

## The Scandinavian Element in Minor Names and Field-Names in North-East Lincolnshire

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### Yarborough Wapentake

*The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, part II, covers the wapentake of Yarborough, a large area in north-east Lincolnshire stretching from the River Ancholme in the west to the Humber estuary just north of Grimsby in the east.<sup>1</sup> It comprises some thirty-six parishes with at least sixteen major names derived from Old Danish (ODan) *bý* 'a farmstead, a village'. The overall impression is that it was a district which had received large numbers of Danish settlers in the periods following the partition of Mercia in 877. This impression is immensely strengthened when one examines the considerable number of minor names and field-names of Danish origin here.

This is an attempt to present in broad outline an analysis of the Danish element in the local place-nomenclature, particularly in medieval field-name forms. The four-fold division of place-name elements below no doubt appears somewhat arbitrary, but it gives at least an overall impression of the frequency of individual words, from *gata*, which is found in thirty-one parishes, to *melr*, for instance, which is recorded from only one. No attempt has been made to 'count numbers', for many Danish words are recorded in several different names in an individual parish and equally many such names are recorded several times. The four divisions are: 'Common' (found in more than six parishes in Yarborough Wapentake), 'Well attested' (in five or six parishes there), 'Less common' (in four or five parishes there) and 'Occasional' (in up to three parishes there).

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<sup>1</sup> K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, II: *Lincolnshire; Lindsey, North Riding: The Wapentake of Yarborough*, English Place-Name Society (EPNS) 64-65 (Nottingham, 1991).

## Common

- bekkr** 'a stream' (in 22 parishes)  
**bryggja** 'a jetty, a quay' (in 10 parishes, in some cases replacing Old English (OE) **brycg**)  
**bý** 'a village' (in 16 parishes, always in the formula *Estiby/Austiby, Northiby, Suthiby, Westiby* as a surname, meaning 'X who lives east, north, south, west in the village' respectively. *Midby* has been noted as a place-name once; and *Douniby, donyby* and *Vpiby* once each; note also *Estiton* 1340 in North Kelsey)  
**dammr** 'a dam', later 'a pond, a pool' (in 14 parishes)  
**deill** 'a share, a portion of land' (in 29 parishes)  
**eng** 'meadow, pasture' (in 22 parishes)  
**garðr** 'an enclosure' (in 28 parishes)  
**gata** 'a road, a way', 'land by a road', later 'pasture for animals' (in 31 parishes)  
**geiri** 'a triangular piece of land' (in 10 parishes)  
**haugr** 'a hill, a (burial) mound' (in 17 parishes)  
**hlaða** 'a barn' (in 8 parishes)  
**holmr** 'an island, a water-meadow, a piece of raised land in marsh' (in 19 parishes)  
**inntak** 'a piece of land taken in or enclosed' (in 17 parishes, but only in later spellings; the earliest here is 1638; it is the source of no less than 17 different names in Thornton Curtis parish, including *Railway Intake*)  
**kirkja** 'a church' (in 15 parishes, alternating with OE **cirice** in the forms of some names)  
**kjarr** 'a bog, marsh', especially one overgrown with brushwood (in 21 parishes)  
**mikill** 'big' (in 7 parishes, usually in very early forms)  
**steinn** 'a stone' (in 7 parishes, sometimes alternating with OE **stān** in the forms of the same name)  
**stǫng** 'a pole, a stave', later used as a measurement of length, 'a pole' (in 8 parishes)  
**toft** 'a curtilage, a messuage, a building-site' (in 19 parishes)  
**vað** 'a ford' (in 8 parishes)  
**vrá** 'a nook, a corner of land' (in 16 parishes).

## Well attested

- baun** 'a bean' (sometimes alternates with OE **bēan** in the forms of the same name)  
**brakni** 'bracken'  
**breiðr** 'broad' (sometimes alternates with OE **brād** in the forms of the same name)  
**brot** 'a small piece of land' (frequently *Brat(s)* in post-1500 sources)  
**fit** 'grassland on the bank of a river' (becoming *Fitties* in coastal parishes, denoting the outer marsh)  
**hafri** 'oats' (common throughout the county, especially in the compound *Haverholme*)  
**hofuð** 'a headland (in the common field)' (often varies with OE **heafod** in the same name)  
**kriki** 'a nook, a bend', later 'a creek' (in 5 parishes along the R. Humber, in four instances with forms from the 13th century).

## Less common

- austr** 'east' (sometimes alternating with OE **ēast** in the same name)  
**hryggr** 'a ridge, a cultivated strip of land'  
**leirr** 'mud, clay', **leira** 'a muddy, clayey place'  
**lyng** 'ling, heather'  
**þverr** (**þvert**, neuter) 'athwart, lying across'.

## Occasional

- austerra** 'more easterly'  
**elri** 'an elder tree'  
**ferja** 'a ferry' (in *Ferigate* 'the road to the ferry')  
**gás** 'a goose'  
**greinn** 'a fork of a river, a small valley forking off from another'  
**gríss** 'a pig'  
**hestr** 'a horse, a stallion'  
**hogg** 'a cutting, a small part of a wood marked off for cutting' (mostly recorded post-1600)  
**hross** 'a horse'  
**hveiti** 'wheat' (alternating with OE *hwæte* in the same name)

- hvin** 'whin, gorse' (occurs in a number of names first recorded post-1600)
- ighil** 'a leech'
- klint** 'a steep bank, a projecting rock'
- knøttr** 'a hillock'
- kráka** 'a crow'
- loft** 'a loft, an upper chamber'
- melr** 'a sand-bank, a sand-hill'
- mýrr** 'a mire, a bog'
- nabbi** 'a knoll, a hill'
- sléttr** 'level', **slétta** 'a level field'
- stakkr** 'a stack' (in *Stackgarth*)
- þorp** 'a secondary settlement, a dependent farmstead or hamlet' (only in a single parish)
- star** 'sedge' (only in the compound *Starholme*)
- þræll** 'a thrall, a serf, a slave'
- trani** 'a heron' (only in the compound *Tranholme*)
- troll** 'a troll'
- vangr** 'garden, an in-field' (only a single example has been noted in the whole wapentake)
- with** 'a willow'.

