O.H.G. *claph*, 'a boulder.' Otherwise, *Clope* may answer to the A.S. *Cloppan*, gen. of *Cloppa*, a personal name, not exactly found; but it may be the equivalent of Clappa, the name of a king of Bernicia in Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, i. 6; according to Prof. Moorman, in his account of Clapham in the W. Riding, Clapham in Surrey is called Cloppaham in Kemble, C.D., no. 317; so that Clap and Clop seem to have been convertible.

CONEY WESTON. N. of Ixworth; not far from the Little Ouse. Spelt *Cuneyestuna*, D.B., p. 169; showing that the name has suffered some alteration. The original prefix must have been the O. Norse *konungs*, a form of the gen. of *konung*, a king. The second *n* being lost, this took the form *konugs*; or (with the English suffix *-es* in place of the Norse *s*) *konuges*, fairly well represented by the *Cuneges* in D.B.; after which the *-es* was dropped, and the prefix became Coney. We thus see that the original sense was 'king's town or farm'; which would regularly have given a later form Coneyton; but the latter part of the word was changed from *ton* to *Weston* (west

town); evidently by association with the neighbouring village called Market Weston, the prefix Coney being contrasted with that of Market. Compare Coneythorpe in the W. Riding, which means 'king's thorpe' or 'king's village.'

CORTON. On the E. coast, N. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Cortone*, R.B.; *Corton*, H.R.; *Karetuna*, D.B., p. 6 (which can hardly be quite correct, but must stand for *Koretuna*). The sense of the prefix is unknown and uncertain; but *Kore-* suggests an A.S. *Coran, gen. of *Cora, used as a personal name. That such a name was in use is suggested by the occurrence of *Cores*, the gen. of a strong form *Cor*. *Cores* occurs in *Coresbróc*; in Kemble, C.D., no. 632. Hence a possible sense is 'Cora's farm.'

COTTON. Near Mendlesham. Spelt *Coton*, H.R.; but D.B. has *Cottuna*, pp. 10, 11; *Cotetuna*, p. 84; and *Codetuna*, p. 58. It is clear that, of these forms, *Codetuna* is the older; afterwards *d* became *t*, and the two *t*'s were united. *Codentuna* at once suggests an equivalent A.S. form *Codan-tūn*. The prefix *Codan* occurs in *Codan-ford*; Birch, C.S., ii. 224, l. 3. The sense is 'Coda's farm.' See CODDENHAM.

DENNINGTON. N. of Framlingham. Spelt *Dingeueton*, H.R.; *Dingiuetuna*, D.B., p. 90; *Dingiuetona*, D.B., p. 91; *Binneuetuna* (where *B* is an error for *D*), D.B., p. 95. Copinger gives a large number of later forms, among which may be particularly noticed these: *Digneveton, Dingneueton, Dingniueton, Dinieneton, Dyneyeueton*. It is clear that the original suffix was by no means *-ington*; but that *-ington* was substituted for something far less usual. All the forms can, without much difficulty, be deduced from A.S. *Denegife, gen. of a female name *Denegifu. Though this name does not happen to occur, it is regular and probable, as it is compounded of the common prefix *Dene-* and the common suffix *-gifu*. Moreover, we find a similar form *Denegȳth*, also a female name, with a gen. *Denegȳthe*. The compound place-name *Dengithe-graf* (with *i* for *ȳ*) occurs in Birch, C.S., ii. 419, l. 3. The *g* in *gifu* was pronounced as *y*, and the form Deneyiveton easily became Denyivton; and this

unusual and difficult form was changed to Dennington, because the suffix *-ington* was common. I have little hesitation in explaining this unusual name to mean 'Denegifu's farm'; and we must remember that this is a female name, with a genitive in *-e*.

DENSTONE; otherwise DENARDISTON (Kelly). Spelt *Denardeston*, H.R.; *Danerdestuna*, D.B., p. 219. Evidently for *Deneheardes tūn* (O. Merc. *Denehardes tūn*). The gen. occurs (with *Dæne-* for the more usual *Dene-*) in *Dæneheardes hegerewe*; Birch, C.S., ii. 81. The sense is 'Denehard's farm.'

DRINKSTONE. E. by S. from Bury. Spelt *Drencheston*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Drencestuna*, D.B., p. 164. Other spellings (in Copinger) are *Drengstone*, *Dryngeston*, which are, practically, better. The form *Rengestuna* occurs in D.B., p. 21, with initial *D* omitted by mistake. A more correct form would be *Drenges-tūn*, where *Drenges* is the gen. of the A.S. *dreng*, a warrior, soldier; not an English word, and only occurring once, as it was borrowed from O. Norse. The O. Norse word was *drengr*, a valiant man, strong young fellow. The sense is 'soldier's farm.' The same prefix occurs in Dringhouse, in the W. Riding; see the discussion of the social position of the *drengr* in Prof. Moorman's W. Riding Names, p. xxiii.

N.B.—Dreng was also a personal name (Nielsen).

EASTON. There are two Eastons; one near Southwold, and another on the Deben. It means 'east town' or 'east farm.'

EDWARDSTONE. Between Sudbury and Hadleigh. Spelt *Edwardeston*, T.N.; Ipm.; *Eduardestuna*, D.B., p. 47. For A.S. *Ēadweardes tūn*; O. Merc. *Ēadwardes tūn*; mod. E. 'Edward's farm.'

ERWARTON. N. of the Stour, near its mouth. Spelt *Euerwardton*, H.R.; *Eurewardestuna*, D.B., p. 229. For O. Merc. *Eforwardes tūn*, A.S. *Eoforweardes tūn*. The sense is 'Eforward's farm.'

EUSTON. S.E. of Thetford. Spelt *Eustone*, R.B.; *Eueston*, H.R.; *Euestuna*, D.B., p. 174. In the last two examples, *u* is

for *v*; so that an older name was Eveston. The prefix is the same as in Evesham, viz. the A.S. *Eofes*, gen. of *Eof*, a known name. The sense is 'Eof's farm.'

FLEMPTON. N.W. of Bury. The spelling in D.B. is *Flemingtuna*, p. 154. This answers to A.S. *flēaminga tūn* or O. Merc. *flēminga tūn*, where *flēaminga* is the gen. pl. of *fleaming*, a fugitive. The sense is 'farm of the fugitives.'

FLIXTON. There are two Flixtons; one near Bungay, and one near Lowestoft. Spelt *Flixton*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Flixtuna*, D.B., p. 6. Perhaps of Norse origin. Nielsen says that Flik was a Danish name, known in the thirteenth century. This form would suit very well, as it would take the form of Flikkes when declined as an E. name. It is quite likely that Flixton meant 'Flik's farm.' In Raven's Hist. of Suffolk, p. 44, it is said that "the two Flixtons preserve the name of Felix." Of course this is wholly impossible, and shows what comes of neglecting phonetic laws. The stressed vowel in Felix cannot disappear; a shortened form would become Feli or Fele.

FLOWTON. Between Bury and Bildeston. The name (like Browston) has lost a guttural; spelt *Flokton* in Ipm.; *Flochetuna* (with *che* for *ke*), D.B., pp. 114, 226. The A.S. *ct* becomes *ht*; and this *ht* becomes M.E. *gh*, and then *w*; the form *Floctūn* would regularly become *Flohtūn*, *Floghton*, *Flowton*. The present form shows that the *e* in the D.B. form *Flochetuna* was falsely inserted; and that the A.S. form was *Floctūn*, with the *c* and *t* in contact. Floctūn is for *flocc-tūn*; from *flocc*, a flock of sheep. The sense is 'flock-farm' or 'sheep-farm.'

FRESTON. Near the S.W. bank of the Orwell. Spelt *Frestune*, H.R.; *Fresetuna*, D.B., p. 230. A.S. *Fresan tūn*; Birch, C.S., iii. 602. *Fresan* is the gen. of *Fresa*, a Frisian. The sense is 'farm (or town) of the Frisian.' This is an interesting result. See FRISTON.

FRISTON. S.W. of Saxmundham. This name is a mere variant of Freston (above), and has the same sense. And see FRESSINGFIELD.

FRITTON. N.W. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Freton*, H.R.; *Fridetuna*, D.B., p. 7 (with *d* for *th*). For A.S. *Frith-tūn*; see Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 564, l. 7. Cf. A.S. *frith-burh*, a town in which *frith* or peace between two parties was secured. Hence the sense is 'frith farm,' or 'a farm to which security was assured.' The security may have been due to situation. For the development of the senses of *frith*, see N.E.D.

GORLESTON. It forms a part of Great Yarmouth. Spelt *Gorleston*, T.N., H.R.; *Gurleston*, T.N.; *Gorlestuna*, D.B., p. 6. The prefix evidently represents the gen. case of a name which has been cut down to Gorl. I can think of no form that would admit of this except *Gorwulf, made (like Gārwulf) with the suffix *wulf*. There is such a prefix as *Gor-*, in limited use; it occurs in *Gor-mund* and *Gor-nōth*. Gārwulf became Gārulf, and might (in D.B.) have been shortened to Gār'l, but would hardly have given the required vowel *o* at so early a date as 1086. As a rather likely guess, I suggest the sense of 'Gorwulf's farm.'

