

Three Mile House, and Old Town, which was also a significant fair site, some three miles north of Kirkby Lonsdale.

¹⁷ A modern (pre-motorway) comparison may be found in the renown, among lorry-drivers, of the Jungle Cafe on the climb over Shap Fell on the A6.

¹⁸ *Hollins* (Docker, *Hollings* 1635) immediately adjoins the township boundary across which, and sharing the same Green, is a farm in Lambrigg with a field named *Hollings* (1836 KCR). Further south, each of three tracks has one example: *Hollins* in Old Hutton; *Hollins* (Preston Patrick, 1770 Jefferys); and *Hollin Hall* (Kirkby Lonsdale, 1770 Jefferys).

¹⁹ W. Parson and W. White. *History, Directory and Gazetteer of Cumberland and Westmorland, 1829* (re-published Ilkley, 1976), 535.

²⁰ A. Raistrick, *Malham and Malham Moor* (Clapham via Lancaster, 1947), 99-100. Raistrick says that this fair developed out of an ancient fair on 15th October.

²¹ To conform to the pattern, there should be a *hollin* in Selside, but I have not found one yet. Among the Horton-in Ribblesdale f.n.s. there was a Caldcoates in 1679 which might be significant, but its location is not known to me, and the township is huge.

²² A. Raistrick, *Green Tracks in the Pennines* (Clapham via Lancaster, 1962), 36.

²³ I. H. Adams, *Agrarian Landscape Terms* (Edinburgh, 1976), 34, quotes a payment called 'hollinpenne' which was made for holly trees growing in a certain part of the common in the Manor of Sheffield.

²⁴ *Holme* (Dorset) and *Holme* (Yorks. WR); *Holne* (Derbys.); *Hollington* (Derbys.) and *Hollington* (Sussex); *Hollingworth* (Lancs.); *Hollin* in Rock (Worcs.).

²⁵ M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984), 67.

²⁶ *PN Westm.*, II, 73

²⁷ *PN Cumb.*, II, 188.

²⁸ J. D. Marshall, *Old Lakeland*, 77.

Mary C. Higham

To those researchers working in North-West England, OE *sceaga* - 'a small wood'¹ - is a familiar element in the place-nomenclature. Despite (or perhaps as a result of) this familiarity, comparatively little work has been done to shed light on problems posed by the *sceaga* element, such as to find a satisfactory explanation for the difference in the form of names said to have evolved from *sceaga* (names in 'shaw' which form the bulk of the place-nomenclature and names in 'shay', found only in minor names) and for their 'strikingly uneven' distribution.²

The research reported in this paper has concentrated on those minor names which have become *shay*, the results of this work suggesting that the *shay* names may well indicate areas which had an ancient pattern of land-holding and land-use. It has also shown that the *shay* names may well be more significant than has been previously thought, with their survival the result of community use over a very long period of time. Indeed, it is possible that *shay* names may be very early indeed, occurring as they do in areas such as Elmet, Craven, Bowland, the Pennine Hills and Welsh Border areas.

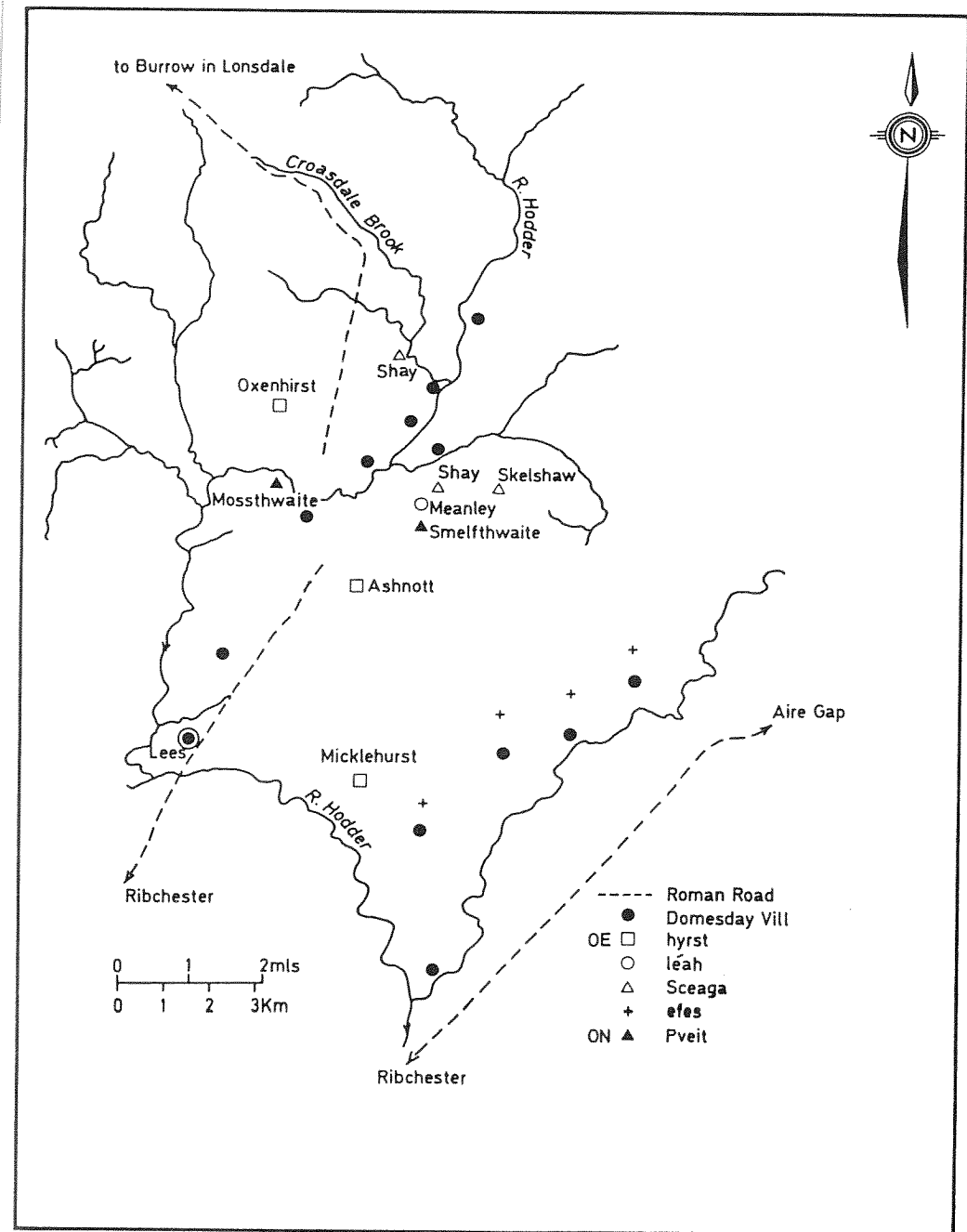
The work has involved the extraction and analysis of examples of *shay* forms from English Place-Name Society volumes,³ the supplementing of these by map research and fieldwork, and the visiting of all places or areas still bearing the place-name *shay* located within reasonable travelling distance of Clitheroe, Lancashire. This has meant that all the *shays* in the West Riding of Yorkshire (WR), and the few Lancashire examples identified by personal research⁴ (as well as the one example identified by Ekwall) have been visited. The Shropshire example,⁵ kindly indicated by Dr Gelling, was also visited, even though the definition of 'reasonable travelling distance' was rather stretched in this instance!

