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## English Place-Name Elements Relating to Boundaries

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# English Place-Name Elements Relating to Boundaries

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Centre for Languages and Literature

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In Memory of my Parents



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Hässleholm, September, 2011.

*Boel Jepson*

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 General background

### 1.1.1 Boundaries

It would be hard to find a place-name that has no meaning, and at all times people have tried to find these meanings. Folk etymologies bear witness to this interest. Until the scientific study of place-names began, interpretations were unreliable and sometimes mere guesswork. Onomastics, the scholarly study of place- and personal names, is a relatively new science. The study of place-names is a linguistic discipline, but it is also of historical interest. Local history, cultural history and political history are often reflected in place-names. It is only natural, therefore, that words for such historically important phenomena as boundaries should form part of place-names. There is, in fact, a fair number of English place-name elements that relate to boundaries. Some of them form the subject of this investigation.

Territorial boundaries are important to many species of living creatures. They are the result of the individual's instinct to control an area, either alone or together with others. It is a well-known fact that many animals create and defend their own boundaries. The network of boundaries in a landscape settled by man is only more complicated. It has several levels, and on each level the boundaries shut out those outside the territory and keep together those inside. They divide, but they also unite.<sup>1</sup>

The present network of territorial boundaries in the settled English landscape is the result of both a gradual process of the extension of boundaries and the drawing of boundaries in an already colonized landscape.<sup>2</sup> The first settler or group of settlers

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<sup>1</sup> See Grimm (1845:110).

<sup>2</sup> Winchester (1990:45), noting that "our picture of how the administrative landscape evolved at a local level is still very incomplete", continues: "We do not know, for example, how much of the boundary pattern is the result of slow evolution across the centuries as the enclosure of new land extinguished woodland and waste and led to hard and fast boundaries being agreed by neighbouring settlements, and how much was imposed from above by higher authority on an already settled landscape."

in an empty area did not have to show on the ground to other people where the outward boundary was, for it was not a boundary between settlements. It was often necessary to construct walls, etc., to protect the farm animals, and the reclamation of land could cause earthen banks to be made around the fields to protect the crops, but these followed the boundary of the settlement, not a boundary between settlements. That which separated settlements from the beginning, both in England and elsewhere, was instead of boundaries usually areas of no man's land often consisting of more or less wide tracts of woodland or marshy land difficult to traverse.<sup>3</sup> Gradually, however, as the population grew and more land had to be brought into cultivation, the settlements were extended and approached each other, and when they finally met the common separating boundary came into existence. This boundary had to be represented by something concrete, and if a natural feature such as a stream or a distinctive boulder had not been agreed upon to represent the boundary, it was necessary to make some dividing arrangement on the ground, such as digging a double ditch.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast to this gradual movement of boundaries in the course of colonization of new land, there is the drawing of a boundary to form part of the network of boundaries in the settled landscape. Also this boundary had to be represented by something concrete, either by a natural feature or by a manmade feature. Natural features, both linear such as valleys, brooks and ridges, and individual such as conspicuous stones and trees, were often used, but it was sometimes necessary to dig out a ditch, build a wall, set up a fence, or plant a hedge<sup>5</sup> to create a linear feature, or to put up a cross<sup>6</sup> or a post or cut a mark in a stone or a tree to create an individual feature. Balks<sup>7</sup>, i.e. unploughed lengths of land, and banks<sup>8</sup> were not

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<sup>3</sup> Wide rivers must also have separated settlements from the beginning. There is a contrast between on the one hand wide rivers difficult to traverse and on the other hand small streams chosen to be boundary-formers because they were a convenient linear feature, not because of any difficulty to cross them.

<sup>4</sup> Wide rivers must also have separated settlements from the beginning. There is a contrast between on the one hand wide rivers difficult to traverse and on the other hand small streams chosen to be boundary-formers because they were a convenient linear feature, not because of any difficulty to cross them. Digging out ditches is a very old method of marking a boundary. Hoskins (1970:27 f) describes in words and pictures how a double boundary-ditch was made, by each landowner digging out a ditch on his side of the boundary.

<sup>5</sup> A method for dating hedges has been worked out by M.D. Hooper. It consists of counting the number of shrub species in the hedge. If the hedge contains one species, it is about a hundred years old, if it contains two species, it is about two hundred years old, and so on. See Hooper (1971).

<sup>6</sup> Moorhouse (1981:277 ff) discusses crosses on boundaries.

<sup>7</sup> The question of balks as boundary-formers within the open field is complicated and has been the subject of much discussion. Among the questions that have been or may be asked are: Did balks exist between lands or between groups of lands, sometimes called strips, belonging to one owner,

unusual on boundaries. Sometimes there was a Roman road<sup>9</sup> already at hand to make a convenient boundary-former, and it is quite possible that barrows<sup>10</sup> could be chosen as boundary-marks. Individual features did not constitute obstacles for people or animals, but some of the linear features, such as fences and boundary-ditches, performed the double function of forming a boundary and being a barrier, at least for animals.<sup>11</sup> In the course of history, huge barriers were built on boundaries on a national level. Hadrian's Wall on the boundary of the Roman empire is one example; Offa's Dyke on the boundary between Mercia and Wales is another.

In addition to the network of boundaries separating parishes, hundreds, townships, wapentakes and other units in the hierarchy of administration, there were boundaries around, for instance, woods<sup>12</sup> and parks and fields. The boundaries

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or between both kinds of entities? Was the nature of the soil of importance for the creation of balks? Did balks become more frequent as time went on? See Orwin & Orwin (1954), Beecham (1956), Dilley (1970), Ault (1972), Kerridge (1973), and Rackham (1986) and (1994), etc. Rackham distinguishes between „minor balks”, which were “scattered at random between selions and were not related to ownership or tithe-ownership” and occasional „major balks” (1986:165). See also Beecham (1956:25): “In a wider context than that of open-field farming, the balk or mere is of course as recognized a form of field boundary as is the hedge, ditch, wall, or fence.”

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., Hoskins (1970:66 ff) on “Some Anglo-Saxon Estate Boundaries”.

<sup>9</sup> See on the use and non-use of Roman roads as boundary-formers Gelling (1978:193, 195) and Winchester (1990:31-33), both referring to the research of D. Bonney.

<sup>10</sup> See Forsberg 1973:8 (discussing *Ætstealles beorh* in an OE boundary survey): “A barrow, in addition to being a very prominent landmark, would enable a point on the boundary to be defined with considerable precision and may be expected to have been chosen for the purpose when conveniently situated.” The nature of the relation between barrows (and burial cairns) and boundaries is, however, uncertain. Perhaps it varied. See Faulk (1979:27): “It is not certain whether the association of barrows and burial cairns with boundaries found in some parts of England is the result of an already existing site being utilised as a convenient boundary marker, or whether the burial had been placed on the boundary deliberately. Dr. Bonney has shown that in southern England pagan Anglo-Saxon burials seem to have been placed on pre-existing boundaries after which they in turn became boundary markers.”, and see also Pantos (1999:108): “[...] since mounds may have been built along boundaries as markers, or the boundaries themselves set out with reference to earlier features such as tumuli.”

<sup>11</sup> On the choice between linear and individual features see Moorhouse (1981:266): “The form of boundary was frequently determined by the use of the land that it divided. Where complex intermixed holdings existed or animal husbandry was practised, physical barriers were constructed such as banks and ditches, fences or hedges. In areas where the boundary line was only nominal, as on large expanses of moorland, individual markers such as boundary stones, crosses or cairns were principally used to define changes in alignment of the boundary course. Individual markers, as opposed to linear ditches, were used in areas where adjacent townships enjoyed intercommoning rights, the artificial boundary line allowing the animals to roam freely without the danger of injuries from barriers such as ditches.”

<sup>12</sup> See Rackham (1980:130) (on woods in OE charters): “Woods in the charters are well-defined, most of them quite small, not merging into „waste’-land as historians often suppose but having

around woods and parks had to be represented by constructions keeping animals from getting in or out, respectively.<sup>13</sup> The boundaries around fields were represented by obstacles such as hedges and walls, or simply by balks.

### 1.1.2 When there were no maps

When an OE estate was granted, it was necessary to have a document showing how the boundary was defined. The way to do this would nowadays have been to draw a map. There were, however, no maps showing the boundaries of estates in OE times. In fact, useful maps showing parish boundaries (and an OE estate often corresponds to a modern ecclesiastical or civil parish<sup>14</sup>) did not appear until the 16th century.<sup>15</sup> Instead of being shown on a map, the boundary of an OE estate was described in words together with the grant. After an opening phrase, the survey records the stones, ditches, brooks, etc. along the boundary, ending at the point where it started. It usually runs clockwise (Gelling 1978:199). Such boundary surveys, belonging to OE charters, are invaluable for the study of English place-name elements relating to boundaries, and they have provided most of the OE material in this investigation.<sup>16</sup> It is true that as a rule they contain

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sharp edges that could form a legal boundary, with proper names (e.g. Catschaga, „Catshaw’, in the bounds of Ilminster (Somerset), supposedly dated 725) and definite ownerships.”

<sup>13</sup> See Rackham (1980:5) (on constructions around woods): “Young spring is very palatable to cattle, sheep, and deer, and from the earliest time great importance was attached to keeping animals out of woods after felling. Woods were surrounded by *woodbanks*, massive earthworks which are still a typical feature of ancient woods. The woodbank, with its external ditch, supported a hedge or a fence and often a row of pollard trees.”, and (op.cit. p. 191) (on constructions around parks): “The only indispensable feature of a park is a deer-proof perimeter, usually a *park pale*, a special palisade of cleft-oak pales set in the ground and fastened to a rail so that the decay of one pale did not make a gap. Walls, in or near stone-wall country, and hedges are also heard of. Sometimes the pale was provided with *deer-leaps*, devices to allow the deer to get in but not out.”, and (op.cit. p. 193): “Park perimeters often have a bank with a ditch on the inside, the reverse of the orientation of woodbanks, for parkbanks are intended to keep animals in while woodbanks keep them out.”

<sup>14</sup> See Gelling (1973-76:3:622): “The high incidence of connection between the Old English estates described by these boundaries, the Norman manors of the Domesday Survey, and the ecclesiastical and (in Berks) the civil parishes of modern times, may be regarded as proved. In some counties more reliance would have had to be placed on the ecclesiastical parishes of the Tithe Awards, but in Berkshire, particularly in the N. where most of the Old English surveys lie, the civil parishes of modern O.S. Maps are not substantially different from earlier units. How far these estates may be considered to antedate the period of the Old English charters is a problem discussed elsewhere in this volume (pp. 807 ff).”

<sup>15</sup> See Beresford (1971:25 f) and Reed (cop. 1984:282).

<sup>16</sup> Generally *via* county volumes.

appellatives rather place-names, but as „potential place-names”<sup>17</sup> they deserve to be and have been included in the material. Boundary surveys continued to be written after the OE period. Rackham (1980:130) states that they were made until the 17th century, at least, and see Gelling (op.cit. p. 208 f) for an 18th century survey of a parish boundary in Shropshire.

Written boundary surveys were, however, of little use to the vast majority of the population who could not read. To make the inhabitants of the parish, and especially the young boys, remember the boundary, there was the ceremony of „beating the bounds”. It took place in Rogationtide, just before Ascension Day. The parson, the churchwardens and many parishioners, including the young boys, walked in procession along the boundary of the parish, stopping at boundary-stones where the young boys were beaten or ducked into water, and also at, for instance, „Gospel Oaks”, where a passage from the Bible was recited and good crops were prayed for. Also townships were perambulated. The ceremony still exists, but the beating of boys has long ago been replaced by the beating of boundary-stones. Names such as St Paul’s Epistle (PNGI 1:170) and Gospel Thorn (lost) (PNWRY 2:80) have to do with this ceremony.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.1.3 Boundary disputes

Despite all the care with which boundaries were defined on the ground, described in boundary surveys, or perambulated in Rogationtide, disputes over boundaries were not rare. Boundary disputes could arise for various reasons. The disputes could be about boundaries dividing common pastures or common woodland that were ignored until conflicting interests actualized them. Then disagreements about their true courses could arise. Some parish and township boundaries were not

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<sup>17</sup> This is a term borrowed from Forsberg (1950:xxxvii): “The word „place-name’ has deliberately been taken in a very wide sense. Many boundary-marks in particular can only be looked upon as potential pl.-ns but this hardly detracts from the interest they can claim.”

<sup>18</sup> The custom of „beating the bounds’ is described by, for instance, Beresford (1971:27-31), Sykes (1977:68 and illustrations on pp 69 and 70), and Winchester (1990:36 f and 41 and plate 9). Zachrisson (1933-34:59) notes that the laws of King Alfred and King Æpelstan already mention the custom. Murray (1977) mentions on p. 27 a somewhat similar ceremony in Hawick: „the Common riding’, here serving both as a perambulation of bounds and as a commemoration of a historic event. See also Fox (1974:47): “In many parts of Scotland, the once very important ceremony of riding round to establish the boundaries of burghs or boroughs is still observed. A posse of horsemen make a tour of the boundaries, visiting certain townspeople and landmarks on the way. They are led by a central figure, usually known as the Cornet, and his Lass, and a standard-bearer carrying the standard of the town or burgh. These ceremonies are called the Common Ridings, or Ridings of the Marches (boundaries), and most of them take place in the Border country where land was so often fought over in the past ...”.

formally established until the 19th century, and until this was done there could easily be disputes.<sup>19</sup> Sometimes boundary disputes were the results of the criminal acts of individuals, as when somebody forged a document, gave false evidence, or tampered with a boundary-mark. Such acts have occurred in all countries at all times and have often been regarded as serious crimes. The warning of Moses: “Cursed *be* he that removeth his neighbour’s landmark” (Deut. 27:17) is well-known.<sup>20</sup> Threaphow (lost) (< OE *prēap* and ON *haugr*) means ‘hill in dispute’, and the hill was on a boundary (PNWRY 6:238). Field (cop. 1972:79) mentions the field-names Flitland(s) and Flittam, containing OE (*ge*)*flit* ‘dispute’ and says: “It will be found that the fields are on parish boundaries.”<sup>21</sup>

Whatever the reason for a boundary dispute, it has usually to do with the desire of an individual or a community to control an area as large as possible. The extent of his arable land could be a matter of life or death for a farmer if the crops were bad. Moreover, after the Dissolution of the Monasteries the right to take tithes became a commodity, and the buyer or (sub)lessee wanted, of course, the size of the area delivering the tithes to be as large as possible.<sup>22</sup> As large an area as possible was, however, not a desirable thing in all circumstances. Since the parish had to provide for its indigent inhabitants, it wanted the homes of such persons to be outside the parish boundary as far as possible.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> See Moorhouse (1981:272 f) and Winchester (1990:38-41) for discussions of questions of this kind.

<sup>20</sup> In many countries the wrongdoer was in popular belief punished after his death. See, for instance, Leach & Fried (cop. 1949:1:158): “In Scandinavian and Teutonic folk belief, the Jack o’Lantern was the ghost of someone who had violated a landmark. Local legends are full of men condemned to carry the boundary stones which they had moved to increase their holdings in their lifetime.”

<sup>21</sup> Threaphow, Flitland(s) and Flittam, as well as St Paul’s Epistle and Gospel Thorn (see above) can be regarded as examples of place-names where the whole name relates to a boundary. And since executions often took place on boundaries (see Kristensson (1978:199)), names containing words like OE *g(e)alga*, ON *galgi* ‘gallows’ may suggest position on a boundary. Moreover, place-names originally applied to distant places suggest position on a boundary, or at least remote position, for instance Nineveh (PNGL 1:250) and Gibraltar (PNWRY 2:213). See on such ‘nicknames of remoteness’ Cameron (1977:209 f).

<sup>22</sup> See Winchester (1990:37 f) on the right to take tithes as a commodity.

<sup>23</sup> See Kerr (1960:141): “The employed labourer was often allowed a few fallows in which to grow potatoes, but the unfortunate without work was thrown on parish relief.”, and “The question of relief accounts for the care with which parishes marked their boundaries.”. Kerr writes about Dorset, but conditions were probably the same all over England.

### 1.1.4 How old are the boundaries?

It is often pointed out that many English boundaries are very old, and this is no doubt true. As stated above, an OE estate often corresponds to a modern ecclesiastical or civil parish; see also note 14. Whether OE estate boundaries can be traced back to even earlier land-units is, however, uncertain. Hoskins (1973:38) says about the Roman villa at Ditchley (O) that “nearly the whole of the villa boundaries were taken over much later as parish boundaries, which indicates an estate or unit clearly recognisable in late Saxon times”. See, however, also Goodier (1984:1): “It is unlikely that pre-existing land-units dictated the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon estates.”

## 1.2 Previous research

Research on English place-names has been, and still is, to a large extent carried out by the English Place-Name Society [EPNS], publishing in 1924 the first volume in its Survey of English Place-Names. The first county to be covered was Buckinghamshire [PNBk] in 1925. Most counties (the counties as they were before the reorganization in 1974) have now been covered, and there is work in progress. Volumes XXV and XXVI deal with *English Place-Name Elements* and are indispensable tools for the place-name student. County volumes have also been published outside this survey, e.g. *The Place-Names of Lancashire* [PNLa] in 1922.

The formation of boundaries and disputes about them, their representation on the ground, and the words associated with them, have engaged historians, geographers, botanists, and archaeologists, as well as linguists. An early work which deserves to be mentioned is Jacob Grimm’s *Deutsche Grenzalterthümer* 1845. It discusses many aspects of boundaries and deals with words relating to boundaries in many languages, among these words most of the elements treated in this study. A fair amount of research has been done on the boundary surveys belonging to OE charters.<sup>24</sup> Among G.B. Grundy’s many works are „On the Meanings of Certain Terms in the Anglo-Saxon Charters’ (1922a) and *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire* (1935-36). Kentish charters are the subject of J.K. Wallenberg’s *Kentish Place-Names* (1931). Later scholars are M. Gelling, D. Hooke and P.R. Kitson. M. Gelling devotes *The Place-Names of*

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<sup>24</sup> For a brief history of OE boundary surveys see Reed (cop. 1984:273 f).



*Berkshire*. 3 (1976) to Berkshire charter boundaries, and her *Signposts to the Past. Place-Names and the History of England*, which appeared in 1978, has a chapter on „Boundaries and Meeting Places”, which to a large extent deals with charter boundaries. In 1979 her book on *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* was published. D. Hooke’s works include *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands: the Charter Evidence* (1981) and *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape. The Kingdom of the Hwicce* (cop.1985). P.R. Kitson’s studies on OE boundary surveys include „Quantifying Qualifiers in Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries’ (1993) and „The Nature of Old English Dialect Distributions, Mainly as Exhibited in Charter Boundaries’ (1995). Here must also be mentioned H. Middendorff’s *Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch* (1902), a catalogue of words occurring in OE boundary surveys and P.H. Sawyer’s *Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography* (1968). The number the charter has in Sawyer’s work has become the standard way of referring to it.

General reading on English boundaries (i.e. not dealing mainly with OE boundary surveys) are the chapter on „Boundaries in the Landscape’ in W.G. Hoskins, *English Landscapes* (1973), the long discussion in S.A. Moorhouse’s chapter „Boundaries’ in volume 2 of *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to A. D. 1500* (1981), and A. Winchester’s small but comprehensive book *Discovering Parish Boundaries* (1990).

## 1.3 The present work

### 1.3.1 Aim and scope

The present work is a study of some English place-name elements relating to territorial boundaries. E. Ekwall wrote long ago, in an article on English place-name research, that there was need for systematic investigations of important specific questions (Ekwall 1947:196), and this work hopes to be such an investigation.

The aim is to ascertain the meanings<sup>25</sup> and to some extent the geographical distributions of some place-name elements associated with territorial boundaries. The title is *English Place-Name Elements Relating to Boundaries*, and it requires some comments: „English Place-Name Elements’ here denotes place-name elements occurring in English place-names. The majority of such elements are, of

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<sup>25</sup> Also meanings, if any, which have nothing to do with boundaries.

course, of English origin, but elements of Scandinavian, Celtic, and Romance origin also occur. A couple of elements of Scandinavian origin are dealt with in this study, but the majority of the elements are of English origin. The word ‚boundary’ here refers to an abstract line limiting a territory. It is taken in the wide sense mentioned above so that it includes the boundaries both of estates, parishes and counties, etc., and of woods and fields, etc. Place-name elements may relate to boundaries in different ways. This can be seen as an imaginary scale, with elements *meaning* ‚boundary’ at the top and elements *meaning* ‚that which forms a boundary, boundary-former’ (linear elements) and ‚boundary-mark’ (individual elements) one step below, together with adjectives *meaning* ‚boundary-forming, boundary-marking, boundary-’. Finally, below that level there are elements *referring to* boundary-formers, such as words meaning ‚boundary balk’ (linear elements), and *to* boundary-marks, such as words meaning ‚boundary-stone’ (individual elements).

The place-name elements studied are OE *(ge)māere*, OE *mearc*, OE *\*rān*, *\*rān(e)* and ON *rein*, ON *rá*, and OE *hār*. That OE *(ge)māere* should be included is more or less self-evident. If there is an OE word which can be considered the typical word for ‚boundary’, it is *(ge)māere*. It is no doubt the most common word for ‚boundary’ in those OE charters that have survived. Whether it was the most common word for ‚boundary’ in OE times is, however, impossible to know. The preserved OE texts are unevenly distributed, and if *(ge)māere* was uncommon in an area, this may not appear from the texts. OE *mearc* is another word known to mean ‚boundary’, and it seemed natural to try to compare them. ON *rein* ‚boundary strip’ is further down the scale of relatedness than *(ge)māere* and *mearc*, thereby relating to boundaries in a more distant way. OE *\*rān* and OE *\*rān(e)* were selected because they are cognate elements, and because they are not recorded in independent use, so that the material might hopefully add to the knowledge of them. ON *rá* ‚boundary’ is found as Swed Råå and in Swed Råby, and its appearance in England in Raby is interesting. OE *hār* ‚hoary’, finally, is an adjective with a relation to boundaries that it seemed a challenge to try to understand.

There are, of course, also many other place-name elements relating to boundaries. Some of them will be briefly mentioned here. One is OE *scēad* ‚boundary’. It forms part of *Schadlond* 1265-91 (Ch; PNCh 3:247). It is, however, more often combined with OE *wella*, as in Shadwell: *Scadeuuelle* 1086 (WRY; DEPN); see also PNO 1:14. Another element which means ‚boundary’ is OE *sc(e)aru*. It occurs in that sense in, for instance, Sharow: *Sharho* 1249 (WRY; DEPN). The

compound OE *land-sc(e)aru* with the same meaning is typical of the OE boundary surveys from the south-western counties (see Zachrisson 1933-34:72, Kitson 1995:55). Hartley: *Harteclo* 1176 (We; PNWe 2:2) probably contains OE *\*tācels* ‚boundary-mark‘.<sup>26</sup> Stoney balls 1839 (Gl; PNGl 3:190) maybe contains ME *bal(le)* ‚mound of earth set up as a boundary-mark‘. OE *hān* is often used in OE boundary surveys about boundary-stones, as a rule preceded by OE *rēad* ‚red‘. OE *efes* (ModE *eaves*) is often associated with the boundary of a wood (with overhanging branches), as in (*of*) *þæs wudes efese* 816 (11th) BCS 356 (Gl; PNGl 2:28) or with the boundary of a legal forest or a division of a legal forest, as in *Bicknors Eves* 1612 (Gl; PNGl 3:213). (Bicknor is one of the bailiwicks of the Forest of Dean.) OE *fæs* means ‚fringe of a garment‘, but it is also a rare place-name element, then probably referring to land on a boundary. It may form part of Fazakerley: *Phasakyrlee* c. 1250 (La; PNLa 116, DEPN).

The counties studied are firstly Gloucestershire and the West Riding of Yorkshire (the Ridings of Yorkshire are counted as three counties although, strictly speaking, they form a single county). Secondly, a number of other counties, designated Other Counties, have also been studied. They are (roughly from west to east and south to north) Devon, Dorset, Sussex, Wiltshire, Surrey, Kent, Berkshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, the East Riding of Yorkshire, Westmorland, the North Riding of Yorkshire, and Cumberland. The counties are as they were before the 1974 reorganization. See the map at the end of the book. Gloucestershire and the West Riding of Yorkshire were chosen mainly because one is in the southern half of England and the other in the northern half. This could be expected to be reflected in the material from these counties, especially since the volumes for both counties were fairly recently published by the English Place-Name Society (PNWRY in 1961-62, PNGl in 1964) at the time when my investigation began. The volumes are therefore exhaustive, with long lists of field-names. The place-names collected from the Other Counties are intended to form a supplement to the Gloucestershire and West Riding material, illustrating the use of the boundary-elements studied.

### 1.3.2 Sources

Only printed sources have been used. The main sources are the county volumes published by the English Place-Name Society, Ekwall 1922a (Lancashire), and

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<sup>26</sup> See Kristensson (1971:469).

Wallenberg 1931 and 1934 (Kent), but material has also been gleaned from many other sources, for instance BCS, KCD, DEPN, charter studies by Grundy, and Venezky (microfiche).

There are problems with the source material. One concerns all the counties dealt with and consists of the fact that the extant OE charters are very unevenly distributed, with many more surviving in the south of England than in the north. Johansson (1975:7) states:

“It is a well-known fact that some counties are very well covered by charter material (Ha, Brk, W, Do, So, Gl, Wo), and that there are also a fair number of charters referring to the other counties in the south of England. For most other counties, however, there is only a sprinkling of OE material, mostly from literary sources.”

This imbalance is also mentioned by Gelling (1978:208)<sup>27</sup>. Since OE boundary surveys (generally *via* county volumes, as has already been mentioned (note 16)) have provided most of my OE material, it is obvious that no safe conclusions about the distribution of the elements studied can be based upon my OE material. Another problem concerns the fact that field-names were not included to any great extent in PNL<sub>a</sub> (1922) or PNK (1934), nor in the Society’s volumes until the publication of *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire* in 1933. This volume is thus an important mile-post for the attention to field-names. The volumes published by the Society nowadays contain a vast amount of field-names.<sup>28</sup> A large part of the material in this investigation consists of field-names. Also this imbalance affects negatively the possibility of drawing safe conclusions about the distributions of the elements under investigation. Fortunately, however, both the Gloucestershire volumes and the West Riding volumes contain a great many field-names.

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<sup>27</sup> Gelling writes: “Old English surveys do not survive for all parts of the country. The distribution of estates for which Old English charters, with or without boundaries, have survived is very uneven, with heavy concentrations in Kent, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and very little in the east and north.”

<sup>28</sup> See on the inclusion of field-names Field (cop. 1972:ix f): “Major place-names (ie the names of counties, towns, villages, etc) have been objects of scholarly interest for a very long time, but field-names received little attention until about forty years ago. The inclusion of lists of field-names in *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire* (1933) was regarded as a remarkable innovation. Subsequent volumes published by the English Place-Name Society have included longer and longer lists, and the seven or eight hundred field-names cited for Northamptonshire are now seen to be a very small beginning indeed when placed against those in recent volumes of the Society. In the Cheshire volumes, for instance, lists amounting to several hundreds of names are by no means unusual for individual parishes.”

### 1.3.3 Method and material

*The Place-Names of Gloucestershire* comprises 4 volumes and *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* 8 volumes (but volume 8 is an index volume). These 4 + 7 volumes have been searched, and place-names which contain one of my elements, or which are uncertain but where there is some reason to believe that they contain one of my elements, have been included in the material. The county volumes for the Other Counties have not been so thoroughly searched, and only relatively ‚certain’ names have been included. A consequence of this principle is that only names first recorded before 1700 have been included in the material. ON *rá* is an exception, for if only relatively ‚certain’ names recorded before 1700 had been included in the material for the Other Counties, the material would have been extremely meagre and of no help in giving a tentative idea of how and where this element occurs. OE *hār* is also an exception: uncertain *hār*-names first recorded before 1700 have been included in the material for the Other Counties, if they are known to refer to something on a boundary, for instance a hill or a wood.

Compound place-names are listed under the elements, in alphabetical order, with which they are compounded. Two principles for these elements have been followed. On the one hand, the aim has been to give only the relevant meanings. On the other hand, the aim has been to give the different OE dialectal forms and, where they seem possible, the corresponding words in ON, when such forms and words exist. For each name, the sources used are placed in parenthesis. They are secondary sources. I have, at least as a rule, made no alteration when quoting the primary sources belonging to the different forms. This means that one and the same primary source may appear under more than one abbreviation. Moreover, the material for the Other Counties sometimes contains a date without a source, because there was no source to quote. I have also, as a rule, kept the dates as they are given for the different forms. This has led to discrepancies, as when the same century is stated as both 14 and 14th and when the reign of the same king is stated as both t. Hy 3 and Hy 3. (6’’) refers to the 6’’ Ordnance Survey map and (lost) means that the name is lost, not that the site is lost; both designations have been taken over by me. In an instance such as (*to*) *mær apeldran* 816 (11th) BCS 356 (S 175), 816 refers to the date at which the charter is believed to have been composed, 11th to the date of the preserved manuscript used, 356 to the number of the charter in BCS, and 175 to the number of the charter in Sawyer 1968. My own comments are placed after the parenthesis containing my sources.

The entries for the names of Gloucestershire and the West Riding of Yorkshire are more exhaustive than the entries for the names of the Other Counties. Following PNGI and PNWRY they are distinguished as major names and minor names, etc., and the parish and hundred (Gloucestershire) and township and wapentake (the West Riding) to which the name belongs is stated. The Gloucestershire and the

West Riding volumes distinguish between field-names recorded since 1700 and field-names recorded only before 1700, and this distinction has been kept in the presentation, where field-names recorded only before 1700 are called ‚lost field-names’. The localization of the parish or township is shown by a grid reference to the place from which the parish or township has its name, as a rule following *The Ordnance Survey Gazetteer of Great Britain* (1989). Parish, hundred, and grid reference are also given for the Gloucestershire charter instances. There are no certain charter instances for the West Riding in the material.

Diacritic signs in OE boundary surveys (especially KCD) have not been retained in the material. The sign **J** in OE charters has been rendered by ‚and’. Abbreviations such as ‚Ho’ and ‚Rd’ in mod. forms have been expanded to ‚House’ and ‚Road’. The term ‚personal name’ has been used for both first names and second names.<sup>29</sup>

The place-name elements studied are treated in separate chapters, except the *\*rān*-group where *\*rān*, *\*rāen(e)* and *rein* are treated together. Chapter 2 deals with *(ge)māere*, chapter 3 with *mearc*, chapter 4 with *\*rān*, *\*rāen(e)*, *rein*, chapter 5 with *rá*, and chapter 6 with *hār*. Chapter 7 contains concluding remarks. At the end are a bibliography, a list of abbreviations not given in the bibliography, an index of elements, and a county map. Within each chapter, the material is divided between Gloucestershire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the Other Counties, and then further subdivided into the OE and the ME and later material. There are 3 sections of the OE and ME material, respectively, according as the element occurs as the first part of a compound place-name, as a simplex name, or as the second part of a compound place-name.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The term ‚personal name’ is not defined in the same way in all studies, see Seltén (1972:11). Coates reserves the term for “a name bestowed on an individual as a matter of conscious choice”, thus excluding second names (2006:318 f). See also Jönsjö (1979:11f) and Carlsson (1989:11 ff).

<sup>30</sup> OE *hār* is an exception, since being an adjective it can only occur as the first element. But it is probable that it was converted into a noun *\*Hāra* or *\*Hāre* as the name of the Berkshire hill Horn Down, see below.



# Chapter 2 OE (ge)māere

## 2.1 Introductory remarks

The principal meaning of OE *(ge)māere* is ‚boundary’. It is a neuter *īa*-stem.

The IE origin of *māere* is a root *\*mei-* ‚pole, wooden structure’, in the form IE *\*moi-ro-*. IE *\*moi-ro-* developed into PGermanic *\*mairīa-* ‚(boundary) pole’, which is the source of OE *māere*, and of MDu *meer*, *mere* ‚boundary pole, boundary’ and ON *-mæri* in *landamæri* ‚boundary’ > ModSw *landamäre* ‚boundary’. It does not seem to exist in OHG. IE *\*moi-ro-* also developed into Lat *mūrus* ‚wall’.<sup>1</sup>

In OE, *māere* is very often preceded by the prefix *ge-* (< PGermanic *\*ga-*). Nouns with *ge-* often have a collective sense<sup>2</sup>, and in this case it is likely that *gemāere* originally meant ‚row of (boundary) poles’, or at least that the word had this meaning in PGermanic. A development of meaning from ‚row of boundary poles’ to the abstract sense ‚boundary’ may be assumed.

OE *(ge)māere* survives as ModE dial. *meare* ‚strip of grassland forming a boundary, boundary road’ (see EPNE 2:33 s.v. **(ge)māere**).<sup>3</sup> The meaning

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Pokorny 1:709: “1. *mei-* ‚befestigen,,; nominal ‚Pfahl; Holzbau,,; *moi-ro-* ‚Holzbau,, ... lat. ... *mūrus*, alt *moiros* ‚Mauer,,; ... germ. *\*mairja-* ‚(Grenz)pfahl,, ... ”, W-P 2:239 f: “**mei-** ‚Pfahl; Holzbau“ ... ; lat. *mūrus*, alt *moiros* ‚Mauer“, womit im Formans nächstverwandt (...) germ. *\*mairia-* ‚(Grenz)pfahl“ ... , Verwijs-Verdam 4: col. 1291: “VII. MEER ... Ook in den vorm MERE, ... 1) *Grenspaal*, *grensscheiding*, *grens* ... ”, Falk-Torp 1:621 s.v. **Landmerke** (s.v. **Land** I s): “Unverwandt ist anord. *landamæri* ‚grenzscheide“ (schw. *landamære* ‚landesgrenze“) = ags. *landgemære*; vgl. schw. dial. *mære* ‚grenze“ = ags. *(ge)mære* (engl. *mere* ‚grenzscheide“), mndl. *mære* ‚grenzpfahl, grenze, pfahl“. Germ. *\*mairia-* ‚grenzpfahl“ ist verwandt mit lat. *mūrus* ‚mauer“ (älter *moiros*), *moenia* ‚stadtmauern“, *mūnīre* ‚befestigen“. Über die wurzel siehe *mei*.”.

<sup>2</sup> See on **ge-** EPNE 1:197.

<sup>3</sup> See also EDD s.v. **MEAR**: “A grass lane, near Hunsborough Hill in the vicinity of Northampton, which separates the estates of two neighbouring country gentlemen, is called „The Meer’ or „Meer Lane,’ and a similar lane in an adjoining parish bears the same name.”.



„boundary road’ has probably a twofold origin: boundary balks used as roads<sup>4</sup>, and boundary ditches used in this way<sup>5</sup>.

Corresponding to ON *landamæri* there exists the OE compound *land-gemære* „boundary’. OE *land-gemære* will also be dealt with in this chapter.

There may also exist an OE *\*mærs-* „boundary’ from the same root as *(ge)mære*. See Kristensson’s discussion in SMET (p. 36 f).

## 2.2 Material

### 2.2.1 GLOUCESTERSHIRE

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

##### ***I Combinations with OE (ge)mære as the first element***

OE *apuldor*, *apuldre* „apple-tree’<sup>6</sup> second element:

(*to*) *mær apeldran* 816 (11th) BCS 356 (S 179), p. of Temple Guiting [SP 0928], Lower Kiftsgate hd (Finberg 1961:193, Grundy 1927b:124, PNGI 2:15).

OE *brōc* „brook’ second element:

(*innan*) *mærbroc* c. 800 (11th) BCS 299 (S 1556), p. of Dowdeswell [SP 0019], Bradley hd (Grundy 1935-36:267, PNGI 1:171). – (*on*) *mærbroc* 768 x 779 (11th) BCS 246 (S 141), p. of Gotherington [SO 9629], Cleeve hd (Grundy 1935-36:78,

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<sup>4</sup> See Grundy (1922a:63): “*Mærweg* or *mearcweg* „boundary way,’ is probably a road which has developed along a balk. Roads which obviously have this origin are called „*mæres*’ in some of the Berks TA’s.”.

<sup>5</sup> Hoskins(1970:27 f) describes how present-day „hollow ways’ can originate as double ditches dug out by the landowner on either side of the boundary. See also Hoskins (op.cit. p. 183): “The colonization of new land, and its demarcation into private estates, created thousands of miles of *boundaries* for the first time. Often these new boundaries followed a stream or a trackway that already existed; but very often they created their own boundary lanes or *meres* (from the Old English word *(ge)mære*, “boundary”). This is the origin of a great number of “green lanes” on the map which run for a few miles, separating parishes on either side but eventually petering out. They are to be distinguished, therefore, from the green lanes that run for more considerable distances, which are portions of through-roads dating from prehistoric times. Sometimes these ancient estate-boundaries took the form of deep V-shaped ditches, much more impressive than the ordinary ditch for drainage, and therefore puzzling until one realizes their special origin.”.

<sup>6</sup> See Biggam (1998:142): “The apple-tree of Anglo-Saxon times was the crab apple (*Malus sylvestris* Miller), the ancestor of all the modern cultivated varieties of apple-tree.”.

PNGI 2:88). See below, note 21. – (*on*) *Mærbroc* 950 BCS 887 (S 553), (*on*) *gemær broc* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786), p. of Dyrham [ST 7375] & Hinton, Lower Grumbald’s Ash hd (Grundy 1935-36:203, 123, PNGI 3:50). – (*on*) *Mærbroc* 950 BCS 887 (S 553), p. of Pucklechurch [ST 6976], Pucklechurch hd (Grundy 1935-36:209, PNGI 3:67). – (*on*) *Mærbroc* 950 BCS 887 (S 553), p. of Wick [ST 7073] & Abson, Pucklechurch hd (Grundy 1935-36:206, PNGI 3:73). – (*in*) *mærbroc* 978 (11th) KCD 619 (S 1338), p. of Redmarley D’Abitot [SO 7531], Botloe hd (Grundy 1928b:52, PNGI 3:186). Perhaps identical with (*to*) *mær broce* BCS 1282, below; see PNGI, referring to Grundy. – (*to*) *mær broce* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786), p. of Staunton [SO 7829], Botloe hd (Grundy (1927b:47): “*Mær Broc* forms the S. part of the W. By. of the parish, joining the Leadon about ¼ m. SSE. of Everes’s Farm (OM. I). It is mentioned in one of the Redmarley charters.”, PNGI 3:187). See (*in*) *mærbroc* KCD 619, above. – (*in*) *merebroc* 709 (13th) BCS 125 (S 80), (*on*) *mærebroc* 11 (12th) KCD 1368 (S 1599), p. of Willersey [SP 1039], Upper Kiftsgate hd (Grundy 1927b:95, 102, PNGI 1:265).

OE *cumb* ‚valley’ second element:

(*in*) *mær cum`b`* 875 BCS (11th) 541 (S 216), p. of Kemerton [SO 9437], Lower Tewkesbury hd (Grundy 1928b:24 and 1935-36:197, in both places mentioning the mod. name (with *hyll*), PNGI 2:60, PNWo 153). Mod. Merecombe, see under B. – (*on*) *mær cumb* 11 Heming 245 (S 1549), p. of Gotherington [SO 9629], Cleeve hd (Grundy 1935-36:68, PNGI 2:88). Mod. The Merecombs, see under B. – (*to*) *mærcumbe* c. 800 (11th) BCS 299 (S 1556), p. of Withington [SP 0315], Bradley hd (Grundy 1935-36:266, PNGI 1:188). Mod. Mercombe Wood, see under B. – (*to*) *mærcumbe* 955 x 957 (12th) BCS 936 (S 664), probably p. of Elberton [ST 6088], Lower Langley & Swinehead hd (Grundy 1935-36:185, PNGI 3:116, Venezky: microfiche). – (*on*) *mærcumbes wyllle* 1005 (12th) KCD 714 (S 911), p. of Mickleton [SP 1643], Upper Kiftsgate hd (Grundy 1935-36:171, PNGI 1:251).

OE *dīc* ‚ditch, dike’<sup>7</sup> second element:

(*in*) *gemare dic* (v.l. *-gemære*-<sup>8</sup>) 930 (11th) BCS 667 (S 404), (*in*) *gemære dic* 1002 (13th) KCD 1295 (S 901), p. of Dumbleton [SP 0136], Lower Kiftsgate hd (Grundy 1935-36:117, PNGI 2:11). – (*in*) *þa mærdic* c. 800 (11th) BCS 299 (S 1556), p. of Withington [SP 0315], Bradley hd (Grundy 1935-36:263, PNGI 1:190, Venezky: microfiche). – (*on*) *ða mær dic* 955 x 957 (12th) BCS 936 (S 664),

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<sup>7</sup> Both meanings have to be reckoned with. It is natural to suppose that a (*ge*)*mære dīc* in a charter can sometimes refer to a double ditch (see note 5). In so far as *dīc* is applied to “a stream, part of which had been straightened” (Grundy 1922a:53), this can be regarded as a special sense of the meaning ‚ditch’. On the other hand, Kitson says (1990:204): “*Dīc*, meaning in charters normally ‚dyke’ (exceedingly rarely ‚ditch’), ...”.

<sup>8</sup> In BCS 668 (S 404), see Birch 2:348.

probably p. of Elberton [ST 6088], Lower Langley & Swinehead hd (Grundy 1935-36:185, PNGl 3:116). - (on) *þa ealdan mæc dic* 955 x 957 (12th) BCS 936 (S 664), p. of Olveston [ST 6087], Lower Langley & Swinehead hd (Grundy 1935-36:184, PNGl 3:123). - (on) *mæc dic* 929 (11th) BCS 665 (S 401), p. of Aust [ST 5789], Henbury hd (Grundy 1935-36:39, PNGl 3:129 f). - (*usque*) *le meredich* n. d. (14th) BCS 673 (S 1552), p. of Kemble [ST 9897], Crowthorne & Minety hd (Grundy 1935-36:150, PNGl 1:77). Note the ME form, see Grundy 147 f. On the Wiltshire boundary, see PNGl 4:1, footnote 1.

OE *feld* ‚open country, arable land‘, perhaps in the late OE, ME sense ‚open field‘, second element:

*Meresfeld(e)* 1086 DB, a parish-name [ST 7773], Upper Thornbury hd (PNGl 3:59 f). Mod. Marshfield, see under B.

OE *ford* ‚ford‘ second element:

(*to*) *mærforda* c. 800 (11th) BCS 299 (S 1556), p. of Dowdeswell [SP 0019], Bradley hd (Grundy 1935-36:267, PNGl 1:171).

OE *haga* ‚enclosure, game enclosure; strong enclosure fence, hedge‘<sup>9</sup> second element:

(on) *merhagan* 11 (14) Finberg 1961: number 187 (S 1551), p. of Deerhurst [SO 8729], Deerhurst hd (PNGl 2:81).

OE *hege* ‚hedge, fence‘ second element:

(*andlanges*) *mæc heges* 931 (e. 12) BCS 670 (S 414), p. of Cold Ashton [ST 7472], Pucklechurch hd (Grundy 1935-36:91, PNGl 3:64). - (*to*) *þam mæc hege* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786), p. of Chaceley [SO 8530], Lower Tewkesbury hd (Grundy 1927b:48, PNGl 2:57).

OE *sīc* ‚small stream, ditch‘ second element:

(on) *Mersice* (*of*) *Mærsice* 950 BCS 887 (S 553), p. of Pucklechurch [ST 6976], Pucklechurch hd (Grundy 1935-36:211, PNGl 3:67).

OE *slæd* ‚valley‘ second element:

(on) *mæres slæd* 963 (11th) BCS 1105 (S 1304), according to Grundy p. of Naunton [SP 1123], Lower Slaughter hd (Grundy 1935-36:173, PNGl 1:165).