GUNTON. Near Lowestoft. Spelt *Gunetone*, R.B.; *Guneton*, H.R. Evidently Norse. From the O. Norse *Gunna-tūn*; where *Gunna* is the O.N. gen. of *Gunni*, a known masc. name, which is common in place-names (Rygh). The sense is 'Gunni's farm.'

HACHESTON. Spelt *Hacheston*, *Haccheston*, Ipm.; *Hacestuna*, D.B., p. 26; *Hecestuna*, D.B., p. 12. The palatalised form suggests an English origin, rather than Norse. The patronymic *Hæcing* occurs in Birch, C.S., ii. 403, l. 27, from a form *Hæc (gen. Hæces). The sense is probably 'Hæc's farm.' The weak form *Haca* is known.

HARLESTON. Three miles N.W. of Stowmarket Station. Spelt *Herleston*, H.R.; *Heroluestuna*, D.B., p. 159. A.S. *Heorulfes tūn*; Kemble, C.D., no. 722. *Heorulfes* is the gen. of *Heorulf*, shortened form of *Heoruwulf*. The sense is 'Heoruwulf's farm.'

HASKETON. Near Woodbridge. Spelt *Hasketon*, H.R.; *Haschetuna*, D.B., p. 69; *Hascetuna*, D.B., p. 70. The *sk*

shows that the name is of Norse origin. Rygh gives O. Norse *Höskuldr*, a Norse personal name which appears in place-names as Haskel. Hence *Haskeltūn, shortened to Hasketūn. The sense is therefore 'Höskuldr's farm.'

HEMINGSTONE. E. by S. of Needham Market. Spelt *Hemingeston*, T.N.; *Hemingestone*, Ipm.; *Hamingestuna*, D.B., pp. 29, 115. But Copinger also gives the fuller forms *Helmingstone*, *Hemelingeston*, showing that an *el* has been lost after the *m*. The original form was therefore *Hemelinges tūn*; and the sense is 'Hemeling's farm,' or 'farm of the son of Hemele.' Hemele is a known name, of which Searle gives *six* examples.

HINTON. A mile and a half S.W. of Blythburgh. Spelt *Hinetuna*, D.B., p. 101. There are several Hintons; and Hinton (Dors.) is spelt *Hineton* in Ipm., p. 20. These spellings show that Hinton represents the A.S. *hīna tūn* where *hīna* is the gen. of *hīwan*, a pl. sb. meaning 'domestic servants,' and allied to mod. E. *hind*, an agricultural labourer. The sense is 'farm of the labourers'; a farm held by the labourers upon it, of which there were examples in a few places. Cf. CARLTON (above).

HOLTON. Near Halesworth. Spelt *Holeton*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Holiton*, H.R.; *Holetuna*, D.B., pp. 67, 102. Not from A.S. *hālig*, holy, because the A.S. *ā* is represented by *a* in D.B., as in A.S. *stāntūn*, D.B. *Stanton*, &c. In some cases Hol- represents A.S. *holan*, 'hollow,' but this is scarcely applicable here. Rather, in this case, the corresponding A.S. *Holan-tūn* must be due to a personal name *Hola* (gen. *Holan*), as also in such a compound as *Holan-beorh*, Hola's hill or barrow. The sense is 'Hola's farm.' And see HOLLESLEY.

HONINGTON. N. by W. from Ixworth. Spelt *Honeweton*, Ipm.; *Hunegtuna*, D.B., p. 171. Copinger also has *Honyton*, *Hunegetune*. *Huneg* represents the A.S. *hunig*, honey. Kemble has several place-names beginning with *Hunig*, as *Hunig-brōc*, *-burne*, *-ham*, *-hyrst*, &c.; and there seems to be no reason against its occurrence here also. The sense is 'honey-farm,'

or a farm where bees were kept. It might be supposed that Honiton became Honington by confusion with the numerous places ending in *-ington*, as in other cases. But in the present case a simpler solution presents itself. The Danish for *honey* is *honning*, and the Swedish is *honing*; so that Honing was merely due to the Scandinavian way of pronouncing *honey*.

Hopton. N. of Lowestoft. There is another Hopton, near Thetford. Spelt *Hopeton*, H.R.; T.N.; *Hopetuna*, D.B., p. 170; *Hoppetuna*, D.B., p. 66; *Hopestuna*, D.B., p. 69. The last form contains an *s*, which can hardly be original. There is another Hopton in the W. Riding; and it is supposed that the prefix is the A.S. *hop*, mod. prov. E. *hope*, 'a small enclosed valley,' 'a recess in a valley,' or 'a piece of enclosed land.' The sense is 'hope farm'; where *hope* is to be thus explained. The insertion of the *e* seems to have no meaning in this case.

Hunston. S.E. of Ixworth. Formerly *Hunterstuna*, D.B., p. 11. Copinger also gives the forms *Honterston*, *Huntereston*, *Hunteriston*, and the like; all answering to A.S. *Hunteres tūn*, i.e. 'Hunter's town' or 'farm.'

Kedington. Near Haverhill. Spelt *Ketton* in 1813, in Beauties of England, xiv. 142; *Keditun*, T.N.; H.R.; *Kidituna*, D.B., p. 220. Copinger also gives *Kedintun*, *Kedynton*; showing that an *n* must be supplied before *t*. The name does not seem to be Norse; nor can it be from an A.S. base Ced-, because that would have given us Ched-. The use of *i* in *Kid-* in D.B., and of *e* in *Ked-* in other records, suggests that the A.S. vowel was *y*, before which the *C* would remain hard. The A.S. form was probably *Cydan-tūn*; where *Cydan* is the gen. of *Cyda*. The name *Cȳda* occurs in the Durham Liber Vitae. If this be right, the sense is 'Cȳda's farm.' The A.S. suffix *-an* became M.E. *-en* (regularly), and might easily pass into *-in*. The late form in *-ington* arose from confusion with the suffix *-ington*, as correctly used in other instances.

Kenton. N.E. of Debenham. Spelt *Keneton*, Ipm.; *Chenetuna* (with *Che* for *Ke*), D.B., p. 49; *Kenetuna*, D.B., p. 91. The A.S. *c* becomes *ch* before short *e*, but remains hard before a

long one, as in Kenelm, from A.S. *Cēnhelm*. Hence Kene- represents A.S. *Cēnan*, gen. of *Cēna*, a known name. The sense is 'Cēna's farm.' Cf. mod. E. Keene.

KETTLEBASTON. Near Bildeston. Spelt *Kettilbarston* in 1813; in Beauties of England, xiv. 216; *Kettleberstone*, Ipm.; and (in Copinger) *Cutelberston*, *Ketelberston*; so that *r* must be supplied before the *s*. D.B., p. 177, gives *Kitelbeornastuna*, which agrees with the known personal name *Cytelbearn*, *Cytelbarn*, *Ketelbarn*; lit. 'Cytel's or Cetel's son,' from A.S. *bearn*, O. Merc. *barn*, O. Norse *barn*, 'child.' The sense is 'Cytelbarn's farm,' or 'farm of Cytel's son.' Cytel is the same as the Norse name Ketill; and Ketelbern occurs as a Norse name (Björkman).

KIRTON, or KIRKTON. N.W. of Felixstowe. Spelt *Kirketone*, R.B.; *Kirketune*, H.R.; *Cherchetuna*, D.B., p. 229, which is an Englished form. But Kirkton is of Norse origin; from the O. Norse *kirkja*, church. The sense is 'church-town' or 'church-farm.'

LEISTON. To the E. of Saxmundham. Spelt *Leyston*, H.R.; but this is a contracted form, since it appears as *Lestaneston* in Ipm., p. 218, col. 1; *Leiston*, D.B., p. 59. It does not seem to correspond in position to *Leofstanestuna* in D.B., pp. 121, 123; but it represents the same name. The A.S. form was *Lēofstānes tūn*, or 'Lēofstan's farm.' It is quite likely that Leiston arose from the shortening of *-stonston* to *-ston*; to avoid repetition.

LEVINGTON. S.E. of Ipswich. Spelt *Levington*, Ipm.; *Levintone*, R.B.; *Leuentona*, D.B., p. 251; *Leuetuna*, D.B., p. 121. It is clear that the insertion of *g* is comparatively late. It represents the A.S. *Lēofan tūn*; i.e. 'Lēofa's farm.' Lēofa was a pet-name for Lēofrīc, or for other names beginning with Lēof.

MARKET WESTON, i.e. west town; see WESTON.