In the *PN Yorks.(WR)*, Smith stated that OE *sceaga* usually developed into later *shaw*, but in certain instances, might develop into *shay*, because of dialect influences in a particular area.⁶ It might be expected that dialect would affect all *sceaga* names in a particular area, and yet this is not the case. In Bowland, in the West Riding, there are *shaw* names and *shay* names within a very small area (Map 1). In Easington township, for example, there is Skelshaw, the Shay, Shay Barn, and Shay Meadow, all within half a mile, with the local dialect pronunciation of Skelshaw certainly not 'Skelshay'. If one also considers that *shay* names are apparently extant, alongside *shaw* forms, in Cheshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire

as well as Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Shropshire, this wider distribution would again seem to indicate that 'dialect influences' are not an entirely satisfactory explanation. However, as it seems equally unlikely that, if changes from *sceaga* to *shay* instead of to *shaw* did occur, they would have been completely random, it is necessary to analyse the *shay* forms, together with their location both within their local landscape and in a wider context, to see whether any distinctive patterns emerge.

The relatively high number of simplex names is striking. Unlike the *shaw* names, there are no examples of the names of wild creatures or species of trees used as qualifiers. There is just one personal name compounded with *shay* – Simpshey in Bowland. (Dr George Redmonds has commented that, unlike *shaw*, he cannot think of any examples of *shay* becoming a surname in the West Riding.)⁷ There are two places, Heaton Shay (WR) and Wiswell Shay (Lancs.) in which a township name is linked with *shay*. There are several instances of *shay* with the definite article (WR, Lancs., Salop), and of *shay* used with Lane or Gate (WR, Lancs.). There are also several occurrences of Shay House (WR, Lancs., Salop). The descriptive terms which are used as qualifiers do not refer to the *shay* itself but rather to the quality of the land on which the *shay* is located – Mirey Shay, Stoneyshey (WR) and Lomeshay (Lancs.) suggesting that the state of the ground underfoot was quite significant. That the *shay* form only survives in minor names might be thought to indicate that *shays* were of limited local significance, needing few identifiers. Fieldwork suggests this is far from the case. The evidence shows a far from random use of the term *shay*, which was applied to important features exhibiting certain common characteristics. The *shays* would appear to be of much more than local significance, being an integral part of the early farming economy of their area.

The location of landscape features bearing the name *shay* would appear to fall into two main groups – those in the upland and those on the valley floor. Even so, the *shay* names in both locations seem to be linked to similar features. Names with the definite article, and those linked with a township name, (Maps 2 and 4), are usually applied to large tracts of land – often low-grade agricultural land, suitable only for rough grazing. These tracts of land either remain unenclosed, or have the 'straight' close boundaries indicating late (that is, eighteenth- or nineteenth-century) enclosure. They are near to, or crossed by, administrative boundaries, with some of the earliest references to *shay* actually occurring in boundary disputes.⁸