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<sup>9</sup> See Hooke’s detailed discussion of this term (1989:123 ff and 1991-92:81 ff). She says (1989:123) that “It seems, indeed, to have referred usually to a particularly strong type of enclosure fence often found around a wooded area.” It is, however, perhaps more likely that *haga* means ‚enclosure‘ in the sense ‚enclosed area‘ in the example. Finberg (1961:80) translates the passage “to the enclosures on the boundary” and mentions in his commentary “several rectangular plots enclosed by earthen banks”. If *merhagan* refers to these plots, *-hagan* is a dative plural form with *-um* weakened to *-an*.

Perhaps preserved in mod. Meer Slade furlong (see under B), p. of Aston Blank, also called Cold Aston, [SP 1219], Bradley hd (PNGI 1:165). These are adjacent parishes. Note the genitive.

OE *tūn* ‚farmstead, village’ final element in three uncertain names, all referring to parishes on the Wiltshire boundary:

*Dydimeretune* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786), *Dedmertone* 1086 DB. Mod. Didmarton, a parish-name [ST 8287], Upper Grumbald’s Ash hd (PNGI 3:28). See under B. – *Redmertone* 1086 DB. Mod. Rodmarton, a parish-name [ST 9497], Longtree hd (PNGI 1:105). See under B. – *Tormertone* 1086 DB. Mod. Tormarton, a parish-name [ST 7678], Lower Grumbald’s Ash hd (PNGI 3:56). See under B.

OE *þorn*, ‚thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

(*to*) *mærðorne* c. 1050 (12th) KCD 1365 (S 1553), p. of Mangersbury [SP 2025], Upper Slaughter hd (Grundy 1935-36:163, PNGI 1:224).

OE *weg* ‚way’ second element:

(*on*) *mærweg* 775 x 777 (11th) BCS 226 (S 145), p. of Tetbury Upton [ST 8895], Longtree hd or p. of Latton [SU 0995] in Wiltshire (PNGI 1:113). – (*on*) *mærweg* 931 (e. 12) BCS 670 (S 414), p. of Cold Ashton [ST 7472], Pucklechurch hd (Grundy 1935-36:96, PNGI 3:64). – (*andlang*) *mærweges* c. 800 (11th) BCS 299 (S 1556), p. of Withington [SP 0315], Bradley hd (Grundy 1935-36:267, 269, PNGI 1:188, 190).

OE *wella*, etc. ‚spring, stream’ second element:

(*into*) *mær wylle* c. 1055 Finberg 1961: number 171 (S 1026), p. of Upper Swell [SP 1726], Upper Slaughter hd (PNGI 1:228).<sup>10</sup>

(*on*) *mæs wille* 949 (12th) BCS 882 (S 550), p. of Mangersbury [SP 2025], Upper Slaughter hd, is suggested PNGI 1:224 to be an error for *\*mærwille* (PNGI *mærwille* without asterisk) ‚boundary stream’.<sup>11</sup>

## ***II and III Simplex names and combinations with OE (ge)māere as the second element***

The few Gloucestershire instances are from OE boundary surveys. This does not mean that (ge)māere is infrequent as a simplex and as the second element in boundary surveys from Gloucestershire and the Other Counties. On the contrary, it is extremely frequent in such surveys. However, (ge)māere in these positions

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<sup>10</sup> Both Finberg and PNGI translate *mær wylle* ‚the boundary spring’, but cf. the next instance.

<sup>11</sup> Another possibility is that the original form is *\*(on) mærs wille*, the first element being OE *\*mærs-* ‚boundary’, and that the form without *r* is the result of very early assimilation of *rs* to *s*. Weak articulation of *r* before *s* is mentioned by Jordan §§ 166 and 22 *Remark 2* (OE *ears*).

belongs as a rule within the text of the survey and does not refer to a place, a stream, etc., in the outside world. One such category consists of *(ge)mære* (mostly in the compound *land-gemære*) in the opening phrases of boundary surveys, e.g. *Þis synd þa land gemære æt reodemære leage* 963 (11th) BCS 1109 (S 1306)<sup>12</sup> (Gl). Further examples of this category are given in note 12, where other categories are also listed.

From boundary surveys (both Gloucestershire and the Other Counties) only such forms have been included where *(ge)mære* seems to be used in a concrete sense<sup>13</sup>,

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<sup>12</sup> Other examples from opening phrases are: *Þis is ðæs wuda gemære ðe to ðære hide gebyreð* 975 x 978 KCD 680 (S 1373) (Wo) and, with *land-gemære*, *Þis synd ða landgemæra to Teodintune* n. d. (l. 11th or e. 12th) KCD 617 (S 1554) (Gl). It is typical of OE boundary surveys to refer to the boundary not of a land-unit but of its inhabitants (Grundy 1935-36:66 f, Stenton 1955:72). Examples of this kind are *(to) beorhfeldinga gemære* c. 950 (c. 1240) BCS 888 (S 578) (Brk) (PNBrk 647 f) and *(be) winterburninga gemære* 951 (16th) BCS 892 (S 558) (Brk) (PNBrk 652, 654). The following examples contain elliptical formations, i.e. the second part of the place-name is left out when the place-name is combined with a word meaning „dwellers’ (OE *hæme* and OE *sæte* in the examples given): *(on) Æschæma gemæru* 1042 (11th) KCD 764 (S 1396), belonging to the parish-name Ashton under Hill (PNGL 2:42), *(on) Campsætena gemære, and Wæsdæma* 1005 (l. 12th) KCD 714 (S 911), belonging to the parish-names Chipping Campden and Weston Subedge (PNGL 1:237 f, 261, Grundy 1935-36:171), *(into) esthemmere* 706 (13th) BCS 117 (S 1174), belonging to the parish-name Aston Somerville (PNGL 2:3), *(on) hinhæma gemæru* 1042 (11th) KCD 764 (S 1396), belonging to the parish-name Hinton on the Green (PNGL 2:45). A place-name can, however, also be the first element: *(to) Stantunes gemære* 978 (11th) KCD 619 (S 1338), belonging to the parish-name Staunton (PNGL 3:186), *(ðær) Lencgemuere and Herefordtunes landgemæru (togædere liggad æt Wænnacumbe)* n. d. (c. 1190) KCD 1368 (S 1599) (Wo) (Grundy 1927b:100: „the Boundaries of Lench and Harvington’, but see Tengstrand § 287: “It seems probable that a visible bd. of some kind („balk of ploughland’) is indicated.”). A personal name is sometimes the first element: *(on) ælfrices ge mæro* 963 BCS 1105 (S 1304) (Gl) (PNGL 1:201), *(of) Ædelstanes gemære* 990 (11th) KCD 675 (S 1362) (Gl) (PNGL 3:139). Such combinations mean „boundary of the estate belonging to *Ælfric*’, etc., see Gelling (1978:188). An example of an appellative as the first element is OE *mæd* „meadow’ in *Þis sind þara mead ge mæra þe to þan lande ge byriap* 956 BCS 932 (S 590) (Brk) (Venezky: microfiche). Another type where *(ge)mære* means „boundary’ is when it is preceded by a numeral. The reference is to a point where the boundaries meet; in other words, to the intersection of two or more boundary-lines: *(to) þam þrim gemærum* 949 (contemporary) BCS 877 (S 552) (Brk) (PNBrk 3:663, 665), *(to) þrym gemære* 1017 KCD 1313 (S 1384) (Wo) (Zachrisson 1934:58). A qualifier may also be understood: *(to) Stantunes gemære (, ondlong) ðæs gemæres* 978 (11th) KCD 619 (S 1338) (Kemble 3:167), *(to) þam þrim gemærum of) þam gemærum* 949 (contemporary) BCS 877 (S 552) (Brk) (PNBrk 3:663).

<sup>13</sup> See note 90. Note that Grundy (1922a:62 f) says on *(ge)mære* and *mearc*: “In the charters these words when used by themselves without any attribute mean the balk of a ploughland. Such expressions as „andlang gemaere’ in a survey cannot mean that the survey is traversing the bounds which are being defined, for that would be mere tautology, and would be of no assistance whatever in defining the boundary.”. Note also Tengstrand § 225: “**gemære** „boundary, balk (of a ploughland)”. Cf. Grundy, Ess & St VIII 62, Ha Ch I 73 n. 3. The observation that some kind of visible bd. must be meant when the word occurs in bd. surveys may be illustrated by the passage:

or where *(ge)māere* in the sense ‚boundary’ forms the second element in a combination which is itself the first part of a triple compound<sup>14</sup>, or where I know of a later place-name whose OE form with abstract *(ge)māere* as the final element occurs in an OE boundary survey<sup>15</sup>. The third case implies a shift of reference from abstract to concrete. In the first case, where concrete *(ge)māere* occurs alone or as the first element combined with another element, we have a ‚potential place-name’ (see the Introduction). A long enumeration of forms such as those in note 12 where I do not know of an ME or later related place-name would probably not add much to the discussion of *(ge)māere*. In the material there is no Gloucestershire example of *(ge)māere* as a simplex or as the second element outside the boundary surveys.<sup>16</sup>

## II Simplex names

(of *þam æsce on scypa cumb to þam broke. Andlang brokes to*) *ðam gemære* (.*Donne þar norðrihtes andlang ludescumbes to þam ealdan herepaðe*) 955 x 957 BCS 936 (S 664), p. of Olveston [ST 6087], Lower Langley & Swinehead hd (Grundy 1935-36:186). – (andlong) *þæs gemæres* 940 (12th) BCS 764 (S 467), p. of Wotton under Edge [ST 7692], Upper Berkeley hd (PNGI 2:259). Perhaps mod. The Mears, see under B.

## III Combinations with OE *(ge)māere* as the second element<sup>17</sup>

on *þ’ brade gemære of ðam brade g’ mære* n. d. (1.11) MS Cott. Tib. A XIII f. 161 f. (Hearne 356; Himbleton Wo). ...”. Grundy, Ess & St VIII is = Grundy 1922a. The charter instance is listed under the Other Counties (Hearne is = Heming).

<sup>14</sup> An example is *supemeresfelda* 933 (13th) BCS 697 (S 420) (Sr), mod. Summerfield; see below under the Other Counties.

<sup>15</sup> An example is *Baldinhamere* 1200 S, *Baldenhamemere* c. 1240 S (O), with the charter 1054 (c. 1200) KCD 800 (S 1025): (*into*) *bealdanhema gemære* (PNO 1:163 f).

<sup>16</sup> There is a Buckinghamshire example from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: *Wingina mere*, see under the Other Counties. It is probable that *Wingina mere* is a *(ge)māere* place-name, with shift of reference from abstract to concrete.

<sup>17</sup> In 706 (13th) BCS 117 (S 1174) (Grundy 1935-36:66 ff) are three forms ending in *-mere*: *Brade mere* (PNGI 2:7), (*to*) *þe þistelmere* (PNGI 2:4), and (*into*) *esthemmere* (PNGI 2:3). The last combination consists of *ēast*, *hāme* and *(ge)māere* and means ‚boundary of the dwellers at Aston (mod. Aston Somerville), see PNGI loc.cit. and note 12 above, but the other two combinations are difficult. *Brademere* ((*in*) *brodemere* 709 (c. 1200) BCS 125 (S 80)) (Grundy 1927b:97, PNGI 2:7) may contain *(ge)māere*, in which case it is equivalent to the Worcestershire instance mentioned in note 13, provided that this instance does contain *(ge)māere*. But it is perhaps more likely that *Brademere* contains *mere*, as does Bradmore (Nt) (*Brademere* 1086 DB, *-mar* 1226-8, 1242 Fees (DEPN)). The combination (*on*) *þistel mere* (*of*) *þæm mere* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy 1927b:41, PNGI 2:4) is also uncertain: *(ge)māere* or *mere*. If the element is *(ge)māere*, *(ge)māere* is probably concrete. PNGI takes both the combination with OE *brād* ‚broad, spacious’ and the combination with OE *þistel* ‚thistle’ to contain OE *mere* ‚pool’. Grundy

OE *hār* ‚hoar‘, etc. (see the chapter on this element) probably first element:  
 (on) *haran mære (norðwardne)* 984 (11th) KCD 646 (S 1346), p. of Westbury on Trym [ST 5677], Henbury hd (Lindley 106: “2. of *tham on tha ealdan dic on haran maere northwardne*: From there to the old dyke on the north of the grey boundary.”, PNGl 3:144: “v. *hār* ‚grey‘ or ‚boundary‘, (*ge*)*mære* ‚boundary‘ ”).<sup>18</sup>

OE *middel* ‚middle‘ first element:

(ut to) *ðam middel gemare* 990 KCD 675 (S 1362) (Grundy (1927b:159): “... out to the Middle Balk (or Boundary)”. Neither *Biles Hamme* of 1 nor this balk are traceable”).

### B ME and later material

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(1935-36) and (1927b) hesitates between (*ge*)*mære* and *mere* in the combination with *brād* and Grundy (1935-36) also in the combination with *pistel*, but Grundy (1927b) translates *on pistel mere* in 1282: “to Thistle Pond”. The mod. field-name Thistle Mear, Thistley Mear is possibly identical (PNGl 2:4). It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a charter form should be assigned to Gloucestershire or to Worcestershire. Grundy includes (on) *pistel mere* BCS 1282 under Worcestershire, but PNGl includes it under Gloucestershire, at least if it is identical with Thistle Mear, Thistley Mear. It occurs together with (of) *mær ende* in a description in BCS 1282 of the bounds of Broadway (Wo). PNGl does not mention the *ende*-instance, and it has been included under Worcestershire below. Another instance which may contain (*ge*)*mære* is *riþig mæres broc* 963 (11th) BCS 1109 (S 1306) (Grundy 1928b:50f, PNGl 3:186). Grundy hesitates between (*ge*)*mære* and *mere* (= *mere* ‚pool‘) and says that “The name is curious and is probably corrupted.”, and PNGl takes the elements to be *riðig* ‚stream‘ (correctly written *riðig* in the list of elements in PNGl 4), (*ge*)*mære* and *brōc*, but includes *Riþig mæres broc* under *mere*<sup>1</sup> (= *mere* ‚pool‘) in the list of elements in PNGl 4. Perhaps *riþig* should be emended to OE *wiþig* ‚willow‘; see PNGl 3: Add. & Corr.:xiii: “Tengstrand 152 thinks the first el. may be an error for *wiþig*, the name meaning ‚the willow pool stream‘.” A combination of *wiþig*, (*ge*)*mære* and *brōc*: ‚brook of the boundary balk where willows grow‘ does not seem impossible either. Another emendation would be to \**riht ge mæres broc* with *riht* ‚straight; lawful‘ spelt *riþ* (note *east rith* c. 765 BCS 197 (Sx) in note 53 in the chapter on OE *meare*). With *pistelmere* and *riþig mæres*, if it is an error for *wiþig mæres*, cf. the following OE charter forms, where the first element may refer to vegetation and the second element is (*ge*)*mære* or *mere*: (on) *clæfer mære* 956 BCS 948 (S 585) (W) (OE *clæfre* ‚clover‘) (Grundy 1920:55), (into) *hocce mære* 1004 (Ed2) Frid (O) (?OE *hocc* ‚mallow‘) (PNO 1:28), and the following which all contain *wiþig*: (on) *wiðig mære* 963 BCS 1118 (S 715) (W) (Grundy 1920:69), (on) *wiþimære* 708 BCS 120 (Wo) (S 78), (on) *wiðimære* 957 (12th) BCS 994 (S 645) (Hrt) (PNMx 219), (on) *wiþigmeres hege easte weardne* 939 BCS 734 (S 449) (W) (Grundy 1919:241).

<sup>18</sup> If Lindley (whose article PNGl 3:144 refers to) and PNGl are right in taking the elements to be OE *hār* and OE (*ge*)*mære*, the second element seems to have a concrete meaning, maybe ‚boundary-stone‘. This is a problematic instance, for both the first and the second element are uncertain: *hār* or *hara* ‚hare‘, (*ge*)*mære* or *mere* ‚pool‘. See the chapter on OE *hār*.

### *I Combinations with OE (ge)mǣre as the first element*

OE *āc* ‚oak-tree’ second element:

*Meare oaks* 1652 *ParlSurv*, a lost field-name, p. of Hanham Abbots [ST 6471], Upper Langley & Swinehead hd (PNGI 3:79). – *Meroke* 1282 *For*, a lost field-name, p. of East Dean [SO 6520], St Briavels hd (PNGI 3:224).

ME *bank(e)* ‚bank, slope of a hill or ridge’ second element:

*Mere Bank*, 1830 M, a minor name, p. of Henbury [ST 5678], Henbury hd (PNGI 3:134: “an ancient embankment alongside a Roman road, v. **(ge)mǣre** ‚boundary’, **banke**, it may have been the northern boundary of Shirehampton”).

OE *brōc* ‚brook’ second element:

*Marbrook*, a minor name, p. of Blockley [SP 1634], Upper Kiftsgate hd (PNGI 1:236). Finberg says (in Finberg (ed.), 1957) on p. 5: “The northern boundary of the parish [called *Bloxley* by Finberg] follows a stream called the Marbrook (= boundary brook) to its junction with the Knee Brook, ...”. – *Marbrook mod.*, 1727 *Beckford*, a field-name, p. of Beckford [SO 9735], Tibblestone hd. On the boundary of the adjoining parish of Ashton under Hill. (PNGI 2:44). – *Marbrook furlong* 1772 *EnclA: Marebrooke-* 1668 *Harrowby*, a field-name, p. of Aston Subedge [SP 1341], Upper Kiftsgate hd (PNGI 1:232: “probably ‚boundary brook’, v. **(ge)mǣre, brōc**”). – *Marebrok* 1290 GIR, a lost field-name, p. of Gloucester [SO 8318], Upper Dudstone & King’s Barton hd (PNGI 2:144). – *Meer Brook*, 1830 M, a minor name, p. of Newland [SO 5509], St Briavels hd (PNGI 3:239: “‚boundary stream’, v. **(ge)mǣre**; it is on the Lydney boundary and is now called Tufts Brook”). – *Meerbrook Cottage: Meer brooks* 1839 *TA*, a minor name, p. of Olveston [ST 6087], Lower Langley & Swinehead hd (PNGI 3:121: “‚boundary stream’, v. **(ge)mǣre, brōc**”). – *Meerbrook Ditch: (le) Mer(e)broc, - broke* 1282 *For, Meere Brook* 1655 *Comm*, a minor name, p. of East Dean [SO 6520], St Briavels hd (PNGI 3:222: “ ‚boundary stream’ (here a bailiwick boundary in the Forest)”).

OE *ceastel, cestil* ‚heap (of stones)’ second element:

*le Merechastles* 1275 *CirenP*, a lost field-name, p. of Ampney St Mary [SP 0802], Crowthorne & Minety hd (PNGI 1:53: “v. **mere** ‚pool’ or **(ge)mǣre** ‚boundary’, *ceastel* ‚heap of stones’”). Since *(ge)mǣre* makes such good sense with *ceastel*, it is probably the first element.

OE *cumb* ‚valley’ second element:

*Marcumbe* c. 1310 *GICh*, a lost field-name, p. of Upton St Leonards [SO 8614], Middle Dudstone & King’s Barton hd (PNGI 2:172: “ ‚boundary valley’, v. **(ge)mǣre, cumb**”). – *Mercombe Wood: (to) mærcumbe* c. 800 (11th) BCS 299, *Merescumbe* 1139-48 Glouc, Markham grove 1839 *TA*, a major name, p. of Withington [SP 0315], Bradley hd. The reference is to a valley once forming part



of the boundary of the old Withington estate (BCS 299), later forming part of the boundary of the modern parish. (PNGL 1:188). Markham seems to have been wrongly interpreted as a combination of OE *mearc* and OE *hām* or OE *hamm*. Markham (W) may be a parallel, see below.<sup>19</sup> – Mercombes lane 1840 TA 47, a field-name, p. of Churchdown [SO 8720], Upper Dudstone & King’s Barton hd (PNGL 2:122).<sup>20</sup> – *Mercoumbe* 1314, 1349 Ipm, a lost field-name, p. of Fairford [SP 1500], Brightwells Barrow hd (PNGL 1:36: “ ‚boundary valley’, v. **(ge)māere, cumb**”). – Merecombe: (*in*) *mær cum`b`* 875 (11th) BCS 541, *Upper and Lower Mercu* 1649 Surv, a minor name, p. of Kemerton [SO 9437], Lower Tewkesbury hd (PNGL 2:60: “ ‚boundary valley’, v. **(ge)māere, cumb**”, PNWo 153, likewise taking the elements to be *(ge)māere* and *cumb*). – Merecombe Bridge, 1830 M, a minor name, p. of Marshfield [ST 7773], Upper Thornbury hd (PNGL 3:60: “ ‚boundary valley’, v. **(ge)māere, cumb**, 4:1: footnote 1”). – Merecombe park probably 1838 TA 5, a field-name, p. of Almondsbury [ST 6084], Lower Langley & Swinehead hd (PNGL 3:110: “on the parish boundary, v. **(ge)māere, cumb**”). – The Merecombs: (*on*) *mærcumb* 11 Heming 245, *Mearcom* 1775 GR 184, a major name, p. of Gotherington [SO 9629], Cleeve hd (PNGL 2:88).<sup>21</sup>

OE *denu* ‘valley’ second element:

Marsden Hill: *Marisden* Hy 2 BM, 1537 LP, (*als. Marilden als. Marsh(e)dean*) 1537 ib., 1635 FF, *Marsden* 1328 Banco, *Mersdena* Ric 1 (1372) Ch, J Monast, *Meresden* 13 AD ii, *Marsden* 1306 Ass, 1366 Ch, a major name, p. of Rendcomb [SP 0209], Rapsgate hd (PNGL 1:161: “ ‚Boundary valley’, v. **(ge)māere** (gen.sg. **(ge)māeres**), **denu**. This small valley is on the north-western boundary of the parish.”). A gen.sg. form would be paralleled by (*on*) *mæres slæd* 963 (11th) BCS 1105 above. It is, however, also possible that the name contains the uncertain element OE *\*mærs-* ‘boundary’, see the Introductory remarks.

OE *dīc* ‘ditch, dike’ second element:

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<sup>19</sup> Another parallel is perhaps Markham 1840: *Marecumbe* 1371, *Markham* 1654, a field-name, p. of Horsley [ST 8398], Longtree hd (PNGL 1:94: “ ‚mare valley’, v. **mere**<sup>2</sup>, **cumb**”). The fact that OE *hors* ‘horse’ forms part of both the parish-name and a field-name (Horsecroft 1712: (*lez*) *Horscroft(e)* 1417, 1639) in the parish might speak in favour of this interpretation. It is, however, perhaps more probable that the first element is *(ge)māere*, since valleys often form boundaries, and there are the forms *Markham* 1654 and Markham 1840, which seem to be from the name having been taken as a combination of *mearc* and *hām* or *hamm*.

<sup>20</sup> Mercombes lane is included in the material because valleys often form boundaries. In this parish is also Mercots 1840, another field-name (PNGL 2:122). It is too uncertain to be included in the material, but the elements may well be *(ge)māere* and OE *cot(e)* ‘shed, cottage’.

<sup>21</sup> See PNGL loc.cit.: “ ‚Boundary valley’, v. **(ge)māere, cumb, brōc**. The stream in this comb was called *on mærbroc* 769-85 (11th) BCS 246. The boundary is that of the original estate of the monastery of Cleeve and later of the Bishop of Worcester’s manor (...).”. BCS 246 (S 141) is 768 x 779 (11th) according to Sawyer 1968.

Appletree meer ditch 1839 TA 196, a field-name, p. of Thornbury [ST 6490] (or possibly Falfield or Oldbury upon Severn), Lower Thornbury hd (PNGl 3:17: “v. **(ge)mære** ‚boundary’, **dīc**”). – Meer ditch 1839 TA 196, a field-name, p. of Thornbury [ST 6490] (or possibly Falfield or Oldbury upon Severn), Lower Thornbury hd (PNGl 3:18). – the Meer Ditch Wood 1810 *EnclA: Merediches Ynde* 14 WoHS (1911), a field-name, p. of Icomb [SP 2122], Upper Slaughter hd (PNGl 1:221; *Merediches Ynde* also on p. 144 in Grundy 1935-36). – *Meereditche* 1611 Inq, a lost field-name, p. of Henbury [ST 5678], Henbury hd (PNGl 3:136). – *Meredich* 1225 *FF*, a lost field-name, p. of Chipping Campden [SP 1539], Upper Kiftsgate hd (PNGl 1:239).

OE *feld* ‚open country, arable land’, perhaps in the late OE, ME sense ‚open field’ second element:

Marshfield: *Meresfeld(e)* 1086 DB, 12 (1496) Pat, 1228 Theok, 1234 Cl, 1248 Ass, 1492 Comp 94, *Mereffelda* (PNGl: sic) Hy 1 (1300) Ch, *Mersfeld* 1100-35, 12 *Tewk* 71d, 75, 1229 Theok *et freq* to 1535 VE, *Marsefeld* 1220 Fees, 1347 Ipm, 1412 Pat, *Marssefeld* 1540 *AOMB*, *Maresfeld* 1221 Ass, 1262 Ipm *et freq* to 1317 Monast, *Marsfeld(e)* 1221 Ass, 1242 Theok, 1296 Ipm *et passim* to 1675 Ogilby, (*West-*) 1337, 1342 *FF*, *Merefeld*’ 1221 Ass, 1225 *FF*, 1233 Cl, *Mersefeld* 1236 *FF*, c. 1300 RGl, *Mers(s)h(e)feld(e)* 1397 Ipm, 1431 Pat *et freq* to 1493 ib., *Mars(s)h(e)fe(i)ld(e)*, *-fyld* 1414 Pat, 1533 *MinAcct*, 1553 *FF et freq* to 1619 *Dep*, Mashfield 1712 PR 16, a parish-name [ST 7773], Upper Thornbury hd (called *Meresfeldhdr*’ 1169 P, see PNGl 3:59) (PNGl 3:59 f, 4:1: footnote 1, 4:47). The parish is on the boundary of both Wiltshire and Somerset, and the first element is probably either *(ge)mære* or the uncertain synonymous element OE *\*mærs-* mentioned in the Introductory remarks. OE *mersc* ‚marsh’ is unlikely for topographical reasons but has at least influenced some of the forms. OE *mere* ‚pool’ cannot be excluded, but the situation of the parish points to a word meaning ‚boundary’ as the first element. See the discussion in PNGl 3 loc.cit. and note PNGl 4:47 and see Kristensson’s discussion of *\*mærs-* (SMET 36 f, where Marshfield is mentioned).<sup>22</sup>

OE *furlang* ‚furlong’ second element:

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<sup>22</sup> Note that PNGl in the discussion of Marshfield also says: “Rudder 539 mentions ‚the manor of Meers’ (*Mars* 1327 *SR* (p), *Meers* 1777 M), which is on the boundary and may be from OE *\*mærs-*; the TA map has the f.n.s. Meer Leaze and Meer ground 13/129 (field nos. 992, 1113, 1115) which are in the south of the parish in a projection of land between So and W (grid 156-785696, 779712).” Rudder is = S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, Cirencester 1779. Perhaps Marshfield and Meers both contain *\*mærs-*. Meers, Meer Leaze and Meer ground are listed under II and III, respectively.

Meer furlong 1771 *EnclA*, a field-name, p. of Preston [SP 0400], Crowthorne & Minety hd (PNGl 1:81). – *Merefurlonges* 1494 BrDoc, a lost field-name, p. of Bristol [ST 6075], Barton Regis hd (PNGl 3:97).<sup>23</sup>

OE *grund*, e. ModE *ground* ‚plot of land’ second element:

Meer ground *TA* map, a field-name, p. of Marshfield [ST 7773], Upper Thornbury hd (PNGl 3:60). See note 22.

OE *lās* ‚pasture, meadow land’ second element:

Meer Leaze *TA* map, a field-name, p. of Marshfield [ST 7773], Upper Thornbury hd (PNGl 3:60). See note 22.

1. OE, ME *plot* ‚small piece of ground’ second element:

*Meresplot* 1139-48 Glouc, a lost name mentioned under Mercombe Wood, see above. The boundary is that of the ancient boundary of the Withington estate, now the boundary of the parish of Withington [SP 0315], Bradley hd (PNGl 1:188). Note the gen.sg.; just as in *Merescumbe* (mod. Mercombe Wood), also in 1139-48 Glouc.<sup>24</sup>

OE *\*pull* ‚pool’ second element:

Meer Pool: *la Pulle* 1282 *For*, a minor name, p. of East Dean [SO 6520], St Briavels hd (PNGl 3:222: “a pool (v. **pull**) near Staple Edge on the boundary of Blakeney Bailiwick”).

OE *sīc* ‚small stream, ditch’:

*Mersiche* 1282 *For*, a lost field-name, p. of East Dean [SO 6520], St Briavels hd (PNGl 3:224 (on this name, *Meroke* (see above), and *Mersty* (see below)): “v. (**ge**)*māere* ‚boundary’, **āc** ‚oak’, **sīc** ‚stream’, **stīg** ‚path’ ”).

OE *slæd* ‚valley’ second element:

*Mersled* 1196 Finberg 1957:114-5, a lost field-name, p. of Cutsdean [SP 0830], Lower Kiftsgate hd (PNGl 2:9). The instance is from a perambulation concerning pasturage, and Finberg says (in Finberg (ed.), 1957) on p. 115: “Not all the landmarks can be identified now, but “Mersled,” a compound of *mære*, boundary,

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<sup>23</sup> The first element in these names may also be *mere* ‚pool’. No comment in PNGl 1 or 3. The combination of (**ge**)*māere* and *furlang* is, however, common, see the Other Counties, so these names probably contain (**ge**)*māere*.

<sup>24</sup> In the parish of Elmore, Middle Dudstone and King’s Barton hd, is a lost field-name *la Meresplotte* 1282, which PNGl 2:163 analyses as “ ‚plot near the pool’, v. **mere**, **splott**”. Maybe this name is, in fact, a combination of (**ge**)*māere* in the gen.sg. and *plot*, just as *Meresplot* 1139-48 probably is. A further possibility is that both names are combinations of (**ge**)*māere* in the nom.sg. and *splott*.

and *slæd*, a low flat valley, probably describes the old northern boundary of Cutsdean, as shown on the 1914 and earlier editions of the Ordnance map.”

Another instance is perhaps Meer Slade furlong 1796 *EnclA*, a field-name, p. of Aston Blank, also called Cold Aston, [SP 1219], Bradley hd (PNGL 1:165: “perhaps identical with *on mæres slæd* 963, ‘boundary valley’, v. **(ge)mære, slæd**”). See under A.

OE *stān* ‘stone’ second element:

*Meere stone* 1638 Ct, a lost field-name, p. of English Bicknor [SO 5815], St Briavels hd (PNGL 3:213). – the Mere-stone 1779 Rudder, a field-name, p. of Clifton [ST 5673], Barton Regis hd (PNGL 3:98). – (*be*) *Merestones* 14 WoHS (1911), a lost field-name, p. of Icomb [SP 2122], Upper Slaughter hd (Grundy 1935-36:144, PNGL 1:222). – *metas voc’ Merestones* 1581 *WashCt*, a lost field-name, p. of Great Washbourne [S4O 9834], Upper Tewkesbury hd (PNGL 2:51). – *Merestones Road: Meerestones* 1650 *GR* 134, a Cheltenham street-name, p. of Cheltenham [SO 9422], Cheltenham hd. The road is near an old parish boundary. (PNGL 2:103).

OE *stīg* ‘path’ second element:

*Mersty* 1282 *For*, a lost field-name, p. of East Dean [SO 6520], St Briavels hd (PNGL 3:224). – *le Mersty* 1282 *For*, *le Meresty* 1338 *Inq*, *-stey* 1339 *Glouc*, a lost field-name, p. of Ruardean [SO 6117], St Briavels hd (PNGL 3:241, 242).

OE *stōw* ‘place, place of assembly, holy place’ possibly second element:

*Marstow*, 1847 *TA*, *Marsters* 1824 *M*, a minor name, p. of Ruardean [SO 6117], St Briavels hd (PNGL 3:241, noting in the discussion that it is near the county boundary and saying that it is “possibly ‘boundary place’”).

OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’ final element in three uncertain names<sup>25</sup>, all referring to parishes on the Wiltshire boundary:

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<sup>25</sup> These names have been interpreted in various ways. DEPN says on Didmarton: “The place is on the border between Gl and W. The probability is therefore that the name contains OE *gemære* ‘boundary’. Perhaps *Dyddi*’s *gemærtūn* ‘the boundary farm of *Dyddi*’. Cf. TORMARTON. But *Dudemær* pers.n. is recorded.”, on Rodmarton: “‘TŪN by a reedy lake’ (OE *hrēodmere*).”, and on Tormarton: “The place is on the Wilts border. The original name was no doubt OE *Mærtūn* ‘TUN on the boundary’. Later OE *torr* ‘hill’ was added for distinction from DIDMARTON.”. Smith changed his mind about Didmarton and Tormarton, from considering in EPNE (1:xxiii) that the names are better explained as “*Dyde-mere* and *Tor-mere* (from **gemære** or **mere**) with **tūn** added to describe farmsteads which sprang up there” than as *Dydi* + *mær-tūn* and *torr* + *mær-tūn* ‘boundary farm’ to saying in PNGL on Didmarton: “‘*Dydda*’s boundary-farmstead’, v. **(ge)mære, tūn** with the OE pers.n. *Dyd(d)a*; like Rodmarton (...) and Tormarton (...), the parish is on the Wiltshire boundary. On the pers.n. *Dyd(d)a* cf. *Dittenham* (...)”, and on Tormarton: “The parish is on the Wiltshire border and, as in the p.ns. Rodmarton and Didmarton (...), the

Didmarton: *Dydimeretune* 972 (10th) BCS 1282, *Dedmertone* 1086 DB, *Dedemarton* c. 1400 *Surv*, *Dutm'tona* 1183 AC, *Dudmerton'* 1220 *Cur*, 1248 *Ass*, 1261 *Misc et freq* to 1498 *Ipm*, *-m'ton* 1274 RH, *-marton* 1314 *Ipm*, *Dodemarton'* 1220 *Fees*, 1291 *Tax*, (*-als. Didmarton*) 1420 *IpmR*, *-merton* 1325 *Misc*, 1327 *SR*, *Dodmerton(e)* 1323 *MinAcct*, 1374 *Ipm*, *Dudemarton'* 1221 *Ass*, *-merton'* c. 1270 *For*, 1295 *Ipm*, *Ed 3 Surv et freq* to 1489 *FF*, *Did-*, *Dydmarton* 1380 *Rent*, *-merton* 1408 *Ipm*, 1535 *VE et freq* to 1675 *Ogilby*, *Dymerton* 1659 *ParlSurv*, a parish-name [ST 8287], Upper Grumbald's Ash hd (PNGL 3:28, 4:1, footnote 1). – Rodmarton: *Redmertone* 1086 DB, 1301 *Ch*, *-mare-* 1227 *FF*, *Redemerton* 1287 *Ass*, *Rodmarton(e)* 1220 *Fees*, 1221, 1248 *Ass*, 1328 *Banco*, *Rodmereston'* 1221 *Ass* (p), *Rodmerton*, *-tun* 1227 *FF*, 1234, c. 1250 *Berk* (p), 1261 *Ipm et passim* to 1587 *FF*, *Rode-* 1303 *FA*, 1378 *Oseney*, a parish-name [ST 9497], *Longtree* hd (PNGL 1:105, 4:1, footnote 1). – Tormarton: *Tormertone* 1086 DB, *Torremareton'* 1199 *FF*, *Tormarton(e)*, *-tun* 1166 *RBE* (p), 1220 *Fees*, 1221 *Ass et freq* to 1706 *PR* 9, *Tormerton(a)* 1183 AC, 1211-13 *Fees*, 1287 *Ass et freq* to 1584 *Comm*, (*-als. Tormutton*) 1559 *FF*, (*-als. Tormton*) 1642 *Rec*, *Thoremareton* 1216 *CIR*, *Thormerton* 1248 *Ass*, 1293 *Episc et freq* to 1587 *FF*, a parish-name [ST 7678], Lower Grumbald's Ash hd (PNGL 3:56, 4:1, footnote 1).

It seems likely that these three names should be interpreted in a similar way, and it is then natural to interpret them as consisting of a personal name + *mærtūn* or (less likely, considering the boundary position) *meretūn*. The personal names could be OE *Dyd(d)a*, OE *\*Rodda* (which may form part of the parish-name *Rodborough* in the same hundred as *Rodmarton*, see *DEPN* s.n. and *PNGL* 1:103 f), and Anglo-Scand *Thor(i)* (*AN Tor(i)*). A name of the type personal name + compound with *(ge)mære* is *Todmorden* (*WRY*, see below and note 25).

OE *weg* „way” second element:

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second theme is „boundary farmstead”, v. **(ge)mære, tūn**. The prefix *Tor-* offers difficulties; ...”. Smith discusses OE **torr** „hill” and ”the Anglo-Scand pers.n. *Thor* or *Thori* (*AN Tor, Tori*)”, but prefers OE **þorn** „thorn-tree”. On *Rodmarton* Smith says in *PNGL* that “*Rodmarton*, *Didmarton*, and *Tormarton* (...) are all on the Wiltshire border and it is probable that the second el. in each case is OE *mær-tūn* „farmstead on the boundary” (v. **(ge)mære, tūn**), a well-evidenced p.n. The first el. of *Rodmarton* is, as the variation between *Red-* and *Rod-* shows, OE **hrēod** „reed”. (But notice that *Rodborough* (*PNGL* 1:103) in the same hundred is *Redebergh* 1221 *Ass* (p), and this name does not seem to contain **hrēod**.) It has to be admitted, however, that **hrēod-mere** „reed-pool” occurs in some place-names, and that this etymology suits the 1221 form **Rodmereston'**. Cole (1992-93:45 f) discusses the three names and makes the tentative suggestion that all three names originated as names ending in *mere* and later had **tūn** added to them “to conform with the other *mere-tūns* on Roman roads”. In *SMED*<sup>2</sup>, however, *Rodmarton* is regarded as containing OE **(ge)mære** (p. 45). A parallel to, and thus a support for, the suggested interpretation of the names as consisting of a personal name + **mærtūn** is offered by the West Riding name *Todmorden* (see below), which both *DEPN* and *PNWRY* interpret as „Totta's boundary-valley”. No definitive conclusion about the origin(s) of *Didmarton*, *Rodmarton* and *Tormarton* seems to be possible.

Meerway 1733 *EnclA*, a field-name, p. of Cherington [ST 9098], Longtree hd (PNGL 1:90). – Mereway Grove, 1838 *TA*, a minor name, p. of Woolaston [ST 5899], Westbury hd (detached) (PNGL 3:269). – *Merwey* 13 *GlCh* x, 2, 1263-84 Glouc, a lost field-name, p. of Down Hatherley [SO 8622], Upper Dudstone & King’s Barton hd (PNGL 2:146). – *le Merweye* 1301 AD iii, a lost field-name, p. of Winson [SP 0908], Bradley hd (PNGL 1:186).

OE *wella*, etc. ‚spring, stream’ second element:

*Merwelle* 1277 *Inq*, a lost field-name, p. of Longborough [SP 1729], Upper Kiftsgate hd (PNGL 1:248). Probably ‚boundary spring’ or ‚boundary stream’, but the first element could also be OE *māre* ‚famous’. No comment in PNGL.

## II Simplex names

The following two names may be simplex (*ge*)*māre*-names in the plural, but they may also consist of the uncertain element OE \**mārs*- ‚boundary’, which Kristensson discusses on p. 36 f in SMET:

The Mears, 1842 *TA*, a minor name, p. of Wotton under Edge [ST 7692], Upper Berkeley hd (PNGL 2:259: “THE MEARS, 1842 *TA*, and long *þæs gemāres* 940 (12th) BCS 764, v. (**ge**)*māre* ‚boundary’”). Also Grundy (1935-36:285) mentions a name The Mears in connection with BCS 764, probably the same name, and he tells us that it is a field-name meaning ‚balks’ and applied to a field “at the W foot of Tor hill (OM I), 3 fur. SE of the church at Wotton (OM I)”<sup>26</sup> – the manor of Meers 1779 Rudder 539: *Mars* 1327 *SR* (p), Meers 1777 M, a name mentioned in PNGL (3:60) in the discussion of the parish-name Marshfield, see note 22. It is difficult to know whether Meers in ‚the manor of Meers’ 1779 is a personal name or a place-name; see ‚the manor of *Marck*’ 1535 (the chapter on OE *mearc*, note 62).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> This is part of the survey of BCS 764 (S 467): “*þis seondon þa lond gemero to Wudutune. Eræst of þæm æsce andlong æge on tigel leage and swa ond longes þæs gemāres þæt hit cymþ to þæmtorre. þonne on þa dic on þæt londe gæmere on medestran. þæt swa andlang streames on ballestran þæt hit cymþ to huntena forða*”. It is probable that “(ond longes) *þæs gemāres*” means simply “(along) the boundary” (abstract) and refers to the boundary of Wotton.

<sup>27</sup> Another name which might be a simplex (*ge*)*māre*- or \**mārs*-name is the lost field-name *the Mears* 1570 (PNGL 2:51). PNGL takes it to contain *mere* ‚pool’, and in the absence of information about the position, it is impossible to suggest a probable meaning.

### *III Combinations with OE (ge)māere as the second element*<sup>28</sup>

*Blakemereseegg*’ 1255-90 *CirenR*, a lost field-name, p. of Bisley [SO 9006], Bisley hd (PNGl 1:125: “named from a tenant called *Blake*, v. **(ge)māere** ‘boundary’, **ecg**”). - Brandons: *Barndheme-mere* 1275 *CirenP* i, 18-23, a field-name, p. of Ampney Crucis [SP 0601], Crowthorne & Minety hd. The 1275 form is of the same elliptical type as, for instance, *(on) aeschæma gemæru* 1042 (11th) KCD 764 (see note 12). The *Barndheme* may have lived in the adjacent parish of Barnsley (< the OE personal name *Beornmōd* and *lēah*) (PNGl 1:24 f), so that *Barndheme-mere* means ‘the boundary of the dwellers of Barnsley’ (PNGl 1:50). The reference is to land or a place on a boundary. Similar Oxfordshire names are *Caldhememere*, *Foulwellingemere* and *Rolhememere*, all 13th century forms, see below. - *le Grene Meeres* c. 1603 *TRMB* 39, a lost field-name, p. of Upper Slaughter [SP 1523], Lower Slaughter hd (PNGl 1:209). The elements are probably OE *grēne*<sup>1</sup> ‘green’ and *(ge)māere* (for a similar name see *Greenmere* 1361 (Ca) below). No comment in PNGl.

#### 2.2.2 THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

##### *A OE (mainly charter) material*

###### *I Combinations with OE (ge)māere as the first element*

No instances found.

###### *II Simplex names*

No certain instances found.

A possible instance is, with OE *āc* ‘oak-tree’ as the second element: *(to) se mære on Sigeres ac. of Sigeres ac* 959 BCS 1052 (S 681) (Hart 120: “to the boundary mark at Sighere’s oak”). But cf. PNWRY 4:11: “*to se mære* 959 (probably ‘marshy pond’, v. **sæ**, **mere**, a compound paralleled by Seamer YN 102)”, and Farrer (I (1914):13): “*to gemære on Sigeres ac*” with footnote stating that his manuscript has *semære* and translation on p. 14: “to the mere on Sighere’s

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<sup>28</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are the lost field-names *broad Meare* 1630 (PNGl 1:234) (just as the name *Brade mere* 706 (13th) BCS 117 is uncertain, see note 17) and the field-name Thistle Mear, Thistley Mear 1780 (see again note 17). Another possible *(ge)māere*-name is the field-name Shire mere 1840 (PNGl 3:186: “‘shire pool’, v. **scīr**, **mere**, near the county boundary”), which could be synonymous with Shire Mier 1791 (Db), below.

oak”. If Hart is right in taking *se* to be the definite article and *mære* to be *(ge)mære*, then *(ge)mære* has a concrete meaning here, perhaps referring to a cross fastened upon the oak. In that case, the result is what in BCS 204 (S 60) is called *cyrstel mæl ac* ‘oak with a crucifix’ (Hooke cop. 1985:62). See also Winchester (1990:41), where later examples of the custom of leaving boundary-marks on trees are mentioned.