MELTON. Near Woodbridge. Spelt *Melton*, T.N.; *Meltuna*, D.B., p. 25. [N.B.—The reference in Kemble's Index to Meltun

is wrong; the charter relates to Kent, and has the forms Meletun, Melentun, but not Meltun.] Copinger also gives the forms *Meltoune* and *Malton*; the last is doubtful. The forms suggest a compound word, not a name followed by *-ton*; because *l* and *t* are in immediate contact. Perhaps we may here take *mel* as a Norse word, as in the place-name MELLIS (see p. 124). The sense will be then given by the Norw. *mel*, a sandbank along a river-course, which in the present case is the Orwell. That is, it will mean 'farm near a sandbank.' Note: in the Glossary to Thorpe's Diplomatorium, he explains Methelton as meaning Melton (Suff.). This can hardly be right, and it contradicts his own suggestion at p. 591, that Methelton means Middleton.

MIDDLETON. Near Westleton; Kelly describes it as 3 miles S. of Darsham station, on the river Minsmere. There are many Middletons, and some of them are strangely shortened to Milton, as good evidence proves. Spelt *Mideltuna*, D.B., p. 24; *Middeltuna*, D.B., p. 63; and Copinger cites the forms *Medilton*, *Middilton*, *Midelton*. It means 'middle farm,' as in other cases, though the point of the application is not obvious. Thorpe, in his Diplomatorium, p. 591, equates Middleton with the A.S. Metheltun, which I believe to be wrong.

MOULTON. E. of Newmarket. Spelt *Muletone*, R.B.; *Muleton*, T.N.; *Muletuna*, D.B., p. 184. A.S. *Mūlan tūn*; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 508. The sense is 'Mula's farm.'

NACTON. S.E. of Ipswich. Spelt *Naketon*, H.R.; *Naketune*, R.B.; *Nachetuna* (with *che* for *ke*), D.B., p. 251. The prefix is not English, but Norse; from the O. Norse *Nakki*, gen. *Nakka* (Rygh). The sense is 'Nakki's farm.'

NEWTON, near Sudbury. OLD NEWTON, near Haughley. Newton means 'new town,' or 'new farm'; but the older one of the pair has the extraordinary name of *Old* Newton, as it is older than the Conquest, and is called *Niwetuna* in D.B., p. 159, and *Newetuna*, D.B., p. 140; from A.S. *nīwe*, new. It was called Newton Vetus in 1278; see Ipm.

NORTON. S.E. of Ixworth. Spelt *Nortuna*, D.B., p. 8. For A.S. *north tūn*. The sense is 'North farm.' It lies to the north of Tostock, and may have been named from that circumstance.

NOWTON. S. of Bury. Spelt *Nottone*, R.B.; *Nawton*, V.E.; *Neotuna*, D.B., p. 153. The form of the word suggests that it is rather Norse than English. The prefix appears to be the O. Norse *naut*, cattle (E. *neat*, A.S. *nēat*). The sense is 'cattle farm.' Cf. M.E. *nowt*, neat cattle. Björkman, p. 99, gives an example in which *nouthird* means 'neat-herd.' The *ow* in Nowton is pronounced like the *ow* in *now*.

OFTON, or OFFTON. N.W. of Ipswich, but at some distance from it. Spelt *Offintone*, R.B.; *Offeton*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Offinton*, T.N.; *Offetuna*, D.B., p. 9. For A.S. *Offan tūn*; meaning 'Offa's farm.'

OULTON. W. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Oulton*, T.N.; *Olton*, H.R. Simply for *old town*, or 'old farm.' Not, however, in D.B.

PRESTON. Near Lavenham. Spelt *Prestone*, R.B.; but *Prestetona*, *Prestetune*, D.B., pp. 139, 158. Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 583, has the dat. *Prestone*, but only in a late copy of an A.S. charter. The form in D.B. suggests the A.S. *prēosta tūn*, 'town (or farm) of the priests'; from *prēosta*, gen. pl. Hardly a compound, as *prēost-tūn*, i.e. 'priest farm.'

SAPISTON. N. by E. from Ixworth. Spelt *Sapston*, Ipm.; *Sapiston*, H.R.; *Sapestuna*, R.B.; D.B., p. 171. The forms are all, unmistakeably, genitives singular; from an unknown personal name *Sap or *Sæp. The A.S. *sæp* (gen. *sæpes*) means 'sap'; and *sæppe* (gen. *sæppan*) is 'a spruce-fir.' Sap-cote is in Leics., and Kemble's Index has *Sap-cumb*; but all these throw no real light on the personal name. The sense seems to be 'Sap's farm.'

SIBTON. S. by W. from Halesworth. Spelt *Sibbeton*, Ipm.; *Sibbetone*, R.B.; *Sibeton*, H.R.; *Sibbetuna*, D.B., p. 64; *Sibetuna*, D.B., p. 24. For A.S. *Sibban tūn*; meaning 'Sibba's farm.' Sibba is a known name.

SOMERLEYTON. N.W. of Lowestoft. "For shortness called Somerley" (Kirby). Spelt *Somerleton*, H.R.; *Sumerledetuna*, D.B., pp. 6, 7. The form *Somerledeton* is in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 583. From A.S. *Sumerlidan tūn*. *Sumerlidan* is the gen. of *Sumerlida*, occurring in the A.S. Chronicle to mean a summer-expedition, or a band of Danes who landed in the summer for plunder. But it properly refers to an individual member of such a band, and it is best to consider it so here. That is, *sumerlida* means a sailor, mariner, or one who sails over sea for plunder; such a one might afterwards settle down. The sense is, practically, that of pirate; and we might here explain the place-name as 'pirate's farm'; meaning by 'pirate' one who had once been a rover.

SOTHERTON. Two miles to the S. of Brampton. Spelt *Sutherton*, H.R.; *Sudretuna*, D.B., p. 303. For A.S. *sūthra tūn*; where *sūthra* is the comparative of *sūth*, south, and means 'more to the south.' The sense is 'farm more to the south'; perhaps with reference to Brampton, which is due N. of it, and is a larger place. See SOTTERLEY.

SPROUGHTON. W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Sprouton*, Ipm., T.N.; *Sproutune*, H.R. It has lost an *s*; for Copinger also cites the forms *Sprouston*, *Sproustun*, *Sproxton*, *Sproxtun*. From A.S. *Sprowes tūn*; the sense being 'Sprow's farm.' Sprow is a known name.

STANTON. Stanton St John's and Stanton All Saints are to the N.E. of Ixworth. Spelt *Stanton*, H.R.; *Stantuna*, D.B., p. 94. A.S. *stāntūn*, i.e. 'stone farm.'

STUSTON. Spelt *Stufton* (error for *Stuston*), H.R.; *Stutestuna*, D.B., p. 180. Copinger also gives *Stouston*, *Stutestun*. For A.S. *Stūtes tūn*; i.e. 'Stūt's farm.' The A.S. *stūt*, prov. E. *stout*, means 'a gnat, a midge'; but it is here a personal name.

STUTTON. Near the N. bank of the Stour. Spelt *Stutton*, H.R.; *Stuton*, H.R.; *Stutone*, Ipm.; *Stuttuna*, D.B., p. 279; *Stottuna* (with *o* for *u*), D.B., p. 31. A compound word;

answering to A.S. *stūt-tūn*, lit. 'stout-farm.' The prov. E. *stout* means 'a gnat, a midge'; as if it were a farm infested with midges. Prof. Moorman gives the same explanation of Stutton in the W. Riding, and explains Midgley as 'midge-lea.' See STUSTON.

SUTTON. S. by E. from Woodbridge. Spelt *Suttuna*, D.B., p. 25; *Suthtuna*, D.B., p. 73. A.S. *Sūth-tūn*; the sense is 'south farm'; perhaps with reference to Woodbridge.

TANNINGTON. N.W. of Framlingham. An altered form; for Tattenton. Spelt *Tatington*, H.R.; but *Tatintuna*, D.B., p. 95. The latter represents A.S. *Tatan-tūn*; the sense is 'Tata's farm.' Of the name Tata there are eleven examples.

TATTINGSTONE. S. of Ipswich. Spelt *Tattingeston*, Ipm.; *Tatingeston*, T.N.; *Tatingstun*, H.R.; *Tatyngeston*, Ipm. Copinger gives many spellings, but it is difficult to know whether they belong to this place or to Tannington. The spellings above answer to an A.S. form *Tatinges tūn*; lit. 'farm of Tating,' or 'of the son of Tata.' There is also a form Tatting, as in *Tattingsnad*; Birch, C.S., i. 295.

THEBERTON. Near the E. coast; N. of Leiston. Spelt *Theberton*, H.R.; Ipm. Copinger notes the form *Thebaston*; and no doubt an *s* (or *-es*) has been lost, so that it represents Theberteston. And Thebert is a very late form of the A.S. name *Thēodbeorht*, O. Merc. *Thēodberht* or *Thēdbert*. The sense is 'Thēodbeorht's farm.'