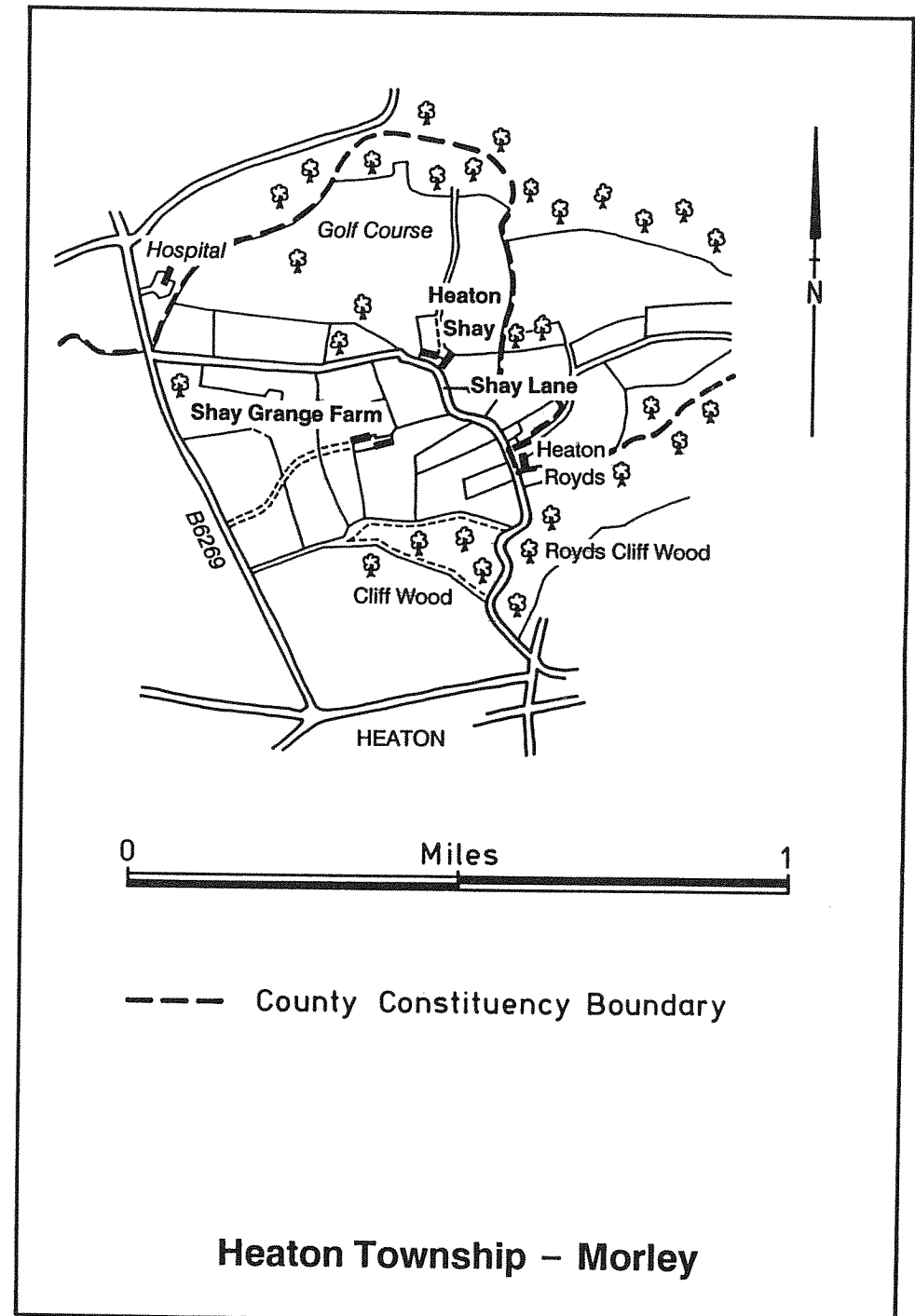
The Shay Lane, Shay Gate and Shay Bank names are often applied to very wide roads or tracks which continue for long distances. Shay Lane, which links Cropton and Walton in Agbrigg Wapentake (WR), is over a mile in length, and Shay Lane, Ovenden, in Morley Wapentake, considerably longer. Where these tracks enter an area of open country, whether upland or valley floor, they exhibit the characteristic 'funnel' shape associated with a predominantly pastoral economy. For example, Saxton's map of Bowland in 1591 (Map 5)⁹ clearly shows Shay Lane (Slaidburn) funnelling out on to open moor, with a similar pattern being seen in Oddie's late eighteenth century map of Clitheroe (Map 6),¹⁰ the Shay leading up to Clitheroe High Moor.

Both the large areas of land, and the roads and tracks in the West Riding have a similar underlying geology – millstone grit or coal measures, with the Lancashire upland examples being similarly located. The valley floor *shays* in the West Riding, in Lancashire and the area of The Shays in Shropshire are on heavy clay glacial deposits. These give rise to low quality agricultural land, which would give little option in the way the land could be exploited, and would explain the uniformity of land-use.

It would seem likely that the *shays* were linked with an extremely important element in early farming practice – the exploitation of the moors, which could be either areas of upland or areas of lowland. These moors, usually unenclosed and with several settlements having rights of common pasture on them (that is, inter-commoned), lay outside the arable closes and the improved pastures. They were used for stock grazing, particularly in summer, in order to relieve pressure on the in-bye pastures (the improved pastures closest to the farm) which were needed for the production of hay for winter feed. The stock moved between the settlements and the moor (The Shay) along well-defined stock tracks (the Shay Lanes and Shay Gates) which were wide enough to allow the cattle to graze on the verges along the way. The place-name Boldshay¹¹ is the sole example of a *shay* with a prefix associated with woodland, and yet even this supports the idea of *shay* as an area of grazing land. A 'bolling' was the permanent trunk of a tree which was regularly coppiced or pollarded at a height of some eight feet above the ground – too high for damage from browsing animals.

The intercommoned '*Shay*' moors and their associated stock tracks would have been controlled to prevent overstocking and other abuses. Dr Gelling has suggested that the Wood House names may refer to buildings with official functions in relation to woodland management.¹² It is very probable that the 'Shay House' names refer to buildings with official functions in relation to the management of the common moors and their access tracks. Certainly the Shay