In addition, the occurrence of two words, **skáli** 'a temporary hut or shed' and **slakki** 'a shallow valley, a hollow', is particularly noteworthy. Each is found in five parishes, the latter recorded from the twelfth century, and both are usually assumed to be Old West Scandinavian words common in north-west England, but rare in the East Midlands.

Names containing *dike/dyke*, *sike/syke*, *sty*, *lithe* 'a slope' and *wrang* 'crooked' have been omitted since they could formally be of Scandinavian or English origin. The medieval forms, however, suggest we have to do rather with Old Norse (ON) **dík**, **sík**, **stígr**, **hlið** 'a slope, and **vrangr** 'crooked' than OE **dīc**, **sīc**, **stīg**, **hlið** and **wrang**. Similarly, names in *-berg* seem to represent ON **berg** rather than OE **be(o)rg** 'a hill', while those in *-dale* seem to represent ON **dalr** rather than OE **dæl** 'a valley'.

A clear indication of Scandinavian influence in minor names and field-names is the number which are Scandinavian compounds. Apart from a couple of examples, all are recorded before 1500. Prominent

among them is **gata**, found in the highest number of parishes, no less than 31 out of 36. In addition, it is very common in the street-names of Lincoln.

### Scandinavian compound names

- Austorpgate* mid-13th (Killingholme; from a lost *Austhorpe*)
- Baunedale* late 12th (Barton upon Humber), *bounetoft* mid-13th (Brocklesby)
- beckedeile* Henry III (Nettleton)
- brachenbau* late 12th (Ulceby), *Brakenhougate* c.1200 (Riby)
- braydberhg* (sic) mid-13th (Killingholme), *Braythenges* 1294 (Brocklesby)
- Crakeberg* Henry III (Killingholme)
- Daledaile* c.1200 (Brocklesby)
- dammesgate* Henry III (Killingholme), *damholms slack* c.1612 (Thornton Curtis)
- dumbkarcroft* early 13th (Croxtan; may be a nickname here)
- le Engedik* 1416 (Elsham)
- le Ferigate* Henry III (East Halton)
- Filibholm* early 13th (Killingholme, from ON *filja* 'a filly')
- Gategreynes* c.1311 (Killingholme)
- Graideng* Henry III (North Kelsey; probably from ON *greiðr* 'useful')
- Hestholm* late Henry III (East Halton)
- Hofdland deile* Henry III (Killingholme), *houtesdeil* c.1150 (Riby)
- Holmberg* c.1200 (Riby)
- houdaile* c.1240 (Immingham)
- Kerdik* 1260 (Goxhill)
- kyrkegate* early 13th (Brocklesby)
- licdail* late Henry III (Nettleton; probably from ON *\*lika-deill* 'a parcel of land set aside for burials')
- merskewra* 1273 (Goxhill; with *merske-*, a Scandinavianized form of OE *mersc*)
- mikelberc* late Henry III (East Halton), *Mickeldames* 1634 (Croxtan), *mykeldayles* late Henry III (Goxhill), *Micelgate* Henry III (Habrough), *Mikylgat* 1402 (Bonby)
- Nabberg* late Henry III (Killingholme)
- sikedayle* early 13th (Kirmington)

- Stainberg* c.1167 (Great Limber), *Staynbergdayle* Henry III (Killingholme)  
*Thinghaudale* Henry III (Barton upon Humber)  
*thralholm* late 12th (Killingholme)  
*thwerdayle* Henry III (Nettleton), *le þweresty* Henry III (Killingholme, from ON *þverr* 'athwart, lying across', this last being recorded also as *ad semitam transuersam*)  
*Waithberg* Henry III (Killingholme, first element *hveiti* 'wheat')  
*Wakehou* Henry III (Croxton, the first element probably being a byname from ON *vagr* 'watchful')  
*Le Wathegate* 1309 (Goxhill)  
*Yaldehaudale* 1240 (Croxton, the first element probably being ON *jalda* 'a nag').

It will be noted that though some of these names are in parishes with Scandinavian names, many are in English-named villages, including Killingholme, which was originally an *-ingaham* name.

Three interesting names, one for which two forms have been noted, add further to the impression of great Danish influence on the local place-nomenclature: *Haghous*, *Saltheim* and *tofterdayl*. The first is recorded twice in Thornton Curtis as *Haghous* 1327 and *Haghouses* 1332, both in personal names. This must mean 'the house(s) for chopping and storing firewood', first recorded in 1733 according to NED but in 1400 by Löfvenberg.<sup>2</sup> Löfvenberg points out that the first element is the stem of the verb *hag* 'to cut, hew, chop', from ON *hǫgg(v)a*, and he compares Swedish *huggbus* 'a house for doing wood-work or for storing firewood, especially on a farm'. In north Lincolnshire we have, therefore, the earliest instances so far noted of this compound, and it is almost certainly Scandinavian in origin. *Saltheim* is recorded c.1160 from Habrough, the second element being ON *heimr* 'a home, homestead, estate', not otherwise found in field-names in this area and in this instance likely to be a Scandinavianized form of OE *hām*. It is very likely that 'the salt homestead' has to do with the salt industry which we know was carried on in Habrough Marsh in the Middle Ages. The third name occurs in Killingholme as *le tofterdayl* and the first element appears to be an unrecorded Middle

English (ME) *\*toftere* 'one who lives in a toft', a derivative of ON *toft* 'a curtilage, a messuage', the second being *deill* 'a share, a portion of land'. So we appear to have a name, so far unique, which clearly indicates that *toft* had become part of the local vocabulary, a fact we could deduce from other evidence.

What is remarkable about the names so far discussed is the sheer variety of terms comprising them and the number of words of Danish origin still used in the local vocabulary, like *beck*, *carr*, *garth*, *gate*, *holme*, *stong*, *wroe* and the like. The impression one is inevitably left with is of very considerable Danish influence on the local farming vocabulary, influence which presupposes a large Danish physical presence in north Lincolnshire.