THORINGTON. S.E. of Halesworth. Spelt *Thoriton*, H.R.; *Thuritune*, H.R.; *Torentuna* (with *T* for *Th*), D.B., p. 24. For A.S. *Thoran-tūn*; as the *g* is evidently a later insertion. The name *Thora* is recorded as being that of a daughter of Thorberg, and wife of Harald Hardrada; but the A.S. form would be Thore, with the fem. nom. ending. The name *Thora* (gen. *Thoran*) would be the corresponding masculine. We may assume the masc. form as being more likely here; and the sense is then 'Thora's farm.' But an A.S. form Thora does not occur; and it can only be regarded as an Anglicised form of the O.

Norse *Thori*, variant of *Thuri*, a common Scandinavian name, of which there is an example in Kemble, Cod. Dipl., iv. 71, l. 14; and Thuri seems to be merely a reduced form of Thurir, which is a very old Scandinavian name and very common. See Björkman, p. 158; Rygh, p. 259. Hence Thorington is ultimately of Norse origin. In Bardsley's Surnames, s.v. Thor, is an instance of a late form of Thori, in the entry "Orm fil. Thore'; dated 1179 (from the Pipe Rolls).

THRANDESTON. N. of Eye. Spelt *Thrandestuna*, D.B., p. 135. The late A.S. form is *Thrandeston*; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 580. Evidently the prefix is the gen. of *Thrand*, a name not recorded as being of English origin, though *Thrond* is given as being that of a Dane. Of Norse origin; Rygh gives the O. Norse name *Throndr* or *Thrandr* as occurring in numerous place-names. We may drop the formative *r* of the masc. nom.; this gives, as the sense, 'Thrand's farm.'

THURLSTON, THURLESTON. The church of Whitton-cum-Thurlston is between Whitton and Thurlston (or Thurleston); to the N. by W. from Ipswich. Spelt *Thurliston*, Ipm., p. 258; but *Turoluestuna*, D.B., p. 29 (with *T* for *Th*). For the A.S. *Thurulfes tūn*, also appearing as *Turolfes tūn*. Really of Norse origin; the prefix is due to the O. Norse personal name *Thurulf*, *Thorolf*, or *Thorulf*; the original O. Norse nominative of which appears as *Thórolfr* or *Thurulfr*; corresponding to the A.S. *Thurwulf*. Hence the sense is 'Thōrolfr's farm'; and we have here a clear example of Norse influence. See Björkman, p. 102.

THURSTON. To the E. of Bury. Spelt *Thurston*, T.N.; *Torstuna*, D.B., p. 8. For A.S. *Thūres tūn*; i.e. 'Thur's farm.' *Thur* (as in Thursday) is a form of *Thor*; and *Thur-* occurs, as the former element, in many A.S. names.

There was also a *Thurstanestun* or 'Thurstan's farm' in Suffolk. But there is nothing to show whether it was Thurston. They seem to differ.

TROSTON. N.W. of Ixworth. Spelt *Troston*, Ipm.; *Trostuna*, D.B., p. 172. Copinger records the form *Throston*, which is evidently nearer to the original. But further, the syllable *-ing-*

must be restored, as the dat. form *Trostingtūne* occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 630, in Ælfhelm's Will. This takes us back to the original form *Throstinga tūn*. From the Norse personal name *Thröstr* (lit. 'thrush'), which yielded several place-names beginning with *Trost-* or *Troste-*; see Rygh. The sense is 'farm of the sons of Thröstr.'

UBBESTON. S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Ubbeston*, H.R.; *Hubbeston* (with *H* wrongly prefixed), T.N.; *Upbestuna* (with *pb* for *bb*), D.B., p. 269. The gen. *Ubbes* suggests a nom. *Ubb*, not an A.S. name, but borrowed from the Danish *Ubbi*, recorded by Rygh as being specifically Danish, not Icelandic. The sense is 'Ubbi's farm.'

WALTON. N. of Felixstowe. Also (later) known as Walton St Felix, because a monastery of St Felix was built there; see FELIXSTOWE (above). Spelt *Waleton*, H.R.; *Waletuna*, D.B., p. 118. The corresponding A.S. form is *Wēala tūn*, the 'farm (or enclosure) of the Welshmen'; from the nom. sing. Wealh, a foreigner, a Welshman. The same explanation applies to the two Waltons in the W. Riding. In no way connected with E. *wall*.

WENHASTON. Between Halesworth and Blythburgh. Spelt *Wenhaston*, H.R., Ipm.; but *Wenadestuna*, D.B., p. 24. The prefix occurs in an A.S. charter, in Birch, C.S., ii. 529, as *Wéneardes* and *Wéneardes*; it is spelt both ways in the same line. In both cases an *h* has been dropped, and the right form of the nom. is *Wēnheard*. The sense is 'Wēnheard's farm'; or, in Mercian spelling, 'Wēnhard's farm.'

WESTLETON. Spelt *Westleton*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Westletuna*, D.B., p. 66; but *Westlentuna*, D.B., p. 63; *Westledestuna*, D.B., p. 319. The last is the fullest form, and must be selected. *Westledes* represents an A.S. *west-lēodes*, gen. of *west-lēod*, a compound word. *Lēod* means 'a man'; and *west-lēod* is 'a man from the west.' (Note that, in Beda's Eccl. Hist., iv. 1, the A.S. translation has the gen. pl. *ēast-lēoda*, i.e. 'of men from the east,' where the Latin original has *orientalium*.) The meaning is 'farm of the man from the west.'

WESTON. Spelt *Weston*, H.R.; *Westuna*, D.B., p. 4. The sense is 'west town' or 'west farm.' It is W. of Ellough.

WHITTON. To the N. of Ipswich. Spelt *Whitington*, Ipm., p. 258. Copinger cites several equivalent forms, such as *Whitinton*, *Whittington*, *Whytiugtone*, *Whytyngton*; showing that the name has been contracted. It is the same name as Whittington in Worc., spelt *Huitiugtūn* in an A.S. charter; in Birch, C.S., i. 497. The full A.S. form is *Hwītinga tūn*; the sense is 'farm of the Whitings' or 'of the sons of White.'

WINSTON. S. of Debenham. Spelt *Wyneston*, H.R.; *Winestuna*, D.B., p. 36. But Copinger also cites *Winerston*, *Wynerston*; so that there was once an *r* before the *s*. This represents the A.S. genitive *Wynheres*, as occurring in *Wynheres stig*; in Birch, C.S., i. 334, footnote 5. Wynhere is a known name. The sense is 'Wynhere's farm.'

WISTON, or WISSINGTON; near Nayland. Of course the latter is the older form. Spelt *Wysinton*, H.R. But this is shortened from a much more complex name, as we learn from Ælfflæd's Will, in Birch, C.S., iii. 602, where we find Wiswythetun mentioned in connexion with Lavenham (about 11 miles from Wiston in a direct line), Bildeston (at the same distance from it), and Polstead (within four miles of it). There is thus a presumption that Wiston and Wysinton (in H.R.) are shortened forms of Wiswythetun. Copinger also cites *Wisweton* as a form of Wiston, which clearly points to the same form. If we accept this hypothesis, we must enquire into its meaning. It is not derived from a personal name, but is descriptive. *Wis* may be explained as short for the A.S. *wisc*, 'a meadow,' a word discussed in the Phil. Soc. Trans., 1895–8, p. 542; and *withe* is for *withig*, a withy or willow. The sense will then be 'farm of the field-willow.' For *wisc*, see Birch, C.S., ii. 412.

WOOLVERSTONE. Near the S.W. bank of the Orwell. Spelt *Wlferstun* (for *Wulferstun*), H.R.; *Vlverestuna* (with *V* for *U*), D.B., p. 30; *Hulferestuna* (with *H* wrongly prefixed), D.B., p. 279. These represent the A.S. *Wulfheres tūn*; and the sense is 'Wulfhere's farm.' Wulfhere was a very common name.

Worlington. Near Mildenhall. Spelt *Wredelington*, H.R.; *Wredlington*, Ipm.; *Wirilintona*, D.B., p. 149. Copinger also cites *Wridelyngton*, *Wrethelyngton*, *Writhelington*, *Wredelyngeton*, &c. The prefix evidently represents a tribal name, of which the gen. pl. appears as *Wredelinga*, *Wridelinga*, *Wrethelinga*, or *Writhelinga*. But all of these are unknown forms. The sense is 'farm of the Wrethelings or Writhelings,' or 'of the sons of Wrethel or Writhel.'

Wyverstone. W. by N. from Mindlesham. Spelt *Wiverston*, Ipm.; *Wiuertestuna* (with *t* for *th*), D.B., pp. 57, 311; *Wiuerthestuna*, D.B., p. 82. The prefix represents the A.S. *Wīferthes*, gen. of *Wīferth*, more correctly spelt *Wīgfrith*. The sense is 'Wīgfrith's farm.'

47. Tree.

Tree, in the usual sense, occurs in Pettistree and Thedwestry.