MAP 2



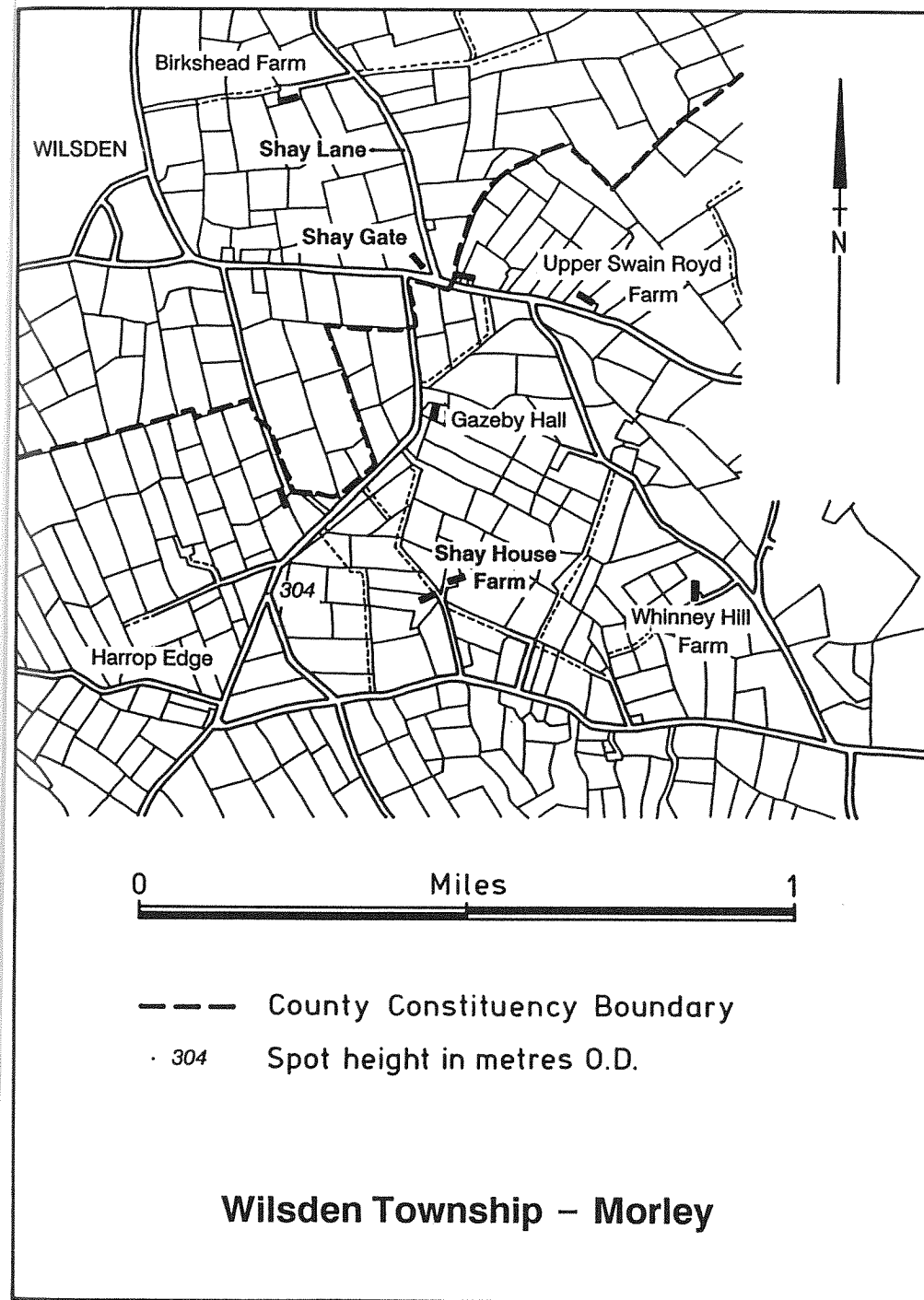
Houses visited were houses of some status, and were located in positions which would make such control a distinct possibility. The Shropshire example actually had the lane out to the Shay going straight through the farm yard.

This uniformity in land-use of the *shays* in the past would seem to continue today. Quite a number have a modern land-use which implies the utilisation of inexpensive low quality agricultural land which is no longer required by the community for its original purpose. This is either for the direct benefit of that community – a golf course (Heaton Shay), a public park (Hemsworth), football fields (Halifax and Clitheroe FCs) – or for their indirect benefit as industrial areas. There are several 'Shay Lane Industrial Estates' (Longridge, Ovenden and Lomeshaye) developed along the margins of the '*shay lanes*', with only rights of way hinting at the earlier use. These ancient rights of way, however, are apparently not easily extinguished. The exit roundabout for access to Lomeshaye Industrial Estate from the M65 motorway has a bridle path across the middle, with special gaps having been left in the metal crash-barriers to allow access to the rights of way leading to the former *shay*. The area of the *shay* in Lofthouse appears to be under the M62 motorway!

The processes which led to changes in land-holding patterns took place over a long period of time (and in some areas were never completed). The first stage was the division of intercommoned moors between all the settlements having grazing rights there. Such a division (often by agreement) would explain both the linking of *shay* with a township name (Heaton and Wiswell) and the bisecting of large areas designated 'The Shay' by administrative boundaries (Thornton and Wilsden). The second stage was the extinguishing of common rights on what had become the township *shay* or moor. This may have been done by Act of Enclosure, but again was often done by agreement. Sections of the former township moor were then allocated to individuals to compensate them for loss of grazing rights. Each of the allocations had to be enclosed, and this late enclosure can be identified by the small plots with their straight boundaries within the *shay* moor.

The recognition that the place-name *shay* is an indicator of former common moor, either hill land or lowland (with the Shay Lane or Shay Gate indicating the lane or gate to the Shay), clears up some problems. As the land was held in common, no individual or family had a permanent holding there, this explaining both the lack of personal names compounded with *shay* and the lack of surnames. Identifiers were superfluous when all the community had a vested interest in the commons, and would know precisely where they were. 'The Shay' would be quite sufficient to provide a precise location. (This is paralleled in some areas today by