Mention has already been made that occasionally the Danish and English forms of the same word alternate in early forms of the same field-name, as for example *baun/bēan* 'a bean', *breiðr/brād* 'broad', *hryggr/hrycg* 'a ridge', *kirkja/cirice* 'a church', *buskr/busc* 'a bush', as well as *naut/nēat* 'cattle'. In addition we find Scandinavianized forms of some English words such as *mersk* for *marsh* 'a marsh', *risk* for *rush* 'a rush' and *seg* for *sedge*, while there is a mill in East Halton called *Skern Mill*, with *Sk-* for *Sh-*, *Skern* being apparently from OE *Scīran-ēa* 'the bright, clear river'. A further example of the same feature is found in *Skitter* for *Shitter* 'the mucky river' in Skitter Beck and the related East Halton Skitter and Ulceby Skitter.

Finally, a remarkable feature of the minor names and field-names of Yarborough Wapentake is the number of Scandinavian personal names occurring as first element in forms from medieval documents.

#### Scandinavian personal names

- Aggi* in *Aggehous* c.1233 (Keelby)  
*Arni* in *Arnesberg* 1260 (East Halton), *arneswelle* post 1170 (Stallingborough)  
*Ásfrøðr* in *Asfardale* c.1260 (Great Limber)  
*Ásgautr*, Anglo-Scand. *Ogot*, *Osgot*, in *Ogotwelle* c.1300 (Immingham), *Osgottoftes* 13th (Stallingborough)  
*Brandr* in *Branzthoft* c.1150 (Killingholme), with *z = ts*, a distinctively Scandinavian genitive singular [s]  
*Farmann* in *Farmanaker* late 12th (Killingholme)  
*Finnr* in *finhou* c.1167 (Great Limber)

<sup>2</sup> M. T. Löfvenberg, *Contributions to Middle English Lexicography* (Lund, 1946), pp. 93-94.

- Fin* in *finnesacre* Henry III (Barton upon Humber)  
*Grímr* in *Grimesacra* Henry III (Barton upon Humber) and note  
*Radulfi filii Grim* c.1140 in the same parish, *Grimestoft* late 12th  
(Habrough)  
*Gumme*, from *Guðmarr*, in *Gummesthripenes* 1260 (East Halton)  
*Gunnbildr*, feminine, in *Gunnildaile* Henry III (Barton upon  
Humber)  
\**Gunnhvati*, Anglo-Scand. *Gunnewate*, in *Gunwathou* early 13th  
(Habrough), *le toft Gun(n)ewate* c.1160 (Kirmington)  
*Gunni* in *Guneheuedland* Henry III (Brocklesby)  
*Haghi* perhaps in *haggenegates* late 12th (Nettleton)  
*Haukr* in *houkesmare* late 13th (Immingham)  
*Hildr*, feminine, in *Hilderholm*' mid-13th (Brocklesby)  
*Hlidólfr*, the most likely source of ME *Ligolf*, *Liolf*, in *Ligolfe Wra*  
Henry III (Killingholme)  
*Hrafn* in *Rafeneshaudale* early 13th (Barton upon Humber)  
*Ingialdr* in *Ingeltoftes* late Henry III (Killingholme)  
*Karl(i)* is likely in *Carleswathe* 1190 (Caistor)  
\**Kel*, from *Ketill*, in *Kelsdail* 1226 (Nettleton)  
*Ketelbiörn* in *Ketelbernwarlotes* Henry III (East Halton)  
*Ketill* in *Ketelholme* 13th (Stallingborough)  
*Klakkr* in *Claxhou* ante 1167 (Great Limber)  
*Kol(l)sveinn* in *Colswaingate* Henry III (Killingholme)  
*Leisingi* in *Leisingwang* early Henry III (Croxtan)  
*Rámundr* in *Ramondall fur*' 1577 (Nettleton)  
*Ráðúlfr* in *Ratholfwell*' Henry III (Killingholme)  
*Salmund* in *Salmuddale* (sic) Henry III (Barton upon Humber)  
\**Saumr* in *Soumsdayl* 1343 (Immingham)  
*Silki* in *Silkeholme* 13th (Stallingborough)  
*Skæræmir* in *Skrempholm* 1354 (Barton upon Humber)  
*Snaudr* in *Snaudberg* Henry III (Killingholme)  
*Sveinn* in *Swainesdaile* Henry III (Barton upon Humber)  
*Thorkil* in *Thorkellith* c.1240 (Nettleton)  
*Þorvarðr* in *Thorwardehill* late 12th (Killingholme)  
*Tolle*, a hypocoristic form of *Þorleifr* or *Þorleikr*, in *tolletoft* Henry III  
(Habrough)  
*Tósti* in *Tosteng* 1190 (Barrow upon Humber)  
*Tubbi* in *Tubhaes* mid-13th (Goxhill)

\**Valgripr* in *Walgriphau* Henry III (Goxhill)  
*Vigleikr* in *Wilkeflet* Henry II (Habrough).

Although of course the occurrence of Scandinavian personal names does not mean that the holders of these names were necessarily themselves of Scandinavian stock, the presence of an impressive list of such names clearly indicates at least strong Danish influence which could only have come about from considerable settlement. All the evidence presented so far points unmistakably in this direction.

A further example of distinctively Scandinavian influence is seen in the name *Andrewbarnland* 1344 in Keelby. This must have been on the boundary with Stallingborough, since it is recorded in the latter as *Andreubarnland*' Henry III. Now *Andrewbarn* is formed from the ME personal name *Andrew* and the Scandinavian personal byname *barn*. So *Andrewbarn* is the equivalent of the English *Andrewson* and confirmation that this is indeed the correct interpretation comes in the form *terram filii Andreæ* Henry III in a Stallingborough document.