Pettistree. Spelt *Petistre*, Ipm. Ipm. has also the form *Pettes-ho*. The forms *Peott*, *Piott*, and *Piot*, all given by Sweet, in his Oldest English Texts, p. 536, may be considered as Kentish variants of *Pet*, and so help to establish that form. Hence the sense is 'Pet's tree.' See Wright, O.E. Grammar, § 93. The form *Patta* occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 632, and may be related.

Thedwestry. This is the name of a hundred; and no doubt the hundred met at a particular tree that was known by this name. Spelt *Thedwastre*, Ipm.; *Thedwardistre*, H.R.; *Thewardestreu*, D.B., p. 8; *Theodwardestreo*, D.B., p. 162. Copinger also gives *Thedwardestre*, *Thedwardstree*. The A.S. form is *Thēodweardes-trēo*; O. Merc. *Thēodwardes-trēo*; from the personal name *Thēodward*. The sense is 'Thēodward's tree.'

48. Wade.

Wade represents the A.S. *wæd*, a ford, shallow water; cognate with L. *uadum*. It occurs in Cattawade.

Cattawade. Copinger gives, as old spellings, *Catawade*, *Cattiwade*. *Cata* is precisely the O. Norse Kata, gen. of Kati,

a known name, whence some known places are derived (Rygh). The sense is 'Kati's ford.' Kati is masculine. Cattawade is a hamlet of Brantham, near the Stour.

49. Well.

Well, in the usual sense, occurs in Badwell Ash, Bardwell, Bradwell, Brightwell, Bromeswell, Elmswell, Eriswell, Herringswell, Orwell, Sizewell, and Wordwell; eleven examples.

Badwell Ash. Three miles due N. of Elmswell station, and near Great Ashfield. Copinger gives, as other names, *Ashfeld parva* and *Badewelle Asfelde*. Badewelle represents the A.S. *Badan wella*, i.e. 'Bada's well.' Bada is a known name. Cf. *Badewyllan*; Birch, C.S., iii. 240 (bottom).

Bardwell. N. of Ixworth. Spelt *Berdewell*, T.N., H.R.; *Berdewella*, D.B., p. 221; *Beordewella*, D.B., p. 171. The forms point directly to an A.S. form *Beordan wella*, i.e. 'Beorda's well.' No instance of the name *Beorda* is known; but it may be related to, or an error for, the known form *Bearda*, which occurs in *Beardan-īg*, in the A.S. Chronicle, and in *Bardan-īg* (the O. Merc. form) in the Life of St Oswald by Ælfric.

Bradwell. To the S. by W. of Yarmouth. Spelt *Bradewell*, H.R.; answering to the A.S. *æt thām brādan wellan*, i.e. 'at the broad well.' Cf. Bradfield. There are at least six Bradwells.

Brightwell. Near Bucklesham; S. of Martlesham. Also known as Brightwell-cum-Foxhall. Spelt *Brihtewella*, D.B., p. 211; for A.S. *æt thām beorhtan wellan*, lit. 'at the bright (or clear) well.'

Bromeswell. Near Melton. Spelt *Brumeswelle*, Ipm. (which has also such forms as *Brumfeld*, *Brumlegh*); *Brumesuelle*, D.B., p. 214; *Bromeswella*, D.B., p. 25; *Brameswella*, D.B., p. 75. Of the three forms in D.B., we must select the first, as agreeing with Ipm.; whilst the second can be accounted for by the fact that Norman scribes frequently wrote *om* for *um* when the *u* is short. The third form, with *a*, must be wrong, as it suits neither the old nor the modern spellings.

The name Brum occurs in Searle; and we may conclude that the A.S. form must have been *Brumes-wella*, meaning 'Brum's well.' The modern spelling was probably affected by the influence of A.S. *brōm*, 'broom'; i.e. the plant so called. This was certainly the case with Bromsgrove (Worc.), which really means 'Brēm's grove,' as the old spellings prove; see Duignan's Place-Names of Worcestershire.

ELMSWELL. Spelt *Elmeswell*, H.R.; *Elmeswellan*, D.B., p. 168. Here Elmes cannot refer to *elm* (the tree), as that would have formed the compound Elmwell. The presence of *-es* shows that *Elmes* represents the gen. case of a proper name, which has certainly been contracted. It must be short for *Elmeres*, which occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 58, l. 4 from bottom, and is also spelt *Almeres* in the last line of the page. *Elmeres* or *Almeres* represents *Ælmeres*, a later form of *Ælfmāres*; and the oldest form of Elmswell must have been *Ælfmāres wella*, i.e. 'Ælfmār's well.' There is an Elmsall in Yorkshire, which similarly represents an A.S. *Ælfmāres halh*, i.e. 'Ælfmār's haugh.' This is Prof. Moorman's explanation in his Place-Names of the West Riding.

ERISWELL. Spelt *Erswelle*, T.N.; *Erswell*, H.R.; *Hereswella* (with *H* wrongly prefixed), D.B., p. 244. Evidently a contracted form, as shown by the spelling *Evereswell* in Ipm., p. 6. *Everes* represents the O. Merc. *Eferes*, A.S. *Eoferes*, gen. of *Efer*, *Eofer*, personal name, the literal sense being 'a boar': and it is cognate with L. *aper*. The meaning is 'Efer's well.' Compare Eversden, Cambs.; Eversley, Hants.

HERRINGSWELL. Spelt *Heringeswell*, Ipm.; *Haringwell*, T.N.; but older forms are *Hernigawella*, D.B., p. 223; *Herningawella*, D.B., p. 235; *Hyrningwella*, D.B., p. 156. As D.B. sometimes has *e* for A.S. *y*, these forms all come from an A.S. *Hyrninga wella*, i.e. 'Hyrnings' well,' or 'well of the Hyrnings' or 'of the sons of Hyrn'; or, possibly, 'of Horn.' At any rate, Hyrning is a similar name to Horning; for which see HORNINGSHEATH.

ORWELL. The name of a river; but the river was named from a well from which it took its rise; and Orwell, Cambs., occurs as a place-name. The Cambs. place-name represents an A.S. *ōran-wella*, where *ōran* is the combining form of *ōra*, a border, brink, edge, or margin; and the sense is 'well beside the brink,' or 'well beneath a brink.' In the A.S. Chronicle, there is mention of a river *Arwe* (i.e. 'arrow'), which is supposed to be the Orwell. It may be the same river but it is not the same name.

SIZEWELL. A hamlet in the parish of Leiston. It is due E. of Leiston, and on the coast. I know of no old spelling; but Copinger quotes *Siswell*. Cf. Siston, Glouc. The A.S. form was probably *Sisan wella*, i.e. 'Sisa's well.' The A.S. Sisa is implied in the form Siso, quoted in Searle from a foreign source.

WORDWELL. Two miles N.W. of Ingham station (Kelly). Spelt *Wridewella*, D.B., p. 172; *Wride-wella*, Birch, C.S. iii. 219, l. 4. For A.S. *wrīda wella*, 'well of the thicket,' or 'of (the clump of) young shoots'; where *wrīda* is the gen. pl. of *wrīd*. The A.S. *wrīd* is the prov. E. *ride*, 'the quantity of wood growing from one stump, a root-stock in coppice.' 'A *ride* of hazle, &c., is a whole plump of sprigs growing out of one root.' Particularly used of the hazel; cf. A.S. *hæsel-wrīd*, 'hazel-ride.'

50. WICH, WICK.

The suffix *-wich* or *-wick* represents the A.S. *wīc*, a dwelling; hence, a village. It occurs in Dunwich, Hardwick, Ipswich, and Walberswick.

DUNWICH. Spelt *Donewic*, T.N.; H.R.; *Duneuuic*, D.B., p. 62. A trisyllabic form; representing the A.S. *Dūnan wīc*, i.e. 'Dūna's village.' The name *Dūna* occurs in *Dūnan-hēafod* and *Dūnan-hyl* (both in Kemble). It is possible that the name was suggested by an older one. Beda, Hist. Eccl. ii. 15, has "in ciuitate Domnoc"; for which the A.S. version has "on Dommocceastre." Domnoc is not English; but may be Celtic.

In fact, we are told that it is so in McClure's British Place-names, p. 173, note 1, where it is said that Dumnoc involves a term meaning 'deep,' with *-oc* as an adjectival termination; i.e. (as I suppose) the sense is 'deepish'; and it signifies 'a port with a deep-water approach.' The base is the Indo-germanic **dubnos*, **dumnos*, 'deep,' whence the Old Irish *fu-domain*, 'deep,' Welsh *dwfn* (fem. *dofn*); see Stokes-Fick, Wortschatz der keltischen Spracheinheit, p. 153.