MAP 3



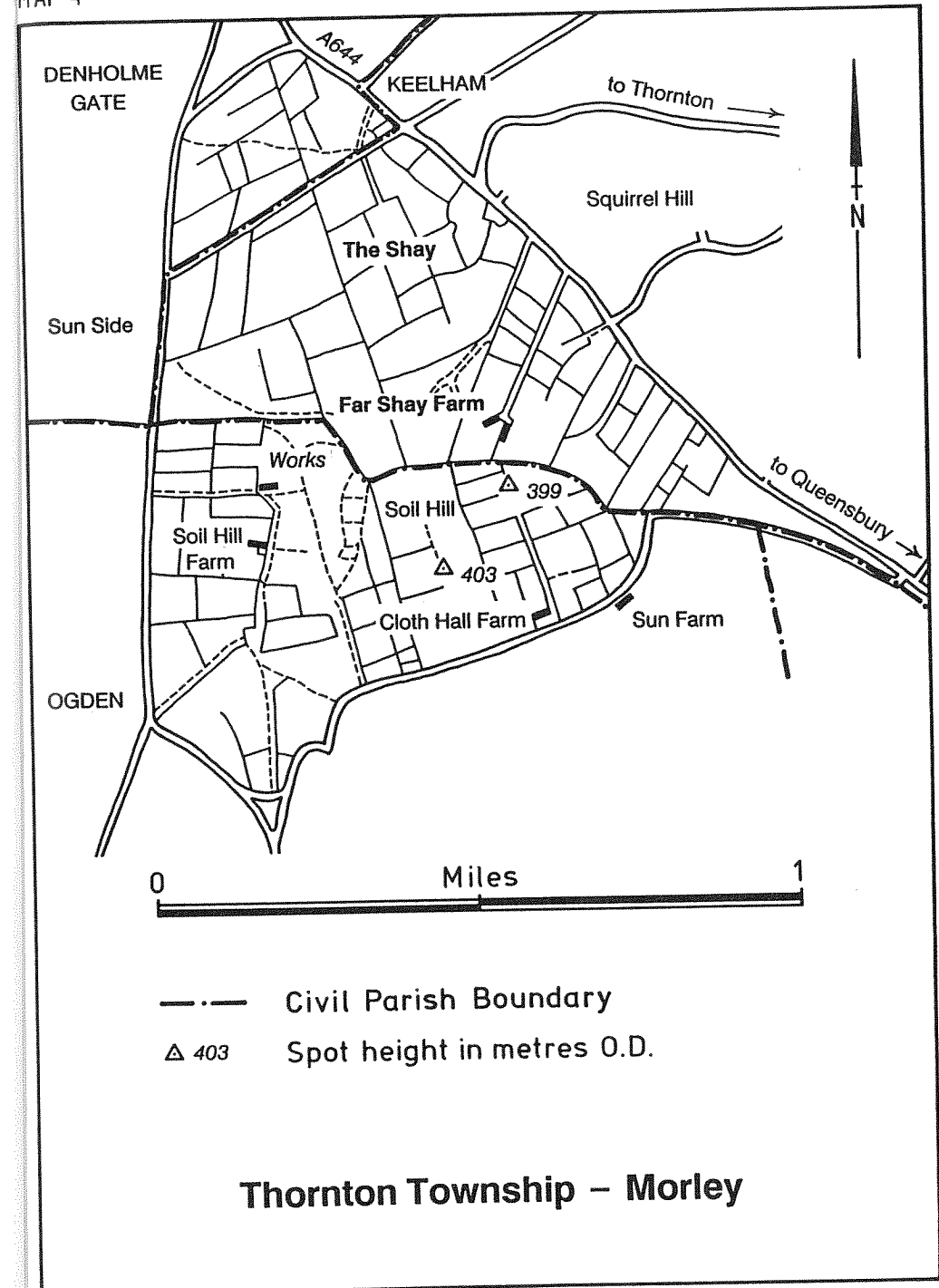
the use of the term 'fell' – 'gathering 'fell' is quite precise as to the task and location to those farmers who may live some distance away but still have common rights there.)

There is, however, the problem of reconciling the ancient agricultural practice of intercommoning, which was almost certainly in operation in the North West before the Anglo-Saxons came on the scene, with the use of the term *shay*, which is only recorded in documents well after the Norman Conquest (and in many cases not until the mid-nineteenth century!). This late appearance of the name can be explained in part by the paucity of documentary evidence in the North West. As far as documents are concerned, the Dark Ages lasted well into the late medieval period. One has also to take account of the main characteristic of commons, to which the term *shay* was applied. The rights of pasture there were vested in the ancient tenements, and were automatically transferred when the tenement changed hands complete with 'all appurtenances'. They needed no separate grant, and so were seldom mentioned in such documents. When there were disputes or when division of the intercommoned moors between the participating townships took place, the name might sometimes be recorded, but, as most of the enclosures of commons and wastes took place by agreement, documentary evidence is still infrequent. It is not until the mid-nineteenth century, when the records of the Ordnance Survey, and those of the Tithe Apportionment Commissioners were compiled, that a written record of most of the *shay* names was actually made.

Despite the identification made by place-name scholars, it has become increasingly difficult for the present writer to reconcile their view of *shay* as a very localised variant of *shaw* (from OE *sceaga*) with the meaning 'a small wood', since there is widespread application of the term *shay* to very large areas of land. There are other problems too. The *shaw* names are compounded with animal and bird names and some personal names, the *shay* names are not. The place-name *shaw* together with its compounds is held by settlements, some quite large in size, whereas *shay* is only applied to single farms, large areas of poor quality agricultural land and to roads and tracks. Finally, *shaw* and *shay* exist alongside one another in areas as far apart as the West Riding of Yorkshire and Shropshire. Indeed, Loppington Civil Parish has an area called The Shaws (wooded) and another called The Shays (not wooded).

In *English Place-Name Elements*, Smith noted that in an Anglo-Saxon charter (BCS 227 = Sawyer 35), OE *sceaga* is equated with Latin *mariscem* (accusative singular) 'marsh', rather than with the Latin for 'wood'.¹³ Even today, many of the *shay* areas can be very wet and badly drained, sometimes with quantities of *juncus* rush. This equation of *sceaga* with marsh would appear to be

MAP 4



closer in character to the upland and lowland moors of the *shays* than the usual equation of *shay* with woodland.