### *III Combinations with OE (ge)mære as the second element*

No instances found.

### *B ME and later material*

#### *I Combinations with OE (ge)mære as the first element*

OE *āc* ‘oak-tree’ second element:

*Mear Oak* 1574 Hlm, a lost field-name, t. of Sheffield [SK 3587], Upper Strafforth w., with reference to an oak on the Sheffield-Wadsley boundary (PNWRY 1:221).

OFr, ME *assart*, *essart* ‘woodland clearing’ second element:

*le Londymere assart* 1389 Turner 1893a:107, a lost name, t. of Northowram [SE 1126], Morley w. (Moorhouse 266). First element OE *land-gemære*. The *y* in the ME form is a reflex of OE *ge*. The same boundary is probably referred to in the minor names Landemere Syke in the same township and Landemere in the adjacent township of Shelf, see below.

ME *balke* (< OE *balca*, ON *balkr*) ‘strip of ground left unploughed, ridge, bank’ second element:

*le Merebalk* 1507 *DoncCrt*, a lost field-name, t. of Doncaster [SE 5702], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:34: “a boundary between Doncaster and Wheatley, v. **balca** ‘boundary ridge’”).

ON *bekkr* ‘stream, beck’ second element:

Marbeck Lane, a minor name, t. of Staveley [SE 3662], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:89). – Marbeck’s Bridge, a minor name, t. of Dinnington [SK 5285], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:146: “cf. *Marbeck Close* 1660 *Norf*”). Marbeck Lane, Marbeck’s Bridge and *Marbeck Close* are not interpreted in PNWRY, but it is likely that they contain *(ge)mære*. Marbeck may be a personal name in these names. – Mearbeck: *Mearbeck(e)* 1554, 1637 *WillY*, 1672 *Thn* 169, a minor name, t. of Settle [SD 8163], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:152: “‘boundary stream’, v. **(ge)mære**, **bekkr**; the stream from which the place is named runs along the Long Preston boundary”). Long Preston is an adjacent township. Parks Plantation was called *Mearbeck parke* 1580 *Skp* 24 (PNWRY loc.cit.). – *Merebec inter Boelton et Halton* 1120-47 *Dugd vi*, a lost field-name, t. of Bolton Abbey [SE



0753], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:65). Bolton Abbey and Halton East are adjacent townships. - *Merebec* 12 Font, see Mear Road below (PNWRY 6:110). - *Merebek* 1220, 1401 Furn, *Morebech* (PNWRY: sic) 1251 ib., see Mere Gill below (Higham 1997:135, PNWRY 6:246).<sup>29</sup> - *Mere(s)bec* 12, 1176 *Sawl* 143-4, a lost field-name, t. of Askwith [SE 1648], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:62). Note the alternative form with genitive-*s* in this name and the next. - *Mere(s)bec* 1199, 1203 YCh vii, 13 YD iv, a lost field-name, t. of Beamsley [SE 0752], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:73). Beamsley and Askwith are not adjacent townships, so this *Mere(s)bec* and the preceding *Mere(s)bec* are probably names of different streams.

OE *brōc* ‚brook’ second element:

Maze Brook: *Meyrystroke* Hy 8 Hnt ii, 361, Mearsbrook Brow 1780 Fairb, a river-name. The stream is on the boundary between the townships of Thurlstone [SE 2303] and Ingbirchworth [SE 2206], both Staincross w. (PNWRY 7:131).<sup>30</sup> - Meers Brook: *Merebroc* 1155-8 (1230) Y Ch 1451, *Meresbroch* 1153-4 (13th) ib. 1475, -*brok* 1154-9 (copy) ib. 1665, *Meresbrok(e)* Ed 2 Dugd vi, 1312 Db, *Meresbroyk*’ 1389 YD xvi, 101, *Mesebrooke which deuydeth Yorkeshyre from Darbyshyre* 1577 Holinshed<sup>31</sup>, *Mears Broke which devydethe the countyes of Darbye and Yorke* 1583 Hall iii, a river-name (ERN 290, PNDb 1:12, PNWRY 7:35, note 2, 131 f). The boundary may have been a boundary between Mercia and Northumbria, and the stream (a tributary of the Sheaf in Ecclesall [SK 3284], a township on the Derbyshire boundary) formed the boundary between Derbyshire and Yorkshire until 1934 (PNDb loc.cit., PNWRY 7:35, note 2). Two places are named from this stream: Meersbrook in Ecclesall, a minor place-name (ERN loc.cit., PNWRY 1:200) and Meersbrook in Derbyshire (PNDb 2:284, see under the Other Counties, below). - *Merebroc* l. 12 YD i, 78, a lost field-name, t. of Bingley [SE 1139], Skyrack w. (ERN 289, PNWRY 4:171: “ ‚boundary stream’ between Halton and Harden, v. (**ge**)**māere**, **brōc**”). Halton (lost) and Harden are major names in the township. - *Meresbrok* 1154-9 YCh 1665, *Meeresbrooke*, *Mearesbroke* 1591 *Comm*, a lost field-name, t. of Monk Bretton [SE 3607], Staincross w. (PNWRY 1:275). - *Meresbrook* 1151 Brett, a lost field-name, t. of Wombwell [SE 3902], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:106).

OE *burg*, *burh* ‚fortification, fortified house’, etc. second element:

Measborough Dike: Measbrough 1714 Fairb, Measbro Dyke 1839 *TA*, a major name, t. of Ardsley [SE 3805], Staincross w. (PNWRY 1:290 f: “this stream, as it runs down to the Dearne, forms the boundary between Ardsley and Barnsley; the

<sup>29</sup> Also in ERN: “*Merebek* c. 1220, *Morebech* 1251 Furness ii (apparently Dale or Doe Beck, the upper Ingleton Beck).” (ERN 289 *s.n.* Merry Brook (Wo)).

<sup>30</sup> Mazedale Spinney (Nth) has the same modern form of (**ge**)**māeres-**, see below.

<sup>31</sup> ERN has two references to Holinshed: “*Mesebrooke* 1577, 1586 H”.

name therefore probably represents an OE **(ge)māres-burh** ‚fort on the boundary‘; its meaning is paralleled by that of Masborough [sic for Masbrough] 186 *supra*; for the form cf. Maze Brook (RNs.)”). For Masbrough see under OE *mearc*, where it is pointed out that the first element may alternatively be a personal name. Maze Brook is listed above.<sup>32</sup>

OE *\*clōh* perhaps ‚slight valley‘, ME *clough* ‚ravine‘<sup>33</sup> second element:

Mearclough: (*le*) *Mereclogh* 14 YD iii, (*-bothom*) 1383 *MinAcct* 88, *-clough(e)* 1543 Test vi, 1551 *WCR* 2, (*-Bothom*) 1608 HAS 4, 102, 1654 Wills, (*-Botham*) 1656 ib., *Mercloghbothom* 1383 *MinAcct*, *Meyreclouth* (PNWRY: sic) 1492 ib., *Meirecloughe* 1535 HAS 27, 49, *Marclogh* 1525 *WCR* 1d, *Meareclough bottom* 1636 WillY, a major name, t. of Sowerby Bridge [SE 0623], Morley w. It is near both the township boundary and a chapelry boundary. (PNWRY 3:141). – *Mearclough* 1579 *Skp* 31, a lost field-name, t. of Silsden [SE 0446], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:23). – *Mereclog* 1226 FF, a lost field-name, t. of Great Mitton [SD 7138], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:199). – *Merecloghe* c. 1283 YD v, 72, a lost field-name, t. of Bradfield [SK 2692], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:243). – Mere Clough, *Mere Clough* 1468 SadD, a minor name, t. of Saddleworth [SE 0106], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:315). – Mere Clough, 1857 O.S.: *Marecloughe* 1582 WillY, a minor name, t. of Thornton in Craven [SD 9048], East Staincliffe w. Near the boundary with Lancashire. (PNWRY 6:33). – Mere Clough, a minor name, t. of Bowland Forest (Higher Division) [SD 6453], West Staincliffe w. Like the preceding name near the boundary with Lancashire. (PNWRY 6:214).

OIr *cros*, ON *kross* late OE, ME *cros* ‚cross‘ second element:

*Merecros* e. 13, 13 Font ii, 668-83, a lost field-name, t. of Stainburn [SE 2448], or a neighbouring t., Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:50). This may well be an example of a cross used to denote monastic ownership (for such usage see Moorhouse 275, 277). The owner would then be the famous Fountains Abbey, in whose cartulary *Merecros* and *Meredyc* (see below) are mentioned.

OE *denu* ‚valley‘ second element:

Todmorden: *Tottemerden*, *Totmardene* 1246 La 58, *Todmereden* 1298 *WCR* (p), 1521 HfxWill, *Todmerden* 1627 PRThl, *Todmarden* c. 1300 Whalley, *Todmanden* 1597 SessnR, *Todmerden* 1439 Pat, 1571 Ct, 1623, 1646 PRHept,

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<sup>32</sup> There is a Shropshire name Maesbury: *Meresberie* 1086, *Mersburi* 1272 (DEPN 311, PNSa 1:192 f), which has probably the same etymology as the West Riding name Measborough. Another Shropshire name is Maesbrook: *Meresbroc* 1086 (DEPN loc.cit.). DEPN says on these Shropshire names: “OE *Māres-brōc* and *-burg* ‚brook and BURG on the boundary‘. Both are nr OFFA’S DYKE and in the old *Mersete* hundred [*Mersete* DB = OE *Mārsāte* ‚boundary people‘] [sic (not square bracket in DEPN)].”.

<sup>33</sup> See Gelling (1984:88).

1653 Stansf, *Todmorden* 1641 Willy, 1714 PRHept, 1797 PRAdd, a township-name [SD 9424], Morley w. Todmorden is on the boundary with Lancashire, and the name no doubt means ‚Totta’s boundary valley’. (PNWRY 3:174)<sup>34</sup>

OE *dīc* ‚ditch, dike’ ON *dīk*, *dīki* ‚ditch’ second element<sup>35</sup>:

*Meric* 1200 Font, a lost field-name, t. of Bridge Hewick [SE 3370], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:156: “(a boundary) 1200 (v. **(ge)māre** ‚boundary’, **dīc**”). – Mere Dike, -dyke 1840 TA, a minor name, t. of Stonebeck Up [SE 0474], Lower Claro w. On the township boundary. (PNWRY 5:219) – *Meredyc* e. 13, 13 Font ii, 668-83, a lost field-name, t. of Stainburn [SE 2448], or a neighbouring t., Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:50).

OE *flat* ‚level piece of ground, division of the open field’ second element<sup>36</sup>:

*Landmerflate* 1315 *Skaife*, a lost field-name, t. of Acaster Malbis [SE 5845], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:219).

OWScand *gil* ‚ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream’ second element<sup>37</sup>:

Mear Gill: *Mergill* 1205-11 *Sawl* 11d, (-foote) 1594 *Comm*, *Meargill sick* 1594 ib., *Mear Gill* 1616 PRBlt, a minor name, t. of Bolton by Bowland [SD 7849], West Staincliffe w. On the boundary with the township of Grindleton. (PNWRY 6:189) – Mear Gills 1847 TA 148, a field-name, t. of Embsay [SE 0053], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:70: “‚boundary valley’, v. **(ge)māre**, **gil**”). – *Meregile* 1256 Font, a lost field-name, t. of Threshfield [SD 9863], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:107: “v. **(ge)māre** ‚boundary’, **gil**”). – Mere Gill, a minor name, t. of Ingleton [SD 6973], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:246: “probably identical with *Merebek* 1220, 1401 Furn, *Morebech* (PNWRY: sic) 1251 ib., ‚boundary stream and ravine’, v. **(ge)māre**, **bekkr**, **gil**”). *Merebek* is listed under ON *bekkr* above.

OE *lēah*, *lāh* (Angl) ‚clearing; wood’ second element<sup>38</sup>:

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<sup>34</sup> In PNLa, Ekwall mentions OE *mōr* as an alternative, ‚the valley by *Tottan mōr*’ (PNLa 58), but DEPn has only ‚Totta’s boundary valley’.

<sup>35</sup> The minor names Mere Dike & Pond (PNWRY 1:38, no earlier forms) are taken by PNWRY to contain *mere* ‚pool’, but judging by the form they may equally well be **(ge)māre**-names.

<sup>36</sup> PNWRY says nothing about the first element in the lost field-name *Mareflatte* 1540 (PNWRY 5:52) and the field-name Mere flatt 1846 (PNWRY 6:25). It may be **(ge)māre**, but *mere* ‚pool’ is of course also possible, and this is how PNWRY interprets the first element in the lost field-name (or field-names) *Mereflat* 1287, *le Merflat* 1342, see PNWRY 1:280.

<sup>37</sup> It is noteworthy that all the names in the material belong to the north-western part of the Riding, the area formed by the wapentakes of Ewcross and West and East Staincliffe. To this area also belong the following names, which may well contain **(ge)māre**. PNWRY does not comment upon these names: Crooked Ashmere Gills: Crooked Ash 1843, a minor name (PNWRY 6:267), Mares Gill, a minor name (PNWRY 6:246), Margill 1841, a field-name (PNWRY 6:164), *Meregill*, a minor name (PNWRY 6:240), *Mere Gill*, a minor name (PNWRY 6:262).

Mearley Clough & Drain: *Merleysik*’ 1309 YD xvi, 93, *Meerley* 1684 *Glebe*, minor names, t. of West Haddlesey [SE 5626], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:20: “„boundary clearing’, v. **(ge)māere**, **lēah**, **sīc** „stream’; the stream forms the west boundary of the township”). – Mereley Ing, 1848 *TA*: Mearley 1732 PRGis, a minor name, t. of Gisburn [SD 8248], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:166: “„boundary clearing’, v. **(ge)māere**, **lēah**; it is near the parish boundary with Sawley”).

OE *rād* „road’ second element:

Mear Road, a minor name, t. of Kettlewell [SD 9772], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:110). Despite the lack of earlier forms it is highly probable that this is a *(ge)māere*-name. PNWRY says: “cf. *Merebec* 12 Font „boundary stream’ (v. **(ge)māere**, **bekkr**), *Landesmer* c. 1130 *Yorke* (v. **land-gemāere** „boundary’)”. *Merebec* is listed under ON *bekkr* above, and *Landesmer* among the simplex names below.

OE *sceaga* „copse’ second element<sup>39</sup>:

*Merschaw* c. 1200 YCh 1525, 1298 BM, *Merkhage* (PNWRY: (sic)) 1194 BM, a lost field-name, t. of Woolley [SE 3113], Staincross w. (PNWRY 1:289: “probably „boundary wood’, v. **(ge)māere**, **sceaga**”). The form *Merschaw* does not justify any conclusion about the first element, but the corrupt form *Merkhage*, where the first element seems to have been taken to be OE *mearc*, suggests that the place is on a boundary, which speaks in favour of *(ge)māere* as the first element in *Merschaw*. See under OE *mearc*, note 25.

OE *sīc*, ON *sík* „small stream, ditch’ second element:

*the Mear Syke* Ric 2 Whit 506, a lost field-name, t. of Horton in Ribblesdale [SD 8072], Ewcross w. On the boundary between Horton in Ribblesdale and the township of Buckden in West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:225<sup>40</sup>). – *Mearsykes* 1677 *Horsfd* 2, *Meersikes* 1686 ib. 4, a lost field-name, t. of Leeds [SE 3034], Skyrack w., or maybe another t. in the parish (PNWRY 4:134). – Mere Syke: *Meresik*

<sup>38</sup> Marley in the field-names Marley (Butts & Leys) 1848 (PNWRY 3:26, no comment given) may contain *(ge)māere* and *lēah*, but cf. the major name Marley: *Mardelei* 1086, which is a combination of OE *meard* „marten’ and *lēah* (PNWRY 4:164). Another name which may mean „boundary clearing’ is the lost field-name *Lammeroda* 12 (PNWRY 1:275: “probably **lamb**, **rod**<sup>1</sup> „clearing’ ”). It would then be a compound of *land-gemāere* and *sceaga*.

<sup>39</sup> Marshaw Bank, 1839, Marshaw Bridge, 1765: *Mer(e)schaw(e)* 13, *(le) Mares(c)haw(e)* 1275, 1309, *-shagh* 1323, 1329, 1342, 1492, *(-deyne)* 1486, *Marschagh* 1308, major names (PNWRY 3:161), may also contain *(ge)māere* and *sceaga*, but PNWRY takes the elements to be *mere* „mare’ and *sceaga*.

<sup>40</sup> Higham (1999) has on p. 73 a map showing “The 1307 boundary of Burton-in-Lonsdale Chase” (the map reprinted from Higham (1991-92:73) (the same page number)) with this name, as *Meer Syke*, on the Horton in Ribblesdale boundary.

1205-11 *Sawl* 11d, (*the*) *Mearesyke*, *-sike* 1579, 1647 *WillY*, *Marsicke* 1586 *ib.*, *Meiresyke* 1654 *PRGis*, a minor name, t. of Wigglesworth [SD 8056], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:163: “ „boundary stream’, v. **(ge)mære**, **sīc**; the stream itself is along the Gisburn Forest boundary”). Gisburn Forest is an adjacent township.

With OE *land-gemære*:

Landemere Syke: *Laudymersike* (PNWRY: “sic for *Land-*”) 1709 *WMB*, a minor name, t. of Northowram [SE 1126], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:101).<sup>41</sup>

OE *stān* ‘stone’ second element<sup>42</sup>:

*Merestan* 1203 *YCh* vii, a lost field-name, t. of Nesfield [SE 0949], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:70). – *Mere Stones*, 1857 *O.S.*, a minor name, t. of Wadsworth [SD 9833], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:206). – *lez Merestones* 1578, 1597 *MinAcct*, a lost field-name, t. of Bramham [SE 4243], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:86).

OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’ second element<sup>43</sup>:

Martin Hall Farm: *Marton* 1316, 1391 *YD* xii, 107, *Morton* 1361 *ib.*, *Martin* 1771 *M*, a major name, t. of Bawtry [SK 6593], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:48: “ „Boundary farm’, v. **(ge)mære**, **tūn**, and cf. *Martin* Nt 80, which is nearby across the county boundary.”). See also PNWRY 7:35, note 2, where *Martin* Hall is mentioned as one of the names that may refer to the old boundary of Northumberland. For *Martin* (Nt) see under the Other Counties, below.

OE, ON *þorn* ‘thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

*Merethorn* 1203 *YCh* vii, a lost field-name, t. of Nesfield [SE 0949], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:70).

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<sup>41</sup> The boundary referred to in this name and in *Landemere* (listed among the simplex names below) is that between the townships of Northowram and Shelf (see PNWRY 3:86, 101). See also *Moorhouse* 266, where these names and a third name probably referring to the same boundary, *le Londymere assart* (lost) (see above), are dealt with.

<sup>42</sup> The minor name *Todmor Stones*: *Todmerstones* 1849 (PNWRY 4:169) is interpreted in PNWRY as “ „fox boundary-stones’, v. **todd**, **(ge)mære**, **stān**, these rocks being on the *Morton* boundary”. Another possibility is that the first element is a personal name and the meaning is ‘Totta’s boundary-stones’, just as *Todmorden* (WRY, see above) no doubt means ‘Totta’s boundary valley’. However, the most likely derivation is perhaps from the plural of *stān* added to an OE \**Tāde-mere* ‘frog pool’, just as *tūn* is added in the Oxfordshire name *Tadmorton* (see *DEPN*). The reference can of course still be to boundary-stones.

<sup>43</sup> The lost field-name *Martun* 12 is taken by PNWRY (4:86) to be from *mere* and *tūn*, but it is also possible that the first element is **(ge)mære**.

## II Simplex names<sup>44</sup>

(le) *Landemere* 13 Selby, 1327 *MinAcct* 48, a lost field-name, t. of Hook [SE 7625], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:21: “v. **land-gemære** ‚a boundary’ ”). ON *landamæri* is also a possibility. – *Landemere*: *Laudymear* (PNWRY: sic) 1709 WMB, a minor name, t. of Shelf [SE 1228], Morley w. It is near *Landemere Syke*, see above. (PNWRY 3:86). See also *Moorhouse* 266, where *Landemere* is said to be “a house at SE 11332777 adjacent to the boundary in Shelf township”, and note 41 above. – *Landesmer* 1349 Ch, a lost field-name, t. of Conistone [SD 9867], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:88: “ ‚land boundary’, v. **land-(ge)mære**”). – *Landesmer* c. 1130 *Yorke*, see *Mear Road* above (PNWRY 6:110).

## III Combinations with OE (*ge*)*mære* as the second element<sup>45</sup>

A special sense-development has taken place in the West Riding, so that (*ge*)*mære* has sometimes come to be synonymous with the (post-medieval?) administrative term *quarter*<sup>46</sup>. The names where (*ge*)*mære* has this meaning will be treated in

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<sup>44</sup> That all the names included in the material are from OE *land-gemære* (or a form *\*landes-gemære* with gen.-s), does not mean that there are no simplex names in my sources derived from the uncompounded form. There are at least two possible names, but the difficulty of deciding whether a name is derived from (*ge*)*mære* or from another element makes it safer to exclude them. The lost field-name *the Me(a)res* 1593 (PNWRY 1:79: “v. *mere* ‚pool’ ”) is one example (connected with the lost field-name *Carty Meares* 1633 in the same township?) (PNWRY 1:79; no comment); another name is the field-name *Mears* 1843 (PNWRY 6:271; no comment).

<sup>45</sup> There are names which are too uncertain to be included in the material, but which may well have (*ge*)*mære* as the second element, e.g. the lost field-names *Eastmer* 1695 (PNWRY 6:11; no comment, but see East & West Mere (D) below) and *Pylgram mere* 1417 (PNWRY 4:13: “ME *pilgrim* ‚pilgrim’, doubtless as a byname, **mere** ‚pool’ ”). The major name *Knowlmer Manor*: *Knollesmer(e)*, *-ys-* 1500, *Knollmer*, *-hall*, *stanez* 1538, *Knowlmeare*, *-ou-* 1637, 1638, *Knowmeare* 1672, *-Stones* 1771 (PNWRY 6:207) may also well contain (*ge*)*mære*. See PNWRY: “v. **cnoll** ‚a hillock’, here a peaked hill at Knoll Wood on the opposite side of the R. Hodder from Knowlmer. v. (**ge**)**mære** ‚boundary’ or possibly **mere** ‚pool’, **stān**”). The gen. forms *Knollesmer(e)*, *-ys-* argue for Knoll being a proper name. Knollmer hall is likely to contain OE *hall* (Angl), *heall* (Kt, WSax) ‚hall, manor house’, etc. The minor name *White Mere*, 1858 (PNWRY 5:145: “v. **hwīt**, (**ge**)**mære** ‚boundary land’ ”) is another name that may contain (*ge*)*mære*. Note, however, that PNDb 2:348 considers that the Derbyshire name *White Meeres* contains the elements *hwīt* and *mere* ‚pool’. In the same township as *White Mere* we find the minor names *White Houses*, 1639 and *White Wood*, 1842 (PNWRY loc.cit.). *White* is perhaps a personal name in all three names. In the township is also the minor name *Mere Crag* (PNWRY 5:144), where *Mere*, whether it is from (*ge*)*mære* or *mere*, may be identical with *Mere* in *White Mere*.

<sup>46</sup> On the term *quarter* see Winchester (1990:19 f): “Another northern English phenomenon was the *quarter*, a subdivision of the parish usually appointing its own churchwarden and sometimes maintaining its own poor and highways, and even having its own constable. Some quarters coincided with a township or chapelry but others did not. In parts of the north one has almost to

section b, after the names where *(ge)māere* does not have this special meaning (section a).

a OE *(ge)māere* does not have the special meaning that the administrative term *quarter* has

*Birlemere* 13 Kirkst, a lost field-name, t. of North Bierley [SE 1529], Morley w. (Moorhouse 266, 277, PNWRY 3:13). PNWRY takes the name to contain *mere* ‚pool‘, but Moorhouse is probably right in taking the element to be *(ge)māere*, for the source is a boundary survey where *Birlemere* corresponds to *diuisas de Birle*<sup>47</sup>. – *Resby Mere* 1594 Wads 39, a lost field-name, t. of Wadsworth [SD 9833], Morley w. *Resby* probably a personal name. (Moorhouse 276: “[...] and so to another stone newly called Resby Mere, thence to another stone newly called Farror’s Bounder, [...]”<sup>48</sup>, PNWRY 3:210). – *Top Mere*, 1847 TA: Top 1858 O.S., a minor name, t. of Kettlewell [SD 9772], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:110: “v. **topp**, **(ge)māere** ‚boundary‘; it is on the North Riding boundary”). OE *topp* means ‚hill-top‘.<sup>49</sup>

b OE *(ge)māere* has the special meaning that the administrative term *quarter* has

This meaning is the result of an extension of the meaning of *(ge)māere*, from ‚boundary‘ to ‚area surrounded by a boundary, limited area‘. This development of meaning is comparable to the probable development of the meaning of OE *tūn* from ‚hedge, fence‘ to ‚that which is fenced in, an enclosed piece of ground‘ (see EPNE 2:188 f). The only instances in the material of this sense of *(ge)māere* are from the West Riding of Yorkshire, where it is used about the quarters of

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draw as many separate maps of the local units of civil administration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as there were different administrative functions! The complexity of the resulting patterns can probably be simplified by thinking of the quarter and chapelry as being essentially *subdivisions* of the ecclesiastical parish, overlying and sometimes cutting across the township structure which usually shines through as the basic building blocks of the secular administrative hierarchy.”

<sup>47</sup> Kirkst stands for The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall in the West Riding of Yorkshire (1904), where (on p. 244) the text reads: “*Preterea dedi eis in puram elemosinam totam terram quam habui a quercu que est juxta Sumerwelle versus horientem usque ad diuisas de Birle et de Birlemere sicut fossatum se extendit vsque ad crucem que est uersus Nev[hale] in occidente, et de cruce illa sicut fossatum se extendit usque ad quercum que est juxta Sumerwelle, [...]*”.

<sup>48</sup> The quotation is from a perambulation in 1594 of the boundary between the townships of Wadsworth and Midgley (Moorhouse loc.cit.). PNWRY says: “(a boundary stone, v. **(ge)māere**, *Resby* is probably a surname)”. Note PNWRY 3:210, same township: “*Farrors bounder* 1594 (a boundary stone) (from the surname *Farrar*)”.

<sup>49</sup> *Tor Mere Top* [SD 9776] (O.S. 1:50 000 map, sheet 98) is also on the North Riding boundary, at a little distance from *Top Mere*. OE *torr* means ‚rock, peak‘ and *Mere* is quite likely *(ge)māere*.

Saddleworth township and probably in some other cases. See Moorhouse 266 and PNWRY 2:311 s.n. Friar Mere.<sup>50</sup>

The names in the t. of Saddleworth [SD 9805], Agbrigg w., are:

Friar Mere: *Friar Mere* 1468 Sad, *Frear Me(e)re* 1582 SadD, 1771 M, *Friermere* 1733 YDr, -Meer 1817 M, a major name. (PNWRY 2:311).<sup>51</sup> - Lord's Mere, 1822 Langd: -Meer 1817 M, a major name (PNWRY 2:312). - Quick: *Thoac*, *Tohac* 1086 DB and other forms, among them *Quyck(e)*, *Quick(e)* 1388, 1440 DodsN, 1562 FF, 1587 *Dep et passim* to 1771 M, (-Mere) 1822 Langd, a major name. Quick is OE *cwic* ‚quickset hedge’. (PNWRY 2:312). - Shaw Hall, Shaw Mere: *Schag* 1379 PT (p), *le Shagh* 1388 SadD, Shaw Hall 1771 M, Shaw Mere 1822 Langd, 1843 O.S., a major name. Shaw is OE *sceaga* ‚copse’. (PNWRY 2:312).

In the same wapentake (Agbrigg) are three other names which seem to contain *(ge)māere* in this sense<sup>52</sup>:

*Cartworthmere*<sup>53</sup> 1327 WCR, a lost field-name, t. of Cartworth [SE 1407] (Moorhouse 266, PNWRY 2:239: “for *mere* cf. Friar Mere 311 *infra*”). - *Hepworthmere* 1331 Walker 1945:181, a lost name, t. of Hepworth [SE 1606] (Moorhouse 266).<sup>54</sup> - *Scolemere* 1327 WCR, a lost field-name, t. of Scholes [SE

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<sup>50</sup> PNWRY says on Friar Mere: “The Black Friars are said to have had a house near Delph. This was one of the quarters or *meres* of Saddleworth township, and *mere* represents an extension of meaning of OE **(ge)māere**; it is used of the other quarters of Saddleworth and occasionally elsewhere, as in *Thurlestone Meare* i, 344 *supra*.”

<sup>51</sup> The form (*-in Friermere*) 1733 YDr is mentioned under the major names Delph, New Delph on the same page.

<sup>52</sup> See Moorhouse 266: “The term ‚mere’ represents an extension of the meaning of *(ge)māere*, ‚boundary’, and is so used to describe the four historic quarters of Saddleworth township, now in Greater Manchester. The context of some of the early instances of the element in the modern county make this meaning uncertain. The now-lost name *Birlemere* occurs in a thirteenth-century North Bierley charter, the sequence of the text implying that the name refers to the boundary of North Bierley township. In other cases the meaning is not so clear. In 1327 an acre of waste land was taken at *Cartworthmere* and half a rood of land was surrendered at *Scholemere*, while in 1331 8 acres of land were surrendered in *Hepworthmere*, now-lost names where the *(ge)māere* element is attached to the names of townships in the graveship of Holme (Map 27). Numerous later references to *Cartworthmere* certainly refer to the territory of the township and not to its boundary. It therefore seems clear that the development had occurred by the later Middle Ages in West Yorkshire, and only further documentary work will determine how early the development started.”

<sup>53</sup> Instead of the spelling *Carthworthmere* in PNWRY, I use *Cartworthmere*, which Moorhouse 266 uses, see the preceding note.

<sup>54</sup> See note 52. Not in PNWRY, unless *Hep-*, *Hipworthmore* 1392, 1462 *MinAcct* (PNWRY 2:245: “v. **mōr**”) is the same name. It is listed among the lost field-names placed under the township of Hepworth, but not with certainty belonging to that township (see PNWRY 2:238, 244). Since *o* may stand for *e*, the identification with Moorhouse’s *Hepworthmere* is at least quite possible.



1607] (PNWRY 2:248: “v. Scholes *supra*, **(ge)mære** ‚boundary’, cf. Friar Mere 311 *infra*”).<sup>55</sup>

These three names are all of the type township-name + *(ge)mære*, and they probably refer to the township as a whole, making up the administrative unit equivalent to one *quarter*.<sup>56</sup>

In the adjacent wapentake of Staincross are two names which seem to contain *(ge)mære* synonymous with the term *quarter*, one of them of the same type township-name + *(ge)mære*:

*Penesale (-Mere)* 1358, 1402 YD xii, 301, *Penysalemer(e)* 1375 YD xvi, 89, 1419 ib. xii, 114, forms belonging to the major name Penisall (lost), t. of Langsett [SE 2100] (PNWRY 1:332: “[... .] v. [...], **(ge)mære** ‚boundary, border’ ”). – *Thurlestone Meare* 1598, 1605 FF, a lost field-name, t. of Thurlstone [SE 2303] (PNWRY 1:344: “v. **(ge)mære**, cf. Friar Mere ii, 311 *infra*”). See also note 50. Thurlstone and Langsett are adjacent townships, and both Scholes and Hepworth lie on the Thurlstone boundary.

Another name of the type township-name + *(ge)mære* is:

*Rastrikm’e* 1323 *MinAcct*, a lost field-name, t. of Rastrick [SE 1321], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:42: “v. **(ge)mære** ‚boundary”). It is probable that *(ge)mære* is synonymous with *quarter*.

In West Staincliffe wapentake are five names where *(ge)mære* seems to be synonymous with *quarter*, two in the township of Easington [SD 7259]<sup>57</sup>, one in the township of Gisburn [SD 8248], and two in the township of Rimington [SD 8045]:

In the township of Easington:

Hammerton Mere, 1858 O.S., a minor name (PNWRY 6:202: “v. **(ge)mære** ‚boundary’ ”). Hammerton Hall is a major name in the township (PNWRY 6:201). – *Ristune* (or *Riston*?) *Meere in Bolland* 1551 FF, *Ryssheton* (or *Rysheton*?) *Mere* 1591 Willy, forms belonging to the major name Rushton Hill. Other forms: *Ristune*, *-ton* 12, 1232-40 Kirkst, 1285 KI, (*-in Bochlande*) 1194-1211, 13 Kirkst, (*-in Bowlande*) 1459 ib., *Ryssheton* (or *Rysheton*?) *Grange* 1564 FF, *Rishton Grange* 1771 M, 1785 SheffCh. (PNWRY 6:201: “[...], v. **(ge)mære** ‚boundary’, [...]”). This is similar to *Penesale (-Mere)* above, in that *(ge)mære* is sometimes added.

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<sup>55</sup> See note 52.

<sup>56</sup> Cf., however, PNWRY, where *Carthworthmere* [sic, see note 53] and *Scolemere* (and also *Thurlestone Meare* and *Rastrikm’e* below) are counted as field-names.

<sup>57</sup> The grid reference of Easington is 95-7050 in PNWRY, but this refers to Easington in the township of Newton.

In the township of Gisburn:

*Grange (Meer)* 1574, 1671 PRGis, *Graungemeare* 1605, 1608 FF, a lost field-name (PNWRY 6:167). The first element is OFr, ME *grange*, *graunge* ‚grange, outlying monastic farm’.

In the township of Rimington:

*Remyngton Meare* 1586 WillY, a lost field-name, and *Rimington-out-Meer* 1715 PRGis, a field-name (PNWRY 6:181: “v. **(ge)mære** ‚boundary’ ”; probably with reference to both forms). The names seem to indicate that the township is divided into two *quarters*, one covering the principal centre and the other the surrounding countryside.

### 2.2.3 OTHER COUNTIES

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

##### ***I Combinations with OE (ge)mære as the first element***

OE *āc* ‚oak-tree’ second element:

W<sub>o</sub>: (in) *þa mæc ac* 770 BCS 204 (S 60) (Grundy 1928b:63, PNW<sub>o</sub> 394).

W<sub>a</sub>: (on) *ða mæc aac* 709 (bounds later, 840-52) BCS 124 (S 79) (Birch 1:182).

OE *æcer* ‚plot of arable or cultivated land’ second element:

W: (on) *þone mer aker* 940 BCS 750 (S 472) (Grundy 1919:253). – (*usque*) *le mere acre* BCS 672 (S 1585) (boundaries of land mentioned in 931 BCS 671 (S 415)) (Grundy 1919:221).

OE *bæc* ‚ridge’ second element:

W<sub>o</sub>: (in) *mær bæc*, (of) *mær bæce* n. d. (11th) Heming 362 (S 1598) (Venezky: microfiche).

OE *beorg*, *berg* (Angl) ‚tumulus’, less likely ‚hill’,<sup>58</sup> second element:

W: (on) *gemer beorgas* 903 BCS 600 (S 368) (Grundy 1919:213).

Brk: (on) *gemærbeorg* 868 (c. 1200) BCS 523 (S 1545) (PNBrk 3:742). – (on) *mærbeorh* 931 (c. 1200) BCS 675 (S 413) (PNBrk 3:697 f). – (to) *Mereberwe* 947 (14th) BCS 828 (S 524) (PNBrk 3:694, 696).

OE *brōc* ‚brook’ second element:

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<sup>58</sup> See Gelling (1984:127):“In the southern half of England, roughly south of Birmingham, *beorg* is frequently used of tumuli, and this probably accounts for its high frequency in charter boundaries.”.

- W: (*on*) *mare broc* 983 KCD 641 (S 850) (Grundy 1920:94, PNW 424). – (*usque*) *merebrok* BCS 922 (S 1577) (boundaries of land mentioned in 956 BCS 921 (S 629)) (Grundy 1920:53). – (*endelang*) *merebrokes* 940 BCS 751 (S 473) (Birch 2:474, Grundy 1919:253, giving only the modern translation). According to Grundy (p. 254), the form in BCS 751 and the form in BCS 922 probably refer to the same brook.
- O: (*on*) *mærbroc* 1005 (l. 12th) Eynsh (S 911) (Grundy 1933a:35 (from KCD 714), PNO 2:486). – (*on*) *mær broc* 956 (contemporary) BCS 965 (S 618) (Grundy 1933a:65, PNO 2:488). – (*into*) *mærbroce* 1005 x 1012 (c. 1325 x 1350) *Thorney* (S 943) (PNO 2:484).
- Wo: (*in*) *mæra broc*, (*of*) *mæra broke* c. 957 (11th) BCS 1007 (S 1185) (ERN 279, Grundy 1927b:171, PNWo 13). Mod. Marl Brook, see under B. – (*in*) *mærbroc* n. d. (11th) Heming 362 (S 1598) (ERN 289, Grundy 1928b:86). – (*on*) *mær broc* 962 (11th) BCS 1088 (S 1300) (ERN 289, Grundy 1928b:93). According to Grundy, this is mod. Mere Brook. See under B. – (*in*) *mære broc* 849 BCS 455 (S 1272) (Grundy 1927b:56). – (*to*) *merbroc* 706 BCS 116 (S 54), (*on*) *mære broc* KCD 1355 (S 1594) (Grundy 1928b:23). – (*in*) *merebroc* 709 (12th) BCS 125 (S 80), (*on*) *mærebroc* n. d. (12th) KCD 1368 (S 1599), (*on*) *mærbroc* 988 (12th) KCD 662 (S 873) (ERN, Grundy 1927b:98 f, 107, 129, PNWo 13). Mod. Merry Brook, see under B.

OE *burna* ‚stream’ second element:

W: (*endelang*) *mereborne* 944 x 946 BCS 817 (S 513) (Birch 2:580).

Mx: (*to*) *Mærburnan*, (*to*) *mærburne* 951 BCS 1351 (S 1450). This is the old name for the part of Westbourne Brook near its source. (PNMx 8, 222)

OE *cnoll* ‚hill-top’, later ‚knoll, hillock’ second element:

Wo: (*to*) *mær cnolle* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy 1928b:34).

OE *crundel* ‚chalk-pit, quarry, gully’ second element:

Brk: *on mæres crundel* 955 (c. 1240) BCS 908 (S 564) (Grundy 1925:88 f, PNBrk 3:692 f). Note the genitive.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> It is difficult to tell the exact meaning of *crundel* here. According to PNBrk it is ‚chalk-pit’, and Grundy says: “13. *Of etc. on Maeres Crundel*: „From Icknield Way to the Stonepit on the Boundary.’ *Crundel* is a word meaning usually a stonepit or a quarry, but one of elongated shape such as developed from digging stone on balks and other boundaries of lands. Hence it may be applied to any elongated narrow depression, such as a steep-sided stream valley or dell of no great depth. Here it seems to be applied to the western ditch of Camp (OM I), the *Telles Burh* of the Hardwell charter.”. See also the discussion of *crundel* in EPNE and in Grundy (1922a:47-50).

OE *cumb* ‚valley‘ second element:

W: (on) *Mearcumbe* ((to) *Mercumbe* ME version, (ad) *Mercumbe* (Latin version) 901 BCS 598 (S 366)) (Grundy 1919:204).

Wo: (on) *mær cumbe* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy 1927b:43).

OE *dæl* (Angl, WSax), *del* (Merc, Kt) ‚valley‘ second element:

Nth: (*wið norðan*) *mæres dæl* 944 BCS 792 (S 495) (PNNth 27). Note the genitive. Mod. Mazedale Spinney, see under B.

OE *denu* ‚valley‘ second element:

W: (on) *mærdenum* 940 BCS 748 (S 470) (Grundy 1919:248<sup>60</sup>).

Bk: (on) *mær dene* (*midde wearde*) 966 BCS 1189 (S 737) (Venezky: microfiche).

Hrt: (*into*) *merdene* c. 1060 *WDB*, m. 204 (S 1031) (PNHrt 313).

Ess: *Meredene* 1043 x 1045 (14th) ASWills (S 1531) (PNEss 73). Mod. Marden Ash, see under B.

Wo: (on) *mærdene* 1003 KCD 1299 (S 1664), (*in*) *mærdene* ib. 1358 (S 1590) (Grundy 1927b:23, 26). – (on) *mær dene* 964 BCS 1134 (S 726) (Grundy 1928b:109).

Nth: (*Andlang*) *mæres dene* n. d. KCD 1356 (S 1565) (Venezky: microfiche).

OE *dīc* ‚ditch, dike‘<sup>61</sup> second element:

W: (to) *mær dic* 940 (14th) BCS 757 (S 469) (Grundy 1919:279). – (to) *meredich* 944 (14th) BCS 800 (S 504) (Grundy 1919:296). Note the ME form.<sup>62</sup>

Brk: (on) *mær dic* 958 (c. 1200) BCS 1032<sup>63</sup> (S 650), (on) *mærdic* 960 (c. 1200) ib. 1058 (S 682) (PNBrk 2:406, 3:712 f). Mod. Mere Dike, see under B. – (on) *þa mærdic* (*eastewearde*) n. d. (12th) BCS 907 (S 1543) (Venezky: microfiche). – (on) *þa meardic be eastan ælfsiges cotan* ‚959‘ (c. 1200) BCS 1047 (S 673) (PNBrk 3:745). – (on) *þa meardic* 956 (c. 1200) BCS 942 (S 591) (PNBrk 3:66).

Wo: (*in*) *gemære dic* 1002 KCD 1295 (S 901) (Grundy 1927b:80). – (on) *þa mærdic* 883-911 BCS 537 (S 222) (Grundy 1927b:53). – (*æt*) *mærdice* 1017 KCD 1313 (S 1384), 1042 KCD 765 (S 1395) (Grundy 1927b:142,

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<sup>60</sup> See Grundy: “I suspect the plural form of *denu* here is a mistake. The dean is pretty well marked as that on the E. by. ¼ m. NW. of Broomsgrove Farm (OM I).”

<sup>61</sup> See above note 7.

<sup>62</sup> Grundy (op.cit. p. 295): “The extant copy of the survey is post-Conquest, probably at least as late as the end of the twelfth century.”

<sup>63</sup> On the form in BCS 1032 see also Grundy (1925:99): “4. *Thonon on Maer Dic*: „then to the Boundary Dyke.’ This is the great dyke which forms the long straight S. By. of the parish. In the Ordnance Map it is called Mere Dike, and in the T.A. The Great Mere Ditch.”

Venezky: microfiche). - (*on*) *þa mærdic* 757 (11th) BCS 183 (S 55) (Grundy 1928b:80). See the chapter on OE *hār*, note 60. - (*on*) *mær dic* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy 1928b:121). - (*on*) *mære dic* 706 BCS 116 (S 54), (*on*) *mære dic* n. d. (12th) KCD 1355 (S 1594) (Grundy 1928b:22, Venezky: microfiche). - *meredic* 709 (12th) BCS 125 (S 80), (*on*) *ða mærdic* n. d. (12th) KCD 1368 (S 1599) (Grundy 1927b:90, 100). - (*to*) *meredic* (*of*) *mæredice* 951 x 955 BCS 1023 (S 579) (Grundy 1928b:74 f).

Wa: (*on*) *þa mær dic* 883 x 911 BCS 537 (S 222) (PNWa 202, note 1, 324).

Db: (*in*) *mæresdic* 1009 *SaltCh* (S 922) (Hart 220, PNDb 2:513). Note the genitive (as in (*in*) *mæres ford* below, from the same source) and the translation in PNDb: „ditch of the boundary”.