Hardwick. A new parish, one mile W. by S. from Bury (Kelly). Spelt *Herdwice*, R.B.; *Herewic*, H.R. *Herdewic* answers to the A.S. *Heordewīcum*, dat. pl.; spelt *Heordewīcan* in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 594; for the A.S. *wīc* was frequently used in the pl., as meaning 'dwellings.' The A.S. *heorde* is the gen. of *heorde*, a herd, a flock. The sense is 'herd-dwellings' or 'herd-village.' The place referred to in Thorpe is Hardwick in Northants. The derivation from the dat. pl. may explain why the suffix remains as *wick*, and did not become *wich*.

Ipswich. Spelt *Gipeswiche*, later *Gippewich*, Ipm.; *Gipewic'*, H.R.; *Gypeswich*, Robert of Gloucester; *Gipeswiz*, D.B., p. 19 (with *z* = *ts*, for *ch*). A.S. *Gipes wīc*; A.S. Chronicle, an. 993 (Parker MS.); where *Gipes* is the gen. of *Gipi* (later *Gipe*), a name not otherwise known. Thus the sense is 'Gipi's village.' The *G* before *i* was pronounced as mod. E. *y*, and the former *i* was short; so that Gipi was pronounced *yippy*. The Norman disliked initial *y* before *i*, and dropped it. Hence it took the sound of *Ippy's wich*, and finally *Ipswich*.

Walberswick. Spelt *Walberdeswyk*, H.R. Other spellings in Copinger do not tell us any more; but the A.S. equivalent form is obvious, viz. *Wealhbeorhtes wīc*; O. Merc. *Walhberhtes wīc*. *Wealhbeorht* occurs three times, and in two instances is also found as *Walbert*. The sense is 'Walhberht's village.' Or *-wick* may have been derived from the dat. pl. *wīcum*; see Hardwick.

51. Wold.

Wold represents the O. Merc. *wald*, A.S. *weald*, a wood, forest; just as *old* is from O. Merc. *ald*, A.S. *eald*. Many wolds

have lost their trees, and are now bare. The only Suffolk example is Southwold.

SOUTHWOLD. Spelt *Suthwold*, Ipm., H.R.; *Suthwald*, H.R.; *Sudwolda*, D.B., p. 182 (with *d* for voiced *th*). From A.S. *sūth*, south; the sense is obvious.

52. WOOD.

Only in HAZLEWOOD; two miles N.W. of Aldeburgh station (Kelly). The sense is obvious.

53. WORTH.

Worth is related to mod. E. *worth*, value; and meant a property, holding, farm, an enclosed homestead. The A.S. form is *worth*. Examples are: Braiseworth, Chelsworth, Dunningworth, Halesworth, Hepworth, Ickworth, Ixworth, Timworth, Worlingworth.

BRAISEWORTH, or BRAYESWORTH. Spelt Breisworth in Kirby. S. of Eye. Spelt *Bryseworth*, H.R.; *Breseworth*, Ipm.; *Briseworde*, D.B., p. 80. Copinger also notes forms beginning with *Brayss*, *Breis*, *Bres*. The use of *y*, *e*, *i* after *Br* points to the A.S. *y* or *ȳ*; and suggests a form *Brysan, gen. of *Brysa. That there was such a name is further supported by the occurrence of such place-names as Bris-ley, Bris-ton, Norf.; and still more by the forms *Bruse-lowe*, *Bris-ingham*, *Brise-wike* in the index to Ipm. I suggest the sense 'Brȳsa's farm.' Cf. A.S. *brȳsan*, to bruise.

CHELSWORTH. Near Bildeston. Spelt *Chelesworth*, H.R.; but *Cerleswrda*, D.B., p. 176. The D.B. form answers to A.S. *Ceorles wyrth*; Birch, iii. 312; which refers to this very place. *Ceorles* is the gen. of A.S. *ceorl*, a husbandman, countryman. The sense is 'husbandman's farm'; lit. 'churl's farm.'

DUNNINGWORTH. Tunstall-cum-Dunningworth; near Aldeburgh. *Duniworda*, D.B., p. 130. Copinger gives the forms *Donyngworthe*, *Dunnyngworthe*. For A.S. *Dunninga wyrth*; i.e. 'farm of the Dunnings' or 'of the sons of Dunn.' Both Dunn and Dunning are known names.

HALESWORTH. So spelt; H.R.; T.N.; Ipm. D.B. has *Halesuuorda*, p. 25; and *Healesuurda*, p. 37. The name Halington (prob. Hallington, Lincs.) occurs in Birch, C.S. i. 453 (bottom); with reference to a tribe or family of Halings; from a proper name *Hæl or *Hal, not otherwise known. The sense may be 'Hæl's farm.'

HEPWORTH. Spelt *Hepwrth*, H.R.; *Hepworda*, D.B., p. 170. Copinger also has *Hepeworth*, *Hipeworth*. There does not seem to be any reason why the prefix may not be the A.S. *hēope*, M.E. *hepe*, a *hip*, i.e. the fruit of the dog-rose. The sense may be 'hip-worth,' or 'farm of wild roses.' There is a Hepworth in Yks., for which D.B. has Heppeword. Cf. Hēope-briege, lit. 'hip-bridge'; Birch, C.S., iii. 567, l. 4.

ICKWORTH. Near Horningsheath. Spelt *Ikeworth*, Ipm.; *kkewortha*, D.B., p. 154, where *I* is omitted by mistake. Spelt *Iccaworth* in a late A.S. charter, Kemble, iv. 222, l. 2. For *Iccanworth*; *Iccan* is the gen. of *Icca*, and occurs in *Iccan-ora* (ill spelt *Iccannore*), in Birch, C.S., i. 99. The sense is 'Icca's farm.'

IXWORTH. N.E. of Bury. Spelt *Ixeworthe*, R.B.; *Ixewrth*, H.R.; *Ixewrð*, D.B., p. 174; Copinger also has *Giswortha*, *Gyscewurde*. It is the A.S. *Gyxeweorth*; Birch, C.S., iii. 219. The prefix must have been, originally, a weak genitive, and the vowel must have been *i*, not *y*; for *G* remains hard before *y*, but is lost before *i*. Hence the original form must have been *Gixan-wearth*; and the sense is 'Gixa's farm'; where Gixa represents Gisca. Gisca may stand for *Giseca, a diminutive of Gisa, which is a known name. Cf. Gis-wulf.

TIMWORTH. N. of Bury. Spelt *Timwrtha*, D.B., p. 165; *Timeworda*, D.B., p. 221. For *Tīman weorth*; and the sense is 'Tīma's farm.' Tīma is a known name.

WORLINGWORTH. Spelt *Wirlingworth*, H.R.; *Wyrlingwortha*, D.B., p. 175. But Copinger also has *Welringwrthe*, *Wilringawertha*, so that the *rl* was once *lr*. The A.S. form *Wilringawyrth* is in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 567. *Wilringa* is short for

Wilheringa; and the sense is 'farm of the Wilherings,' or 'of the family of Wilhere.' Wilhere is a known name. Cf. *Wilheringa* (for Wilheringa wīc); Birch, C.S., ii. 141.

54. Yard.

From A.S. *geard*, an enclosure. It occurs in Bruisyard.

Bruisyard. N.W. of Saxmundham. Spelt *Bursyard*, H.R.; *Bursyerd*, Ipm.; *Buresiart*, D.B., pp. 33, 117. The evidence seems to be conclusive as to the fact that an older form was *Bures-geard*. *Bures* is certainly a much contracted form, but, fortunately, it is easy to restore it by comparison with Burslem (Staffs.) and Buscot (Berks.). In the former, Burs- represents the O. Merc. *Burgwardes*, A.S. *Burgweardes*, see Duignan, Place-Names of Staffs.; and in the latter, Bus- is short for Burs-, and represents the same prefix; see my Place-Names of Berks. Hence we may explain Bruisyard as representing 'Burhward's yard' or 'enclosure.'

55. Some other names.

Having thus considered the names which certainly seem to be compounds, with known suffixes, I consider first Cornard, which is of like formation, and lastly some names that are of different or uncertain formation, and cannot well be included in the foregoing sets.

Cornard. To the E. of Sudbury; called Great Cornard; there is also Little Cornard, not far off. Spelt *Cornerth*, T.N.; *Cornerd*, H.R.; *Cornerthe*, H.R.; *Cornerda*, D.B., p. 159; *Cornierda*, D.B., pp. 12, 223. The forms with *th* must be the more original; and of these we may take Cornerth as the type. The former part of the word is *corn* (A.S. *corn*); the latter part is probably not the A.S. *eorthe*, mod. E. *earth*, but the rarer A.S. *earth*, plough-land, not given in the A.S. Dictionary, because it is commoner in the 'modified' form *ierth* or *yrth* or *irth*; see *irth* in Bosworth and Toller, and *earth* (2) in N.E.D. The actual form *earth* (dat. *earthe*) occurs in Birch,

C.S., ii. 195, l. 22; and in the compound *earth-land* in Birch, C.S., i. 502, l. 6 (with *medwe-land*, i.e. meadow-land, in the following line); and again in the same, ii. 40, l. 4 from the bottom. The sense is 'plough-land for corn.' The form *Cornierda* in D.B. may be compared with the compound *for-ierth* in Birch, C.S., ii. 255, l. 14. If this be right, we may add it to the list of compounds; for which reason I place it here.