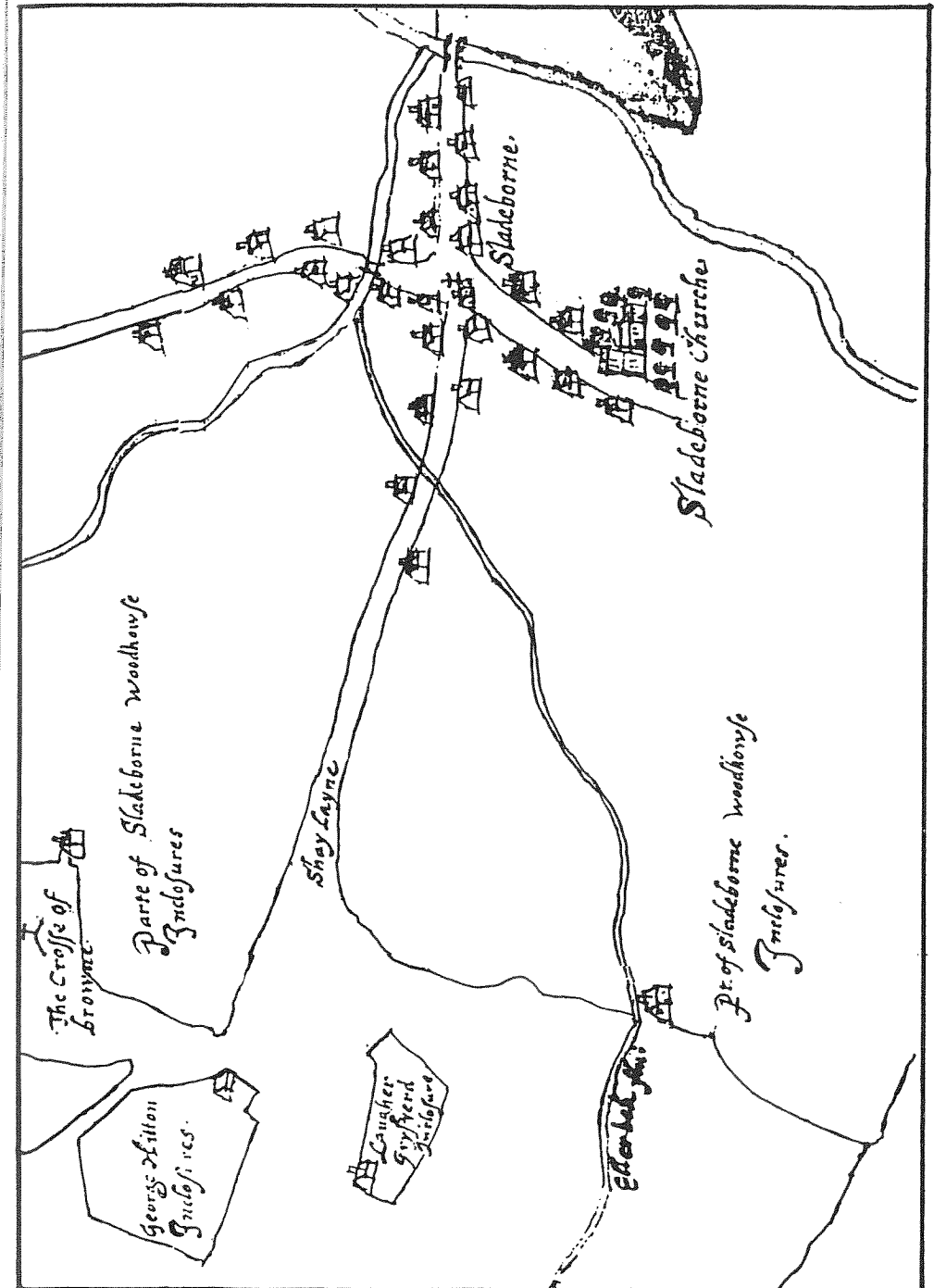
That the *shay* names have survived in everyday speech in the local communities is very apparent when talking to people in the areas under discussion. There are strong complaints of 'gentrification' of the word, with incomers thinking that *shay* is a 'slovenly' or 'uneducated' form of *shaw*. It is interesting to speculate that similar misunderstandings may have occurred in the past, and that the possibility of such a linguistic misunderstanding might help to illuminate the problem of 'strikingly uneven' distribution patterns (such as the cluster of *shay* forms in Elmet, Craven and Bowland, within the West Riding).

CLITHEROE, Lancashire

APPENDIX

TOWNSHIPS WITH 'SHAY' PLACE-NAMES IDENTIFIED TO DATE

1. YORKSHIRE (WEST RIDING) WAPENTAKES
 - a) *West Staincliffe*
 - Bolton by Bowland
 - Easington
 - Gisburn Forest
 - Grindleton
 - Newton
 - Slaidburn
 - b) *East Staincliffe*
 - Cowling
 - Glusburn
 - c) *Morley*
 - Bradford (x3)
 - Halifax
 - Heptonstall
 - Ovenden
 - Oxenhope
 - Tong
 - Thornton
 - Wilsden
 - d) *Agbrigg*
 - Crofton
 - Lofthouse
 - Wooldale
 - e) *Staincross*
 - Hemsworth
2. LANCASHIRE
 - Briercliffe
 - Clitheroe
 - Great Harwood
 - Lomeshaye (Marsden)
 - Longridge
 - Ulnes Walton
 - Wiswell
3. SHROPSHIRE
 - Loppington/Nonley



NOTES

For abbreviations used, see *ante* X (1986), 210-15, and XI (1987), 212-13.

¹ *EPN*, II, 99.

² M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, (London, 1984), 208-9.

³ Only those names stated by Smith (*EPN*) to be *shay* were included in the sample studied. The existence of *shays* in Cheshire was drawn to the author's attention at the Swansea Conference organized by the Council for Name Studies (1988), where an earlier draft of this paper was presented. Staffordshire forms were noted by M. A. Atkin.

⁴ It is most unlikely that all the Lancashire names in *shay* have been identified. E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, (reprint, Wakefield, 1972) only includes major names, e.g. Lomeshaye, p.86.

⁵ The area of the Shays lies between Loppington and Noneley, Shropshire. The Shays forms part of a very interesting set of 'area' names - The Fields, The Shaws, The Shays, and Commonwood. It would certainly appear that the local inhabitants were quite clear as to the difference between The Shaws and The Shays, despite the lack of qualifiers, for, within the area of The Shaws, field-names include Near Shaws, Far Shaws, Big Shaws and Little Shaws, whereas within the area of The Shays, the field-names include The Moors, Fox Moor (2), and Moorside.

⁶ *EPN*, II, 99, comments that *shay* arises from *sceaga/scaga* in the same way as *haigh* arises from *haga*. It may be useful to note that, in local pronunciation, *shay* sounds as *hay*, whereas *haigh* sounds as *vague*.

⁷ Personal communication.

⁸ Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDpt/21, 1360 and 1598: legal papers *re* Boundary between Rishton and Great Harwood. (Noted by Dr A. J. L. Winchester.)

⁹ London, Public Record Office, MR 778. This map, from which an extract is included (Map 5) is in copyright of the Duchy of Lancaster, and appears by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster. The map has been identified as having been drawn by Christopher Saxton by B. J. N. Edwards, Lancashire County Archaeologist.