OE *\*dōla* „boundary-mark”<sup>64</sup> second element:

W: (*on*) *þa ealden gemærdola* 987 (c. 1400) Hyd (S 865) (Grundy 1920:108, Hyd 233). ME version of the charter: “(*to*) *the old merdole*” (Hyd 233).

OE *dūn* „hill” second element:

D: *Hainemardun* DB (DEPN). Mod. Hemerdon, see under B.

Sx: (*in loco quem solicolæ*) *UPMERDONE* (*vocitant*) 931 x 939 (918 x 924) (14th) BCS 640 (S 1206), *Meredone* 1086 DB (PNSx 1:51). Mod. East, North, Up and West Marden, see under B.

W: (*on*) *mere dune* 963 for 943 BCS 783 (S 1811) (Birch 2:524).

OE *ēa* „river” second element; the first element is either (*ge*)*mære* or OE *\*mærs*.<sup>65</sup>

La: *Mærse* 1002 (11th) Thorpe p. 544 (S 1536), *Mer sham* (acc.) 1086 DB, *Mersam* (acc.) 1094 (copy) Lancaster 794 (ERN 289 f). Mod. Mersey, see under B.

OE *ende*, *ænde* (ESax) „end”, etc. second element:

Wo: (*of*) *mær ende* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy (1927b:40 f): “*Aerest of Maer End on thes Broc*: „First from the end of the Balk to the Brook”.)

OE *flēot* „estuary, inlet of the sea, small stream” second element<sup>66</sup>:

<sup>64</sup> OE *\*dōla* is not to be found in B-T, B-T Suppl or EPNE, but MED mentions under *mære* (< OE (*ge*)*mære*) an OE *gemær-dōla*, ME *merdole*, illustrated by the Hyd instance. It is ModE *dool*, *dole*, corresponding to EFris *dôle*, *dōl* „landmark, boundary-mark; a stake, stone, hole in the ground, furrow, ditch, etc., used to mark and determine the boundaries of property” (OED). For this word see also Beecham (1956:31) and Zachrisson (1934:59); moreover, for the corresponding Danish word, see ODS s.v. I. *Dole*. The Danish expression ‘*sten og dowell*’ is mentioned in KLNLM vol. 14, col. 559, under *Rågång*.

<sup>65</sup> See Kristensson’s discussion of OE *\*mærs*- and the river-name Mersey in SMET (p. 36 f).

<sup>66</sup> It is possible that *Mereflet*, *-flet* 1086 DB (mod. Marfleet, ERY) (PNERY 213, more forms given) contains (*ge*)*mære* as the first element, but PNERY says: “„Pool stream,” v. *mere*, *fleot* and cf.

Mx: (*andlang*) *merfleotes* 951 for ?959 BCS 1048 (S 670), referring to the mouth of the Tyburn, forming part of the boundary of Westminster. (PNMx 6 f, 222).

OE *flōde* ‚intermittent spring or stream’ second element:

Brk: (*to*) *mærfloden* 939 (c. 1240) BCS 743 (S 448), (*to*) *mær flodan* c. 935 (c. 1200) ib. 682 (S 411) (Grundy 1922b/23:226 f (BCS 743), PNBk 3:660 f, 671 f).<sup>67</sup>

OE *ford* ‚ford’ second element:

Hrt: (*fram*) *mærforde*, (*into*) *marforde* c. 1060 (14th) *WDB*, m. 204 (S 1031) (PNHrt 57, 313). Mod. Marford, see under B.

Wo: *gemaere ford* 777 BCS 223 (S 113) (Grundy 1928b:59). – (*in*) *mærford* 884 BCS 552 (S 219), (*on*) *mær ford* 956 ib. 937 (S 633) (Grundy 1927b:149, 151).

Wa: (*in*) *mær ford* 963 BCS 1111 (S 1307) (Birch 3:344, Hart 80).

Db: (*on*) *mæres ford* 1009 *SaltCh* (S 922) (Hart 220, PNDb 2:513: “*in* [sic] *mæres ford*”). Note the genitive (as in (*in*) *mæresdic* above, from the same source) and see PNDb: “‚ford of the boundary’, v. **(ge)mære, ford**”.

OE *furh* ‚furrow’ second element:

W: (*æt*) *mær furh* 940 (14th) BCS 757 (S 469) (Grundy 1919:264, PNW 431). – (*and lang*) *mær fyr* 901 BCS 595 (S 362) (Grundy 1919:198 f<sup>68</sup>). – (*on*) *þe mere furh* 940 BCS 752 (S 466) (Birch 2:476, Grundy 1919:256).

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OE *Merflet* (BCS 1048). There is a small stream flowing from the mere, now a bog, into the river Hull (Nicholson 75). Notice the reference to the Middlesex instance in the material. See also the quotation from Kökeritz on a name in the Isle of Wight in note 97.

<sup>67</sup> See (on the instance in BCS 743) PNBk 3:661: “13. ‚intermittent spring on the boundary’, v. **(ge)mære, flōde**. Grundy gives a good account of this occasional stream which runs down the E. side of the parish.”, and Grundy: “1. *Of etc. andlang Weges to Maerflodan*: ‚From the Tree along the Way to the (Intermittent) Boundary Spring.’ [...] This *Maerfloda* is mentioned in the Farnborough charter. The term *floda* is only used three times in the Berkshire charters, and in all cases the reference is to one of those great intermittent springs which are so remarkable a phenomenon in the chalk downs of the south of England. In the Hants charters, where the word occurs several times, it is used of large streams which only run in rainy weather. [...] Of these springs the first is unmistakably the *Maerfloda* of the Brightwalton and Farnborough charters. Its course is well marked. It follows the line of that Wantage – Newbury road which forms a large part of the E. By. of Brightwalton.”. The Brightwalton charter is BCS 743 (S 448), and the Farnborough charter is BCS 682 (S 411).

<sup>68</sup> See Grundy: “5. *Thonne and lang Maer Fyr on Greatan Thorn*: ‚Then along the Boundary Furrow to the Great Thorn-tree.’ The charters speak fairly frequently of furrows as boundaries. They indicate, of course, that ploughland came to the by. at the point where they occur. Probably the ploughed land was carried right to the by., so that no balk intervened between it and the ploughland of the neighbouring land-unit.”, and also Grundy (1922a:56) on OE *furh*: “Of course

Nt: (on) *þa mærfurh* 1021 x 1023 KCD 736 (S 977) (Venezky: microfiche).

OE *geard*<sup>69</sup> ‚fence’ second element:

W: (into) *þa mærgærdan* n. d. (12th) Heming (S 1595) (Venezky: microfiche).

Wo: (on) *mærgærd* 963 BCS 1107 (S 1303) (Grundy 1927b:63).

OE *græf* ‚pit; trench, ditch’ or OE *grāf*, *grāfa*, *grāfe* ‚grove, copse’ second element:

W: (on) *meregrafe* (*eastewerdne*) 972 BCS 1285 (S 784) (Birch 3:598).

OE *haga* ‚enclosure, game enclosure; strong enclosure fence, hedge’<sup>70</sup> second element:

Do: (bi) *merehawe* 968 (14) Glast = BCS 1214 (S 764); ME (by) *Merehawe*, see under B (Grundy 1938:78 f, PND0 3:200). – (on) *þe merhawin* 941 (14) Glast = BCS 768 (S 474) (Grundy 1933b:258 f, PND0 3:257).<sup>71</sup>

W: (on) *þer merhawen* 940 BCS 752 (S 466) (Grundy 1919:257).

Brk: (*andlang*) *þæs ge mæ`r hagan* ‚959’(c. 1200) BCS 1047 (S 673) (PNBrk 3:628, 724). – (*andlang*) *ðes gemær hagan* 956 (c. 1200) BCS 924 (S 605) (PNBrk 3:628, 735, 737).

Wo: (on) *ðone gemær hagan* 851 BCS 462 (S 201) (Grundy 1927b:118).

OE *halh* (Angl), *healh* (Kt, WSax) ‚nook, corner of land’ second element:

Do: (bi) *merehale* 968 (14) Glast = BCS 1214 (S 764) (Grundy 1938:78, PND0 3:181, 200). ME (by) *Merehale* and probably mod. Hile Coppice & Farm, see under B.

OE *hecg(e)* ‚hedge’ probably second element:

O: (to) *mer higte, of þam hwge*<sup>72</sup> 1004 (Ed2) Frid (S 909) (PNO 2:485, Whitelock 1955:545 f).

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it means a furrow. In the charters it is used of what was evidently a furrow drawn to an unusual breadth to form a boundary between ploughlands.”

<sup>69</sup> OE *geard* can mean ‚fence’ and ‚hedge’, and also ‚enclosure, yard, court-yard’. In the two instances in the material the meaning is probably ‚fence’. See Hooke (1981:251).

<sup>70</sup> See Hooke’s detailed discussion of OE *haga* (1989:123 ff and 1991-92:81 ff). She says (1989:123) that “It seems, indeed, to have referred usually to a particularly strong type of enclosure often found around a wooded area.” See note 9. Grundy translates the form in BCS 768 (Do; see the material) ‚the Game Enclosure on the Boundary’ and says (p. 259) that “Haws (*haga*’s) when mentioned in surveys imply the presence not merely of woodland, but of extensive woodland.”

<sup>71</sup> An uncertain Dorset instance is (on) *þan merhagan* n. d. *SherC* (f. 24 v), see PND0 2:162: “on þone mearc hagan, of þam hagan 1033 (12), on þan merhagan, of þan hagan n. d. (12) („boundary hedge or enclosure’, v. *mearc, haga*<sup>1</sup>”). The second charter has perhaps (*ge*)*mære*, synonymous with *mearc* in the first charter. See also under OE *mearc*, note 48.

<sup>72</sup> This version of the OE text is from Gelling, whose source is *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St Frideswide at Oxford*. Whitelock (1955), using the same manuscript, translates (p. 546): „to the

OE *hege* ‚hedge, fence’ second element:

Bk: (on) *þone mærehege* 949 BCS 883 (S 544) (Venezky: microfiche).

Wo: (to) *þæm mære hege ond long þæs mæres heges* 969 BCS 1235 (S 1322) (Grundy 1927b:65). – (on) *ðone mære hege* 884 BCS 552 (S 219) (Grundy 1927b:148).

OE *hlāw* ‚tumulus’, less likely ‚hill’<sup>73</sup> second element:

Bk: *Merelafan* (dat.) 1015 KCD 722 (S 1503), *Merlaue* 1086 DB (Kristensson 2004:2 f, PNBk 186 f). Mod. Great and Little Marlow, see under B.

Wo: (in) *æst merelowe* 709 (12th) BCS 125 (S 80) (Grundy (1927b:97): “to the East Boundary Tumulus”).

OE *hlinc* ‚raised turf bank dividing or bounding a field, strip of greensward dividing two pieces of arable land in an open field’<sup>74 75</sup> second element:

W: (to) *mærhlince* 940 BCS 757 (S 469) (Grundy 1919:263, PNW 436).

OE *hrycg* ‚ridge’ second element:

NRy: *Marige* 1086 DB (Ekwall 1963:90 (repr. from 1936b), PNNRY 294). Mod. Marrick, see under B.

OE *lacu* ‚stream, watercourse’ second element:

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boundary hedge, from the hedge’ and remarks (p. 545) that this source is superior to the source used by Grundy (1004 KCD 709). Grundy’s (Grundy 1933a:15) version is: *into Merehuth* and *Fro the Huth* and his translation: „to the Landingplace (??) on the Boundary.’ and „From the Landingplace’. He comments on p. 17: “The *Merehuth* cannot be a landing place, for the N. By. of Cowley is altogether away from the Thames and Cherwell. The *huth* may be a scribe’s error.”. No certain interpretation seems possible, but assuming that the version in the material is better than the version in this note, OE *hecg(e)* looks like the probable second element.

<sup>73</sup> See the discussion in Gelling (1984:162 f), especially: “**hlāw** OE ‚tumulus, hill’. This word is discussed in Gelling 1978 (pp 134-7, 154-7), and details are given there of names in which it certainly refers to a burial mound. This is by far its commonest meaning in the southern half of England. The usual modern spelling in the south and in the midlands is -low, but some names in the south country and the south midlands (e.g. Lewes SSX and Lew OXF) are from an OE form *hlāw*.”.

<sup>74</sup> PNW 436, dealing with field- and minor names: “**hlinc** is very common and a characteristic Wiltshire element. Primarily denoting „a bank, rising ground, steep slope, escarpment,’ it developed various technical senses such as “terraces a few yards wide on the escarpment of the downs, the remains of ancient earthworks, narrow ledges along the steep face of the down, probably made by sheep feeding there, a raised turf bank dividing or bounding a field” (WiltsGloss s.v. *linch*). The boundary sense is clear in *maerhlinc* (BCS 757), [...]”.

<sup>75</sup> PNO (1:88) takes the Oxfordshire *healde mæres hlinc* 759 for 774 (11th) BCS 216 (S 104) to mean ‚old boundary hill’, but I prefer Ekwall’s opinion (1932:51) that the element here and in *Dragmæres hlinc* and *holemeres hlinc* in the same charter is *mere* just as in Draymere, referring to a lake, now drained, in Huntingdonshire.



Brk: (*on*) *þa ge mærlace*, (*eft on*) *þa mærlace* ‚959’ (c. 1200) BCS 1047 (S 673) (PNBrk3:707). – (*on*) *mærlace* 956 (c. 1200) BCS 942 (S 591) (PNBrk 3:668 f).

OE *lēah*, *lāh* (Angl) ‚clearing; wood’ second element:

Ch: *Merlestone* 1086 DB (Kristensson 1974:326 f, PNCh 4:163, 5(I:i):xli). Mod. Marlston, see under B.

OE *mere* ‚pond, pool, lake’ second element:

Q: (*into*) *mærmere* 1005 x 1012 (c. 1325 x 1350) *Thorney* (S 943) (PNO 1:166 f, 2:484).

OE *pōl* ‚pool’ second element:

Brk: (*on*) *mærpol* 931 (c. 1200) BCS 675 (S 413) (Grundy 1927a:138, PNBrk 3:697 f).<sup>76</sup>

OE \**pull* probably in the sense ‚brook’ second element:

Wo: (*on*) *mær pul* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy 1928b:34<sup>77</sup>).

OE *pytt* (Angl, WSax), *pett* (Kt) ‚pit, hole in the ground serving as a trap for animals’, etc., second element:

Q: (*on*) *ðone mær pyt* 956 (contemporary) BCS 965 (S 618) (Grundy 1933a:66, PNO 2:407).

Nth: (*to*) *mær pytte* 944 BCS 792 (S 495) (Birch 2:541).

Nt: (*on*) *ðæne mar pytt* 1021 x 1023 KCD 736 (S 977) (Venezky: microfiche).

OE *slæd* ‚valley’ second element:

Do: (*on*) *þat mere sled* 966 BCS 1186 (S 744) (Grundy 1937:109 f).

OE *stān* ‚stone’ second element:

W: (*on*) *gemerstan ðonne of merstane* 903 BCS 600 (S 368) (Grundy 1919:212), perhaps identical with (*on*) *þane mær stan* 957 ib. 998 (S 647) (Grundy op.cit. p. 213).

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<sup>76</sup> Grundy translates ‚Boundary Pool’ and says that “The ‚Pool’ would be, as in the other Berks charters, a pool in the river, not a pond.”, PNBrk: “ ‚boundary pool’, v. (ge)mære, pōl, presumably where the parish boundary leaves the Cole. The O.S. maps do not show a pool there now.”.

<sup>77</sup> See Grundy: “10. *Of, & on Maer Pul*: „From Clott’s Swamp to Boundary Stream or Brook.”<sup>1</sup> This stream is a small brook which flows down from the spring near Nortonside Cottage (OM. 6) [...]” and his note: “<sup>1</sup> In the Worcestershire charters *pul* or *pyl* is used of a brook. It is not so used in the Berks., Hants, and Wilts. charters. In those it is applied to a pool in a stream.”.

O: (on) *mær stan* 956 (contemporary) BCS 965 (S 618) (Grundy 1933a:66, PNO 2:407, 488), (on) *ðone mær stan* 956 (18th) ib. 966 (S 611) (Grundy 1933a:67, PNO 2:488).

Wa: (to) *þa mærestanæ* 998 Crafw number 8 (S 892) (Crawf 20, PNWa 144, note 2).

OE *stōw* ‚place, place of assembly, holy place’ second element:

Wo: (to) *ðære mære stowe* 983 x 985 KCD 683 (S 1369) (Grundy 1927b:34, Robertson 126 f, 370).<sup>78</sup>

OE *trēow* ‚tree’ second element:

O: (on) *þæt gemær treow* 1005 (l. 12th) Eynsh = KCD 714 (S 911) (Grundy 1933a:34, PNO 2:264, 486).

OE *tūn* ‚farmstead, village’ second element<sup>79</sup>:

W: *Merton(e)* 944 x 946 (14th) BCS 817 (S 513) (PNW 402). Mod. Martin, see under B.

Nt: *Martune* 1086 DB (PNNt 80). Mod. Martin, see under B.

OE *þorn* ‚thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

W: (to) *mærðorne* 940 BCS 748 (S 470) (Grundy 1919:248).

Brk: (on) *mere þorn* c. 977 (c. 1240) KCD 1276 (S 828) (PNBrk 3:708).

O: (on) *mer þorn. (of) mærfþorn* 1005 x 1012 (c. 1325 x 1350) *Thorney* (S 943) (PNO 1:167, 2:484).<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> The question is whether *mære* is OE (*ge*)*mære* ‚boundary’ or the OE adj. *mære* ‚famous’. Cf. Grundy and Robertson. Grundy: “to the (Sacred?) Place on the Boundary”. Robertson 127: “to the famous (?) site” and 370, note: “l. 5. to *þære mære stowe*. The word *stow*, which in the first instance means simply ‚place’ or ‚site’, is commonly used of a religious foundation, and the evidence of place-names shows that it was generally employed with some sacred or religious association (see *Chief Elements in English Place-Names*, p. 57). The name Merstow Green, which probably represents A. S. *mære stow*, ‚famous place’, survives in the vicinity of Evesham Abbey and may have been applied originally to the whole site of the abbey and its grounds (see Pl. N. *Worc.* p. 263). I cannot explain the reference in the present instance. Grundy takes *mære* in the sense of *gemære*, ‚boundary’. If the first element were the adj. *mære*, \*(to) *ðære mæran stowe* would have been expected, just as with OE *hālig* ‚holy’ in *to þære hal[g]an stowe into Wygerneceastre* in the same charter: ‚to the holy foundation of Worcester’ (Robertson’s translation, p. 134 f). A noun is better formally, paralleled by OE *hege* ‚hedge, fence’ in *in þa hegestowe to Spæchæme gemære* ‚to the hedged enclosure at the Spetchley boundary’ (Robertson’s translation, p. 126 f). However, *ðære* may have influenced the following word, resulting in *ðære mære* instead of \**ðære mæran*. No certain interpretation is possible.

<sup>79</sup> The difficulty of deciding between (*ge*)*mære* and *mere* as the first element is particularly great with elements like *tūn* which, unlike words for streams and valleys, etc., are not in themselves boundary-associated. OE *mere-tūn* is a common combination. Gelling (1984:26) has more than 20 examples, and a special study of *mere-tūns* has been made by Cole (1991-92). The instances in the material are, however, probably instances of (*ge*)*mære* + *tūn*.

Wo: (*on*) *mæres ðorn* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy 1928b:122). - (*on*) *mærðorne* 978 KCD 620 (S 1337) (Grundy 1928b:82). - (*in*) *mereþorne* 709 (12th) BCS 125 (S 80), (*on*) *mærðorn* n. d. (12th) KCD 1368 (S 1599) (Grundy 1927b:97, 105).

Nth: *maerþorn* 1022 (PNNth 270).

Hu: (*on*) *þone mereþorne* 937 BCS 712 (Birch 2:419).

Nt: (*on*) *ðæne mæc ðorn* 1021 x 1023 KCD 736 (S 977) (Venezky: microfiche)

OE *þyrne* „thorn thicket”<sup>81</sup> second element:

Wo: (*in*) *mere þurne* 709 BCS 125 (S 80), (*on*) *mærðyrnan* n. d. (12th) KCD 1368 (S 1599) (Grundy 1927b:93, 101).

OE *weg* „way” second element:

Do: (*one*) *meairweie* 942 (15) *ShaftR* = BCS 775 (S 485) (PND0 2:82). - (*at*) *merewege (uue)* 956 (14) *ShaftR* = BCS 970 (S 630) (Grundy 1936:134, PND0 3:129). It is not certain what *uue* stands for.<sup>82 83</sup>

W: (*in*) *longum gemærweges* 778 BCS 225 (S 264) (Birch 1:315). - (*on*) *mæc wege* 939 BCS 734 (S 449) (Grundy (1919:241): “on the Boundary Way” and in a note: “Probably a way along the balk of a ploughland.”). - *le merewege* 974 KCD 584<sup>84</sup> (S 1582) (Grundy 1920:114, PNW 449).

<sup>80</sup> Maybe the reference is to the same tree as *le Merethorn inter campum de Stanton et Wyke* c. 1298 BC, see under B, refers to. Thorn-trees can be very old, see e.g. Arngart (1939:57 f) on a thorn-tree in Somerset mentioned in 1633 and probably identical with a tree still standing at least in the 1930’s. The OE forms belong to the parish of Beckley and Stowood, and the ME instance occurs in a description of the bounds of Shotover and Stowood Forest.

<sup>81</sup> The translation „thorn thicket” is from Grundy (op.cit.). EPNE 2:222 gives „a thorn-bush” as the meaning of OE *þyrne*, ON *þyrnir*. EPNE 1:142, however, takes *þyrne* to be a collective noun, and at least here this is much to be preferred, for BCS 125 seems to distinguish between on the one hand (*in*) *mereþorne* (see above), (*in*) *lales þorn*, (*in*) *polðorne*, and on the other hand (*in*) *mere þurne*, (*in*) *litleþurne*, (*in*) *brerþurne*.

<sup>82</sup> Grundy suggests „at *Merewege uue (warde?)*”, translates it „at the Boundary Way going uphill”, and gives a topographical reason for this interpretation. PND0 thinks it probable that *uue* stands for *ufan* „over, above”, and „above” is also Biggam’s translation (see the quotation from Biggam 268 in the Discussion in the chapter on OE *hār*).

<sup>83</sup> A further Dorset instance may well be the following: (*on*) *þane imeren hole weg* 956 BCS 970 (S 630). The word-order is perhaps corrupted from \*(*on*) *þane hōlen imere weg*, which would mean “(to) the hollow boundary way”. The *-en* form \**hōlen* would be paralleled by *hōlen* in *holencumb* and the *i-* by the *i-* (< *ge-*) in *Meleburge imare* in the same charter. Grundy says (1935:115): “Then to the Hollow Way of the (Boundary?).” and comments: “The Hollow Way ran along the E.By. over Fontmell Down. (O.M.1). It must have descended the steep slope at the end of the down, and on such a slope traffic would tend to cut deep grooves like to those which may still be seen where packhorse tracks went up steep inclines.”.

<sup>84</sup> Grundy says in a note: “The survey of the charter is given separately in Kemble’s *Codex Diplomaticus*, on p. 467 of vol. III, where it is wrongly numbered.”. The number given is 585 but should be 584.

Brk: (*on*) *gemærweg* 956 (c. 1200) BCS 932 (S 590) (PNBrk 3:726 f). – (*on*) *ðone gemærweg* 956 (c. 1200) BCS 924 (S 605) (Grundy 1922b/23:139, PNBrk 3:735 f). Both Grundy and PNBrk translate *gemærweg* ‘boundary way’ (Grundy: “‘Boundary Way’”), and Grundy says: “*Gemaer Weg* has usually the meaning of a way following a balk; but here I think it has the less common meaning of a way along the By. of the land-unit.”. – (*to*) *gemær weige emb cylda tun* 879 x 899 (12th) BCS 565 (S 354) (PNBrk 3:756: “‘the boundary way round Chilton’, v. (**ge**)*mære*”). – (*andlang*) *mære weg* 948 (c. 1240) BCS 866 (S 542) (PNBrk 3:651). – (*on*) *mær weg* 953 (c. 1240) BCS 900 (S 560) (PNBrk 3:655).

Q: (*on*) *þone ealdan mærweg*, (*andlang*) *þes ealdan mereweges* 1005 x 1012 (c. 1325 x 1350) *Thorney* (S 943) (PNO 1:166, 2:484).<sup>85</sup> – (*on*) *mær weg* 956 (contemporary) BCS 945 (S 587) (Grundy 1933a:20 PNO 1:194, 2:48 – (*innan*) *mær wege* 966 (contemporary) BCS 1176 S 738) (Grundy 1933a:40, PNO 1:51, 2:487).

Wo: (*on*) *þonne mær weg* 969 BCS 1235 (S 1322) (Grundy 1927b:65<sup>86</sup>). (*andlang*) *mær weg* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy 1928b:39).

OE *wella*, etc. ‘spring, stream’ second element:

W: (*innan*) *ðone gemærwyl* 983 KCD 636 (S 848), 983 KCD 638 (S 846) (Venezky: microfiche). – (*on*) *mærwylle* 940 BCS 748 (S 470) (Grundy 1919:248). – (*on*) *þe merewelle* 928 BCS 664 (S 399) (Birch 2:343). Probably in Wiltshire, see Sawyer number 399 and Finberg 1964: number 229.

Brk: (*to*) *merewelle* 947 (14th) BCS 828 (S 524); probably the same *wella* as that forming part of *Marrewelfurl*’ under B (PNBrk 2:350, 3:694 f).

Q: (*on*) *mærwelle* 956 (contemporary) BCS 945 (S 587); mod. Manual Spring, see note 154 (Grundy 1933a:20, PNO 1:9, 2:485).

Bk: (*to*) *Merewell* 1004 KCD 709 (S 909) (Kemble 3:328).

Wo: (*on*) *mær wyllan* 988 KCD 662 (S 873) (Grundy 1927b:129). – (*on*) *mær wylle* 964 BCS 1134 (S 726 ) (Grundy 1928b:109). – (*in*) *merewelle*<sup>87</sup> 709 (12th) BCS 125 (S 80), (*on*) *merwyllan* 11 (12th) KCD 1368 (S 1599) (Grundy 1927b:99, 107).

Nth: (*on*) *mæres wylle* n. d. KCD 1356 (S 1565) (Venezky: microfiche).

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<sup>85</sup> Maybe the reference is to the same way as *le Mereweie, que extendit iuxta Shotover* c. 1298 BC, see under B refers to. The OE forms belong to the parish of Beckley and Stowood, and the ME instance occurs in a description of the bounds of Shotover and Stowood Forest. See note 80.

<sup>86</sup> Grundy: “The *Maer Weg*, which was probably no more than an occupation road along the balk of a ploughland, has left no trace.”

<sup>87</sup> BCS 125 continues: “*a mereswelle*” (Birch 1:184). Note the gen..

OE *wudu* ‚wood’ second element:

D: *Meroda*, *Merehoda*, *Mereuda* 1086 DB (PND 1:50). Mod. Marwood, see under B.

## ***II and III Simplex names and combinations with OE (ge)mǣre as the second element***

With the exception of *Mera* (W) and *Wiginga mere* (Bk), all the instances are from OE boundary surveys. See the discussion above under Gloucestershire.

### ***II Simplex names***

W: (*on midde wyrð þane mære (on þæne stan)* n. d. (12th) BCS 479 (S 1588) (Grundy 1919:178<sup>88</sup>). – *Mera* 1086 DB, *Mere* 1086 ib. (PNW 178). Mod. Mere, see under B.

### ***III Combinations with OE (ge)mǣre as the second element***<sup>89</sup>

OE *bealdanhǣme* ‚the people of Baldon’ first element:

O: (*into bealdanhema gemære* 1054 KCD 800 (S 1025); mod. (Toot) Baldon (*Baldinhamere* c. 1200, *Baldenhamemere* c. 1240), see under B (Grundy 1933a:53).

OE *brād* ‚broad’ first element:

Wo: (*on þ’ brade gemære* 11th Heming 356 (S 1593) (Grundy 1928b:126, Tengstrand § 225).<sup>90</sup>

OE *Mierce* (WSax), *Merce* (non-WSax) ‚the Mercians’ first element:

Wa: (*on mercna mere* 969 BCS 1234 (S 773) (Hooke cop. 1985:13, PNWa xvii, 272, 282, note, Whitelock 1955:519 f). Mod. Martimow, see under B.

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<sup>88</sup> See Grundy: “Of, etc. *on midde wyrth (for weard) thane Maere on thaene Stan*: „From the Black Pit to the middle of the Balk to the Stone.”. Probably the stone is on the middle of the *(ge)mǣre* (concrete).

<sup>89</sup> Combinations consisting of OE *riht* ‚straight; lawful’ as the first element (e.g. (*on*) *þæt riht gemære* 939 BCS 734 (S 449) (W) (Grundy (1919: 242): “to the Straight Balk”) have not been included, because it is uncertain if *(ge)mǣre* is abstract or concrete in such combinations. See also OE *mearc*, note 50. Too uncertain to be included in the material are also (*on*) *ceattan mære* (W) (note 164) and (*into*) *hocce mære* (mod. Hockmore) (O) (note 173).

<sup>90</sup> Grundy translates ‚to the Broad Balk’, and Tengstrand says: “§ 225. *gemære* ‚boundary, balk (of a ploughland)”. Cf. Grundy, *Ess & St VIII* 62, *Ha Ch I* 73 n. 3. The observation that some kind of visible bd. must be meant when the word occurs in bd. surveys may be illustrated by the passage: *on þ’ brade gemære of ðam bra/de g’ mære* n. d. (1.11) MS Cott. Tib. A XIII f. 161 f. (Hearne 356; Himbleton Wo). ...”. Grundy, *Ess & St VIII* = Grundy 1922a. Hearne = Heming.

OE *sūð* ‚southern, south’ first element:

Sr: *supemeresfelda* 933 (13th) BCS 697 (S 420), *Supemeresfelda* 967 (13th) ib. 1195 (S 752), *Suðemeresfelda* 1062 (13th) KCD 812 (S 1035) (PNSr 69, see also Mawer 1933:192). Mod. Summerfield, see under B.

OE *Wingas* ‚the Wing people’ first element:

Bk: (he [i.e. Edward the Elder, king of Wessex] het a timbran þa burg æt) *Winginga mere*  
[...]  
(and foran to þære byrig æt) *Winginga mere*  
AS Chronicle 921 (Plummer 1892:101).<sup>91</sup>

### *B ME and later material*

Only names first recorded before 1700 have been included.

### *I Combinations with OE (ge)māere as the first element*

OE *āc* ‚oak-tree’ second element:

W: Maddocks: *Marrocks* 1570 PembSurv (PNW 501: “probably ‚boundary oaks,’ from **(ge)māere** and **ac**, as the field is on the parish boundary”). – *la Mereoke* 1406 (PNW 421).

Hrt: *Maroke* 1606 (PNHrt 249).

Ch: *Le Merchaces* 13 (1611) *LRMB* 200, *Meroke* 1270 (17) Sheaf (PNCh 1:187: “ ‚the boundary oak(s), v. **(ge)māere**, **mearc**, **āc**; a point on the boundary between the wood of Adlington and the Forest of Macclesfield, ...”, 5:1:i:xvii).<sup>92</sup>

ERY: *Lemerac* 13th (PNERY 319).

ME *balke* (< OE *balca*, ON *balkr*) ‚strip of ground left unploughed, ridge, bank’ second element:

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<sup>91</sup> Whitelock (1961) translates with reference to these instances: p. 64: “ ‚he ordered the borough at *Wingamere* to be built’ ” and p. 65: “ ‚and went to the borough at *Wingamere*’. Both Dodgson and Haslam have discussed *Winginga mere*, see in particular their papers in the Dodgson Memorial volume (1997), pp 383-89 († Dodgson, “Wingamere”) and pp 111-30 (Haslam, “The Location of the *Burh* of *Wingamere* – A Reappraisal”). It is almost certain that *Winginga mere* means ‚the boundary of the Wing people’. The place chosen for the fortification seems to be associated with (Old) Linslade in Buckinghamshire, not far from Wing in the same county. *Winginga mere* is no doubt a place-name proper, for the location of the fortification can hardly be vaguely described as somewhere along a boundary. *Winginga mere* can therefore be considered to be an example of a shift of reference from abstract to concrete.

<sup>92</sup> See OE *mearc*, note 58.

Hrt: *le mere bawke* 1525 (PNHrt 250).  
Ca: *Mearebalke* 16th (PNCa 311).  
Db: *Meare-, Meerebalke* 1606 *Ct* (PNDb 2:258).  
ERY: *le Meerbalkes* 1549 (PNERY 319).

ME *bank(e)* ‚bank, slope of a hill or ridge’ second element:

We: *Merbank* 1567 *Kend i*, 364-7 (PNWe 1:107: “probably ‚boundary bank’, v. **(ge)mære, banke**”).<sup>93 94</sup>

ON *bekkr* ‚stream, beck’ second element:

La: High Mere Beck: *Merbecke* 1615 RW 172. The name of a place, from a stream called *Merebek* 1252 FC, *Merebeck* 1422 FC II. (PNLa 221)

We: *Merebec* 1205-16 *NthCh* 138 (PNWe 1:135: “ ‚boundary stream’, v. **(ge)mære, bekk**”).<sup>95</sup>

NRy: Meer Beck (6’): *Merbek* 13 *RichReg* 126 *d* (PNNRY 261: “v. **(ge)mære, bekk**. This is one of the bounds of the ancient Forest of Wensleydale.”).<sup>96</sup> – *Merebec* 12th Y *Deeds i*, 126 (ERN 289). – Mere Beck (6’): *Merbec* c. 1250 YD (PNNRY 307).

Cu: *Lowmeerbeck* 1696 PR (PNCu 2:387, mentioning a High Merebeck (6’)) in the same parish. – *Merebec* c. 1235 *Laner* (PNCu 1:117). – *Merebec* 1321 Pat (PNCu 1:167). – Mere Beck (6’): *Merebek* 1540 *LRMB*, *Meare bekk* 1578 *Cocker* (PNCu 1:21). – Mere Beck (6’): *Merebec* 1321 Pat (PNCu 1:21, ERN 289). – Merebeck Gill (6’): *Le Merbek* 1322 *Cl* (PNCu 1:21).

ME *brede, brade, brode* (< OE *brædu* (Angl, WSax), *brēdu* (Kt)) ‚broad cultivated strip in a common field’ second element:

Bd: *Merebrade* 1309 (PNBd & Hu 292 f).

OE *brōc* ‚brook’ second element:

W: *merebroc* 1232 (PNW 424).

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<sup>93</sup> The first element may also be *mere* ‚pool’. There is another Westmorland place-name: Mere bank, 1706, where Mere refers to Bleatarn, a pool, according to PNWe 2:85. However, the addition “MERE BANK. Add cf. *Merebek* 15 *Wyb*” (PNWe 2:xii, Add. & Corr.) makes one wonder if Mere Bank and *Merebek* 15 do not, after all, contain **(ge)mære**.

<sup>94</sup> The triple compound *Mickelmearebanke* 1603 (Cu) is listed under III Combinations with OE **(ge)mære** as the second element, see below, but it is possible that it should be analysed as *Mickelmearebanke*.

<sup>95</sup> Another Westmorland **(ge)mære**-name is perhaps *Merebek* 15, see note 93.

<sup>96</sup> Possibly identical with *Merebec* 1218 FF (Wensleydale) (ERN 289, where, however, no suggestion that it is identical with Meer Beck is put forward).

- O: Marlbrook early 18th ParColl: *Merbroke* c. 1250 Os, *Merebrok* 1319 *MertR*, *Marlebroke* 1508-9, 1522-3 *CourtR*, *Merlebroke* 1522-3 *Rental* (PNO 1:14).<sup>97</sup>
- Wo: Marl Brook: (*in*) *mæra broc*, (*of*) *mæra broke* c. 957 (11th) BCS 1007, *Merebroch* c. 1200 (c. 1240) *WoC*, Marlbrook 1787 Cary (ERN 279, PNWo 13).<sup>98</sup> - *Merebrok* 1275, 1327 SR (p) (PNWo 12, under Inford Brook).<sup>99</sup> - Mere Brook: (*on*) *mær brōc* 962 (11th) BCS 1088. According to Grundy, the charter instance is mod. Mere Brook. (Grundy 1928b:93) - Merry Brook: (*in*) *merebroc* 709 (12th) BCS 125, (*on*) *mærebroc* 11 (12th) KCD 1368, (*on*) *mærbroc* 988 (12th) KCD 662 (Grundy 1927b:98 f, 107, 129, PNWo 13).
- Wa: Marlbrook Hall (6'), 1725 B: *Marbroke* c. 1450 *WaDeed*, 1531 *Ct*, *Marbrokys* 1498 *Ipm*, *Merelbrookes* 1610 *AddCh* (PNWa 65).
- Ch: *Merebroc* 1270 (17) Sheaf (PNCh 1:187). - *le Merebroc inter Halton' et Clifton* c. 1275 *Chol* (PNCh 2:172). - *Merebroc* 13 Dieul (PNCh 3:3 f).<sup>100</sup> - *le Merebrock* 1307 *AddCh*, *the Mear brook* 1590 (1680) Sheaf (PNCh 2:161 f).
- Db: Meersbrook: *Meresbroke* 12th (1316) Pat, 1269 Ass, 1328 *CampbCh*, -*broc* Ed 1 *Beau*, named from the stream Meers Brook, see under WRY above (PNDb 2:284). - *Merebroc* 1226 FF (PNDb 3:523). - *Merebrok* 1381 SR (p)

<sup>97</sup> The *l*-forms here are noteworthy, and they are not unique, which is noted in PNO loc.cit.: "This compound has given *Marlbrook* elsewhere also, cf. e.g. PN Wo 13." See Marl Brook (PNWo 13) (the next name), and Marlbrook Hall, 1725: *Marlbroke* c. 1450, 1531, *Merelbrookes* 1610 (Wa), below. It is, moreover, not only in combination with *brōc* that *l*-forms occur. The Gloucestershire name Marsden Hill (see above) has among its forms both *Marilden* and *Marsh(e)dean* 1537, 1635, and see Cokeritz p. 5 on a name in the Isle of Wight: "The part of the Medina between Newport and Cowes was formerly called *Maresfleth* 13 c Madox, *Mareflet* 13 c AD, AD, *Marleflet* 14 c WCM, *Mersflete* t. Hy 7 RS. This is clearly a compound of OE (*ge*)*mære* „boundary’ and *flēot* „stream, creek,’ and consequently a parallel of Mersey (ERN 289 f.)." It is difficult to know why *l*-forms crop up. The reflex of OE (*ge*)*mære* was perhaps no longer understood and therefore replaced by a familiar word, such as OE *meargealla*, *mergelle* „gentian’ or perhaps rather, see Grigson 34, „marsh marigold’, or ME (< OFr) *marle* „marl’. Replacement by OE *mersc* „marsh’ seems to have taken place in *Marsh(e)dean* above.

<sup>98</sup> The *a* in *mæra broc(e)* is unexpected. Ekwall says in ERN: "The early form *Mæra broc* to some extent tells against derivation from OE *Mære-brōc* „boundary brook’. Yet, as *Mærebrōc* is a common name, I suppose this is the etymology after all. Possibly *Mæra* might be the gen plur of OE (*ge*)*mære*. OE (*ge*)*mære* is often used in the plural." The name of this brook was used to name the Shropshire hamlet of Marlbrook: *Marebroc* 1195, *Merebroc* 1200, *Marebroca*, *Marebroke* 1225, *Marebrock* 1274, 1308, *Marebroc’* 1309, *Marbrok* 1448 (DEPN, ERN).

<sup>99</sup> See also Löfvenberg 131: "Ric. del Merebrok 1275 SR 100 (Adam del Morebrok (Löfvenberg: sic) 1275 SR 100, Adam atte Merbrock 1332 SR 13)."

<sup>100</sup> Perhaps identical with Merelake, Mere Lake 1839 TA. See PNCh loc.cit.: "„boundary watercourse’, v. (*ge*)*mære*, *lacu*. This place is on the county boundary. It might be *Merebroc* 13 Dieul 30, v. *brōc*."



(PNDb 1:84). – Mere Brook: *Meere Brooke* 1610 *DuLa*, *Meare Brooke* 1620 *CPG*, *the Meerebroke* 1629 *Dep*, *Meerbrooke* 1649 *DuLa* (PNDb 1:12).

OE *burna* ‚stream’ second element:

Cu: *Meareborne* 1550 *Bowes* 172, *Mearburne* 1597 *Border* (ERN 289).<sup>101</sup>

OE *\*busc*, ME *bush* ‚bush, shrub’ second element:

Q: *Faire meare bushe* 1603 *Bodl* (PNO 2:276).

ME *butte* ‚strip of land abutting on a boundary, short strip or ridge at right angles to other ridges, short strip ploughed in the angle where two furlongs meet’ second element:

Db: *Mere Butts* 1846 *TA*: *Meare Butts* 1611 *DuLaSC* (PNDb 3:562).

Nt: *Merebuttis* 1317 (PNNt 277).

OE *\*clōh* perhaps ‚slight valley’, ME *clough* ‚ravine’ second element:

Ch: *Mare Clough*, 1743 *Sheaf: the Meere Clough pool dam* 1590 *AddCh*, *the Mareclough Pool* 1590 (1680) *Sheaf, the mearclough poole* 1621 (1680) *ib.*, *Mare Clough Pool* 1743 *ib.* (PNCh 2:161 f). – *Mere Clough* 1848 *TA* 99: *le Merecloh* c. 1271 (14) *Chest*, *Merecloh* 1365 (p) (PNCh 1:77; see on this valley also PNCh 1:76).

Db: *Mereclugh* *Hy 3 For* (PNDb 1:72). – *Meyre cloughe* 1415 *DuLaMB* (PNDb 2:375: “probably ‚boundary clough’, v. (ge)mære, clōh”).

La: *Meer Clough: del Meerclogh* 1311 *LI*, (*Rob.*) *del Merclogh* 1327 *SR* 15 (PNLa 84, SMED<sup>1</sup> 89, SMET 75).

OE *cnoll* ‚hill-top’, later ‚knoll, hillock’ second element:

D: *Maryknowle: Mare Knol* 1243 *FF*, *Marecnoll* 1244 *Ass*, 1249 *FF* (PND 1:308).

ME *cragge* ‚crag, rock’ second element:

We: *Merecraggs* 1379 *HMC* x, 323. On a boundary. (PNWe 2:50).

OE *croft* ‚croft, small enclosure’ second element:

Ch: *Meare Crofte* 1663 *Sheaf*<sup>3</sup> 30 (6718) (PNCh 4:71).

OIr *cross*, ON *kross*, late OE, ME *cross* ‚cross’ second element<sup>102</sup>

Db: *le Merecross* 1314 *Trusley* (PNDb 3:558). See note 136.

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<sup>101</sup> Placed here under Cumberland, but ERN has Debatable Land.

<sup>102</sup> The Buckinghamshire place-name Marrods Bottom: *Marratt Gate* 1632, *Mallords Gate* 1816 may contain another compound meaning ‚boundary cross’, namely (ge)mære + OE *rōd* ‚cross’, as suggested by Trench (1989-90:50 f).

OE *cumb* ‚valley’ second element<sup>103</sup>

W: Marcombe (6’): *Marcombe* t. Eliz *LRMB* (PNW 174). – Markham (6’): *Merecombe* 1325 Orig, Marcum Bottom 1773 A and D, Marcombe Bottom 1815 O.S. (PNW 280).<sup>104</sup> – Mercombe Wood (6’): *Merecumb*’ 1245 WM xvi, *Marcombewode* 1536 *MinAcct* (PNW 112).<sup>105</sup>

Wa: *Merecombe* 1309 Dugd 384 (PNWa 375 f).