Barrow. A well-known word, meaning a funeral mound or tumulus, or sometimes simply a hill; from the M.E. *berwe*, *berewe*, A.S. *beorge*, dat. of *beorh* (O. Merc. *berh*), a hill, a barrow.

Beccles. Spelt *Beccles*, H.R.; *Becles*, T.N.; D.B., pp. 6, 178. We may also compare *Beclinge*, Ipm.; *Becclinga*, D.B., p. 116; where Beccling is a patronymic, formed from the name Beccel. Beccles is the gen. of Beccel; and stands alone as indicating the name of the possessor of the original settlement; just as we might call a farm Smith's, meaning Smith's farm. Hence the sense is 'Beccel's,' meaning a settlement of Beccel. In the A.S. Life of St Guthlac, ch. vii., there is mention of 'Beccel the priest.'

Beck Row. A hamlet of Mildenhall. The prov. E. *beck* means 'a small stream'; from the O. Norse *bekker*, a brook. "Towards the Fens [near Mildenhall] are several large Streets as big as ordinary Towns, called by the Inhabitants, *Rows*; as West Row, Beck Row, and Holywell Row"; Kirby.

Boulge. Spelt *Bulge*, Ipm.; *Bulges*, D.B., pp. 77, 134. The name must have been quite recent, at the time of the compilation of D.B. in 1086. It is obviously not of English, but of Norman origin; and D.B. preserves the correct form. *Bulges* is an Old Norman plural, answering to a later O. French *bouges*, given by Godefroy s.v. *Bouge*, s.m. 'terrain inculte et couvert de petites brandes.' It therefore signifies 'lands not yet cultivated, but covered with heather.'

BROME, or BROOME. Pronounced as E. *broom*. S. by W. of Diss. Spelt *Brom*, D.B., pp. 59, 117. The mod. E. *broom*; as a plant-name. Broom was there abundant.

BURES ST MARY. On the Stour; W. of Nayland. A bridge across the river leads to Bures in Essex. Spelt *Bures*, H.R., T.N., Ipm.; *Bure*, D.B., p. 223. The A.S. *būr*, a bower, cottage, was masc.; with the pl. *būras*. But this would have given a mod. E. Bowers. The preservation of a long *ū* only takes place in words of French origin. The right explanation seems to be that it is an Old Norman *bures*, pl. of *bure*, which was not a word of Latin origin, but merely borrowed from the O.H.G. and A.S. *būr*. The forms *bur*, *bure*, are given as modern Norman words in Moisy's Dict. of the Norman dialect; and he quotes the Lat. form *būrus* from a Caen chartulary; adding that Norman also possesses the dimin. *buron*, a hut. This only affects the phonology, not the sense. We may explain Bures to mean 'bowers,' i.e. a collection of cottages or huts. In the A.S. Chron., an. 1094, we find mention of a 'castel æt Bures,' i.e. a castle at Bures in Normandy, in the department of Seine Inférieure. This is a proof that Bures is Norman.

CAPEL. S.E. of Hadleigh. Kelly names Capel St Mary and Capel St Andrew. Spelt *Capele*, H.R.; *Capeles*, D.B., p. 25. It is interesting to see that D.B. uses the plural. The word is Norman; *capeles* is the pl. of *capele*, a chapel. The F. *chapelle* is *capele* in Old Norman; the latter form occurs in La Chanson de Roland, l. 52. The Welsh form is *capel*, not *capele*.

CLARE. Spelt *Clare*, H.R.; Ipm; *Claram* (Lat. acc.), D.B., p. 218. From the A.S. *Clare*, a personal name; a witness bearing this name signs an A.S. charter dated A.D. 949; Birch, C.S., iii. 38. It can hardly have been a true A.S. name; it was very likely borrowed from L. *clārus*, illustrious. Earls of Clare took their name from this place.

COLNEIS. The name of a hundred, which comprised the land lying between the rivers Orwell and Deben. Spelt *Colneise*, *Colneyse*, H.R.; *Colneyse*, Ipm. D.B. has *Colenese*,

p. 118; *Colenesse*, p. 23. This is a name of extraordinary difficulty; and I can only guess at it. The forms *-nese*, *-nesse* may represent the dat. of the A.S. *ness*, a promontory, a headland; while *-neise*, *-neyse* may be the O. Norse *nesi*, dat. of the O.N. *nes*, with the same sense. The hundred of Colness does, in fact, consist of one long headland, which narrows down to Langer Point. The name, accordingly, is 'Col-ness'; where the sense of Col- is not known. But both Cole and Colne are river-names, and either will suit. I suggest that one or other of these names was the old name of the Deben; it has been shown above that Deben is a new name, due to the place-name Debenham.

Combs. S. of Stowmarket. Spelt *Combes*, Ipm.; *Cambes*, T.N.; *Cambas*, D.B., p. 21. *Cambas* is precisely the A.S. *cambas*, pl. of *camb*, a comb, a crest, a top. The sense is 'crests'; with reference, as I suppose, to hill-tops. The spelling with *a* shows that it is quite a different word from *combe*, a valley, so common in place-names.

Copdock. S.W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Copedok*, H.R.; *Coppedoc*, H.R.; *Coppedock*, Ipm.; *Coppedhak*, T.N. Obviously for A.S. *copped āc*, a 'copped' or pollarded oak. The sense is therefore 'pollard-oak.' In Birch, C.S., ii. 241, we have the same expression, but in the accusative case; 'on thā coppedan āc,' i.e. to the pollard oak.

Cove. There is a North Cove and a South Cove, near Covehithe, which is between Lowestoft and Southwold. Cove is from the A.S. *cofa*, a cove, a cave, a place of shelter. The spelling *Cova* occurs in D.B., p. 25, 66.

Ellough. S. by W. of Beccles. Kelly calls it Ellough, or Willingham All Saints, or Willough. The last name seems to be a jumble of the other two. H.R. has *Elg villa*: D.B., p. 6, has *in Elga et in Willingaham*. Copinger gives also the forms *Ellowe* and *Helw*. This difficult name can be fully explained by comparison with a name in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire Place-Names, by J. Horsfall Turner, p. 114, there is a note that a place now called Hellaby is spelt in D.B. as Elgebi

(twice). The suffix *-by* shows that the prefix *Elge-* is Norse, and the fact that the modern name begins with *H* shows that this is a D.B. spelling of *Helge-*. Rygh shows that the O. Norse personal name Helgi is extremely common, and that a large number of place-names beginning with *Helge-* (including Helgeby) are derived from it. Moreover, Helge would regularly become Helwe in Mid. Eng. (cf. the form *Helw* above), and would then necessarily become Hellow; cf. mod. E. *fellow* from O. Norse *félagi*. The dropping of initial *h* in Norman is usual, because it was not pronounced; and in this instance it has affected even the English form; so that Hellow became Ellow, of which Ellough is a mere variant. This loss of *h* is aptly illustrated by the occurrence in Ipm. of a Lincs. place-name that is spelt both as Ellowe and as Hellowe; without any modern equivalent. Hence the D.B. form Elga is exactly the O.N. *Helga*, gen. of *Helgi*; and the sense is 'Helgi's,' i.e. 'Helgi's settlement.'

Eyke. N.E. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Eyke*, Ipm. From O.N. *eik*, an oak; gen. *eikar*, *eikr*, dat. *eik*. The sense is either 'oak,' or 'at the oak,' in the dative. The diphthong *ey*, representing Mid. Eng. *ei*, is characteristic of Norse.

Groton. W. of Hadleigh. Spelt *Groten'*, H.R.; *Grotene*, Ipm.; *Grotena*, D.B., pp. 13, 158. It is obvious that the suffix was not originally *-ton*, and that it must be otherwise explained. Note that the modern form should be Groten, as it is sometimes written. The nearest A.S. form is *grot-an*, nom. pl. of *grota*, prob. 'a particle of grit,' found in *mere-grota*, a sea-pebble, a pearl (see A.S. Dict.). The sense would then be 'sands' or 'gritty plains.' Cf. prov. E. *greet*, grit, gravel, also found in the forms *grote*, *grute*, *grut*; and prov. E. *gritten*, adj. sandy. The form *grot-en* might be adjectival.

Hoxne. The name of a hundred; the modern village is near the Waveney, almost due N. of Debenham. Spelt *Hoxene*, H.R.; *Hoxana*, D.B., p. 197. The form exactly answers to A.S. *Hoxena*, gen. pl. of a nom. pl. *Hoxan*, which might very well represent the name of a small tribe of settlers, just as we find mention of the Wixan (see the A.S. Dictionary), and of the

celebrated tribe of Seaxan. We may therefore explain the name as meaning 'settlement of the Hoxan.' I owe this suggestion (which is to me convincing) to Mr A. Anscombe, whom I consulted in this instance. The modern pronunciation, as Hoxen, results from the loss of the inflectional *-e*.