¹⁰ M. Oddie, 'A Plan of the Commons and Waste Lands of the Borough and Township of Clitheroe, 1786'. (Preston, Lancashire Record Office, MAE/2/11).

¹¹ *PN Yorks. (WR)*, III, 243.

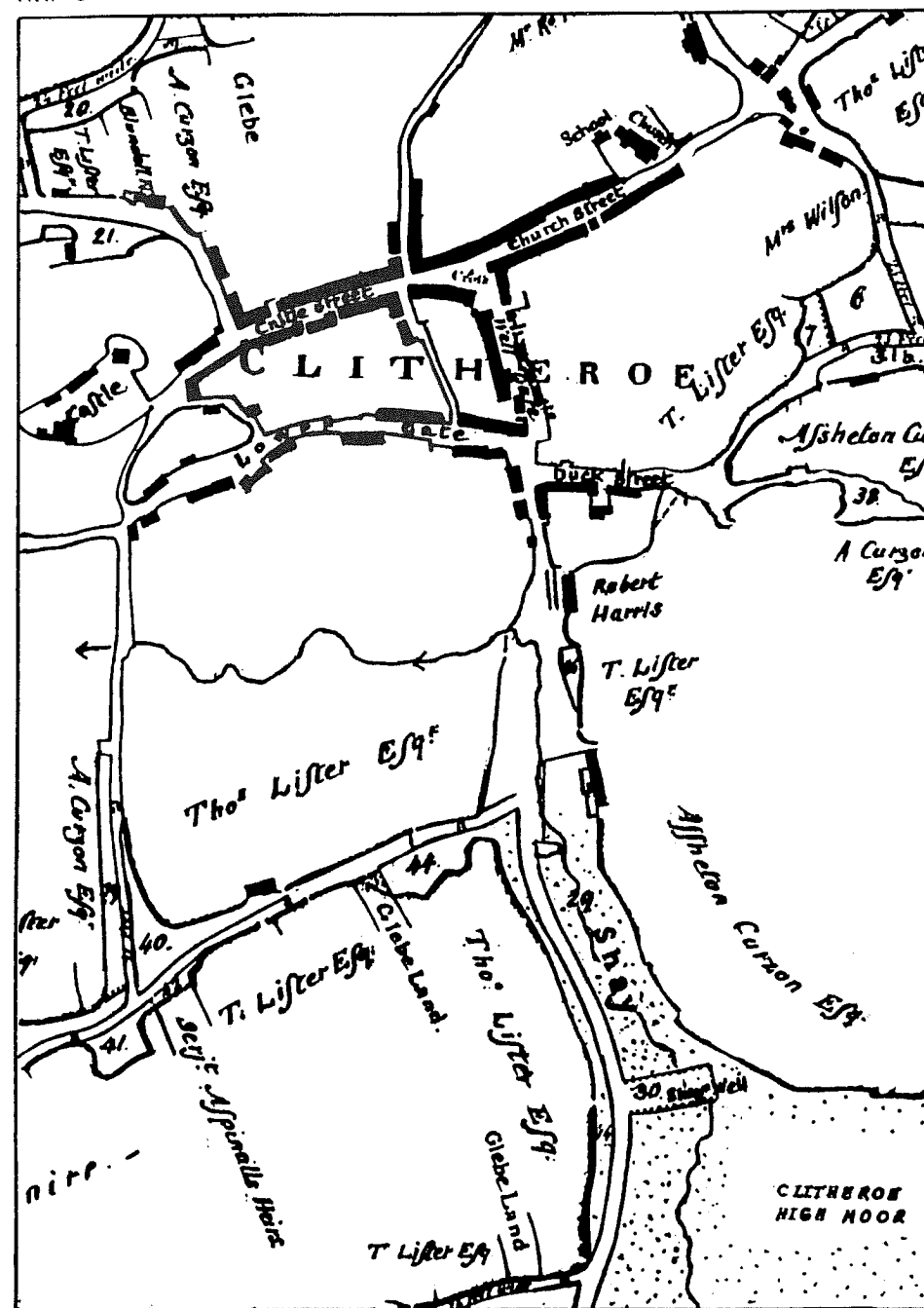
¹² *Place-Names in the Landscape*, 227.

¹³ *EPN*, II, 99.