OE *dæl* (Angl, WSax), *del* (Merc, Kt), ON *dalr* ‚valley’ second element<sup>106</sup>:

Nth: Mazedale Spinney: (*wið norðan mæres dæl* 944 BCS 792, *Marsdalefurlong*, *-slade* 1395 XtCh (PNNth 27).

Nt: *Meredale* 1300 (PNNt 278 f).

Cu: *the Meardales* 1603 Gilsland (PNCu 1:69).

With OE *land-gemære*:

Db: Lomberdale House: *Londemeredale* c. 1250, c. 1280 *BelCh*, *Londemerdale flath* 1294 *Derby*, *Lambert Dale* 1652 *ParlSurv*, *Lamberdale* 1662 *Potter* (PNDb 1:183).

OE *dāl*, ME *dōle* ‚portion or share of land, especially in the common field’ second element:

Ca: *Meredole* 1277 (See PNCa 318 under **dāl**: “*Mere-* (1277), ‚boundary’ (v. **(ge)mære**)”).

OE *denu* ‚valley’ second element<sup>107</sup>:

Sr: The Mardens: *land and wood called Newe Marden, Olde Marden* 1581 *Rental*. On the parish boundary. (PNSr 313).

Ess: Marden Ash: *Meredene* 1043 x 1045 (14th) *ASWills*, *Marden(e)* 1235 *FF*, 1313 *Pat*, 1318 *Cl*, *Merton juxta Aungre* 1338 Orig, *Mer(e)den(e)* 1405 *FF*,

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<sup>103</sup> The two Oxfordshire names *Merecumb* c. 1280 (PNO 1:215) and *Merecumbesden*’ c. 1240 (c. 1280) (PNO 1:176) may well belong here, since valleys often form boundaries. PNO hesitates between **(ge)mære** and *mere* ‚pool’ in both names. See also note 107.

<sup>104</sup> The modern form Markham seems to be due to the name having been taken to be a combination of *mearc* and *hām* or *hamm*. See Markham (Gl) in note 19.

<sup>105</sup> According to PNW, both Marcombe and Mercombe Wood are on parish boundaries, but on Markham PNW says: “Probably a compound of **(ge)mære** ‚boundary,’ and *cumb*, though it is not on the parish boundary.”

<sup>106</sup> The related element OE *dell*, late OE *daell* ‚pit, dell, valley’ is probably the second element, and **(ge)mære** may well be the first element in the Middlesex name Marble Hill: *Mardelhylle* 1350, *Marble Hill* 1650 (PNMx 30) and the Cambridgeshire name Mardale: *Mardellpath* 1503 (PNCa 368: “Cf. Marble Hill (PN Mx 30).”).

<sup>107</sup> The two Oxfordshire names *Meredene* 1271-2 (PNO 2:390) and *Meredene* 1363 (PNO 2:418) may well belong here, since valleys often form boundaries. However, PNO hesitates between **(ge)mære** and *mere* ‚pool’ in the first name and takes the element to be *mere* in the second name. See also note 103. For Todmorden on the Yorkshire – Lancashire boundary see under the West Riding of Yorkshire (also note 34).

1425-84 ECP, -don 1475-85 ib., *Marton, Martyn* 1509 LP, Maldon Ash(es) 1768 M, 1777 C, 1805 O (PNEss 73: “ ‚Boundary-valley.’ Near the boundary between High and Chipping Ongar, which must be older than one would otherwise have suspected. v. **(ge)mære, denu.**”).

OE *dīc* ‚ditch, dike’, ON *dík, díki* ‚ditch’ second element:

W: *Meredich* 13th (PNW 429).

Brk: *La Meredich*’ 1235-6 FF (PNBrk 1:249). – Mere Dike: (*on*) *mær dic* 958 (c. 1200) BCS 1032, (*on*) *mærdic* 960 (c. 1200) ib. 1058 (PNBrk 2:406, 3:712 f). – Mere Dike: *Meredyche* 1440-1 WAM, *Mearedytche* 1548 ib., Mere Ditch 1842 TA (PNBrk 2:418).

Mx: *Mereditch* 1593 N, 1680 S (PNMx 4).<sup>108</sup> – *le Meredych* 1485 (PNMx 197).

O: *Merediche* 1366 Eynsh (PNO 1:158). – *le Meredyche* 1298 Eynsh, c. 1298 BC (Eynsh 2:96, BC 179, PNO 1:171).

Ess: Mare Dyke: (*the*) *Marditch* 1648, 1670 Ct (PNEss 9).<sup>109</sup> – *Merediche* 1594 N (PNEss 113). See Mardyke Farm in the chapter on OE *mearc*.

Nth: *Meredich* 14th (PNNth 262).

Ca: *Mardyhurlong* (PNCa: sic) 1274 Cl (PNCa 15).<sup>110</sup> – *Maredich* 1285 (PNCa 320). – *Meredych* 1410 (PNCa 320).

Ch: *le Merediche* 1293 Sheaf, *le Merdich* 1315-18 ib. *Grenediche of Chester alias le Meredyche* 1354 (1379) Ch, *Grenediche similiter vocatum le Meyredyche* 1354 Sheaf, *a grene diche also callid the Mayre Diche* 1335 (15) ib., *the Myre Dyche otherwise called the Gray Dyche* 1540, 1555 ib., *the Meire Diche alias Greyditch* 1573 ib.; mod. Grey Ditch (PNCh 5(I:i):53). – *le Meredyche* 1397 Chol (PNCh 4:27).

Cu: *the meere ditche* 1578 Cocker (PNCu 2:432). – *olde meare ditche* 1578 Cocker (PNCu 2:262).

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<sup>108</sup> OE *dīc* refers to a stream here, see PNMx: “LEA, R. (Thames, at Bow) ... In 1593 (N) and 1680 (S) it is called *Mereditch*, i.e. boundary ditch, seeing that it separates Essex and Middlesex, v. **(ge)mære.**”. The name may suggest that the Lea had been straightened. This would be an old special sense of the meaning ‚ditch’. Note that Grundy observes (1922a:53) that *dīc* in OE charters “could be applied to a stream, part of the course of which had been straightened”. See also note 7. It is also possible that *Mereditch* (Mx) and other names with OE *dīc* + **(ge)mære** mean simply ‚boundary-stream’ without any connotation of straightening. See Rundblad (1998:97 f) on the development of meaning from ‚artificial watercourse’ to ‚watercourse’.

<sup>109</sup> See PNEss: “MARE DYKE (6’), the middle one of the three branches of the Lea near the boundaries of Chingford and Waltham Holy Cross is (*the*) *Marditch* 1648, 1760 Ct.”. Probably the same stream that *Mereditch* refers to. See the preceding note.

<sup>110</sup> Probably another *dīc*-name where the reference is to a stream. See PNCa: “RUNNING DITCH (6’) flows into the North Ditch, a tributary of the Cam or Rhee and is to be identified with a lost *Marditch*. Cf. *Mardyhurlong* (sic) 1274 Cl (in Abington Pigotts). The stream forms the boundary between Abington Pigotts and Steeple Morden. v. **(ge)mære** and cf. Mare Dyke (PNEss 9).”.

OE *dūn* ‚hill’ second element:

D: Hemerdon: *Hainemardun* DB, *Henemeradona* Hy 2 Ol, *Hennemerdon* 1284-6 FA. This name may be a combination of OE *hīgna* gen.pl.: ‚of themonks’ as an affix and OE *mærdūn* ‚boundary hill’. (DEPN).<sup>111</sup> - *Mardon* 1545 SR (PND 2:472).

Sx: East, North, Up and West Marden: *Estmeredun* 12th *Box*, *Estmerdon* 1327, 1332 SR, *Northm’den* 1288 *Ass*, *Northmerdon* 1327, 1332 SR, *Upmerdone* 931 x 939 (918 x 924) (14th) BCS 640, *Upmerdon* 1327, 1332 SR, *Westmerdon* 1279 *Ass*, 1327, 1332 SR, *Meredone* 1086 DB, *Meredune* t. Steph France, (in) *valle de Merdesden* (PNSx: sic) 1280 FF, *Mardon* 1421 IpmR (PNSx 1:51, SMED<sup>4</sup> 38).

OE *ēa* ‚river’ second element:

La: Mersey: *Mærise* 1002 (11th) Thorpe p. 544, *Mersham* (acc.) 1086 DB, *Mersam* (acc.) 1094 (copy) Lancaster 794, 1130 P, 1140 (copy) La Ch 368, 1142 (copy) ib. 279, 1149 (c. 1195) ib. 319, *Merse* 1141-2 (copy) La Ch 277, a 1184 (c. 1315) Chester 269, 1200-41, 1232-56 (1268) Cockersand, 1202, 1262, 1338 (14th) Whalley, 1229, 1251, 1270 Ch, 1246, 1263 *Ass*, c. 1350 (c. 1400) Higden ii, 104, 1387 Trev ii, 79, 1577 S, *Mersee* 1209, 1241, 1303, 1317 &c. (14th) Whalley, c. 1350 (c. 1400) Higden ii, 104, 1387 Trev ii, 105, 1577 S, *Mersea* 1387 Trev v, 329, *Mersee* c. 1350 (c. 1400) Higden ii, 78, *Merce* 1387 Trev ii, 139, *Merese* 1228 Cl, *Meresee* 1394 Pat, *Meresse* 1276 Misc, 1298 LaInq, 1362 Pat, *Meressee* 1292 *Ass* 409m25d, *Mereseie* c. 1200 (c. 1260) Gervase, *Merseie* c. 1350 (c. 1400) Higden v, 338, *Mercy banke* 1525 AD v, *Mersey* c. 1540 L, 1577 H, *Marsey* c. 1540 L, *Marsee* 1577 S (ERN 289 f).<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> OE *hīgna* is not uncommon as an affix. Other examples are Highleadon ‚the Leadon of the monks’ and Highnam ‚The monks’ Hamm’, both Gloucestershire, and Hinstock ‚The *stoc* of the monks’, Shropshire. See DEPN. OE *hennamere-dūn* ‚hill by the hen pool’ is, however, also possible. See DEPN on Hemerdon: “The situation does not really suit derivation from OE *hennamere-dūn* ‚hill by the hen pool’. The second el. may be OE *mærdūn* ‚boundary hill’, the first being OE *hīgna* gen. plur. ‚of monks’. See HĪWAN.”

<sup>112</sup> It seems probable that the first element is (*ge*)*māre*. See Ekwall in both ERN and DEPN. There is, however, also another possibility, namely that the first element is the uncertain element OE \**mārs-* ‚boundary’. See Ekwall’s earlier (1922) discussion in PNLa (p. 26 f) and Kristensson’s discussion in SMET (p. 36 f), and see also Kristensson (1978:199 f). Ekwall says on p. 26 in PNLa that “it would be remarkable if such an old name as Mersey must be should have its first el. in the genitive form”, but this argument against (*ge*)*māre* is perhaps nullified in Ekwall (1929, repr. 1963). He says here (1963:52 f): “Mersey is an English name, which may not have come into existence until a comparatively late period of Old English.”. The name of this important river, now forming the boundary between Lancashire and Cheshire and formerly forming the boundary between Northumbria and Mercia, is also discussed in PNCh (1:31 f) and Tengstrand (p. xxxi), for example.

OE *ende*, *ænde* (ESax) ‚end’, etc. second element:

Wa: Meer End: *Meyre End*, *More End* 1540 *AOMB* (PNWa 55).<sup>113</sup>

OE *feld* ‚open country, arable land’, perhaps in the late OE, ME sense ‚open field’, or, in Mere Field 1841 and Merryfields (2x), perhaps in the modern sense ‚enclosed or fenced-in plot of land’ second element:

Sx: Merryfields: *Merifeelds* 1606, *Merrifields* 1611 ParReg (PNSx 2:264: “Possibly ‚boundary fields,’ cf. the same name in Wivelsfield *infra* 306.”). It is not far from the parish boundary. The name referred to is the next name - Merryfields (6’): *Meryfeilds* 1595 SRS 20, 299, *Maryfields* t. Eliz ChancP 1, 328. Near the boundary of the parish. (PNSx 2:306).114

W: Merfield: *Merefelde* 1341 *Cor*. On the boundary of the parish. (PNW 475).

Ca: *Merefeld* 13th (PNCa 323).

Ch: *Bradefordmerefeld* 1310-30 *Chol* (PNCh 2:210 s.n. Bradford Farm). - Mere Field 1841 *TA* 343: *Mare Field* 1650 *LRMB* (PNCh 2:200).

Db: *le Merefeld* 1314 *Trusley* (PNDb 3:558). See note 136.

OE *fenn* ‚fen’ second element:

Ca: Mare Fen: *Marefenne* 1677 *Fen*. On a boundary. (PNCa 173). - Mare Fen: *Marffen* 1636 *BedL*, *the Mare Fen* 1637 *ib*. Not far from the parish boundary. (PNCa 228 f).

OE *ford* ‚ford’ second element:

Hrt: Marford: (*fram*) *mærforde*, (*into*) *marforde* c. 1060 (14th) *WDB*, m. 204, *Marford(e)* 1151-66 *Gesta*, 1169, 1272-7, 1392 *WAM*, 1294 *SR* (p), 1327 *Banco* (p), *Marforde Brigg* 1423 *Annales*, *Mareford wyke* 1427 *Cassio* (PNHrt 57, 313).

Ch: Far & New Mareford 1843 *TA* 325: *Marefordway*, *vallis de Merefordale* 1406 *JRC*, the Marfords 1819 *Orm2* (PNCh 4:253).

OE *fōt*, ON *fótr* ‚foot of a hill’ second element:

Ch: *the millstone work called the Marefoot Work* 1647 *BW*, *Marefoot on Mole* 1684 *ib*. (PNCh 2:311 s.n. Quarry Wood: “ ‚the foot of the boundary’, v.

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<sup>113</sup> PNWa says: “The place lies on the parish boundary, v. (ge)mære.” It is probable that *ende* is used with the meaning ‚district’, but ‚end’, as in (*of*) *mær ende* BCS 1282 (Wo, above), is also a possibility.

<sup>114</sup> The following place-name, also in Sussex, may have (ge)mære as the first element, but it is too uncertain to be included in the material: Maresfield: *Mersfeld* 1234, *Meresfeld* 1248, *Meresefeld* 1293. Close to a hundred boundary. (DEPN says *merisc* ‚marsh’, Gelling (1984:53) says *mersc*, *merisc* ‚marsh’, PNSx 2:349 says *mere* ‚pool’, SMET 36 says perhaps \**mærs-* ‚boundary’; see also PNGI 3:59 in the discussion of Marshfield (Gl), and the forms for that name under Gloucestershire above.

(ge)mære, fōt, from the position below the county-boundary ridge of Mow Cop hill”).

OE *furh* ‚furrow’ second element:

ERY: *Merefures* 1260 (PNERY 323: “... *Merefures* (1260) i.e. boundary-furrows, from OE (ge)mære”).

OE *furlang* ‚furlong’ second element:

Brk: *Merforlong* 1390-1 WAM, *Le Merforlong*’ 1432-3 ib., *Meere Furlong* 1440-1 ib., *Merefurlong* 1587-8 ib. (PNBrk 2:423: “probably ‚boundary furlong’, v. (ge)mære”).

O: *Merefurlong* t. Ed 3 *Shirburn* (PNO 1:92).<sup>115</sup> – *Merefurlong* c. 1225 Thame, *Mereferlong* c. 1285 AD (PNO 1:115: “v. mere”). – *Meresforlong* 1293 Os (PNO 1:221: “v. mere”). – *la Merfurlang* c. 1312 Gor (PNO 1:55).<sup>116</sup>

Wa: *Merefurlong* 1309 Dugd 384 (PNWa 375 f s.n. Mere Meadow: “cf. *Merecombe*, *Merefurlong* 1309 Dugd 384, v. (ge)mære, ‚boundary’ ”).

Ca: *Marefurlang* 1228 FF (PNCa 29).<sup>117</sup> – *Marefurlong* 14th (PNCa 338).

Db: *Marforlonge* 1596 *Bateman*, *Marefurlong* 1650 ib. (PNDb 1:165: “v. mere<sup>2</sup>, **furlang**”). The meaning of mere<sup>2</sup> is ‚mare’. – *Merefurlong* c. 1300 DbCh, c. 1300 RegLich (PNDb 1:108: “v. mere<sup>1</sup>, **furlang**”). The meaning of mere<sup>1</sup> is ‚pool’, etc.

Nt: *Mereforlong* 1250 (PNNt 282, giving ‚boundary’ as the meaning of the first element).

With OE *land-gemære*:

Ca: *Landymerfurlang* 15th (PNCa 337).

OE *gang*, ON *gangr* ‚way, path’ second element:

Nt: *Merygangebalke* t. Hy 6 (PNNt 275 under “ME **balke** (n), ‚ridge,’ ”). Another form where *Mery-* is probably (ge)mære is *Meryfeilds* (mod. Merryfields) 1595 (Sx) above.

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<sup>115</sup> See, however, PNO: “*le Estmerefurlong* (*Merefurlong*, *Westmerefurlong* late 13th, ‚pool furlong’ with ‚east’ and ‚west’ prefixed), ...”. On the source, which I call *Shirburn*, see PNO 1:92, footnote: “Early forms and all the names in (b) [to which the above names belong] are from Dr Salter’s transcriptions in the Bodleian Library of *Shirburn* deeds, mostly the property of Lord Macclesfield. Names from these have been supplied by Dr W. O. Hassall.”. *le Estmerefurlong* and *Westmerefurlong* are listed under III.

<sup>116</sup> See, however, PNO: “*Langemesforlong*’ (cf. *la Merfurlang* c. 1312, v. **lang**, **mere**).”. *Langemesforlong*’ is listed under III.

<sup>117</sup> See PNCa: “STANTON MERE WAY (6’) in Long Stanton All Saints. Cf. *Marefurlang* 1228 FF, *Stantonmere* c. 1345 *Cole* xlv, *Stanton meare furlong* 1575 *Rental*. v. *Mereways supra* [late form; not included in the material] 27. The furlong was on the Willingham boundary.”. *Stantonmere* and *Stanton meare furlong* are listed under III.

ON *gata* ‚road’ second element:

NRy: *Meregate* c. 1160 (PNNRY 326: “ ‚a boundary road’ ”).

OWScand *gil* ‚ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream’ second element:

We: *Meregill* 1379 HMC x, 323. On a boundary. (PNWe 2:50).

Cu: *mearegill* 1578 *Cocker* (PNCu 2:262). – *Meare Gill* 1681 *Cocker* (PNCu 2:447). – *Mere Gill: the Mearegill* 1609-10 CW xxxi (PNCu 1:21).

OE *grāf*, *grāfa*, *grāfe* ‚grove, copse’ or OE *grāfe* ‚grove, copse, thicket’ or OE *græf* ‚pit; trench, ditch’ or OE \**grafa* ‚trench, ditch’ second element<sup>118</sup>:

Do: *Meregrauesyate* 1440 *Ct* (PND0 3:266: “v. **(ge)māre** ‚boundary’, **grāf(a)** ‚grove’, **geat** ‚gate’ ”).

OE *grāfe* ‚grove, copse, thicket’ second element:

Ch: *Meregreue* 14 *AddCh* (PNCh 4:72: “ ‚boundary wood’, v. **(ge)māre**, **grāfe**”).

ON *gryfja* ‚hole, pit’ second element:

Db: *Meregrif* Hy 3 *Derbyshire* (PNDb 2:259: “perhaps ‚boundary hole’, v. **(ge)māre**, **gryfja**”).

ME *gutiere* ‚watercourse’ second element:

Db: *the Meare Gutter* 1609 *DuLaSC* (PNDb 1:79).

OE *haga* ‚enclosure, game enclosure; strong enclosure fence, hedge’ second element:

Do: (by) *Merehawe* 1338-40 *Glast*, (bi) *merehawe* 968 (14) *Glast* = BCS 1214 (Grundy 1938:78 f, PND0 3:200).

OE *halh* (Angl), *healh* (Kt, WSax) ‚nook, corner of land’ second element:

Do: (by) *Merehale* 1338-40 *Glast*, (bi) *merehale* 968 (14) *Glast* = BCS 1214(Grundy 1938:78, PND0 3:181, s.n. Hile Coppice & Farm: “This name is probably to be identified with *bi merehale* 968 (14) *Glast* (S 764), by *Merehale* 1338-40 *Glast*, ‚by the boundary nook’, in the Anglo-Saxon bounds of Sturminster Newton, v. **(ge)māre**; there is a pronounced step in the par. bdy here near Hile Fm.”, PND0 3:200).

Ch: *Merehalghe* 1466 *LeghW* 324 (PNCh 5:1:i:xxv: “ ‚a corner of land at a boundary’, v. **(ge)māre**, **halh**”).

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<sup>118</sup> These are two groups of elements: on the one hand *grāf* (with the weak forms *grāfa*, *grāfe*) and *grāfe*, and on the other hand *græf* and \**grafa*. It is difficult to distinguish between them, especially in a weakly stressed position, as in the present instance. Both ‚boundary grove’ and ‚boundary ditch’ make good sense.

OE *hān* ‚stone; boundary-stone’ second element:

Sx: Marringdean Farm (6’): *Merehonedene* 1288 Ass, *Maryngedene* 1618 *Ipm* (VCH) (PNSx 1:149).<sup>119</sup>

OE *hēafod* ‚hill’ second element:

With OE *land-gemære*:

La: Lamberhead Green: *Londmerhede* 1519 FF (PNLa 105: “O.E. *landgemære* “boundary” and *hēafod* “hill.” The place is on the boundary between Orrell and Pemberton. It stands on a hill.”).

OE *hecg(e)* ‚hedge’ second element:

Mx: *le Merehegge* 1375 (PNMx 200).

O: (*per*) *le Merehegge inter Peryhale et Chalfle* c. 1298 (a. 1500) BC (MED s.v. **mere** n. (3), BC 180).

OE *hege* ‚hedge, fence’ second element:

Ch: *Merehege* c. 1250 Tab (PNCh 2:63).

OE *helde* (Angl, Kt), *\*hælde* (Merc), *hielde* (WSax) ‚slope’ second element:

Sr: Merlecommon House: *Mereheld* 1418 *Harl*, *Merehill* 1480, 1512, *Mearehill Common* 1576 SAC vi (PNSr 333: “ ‚Boundary hill (or slope),’ v. **(ge)mære, hielde**. The place lies on the parish boundary.”).

OE *hlāw* ‚hill, mound, tumulus’<sup>120</sup> second element:

Bk: Great & Little Marlow: *Merelafan* (dat.) 1015 KCD 722, *Merlaue* 1086 DB, c. 1110 (1225) Abingd, 1182 P, 1196 FF(P), Steph (1275) Ch, 1237-40 Fees 1448 (*Magna*), *Merlaw(a)* 1189 P, 1195 Cur(P), 1204 Fines, *Merlauia* 1280 Fees 313, 1209-19 WellsR (*Parva*). Near the boundary between Buckinghamshire and Berkshire. (Kristensson 2004:2 f, PNBk 186 f).<sup>121</sup>

Cu: Merelaw Hill (6’): *Merelawe hill* 1603 Gilsland, *Mearlawhill* 1603 *Map* (PNCu 1:87: “ ‚Boundary mound,’ v. **(ge)mære, hlāw**. It is on the county boundary.”).

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<sup>119</sup> See PNSx: “This place is very near the parish boundary. The meaning may be therefore ‚woodland pasture near the boundary stone,’ v. **gemære, denu**, and cf. *Headhone* and *Medhone* ...”. OE *hān* occurs frequently in OE charters with reference to a boundary-stone. It is usually preceded by OE *rēad* ‚red’, see e.g. 934 BCS 705 (S 429) (W) and 935 BCS 708 (S 429) (Do). The modern meanings ‚whetstone; stone of which whetstones are made’ do not seem to occur in OE.

<sup>120</sup> With *hlāw*, it is difficult to know whether a tumulus or a natural hill is referred to. The instance from Buckinghamshire in the southern half of the country probably means ‚boundary tumulus’, but in the instance from Cumberland in the northern half of England, ‚hill’ is perhaps more likely than ‚tumulus’. See note 73 and Gelling (1978:134-7) and (1984:162 f).

<sup>121</sup> PNBk takes this name to be a combination of OE *mere* ‚pool’ (‚mere’ in PNBk) and OE *lāf* ‚remainder’ (“Marlow was built on what was left by the mere as it retreated.”), but Kristensson’s discussion shows convincingly that the elements are much more likely to be **(ge)mære** and **hlāw**.



OE *hōc* ‚nook’ second element<sup>122</sup>:

Wa: *le Merehoke* 14th (PNWa 328).

Nth: *Merehoc* 1143 (PNNth 264).

OE *hōh* ‚heel of land’ second element:

With OE *land-gemære*:

Ca: *Landmarehowe* 1340, *Lylmerhowe* 1517 (PNCa 331).

OE *hrycg* ‚ridge’ second element:

K: Marriage Farm: *Marreg’*, *de Marrege* 13th c. BlackBk, p. 479. On the parish boundary. (Glover 125, PNK 386)

Brk: May Ridge: *Masrugia* 1142-84 (l. 12th) *ReadingC*, *Marrug’* 1241 *Ass*, *Marruge* 13th *ReadingC(2)*, *Marerugge* 1327 *SR* (p), *Marrug* 1341 *NonInq* (p), Mare Ridges 1761 *Rocque*, Mare Ridge 1846 *Snare* (PNBrk 1:225<sup>123</sup>).

Wa: Marriage Hill: *Marugge* 1460 AD ii, *Marrige hill* 1662 *Coughton* (PNWa 203: “ ‚Boundary ridge,’ v. **(ge)mære, hrycg**. It lies by the Arrow, which here forms the parish boundary. Cf. Marriage (PN K 386).”).

NRy: Marrick: *Marige* 1086 DB, 1252 *Riev*, *Marrich* c. 1150 *Godr*, *Marrig(g)* 1157 *RichReg* 82 *d et passim* to 1400 *Test*, *Maryg’* 1283 *Rich* 34, *Marrik(e)*, -*yk* 1301 *LS*, 1328 *Banco*, 1393, 1483 *Test* (Ekwall 1963:90 (repr. from 1936b), PNNRY 294).<sup>124</sup>

OE *hūs*, ON *hús* ‚house’ second element:

Ch: Medhurst Green, 1842 OS: *Meyrhowse* 1519 *Plea*, Merehouse or Medhurst Green 1831 *Bry*, Merehouse Green 1848 *TA* (PNCh 2:276 f: “ ‚house near a

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<sup>122</sup> It is not certain that these names contain **(ge)mære**, and the exact meaning of *hōc* is also uncertain, but ‚boundary nook’ makes such good sense that this interpretation seems justified. The names in the material would then be more or less synonymous with the combinations with **h(e)alh** above and **(v)rā** below.

<sup>123</sup> See PNBrk: “Probably ‚boundary ridge’, v. **(ge)mære, hrycg**, in spite of the earliest form. Names with *-s(e)r-* normally keep the *-s-* till the 15th cent. or later (cf. Curridge 242 and Marridge W 288-9). ‚Boundary ridge’ is suitable topographically, the name being applied to the high ground in the extreme N. of the parish. Merridge So is identical.”

<sup>124</sup> See Ekwall: “[...] MARRICK YN: *Marige* 1086 DB, 1252 *Rievaulx Cart*, *Marrich* c 1190 *Godric*, *Marrig* 1240 *FF*, *Marrigg* 1285 *FA*. Dr. Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding*, takes the elements of the name to be ON *marr* ‚a horse’ and *hryggr* ‚a ridge’. But it is doubtful if ON *marr* was in colloquial use at the time of the Scandinavian settlement in England. I think the name is a Scandinavianised form of OE *Mær-hrycg* ‚boundary ridge’. The *æ* would be shortened to *æ* in such a position in Old English time, and Scandinavians would substitute *a* for OE *æ*, and *g* for the palatalised OE *cg*.” See also Hough (1994:22 f). Hough agrees with Ekwall’s derivation of Marrick and thinks that ON *marr* ‚horse’ should be deleted from the new edition of EPNE in preparation.

boundary', i.e. the eastern boundary of the township, v. **(ge)mære, hūs**". - *Meyrhowse* 1519 Orm<sup>2</sup> III 374 (PNCh 3:88<sup>125</sup>).

OE *hyll* ‚hill’ second element:

Brk: Meashill Barn & Plantation: *Meares Hill, Merhill* 1628 *SpecCom* (PNBrk 2:483: “possibly from gen. of **(ge)mære**; the places lie immediately W. of a long hill which juts out from the Downs along the boundary with Chilton”).

Mx: *Merry Hill Way* 1658 *ParlSurv* (PNMx 75: “MERRY HILLS. Cf. *Merry Hill Way* 1658 *ParlSurv*. This is on the parish boundary and may be a corruption of OE **(ge)mære**, ‚boundary.’ Cf. *Merry Brook* (PN Wo 13).”).

Wa: Meerhill: (*John de*) *Merhull* 1332 SR (PNWa 235: “As this is near the parish boundary the first element is probably OE **(ge)mære**.”). - Moreton Morrell: *Morton Merehill* 1285 Ass, *Morton(e) and Merhulle* 1316 Cl, 1327 SR, *Mor(e)ton Mer(e)hull* 1322 Pat, 1336 AD iii, 1656 Dugdale, *Morton Merell* 1514 KnowleG, *Merrell et Moreton* 1552 Pat, *Morton Merelle al. Morton Morrell* 1604, *Morton Marrell al. Morton Daubeney* 1606 FF; Morrell alone: *Merehull* 1279 Nott, 1316 FA, *Merhulle* 1313 FF, 1316 Cl, *Merhull* 1332 SR (p) (PNWa 256 f: “Moreton is ‚marsh farm.’ Morrell is ‚boundary hill,’ v. **(ge)mære**. It lies just within the parish.”, SMED<sup>2</sup> 45, 88).

Ch: *Merehills* 1688 Sheaf (PNCh 4:262 f: “probably ‚boundary hills, hills at a boundary’, v. **(ge)mære, hyll**”).

Nt: Mosley Hills: *Mosley Mearhill* 1637 Map. On the parish boundary. (PNNt 122)

OE *hyrst* (Angl, WSax), *herst* (Kt) ‚hillock, wood, wooded hill’ second element:

Sr: Merrist Wood: *Merehurst* t. Hy 3 For (p), 1318 FF (p), *bosc. de Merhurst* t. Ed 3 For, *Merehurstwod, Merehurst lond* 1548 LRMB, *Merest Woode* 1582 BM, *Marystod* 1823 G (PNSr 162 f<sup>126</sup>).

OE *lacu* ‚stream, watercourse’ second element:

O: Marlake House (6’): *Merlac* c. 1190 (c. 1280) S *et freq* with variant spellings *Merlake, Merlak*’ to 1452 BC, *Merelake* c. 1294 (c. 1444) BC,

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<sup>125</sup> See PNCh: “MERE FM, *Mere Hall* 1831 Bry, cf. perhaps *Meyrhowse* 1519 Orm<sup>2</sup> III 374. There is a pool here, but the place is on the county boundary with Sa, and the name is probably from **(ge)mære** ‚a boundary’ rather than **mere**’ ‚a pool’, v. **hūs**.”. Even if there is no connection between *Meyrhowse* 1519 and Mere Farm, Mere Hall 1831, the fact that the preceding instance has also a form *Meyrhowse* 1519 speaks for **(ge)mære** as the first element of *Meyrhowse* here too.

<sup>126</sup> See PNSr: “ ‚Wood or wooded hill by the pool,’ v. **mere, hyrst**. It is on the parish boundary, so that the first element may equally well be OE **(ge)mære**, ‚boundary.’ ”

*Marlak* 1517 D Inc (BC 181, PNO 1:208: “ ‚Boundary stream,‘ OE **mær-lacu**. v. PN Bk 117<sup>127</sup>. The boundary is that between Bk and O.”).

Ch: *fossatum vocatum le Marelake* 1437 *MinAcct* (PNCh 2:172).

OE \**læc(c)*, \**lec(c)*, \**lece*, ME *lache*, *leche* ‚stream, bog‘ second element:

Ch: *le Merelache* 1359 *Eyre* (p) (PNCh 1:61: “ ‚boundary stream,‘ v. **(ge)mære**, **læc(c)**”).

Db: Morledge Farm (6’): *Merlache* 1281 *Ass*, 1328 *SR* (p), (*in Derley*) 1330 *Ass*, 1350, 1354 *Crich* (p), *Mearelach* 1618 *StarChamb* (PNDb 1:82<sup>128</sup>, SMED<sup>2</sup>, p. 37: “*del Merlache* (p) 1327 57”, SMET 75).

OE *land*, *lond* ‚land‘ second element:

Sr: *Marlands: Merelände* 1362 *Ct*. On the boundary of the parish. (PNSr 391)

OE *lēah*, *lāh* (Angl) ‚clearing; wood‘ second element:

D: *Marley House: Merlegh(e)* 1242 *Fees* 781, 1285 *FA*, 1326 *Ipm*, *Marlegh* 1428 *FA* (PND 310: “ ‚Boundary clearing,‘ v. **(ge)mære**, **leah**. The place lies near the parish boundary.”).

Sx: *Marley: Merelege* 1275 *FF* (PNSx 2:532: “It is near the parish boundary and is probably from **(ge)mære** and **leah**.”).

Ch: *Marley Green, Hall & Moss: Marley* 1621 (1656) *Orm*<sup>2</sup>, -*Green* & -*Hall*, *Marbury Moss* 1831 *Bry*, *Marley Moss* 1837 *TA* (PNCh 3:107<sup>129</sup>). – *Marlston: Merlestone* 1086 *DB*, -*ton* c. 1220-30 *Dieul*, 1352 *BPR*, -*tona* 1285 *CRC*, *Ch*, *Marleston’* 1245 *P et freq* with variant spellings -*tone*, *Marlas-* to 1842 *OS*, *Marleston iuxta Lache* 1355 *Plea*, *Marlston* 1298 *ib.*, 1740 *Sheaf*, 1831 *Bry*, *Merston* 1270-3 *Sheaf*, -*near Eccleston* 1464

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<sup>127</sup> See PNBk (s.n. MARLAKE HOUSE (6’): *Merlakebrugge* 1298 *VCH* ii.132 *Merlake* 1316 *FA*, *Merlake*, *Marlake* 1540 *LP*): “Marlake House is a public house actually in Oxfordshire, in Murcot parish, but it preserves the name of a lost Buckinghamshire manor, associated with Nashway Farm [...] in Feudal Aids. *Merelake* is also mentioned in a perambulation (temp. Edward I) quoted by Lipscomb [...]. It is clearly the boundary-stream (v. **mære**, **lacu**) which divides the two counties here, running parallel to Boarstall Lane. Cf. *VCH u.s.* ‚to *Merlakebrugge* and so always by the bounds of the counties of Bucks and Oxon.’ ”. Note the different form *Merelakbregge* BC 1298 in the Latin text translated in *VCH*: “*ad Merelakbregge; et sic inde semper per divisas in comitatu Buk’ et Oxon’*” (BC 183).

<sup>128</sup> See PNDb: “ ‚boundary stream,‘ v. **(ge)mære**, **læc(c)**. A short distance from the farm is a small unnamed stream, which serves as part of the boundary between the parishes of Darley and Matlock and also between the Hundreds of High Peak and Wirksworth. The first element has been influenced by **mōr**<sup>1</sup> ‚moor’ ”.

<sup>129</sup> See PNCh: “probably ‚boundary wood or clearing,‘ v. **(ge)mære**, **lēah**, **grēne**<sup>2</sup>, **hall**, **mos**. These, and *Marbury Heys*, are near the *Wrensbury* boundary. There is confusion of *Marley* and *Marbury* in all these names.”. See also on the same page: “*MARBURY HEYS*, 1831 *Bry*, *Marley Heys* 1842 *OS*, from the p.n.s. *Marbury supra*, *Marley infra* and *(ge)hæg* ‚a fenced-in enclosure’.”. *Marbury* is said (PNCh 3:106) to contain OE *mere* ‚pool’.

Tab, *-tone* 1280-1 Sheaf, *Mershton* 1362 BPR, *Merssheton iuxta Cestr'* 1395 (m. 15) *Harl.* 2061, *Marilston* 1663 Sheaf, *Marston* 1727 Sheaf (PNCh 4:163, 5(1:i):xli, Kristensson 1974:326 f).<sup>130</sup>

La: Great & Little Mearley: *Merlay* 1241 LF, 1332 LS, *Merley* 1243 LI, *de Merlay* 1246 LAR, *Magna Merlay* 1102, c. 1140 Ch, *Great Merlay* 1296, 1305 LF, *Little Merley* 1243 LI, *Magna et parua Merlaya* 1296 WhC 05, *Magna Merlay* 1303 FA (DEPN, PNLa 78).

OE *mǣd* (WSax), *mēd* (Angl, Kt) ‚meadow’ second element<sup>131</sup>:

Sr: Mare Meads: *Maremead* 1629 *Survey* (PNSr 378: “on the parish-boundary, v. **(ge)mære**”).

Ch: Mere Meadow 1845 *TA* 284: *the Meare Meadow* 1683 Sheaf, the Mere Meadow 1711 Sheaf (PNCh 4:227<sup>132</sup>).

OE *mōr*, ON *mór* ‚moor’ second element:

Ch: *le Maremore* 1538 *AOMB* 399, 1547 *AddCh*. The boundary involved is also referred to by *le Merebrock* and *Mare Clough* above. (PNCh 2:161 f).

OFr, ME *park* ‚enclosed tract of land for beasts of the chase’ or the related element OE *pearroc* ‚small enclosure’, etc. second element:

With OE *land-gemǣre*:

Db: *Landmerekpark* 1417 *MinAcct* (PNDb 2:375: “ ‚boundary park’, v. **land-(ge)mære, park**”).<sup>133</sup>

OE *pōl* ‚pool’, \**pull* ‚pool; brook, stream’, OE *pyll* ‚tidal creek, ?small stream’<sup>134</sup> second element:

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<sup>130</sup> Dodgson first (PNCh 4) derives Marlston from an unrecorded OE personal name \**Mǣrel* and *tūn*. Kristensson (1974), however, thinks that the name consists of *tūn* added to a place-name *Mǣrlēah* in the gen. This suits the position of the present parish of Marlston cum Lache, which in DB and earlier was on the boundary of the hundred of *Atiscros*. After having read Kristensson’s article, Dodgson (PNCh 5) holds both derivations to be equally possible.

<sup>131</sup> Here may well belong the following Essex name, given without comment in PNEss: Mere Meadow: *Mearmede* Hy 8 (PNEss 635), and the following Oxfordshire name, given without comment in PNO: *Meare Mead* 1635 (c. 1700) (PNO 2:346).

<sup>132</sup> See PNCh: “Mere Loons & Mdw, (Gorsty & Ness ) Meres (*the Meare Meadow* 1683, *the Mere Meadow*, *Great & Little Meares* 1711, v. **(ge)mære**”).

<sup>133</sup> See also PNDb 3:740 (on the elements in field and minor names): “**land-gemǣre** is probably the element in *Landmore park* 1417. No other early example has been noted.”. Probably the same entry in *MinAcct* is referred to.

<sup>134</sup> See Gelling (1984:27): “**pōl**, **pull** OE ‚pool’, **pyll** OE ‚tidal creek, ?small stream’. It is convenient to treat these words together, though etymologically *pull* and *pyll* are variants of the same term, and *pōl* is a different word. A degree of confusion is apparent in the treatment of the three items in dictionaries and place-name reference books. ...”

- D: Marpool: *Merpol* 1331 Orig, *Marepole* 1562 FF (PND 2:601: “ ‚Boundary pool,’ v. **(ge)mære**. The place is on the boundary between Withycombe and Littleham parishes.”). – Mary Pole Head (6’): *Marepoll* 1461 Pat (PND 2:441: “Probably ‚boundary pool,’ v. **(ge)mære**. It is on the parish boundary.”).
- Ch: Marple: *Merpille* e 13 (1287) *Eyre*, 1287 ib., *Merpil* e 13 (1288) ib., 1288 ib., 1289 (17) Court, *Merpill* 1290 *Eyre*, *Mercholl* e 13 (1288) *Eyre*, *Merpull* e 13 (1353-7) *ChFor*, 1286 *Eyre* (p), 1287 Court, 1354 *Eyre*, 1357 *ChFor*, 1358 Plea, 1380 ChRR and seven examples ib., *Dow*, JRL 32, *MinAcct* to 1492 *Dow* (p), *Merpul* 1301 ChF, 1322 *Mont*, *Merpel* e 13 (1608) ChRR, 1248 Ipm, c. 1251 *ChFor*, 1308 Cl, 1398 Orm<sup>2</sup> (p), *Merple* e 13 (1608) ChRR, 1356 BPR, *Marpell* e 13 (1611) LRMB 200, *Merphull* 1283 Ipm, 1285 Court (p), 1337, 1364 *Eyre*, 1355 *MinAcct*, 15 *Mont*, *Merphulle* 1309 Plea, *Merphul* 1351 *Eyre*, *Marpil* 1285 Court, *Marple* 1355 BPR, 1602 Sheaf, 1619 ChRR *et freq*, *Marpull* 1376 Orm<sup>2</sup>, 1401 ib., *Merpoll* 1431 *Dow* (p), *Merpole* 1454 *Eyre*, *Merpool* c. 1620 Orm<sup>2</sup> III 546. Probably ‚boundary stream’ from *(ge)mære* and OE *pyll*, \**pull*, *pōl*. The name of a township occupying a prominent hill “overlooking the valley of R. Goyt, here the county boundary”. (PNCh 1:281 f).<sup>135</sup>
- La: *Merepul* 1215 CC (CC 2:1:394, 396, VHLa 6:68, note 11). See under ON *rá*, note 32.

ME *potte* ‚pot-hole, deep hole, pit’ second element:

- We: Moor Pot, 1859 *OS: the Mearepott* 1636 *BdyR* (M. 3), *the Maior pott* 1652 ib. (M. 4), *Merepott* 1684 ib. (M. 5), *Morepott* 1684 *Dd* (PNWe 2:28: “ ‚boundary pot-hole’, v. **(ge)mære**, **potte**; it is on the Mallerstang boundary”).

OE *rāw* ‚row’ (of houses or perhaps of trees) or ‚street lined with a row of houses’ second element:

- Db: *le Mererowe* 1314 *Trusley* (PNDb 3:558<sup>136</sup>).

OE *sīc* ON *sík* ‚small stream, ditch’, second element:

<sup>135</sup> Ekwall’s interpretation of the name as OE *mārhōp-hyll* ‚hill by the boundary valley’ (DEPN) is discussed and rejected by Dodgson (PNCh loc.cit.).

<sup>136</sup> See PNDb: “*le Merecross*, *-feld*, *-rowe* 1314 (v. **(ge)mære**, **cross**, **feld**, **rāw**)”. The compounds with **cross** and **feld** are listed above. Possibly synonymous is Merrow (Sr): *Marewe* 1185, 1215, 1230, 1327, 1556, *Merewe* 1187, 1201, 1212 *et passim* to 1488, *Merrewe* 1279, *Merrow* 1573, *Merwe* 1208, 1241 *et freq* to 1436, *Meruwe* 1286, *Merowe* 1565, *Marwe* 1293, *Marowe* 1332, *Marrowe* 1583 (PNSr 142). PNSr suggests that this is OE *mearg* ‚marrow, pith’, in EPNE 2:79 it is taken to be a compound of *(ge)mære* and OE *rāw*, related to *rāw*, and DEPN (s.n.) suggests this compound or OE *mære wōh* ‚famous temple’.