IKEN. On the S. bank of the river Alde, and almost due W. of Aldeburgh. Spelt *Ikene*, H.R.; T.N.; *Ykene*, R.B., T.N. Here the form suggests an A.S. gen. pl. Iccena; allied to the proper name Icca which occurs in ICKWORTH. The nom. pl. would be Iccan; and the sense would be 'a settlement of the Iccan,' or 'of the followers of Icca.' Not from Ica, with one *c*, as this would certainly give Iche. Cf. A.S. Iccena, the river Itchen.

LANDGUARD. "Landguard Fort stands on the extreme Western point of this parish"; Kelly, s.v. Felixstow. The present name is an ingenious adaptation, as if it were a 'land-guard,' or a fort to guard the land, which is not a distinctive feature in forts; they all do the same. In Philips' map it is Landger Point, where the latter syllable is *-ger*. In the Beauties of England, 1813, xiv. 235, it is Languard, with the former syllable as *Lan-*; and at p. 273 of the same we read that "here was a ridge, two miles along the sea, called Langerston, dangerous to ships"; so that in 1813 the name was really Langer or Langar, which may be compared with Langar in Notts. So also in Kirby, p. 91:—"*Langer-Fort*, and not *Landguard Fort*, as it is corruptly and vulgarly called." There is still a Langer Common (misspelt Landguard on Ordnance map) in Felixstowe parish. The etymology is easy, viz. from A.S. *lang gāra*, i.e. 'long gore,' which precisely describes it. A *gore* is a promontory, or a triangular piece of a land with a pointed end; from A.S. *gār*, a spear, point.

LOES. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Lose*, H.R.; T.N.: *Losa*, H.R.; D.B., pp. 11, 215. It perhaps represents A.S. *Hlossan*, gen. of *Hlossa*, a personal name. We find it in *Hlossan-ham*; in Birch, C.S., i. 207. If this be right, the sense refers to a settlement 'of Hlossa.' Cf. Hlos-hrycg, Hlos-wudu; both in Kemble's Index.

LOUND. N. by W. from Lowestoft. Spelt *Lunda*, D.B., p. 6. Ipm. has Lund, Lound (both in Notts.). Not English, but a well-known Norse word; from O. Norse *lundr*, a grove; cf. Lund in Sweden. The sense is 'grove.'

MELLIS (see p. 104). Spelt *Melles*, R.B.; Ipm.; D.B., p. 181. It is explained by comparing it with the prov. E. *meal*, "a sandbank or sand-hill, frequent in proper names: gen. in the plural"; E.D.D. From Norw. *mel*, a sandbank along a lake or river-course; O. Norse *melr*, a sandbank overgrown with bent-grass, or *gen.* a sandbank whether overgrown or bare; frequent in Icel. local names.

ONEHOUSE. Spelt *Onhus*, H.R.; *Anhus*, D.B., p. 160; *Anehus*, D.B., p. 311; *Annhus* (not *Anuhus*), D.B., p. 121. It is the A.S. *ān hūs*, lit. 'one house.' It is now a hamlet of scattered houses, but there is still a Onehouse Hall. In the Beauties of England, 1813, xiv. 210, we are told that "on the site of the old hall... a farmhouse has been built." Probably that old hall, or a much older house on the same site, was the original One House.

REDE, or REED. S.S.W. of Bury. Spelt *Rede*, Ipm.; *Reoda*, D.B., p. 155; *Reda*, D.B., pp. 202, 222. For A.S. *Rēadan*; as in Readan-clif, -cumb, -dīc, -flōd, -ford, &c.; all in Kemble's Index. *Rēadan* is the gen. case of *Rēad*, 'the Red,' still common as Reade, Read, Reid, &c. The sense is '(settlement) of the Red one.'

RISHANGLES. S. by E. from Eye. Spelt *Rishanggeles*, Ipm.; but *Risangra*, D.B., p. 85. The prefix is A.S. *risc*, a rush. The suffix seems to be the A.S. *hangra*, of which the true sense is 'a hanging wood on a hill-side'; see the Crawfurd Charters, p. 134. The sense is 'rushy slopes, with trees upon them.'

SNAPE. N. of the Alde above Aldeburgh. Spelt *Snape* H.R.; *Snapes*, D.B., p. 71. Cf. A.S. *snæp*, as in the following: ūt ōð mearc andlang dūn and *snæp*, 'out as far as the boundary along the down, &c.': the sense of *snæp* being here unknown; see Birch, C.S., iii. 362. But the E.D.D. has *snape*, 'a spring, a moist, boggy place in a field'; known in Dors., Som., and Devon. This may be the right explanation here as Snape is in a low situation.

Stoven. N.W. of Southwold. Spelt *Stoune*, D.B., p. 106, with *u* for *v*; *Stouone*, D.B., p. 251, with *u* for *v*. In the Cursor Mundi, 8036, is the line:—"Thai three stod on a *stouen*," they three stood on a *stovin*; where other MSS. have *stalke*, a stalk, or *stocke*, a stock. And the E.D.D. explains *stovin*, a stump or stake, the part of a hawthorn left in a hedge after 'splashing' it; Leicestershire. A.S. *stofn*, a stem, tree-stump; Icel. *stofn*, a stump of a cut tree. This is a good example of the frequently trivial origin of a place-name. It merely means 'stump of a cut tree.'

Thwaite. Near the river Dove; S. by W. from Eye. A well-known word in the North; from the O. Norse *thveit*, a clearing in woods. So that the sense is 'a clearing.' It is chiefly remarkable for its occurrence so far to the South. There are two more Thwaites in Norfolk.

Weybread. S.W. of Bungay. Spelt *Weybred*, H.R.; *Weybredd*, Ipm.; *Weibrada*, D.B., pp. 11, 98. A.S. *weġbrǣde*, lit. 'way-breadth,' i.e. the broad plant by the wayside; a name for the common plantain, from its flat growth. It merely means 'plantain.'

Woolpit. Between Bury and Stowmarket. Spelt *Wulpet*, H.R.; *Wolpet*, *Wulpet*, Ipm.; *Wlpet*, H.R.; *Wlfpeta*, D.B., p. 164. It answers to A.S. *Wulfpyt*; a wolf-pit; a pit in which to catch wolves. The dat. pl. *wulfpyttun* is in Birch, C.S., iii. 134. The sense is therefore 'wolf-pit.' We should particularly notice the dialectal (Suffolk) *pet*, in place of the A.S. *pyt*, E. *pit*. The same form, *pet*, occurs in Old Frisian; and *Wulpet* may have been due to Frisian influence.

56. Concluding Remarks.

Owing to the large number of place-names, this investigation has necessarily taken up much space; but room must be found for a brief statement of general results.

The traces of Celtic are extremely slight, even among the river-names. The Kennet and the Ouse are of Celtic origin;

but the Butley river was named from Butley; the Deben from Debenham; the Breton, afterwards shortened to Bret, from Brettenham; the Gipping, from Gipping; the Thet, from Thetford; the Box, from Boxford; the Yox, from Yoxford; and the Alde, from Aldeburgh. The Blythe, the Orwell, and the Waveney are clearly English in form. The Lark seems to have been made out of Lackford, and the Linnet is its playfully named companion. The Welshman, or 'foreigner,' is alluded to in Walpole, Walton, and Walsham.

There were certainly Frisians settled in Suffolk, viz. at Freston, Friston, and Fressingfield. The Frisian *ē* (for A.S. *ā*) is apparent in Bredfield; it is even likely that the Frisian *e* (for A.S. *y*) is seen in Gedding, Hertest, Kedington, Nedging, and Woolpet (older form of Woolpit).

The traces of Danes and Norsemen are not very numerous, but quite clear and decided. There are four names ending in *-by*—Ashby, Barnby, Risby and Wilby; Baylham probably contains the O. Icelandic *bœli*, 'a farm.' Ingham contains the O.N. *eng*, a meadow; and Kirkley and Kirton show the Norse form of 'church.' Bungay, Eyke, Lound, Thwaite are all Norse; and Norse names or prefixes occur in Blundeston, Cratfield, Drinkstone, Flixton, Gisleham, Grundisborough, Gunton, Hasketon, Kesgrave, Kettlebaston, Kettleburgh, Laxfield, Ringsfield, Ringshall, Risbridge, Thrandeston, Ubbeston, and Uggeston. There is a Norse suffix in Lowes-toft.

Finally, there are even traces of Norman; as in Boulge, Bures, and Capel; and the -le- in Walsham-le-Willows.

As to the names that are purely English, they show decided traces of belonging to the Mercian or Midland dialect, as distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon or Southern; which is a matter of no small importance. It shows that we may fairly include Suffolk amongst the rather limited number of counties that have helped to build up that East-Midland dialect which was destined to supersede all others and to become the speech of the empire.

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