It has long been maintained that the presence of Scandinavian elements in the field-names of a district is a sign of *influence* rather than of *settlement* and no doubt this is true. However, as I have always maintained, this influence cannot have come from thin air. When this influence is as strong as that found in Yarborough Wapentake, it must be due to settlement on a sufficient scale for very many words of Danish origin to have become part of the local vocabulary, and for Danish inflexional forms, like those found in *Branzthoft* and in *Claxhou* to have found their way into the local place-nomenclature. For example, Danish genitival [s], evidenced in these two field-names, occurs also in major names like Claxby (twice), Haceby, Laceby and Ulceby (twice). It is worth noting that *Branztoft* Henry II, *brancetoft* Henry III and *Brauncetoft* 1349, a doublet of the Yarborough name, occurs in Dunholme in the West Riding of Lindsey.

If evidence were ever wanted for a very heavy Danish presence in parts of Lincolnshire, that presented here must make the case watertight. It fully supports my long-held contention that not only men from the victorious Danish *micel here* settled here, but that they must have been reinforced by others, Danish farmers and their families, who entered eastern England in numbers. The Danish settlement of this part of East Mercia must indeed have been dense.

I can hardly do better than quote the words of Dr Margaret Gelling:

the latest volume of the English place-name survey presents material for part of Lincolnshire which makes it clear that the Danish language was spoken there for several generations. There is no other imaginable way in which the high proportion of Danish field-names which have been found in medieval documents could have been created.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, such settlement and reinforcement support and are supported by the argument of Samuels in 'The great Scandinavian belt' that north Lincolnshire was indeed a part of that 'great belt'.<sup>4</sup>

### Walshcroft Wapentake

Walshcroft Wapentake, 'Vali's or Valr's cross', comprises twenty-two modern parishes, half of which have names in *-by*.<sup>5</sup> The district lies to the south of Yarborough Wapentake, extending from the River Ancholme in the west to Binbrook in the east, and contains no coastal parishes. A very notable feature of this area is that there are fewer surviving medieval sources for minor names and field-names than is the case in Yarborough. So we are dependent much more on late sixteenth-century material than in the wapentake to the north. Nonetheless, the number of medieval Scandinavian compound field-names is proportionally only slightly smaller. On the other hand, as will be seen, the number of Scandinavian personal names in the field-names here is considerably less, even allowing for the disparate number of parishes in the two wapentakes.

The same four-fold divisions and the same lists of words have been used as in the survey of Yarborough, but allowance must be made for the different size of the two wapentakes and for the uneven survival of medieval documents.

<sup>3</sup> M. Gelling, 'The present state of place-name studies', *The Local Historian*, 22 (1992), 114-27 (p. 118).

<sup>4</sup> M. L. Samuels, 'The great Scandinavian belt', in A. McIntosh, M. L. Samuels and M. Laing, *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*, edited by M. Laing (Aberdeen, 1989), pp. 106-15.

<sup>5</sup> See K. Cameron, with J. Field and J. Insley, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, III, *The Wapentake of Walshcroft*, English Place-Name Society, 66 (Nottingham, 1992).

### Common in Yarborough Wapentake

In Walshcroft Wapentake:

**bekkr** (in 18 parishes)

**bryggja** (in 4 parishes)

**bý** (in 5 parishes, in the formula *Estiby*, *Northiby*, *Suthiby* and *Westiby*;  
note also two examples of *Estiton*)

**dammr** (in 7 parishes)

**deill** (in 17 parishes)

**eng** (in 20 parishes)

**garðr** (in 21 parishes)

**gata** (in 18 parishes)

**geiri** (in 6 parishes)

**haugr** (in 14 parishes)

**hlaða** (in 5 parishes)

**holmr** (in 13 parishes)

**inntak** (in 8 parishes, but as in Yarborough only in later spellings, the  
earliest being 1538)

**kirkja** (in 13 parishes)

**kjarr** (in 10 parishes)

**mikill** (in 2 parishes)

**steinn** (in 3 parishes)

**stǫng** (in 8 parishes)

**toft** (in 12 parishes)

**vað** (in 4 parishes)

**vrá** (in 3 parishes).

All the Scandinavian words recorded in more than six parishes in Yarborough are found also in Walshcroft, though **mikill**, **steinn**, **vað** and **vrá** occur proportionately less frequently. On the other hand, **inntak**, though also less common than in Yarborough, has been noted a hundred years earlier. In Walshcroft, too, a ME \**gairing(e)*, a derivative of **geiri** has appeared for the first time in the Lincolnshire survey, though only in post-1500 sources. It has also been found as a common noun, as in *A garinge called half an Acre* 1612. Clearly **geiri** must have been well-established in the local ME dialect for it to have been the base of a derivative.

**Well attested in Yarborough Wapentake**

In Walshcroft Wapentake:

**baun** (in 2 parishes; in both cases the field-name is recorded from the 13th to the 19th centuries)

**brakni** (nil)

**breiðr** (in 5 parishes)

**brot** (in 8 parishes, normally *Brat(s)* in post-1500 sources)

**fit** (nil)

**hafri** (in 3 parishes)

**høfuð** (nil)

**kriki** (nil)

Four of the words in this section have not been noted at all in Walshcroft Wapentake, though this is hardly surprising in the case of **fit** and **kriki** since there are no coastal parishes here. The element **brot** is recorded more frequently than in Yarborough, and the two examples of **baun** are noteworthy, since the relevant field-names are recorded through six centuries.

**Less common in Yarborough Wapentake**

In Walshcroft Wapentake:

**austr** (in 5 parishes)

**hryggr** (in 6 parishes)

**leirr, leira** (in 4 parishes)

**lyng** (in 5 parishes)

**þverr (þvert, neuter)** (in 4 parishes)

Three of the above words are recorded in more parishes here than was the case in Yarborough. There does not appear to be any obvious reason for this, and all one can do is record the fact.