- Wa: *le Mersiche* 1340 (PNWa 332).
- Ch: *le Meresiche*, *-syche* c. 1300 *Chol* (PNCh 2:189). – *Meresichfeld* 1309 *AddCh* (PNCh 3:41).<sup>137</sup>
- Db: *Meresiche* c. 1280 *BelCh* (PNDb 1:185: “v. **(ge)mære, sīc**”). – *le Meresiche* 1415 *DuLaMB*, 1417 *MinAcct* (PNDb 2:394: “perhaps ‘boundary stream’, v. **(ge)mære, sīc**”).
- We: *Mere Sike: Meresyke* 1429 *Lowth* (Sh 23) (PNWe 1:11). – *Mere Sike: the Meresyke* 1473 *CW* ix, 280, *the Meare Sike* 1596, 1671 *ShpPn* 152, 158 (PNWe 2:176: “‘boundary stream’, v. **(ge)mære, sīc**”).
- Cu: *Marsyke* 1603 *Gilsland* (PNCu 1:90). – *le Meresik* 1311 *LanerA* (PNCu 1:94). – *le Mersik* c. 1333 *Carliol* (PNCu 1:139).<sup>138</sup>
- OE *stān* ‘stone’ second element:
- O: *Meerstone Hill* 1650 *Chambers* (PNO 2:263). – *la Mereston, Merestonpeece* 1363 *Eynsh* (PNO 2:373).
- Ch: field called *Mereston iuxta Eccleston*’ 1342 *Vern* (PNCh 4:162). – *Merstanisfurlong* c. 1256-7 *Sheaf*, *Merstonesfurlong* c. 1266-7 *Sheaf* (PNCh 4:162). – *Merstanislond* c. 1256-7 *Sheaf* (PNCh 4:162). – *Mersteleye* 1315 *Vern* (PNCh 4:162).<sup>139</sup>
- Db: *Mearstone* 1617 *Senior* (PNDb 1:165).
- We: *the Meare Stone* 1606 *ShpPn* (PNWe 2:181).

<sup>137</sup> In Cheshire we also have *Geylmaresiche* 1290-3 (PNCh 3:289: “‘boundary stream growing with gale or bog-myrtle’, at 109-536626 on the Tarporley boundary, v. **gagel, (ge)mære, sīc**”). However, *Geylmare-siche* seems at least as likely as *Geyl-maresiche*. Wet land suits the bog-myrtle (Grigson 1975:261), so *Geylmare* could well be a compound of *gagel* and *mere* and refer to a lake with bog-myrtle growing on its shore. The whole name would then mean ‘small stream of the bog-myrtle lake’.

<sup>138</sup> In Cumberland we also find: *Wallmoorsike: Waymersik* 1363, *Wamersyke* 1568, *wammer sike* 1589, *Walmersike, Walm(e)sike* 1603, *Wamersike* 1610, *Womersyke* 1757 (PNCu 1:80: “‘v. **sīc**. It is on the boundary of the parish, so *mere* is probably from **(ge)mære**. The forms of the first element vary too widely for any explanation.”). PNCu does not state whether this compound is to be taken as *Wallmoor-sike* or as *Wall-moorsike*. *Wallmoor-sike* seems more natural and is in accordance with the 1589 form. However, an alternative explanation may be offered, namely that the name is a compound of the genitive of a personal name, e.g. OE *\*Waldmār* or OE *\*Walhmār* (see DEPN s.n. *Walmsgate* (Li)), and *sīk* or *sīc*: *\*Waldmāres-sīk* (or *-sīc*) or *\*Walhmāres-sīk* (or *-sīc*). Loss of one *s* would be natural. The name would then mean something like ‘the ditch on the boundary of W.’s estate’, which suits the position on the boundary of the parish, if this boundary, which is so often the case, is an old estate boundary.

<sup>139</sup> See PNCh 4:162: “*Merstanisfurlong, -lond* c. 1256-7, *Merstonesfurlong* c. 1266-7, field called *Mereston iuxta Eccleston*’ 1342 (‘(furlong at) the boundary stone’, v. **(ge)mære, stān, furlang**); *Mersteleye* 1315 (probably ‘(clearing near) the boundary stone’, v. **lēah**, cf. prec.)”.

Cu: *Mearestone* 1649 *ParlSurv* (PNCu 2:298). – *Meerstones* 1624 *PaineBk* (PNCu 1:258). – *mere stones* 1578 *Cocker* (PNCu 2:262).<sup>140</sup>

OE *sticca* ‚stick, post‘ second element:

Do: (*semitem apud*) *Merestike* 1443 *HarlRoll* (PND0 1:199).

OE *stræt* (WSax), *strēt* (Angl, Kt) ‚Roman road, paved road, urban road, street‘ second element:

Mx: Mare Street: *Merestret* 1443 *Ct*, *Gonneston strete al. Merestrete* 1550 *Pat*, *Merestret*, *Meerstreete* 1593 *N*, *Mayre street* 1605 *RobinsonH*, *Marestreete* 1621 *Sess*, *Meare street* 1741-5 *R* (PNMx 106 f).<sup>141</sup>

Wa: *Merestrete* 1233 (PNWa 332 f).<sup>142</sup>

OE *tūn* ‚farmstead, village‘ second element<sup>143</sup>:

D: Martin: *Merton(a)* 1086 *DB*, 1332 *FF* (p), *Marton* 1582 *SR* (p), *Martenpark* t. *Jas* 1 *ECP* 138. Not far from the parish boundary. (Finberg 1964:120, 1969:49, PND 2:432).

W: Martin: *Merton(e)* 944 x 946 (14th) *BCS* 817 *et freq* to 1428 *FA*, *Est-* 1483 *Pat*, *West-* 1518 *Hoare*, *Merton al. Martin* 1756 *FF*, *Meretun* 1225 *SR*, *-ton* 1227 *Ch*, 1237 *Pap* (p), *Merten* 1316 *FA*, *Mertyn* 1491 *Ipm* (PNW 402: “ ‚Farm at the boundary,‘ v. (ge)mære. The place is on the borders of Hampshire and Wiltshire. EAST MARTIN is a hamlet to the east of Martin,

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<sup>140</sup> PNCu has also *a great mearstone* 1603 (PNCu 1:69), which has not been included in the material, since it can hardly be regarded as a place-name.

<sup>141</sup> See PNMx: “Mare St is now the chief street in the borough of Hackney, but as shown by early maps the name was originally applied to a small hamlet on the main road at the extreme south of the parish on the Bethnal Green (then Stepney) border. [...] The first element of Mare St is probably ME *mere*, *meare*, ‚boundary‘ (OE *gemære*) from the position of the hamlet on the parish boundary.”. Perhaps the road was called \**Mærestræt* and this name was transferred to the hamlet. The hamlet may also have received its name because of its proximity to a (ge)mære *stræt*.

<sup>142</sup> See PNWa: “[...] *Merestrete* (1233) in Mancetter, probably referring to the road by Bentley and Monks Park Wood which forms the boundary-road (v. (ge)mære) of the western extension of Mancetter parish at this point, [...]”

<sup>143</sup> See note 79. It is difficult to know whether *mere* or (ge)mære is found in Marton (Grange (site of), Green, Hall & House): *Mertona* 1 12 (17), *Merton* 1225 (p) *et freq* with variant spellings -*tone*, *-toun* to 1671, (*-alias Marton*) 1629, *Over Merton* 1334, 1642, *grangia de Merton* 1336, 1542, *Marton infra forestam de la Mara* 1285, *Martona* c. 1300 (p), *Marton* 1531, *Marton Graunge* m. 16, *Over Marton* 1637, 1643, *Marton Green, Hall & Lane* 1831, *-House* 1842 (PNCh 3:182). Marton is taken in PNCh to be from *mere* and *tūn*, but since “part of Marton township is in Over township and seems to have belonged to Over township”, a boundary is involved, which speaks for (ge)mære as the first element.

which must be the *Westmerton* of 1518 (Hoare)”; see also PND 2:432 s.n. Martin (D), PNNt 80 s.n. Martin (Nt), and SMED<sup>4</sup> 38).<sup>144145</sup>

Nt: Martin: *Martune* 1086 DB, 1154-69 (1327) Ch, *-ton(a)* c. 1175 (17th) *Dodsworth et passim* to 1515 NtIpm, with variant spelling *-ton(e)*, *Marthon* 1191-3 France, 1201 Dugd iv, *Marton juxta Bautre* 1332 FF, *Merteyn* 1541 LP. Near the West Riding boundary. (PNNt 80, see also Martin Hall Farm (WRY), above)<sup>146</sup>

OE, ON *þorn* ‘thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

O: (*usque*) *le Merethorn inter campum de Stantone et Wyke* c. 1298 BC (BC 179).<sup>147</sup> – (*Bynuthe*) *Merethornes* 1299 CI (PNO 2:345).<sup>148</sup>

Db: *Mear(e) Thornes* 1587 *EveryCh*, 1729 ib. (PNDb 2:461, however: “v. **mere**<sup>1</sup>, **þorn**”).

Nt: Maythorn Cottages and Mill (6’): *Merethorn medowe* 1466 *Rental*, *Marthorne* 15th *WhiteBk*, *Merthorne* t. Hy 8 *MinAcct*, 1612 *EcclComm*, *Mathorne* 1636 ib. (PNNt 176<sup>149</sup>).

We: *Merethornacr*’ Hy 5 *Brm* 17 (PNWe 2:135).

With OE *land-gemære*:

Nt: *Landmerthorne* t. Ed 3 (PNNt 291).

ON (*v*)*rá* ‘nook, corner of land’ second element:

Cu: *Le Merewra* 1323 CI (PNCu 1:258: “ ‘corner on the boundary,’ v. (**ge**)**mære**, (**v**)**rá**”).

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<sup>144</sup> See also the discussion of this name in Cole (1991-92:39), where she inclines to (**ge**)**mære-tūn** rather than **mere-tūn**, esp.: “However, Martin is close to the great earthwork, Bokerly Ditch, so it seems more appropriate to regard this Martin as a (**ge**)**mære-tūn**, a comment on the ditch acting as a boundary between Saxon and Celt in the 5c. and 6c. As if to emphasise the point, on the west side of the ditch is a parish with a Celtic name, Pentridge (Dorset), [„]the hill of the boar’.”

<sup>145</sup> Another Wiltshire name is Marten: *Martone*, *Mertone* 1086, *-ton(e)* 1187 *et freq* to 1428, (*juxta Wexcombe*) 1312, (*juxta Schaldeburne*) 1409, *Mereton* 1200, 1227 (Cole (1991-92:38), Mills (1997:224), PNW 347). There is a pool, and it is close to a Roman road, which speaks for **mere-tūn** (Cole), but it is also not far from the parish boundary, which speaks for (**ge**)**mære-tūn** (PNW). Mills mentions both alternatives without preference for either.

<sup>146</sup> Cf., however, Cole (1991-92:39 f), hesitating between **mere** and (**ge**)**mære** and inclining towards **mere**. Ekwall (DEPN) also hesitates, but inclines to (**ge**)**mære**.

<sup>147</sup> See note 80.

<sup>148</sup> PNO: “first word ‘beneath’; the second could mean either ‘thorn trees by the pool’ or ‘boundary thorn trees’”. The many instances of (**ge**)**mære** + **þorn** in OE charters, which show the suitability of trees denoted by **þorn** as boundary-markers, make (**ge**)**mære** the probable first element here.

<sup>149</sup> PNNt: “MAYTHORN COTTAGES and MILL (6’). Cf. *Merethorn medowe* 1466 *Rental*, *Marthorne* 15th *WhiteBk*, *Merthorne* t. Hy 8 *MinAcct*, 1612 *EcclComm*, *Mathorne* 1636 ib. ‘Boundary thorn tree,’ v. (**ge**)**mære**. The boundaries of Southwell in BCS 1029 come down *on þone norðran þorn* immediately before they reach the river Greet, and this ‘more northerly thorn’ can safely be identified with Maythorn.”



OE *weg* ‚way‘ second element:

W: *Greene mereway* 1641 (PNW 449). – *Meerway: Merewey* c. 1350 *Bradenstoke* (PNW 464).

Brk: *Merewey* 1239-40 *FF* (PNBrk 1:255). – *Meroweye* 1235-6 *FF* (PNBrk 1:249).

O: *le Merewey* 1300 *Wych* (PNO 1:4 f<sup>150</sup>). – *le Mereweye* 1300 *Wych*, *le Meere Way* 1641 *Wych* (PNO 1:4 f<sup>150</sup>). – (*usque*) *le Mereweye, que extendit iuxta Shotover* c. 1298 *BC* (BC 180)<sup>151</sup>. – *Merweyhull(e)* 1412-13 *Rental* (PNO 1:240: “v. **mere**, **weg**, **hyll**”)<sup>152</sup>. – *Merway* c. 1260 *Gor*, *Mereweye* c. 1307 *Gor* (PNO 1:55: “v. **weg**; the first element could be **mere** or **(ge)mære**”).<sup>152</sup>

Ess: *Marwey* 1387 (PNEss 593). – *Mearway* 1605 (PNEss 593).

Wa: *Mereway Meadow: le Merwey* 13th AD ii (PNWa 367). – *la Merewei* 13th *Dugd* (PNWa 9: “the road from Forshaw which forms the boundary (v. **(ge)mære**) between Tamworth and Solihull”). – *Mereweye* 1221 *FF* (PNWa 9: “the Astley – Bedworth boundary road”, 333).

Nth: *Merewey* 13th (PNNth 271).

Ca: *Gretmereweye* c. 1260 *StJohn’sH*, *-weie* 13th *StJohn’s*. It forms the boundary between Chesterton and Impington. (PNCa 18). – The Mareway: *Mareweie* 1199 *FF*, *Meerwaye* 1600 *Depositions*, the Mareway 1836 *EnclA* (PNCa 27: “ ‚Boundary way,‘ v. **(ge)mære**, **weg**. With very slight exceptions, it forms a parish boundary for over 10 miles from Ermine Street to Red Cross [...]”). – *Mareweye* 13th *Chateriz*, *the Mareweye* 1315 *Trinity*, *the Mereweye* 1336 *ib.* (PNCa 27 f). – *Marwey* 1387 *Walden* (PNCa 27 f). – *le meare way int’ Caxton et Bourne* 1561 *Christ’s* (PNCa 27 f).

OE *wella*, etc. ‚spring, stream‘ second element:

Brk: *Marrewelfurl’*, *Marwellfurl’* 1519 *Ashmole* (PNBrk 2:350: “probably (*to*) *merewelle* 947 (14th) *BCS* 828, ‚boundary stream‘ ”, 3:695).

O: *Marwelle* 1422 *Rental*, late hand *Os*, *Merewelle* 1470-1 *CourtR* (PNO 1:8 f<sup>153</sup>,<sup>154</sup>).

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<sup>150</sup> PNO: “There are two lost ‚boundary ways‘ in Wychwood Forest: *le Merewey* 1300 *Wych*, in the north-east of the forest near Dustfield Fm in Chadbury, and *le Mereweye* 1300 *Wych*, *le Meere Way* 1641 *Wych*, in the south-west of the forest near Roustage in Wychwood: v. **(ge)mære**.”

<sup>151</sup> See (*on*) *þone ealdan mærweg*, (*andlang*) *þes ealdan mereweges* 1005 x 1012 (c. 1325 x 1350) under A, and note 85.

<sup>152</sup> Since boundary-ways are common, these names have been included in the material despite the opinion in PNO that *Merweyhull(e)* contains *mere* and the hesitation in PNO between *mere* and **(ge)mære** where *Merway* is concerned. See also PNBk 259, under OE **weg** (elements in “Field and other minor names”): “Of compounds with this element we may note [...] and the common *Merwey*, road or path running along a boundary **(gemære)** and [...]”.

<sup>153</sup> PNO: “MALLEWELL (c. 1840 *TA*) is probably identical with *Marwelle* 1422 *Rental*, late hand *Os*, *Merewelle* 1470-1 *CourtR*: ‚boundary stream,‘ v. **(ge)mære**, **w(i)elle**. In the *Os* reference it is

Bk: Marl Copse: *Marrwell* 1639 *Terr* (PNBk 144: “„Boundary-spring’ v. **mære**, **wielle**. Marl Copse is on the parish boundary.”).

Db: *le Merewalle* 1296 *Kniveton* (PNDb 3:535: “perhaps „boundary spring or stream’, v. **(ge)mære**, **wælla**”). – Merril Sick: *Merwell* 1610 *Senior*, Mirwell Sitch 1758 *Terrier*, Merril Sick 1878 *Survey* (PNDb 1:12).<sup>155</sup>

With OE *land-gemære*:

Bd: Ladywell, Leadwell (local): *Landimareswell* 1279 RH (PNBd & Hu 49<sup>156</sup>).

OE *wudu* „wood’ second element:

D: Marwood: *Meroda*, *Merehoda*, *Mereuda* 1086 DB, *Merew(o)de* 1219 FF, 1293 Ch, 1311 BM, 1343 Ipm, *Churimerwod* 1242 Fees 787, *Cherchemerewode* 1256 FF, *Chirchemerwode* 1345 Ass, *Merwode* 1263 Exon, 1291 Tax (PND 1:50<sup>157</sup>) and Middle Marwood: *Middelmorwude* (PND: sic) 1234 Fees 396, *-merwode* 1242 Fees 784, *Myddel Marwode* 1491 Ipm (PND 1:52).

## II Simplex names

D: *La Mere* 1242 Fees 789, 1295 Ipm (PND 2:543<sup>158</sup>).

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described as “fontem .... qui est limes inter ... Roulsham ... et ... Takkeley.” The Vicar informs us that the bridge connecting Rousham and Tackley is known as Nanewell Bridge, and this may be a corrupt form of the early stream-name.”

<sup>154</sup> Not included in the ME and later material, since the form is too late, is Manual Spring (6’), but since it goes back upon an OE form mentioned under A, it is worth mentioning. See PNO 1:9: “MANUAL SPRING (6’ on the boundary of Denton and Garsington) is (on) *mærwelle* 956 (contemporary) BCS 945: „boundary spring,’ v. **(ge)mære**.” and the footnote: “<sup>1</sup>This identification was communicated by Dr W. O. Hassall, who has been able to fit the bounds of the Cuddesdon grant to the map: the account in Grundy is very incorrect.”

<sup>155</sup> PNDb: “For a very short distance before joining the Meden it forms the boundary between Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire and is perhaps therefore „boundary stream’, v. **(ge)mære**, **wælla**, to which was later added **sīc**.”. See also PNDb 2:504: “MERRIL FM, cf. *Merhul* 1235-51 Darley, *the Merrill Sitch* 1622 *Dep*, perhaps „boundary hill’, v. **(ge)mære**, **hyll**.”. This Merrill has not been included in the material (as a compound with *hyll*), since it is so uncertain if it contains **(ge)mære**, but it is mentioned here because one of the names may possibly have influenced the other, especially when followed by **sīc**.

<sup>156</sup> PNBd & Hu: “This local survival is recorded in VCH iii. 114, but it is difficult to reconcile the earlier and later forms. *Landimareswell* is good ME for „land-boundary’s spring’ and can hardly be a corruption for „Lady Mary’s well’ as is apparently suggested in the VCH.”

<sup>157</sup> PND: “As there is no pool here the first element may, as suggested by Blomé (23), be OE **(ge)mære**, „boundary,’ the place being on the boundary between Braunton and Shirwell Hundreds. *Church* to distinguish it from Middle Marwood *infra* 52.”

<sup>158</sup> PND: “EAST and WEST MERE are *La Mere* 1242 Fees 789, 1295 Ipm, *Westmere* 1303 FA. There is no pool here but the place is by the parish boundary, so we have probably OE **(ge)mære** rather than **mere**.”. See also under III.

- Do: *Meere* 1618 *Map* (PNDo 3:81: “a coppice near the par.bdy, so probably **(ge)mære** ‚boundary’ ”).
- W: (*Walter*) *atte Meere* 1352 *MinAcct* (PNW 483: “Mere Fd (cf. *Walter atte Meere* 1352 *MinAcct*. v. **(ge)mære** *supra* 441. On the parish boundary).”). – *Mere*: *Mera* 1086 DB, 1091, 1098 *StOsmund*, 1139 *SarumCh*, 1155 RBE, 1156 ff P, *Mere* 1086 DB, 1166 RBE, 1196 *Cur et passim*, *Meyre* 1281 *Ass*, *Meere* 1308 *Pat*, *Mayre* 1316 FA, *Miere* 1337 *Pat*, *Meere* 1359 CI, 1416 *Pat*, *Myre* 1502 *ib.*, *Meare* 1616 *FF*, *Mere* oth. *Mare* oth. *Meere* 1753 *ib.* (PNW 178: “As *Mere* is near the point where Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire meet, it is probable that the name is derived from OE **(ge)mære**, ‚boundary.’ ”).
- O: *Landmere*: *Londymere*, *Landmore* 1551-2 *Survey* (PNO 2:420: “the first form [i.e. *Londymere*] looks like OE **landgemære**, ‚boundary,’ and this form occurs in a list of the bounds of *Cropredy*”).
- Ess: *Landermere* Hall: *Landimer(e)* 1211 FF, 1230 P (p), *Lendimare* 1222 *StP* (p), *Landemare* 1254 *Ass* (p), 1412 FA, *Landymer Hall* 1486 *Ipm*, *Landemere hall* 1594 N, *Landamer Lading* 1597 ER xxviii, *Landhamoor Hall* 1768 M, *Landermore Hall* 1777 C (PNEss 353).<sup>159</sup>
- Nth: *Laundimer Woods*: *Landimere* c. 1220 *For*, 1299 *Ct*, 1330 *Ass*, *Landemerehyl* 1293 *For*, *le Landimere* 1300 *Brudenell*, *-dy-* c. 1400 *Ct* (PNNth 160: “This is OE *land-gemære*, ‚boundary.’ The wood lies on the parish boundary.”).
- Ca: *Landymere* 1334 (PNCa 337).
- Ch: *Londymere* 1307-23 *Chest* (PNCh 4:266: “the name of ‚a certain fountain walled about with big stones’, meaning ‚the land boundary’, from **land-(ge)mære**, marking the boundary between *Irby* and *Thurstaston*, [...]”). – *the Meare* 1611 *LRMB* 200 (PNCh 1:113). – *le mere de Astun* m. 13 *AddCh* 51043, *le Mere* 1421 *AddCh* 51150 (PNCh 2:161 f, 163).<sup>160</sup>

<sup>159</sup> PNEss: “Cf. *Lamberhead Green* (PN La 105) and *Laundimer Woods* (PN Nth 160). It is on the creek which forms the boundary between *Thorpe-le-Soken* and *Beaumont*, *Thorpe* and *Kirby-le-Soken*, and *Beaumont* and *Kirby*. *lading* is a place for loading cargoes.”. *Lamberhead Green* is listed under I and *Laundimer Woods* in this section.

<sup>160</sup> See PNCh 2:161 f: “MARE CLOUGH, 1743 *Sheaf*, *the Meere Clough pool dam* 1590 *AddCh*, *the Mareclough Pool* 1590 (1680) *Sheaf*, *the mearclough poole* 1621 (1680) *ib.*, *Mare Clough Pool* 1743 *ib.*, cf. *le Merebrock* 1307 *AddCh*, *the Mear brook* 1590 (1680) *Sheaf*, *le Maremore* 1538 *AOMB* 399, 1547 *AddCh*, *Mare Hey* 1743 *Sheaf*, all referring to an area along the boundary with *Sutton* [...], ‚brook and dell on a boundary’, v. **(ge)mære**, **brōc**, **clōh**, **pōl**<sup>1</sup>, **damme**, **mōr**<sup>1</sup>, **(ge)hæg**. Cf. also „an assart at *le mere de Astun* which is called *Kette Ruding*’ m13 *AddCh* 51043, „twenty acres of land in *le Mere* called *le Dich*’ 1421 *ib.* 51150, v. **dic**.”. See also PNCh 2:163: “*le Dich*’ 1421 (twenty acres of land in *le Mere*, probably a boundary-ditch, v. **dic**, cf. *Mare Clough supra*)”. *Mare Clough* is in the township of *Aston* by *Sutton*. *Mare Clough*, *le Merebrock*, and *le Maremore* are listed in section I.

### III Combinations with OE *(ge)mære* as the second element

a First element a noun denoting the inhabitants of a land-unit

Q: (Toot) Baldon: (*into*) *bealdanhema gemære* 1054 (c. 1200) KCD 800, *Baldinhamere* c. 1200 S, *Baldenhamemere* c. 1240 S; „the boundary of the people of Baldon’ (Grundy 1933a:53, PNO 1:163 f, 2:449) – *Caldhememere* early 13th StJohn; „the boundary of the people of Caulcott’ (PNO 1:219, 2:449).<sup>161</sup> – *Foulwellingemere* c. 1278 Winchcombe; „the boundary of the people of Fulwell’ (PNO 2:350, 449). – *Rolhememere* l. 13th Os; „the boundary of the people of Rollright’ (PNO 2:356, 449).

Wa: Martimow: (*on*) *mercna mere* 969 BCS 1234, *Merclumere* c. 1265 *Magdalen*; „the boundary of the Mercians’ (Hooke cop. 1985:13, PNWa xvii, 272, 282, note, Whitelock 1955:519 f).

b First element an adjective denoting one of the cardinal points

(OE *ēast* „eastern, east’, OE, ON *norð* „northern, north’, OE *sūð* „southern, south’, OE *west*, ON *vestr* „western, west’)

D: West Mere: *Westmere* 1303 FA (PND 2:543). See note 158.

W: *Normer furlong* 1357 *NQ* viii (PNW 465: “Normans may be *Normer furlong* ib. It is on the northern edge of the parish, v. **(ge)mære**.”).

Sr: Great, Little Normans: *Normers* 1423, *Normeare* 1680. In the same parish as the following name, but by the north boundary. (Mawer 1933:192, PNSr 377) – Summerfield 1841 TA (now replaced by the name Canons Farm(6’)): *supemeresfelda* 933 (13th) BCS 697, *Supemeresfelda* 967 (13th) ib. 1195, *Suðemeresfelda* 1062 (13th) KCD 812, *Suthemeresfeld* 1203 LBa, *Suthmaresfelde* al. *Suthmeresfeld* 1181 BM, *Suthemeresfeld* 1293 Ipm, *Sudmeresfeld* 1196, *-mares-* 1198 FF, *Suthmaresfelde* 1317 Winton, *South Merfeld* 1428 FA, *Southmerfeild* 1549 Pat, *Cannons or Somerfield* 1636, *Cannons or Sommerfield or Southmerfield* 1723 LBa, *Cannon Farm* 1765 R. By the south parish boundary. (Mawer 1933:192, PNSr 69).

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<sup>161</sup> According to PNO 1:219, this name is very likely preserved in a corrupt form as Cold Harbour, which is Coal or borough Cottage in 1822 O. S. As shown ib., this suits the positions of Cold Harbour “on the boundary between Lower Heyford and Kirtlington” and *Caldhememere* “in a charter concerning Kirtlington”. The identification is probably helped by the often accepted opinion that the rather frequent name Caulcott (also spelt Caldecote, etc.) is used in the same way as the frequent name Cold Harbour, namely for places of shelter for travellers. This opinion has, however, been challenged by Tallon (1999:38), who suggests that the Caldecotes were instead inhabited by banished and exiled persons.

- O: *le Estmerefurlong* t. Ed 3 Shirburn (PNO 1:92). – *Westmerefurlong* t. Ed 3 Shirburn (PNO 1:92). See *Merefurlong* t. Ed 3 Shirburn under I and note 115.
- Hrt: *Normeare* 1639 (PNHrt 258: “(ge)mære ‚boundary’ is found in *Normeare* (1639) and *le Shire Mayre* (1552) in Barnet, referring clearly to the Middlesex – Hertfordshire boundary”).
- Ch: *Northemerenes* 1398 *Add*, *Northmere Renes* 1440 *Rental* (PNCh 4:244: “‚boundary strips at the north boundary’, v. **norð**, (ge)mære, **rein**, cf. *Southemere infra*”). Also listed under OE \*rān, \*ræn(e), ON *rein*. – *Southemere* 1407 *JRC* (PNCh 4:245: “‚south boundary’, v. **sūð**, (ge)mære, cf. *Northemerenes supra*”). – West Moor: *Westmere* 13 *AddCh*, m. 14 ib., *Vest-* 13 ib., *Westmerefurlong* 1296 ib., *-merfor-* 1300-07 ib. (PNCh 4:87: “‚(furlong at) west pool’, from **west** and **mere**<sup>1</sup> (cf. **mōr**<sup>1</sup>), with **furlang**”). OE (ge)mære seems, however, more likely than *mere*.

c First element another adjective or a numeral

- Do: *Haremere Wood*: *Haremere* 1433, 1434, 1435 all *Weld*’, *Haremere Coppice* 1640, 1 17 ib., *Hare Meare Coppice* 1 17 ib., *Hare Mare* (Trees & Wood) 1839 *TA* (PND0 1:191 f). See the chapter on OE *hār*.
- Brk: *The Comon Meare* 1440-41 *WAM*, *Le Comon Meare* 1548 ib. The name belongs to Steventon. (PNBrk 2:421: “v. (ge)mære, perhaps referring to ground on the edge of the arable”, PNBrk 3:890: “In *The Common* [sic] *Meare* (Steventon) the el. [i.e. (ge)mære] means ‚balk of a ploughland’ ”). First element ME *com(m)un* ‚common’. See *Common Raine* (WRY) in the chapter on OE \*rān, ræn(e), ON *rein*.
- O: *Langemeresforlong*’ 1326 *Gor* (PNO 1:55). See note 116. First element OE *lang* ‚long’. – *Thicmeren* c. 1298 *Eynsh*, *Thremeren* c. 1298 (c. 1444) *BC*. First element in the second form probably OE *þrēo* ‚three’. (*Eynsh* 2:96, *BC* 179, PNO 1:233).<sup>162</sup>
- Bk: *Ealdimererithi* 1228 *For Ch* 11, 1. First element OE *ald* (Angl), *eald* (Kt, WSax) ‚old’. (ERN 342<sup>163</sup>).

<sup>162</sup> See *BC* 179: “*usque Thremeren inter Stowode et boscum Henrici Tyeys et boscum abbatis de Westmonasterio*”. The context suggests that this is a boundary-mark. *Thremeren* is probably a compound of OE *þrēo* ‚three’ and (ge)mære in a concrete sense. Cf., however, PNO: “In c. 1298 (*Eynsh*) *Thicmeren* (*Thremeren* c. 1298 (c. 1444) *BC*, the second form looks like ‚three pools.’ v. **mere**”).

<sup>163</sup> ERN: “*Ealdimererithi* 1228 *For Ch* 11, 1 (the old boundary of the forest of Buckingham; ‚the old boundary stream’).” ERN thus analyses this name as *eald* followed by a combination of (ge)mære and OE *rīðig*. It is, however, placed under III here, on the assumption that it is rather a combination of *eald* and (ge)mære, followed by *rīðig*. In any case, the *i* in *-imere-* is probably a residue of the *ge* in (ge)mære.

- Ca: *Greenmere* 1361 (PNCa 338: “ „which divides the fields of Cherry Hinton and Barnwell,’ ”). First element OE *grēne*<sup>1</sup> ‚green’. - *le Knottedemare* 1307 (PNCa 338). First element ME *knotted* ‚knotted’.
- Cu: *Mickelmearebanke* 1603 Gilsland (PNCu 1:69). First element OE *micel*, *mycel*, ON *mikill* ‚big, great’. See note 94.

d First element a personal name<sup>164</sup>

- Do: *Hotegosome* n. d. (e. 15) *MiltRoll* (PND0 1:52: “in bounds of *Hethfeld supra* [in the same parish], v. **(ge)mære** ‚boundary’, cf. John *Hotego* 1327”). - *alt’ via voc’ Perysmer* 1494 *Weld’* First element the personal name *Perry* (*Pirie*) (PND0 1:12)<sup>165</sup>
- W: *Wulvruneimere* 1525 (PNW 441). The first element seems to be the OE fem. personal name *Wulfrūn* (von Feilitzen 1937:424).
- Bk: Bockmer: *Bockemere* 1228 Bract (p), *Bokmerfeld* 1537 LP, *Bokmer*, *Bukmar* 1538 LP, Bockmore c. 1825 O, Buckmoor 1826 B (PNBk 190: “Probably OE *Buccan-mære*, ‚Bucca’s boundary.’ The farm lies on the parish boundary. v. **(ge)mære**.”). - Bosmore: *Bossemere* c. 1240 *Mert* 2451, 2 (p), c. 1250 ib. 785 (p), 2438, 9 (p), *Bosmere* 1479 AD vi (PNBk 175 f: “ ‚Bossas’s boundary’, v. **mære** [...]. **mære** seems more likely than **mere** here for the farm lies near the bounds of the parish and county and there is certainly no ‚mere’ here now.”).<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> The Devon name Chapner may belong here: *Chatemere* 1242, 1303, 1326, 1358, *Chaddemere* 1346, *Chadmore* 1428 (Blomé 124: “OE *Ceattan-mære* ‚*Ceatta*’s boundary’. The place is on the parish boundary. There is no mere in the neighbourhood.”). Cf., however, on this name PND 2:395: “ ‚*Ceat(t)a*’s mere,’ v. **mere**. The ground in the neighbourhood is marshy. For the development cf. *Chapmore End* (Herts), *Chattemere* 1294, 1296 SR (p).” On this Hertfordshire name see PNHrt 216: “CHAPMOR END is *Chapmer End* (1623 Sess) and was the home of John de *Chattemere* (1294, 1296 SR). ‚*Ceatta*’s pool,’ v. **mere**.” Possibly the second element is instead **(ge)mære**. In the following Wiltshire charter text, *mære* is also uncertain: *mere* or **(ge)mære**: *Banon on ceattan mære to ælflede gemære* 983 KCD 636 (S 848) (Venezky: microfiche). In the following Buckinghamshire name it is likewise uncertain whether the second element is **(ge)mære** or *mere*: *Cadmere End: Cademere* 1236. See PNBk 177: “ ‚*Cada*’s boundary.’ The name *Cada* may be inferred from *Cadanhangra* (KCD 780) and numerous other place-names. v. Förster in *Liebermann Festschrift* 180. **mære** rather than **mere** seems certain as the place is right on the county border.” Cf., however, DEPN: “Probably ‚*Cada*’ mere or lake’, though there does not seem to be any lake there now.” Also Gelling (1984:26 f), where *mere* is said to be the second element. See also Mills (1997) s.n. : “ ‚Estate boundary or pool of a man called *Cada*’. OE pers. name + *mære* or *mere*.”

<sup>165</sup> See, however, PND0 with hesitation between *mere* and **(ge)mære**: “*alt’ via voc’ Perysmer* 1494 (cf. *partum nuper Ricardi Pyrs* 1469, somewhere in this hundred; from the surname *Perry*, *Pirie* (from **pirige** ‚pear-tree’), with **mere**<sup>1</sup> or **(ge)mære** ‚boundary’”.

<sup>166</sup> Cf., however, Bosmere (Sf): DEPN: “[*Bosemera* DB, *Bosemere* c 1230 Bodl]. ‚*Bosa*’s lake. *Bosmere* is a lake and a place on it, also the name of a hundred.”.

Wa: Wawensmoor: *Wauenes mere* 1287 FF, *Wannesmere* 1301 Pat, *Waunesmere* 1316 FA, *Wawensmere* 1451 *MinAcct*, *Wainsmere* 1620 *Recov*. The first element is probably the personal name *Wagen* (*Wawen*). Wawens Moor (in two words PNWa 243) lies by the parish boundary. (PNWa 242 f, 247).

Ca: *Blunt(e)smere* 1277 Fleet, (*-fen*) 1575 *Survey*, (*Drove*) 1777 *Terr*, *Blunte Meer* 1637 BedL, *Blunsmare* 1652 FF, *Far Bluntmere* 1826 CCC. The OE personal name *Blunt* first element. (PNCa 169<sup>167</sup>).

e First element a place-name

Nth: Althorp Meer (6''): *Althorpemere* 1398 *Spencer* (PNNth 80: "on the boundary of Brington and Althorp. v. **(ge)mære**.").

Ca: *Stantonmere* c. 1345 *Cole* xliv, *Stanton meare furlong* 1575 *Rental* (PNCa 29 s.n. STANTON MERE WAY (6'')). See note 117.<sup>168</sup>

Ch: *Geyton Meyre* 1569 *Sheaf* (PNCh 4:276: "„boundary-mark of Gayton', v. **(ge)mære**, at 109-285805 where Leighton, Gayton and Thornton Hough meet").

f First element another noun, alone or compounded with another word<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> PNCa: "BLUNTISHMERE DROVE (6''). Cf. *Blunt(e)smere* 1277 Fleet, (*-fen*) 1575 *Survey*, (*Drove*) 1777 *Terr*, *Blunte Meer* 1637 BedL, *Blunsmare* 1652 FF, *Far Bluntmere* 1826 CCC, *Over Blunt Fen* 1829 Wells. The Ouse here forms the boundary between Over and Bluntisham (PN BedsHu 204) and the first element is the personal name found in Bluntisham itself and the second is probably **(ge)mære**, „boundary.' [...]"

<sup>168</sup> The Cambridgeshire names *Draitunemere* 1250 (first element mod. Drayton in Dry Drayton (PNCa 152) and Fen Drayton (PNCa 166)) and *Grantedenemare* 1239 (first element mod. Gransden in Little Gransden (PNCa 161 f) may also belong here. See PNCa 338, discussing field- and minor names: "**(ge)mære**, „boundary,' occurs both as *mare* and *mere* and is thus difficult to distinguish from **mere**. *Greenmere* (1361) „which divides the fields of Cherry Hinton and Barnwell,' *Grantedenemare* (1239), *Draitunemere* (1250), *le Knottedemare* (1307), *Marefurlong* (14th)". *Greenmere*, *le Knottedemare*, and *Marefurlong* are all included in the material, see above.

<sup>169</sup> The Lancashire name Walmersley: *Walmeresley* 1262, *de Walmereslegh* 1318, *de Walm'eslegh* 1332, *Womersley* 1552, *Wamessley Hamell* 1555 (PNLa 62) may well be a triple compound of OE *lāh* added to a compound of OE *wald* (Angl), *weald* (Kt, WSax) „woodland' and **(ge)mære**. In PNLa Ekwall suggests as first part of the name an OE personal name or a compound of OE *wella*, etc. and *mere*, but in DEPN he says: "The first el. may be an OE *wald-mere* or *wald-gemære* „lake by the wood' or „boundary of the wood'. See LĒAH." The Derbyshire place-name Chelmorton (PNDb 1:74 f, Studies<sup>2</sup>165 f) may also belong here. It may be a compound of \**cegel*, \**ci(e)gel* „pole' and **(ge)mære** with OE *dūn* „hill' added, but there are other alternatives. See note 82 in the chapter on OE *marc*.

- Sx: Udimore: *Dodimere* 1086 DB, *Odumer* 12th AD iii, *Hudimere* 1197 FF, c. 1240 Pens, *Huddemere* 1271 Ass, *Odimer(e)*, -y- 1249 FF *et freq* to 1535 VE, *Oedymere* 1252 Ipm, *Odemore* 1281 Pat, *Udemere* 1291 Tax, 1295 Pat, *Udimore*, -y- 1295-7 Pat, 1297 Cl, -mer(e) 1325 Ipm *et freq* to 1675 Ogilby, *Wodymer* 1552 *Recov* (DEPN, PNSx 2:516, SMED<sup>4</sup> 38). First element probably OE *wudu* „wood”.<sup>170</sup>
- W: *Tornetrowe meere* 1650 (PNW 441). First element no doubt OE *þorn* + OE *trēow* „thorn-tree”.
- O: *Hausegrovemere* 1298 Eynsh, *Ensingrovemere* c. 1298 BC (Eynsh 2:96, BC 179, PNO 1:171). First element probably OE *hæslen* „of hazel” + OE *grāf(a)*, -e „hazel grove”.<sup>171</sup> – *Shiremere* c. 1294 BC, 1354-55 *ForPer*,

<sup>170</sup> There are different opinions on this name. In both DEPN and SMED<sup>4</sup> the second element is taken to be *(ge)māere*. See DEPN: “Either „Uda’s boundary’ or „the boundary of the wood’. Second el. OE *gemāere* „boundary’. If the first is OE *wudu* „wood’, ODIHAM may be compared.”. Odiham (Ha) (*Odiham* 1086 DB, 1130, c. 1140, *Wudiham* 1116) is explained in DEPN as “OE *wudiga hamm* „wooded HAMM’ ”. See also Ekwall (1917:295) on Udimore: “Ich möchte in dem *i* eher einen rest der vorsilbe *(ge)māere* als der endung -an (*Udan-*) erblicken.”. PNSx, however, says: “Uda’s mere,’ v. *mere*. For the *i*, v. note on Mountfield *supra* 474.”. The note referred to reads: “The persistent *i* in *Montifelle*, *Mundifelde* is curious. It is repeated in other names in this south-eastern corner of the county, as in Bodiam, Padiam, Udimore. Possibly it is an early weakening of -ing- which appears rarely in the forms of Bodiam and Padiam, though not particularly early. Otherwise it must represent an exceptional weakening of OE genitival -an to *i* instead of the usual *e*.”. Also Dodgson (1978:74) considers that Udimore contains a personal name and *mere*. Gelling (1984:26) says that Udimore “may be „woody pond’ ”. Udimore is included in the material in section III f on the assumption that the elements are *wudu* and *(ge)māere*. Too uncertain to be included in the material is, however, the Surrey name Woodmansterne: *Odemerestor* 1086, *Wudemaresthorne* 1186-98, *Wodemerestorn* 1207, *Wudemare-* 1222, *Wodemerestorn* 1207, *Wodemaresthorne* 1225, *Wodemarston* 1255, *Woddemarston* 1512, *Wudemeresthorn* 1205 *et passim* to 1450, with variant spellings *Wode-*, -mers-, *Wudemaunesthorne* (PNSr: sic) 1253, *Wodmannesturne* 1479, *Woodmansturn* 1552, *Woodmansterne al. Woodmersterne* 1559, *Woodmansterne al. Woodmershorne* (PNSr: sic) 1608, *Wamersterne* 1570, *Womersterne* late 16th (DEPN, PNSr 56). DEPN explains it as “ „Thorn-bush by the boundary of the wood’, OE *wudu-gemāeres-þorn*.”, and also EPNE 1:xxiii explains it as a combination of *wudu* and the gen. of *(ge)māere*, but with *tūn* added. See, however, PNSr: “ „*Wudumār*’s thorn-bush,’ v. *þorn*. The name *Wudumār* is not on record but is a regular formation, and parallel to the Gothic *Vidimer*. Later, by a process of dissimilation, *r-r* became *n-r*, and the name was made to appear as if it contained the common noun (and name) *wuduman*, „woodman.’ ”. See also Reaney (1961:141): “But Woodmansterne (Sr), *Wudemaresthorne* 1186, is more likely to mean „*Wudumār*’s thorn-bush’ than „thorn-bush by the boundary of the wood’, for personal-names are frequently compounded with tree-names, as in Bisterne (Ha), „*Bīeda*’s thorn-bush’, Burston (Bk), *Bridelestorn* 1227 (*Briddel*).”.

<sup>171</sup> Eynsh 2:96: “*usque Bunden’ quod vocatur Hausegrouemere, quod est inter campum de Elesfeld & campum de Wyk’* ”. BC 179: “*usque le bunden’ quod vocatur Ensingrovemere, quod est inter campum Ellesfeld et campum de Wyke*”. The context makes it likely that the second element is *(ge)māere*. See, however, PNO 1:171 (under lost field-names belonging to Elsfeld): “In 1298 (Eynsh) *Hausegrovemere* (cf. *Haselyngroue* 1273 (c. 1425) Frid, „hazel



*Shyremere* c. 1294 BC (BC 181, PNO 1:190: “perhaps ‘shire boundary’: it was between Thomley and Wormenhall”).<sup>172 173</sup>

**Bk:** Winchmore Hill (6’): *Winzemerehull* 1270 C 132 (PRO), *Winsmore Hill* 1611 Lincoln Record Office, Wills, *Winsmare Hill* 1632 Bucks Record Office, Howe Deeds, *Winsmore hill* 1639 Terr, *Winchmore Hill* 1639 Bucks Record Office, Wills, *Winshmore hill* 1674 Terr, Winchmorehill 1706 Terr (PNBk 228, Trench 52 f). First element probably OE *wince* or *wincel* ‘sharp bend, corner’.<sup>174</sup>

**Hrt:** *Galowes mare* 1474 *StPauls* (PNHrt 292<sup>175</sup>). First element OE *galga*, *gealga* ‘gallows’. – Holtsmore End: *Holtsmere* c. 1370 Gesta, *Holsmerend feild* 1538 LRMB, *Houlesmeare End* c. 1650 VCH ii, 221. First element OE

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grove,’ to which ‘pool’ has been added; first element *hæslen*, ‘of hazel,’ v. **grāf(a), mere<sup>1</sup>**” and the footnote: “<sup>1</sup> The name occurs as *Ensingrovemere* c. 1298 (c. 1444) BC, and Forsberg (30) suggests that this should be connected with the group of names discussed under Hensington (270-1): it seems clear, however, that the form in BC is a poor one.”