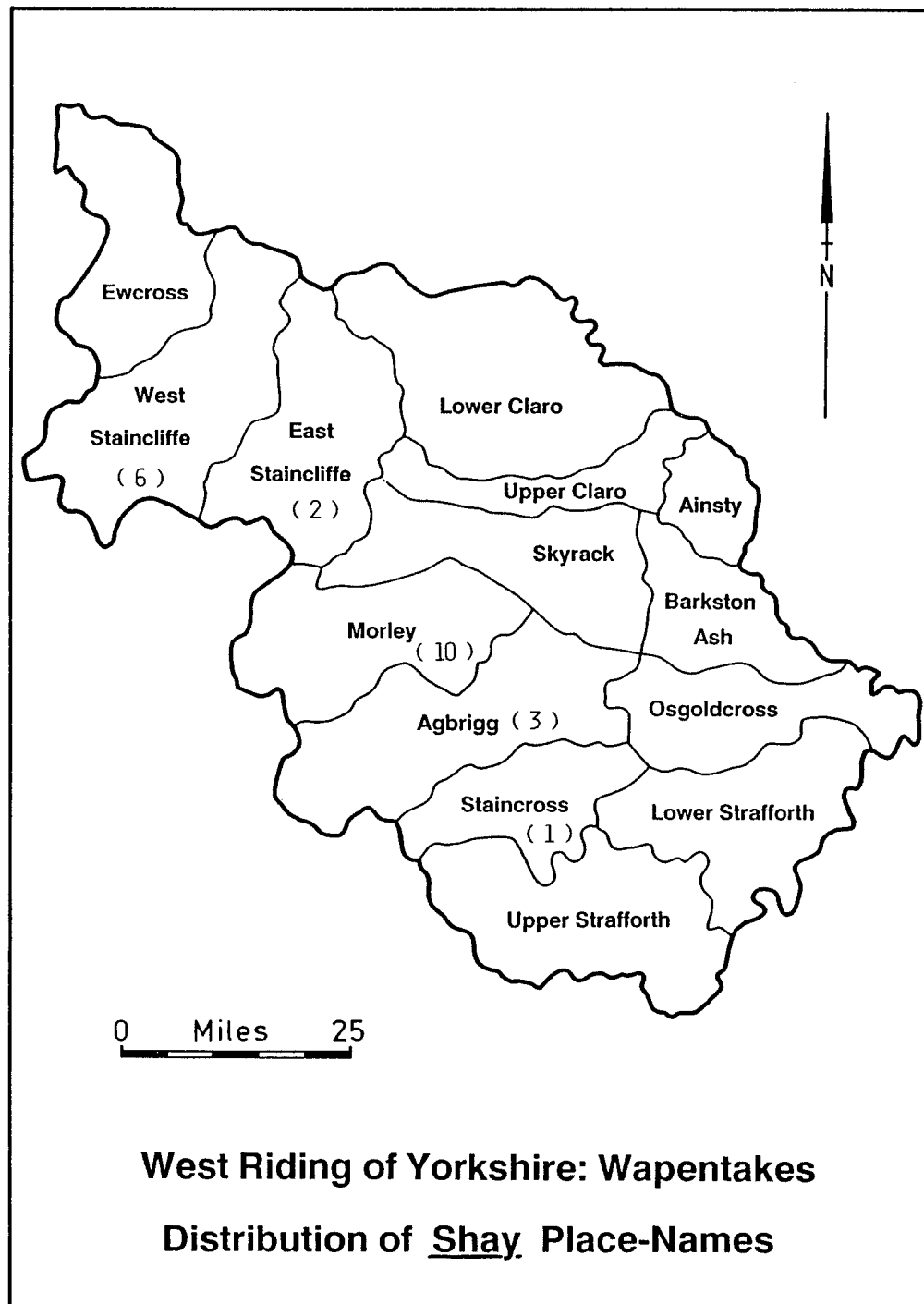
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to all who helped in any way - either with references, fieldwork or discussion. A particular debt is owed to the cartographers - Mel Ward of Hull who drew Map 1, and Val Winchester, of Lancaster, who drew Maps 2, 3, 4, and 7.

MAP 6



ODDIE'S MAP OF CLITHEROE, 1786



SHAW/SHAY: THE PHONOLOGICAL PROBLEM

Margaret Gelling

Shay in the north-country names discussed by Mary Higham derives ultimately from Old English *sceaga*. On the basis of modern landscape conditions the material which she has assembled might be considered to be evidence for a different place-name element which had no connotation of woodland. But the evidence of early spellings for names containing *sceaga* which is set out in *PNYorks. (WR)* demonstrates that the OE word frequently developed to *shay* in that county.

In the *Notes on Phonology and Dialect* in *PNYorks. (WR)* (VII, 78), A. H. Smith cited names in which *shaw* and *shay* interchange. In all the examples cited there, the Shaw- or -shaw form prevailed. He did not adduce examples of modern Shay names, probably because of the lack of early documentation. Interchange is also found in these, however, as in:

The Shay (III, 273) – *Shaw Clough and Hill* 1850;

Shay Green (ibid. 265) – *Shaw Green* 1853;

Shay Syke (ibid. 108) – *Shaw Sike* 1588, 1636.

It might be claimed – as Mrs Higham suggests for The Shaws and The Shays in Loppington, Shropshire – that there is no true connection between minor names Shaw and Shay, they just sometimes occur in proximity to each other; but this is not convincing. Shaw(s) is not a common name in Shropshire: there are fewer than a dozen examples on the 6" O.S. maps, and it is not likely to be coincidence that the single instance of the Shays lies beside an instance of The Shaws. In two of the West Riding instances cited above, Shay Green and Shay Syke, there can be no doubt that the earlier *Shaw* forms refer to the same piece of land. Shawbury in Shropshire has spellings such as *Shabery* from the 12th to the 18th century, and in the 1930s some older residents are said to have used the pronunciation appropriate to this form.

A. H. Smith (*Notes on Phonology*) explained the development of Shay from *sceaga* as due to failure to diphthongize *āga* to *aw*, and subsequent vowel-lengthening in an open syllable which resulted in ME *-āge-*. The raising of ME *ā* to *ē* in north-country toponyms is well-evidenced in such names as Cadeby, Laycock, Pateley Bridge. In the case of Shay it has to be presumed (though Smith does not say this) that there was late diphthongization of the new raised vowel which caused *-age* to become *-aye*.

This is probably sound, though Smith weakened his case by adducing unsatisfactory parallels. One of these is Haigh, from OE *haga*, in which influence may be suspected from OE *gehæg*, also meaning 'enclosure'. Others, such as Ainleys and Aughton, do not have an open syllable. Laverton (sometimes *Layrton*) is surely exhibiting a different phenomenon, a development of an element containing *-f-* which is found elsewhere, e.g. in the local pronunciation [deintre] of Daventry, Northants. Hainworth, from OE **Hagenan worth*, seems the most satisfactory of the parallels which Smith adduces from West Riding names for the Shaw/Shay dichotomy. From another part of Yorkshire he might have cited Raywell in Cottingham (East Riding), which is *Ragwelle* 1282, from *ragu* 'moss'.

Occasional development of ME *-ay-*, *-ai-* from OE *-aga-* or *-age* is probably not confined to north-country names. Brayfield, Bucks, from OE *Bragenfeld* looks like the same phenomenon; the spellings show alternative developments to ME *Brainfeud* and *Braunfeld*. But the alternative form of OE *bragen* is *brægen* (modern *brain*), and there may have been another, unrecorded, OE form of the place-name, **Brægenfeld*, which would invalidate the comparison. The development only calls for special explanation if it occurs in an element which has the back vowel *a*. Chailey, Sussex, which is *Cheagele*, *Chaglegh* 1087 X 1100, *Chageleye* 1255, might be considered relevant, and Faintree, Shropshire, if the