**Occasional in Yarborough Wapentake**

In Walshcroft Wapentake:

**greinn** (in 3 parishes)

**hestr** (in 1 parish)

**hveiti** (in 2 parishes)

**klint** (in 1 parish)

**knøttr** (in 2 parishes)

**kráka** (in 4 parishes)

**loft** (in 1 parish)

**mýrr** (in 5 parishes)

**sléttr** (in 3 parishes)

**þorp** (in 4 parishes, in two first recorded in the 17th century)

**vangr** (in 8 parishes)

Some seventeen words found in less than three parishes in Yarborough have not been noted at all in Walshcroft, while five are recorded more frequently. Noteworthy is **vangr**, found in no less than eight parishes, and **þorp** recorded from four. Clearly **þorp** was a living word in the local vocabulary as late as the seventeenth century. On the other hand, at least thirteen further words of Scandinavian origin appear in field-names here, though most of them have only been noted in a single parish:

**blá(r)** 'bluish-grey, cold' (in 4 parishes)

**eski** 'a place growing with ash-trees'

**geit** 'a goat'

**gildi-hús** 'a guild-house'

**grjót** 'gravel, stones'

**kringla** 'a circle' (in 3 parishes)

**lundr** 'a small wood, a grove' (in 2 parishes)

**meðal** 'middle' (in 3 parishes, alternating with OE **middel**)

**skammr** 'short'

**skarðr** 'an opening, a gap'

**skeið** 'a race(-course)'

**stolpi** 'a stake, a post'

**þak** 'thatch, material for thatching'.

In spite of the fact that many of the words found in minor names and field-names in Yarborough have not been noted in Walshcroft, the number of 'new' ones in Walshcroft simply serves to emphasise the Danish influence on the local vocabulary.

Both ON **skáli** and **slakki**, each found in five parishes in Yarborough Wapentake, recur in Walshcroft, but the first has been noted only once while **slakki** is represented in three different parishes.

Again, words normally associated with Scandinavian settlement in north-west England were clearly part of the local vocabulary here.

A notable feature of the medieval field-names of Yarborough was the number which are Scandinavian compounds, and the same is true of those in Walshcroft given below. All are dated from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries:

- Aikeholm* Henry III (Claxby)  
*blabergh* early 13th (Toft Newton), *Blaberghoustlanges* ante 1244 (West Rasen)  
*Boundale* late 13th (North Willingham)  
*Braythow* ante 1287 (West Rasen)  
*Crakhou* post 1290 (West Rasen)  
*le Engebek* 1457 (Market Rasen), *Hengdaile* 1150–60 (Claxby)  
*Gaithou* early 13th (Claxby)  
*Kergate* c.1160 (Owersby)  
*la Kyrkgate* 1344 (Owersby), *le Kyrkgate* 1445 (Kirkby cum Osgodby)  
*laysikes* 1280–85 (Owersby)  
*Lound toft* 1369 (Middle Rasen)  
*Meddelberg* 1290, *Methelbergh* 1329 (Middle Rasen)  
*Mikelgate* 1203 (West Rasen), *Mikkylgate* 1323 (Toft Newton),  
*Mikkeldayld* (sic) 1330 (West Rasen)  
*Ravendale* early 13th (Stainton le Vale)  
*Skeithegate* early 13th (Kirkby cum Osgodby)  
*Slegtheng* 1280–90 (Owersby)  
*Thakdayl* 1330 (Owersby)  
*thingehou* 15th (c.1570) (Owersby)  
*Thwergates* 1360 (Kirkby cum Osgodby)  
*Toftbeck* 1150–60 (Claxby)  
*Waitberh* Henry II (Linwood), *Whaitebergh* 1210–15 (Toft Newton).

It will be noted that three parishes, Claxby, Owersby and West Rasen, are well-represented in this list—there is a deal of medieval sources surviving for them. It seems likely that this is an important point to bear in mind when interpreting the material.

In addition, a number of simplex Danish field-names have been noted in Walshcroft:

- Leyres* 1230–50 (Kingerby)  
*Linges* early Henry III (Croxby)

*Skarth* ante 1374 (Toft Newton)

and particularly note:

*duas acras que uocantur tridinges* late Henry II (Walesby).

The rare occurrence of the last, from ON *þriðjung*, late OE *þriðing*, ‘a third part’ is remarkable, and it is the only example so far noted in north-east Lincolnshire. In West Rasen, moreover, there is a remarkable pair of names, no doubt referring to the same piece of land, – *dedlandes* ante 1290 and *Douthlandes* 1320 ‘the barren strips of land, selions’. The first element of the former is OE *dēad*, that of the latter ON *dauð* ‘dead’ (in field-names with the sense ‘barren, uncultivated’). There can be no doubt whatsoever of the strength of Danish influence in the area when such evidence as this is taken into consideration.

In one respect, however, the evidence for Scandinavian influence in Walshcroft contrasts markedly from that of Yarborough—there are far fewer Scandinavian personal names occurring as the first element of field-names. In Yarborough over forty different personal names have been noted; in Walshcroft, on the other hand, there are only fifteen:

- Arni* in *arniw well* (sic) early 13th (Stainton le Vale)  
*Arnketill* in *Arkelhow* 1210–15 (Toft Newton)  
*Bleikr* in *Blaikesdale* early 13th (Stainton le Vale)  
*Breiðr* in *Brayzmerhill* 1299 (Owersby)  
*Gaukr* in *Goukegarth* 1366 (West Rasen)  
*Jólfr* perhaps in *Joldale* (Croxby)  
*Játvarðr* perhaps in *yadewordehou* late 12th (13th) (Normanby le Wold)  
*Karli* in *Carlehou* early 13th (Claxby)  
*Kari* in *Karewelbec* Henry III (Normanby le Wold)  
*Klakki* in *Clakesbergh* 1210–15 (West Rasen)  
*Leggr* in *Legeshou* c.1200 (Linwood; the same personal name as in  
 Legsby ‘Legg’s *bȳ*’, the adjacent parish to Linwood)  
*Rauðr* in *Raudbegate* (sic) 1150–69 (Claxby)  
*Saxi* probably in *Saxgate* 1280–85 (Owersby)  
*Thori* in *Thorestanges* 1259 (Middle Rasen)  
*Tóli* in *Tolecroft* (sic) early 13th (Stainton le Vale)

Although fewer Scandinavian personal names are represented in Walshcroft than in Yarborough, they are distributed widely throughout the wapentake and suggest Danish influence on a considerable scale.