<sup>172</sup> See also BC c. 1294 on the bounds of Bernwood forest, on p. 181: “*et sic usque Shyremere inter [villas] de Thomele et Wormenhale; et sic usque Brodewey;*”, etc. etc. until “*et sic usque Wodyecrouche atte Shyremere; et sic usque Northcrofteshurne;*”, etc. etc. and the footnote: “<sup>3</sup> Some such word is required.”

<sup>173</sup> Hockmore Farm and Cottages in Oxfordshire may contain OE *hocc* ‘mallow’ or a personal name as first element, and **(ge)mære** or *mere* as second element. See PNO 1:28: “HOCKMORE FARM and COTTAGES (6’) take name from (*into*) *hocce mære* 1004 (t. Ed 2) Frid, *Hokemere* c. 1200 (c. 1280) S, *Hockemere* 1220, c. 1250 (both c. 1280) S, 1324 Ch. As it is on the south boundary of Cowley the second element is probably **(ge)mære**. The first is uncertain: *hocc*, ‘mallow,’ is formally possible.” See also Whitelock (1955:546), translating this charter (S 909): “[...] to Hockmere, from that boundary<sup>8</sup> [...]” and the footnote: “<sup>8</sup> Assuming that the second element in *Hoccemære* is *mære* ‘boundary’ rather than *mere* ‘lake’. Grundy notes a Hockmere Farm and cottages due south of Cowley village, near the parish boundary.” Grundy (1933a:15 f), uses, however, the inferior (see note 72) version KCD 709 of S 909: “6. Fro the Acre into the Ockmere: „From the Strip of Ploughland to the ... Pond.’ 7. Fro that Mere ...: „From the Pond ...’ ” and says: “In 6 the *Ock-* of *Ockmere* may be a form of *Ac*, ‘oak,’ a form always very rare, which does not occur before A. D. 1250. It is also possible that it might be the stream name *Ock* (*Occene*, *Eoccene*); but the topographical circumstances render that unlikely. [...] Finally the site of *Ockmere* is determined with certainty by the name Hockmore Farm (OM1) and Hockmere Cottages (OM6) close to the S. By. due S. of the village of Cowley.” After all, the elements are perhaps most likely to be OE *hocc* ‘mallow’ and **(ge)mære** in a concrete sense. A combination of *hocc* with *mere* does not seem very likely, since the common mallow (local name mallow-hock (So) (Grigson 1975:108)) prefers dry places. See Grigson (op.cit. p. 109): “These two Mallows [i.e. musk mallow and common mallow] are very much a species of waste and wayside; [...]”.

<sup>174</sup> PNBk takes Winchmore to be possibly OE *Wines-mōr* ‘Wine’s mor’, but Trench’s discussion (more and earlier forms available) makes it very likely that Winchmore Hill means ‘the hill where the boundary makes a sharp bend’. (There is also a Middlesex name Winchmore Hill, which PNMx 70 says may mean ‘Winesige’s or Wynsige’s boundary hill’, but which according to PNO 1:50 (Add. & Corr. to PNMx) is very likely to contain **mere**.)

<sup>175</sup> PNHrt 292: “Gallows Hill Corner (cf. *Galowes mare* ib. [i.e. 1474 *StPauls*] is from OE **(ge)mære**, ‘boundary’”).

*holt* ‚wood, holt, thicket‘. (PNHrt 32<sup>176</sup>). – *le Shire Mayre* 1552 (PNHrt 258, see *Normeare* above).

**Ch:** Moon’s Mare 1843 *TA* 444: *Moundesmere* 1343 *Chol*, *Moundesmere* (lit. *Moundesinere*) 1369 *Orm*<sup>2</sup> 558, Moon’s Mere 1843 *TA* 354. First element perhaps ME *mounde* (< OFr *monde*) ‚world‘ (PNCh 4:209<sup>177</sup>). – *The Three Shire Mears* 1656 *Orm*<sup>2</sup>. First element OE *scīr* ‚shire‘. (PNCh 1:162<sup>178</sup>).

**Db:** Shire Mier 1791 *EnclA: Shiremeare* 1673 *Deed*. First element OE *scīr* ‚shire‘. (PNDb 3:644)<sup>179</sup>

## 2.3 Discussion

The many pages filled with instances of OE *(ge)māere* may give the impression that it is a very common element, both in OE and in ME and ModE, which is only true to a certain extent. It is very frequent only in some parts of England. The distribution of *(ge)māere* compared with the distribution of OE *mearc* will be dealt with in the chapter on that element.

It does not seem possible to ascertain exactly *how* common OE *(ge)māere* is in different parts of England, and this is to a large extent due to the fact that it is often difficult to tell whether an element is *(ge)māere* or OE *mere* ‚pond, pool, lake‘. This difficulty constitutes a major problem in dealing with *(ge)māere*.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> PNHrt: “Wood’s boundary,” v. **holt**, **(ge)mære**. It is on the boundary of Flamstead and Hemel Hempstead parishes.”

<sup>177</sup> See PNCh: “[...] a locality about 109-356732 at the boundary of Woodbank, Shotwick and Capenhurst. The final el. is probably **(ge)mære** ‚a boundary‘. The first el. appears to be ME *mounde* (OFr *monde*) ‚the world‘ (NED s.v. *mound* sb<sup>1</sup>). A name such as ‚the world’s end‘ for a remote spot out on a boundary is not improbable. ModE *mound* ‚a hedge, a fence, a boundary‘, also ‚a mound‘, is not recorded earlier than 1515 NED, otherwise this name could be interpreted as ‚a boundary marked by a fence‘. Also, cf. EPN s.v. **mund**”). See also PNCh V:1:i (Add & Corr.), p. xlii: “p. 209, para. (a), s.n. Moon’s Mare. J. E. B. G. notes Moundsmere (Preston Candover) Ha.” If the first element is ME *mounde* ‚world‘, this name is synonymous with The World’s End, which Field (cop. 1972:261) reports from several counties.

<sup>178</sup> See PNCh: “THREE SHIRE HEADS, (111-009685), *the Three Sheres* 1533 Db 373, *the (three) shire stones* c. 1620 *Orm*<sup>2</sup>, *The Three Shire Mears* 1656 ib., ‚the three county-boundary stones‘, where Ch, Db and St meet, v. **brēo**, **scīr**, **hēafod**, **stān**, **(ge)mære**.”

<sup>179</sup> See PNDb 3:644: “Shire Mier (*Shiremeare* 1673, cf. *Shir(e)hold*, *-holt* 1415, *-land* 1482, ‚shire boundary‘, v. **scīr**<sup>1</sup>, **(ge)mære** and **holt**, **land**”). Fraser (1947:89) mentions a name in the same parish: “SHIRE MEAR CLOSE. “Shire boundary close.” From O. E. **maere**, a boundary. It lies on the Leicestershire boundary.”. Maybe these two names refer to the same piece of land.

<sup>180</sup> The Lancashire name Marland (PNLa 55) can illustrate this dilemma. It is *Merlande* c. 1200, *Merland* 13th, *de Merlond* 1323. Ekwall says: “This is probably O.E. *Mereland* from *mere*

The uncertain element OE *\*mārs-* ‚boundary’ is sometimes mentioned as an alternative to *(ge)māre*. See especially note 112, on the river-name Mersey.

OE *(ge)māre* occurs with several different spellings, both in OE and later. The *ge-* prefix is fairly frequent in OE when the element occurs as the first element. There are no examples of the reflex of *ge-* in the ME and later material when *(ge)māre* is the first element, but it is sometimes preserved when *(ge)māre* is the second element. OE *land-gemāre* nearly always keeps its prefix. ME reflexes of *ge-* are mostly *i-* or *y-*.

The usual meaning of *(ge)māre* as the first element in both the OE and the ME and later material is ‚boundary’. As a simplex and as the second element the semantics is more complicated. In the instances from OE boundary surveys, a concrete meaning is sometimes required in these positions. The meanings ‚boundary’ and ‚balk of a ploughland’, possibly also ‚way on and along the balk of a ploughland’<sup>181</sup>, ‚boundary-stone’, and ‚boundary-mark’, have to be reckoned with. See notes 13 and 18. The ME and later material shows *(ge)māre* used in the following ways:

1 meaning ‚boundary’:

(a) as the second element of a combination forming the first part of a triple compound, e.g. *Mickelmearebanke* 1603 (Cu), *Suthemerefelde* 1203 (Sr);

(b) with reference to something concrete, e.g. a piece of land, near a boundary or at a point where boundaries meet, e.g. *Landesmer* 1349 (WRY), *Birlemere* 13 (WRY), *Hotegosmere* n. d. (e. 15) (Do), *Merclumere* c. 1265 (Wa), *Normers* 1423 (Sr), *Rollhememere* l. 13th (O), *Stantonmere* c. 1345 (Ca), probably *Thremeren* c. 1298 (O).<sup>182 183</sup>

2 with a concrete meaning:

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“mere”; there is a small lake near Marland. Cf. Mereside Farm N. of Marland. But the name may also contain O.E. *gemāre* “boundary.” Marland is on the border of Bury.”

<sup>181</sup> Grundy (1933a) (*Saxon Oxfordshire. Charters and Ancient Highways*) discusses on p. 55 with footnote the use of such balks as ways.

<sup>182</sup> *Wigingamere* 921 (Bk) with reference to a place, ‚the boundary of the Wing people’, the only OE instance not from a boundary survey, also belongs here. The OE boundary survey form (*on*) *mercna mere* 969 (Wa) ‚the boundary of the Mercians’, however, is an ordinary charter instance with reference to a boundary and only indirectly the source of *Merclumere* c. 1265, mod. Martimow (Wa). This is also the case with the relation between *andlang þæs gemæres* 940 (Gl) and The Mears, 1842.

<sup>183</sup> Names belonging to 1 (a) and 1(b) can occur in pairs, e.g. *Normers* 1423 and *Suthmeresfeld* 1203 in the same parish (Sr). A modern name belonging to 1 (b) is Landamore (Nth). See PNNth 285: “Landamore is a boundary field (OE *land-(ge)māre* ‚boundary’)”.

(a) ‚balk of a ploughland’, or ‚way on and along the balk of a ploughland’ or ‚boundary road’: *The Comon Meare* 1440-41 (Brk), *Greenmere* 1361 (Ca), *le Knottedemare* 1307 (Ca), *alt’ via voc’ Perysmer* 1494 (Do).

(b) ‚boundary-mark’ or ‚boundary-stone’, e.g. *Resby Mere* 1594 (WRY), *le bunden’ quod vocatur Ensingrovemere* c. 1298 (O), perhaps *Geyton Meyre* 1569 (Ch) and *Haremere* 1433, 1434, 1435 (Do).<sup>184</sup>

3 with the special meaning found in WRY, where *(ge)māre* is synonymous with the administrative term *quarter*.

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<sup>184</sup> See also Beresford 51, discussing a boundary survey of land in Northamptonshire from 1591: “They followed the river Nene as far as a bridge, crossed a meadow to a pool, and then made for a “mere”, or boundary-stone.”, and PNDb 1:171: “*Abbot Ring* 1691 (probably identical with *meere of stones called King and Abbot* 1690 *DuLaSC*)”, and PNCh 1:127: “CROOKEDYARD (110-953727), 1831 Bry, *le Crokedyorde* 1503 *ChFor*, *the Cro(o)ked yord* 1611 *LRMB* 200 (f.164, „where a whicken tree did stand which was the ancient meere between Ranow and Sutton’), „the crooked enclosure’, v. **croked**, **geard**. This place is where Rainow, Macclesfield Forest and Sutton township used to meet.”, and PNCh 5(1:i):44 ff, the discussion of the name Gloverstone < ME *glouere* ‚glover, glove-maker’ and *stān*, referring to a boundary-stone, with the following quotations on p. 45: “*a (greate) stone called Glovers’ Sto(u)ne, ...a grey stone of marble standing in the street, ...a blew marble stone, ...the meere (stone) called Glovers Stone* 1625 Morris 108-110, CAS NS v, *the stone called the Gloverstone* 1638 Sheaf<sup>3</sup> 11, 1656 Orm<sup>2</sup> 1 135, *Glovers Stone* 1745 Lavaux”.



# Chapter 3 OE *mearc*

## 3.1 Introductory remarks

The principal meanings of OE *mearc* are ‚boundary‘, ‚boundary-mark‘, and ‚mark‘.<sup>1</sup> It is an *ō*-stem. The diphthong *ea* is the result of breaking before *r* + consonant.

The IE origin of *mearc* is a root *\*mereǵ-* ‚edge, boundary‘<sup>2</sup>. IE *\*mereǵ-* developed into PGermanic *\*markō-*, which is the source of OE *mearc*, and of ON *mǫrk* ‚forest‘<sup>3</sup>, Gothic *marka* ‚boundary, landmark‘, and OS *marka*, OHG *marc(h)a* ‚boundary‘. The same root also developed into Lat *margo* ‚margin‘.

In Anglian, OE *mearc* became *mærc* through smoothing. A little later, but still in OE, this *mærc* became *merc* (Campbell § 222). Smoothing did not, however, always take place (see Campbell § 223 and note the form *mearc* from the Epinal Glossary (chiefly Mercian) in that paragraph). A form with *a* < unfractured *æ* is also to be reckoned with, at least for the Northumbrian dialect (Campbell § 144). This *a* would be preserved in ME.

The unsmoothed diphthong *ea* in *mearc* is expected to become *æ* about 1000 and from 1100 *a* (Jordan §§ 58 f). Smoothed Anglian *e* in *merc* took part in the change *er* > *ar* (Jordan § 270). The result would thus be a falling together of all forms in ME. The ModE form is *mark*.

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<sup>1</sup> The meanings ‚mark to shoot at‘ and ‚remark, note‘ do not seem to be found in OE.

<sup>2</sup> Translation of Pokorny (1989:738): „Rand, Grenze,“.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning ‚forest‘ in ON is developed from the meaning ‚boundary‘. Since stretches of forestland often formed boundaries, the word came to mean ‚boundary-forest‘ and then ‚forest‘. See Norsk Stednamleksikon s.v. **mark**, **mork** and Hellquist 2:630 s.v. 1. **mark**. ODan **mark**, like ModDan and ModSw **mark**, means ‚ground‘, except in the country-name *Danmark*, where *-mark* means ‚boundary‘ and refers to the boundary (area) between Danes and Saxons (see Hald 1965:177 f). The name *Danmark* was brought into England, where it occurs as the name of a lost or unidentified place in Lincolnshire. *Danmark* (Li) is the only example of ON **mǫrk** in EPNE.

Besides the meanings ‚boundary‘, ‚boundary-mark‘, and ‚mark‘, there exist in OE also the meanings ‚balk of a ploughland‘<sup>4</sup>, ‚boundary district‘<sup>5</sup>, and ‚district‘<sup>6</sup>.

Like *(ge)māere*, *mearc* occurs compounded with OE *land*: OE *land-mearc* ‚boundary‘<sup>7</sup>. This compound will also be dealt with in this chapter.

PGermanic *\*markō-* was borrowed, via OFrank *\*marka*, into Romanic, resulting in e.g. OFr *marche* ‚boundary‘, and this form was then borrowed into English: ME *marche* ‚boundary‘.<sup>8</sup>

There are also other words in English related to OE *mearc*. One is, with *i*-mutation, *(ge)mierce* (WSax), *(ge)merce* (non-WSax) ‚boundary‘, a neuter *īa*-stem.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For the meaning ‚balk of a ploughland‘ see Grundy (1922a:62 f) (quoted in note 13 in the chapter on OE *(ge)māere*).

<sup>5</sup> The meaning ‚boundary district‘ is assumed by Ekwall. See Studies<sup>2</sup>:48 (on Markshall (Ess)): “The correct Old English form was *Mearc-gesella* ‚shelters by a *mearc*‘. *Mearc* may mean ‚boundary or ‚boundary district‘. The place is near a hundred boundary.”, and also DEP: “OE **mearc** ‚mark, boundary mark, boundary, border, border district‘. The last sense is found in OE *Mierce* ‚Mercians‘, lit. ‚borderers‘. In pl. ns. the usual meaning is no doubt ‚boundary mark, boundary‘. ...”. See also Pokorny loc.cit.: “ahd. *marc(h)a* ‚Grenze, Grenzland, ags. *mearc* ds., ...”, and Earle 1888:454: “The word [i.e.] *mearc* signified a line of boundary, and also the belt of wild land around the cultivated area of a village, ...”.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning ‚district‘ occurs in: “Hit wæs geond ealle R m na mearce ðæt *it was the custom throughout all the Roman territories*” (quoted from B-T under “III. *the territory within the boundaries; fines*”).

<sup>7</sup> Instances are (*þis is*) *þe landmark to Edyndon* 968 (14th) BCS 1215 (S 765) (W) and (*þær*) *þa þreo landmearca (gaþe togædere)* 901 (14th) BCS 597 (S 365) (Ha).

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. ODEE. An instance is *de La Marche* 1280 (p) (D) (PND 1:71: v. “**marche** ‚boundary‘”). Another instance might be Marchweeke (*Marchwyke* Eliz) (D) (PND 2:396 f: “v. **wic**. The first element may be OE **mearc**, ‚boundary, border,‘ the place lying by the parish boundary.”).

<sup>9</sup> Later forms of WSax *(ge)mierce* are *(ge)mirce*, *(ge)myrce*. An instance of WSax *(ge)mierce*, although in a Kentish charter, is (*on*) *þæt ealde þrymyrce* 811 BCS 335 (Birch 1:467 note 10) (S 168). See KPN 114 ff and 120: “...“the old triangle”. From OE *þrīe* “three” + *mierce* “boundary.” A compound with *land-*: OE *land-gemirce* ‚boundary‘ is mentioned in B-T. The *e* in non-WSax *(ge)merce* would become *a* in ME (Jordan §§ 67, 270). The West Riding names Markenfield (PNWRY: Markingfield) (*Merchefeld* 1086) and Markington (*Mercinga tun, on Mercingtune* c. 1030) (PNWRY 5:177, 179, xii) may contain *(ge)merce* and have *k* through influence from ON. See also CDEP. The existence of a Northumbrian *i*-mutated form *\*(ge)mærce* corresponding to OE, chiefly Northumbrian, *\*marc* with retracted *a* is quite possible. See Campbell § 193, Jordan § 60. The *æ* would become *a* in ME (Jordan loc.cit.). ME *marche*, with a palatal sound, may thus possibly have at least three origins: OFr *marche*, non-WSax *(ge)merce*, and Northumbrian *\*(ge)mærce*. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that *ch* in ME *marche* is occasionally an Anglo-Norman spelling for *k* (see Jordan § 17), so that the element is OE *mearc*. ME *marche* may also be a reflection of OE *mer(i)sc* ‚marsh‘, see Löfvenberg (1942:131 f).

OE *Mierce* (WSax), *Merce* (non-WSax) ‚the Mercians’, i.e. ‚the boundary-dwellers’, is nom. pl. of a masc. *i*-stem derived from *mearc*.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, OE *miercels* (WSax), *mercels* (non-WSax) ‚mark, mark to shoot at, boundary-mark’ is a word related to *mearc* and formed with the suffix OE *-els* (< PGermanic *\*-isla*).<sup>11</sup>

There may also exist a derivative OE *\*mearcelle* (WSax, Kt), *\*mercelle* (Angl).<sup>12</sup>

Last but not least, there are an OE neuter (*ge*)*mearc* (WSax, Kt), (*ge*)*merc* (Angl) ‚boundary; boundary-mark’ and probably an OE fem. *\*(ge)mearca*.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See Langenfelt 1920:43: “*Mierce*, < *\*Mearci* < *\*Markiz*”. On the boundary involved see e.g. Hooke cop. 1985:58: “The name of the Mercians is derived from the tribal name *Mierce*, ‚the people of the March or border’, and is usually understood to apply to the inhabitants of the region which formed the frontier between the Anglo-Saxon and British-controlled territory in the late sixth and early seventh centuries.”. Markfield (Le) (*Merchenefeld* 1086, *Merkenefeld* 1209-19, *Merkinfeld* 1254) contains the name of this Anglian tribe (DEPN, Ekwall 1953:141).

<sup>11</sup> This word occurs in Marsden, Great & Little (La) (*Merkesden* 1195 ff, *Merkelesden* 1246, *Merclesden major*, *Little Merkelestene* 1242, *Merclesden* 1327, 1332) (DEPN, PNLa 86, SMED<sup>1</sup> 133), in *Marchileslane* 1300 (Bd) (PNBd & Hu 297), and probably also in Marsden (WRY) (*Marchesden(e)* 1177-93, 1274, 1277) (DEPN, PNWRY 2:276 f) and Marshfield (Ch) (*Marchesford* E1 (PNCh 3:45).

<sup>12</sup> It is one of the suggestions made by Ekwall to explain the Suffolk river-name Markle, very likely an old name of the Brett. See ERN 279: “*Mearcella*, (on, andlang) *Mearcellan* 962 BCS 1082, (to) *Mercyl*, (andlang) *Mercyle* post 991 BCS 1289. The name looks like a derivative from OE *mearc* ‚boundary’ with the suffix found in *swingelle* ‚whip, scourge’. If so, the form *Mercyl* shows Anglian smoothing and *y* for *e* owing to inverse spelling. Cf. *Lexadyne* for *-dene* and the like in the same charter.”. BCS 1082 = S 703, BCS 1289 = S 1486. Kristensson (pers. comm.) points out that the *y* for *e* is probably due to weak accent, not to inverse spelling. However, ERN (loc.cit.) also suggests that the name may be a compound of *mearc* and OE *wiella* (or *wella*) ‚spring, stream’. See also Middendorff 94: “*mearcell* (d. h. *mearcwell*) 1082”. Perhaps the name is after all a compound of *mearc* and OE *\*cille* ‚spring, stream’, see Lowe (2005:19 ff).

<sup>13</sup> See B-T s.v. neut. **ge-mearc**: “A boundary, limit; locus designatus”, and W-P 2:283: “ags. *gemearc* n. ‚Grenze“ ”. See also Middendorff s.v. *gemearcod*: “(pp. von *gemearcjan*) gezeichnet, mit einem Zeichen versehen; meistens Bäume. Ein solcher Baum ist dann ein *gemearc* st. n., plur. *gemyrcu* (Grenzzeichen)”. In both PNNRY and EPNE the lost place-name *Milemerke* (NRY) is taken to contain OE (*ge*)*mearc*. See PNNRY 331: “*Milemerke* (c. 1167) ‚a mile mark’ which is perhaps unique except for the solitary OE **mīl-gemearc** in *Beowulf*” and EPNE s.v. **mīl-gemearc**: “OE, ‚a mile-mark’ (recorded in *Beowulf* 1362 only, meaning ‚measurement in miles’), no doubt with the sense ‚mile-stone’ or the like in (b) *Milemerke* YN 331”. The passage in *Beowulf*, lines 1361-62 runs:

“*Nis þæt feor heonon*

*Milgemearce, þæt se mere standeð;”*

An OE fem. *\*(ge)mearca* ‚boundary’ seems to occur in *andlang colredinga ge mercan* 944 BCS 797 (S 501) (K).



## 3.2 Material

### 3.2.1 GLOUCESTERSHIRE

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

No certain instances found.

A possible instance (with OE *feld* ‚open country, arable land‘, perhaps in the late OE, ME sense ‚open field‘ as the second element) is:

(*on, of*) *Mercesfeld(a)* 950 BCS 887 (S 553), p. of Pucklechurch [ST 6976], Pucklechurch hd (PNGL 3:67: “v. **mearc** ‚boundary‘, **feld**”). This charter has also (*on*) *Mærbroc* and (*on*) *Mer-*, (*of*) *Mærsice*, see under OE (*ge*)*mære*, but this does not make a synonymous *mearc* unlikely. However, there are also other possible words. One is OE *mer(e)ce* ‚smallage‘. A parallel with a plant-name in the genitive would then be *Fearnfeld* 958 for 956 (14th) BCS 1029 (S 659) (Nt) (mod Farnsfield) (EPNE 1:159, PNNT 163), which contains OE *fearn* ‚fern‘. Another possibility is that the first element is the OE personal name \**Mærec*, see Masbrough (WRY, below). OE non-WSax (*ge*)*merce* ‚boundary‘ can certainly not be excluded either, see the Discussion.<sup>14</sup>

#### B ME and later material

##### *I Combinations with OE mearc as the first element*<sup>15</sup>

OE *denu* ‚valley‘ second element:

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<sup>14</sup> The passage runs: “*Of Bican stige on Merces feld of Merces felda on Mærbroc of Mær broce on Hlidan.*” (Venezky: microfiche). The proximity of *Mercesfeld(a)* and *Bican stige* may speak in favour of the genitive of a personal name, since *Bican* is the genitive of the OE personal name *Bica* (see PNGL 3:66). If the first element is, indeed, OE *mearc*, the *-es* genitive is somewhat unexpected, but by no means impossible. See Wright § 365 on pure *ǣ*-stems: “In late OE. the gen. sing. often ended in *-es* after the analogy of the masc. *a*-stems;”. OE (*ge*)*merce* may also be thought of as the first element. However, in this Saxon area, the expected forms would have been *mearc* (with *ea*) and (*ge*)*mierce*, respectively. On the other hand, *e*-forms of OE *mearc* in Saxon areas do occur, see instances below and the Discussion.

<sup>15</sup> The lost field-names *Markes Place* 1491 (PNGL 2:50) and *Markes Rydinges* 1636 (PNGL 3:100), and the field-name Marks mead 1837 (PNGL 1:147), are much more likely to contain a personal name than OE *mearc*. No comment upon the first element in PNGL. The forms Marksbrook 1779 and Mark Hill 1830 (mod. Mork Brook, Mork Hill, also ME only *o*-forms) probably contain an OE \**morc* derived from OE *mor* ‚moor‘. (PNGL 3:244, xiv)

Markdean (lost): *Markeden(e)* 1327 *SR*, 1543 *LP*, *Markesdeane* 1621 *GR* 892, a major name, p. of Guiting Power [SP 0924], Lower Kiftsgate hd (PNGL 2:13: “ „boundary valley’, v. **mearc**, **denu**”, SMED<sup>2</sup> 109). Note the interchange between *Marke-* and *Markes-*.

OE *dīc* ‘ditch, dike’ second element:

*Markes-*, *Mershediche* 1470 *Rent* 207, a lost field-name, p. of Beckford [SO 9735], Tibblestone hd (PNGL 2:44: “possibly ‘boundary ditch’, v. **mearc**, **dīc**”). Maybe the form *Mershediche* represents an original compound of OE *\*māers-*<sup>16</sup> and *dīc*, where ME *s* has become *sh*. A ME change *s* > *sh* sometimes occurs in Gloucestershire<sup>17</sup>, and in this case would no doubt be helped by association with the more common OE *mer(i)sh* ‘marsh’. *Markesdiche* may be due to substitution of the synonymous and more common *mearc* for *\*māers-*.

OE (*ge*)*hæg*, (*ge*)*heg* (Kt, Merc), ME *hay* ‘fence; enclosure’ second element:

Mark hay 1838 *TA* 14, a field-name, p. of Badgeworth [SO 9019] or the adjacent p. of Shurdington, Upper Dudstone and King’s Barton hd (PNGL 2:117).

OE *hām* ‘homestead’, etc. or OE *hamm* ‘water-meadow’, etc. perhaps second element<sup>18</sup>:

Markham Back 1840 *TA* 203 and/or 1841 *TA* 219, a field-name, p. of Whaddon [SO 8313], Middle Dudstone and King’s Barton hd (PNGL 2:173). – Markham 1839 *TA* 139, a field-name, p. of Newington Bagpath [ST 8194], Upper Berkeley hd (PNGL 2:239).

OE *hyll* ‘hill’ second element:

*Markylgroue* 1543 *MinAcct*, *Markehill grove* c. 1560 *Surv*, a field-name, p. of Newent [SO 7225], Botloe hd (PNGL 3:181, 4:1: footnote 1).<sup>19</sup>

OE *lēah*, *lāh* (Angl) ‘clearing; wood’ second element:

*Markleye Lepeyat* 1250-90 *Hopt* 15, mentioned under Mortleys 1839 *TA* 61, a field-name, p. of Cromhall [ST 6990], Lower Thornbury hd (PNGL 3:5<sup>20</sup>).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> On OE *\*māers-* see SMET 36 f. See also the Gloucestershire names Marsden Hill and Marshfield in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*māere*.

<sup>17</sup> See PNGL 4:74 (§ 39).

<sup>18</sup> It is very uncertain if these names are real *mearc*-names. Quite possibly they were originally compounds of (*ge*)*māere* and OE *cumb* ‘valley’ and have been later reinterpreted as combinations of *mearc* and *hām* or *hamm*. This seems to be the case with Markham (W) and with the 1839 form Markham (grove), mod. Mercombe (Wood) (Gl), see under OE (*ge*)*māere* (also note 19 in that chapter, where a field-name Markham in the parish of Horsley (PNGL 1:94) is discussed).

<sup>19</sup> PNGL: “ „boundary hill’, v. **mearc**, **hyll**, Newent being on the Herefordshire border, but not contiguous with Marcle in the latter county”. Marcle (He) is not a *hyll*-name. See the next note.

<sup>20</sup> PNGL: “Mortleys (*Martley* 1605, possibly identical with *Markleye Lepeyat* 1250-90, v. **mearc** ‘boundary’, **lēah**, **hliēp-geat**)”.

OFr, ME *pasture* ‚pasture’ followed by the affix *le Markes*:

*pastur’ le Markes* 1575 *TRMB* 39, a lost field-name, p. of Wyck Rissington [SP 1921], Lower Slaughter hd (PNGl 1:203). This combination probably contained a preposition originally<sup>22</sup>, e.g. the French preposition *en*. The meaning of \**pastur’ en le Markes*, would be ‚pasture on the boundaries, boundary pasture’, and *pastur’* would function as a “second element”. PNGl does not comment upon this field-name. See Mark Pasture 1844 (WRY), below.

## II Simplex names

No instances found.

## III Combinations with OE *mearc* as the second element

ME *beggere*, *-are* ‚beggar’ first element:

*Beggars marke* 1623 *Inq*, a lost field-name, p. of Stinchcombe [ST 7398], Upper Berkeley hd (PNGl 2:253, 4:101). Probably a derogatory nickname, referring to a piece of land of poor quality.<sup>23</sup>

ME *odde* ‚not ordinary or normal’ first element in the special combination ModE *odd-mark*<sup>24</sup>:

Odd marks 1839 *TA* 123, a field-name, p. of Little Dean [SO 6713], St Briavels hd (Grundy 1935-36: 156, PNGl 3:226).

OE *weg* ‚way’ first element:

Whey Mark 1840 *TA* 209, a field-name, p. of Upton St Leonards [SO 8614], Middle Dudstone and King’s Barton hd (PNGl 2:172: “ ‚road mark’ ”).

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<sup>21</sup> The combination of *mearc* and *lēah* occurs probably also in the field-name Marcle field 1840 *TA* 116, p. of Kempley [SO 6729], Botloe hd (PNGl 3:173), but this is a transferred *mearc*-name. See PNGl: “Marcle field (*Marculus felde* 1581 *Rent*, named from the adjacent Marcle He 129)”. The reference is to Bannister 1916:129, where Marcle (*Merchelai* 2086) is taken to be a combination of *mearc* with *lēah* or originally with OE *hlāw* ‚mound, hill’. DEPN derives it from *mearc* and *lēah*.

<sup>22</sup> Names of this type are e.g. Thornton le Street (NRY) and Bolton le Sands (La) (EPNE 1:17 f). See also CDEP on Chester-le-Street (Du): “[...] OE **ceaster** + Fr definite [sic] **en** (short for *en le*) + **strēt**. [...]”.

<sup>23</sup> Beggars had to show, not only in England, that they were allowed to beg within a certain area. See, e.g., Craigie vol. IV, s.v. **Mark**, **Merk**, *n*<sup>1</sup>: “[...] A beggar’s token bearing the mark of a burgh etc., as a licence to beg. [...]”.

<sup>24</sup> See OED s.v. **odd**: “**odd-mark**, ‚that portion of the arable land of a farm set apart for a particular crop, as it comes in order of rotation under the customary cultivation of the farm’ (Miss Jackson *Shropsh. Word-bk.*)”.

### 3.2.2 THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

No instances found.

#### B ME and later material

##### *I Combinations with OE mearc as the first element*<sup>25</sup>

OE *botm*, \**boðm* ‚bottom, valley bottom’ second element:

Mark Bottom 1842 TA 267, a field-name, t. of Lockwood [NE 1314]<sup>26</sup>, Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:276). – Mark Bottoms: Marke bothom 1709 WMB, a minor name, t. of Netherthong [SE 1309], Agbrigg w. (Goodall 1914:208, PNWRY 2:287). Goodall, who places Mark Bottoms in Upperthong, a township adjacent to Netherthong, takes the first element to be *mearc*.<sup>27</sup>

OE *brōc* ‚brook’ second element:

Mark Brook, a minor name, t. of Wortley [SK 3099], Staincross w. (Goodall 1914:208, PNWRY 1:300: “forming the boundary between Wortley and Ecclesfield, v. **mearc** ‚boundary’, **brōc**”).

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<sup>25</sup> Several names are included in the material that might well contain a personal name instead of *mearc*. It is not impossible that the following names contain *mearc*, but it is unlikely, and they are therefore not included in the material: 1. Mark’s Wood, a minor name (PNWRY 5:98, no comment). It probably contains the name of a person, but note that Mark’s Corner (IoW) is likely to have originally been a *mearc*-name. Kökeritz says (1940:188) on this name: “Mark’s Corner (...), one of the northern corners of Parkhurst Forest, should be connected with *Marke wey* 1364 WCM and with *lower and upper Marke* 1608 RS, where obviously *Marke-* is not a p.n., although popular etymology has changed it into one, but merely OE *mearc* ‚(boundary-)mark, boundary.’”. 2. *Mirk elders* 1687, a lost field-name (PNWRY 4:140: “v. **ellern** ‚elder-tree’”) and *Mirk Slack*, a minor name (PNWRY 6:110, no comment) are more likely to contain ON *myrkr* ‚dark, muddy’ than *mearc* (Anglian *merc*), but ME *-er-* is occasionally represented by *-ir-*, *-yr-* in the West Riding (see PNWRY 7:83 (§ 14)). The following lost field-name is discussed in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*mære*; see PNWRY 1:289: “*Merschaw* c. 1200 YCh 1525, 1298, *Merkhage* (PNWRY: (sic)) 1194 (probably ‚boundary wood’, v. (*ge*)*mære*, *sceaga*)”. The first element seems to have been taken to be *mearc* in *Merkhage*.

<sup>26</sup> Lockwood is not in the *Gazetteer*. PNWRY gives its position as. 6’’ O.S. 260 NE 1314.

<sup>27</sup> See PNWRY loc.cit.: “perhaps identical with *Morkelbothom* 273 *supra*, v. **botm**”, and PNWRY 2:273 (on *Mortelbotham* (sic) 1482, a lost field-name, t. of Honley, Agbrigg w.): “v. **botm**, perhaps this should be identified with Mark Bottoms 287 *infra*”. Honley and Netherthong are adjacent townships. Assuming that *Morkel-* with *k* is correct, the first element might be OE *mercels* ‚mark, mark to shoot at, boundary-mark’ or OE \**mercelle* (see the Introductory remarks) with confusion of *o* and *e*, later replaced by *mearc*. The lost field-name *Morkelsal* 1247 (PNWRY 5:186, no comment) might also contain OE *mercels* or \**mercelle*.

OE *burg*, *burh* ‚fortification, fortified house’, etc. second element:

Masbrough: *Morkisburg* 1202 FF, *Merkisburg* 1202 FF, Hy 3 BM, *Merkesburc(h)* 1205 FF, 1206 Cur, *-burge* 1280 Ass, *-burgh* 1379 PT (p), *Markesburgh* 1347 YD viii, ix, *Mersburgh(e)* 1363, 1410, 1429 YD ix, 1430 BM, *Mersshburgh* 1369 FF (p), *Mershebarowe* 1533 FF, *Marsburgh(e)* 1420 YI, 1535 VE, 1606 FF, 1655 Wheat, *-broughe* 1588, 1621 FF, *Marseborowe* 1555 FF, *Masburgh* 1528 FF, *-brughe* 1546 YChant, *-bore* 1557 WillY, *-brough* 1654 WillY, 1718 Wheat, Masper 1753 Hlm, *Maisheburgh Hall* 1536 HntS ii, 37 (a major name, t. of Rotherham [SK 4392], Upper Strafforth w. (DEPN, PNWRY 1:186 f). Both Ekwall and Smith regard this name and the Somerset names Marksbury and Maesbury (Camp) to be of identical origin, but while Ekwall thinks that the first element is a personal name \**Mærec*<sup>28</sup>, Smith suggests it to be *mearc*. For a personal name speaks the fact noted by Ekwall s.n. Marksbury (So) that near this place is Winsbury Hill, where the name Winsbury contains a personal name. Moreover, the genitive form in the names speaks for a personal name. On the other hand, *mearc* makes excellent sense in combination with *burg*, *burh*, and *mearc* in the genitive as the first element in place-names *does* occur, see Maspin Moor below<sup>29</sup>. Masbrough must be regarded as an uncertain *mearc*-name.

OE *eng* ‚meadow, water-meadow, pasture’ second element:

Mark Ing 1849 TA 177, a field-name, t. of Gomersal [SE 2026], or one of the adjacent townships of Birkenshaw and Birstall, Morley w. (PNWRY 3:23). – Mark Ings 1709 TN(Ho): *Marke Ings* 1686 ib., a field-name, t. of Holbeck [SE 2932], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:219: “the pers.n. *Mark*, **eng** ‚meadow’”). – Mart Ings 1847 TA 83: *le Merking(es)* Hy 3, 1246 Calv, Mart Ings 1760 local map, a field-name, t. of Farley [SE 2135], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:231: “the pers.n. *Mark*, **eng** ‚meadow’”). OE *mearc* is also possible in these names.

OE *fenn* ‚fen’ second element:

Maspin Moor: (*mora de*) *Merkesfen* 1222-37, 1255 Selby, 1320 Ext, 1321 *AddCh* 45815, *Merkeffen* 1320 Selby, Maspin (Moor) 1796 *EnclA* 76, a major name, t. of Hillam [SE 5028], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:43 f).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Goodall, too, thinks that the first element is a personal name: “Originally it was Merc’s fortified place,” from OE *burg* and the personal name Merc.” (Goodall 1914:209). Note also the translation in CDEP of Marksbury So (now in Avon): ‘Mæruc or Mæric’s fortified place’ and Watts’s discussion there.

<sup>29</sup> For a genitive form in *-es* (as in *Merkesfen* (mod. Maspin)) despite the fact that *mearc* is a fem. *ō*-stem, see above note 14.

<sup>30</sup> PNWRY: “ ‚Fen on the boundary’, v. **mearc**, **fenn**. It is near the parish boundary, but may allude to some older boundary (as, for example, that of Elmet [...]). The later development is a curious one.”. Masbrough shows the same reduction of *Merkes-* to *Mas-*, see above. Maspin recurs in Maspin Haggs 1845, a field-name in the adjacent township of Birkin (PNWRY 4:18).

OE *hām* ‚homestead‘, etc. or OE *hamm* ‚water-meadow‘, etc. perhaps second element:

Markam Lane, a minor name, t. of Sherburn in Elmet [SE 4933], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:62).<sup>31</sup>

ON *hogg* ‚clearing‘ second element:

Mark Hagg 1845 TA 47, a field-name, t. of Birkin [SE 5326], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:18).

ON *holmr* ‚water-meadow‘, etc. second element:

Mark Holme 1850 TA 276, a field-name, t. of Marsden [SE 0411], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:282).

OE *hūs*, ON *hús* ‚house‘ second element:

Mark House 1858 O.S., see High Mark under III (PNWRY 6:18). – Mark House Lane, a minor name, t. of Gargrave [SD 9354], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:54).

OE *hyll* ‚hill‘ second element:

Mark Hill, a minor name, t. of Stonebeck Down [SE 1068], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:216). – *Merkehill* 1311 Selby, a lost field-name, t. of Selby [SE 6132], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:36: “probably **mearc** ‚boundary‘, **hyll**”).

OE *hyrst* (Angl, WSax), *herst* (Kt) ‚hillock, wood, wooded hill‘ second element:

*Markehirsts* 1699 WCR, YAS Md 28, 12, a lost field-name, t. of Wooldale [SE 1508], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:256: “ ‚boundary woods‘, v. **mearc**, **hyrst**”). – *Merkehirst* 1307 WCR, a lost field-name, t. of Austonley [SE 1107], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:265: “v. **mearc** ‚boundary‘, **hyrst** ‚wood‘, cf. *Markehirsts* 256 *supra*”). According to Moorhouse (1981), these names may have the same reference.<sup>32</sup> Wooldale and Austonley are at least not now adjacent townships, but very near one another.

OE *land*, *lond*, ON *land* ‚land‘ second element:

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<sup>31</sup> A very uncertain name. Like Markham (Back) and Markham (both Gl, see above), it may originally be a combination of (*ge*)*mære* and *cumb*. See note 19 in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*mære*.

<sup>32</sup> See Moorhouse (1981:273): “In 1307 two tenants acquired a total of 5¼ acres of land in the *Merkehirst*,<sup>111</sup> a now-lost name meaning ‚boundary wood‘, in the graveship of Holme in the manor of Wakefield (Map 25).”, and note 111: “Baildon 1906, p. 105. This may be the same place as *Markehirsts* referred to in 1699 and listed in Smith 1961-3b, p. 256, under Wooldale township, but neither of the sources given there (Yorks Archaeol Soc MD 225/1699; Yorks Archaeol Soc MD 28/12) appear to refer to the name.”. That it may be the same place could be supported by the fact that Map 25, mentioned above in this note, shows Holme and Wooldale both in the demesne graveship in the manor of Wakefield. However, the form *Markehirsts* and the sources given must be considered uncertain.

Mark Lands 1844 TA 300, a field-name, t. of Newton [SD 6950], formerly Newton in Bowland, West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:208).

OE *lane, lone, lanu* ‚Jane’ second element:

*Markelane* 1606 SheffMan, a lost field-name, t. of Bradfield [SK 2692], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:243).<sup>33</sup> – Mark Lane, a minor name, t. of Ecclesall [SK 3284] (with Nether & Upper Hallam), Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:200). – Mark Lane, a minor name, t. of Kirk Deighton [SE 3950], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:24).

OFr, ME *pasture* ‚pasture’ second element:

Mark Pasture 1844 TA 438, a field-name, t. of Winksley [SE 2571], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:196). If the first element is *mearc*, the name is probably equivalent in meaning to *pastur’ le Markes* 1575 (Gl), see above.

ME *pightel, pighel, pichel* ‚(small) enclosure, croft’ second element:

Mark Pighell 1714 WYD, a field-name, t. of Bradford [SE 1632], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:252).

## ***II Simplex names***

No certain instances found.