When due allowance is made for the different size of the two wapentakes and for the comparative survival of medieval sources for them, the evidence provided by the minor and field-names of Walshcroft supports that of Yarborough. Danish influence and therefore settlement must have been on the scale of colonisation in a real sense. No other interpretation is possible.

### Haverstoe Wapentake

Haverstoe Wapentake, 'Hawarth's mound', is markedly smaller in area than Walshcroft and comprises twenty modern parishes, two of which, Ashby cum Fenby and Hawerby cum Beesby, are joint parishes.<sup>6</sup> Nine are names ending in *-by*. Subsequently, Haverstoe was amalgamated with Bradley Wapentake to form what is known today as Bradley Haverstoe Wapentake. The first element of Haverstoe, the ODan personal name *Hawarth*, is also found in Hawerby in the same wapentake, and it is a reasonable assumption that the same man gave his name to both the place and the district. The meeting-place of the latter was in all probability a prehistoric round barrow, called *Horby beacon* in 1703, in a field called *Beacon Field* in the parish of Hawerby. This site commands an excellent view of the Humber Levels to the east. Haverstoe is bounded on the west by both Yarborough and Walshcroft Wapentakes and extends eastwards to the coast at North Coates and Marsh Chapel.

As was the case with Walshcroft, there are far fewer medieval sources for minor names and field-names than for Yarborough and so again we are dependent on late sixteenth-century material. It seems clear now that this situation has materially affected the overall picture of Danish influence on field-names in Walshcroft and Haverstoe as compared to Yarborough. Nonetheless, although the frequency of each Scandinavian word is comparatively lower in Walshcroft and Haverstoe than in Yarborough, the range of the vocabulary is considerable. Indeed, as we shall see, some Scandinavian words found in Haverstoe, such as **á**, **eik**, **hegning**, **rauðr** etc., have been noted neither in Yarborough nor Walshcroft. With regard to the number of Scandinavian personal names found in minor names and field-names,

<sup>6</sup> See K. Cameron, with J. Field and J. Insley, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, IV: *The Wapentakes of Ludborough and Haverstoe*, English Place-Name Society, 71 (Nottingham, 1996).

however, the most obvious similarity is with Walshcroft and the most obvious contrast is with Yarborough.

The same divisions and lists have been used here as in Yarborough but as with Walshcroft the smaller size of Haverstoe and the paucity of relevant medieval documents must be taken into consideration:

### Common in Yarborough Wapentake

In Haverstoe Wapentake:

- bekkr** (in 12 parishes)
- bryggja** (in 3 parishes)
- bý** (in 2 parishes, but only in the formula *Midby*)
- dammr** (in 1 parish)
- deill** (in 13 parishes)
- eng** (in 17 parishes)
- garðr** (in 16 parishes)
- gata** (in 17 parishes)
- geiri** (in 3 parishes)
- haugr** (in 13 parishes)
- hlaða** (in 2 parishes)
- holmr** (in 11 parishes)
- inntak** (in 4 parishes, only in later spellings)
- kirkja** (in 13 parishes)
- kjarr** (in 2 parishes)
- mikill** (in 9 parishes)
- steinn** (in 3 parishes)
- stǫng** (in 3 parishes)
- toft** (in 5 parishes)
- vað** (in 2 parishes)
- vrá** (in 5 parishes)

All the Scandinavian words noted in more than six parishes in Yarborough are again found in Haverstoe, as they were in Walshcroft. It is noteworthy that **bekkr**, **deill**, **eng**, **garðr**, **gata**, **haugr**, **holmr** and **kirkja** are widely distributed throughout the wapentake, but that **bý** occurs only in the form *Midby*, and that no examples of *Estiby* etc. have been discovered. However, the most striking evidence for Scandinavian influence in Haverstoe is from the coastal parish of Marsh Chapel, where there are over fifty examples of minor names

and field-names ending in *-holme*. The basic meaning of this word is 'a piece of raised land in marsh', but in Marsh Chapel it frequently denotes a saltern or salt-hill. That it was a living word in the local vocabulary is shown by such sixteenth-century references as *duo le Holmes voc' keyholme* and *5 pastures or holmes called Mavres*. Numerous forms like *a Mavre called Glover Holme* 1595 and *a Mawre called Lineholme* c.1638 indicate that these are indeed salterns. By the sixteenth century it appears that *holme* in this part of Lincolnshire at any rate had developed a meaning 'saltern, salt-hill'. The etymology of *mawre* unfortunately is obscure, but it is once described as *A great Maure or salt hill* 1657.

#### Well attested in Yarborough Wapentake

In Haverstoe Wapentake:

**baun** (nil)  
**brakni** (in 4 parishes)  
**breiðr** (nil)  
**brot** (in 8 parishes)  
**fit** (in 2 parishes, in the name *Fitties*)  
**hafri** (in 1 parish)  
**hofuð** (nil)  
**kriki** (in 2 parishes)

Three of the words in this section have not been noted in Haverstoe, as compared with four in Walshcroft; only **hofuð** is not found in both. Interestingly, **brot** has been found in eight different parishes, as was the case also in Walshcroft, but the form *brottes* is recorded in 1276 in Haverstoe, several centuries earlier than in either Walshcroft or Yarborough. *Fitties*, a derivative of **fit**, and **kriki** have both been found in each of the two coastal parishes of the wapentake, the former first recorded in 1452–53, the latter in 1314.

#### Less common in Yarborough Wapentake

In Haverstoe Wapentake:

**austr** (nil)  
**hryggr** (in 2 parishes)  
**leirr, leira** (nil)

**lyng** (in 5 parishes)  
**þverr, þvert** (in 1 parish)

Two of the five Scandinavian words in this section are not recorded in Haverstoe, but **lyng** has been noted in five parishes, as it was in Walshcroft.

#### Occasional in Yarborough Wapentake

In Haverstoe Wapentake:

**hogg** (in 1 parish)  
**hveiti** (in 1 parish)  
**ighil** (in 2 parishes)  
**klint** (in 1 parish)  
**kráka** (in 2 parishes)  
**loft** (in 1 parish)  
**mýrr** (in 2 parishes)  
**nabbi** (in 1 parish)  
**slétr, slétta** (in 1 parish)  
**stakkr** (in 2 parishes, both in the name *Stackgarth*)  
**þorp** (in 5 parishes; the earliest is recorded in 1447, but some have not been noted before the late 17th century)  
**trani** (in 1 parish)  
**vangr** (in 9 parishes).

Only thirteen of the Scandinavian words found in less than three parishes in Yarborough Wapentake have been found in Haverstoe. This is a higher proportion than is the case in Walshcroft. It is worth noting that **ighil** has been found in two parishes as compared with one in Yarborough and none in Walshcroft. Topography does not seem to be significant. **Vangr** was recorded in only a single parish in Yarborough, but in eight in Walshcroft and nine here in Haverstoe. There does not appear to be any obvious explanation, but it is clear that *Wang* was a popular field-name term in both Haverstoe and Walshcroft. Haverstoe can also be compared with Walshcroft and contrasted with Yarborough in that **þorp** was only noted in one parish in the latter but in four in Walshcroft and five in Haverstoe. Some examples here have not been found in documents before the seventeenth century, which certainly suggests that *thorpe* was a living word in the local vocabulary at a late date. A further comparison

between Walshcroft and Haverstoe can be made: thirteen words which had not been noted in Yarborough have been found in Walshcroft and the same number in Haverstoe, six of which occur in both. No less than 22 Scandinavian words are recorded in the minor names and field-names of these two districts which were not recorded from the extreme north-east of Lindsey. The thirteen in Haverstoe, each recorded from a single parish, are:

á 'a stream, a river'  
**blá(r)** 'bluish-grey, cold' (also in Walshcroft)  
**askr** 'an ash-tree'  
**buskr** 'a bush, a shrub'  
**eik** 'an oak-tree'  
**eski** 'a place growing with ash-trees' (also in Walshcroft)  
**gildi-hús** 'a guild-house' (also in Walshcroft)  
**krókr** 'a bend'  
**meðal** 'middle' (also in Walshcroft)  
**rauðr** 'red'  
**stólpi** 'a stake, a post' (also Walshcroft)  
**straumr** 'a stream'  
**þak** 'thatch' (also Walshcroft).

The Old West Scandinavian words **skáli** and **slakki** were each noted in five parishes in Yarborough, the former occurring in one parish and the latter in three parishes in Walshcroft. In Haverstoe, **skáli** has been found in four parishes, **slakki** in two. So we are consistently finding evidence in north-east Lincolnshire for words usually associated with Scandinavian settlement in north-west England.

A feature of medieval field-names in Yarborough was the number of Scandinavian compounds found there, and this was repeated in Walshcroft. It is the case too in Haverstoe, but they are perhaps proportionately fewer:

*Aicdales* 1160-70 (Fulstow)  
*blabargh* c.1414 (Cabourne)  
*Bond engbes* 1314 (Wold Newton)  
*Brakandale* early Henry III (Fulstow), *Brakenhou* late Henry II (13th)  
 (Wold Newton)  
*buschauwang* early Henry III (Hawerby)  
*Crakehou* 13th (Wold Newton)

*le Engdyke* 1463 (Fulstow)  
*le Gatedaill'* 1425 (Fulstow)  
*Kirke Wang* 13th (Wold Newton)  
*lingwang* ante 1182 (13th) (Wold Newton), *lingwang* late 12th (13th)  
 (Swinhope)  
*Mikelwang* Henry II (13th) (Wold Newton), *mikelwang* late 12th (13th)  
 (Swinhope)  
*myredale* Henry II (1632) (Fulstow)  
*Orredale* late 12th (Cabourne)  
*Steinwang* late 12th (13th) (Swinhope)  
*Stopewonge* 1595 (Fulstow)  
*Wheitedale* c.1200 (early 13th) (Cuxwold)

In addition, a number of simplex Danish field-names have been found in Haverstoe:

*brottes* 1276 (Swinhope)  
*le hag* 1336 (Fulstow)  
*le Holm* 1317 (Fulstow), *Le Holme* 1311 (North Coates)  
*les Holmes* 1366 (Fulstow), *les Holmes* 1452 (Marsh Chapel).

There is apparently, in Wold Newton, a second example of the remarkable interchange between OE **dēad** and ON **dauðr** 'dead', noted in West Rasen in Walshcroft Wapentake. From the form of the charters in which they occur, the field-names *dedelandes* and *daulandes* (sic), both early Henry III (13th), refer to the same piece of land; an interchange between the Old English and Scandinavian cognates seems pretty certain, in spite of the reading *daulandes*, which represents the loss of *th* before the *l*, or simply a scribal error. Further, as in Walshcroft, three parishes, Fulstow, Wold Newton and Swinhope, are well-represented. Again a fair amount of medieval material survives for them as compared with other parishes in the wapentake. It is clear that it is important to take this into consideration in interpreting the material—how different would the evidence for Scandinavian influence have been, had medieval documents survived for *each* of the parishes in Haverstoe?

In discussing the numerous names in *-holme* in Marsh Chapel, it was pointed out that there was evidence for the use of this word as a common noun in the sixteenth century. In North Coates, an adjoining parish, *unum Holme* 1336 certainly indicates that this was so there in

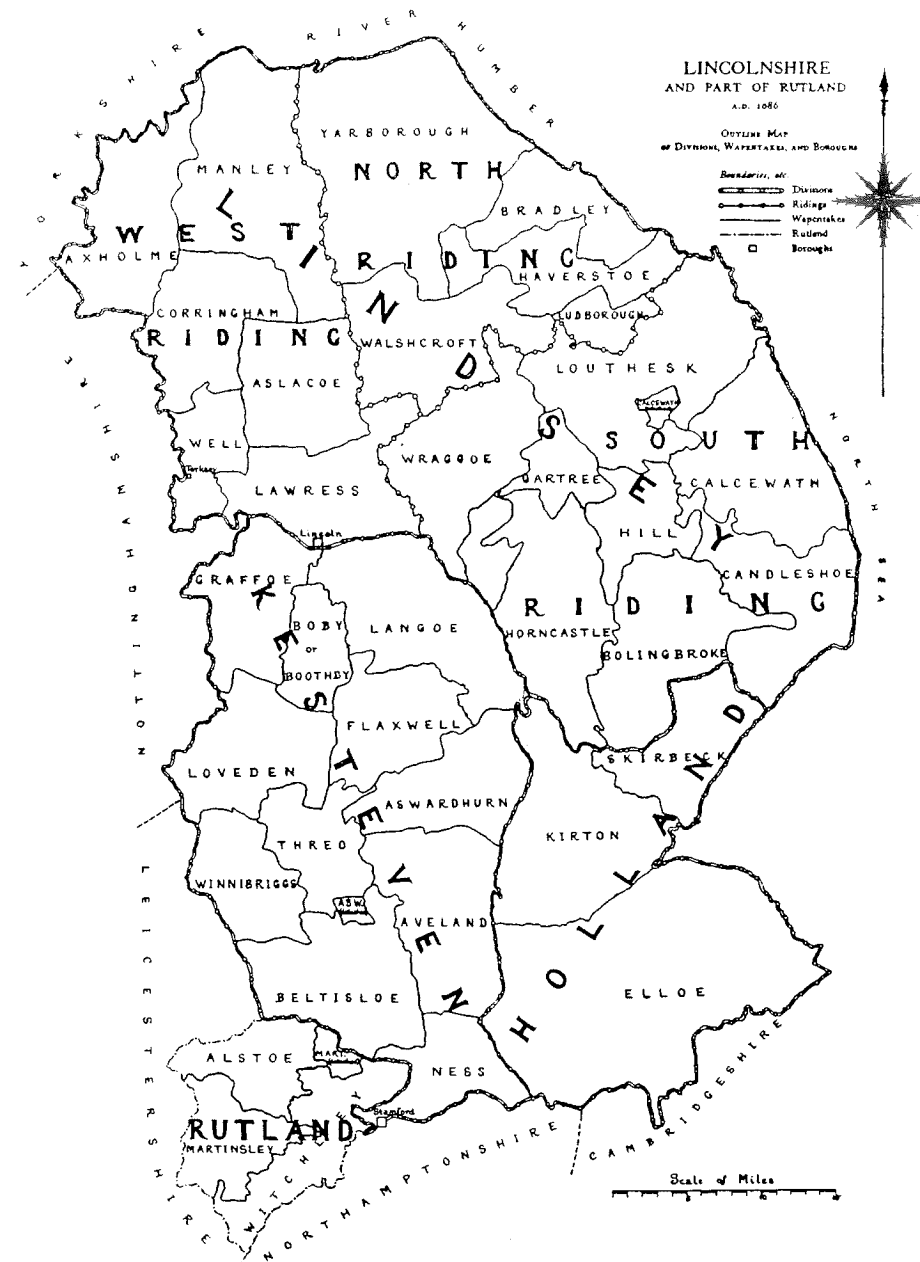
the fourteenth century. One additional name is worth recording, *Skytermarre* 1451–53 and *Skitermare* 1496–98 in North Thoresby. The first element is identical with the Scandinavianized *Skitter* for *Shitter* ‘the mucky stream’ in Skitter Beck and the related East Halton Skitter and Ulceby Skitter in Yarborough. This is yet a further example of Scandinavian influence in the minor names and field-names of North Lindsey.

As was the case for Walshcroft, there is a contrast between Haverstoe and Yarborough in that there are comparatively far fewer Scandinavian personal names recorded as the first element of minor names and field-names. Only twelve at most have been noted:

- Aghmund* in *toftum quod fuit Agmund* early Hen. II (early 13th) (Cuxwold)  
*Arnketill* in *Arkelmare* 1277–92 (Fulstow)  
*Aslak* in *Aslacwang* early Henry III (Hawerby)  
*Barni* in *Barnehoudale* early Henry II (13th) (Wold Newton)  
*Bláfótr* in *Blafot(e)wang* late 12th (13th) (Swinhope)  
*Björn* in *Byornesgaire* early Henry II (13th) (Wold Newton)  
*Koli* perhaps in *Colewang* early Henry III (13th) (Wold Newton)  
*Kari* in *Caredaill* 1452 (Fulstow), *Caredyk* 1452 (Fulstow)  
*Rolf*, *Hrólfr* in *Roluesdale* late 12th (13th) (Swinhope)  
*Saxi* in *Saxgote* 1374 (Fulstow)  
*Thori* in *thoresland* early Henry II (early 13th) (Cuxwold)  
*Vígmundr* perhaps in *Wimundhou* ante 1182 (early 13th) (Wold Newton), *Wimundhou* ante 1227 (13th) (Swinhope).

Again, one can only point out that the same parishes are repeated in this list—Cuxwold, Fulstow, North Coates and Swinhope. This was also the case with Scandinavian compounds listed above, presumably because of the relative wealth of early documents. Had they survived in equal numbers elsewhere the picture could have been very different.

Taken together, the evidence obtained from minor names and field-names in three wapentakes in north-east Lindsey reinforces that of the major place-names. The sheer variety of the vocabulary involving over eighty words, many connected with farming and land-measurement, the number of Scandinavian compound field-names and the occurrence of some sixty Scandinavian personal names as the first element of field-names all point to a conclusion that Danish settlement here must have been the result of colonisation on a large scale. No other conclusion seems possible.



Lincolnshire: Wapentakes  
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