A possible instance is:

Marks 1850 TA 34, a field-name, t. of Bashall Eaves [SD 6943], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:194).<sup>34</sup>

## ***III Combinations with OE mearc as the second element***

All the names contain OE *hēah* (Kt, WSax), *\*hāh, hēh* (Angl) ‚high’:

Clapham High Mark: High Mark 1858 O.S., a minor name, t. of Malham Moor [SD 8768], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:140). Clapham is probably a personal name.<sup>35</sup> – High Mark: Mark House 1858 O.S., a minor name, t. of Kildwick [SE

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<sup>33</sup> As is very often the case, this name, and the two following names, may well have a personal name as the first element. It is, however, noteworthy that the Lancashire name Markland, where the second element is originally *lanu*, has probably *mearc* as its first element (see below).

<sup>34</sup> The name may of course also be a personal name in the gen. sing. Saint Helens 1852, a field-name, is named from a saint and the minor names Hobsons (*Hobson* 1638, *Hobsons* 1647) and Lords (*Loud(e)s* 1678, 1688, Lords’s 1782) from personal names (PNWRY 6:232, 257, 189).

<sup>35</sup> On the 1st of July, 1603, a *William Clapham* made a donation to Giggleswick grammar school (VHY 1:462). The township of Giggleswick is not far from the township of Malham Moor in the same wapentake and on the boundary of the wapentake of Ewecross. The family may have taken its name from the township of Clapham in Ewecross w.

0145], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:18: “cf. High Mark 82 *infra*”). Mark House is listed above under I, and High Mark (PNWRY 6:82) is listed below. – High Mark, 1847 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Embsay [SE 0053], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:69). – High Mark: *High Marke close 1630 Raist*, a minor name, t. of Bordley [SD 9464], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:82: “v. **mearc** ‘boundary, land-mark’”). – Proctor High Mark, 1858 O.S., a minor name, t. of Bordley [SD 9464], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:82: “cf. *Proctor Cote 1845 TA*, named from the well-known Craven family of *Proctor* (17 PRRI *freq*), v. High Mark *supra*, **cot** ‘cottage’”).<sup>36</sup>

### 3.2.3 OTHER COUNTIES

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

##### **I Combinations with OE mearc as the first element**

OE (*ge*)*bēacon* ‘beacon’ second element:

Sx: (*to*) *þære mearc becean*<sup>37</sup>, (*on*) *þa ealdan mearce becan þe stent on east healfe þare rode 772* (13th) BCS 208 (S 108) (Barker 1947:90, with translation on p. 92: “to the boundary beacon”, and p. 91, with translation on p. 92: “to the old boundary mark which stands on the east side of the road”).

OE *beorg*, *berg* (Angl) ‘tumulus’, less likely ‘hill’,<sup>38</sup> second element:

Sx (?): (*on*) *mearc biorh 934* (10th) BCS 702 (S 425) (Middendorff 94).

OE *brōc* ‘brook’ second element<sup>40</sup>:

<sup>36</sup> The fact that all the names are in East or West Staincliffe and two of them even in the same township is noteworthy.

<sup>37</sup> Instead of the form *becean* one would have expected *\*becne*, but this is not the only bad form in this charter. Another occurs in the phrase “*Pis sint þa fangemerca to icoleshamme*” (Barker 1947:91), with translation on p. 93: “These are the bounds of Iclesham”, Birch 1:295), where *fangemerca* is no doubt a bad form for *\*landgemerca*.

<sup>38</sup> See note 58 in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*mære*.

<sup>39</sup> The charter is a grant of land at *Derantune*, which is not identified with certainty. It may be Durrington in Sussex, but there is at least one other possibility: Darenth in Kent. See Sawyer (1968) (S 425).

<sup>40</sup> Marsh Brook (lost): (*into*) *merchebroke 672 x 674* (13th) BCS 34 (S 1165), (*in to*) *Merchebroke 871 x 899* (13th) BCS 563 (S 353) (PNSr 113) is taken to contain *mearc* in PNSr. Although this is possible (with *ch* as an Anglo-Norman spelling for the sound *k*, see Jordan § 17), the modern form rather suggests (*ge*)*merce* (despite Surrey being in the West Saxon dialect area, see Jordan § 60) or OE *mer(i)sc* ‘marsh’. Another Surrey combination with *brōc* is *Merchebrok* 11th (PNSr 356, no comment on the first element except that “*Merchebrok* (11th) is a boundary brook”).



Do: (*to*) *mearc broces heafde* 956 (14) *Harley* = BCS 958 (S 609). The reference is to the head or source (OE *hēafod*) of the boundary brook. (Grundy 1935:113, PNDo 2:136)

W: (*on*) *markbrok* 964 (14th) BCS 1127 (S 727) (Grundy 1920:75, PNW 424).

OE *cumb* „valley’ second element<sup>41</sup>:

W (?)<sup>42</sup>: (*on*) *markescoumbe*, addition, dated 968, to 964 (14th) BCS 1127 (S 727) (Middendorff 94).

OE *denu* „valley’ second element:

Sx: (*on*) *mearcdene* 963 (12th) BCS 1114 (S 718) (Birch 3:349).

W: (*usque*) *merkendene*, (*de*) *merkedene* 937 (13th) BCS 717 (S 1575) (ERN 278, Grundy 1919:238, PNW 8 f). Mod. Marden (River), see under B.<sup>43</sup>

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Again, the first element may be *mearc* or (*ge*)*merce* or *mer(i)sc*, but with only one 11th form, none of the alternatives can be preferred with certainty.

<sup>41</sup> It is doubtful whether the two following examples with *cumb* contain *mearc*: One is (*on*) *merce cumb* [...] (*æt*) *mercecumbes æwielme* 847 [=846] BCS 451 (S 298), a Devon charter (ERN s.n. Marden River, Finberg 1969:13 f (see op.cit. p. 11 on the date)). As stated by Ekwall in ERN, *merce* (and *merc-* in (*in meridie*) *merc wælle*) 831 BCS 400 (S 188) (Mx) may have palatalized *c*. The other is (*on*) *mærce cumb* 975 BCS 1314 (S 803), a Sussex charter (Birch 3:649). This charter also has (*to*) *mærc hamme* with OE *hamm* „water-meadow’, etc. It is perhaps likely that the first element is the same as in (*on*) *mærce cumb*. It is noteworthy that there is a Berkshire place-name Marcham: *Mercham* 835 BCS 413 (S 278), (*æt*) *Merchamme* 900 BCS 592 (S 358), *Merceham* 1086 with *hamm* as the second element, which probably contains OE *merce* „smallage’ (Arngart 1939:212 f, Ekwall, Studies<sup>2</sup> 112 f and 1953:141, 2:414). This may speak for *merce* as the first element in (*to*) *mærc hamme* and (*on*) *mærce cumb* in BCS 1314.

<sup>42</sup> The charter is a grant of land at Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire, but the later added bounds concern a *Mideltone*, and it is not certain that this is in Wiltshire.

<sup>43</sup> In Wiltshire is also another Marden, the name of a village, with the following forms: (*up an lang*) *mercdena* 941 (15th) BCS 769 (S 478), (*on*) *merh dæne* 963 (12th) BCS 1118 (S 715), *Mercdena* 1170, *meresdene* 1086, *Mereden(e)* 1211, 1229, 1242, *Mergdena* 1167, 1169, *Merden(e)* 1242, 1275, 1406, *Mereghedene* 1280, *Merghdene* 1291, *Merghedene* 1304, 1305, 1306, 1318, 1341, *Myrgheden* 1359, *Merewedene* 1298, *Merwheden* 1322, *Merweden(e)* t. Ed 2, 1332, 1334, t. Ed 3, 1362, 1412 (DEPN: “Perhaps OE *mearc-denu* „boundary valley’”, Grundy (1919:270) (on BCS 769): “... up along Boundary Dean ...” and (1920:70) (on BCS 1118): “... to Boundary Dean’ ... It was the dean in which the Avon flows along the N. by. of Marden, which derived its name from this dean ...”; but note PNW 321 f: “The early forms suggest the possibility of a compound of OE *mearc* and *denu*, hence „boundary valley,’ but the form *merh dæne* comes from a better cartulary than the others and agrees better with the later developments. The probabilities are therefore that the first element is the OE *mærg*, *merg*, *mærh*, *mearh*, „marrow, fat,’ and that the whole name denotes a fertile valley. For the use of this word in place-names cf. Merrow (PN Sr 142).”). For different interpretations of Merrow (Sr) see note 136 under OE (*ge*)*mære*. Also CDEP translates „The fertile valley’ in preference to „boundary valley’, explaining the forms *mercdene* (BCS 769) and *Mercdena* 1170 as due to the sound *x* having been replaced by the sound *k*. Maybe the first element is originally OE *mærg*, etc., rare in place-names and replaced by *mearc* in *mercdene* and *Mercdena*, perhaps influenced by the other Wiltshire Marden, which suits Grundy’s identification of the valley and the fact that valleys often form

OE *dīc* ‚ditch, dike‘ second element:

Sx: (*on*) *ḍa ealdan merc dic* 772 (13th) BCS 208 (S 108) (Barker 1947:90, Birch 1:295).

Mx: (*on*) *ḍa mearcdic* 962 BCS 1085 (S 702) (PNMx 197).

Ess: (*to*) *ḍare marcdice* 1062 KCD 813 (S 1036) (PNEss 8 f). Mod. Mar Dyke, see under B.

OE *ēa* ‚river‘ second element:

Db: *Marchetone* 1086 DB, *Merchetune* ib. (DEPN, PNDb 2:481 f). Mod. Markeaton, see under B.

OE *flēot* ‚estuary, inlet of the sea, small stream‘ second element:

K: (*be eas`tan` is*) *mearcflēot* 778 BCS 227 (S 35) (KPN 57: “*Mearcflēot* (OE *mearc* “boundary(-land)”, *flēot* “water”) may be the early name for Cliffe Fleet (6’). Cf. BCS 213.”). – *unum fretum qui nominatur nostra propria lingua mearc fleot* 814 BCS 348 (S 177) (KPN 140, note: “From OE *mearc* “boundary, border” + *flēot* “water, stream”.”).<sup>44</sup> – (*be*) *mearc fleote* 948 (10th) BCS 869 (S 535) (KPN 277). – (*on*) *mearc fleotes muþan* 949 (10th) BCS 880 (S 546) (KPN 282, note: “OE *mearc* “boundary(-district)” + *flēot* “water, river” + *mūþa*.”). – (*in*) *merc fleot* 774 (1212) BCS 213 (S 110) (KPN 54, note: “OE *mearc* “border, boundary” + *flēot* “water”. Cf. also BCS 227.”).<sup>45</sup>

OE *ford* ‚ford‘ second element<sup>46</sup>:

Brk: (*to*) *mearcforda* n. d. (c. 1200) BCS 906 (S 567) (PNBrk 3:732 f), (*to*) *mearcforda* 956 BCS 924 (S 605) (PNBrk 3:735).

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boundaries. This *mearc* may itself have been replaced by *(ge)mīere*, more common in this area than *mearc*, in *Meresdene* 1086, *Meredene* 1211, 1229, 1242, and *Merden(e)* 1242, 1275, 1406.

<sup>44</sup> The charter is a “grant of land at *Cynincges cua lond* (?Kingsland (lost) in Faversham Hundred)” (Sawyer (1968) (S 177)). Ward (1934:129 f) says: “The western boundary of the cow land was a channel (“unum fretum”) called the Mearc fleot, which means no more than that it was a boundary, or mark, fleot with a channel through it.”

<sup>45</sup> It is remarkable that all the instances in the material are in Kent, but this agrees with Kitson’s statement (Kitson 1995:94) that “More than half of the charter instances of *flēot* are in Kent and Sussex: [...]”.

<sup>46</sup> The element is non-WSax *(ge)merce* rather than *mearc* in (*on*) *merce ford* 940 BCS 748 (S 470) (W) (Grundy 1919:250). According to Grundy (1920:107), it is identical with *Myrceford* 987 Hyd. The OE text in Hyd reads *on Myrceford* (p. 232), the ME text *to Myrkford* (p. 233), The Latin text *ad Myrkford* (p.234), and the ModE version *to Merkford* (p. 357). The element in *on Myrceford* seems to be the corresponding WSax form *(ge)mierce*, but this form is expected to yield a form with a palatal sound in ME. Perhaps ME *Myrkford* is due to a failure to understand a rare OE word.

OE *haga* ‚enclosure, game enclosure; strong enclosure fence, hedge<sup>47</sup> second element:

Do: (on) *ðone mearchagan* 1033 (12) *SherC* = KCD 1318 (S 969) (Grundy 1937:126: “to the Game Wood on the Boundary”, PND0 2:162).<sup>48</sup>

Sr: (on) *þone mearc hagan* 956 (13th) BCS 955 (S 621) (Birch 3:136, PNSr 132, note).

OE *hām* ‚homestead’, etc., less likely OE *hamm* ‚water-meadow’, etc., second element:

Nt: *Marchā* 1086 DB and *Westmarchā* ib. (DEPN, PNNt 55 and 56). Mod. East Markham and Markham Clinton, see under B.

OE *hec(e)* ‚hedge’ second element:

Sx: (to) *mearchedige* c. 765 (13th) BCS 197 (S 50) (Birch 1:280).

OE *lēah*, *lāh* (Angl) ‚clearing; wood’ second element:

Brk: (to) *merclege (of) mærclege* 1015 (c. 1200) KCD 1310 (S 934) (PNBrk 3:767 f).

OE *pōl* ‚pool’ second element:

Sr: (on) *merke pol* 967 (14th) BCS 1196 (S 747) (PNSr 25, note).

OE \*(*ge*)*sell* ‚shelter’, etc. probably second element.

Ess: (æt) *mearcyncg seollan* 998 *Crawf* ix (S 1522), *Mercheshalam* 1086 DB (DEPN, PNEss 396, Studies<sup>2</sup> 48). Mod. Markshall, see under B.

OE *stān* ‚stone’ second element:

D: (to) *þā merc stane* 1031 (11th) KCD 744 (S 963) (Kemble 4:36).

OE *trēow* ‚tree’ second element.

W: (to) *mearc treowe* 955 (14th) BCS 917 (S 582) (Grundy 1920:29).

OE *weg* ‚way’ second element<sup>49</sup>:

W: (to) *mearc wege* 961 BCS 1067 (S 688) (Grundy 1920:62 f, PNW 449). – (on) *mearc wei* 984 (15th) KCD 641 (S 850) (Grundy 1920:94).

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<sup>47</sup> See note 70 in the chapter on (*ge*)*māre*.

<sup>48</sup> See PND0: “on *þone mearc hagan*, of *þam hagan* 1033 (12), on *þan merhagan*, of *þan hagan* n.d. (12) (‚boundary hedge or enclosure’, v. **mearc**, **haga**<sup>17</sup>). The reference in these charters is the same, but the second instance is from a manuscript containing only the bounds. The second instance is either a compound with *mearc*, as PND0 holds, in a corrupt form, or else a compound with (*ge*)*māre*. See also note 71 in the chapter on (*ge*)*māre*.

<sup>49</sup> In 961 (13th) BCS 1075 (S 698) occurs *mercweg*. Birch associates it with Hampstead in Berkshire, but Sawyer (1968) says only that it is a “grant of land at *Hamstede*”, and PNBrk does not include it among Berkshire charters. It has not been included in the material.

Brk: (on) *mearc weg* 949 (contemporary) BCS 877 (S 552) (PNBrk 3:663, 665).

OE *wella*, etc. ‚spring, stream’ second element:

Mx: (of) *mearcwille* 962 BCS 1085 (S 702) (Birch 3:316, PNMx 204). – (in *meridie*) *merc wælle* 831 (9th) BCS 400 (S 188) (ERN s.n. Marden River).

## ***II and III Simplex names and combinations with OE mearc as the second element***

The few instances in the material are all from OE boundary surveys. The same principles as those used for OE (*ge*)*māre* have been followed; see the discussion in that chapter under Gloucestershire A II and III. Thus such examples as the following, where *mearc* seems to have the abstract meaning ‚boundary’, have been excluded (see note 12 under (*ge*)*māre* for corresponding examples): (*bis is*) *þe landmark to Edynton* 968 (14th) BCS 1215 (S 765) (W) (Venezky: microfiche), (*on*) *Lamburninga mearce* (; *swa est andlang*) *mearce* (oð *Ælfwiges gemære*) 984 KCD 1282 (S 855) (mod. Lambourn (Brk); PNBk 3:673), (*be*) *wichæma mearce* 987 KCD 657 (S 864) (mod. West Wickham (K); KPN 309), (*be*) *æwille mearce* 765 x 792 BCS 207 (15th) (S 140) (mod. Temple Ewell (K); KPN 52), (oð) *ciolmundes mearce* ... (oð) *cinges mearce* (and *suð be*) *cinges mearce* 889 BCS 562 (S 1276) (K) (KPN 228), (*thær*) *tha threo marce* (to *gædere gath*) 951, etc. BCS 1351 (S 1450) (Mx) (Venezky: microfiche).

## ***II Simplex names***<sup>50</sup>

W: (to) *þere mearce*. (*andlang*) *mearce* 956 (12th) BCS 962 (S 635) (Grundy 1920:56: “to the Balk (*Mearc*)”).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> It is difficult to know whether *mearc* in the following passage from 968 (c. 1200) BCS 1227 (S 761) (Brk) is abstract or concrete. See Grundy (1922b/23:211): “7. *Of*, etc., *th’ andlang Mearce on Lamburnan on Clatford*: „From the Thorntree along the Balk to Clay Bourne (Lambourne) to the Ford where the Burdock grows.’ The repeated reference to balks merely indicates that arable land extended along the By. for a long distance. The By. meets the Lambourne about 350 yds. E. S. E. of Hunts Green (OM I). Here must have been the *Clatford*.” PNBk, however, takes the meaning to be ‚boundary’ (PNBrk 3:669). This uncertainty (abstract or concrete) also applies to *mearce* in the following passage from 957 BCS 994 (S 645) (Hrt): “*Ærest of tateburnan andlang mearce on wiðimære*” (Birch 3:188, PNMx 219: “The bounds then go along the *mearc* (here the county boundary) to *wiðimære*, probably a bad form for *wiðigmere*, i.e. withy-pool, and then along the *mearc* to *holan riðe*, i.e. ‚hollow streamlet.’”). Moreover, the element may not even be *mearc* but Northumbrian \*(*ge*)*mærc* with palatalized *c* (see note 9).

<sup>51</sup> The context is: “*þis synd þa land ge mere to Eblesburnan. ærest of crund wylle on bronæs ford þonon on lang broc þonon andlang streames. to þere mearce. andlang mearce on bryd beorh, þonon on ruwan beorh. of þam beorche andlang mearce (...) end lang mearce (...) end lang mearce (...)*” (Birch).

Wo: (on) *þa mearc (þæt swa to feower gemæran)* 963 (11th) BCS 1108 (S 1297) (Grundy 1928b:20: “to the Balk”).<sup>52</sup>

### III Combinations with OE mearc as the second element<sup>53</sup>

OE *ǣl* ‚eel’ first element:

K: (*habet ab oriente*) *ǣla mearc* 811 BCS 335 (Birch 1:467, note) (S 168) (KPN 114 with note: “From OE *ǣl* “eel” + *mearc* “district”.”), (*ab oriente*) *Ælmarc* 811 (13th) BCS 336 (S 1617) (KPN 120).

OE *blāc* ‚pale, bleak’ or OE *blæc* ‚black, dark-coloured, dark’ or possibly the personal name OE *Blaca* first element:

Wo: (on) *blacan mearc* 972 (10th) BCS 1282 (S 786) (Grundy 1928b:121).<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The context is: “*Þis synd ða land gemæran to oddunga lea. ærest of stigelec on þæt ripig ond long riðies þæt on þane grenan weg ond long weges on þa mearc þæt swa to feower gemæran þæt swa east rihte.*” (Birch). Grundy says on p. 21: “The Mearc [...] must have run for some considerable distance along the N. part of the W. By.”

<sup>53</sup> The Kentish charter 946 (10th) BCS 813 (S 510) contains *widan fleot mearc*, consisting of the elements OE *wīd* ‚wide’ + *flēot* ‚estuary, inlet of the sea, small stream’ and *mearc*. Although this could perhaps be interpreted as a combination of *wīd* with a compound *flēot mearc*, where *mearc* would have a concrete meaning, it is better to accept Wallenberg’s view (KPN 267): “*widan fleot mearc* (OE *wīd* “wide” + *flēot*) is very likely to be connected with *Wydeflete* (lost) in Worth hd (*Wytheflet* 1240 Ass; *Wydeflete* 1253-4 FeesKn; 1278, 1292 Ass; *Wydyflete* 1270 FF, etc.). Worth hd comprises a few parishes in the north-eastern part of Romney Marsh (West Hythe, Burmarsh, Dymchurch, Orgarswick, Blackmanstone, Eastbridge)”. If Wallenberg is right, the reference is to the boundary of *widan fleot*. The Dorset charter 978 x 984 (14) *Add* = KCD 1284 (S 938) contains (*bi*) *richte merke*, with OE *riht* ‚straight; lawful’ and *mearc*, see Grundy (1940:67): “by the Straight Boundary (or Balk)” and PNDō 1:238. It is uncertain whether *mearc* is abstract or concrete here, so (*bi*) *richte merke* has not been included in the material. See also the chapter on OE (*ge*)*mære*, note 89. There is a Sussex charter c. 765 BCS 197 (S 50) (Birch 1:280), which contains *swa to Rithmærc, Dicelinga and Stanmere and westmæstune swa est rith to þan hwiten wæge*. Middendorff 94, 108 takes the elements of *Rithmærc* to be *mearc* and OE *rīð* (Mdf *rīðe*) ‚stream’. However, it could perhaps be a combination of OE *riht* ‚straight; lawful’, with the *th*-spelling paralleled by the *th* in *east rith* (but the charter also has *swa northrihte*) and *mearc*. The meaning might then be ‚the lawful boundary-mark’, but uncertainty whether *mearc* is abstract or concrete here would have prevented *Rithmærc* from being included in the material. After all, the best interpretation of *Rithmærc* is probably Kitson’s (Kitson 1995). He takes *Rithmærc* to be a corrupt form of *þrymyrce*, belonging to the “Expressions for “common boundary-point of three (or more) estates” ” (pp 55 and 107 (note 68)). For *-myrce* see the Introductory remarks and note 9.

<sup>54</sup> Also (*ge*)*mære* occurs in this charter: *on mærc dic of mærc dice on blacan mearc of blacan mearc*. See Grundy: “3. *Of, &c. on Blacan Mearc*: „From the Boundary Dyke to the Black Border”.<sup>1</sup> This *mearc* must have been on the E. By. just S. of where the Birmingham - Rugby railway crosses it, S. of Kitt’s Green (OM. I).” and his note: “<sup>41</sup> In the Hants charters *mearc* is no more than a synonym of *maere*, ‚balk’, and is used where the Berkshire charters would have used the latter term. But here, where *mearc* and *maere* are used side by side, there is presumably some

OE *\*cegel* (Angl), *\*ci(e)gel* (WSax) ‚pole‘ first element:

W: (*æt*) *Childmearc* 929-40 (14th) BCS 745 (S 458), *cigel marc*, (*to*) *cigelmerc broce* 984 (15th) KCD 641 (S 850), *Chilmerc* 1086 DB (DEPN, Grundy 1920:91, 95, PNW 185 f, Studies<sup>2</sup> 165). Mod. Chilmark, see under B.

OE *erð* (Angl, Kt), *ierð*, *yrð* (WSax) ‚ploughed land‘ first element<sup>55</sup>:

W: (*betweah*) *þa twa yrh mearca* 963 for 943 (14th) BCS 783 (S 1811) (Grundy 1919:281: “*Thonne bufan Wege andlang West Combes betweah tha twa Yrh* (read *Yrth*) *Mearca*: ‚Then above the Way along West Combe between the two Balks of Ploughland.‘ ”). - (*be*)*þære yrþ mearce* 943 (14th) BCS 782 (S 492) (Grundy 1919:274: “by the Balk of the Ploughed Land”).

OE (*ge*)*māene* ‚common‘ first element:

W: (*on*) *gemænre mearce* 922 for ?972 (17th) BCS 1145 (S 668) (Birch 3:396, Grundy 1920:24 (translation only)).<sup>56</sup>

### B ME and later material

Only names first recorded before 1700 have been included.<sup>57</sup>

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difference of meaning. I am inclined to think that *mearc* meant in this case more than the balk of a ploughland, and that it signified a belt of land on the boundary of the land-unit left uncultivated as a definite dividing line between its lands and those of the neighbouring unit.”. Grundy seems to distinguish between the balk of land which arose more or less naturally beside a ploughed area and a broader stretch of land left uncultivated on purpose. It may be noted that Grundy’s distinction resembles the distinction between Lat. *murus* ‚wall‘ related to (*ge*)*māere*, and Lat. *margo* ‚margin‘ related to *mearc*. See further the Discussion.

<sup>55</sup> Here belongs possibly the following ERY form: (*ealle þa land þe licgað butan*) *þære yrð* (?) *merce* (*at Pateringatune*) 1033 Farrer I, no. 8, p. 25 (S 968). The text is emended by W. H. Stevenson from the text in a 14th century manuscript, which reads *ealle yaland ye licsad butanyaere yrd merce* (see Farrer (loc.cit.:24), with translation p. 26: “all the lands that lie outside the “yrth” mark (*i.e.* boundary)”).

<sup>56</sup> See BCS 1145: “*ÞIS IS ÞARA TYN HIDA LAND BOC AT WINTER BURNAN ÞE EADGAR CING GE BOCODE EADRICE HIS ÞEGENE ON ECE YRFE FIF HIDA WESTAN TUNE SYNDRIES LANDES FIF BE EASTAN TUNE GE MÆNES LANDES ... þis syndon þara fif hida land gemæra Into Winterburnan be westan tune syndries landes. Ærest æt þam haran stane ... þonne syndon þa fif hida be Eastan tune gemænes landes on gemænre mearce swa swa hit þær to be limped.*”, and Grundy’s translation of the last sentence: “Then there are five hides of common land on the east side of the village on the common (boundary?)<sup>1</sup> as it thereto belongs.”, and his note: “<sup>1</sup>I have given the ordinary translation of *mearce*. But I suspect that it has some unusual meaning in this passage, implying not merely the boundary, but a breadth of land on the boundary.”. It has to be pointed out that it is not certain that BCS 1145 is a Wiltshire charter. Ekwall (DEPN) takes Winterbourne Bassett & Monkton (W) to be named from Winterburna in this charter, but Sawyer 1968 does not state any county.

### *I Combinations with OE mearc as the first element*

OE *āc* ‚oak-tree’ second element<sup>58</sup>:

Sr: Markoak Gate (6''): *the Marke oke* 1609 *LRMB* (PNSr 101: “ ‚Boundary oak,’ v. **mearc**. The place is on the parish boundary.”).

Nt: *le Marcok* t. Hy 6 (PNNt 275).

OE *æcer* ‚plot of arable or cultivated land’ second element<sup>59</sup>:

Sr: *le Merkeakeres* 1315 (PNSr 356).

Mx: *Merkakere* 1270 (PNMx 195).

ONorw *búð* ‚booth, temporary shelter’ probably second element:

Cu: *Marcebuthe* 1209-10 Furness (PNCu 2:354: “possibly ‚boundary **búð**,’ v. **mearc**”).

OIr *cross*, ON *kross*, late OE, ME *cross* ‚cross’ second element:

Sx: Mark Cross: *Markecross* 1509 *Churchwardens Book* (C. P.), 1547 *Ct* (DEPN, PNSx 2:378 f<sup>60</sup>).

OE *denu* ‚valley’ second element:

W: Marden: (*usque*) *merkendene*, (*de*) *merkedene* 937 (13th) BCS 717, *aqua de ‘Melkeden’* (“corrected from *Melksham*” (ERN)) 1228 *Cl*, *aquæ de Merkedene* 1245 *WM* xvi, *aqua que voc’ Merkeden* 1279, t. Ed 3 *For*, *aqua de Melkeden*, *Merkeden* t. Hy 3 *Stowe* 798, *Water of Merkeden* 1300 *For*, *Markedeane* 1557 *Pat* (ERN s.n. Marden River (6''), PNW 8 f). The *e*-forms are noteworthy, see the Discussion.

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<sup>57</sup> *Merkedale* (Nt) is no doubt a compound of *mearc* and OE *dæl*, ON *dalr* ‚valley’ and *mearc* (PNNt 278 f), but since it is not dated, it has not been included in the material.

<sup>58</sup> *Le Merchaces* 13 (1611) (Ch) (PNCh 1:187) (*Meroke* 1270 (17), see the chapter on (*ge*)*māere*) is taken in PNCh to contain *mearc* and *āc*. On the Anglo-Norman spelling *ch* for the *k*-sound see Jordan § 17 and note 9 above. The element may also be OE (non-WSax) (*ge*)*merce*. In any case, this is a name where (*ge*)*māere* interchanges with a synonymous element. The alternatives (*mearc* or (*ge*)*merce*) are also at hand in the interpretation of the first element in the Surrey names Marsh Brook and *Merchebrok* 11th and the Warwickshire name *Merchebroke* 1339 (PNWa 322), which may, moreover, have OE *mer(i)sc* ‚marsh’ as first element. See note 40.

<sup>59</sup> *Marcheacre* Ed 3 (Nt) is said on p. 275 in PNNt to have *mearc* as first element. The *ch*-spelling would then be an Anglo-Norman spelling for the *k*-sound, see the preceding note. It is, however, also possible that the element is OFr *marche* or OE non-WSax (*ge*)*merce* or Angl. \*(*ge*)*mærc* or OE *mer(i)sc* ‚marsh’, see note 9.

<sup>60</sup> PNSx 2:378 f: “MARK CROSS is *Markecross* 1509 *Churchwardens Book* (C. P.), 1547 *Ct* and is to be associated with Alex., Wm., and Aylward *atte Merke* (1296 SR). The **mearc** is here the boundary where Rotherfield, Mayfield and Wadhurst meet. Close by is MARKHOUSE FM (6'').”.

Sr: Marks Dean (local): *Merkedeneshech* 1241 Ass (PNSr 139: “The valley is that which forms the western boundary of the parish and runs down to Dedswell. *hech* (v. **hæcc**) must have referred to some gate here.”).

Ess: *diuisam vocatum Merkedon* 1300 For (ERN s.n. Marden River (6’)).

OE *dīc* ‘ditch, dike’<sup>61</sup>, ON *dík, díki* ‘ditch’ second element:

Brk: *Merkedich* 1323 Hurley (PNBrk 1:65).

Ess: The Mar Dyke: (*to*) *ðare marcdice* 1062 (12th) KCD 813, *le merkediche* 13th *StJohn*, *Marditch* 1768 M (PNEss 8 f: “For some six miles or so of its course it is a boundary stream.”). – *Mardyke Farm*: John and Robert (*de*) *Markediche* c. 1270 *ERO*, *Markedich(e)* 1367 Pat, 1427 *IpmR*, *Mardiche* 1589 AD vi, *Merediche* 1594 N has its name from *le Markedich(e)* t. Hy 3 HPD, 1247 Ch, (*-mouth*) 1297 For, 1307 *Rental*, *Mardish* 1290 HPD, *Markedyke* 1301 For, now called Beam River. The river forms the Havering - Dagenham boundary. (PNEss 3, 113, PNO 1:xlvi (Add. & Corr. to PNMx).) At least in the 1594 form *Merediche*, *mearc* has been replaced by (*ge*)*mære*, and this form has been included in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*mære*.

Wa: *Markedich* 1408 (PNWa 324).

OE *dūn* ‘hill’ probably second element<sup>62</sup>:

D: *Markadon*: *Marcadene* 1189 (1365) Oliver 207, 1275 RH (p), *Markedene* 1199 CartAnt, *Markedene* 1316 Exon (p), *-don* 1281 Ass (PND 1:75, PNNt xxxvii<sup>63</sup>).

OE *ēa* ‘river’ probably second element:

Db: *Markeaton*: *Marcheton(e)* 1086 DB, 1226 FF, 1226 BurtCh, 1229 Ch, c. 1290 *Bemrose*, *Merchetune* 1086 DB, *Marketon(e)* 1138-48, 1154-9, 1157, p. 1210, c. 1220 *Darley*, 1236, 1243 Fees, 1252 FF *et freq* to 1645 StJ,

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<sup>61</sup> In the Essex names in the material, ‘ditch’ has that special sense noted by Grundy (1922a:53) for OE charters: “stream, part of the course of which had been straightened”, or possibly simply the sense ‘stream’ without any connotation of straightening. This sense or these senses are here regarded to be special sense(s) of ‘ditch’. See under (*ge*)*mære*: notes 7, 108, 109, 110.

<sup>62</sup> In Essex we find *Markedowne* 1560 (PNEss 606: “Broom Field (*Markedowne al. Bromefeild* 1560. Cf. *Markhouse supra* 107).”). It is in the parish of Walthamstow. The second element is probably OE *dūn*, but the first element is probably a personal name (although from *mearc*) identical with the first element in *Markehouse* 1697; see PNEss 107: “MARKHOUSE ROAD. This marks the site of the manor of *Marck*’ (1535 VE), of which the house is called *Markehouse* (1697 Deeds). It was the home of Herbert *del Mert* (PNEss: sic) (1223-52 AD i), Benedict *de la Merke* (1225 FF) and Thomas *Attemark* (1248 Ass). v. **mearc**, ‘boundary.’ It is on the borders of Leyton and Walthamstow. The manor of Mark was in both parishes.”. See under II.

<sup>63</sup> See PND: “This place is, as Mr Chope points out, on a hill forming the boundary between the manors of Stoke and Harton so the meaning is probably ‘boundary hill’ (v. **mearc**), in spite of the predominance of *denu*-forms.”. PNNt (Add. & Corr. p. xxxvii) adds the form *Markedene* 1199 CartAnt.



(*Harneys, Harneis*) 1343 IpmR, 1348 Ch *Markenton* 1251 Ch, *Markton* 1337 Darley, *Merkton* 1346 *Cor*, *Maketon* 1346 FA, *Marion* 1306 Ass, 1399 Hall vi, 1408 DbCh, 1428 FA *et passim* to 1767 Burdett (DEPN, PNDb 2:481 f). Ekwall (DEPN) interprets Markeaton as “Very likely OE *Mearcēa-tūn* „TŪN on the boundary river’”. Cameron (PNDb), however, prefers an interpretation „Mearca’s farm’. He points out that Markeaton and Mackworth near by are places with close connections throughout the Middle Ages, connections which “in all probability date from the original Anglian settlements of the two places”, and considers it natural that the names should then contain as first element the same personal name *Mearca*, although in an assimilated form *\*Mac(c)a* in Mackworth. He mentions Mursley and Missenden (Bk) as “a similar pair of names, one with assimilation”. Against Cameron’s etymology speaks the fact that the genitive form OE *Mearcan-* would have been expected to have preserved the *n* before *t* in ME (see Jordan § 170, Remark 2), and in the material, including the DB forms, there is only one form, *Merkenton* 1251 Ch, with *n*. It seems therefore more likely that Ekwall’s interpretation of Markeaton as a triple compound of *mearc* + *ēa* with *tūn* added is the correct one.

OE *feld* „open country, arable land’, perhaps in the late OE, ME sense „open field’ or perhaps in the modern sense „enclosed or fenced-in plot of land’ second element:

Sr: Mark, Upper Marks: *Markefeild* 1629 *Survey* (PNSr 37964). - Mark Field: *Markefeild* 1629 *Survey* (PNSr 378).

Mx: Markfield House: *Merkefeld* 1502 *Ct* (PNMx 79).<sup>65</sup>

OE *furlang* „furlong’ second element:

Mx: Mark Furlong: *Markforlang* 1367 *Cl* (PNMx 208).

Ca: *Markfurlong* 1447 (PNCa 339).

OE *geat* (WSax), *get* (Kt), *gæt* (ONb) „hole, opening, gap; gate’ second element:

Hrt: Markyate: *Markzate* 1119-46 *Gesta*, *Markyghate* 1390 BRS i, *Marchiate*, - *iete* 1202 Ass, *Marczate* 1235-60 *Gesta*, 1336 Ipm, *Markegate* 1248 Ass, - *yate* 1299 Pat, 1310 Ipm, *Mercyate* 1247 Ass, *Merke-* 1260, 1312 Pat, *Merkyate* 1352 BM, *Markeyatestret* 1535 VE, *Market(t) Street(e)* 1660

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<sup>64</sup> See PNSr: “Mark, Upper Marks (*Markefeild* 1629 *Survey*) is on the parish boundary.”

<sup>65</sup> See PNMx: “MARKFIELD HO<sup>4</sup> is *Merkefeld* 1502 *Ct*. Cf. also *le Merk*, *Merkgrove*, *Merkmede* ib. The place was by the parish and Hundred boundary, v. **mearc**.” and the note: “<sup>4</sup> Surviving in MARKFIELD RD.”. The three names *le Merk*, *Merkgrove* and *Merkmede* are listed under II. and I., respectively. See also Field 1980:69 for the name Markfield Recreation Ground, which no doubt belongs here.

*StPauls*, 1675 Ogilby, *Marget* 1750 K. On the boundary between Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. *Street* refers to Watling Street. (PNHrt 47)

OE *grāf*, *grāfa*, *grāfe* ‚grove, copse’ second element:

Mx: *Merkgrove* 1502 *Ct* (PNMx 79). See note 65.

OE (*ge*)*hæg*, (*ge*)*heg* (Kt, Merc), ME *hay* ‚fence; enclosure’, perhaps in the ME sense ‚part of a forest fenced off for hunting’<sup>66</sup> second element:

Do: Mackey’s Copse: *claus’ voc’ Marchayes* 1541 *Shepherd*<sup>2</sup>, Machays Coppice, -Copse 1845 *TA* (PND0 3:338: “probably ‚boundary enclosure’ from **mearc** and (**ge**)**hæg**; it is on the par. boundary”).

OE *hām* ‚homestead’, etc., less likely OE *hamm* ‚water-meadow’, etc., second element<sup>67</sup>:

Nt: East Markham: *Marchā* 1086 DB, 1169, 1175 P, *Estmarcha’* 1192 France, -ham 1196 P (p), 1201 *Dugd* iv, 1240 FF, *Markeham* 1211 RBE (p), *Estmarcam* c. 1245 HMC Var vii, *Est Markham* 1292 Ipm, *Est Markeham* 1316 FA, *Estmarc(k)ham* 1327 SR 8, 1332 SR 1, *Myche Markham* 1529-32 ECP, *Grett Markham* 1541 Wills (DEPN, PNNt 55, SMED2 109) and

*Markham Clinton*: *Westmarchām* 1086 DB, 1192 France, *West Markham* t. Hy 2 (1291) Ch et freq, *Markham* 1327 SR 7, *Littlemarkham* 1327 Ass, *Littel-* 1344 ib., *Litill Markham* al. *Westmarkham* 1532 NtIpm, *West Markham* al. *Parva Markham* 1588 Recov, *West Markham* 1775 C, c.1825 O.S., 1826 G (DEPN, PNNt 56, SMED2 109).

According to PNNt, the boundary is unknown but may have been an old Mercian boundary.

OE *hēafod* ‚head’, perhaps in the sense ‚projecting piece of ground’, second element:

Db: *le Mercheued* Ed 1 *Kniveton* (PNDb 2:386<sup>68</sup>).

OE *hec(e)g* ‚hedge’ second element:

Sr: *Marked Shaw*: *Marke hedge* 1522 SAC xx. On the boundary of the parish. (PNSr 302)

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<sup>66</sup> See the discussion of the meaning of this element in EPNE 1:214 f. Too uncertain to be included in the material is the Cheshire name *le Marchey* 1524 (PNCh 2:42: “v. **mearc** or **mersc**, **ēg** or (**ge**)**hæg**”).

<sup>67</sup> Markham in Wiltshire is, however, probably a combination of (**ge**)**māre** and *cumb* (see the chapter on (**ge**)**māre** and notes 104 and 105 there).

<sup>68</sup> PNDb: “*le Mercheued* Ed 1, (*la*) *Marche de Knyetone* 1330 Ass (p) (v. **mearc**, **hēafod**)”. The form (*la*) *Marche* 1330 is probably OFr, ME *marche*, see the Introductory remarks.

OE *hyll* ‚hill’ second element:

Brk: *atte Merkhulle* (p) 1327 SR 15 (SMED<sup>5</sup> 160).

OE *land, lond*, ON *land* ‚land’ second element:

Ca: *Marklond* 1521 (PNCa 336).

Db: Markland Farm: *Mark(e)land(e)* 1555 FF, 1576 DbA xx, 1601 FF, 1604, 1606 Ct (PNDb 2:256).<sup>69</sup>

OE *lane, lone, lanu* ‚lane’ second element:

La: Markland: *de Marclane, de Markelan* 1278 LAR, *Marclan* 1323 LI, *de Marclan* 1383 LF (PNLa 104).<sup>70</sup>

OE *loc(a)* ‚lock, river-barrier’ second element:

Ess: *Marcloecroftes* 1276 (PNEss 585). – *Markelokecroft* 1280 (PNEss 585).<sup>71</sup>  
See also EPNE 2:26.

OE *mæd* (WSax), *mēd* (Angl, Kt) ‚meadow’ second element:

Sr: Mark Mead Plantation (6’): *the Marke meade* 1632 Norfolk. By the boundary of the parish. (PNSr 299 f)

Mx: *Merkmede* 1502 Ct (PNMx 79). See note 65.

OE *mere* ‚pond, pool, lake’ second element.

Ca: *Markemar*’ 1279 (PNCa 339: “in the boundaries of Foulmere”).

OE *ōra* ‚shore’ second element:

Sx: Marker Farm: *Merkore* 1296 *MinAcct* (PNSx 1:62: “ ‚Boundary shore,’ v. **mearc, ora**. The creek at Marker Point forms the boundary between Sussex and Hampshire.”).

OE *pōl* ‚pool’, \**pull* ‚pool; brook, stream’, OE *pyll* ‚tidal creek, ?small stream’ second element:

La: *Merkepul* 1215 CC (CC 2:1:394. 396, VHLa 6:68, note 11). See under ON *rá*, note 32.

OE \*(*ge*)*sell* ‚shelter’, etc. probably second element:

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<sup>69</sup> The boundary referred to may be very old. See PNDb: “ ‚Boundary land’, v. **mearc, land**. It may simply be the boundary land between Elmton and Whitwell parishes, or between Db and Nt, but if the name is old it should be noted that Whitwell was on the boundary between Mercia and Northumbria (942 ASC A).”

<sup>70</sup> See PNLa: “The second el. is O. E. **lanu** “road.” The first seems to be O. E. **mearc** “boundary,” etc.; the name is perhaps equivalent in meaning to dial. *markway* “a track to enable the holders of the divisions of a common field to have access to them” (EDD).”

<sup>71</sup> Two different river-barriers? The river is the Lea.

Ess: Markshall: (*æt*) *mearcyncg seollan* 998 Crafw ix, *Mercheshalam* 1086 DB, *Merkeshale* 1212, t. Hy 3 RBE, *-hall* 1242 P (p), *Merkeshal'* 1232-3 Fees, *Markeshale* 1232 Ch, *Markeshal(e)* 1275 RH, 1303 FA, 1330 Londin, *-hall(e)* 1375 IpmR, *alias Marsehall* 1567 M, *Markishale* 1291 Tax, *Merikeshale* 1280 Ass, *Markhalle* 1354 IpmR, *Marsall* 1518 EAS ix (DEPN, PNEss 396, Studies<sup>2</sup> 48). The OE form was probably *\*mearcgesella*, meaning 'boundary shelters or huts'. The place is near the boundary between the hundreds of Lexden and Hinckford.<sup>72</sup>

OE *staca* 'stake, post' second element<sup>73</sup>:

Mx: *Markstakes* 1483 (PNMx 202).

OE *stān* 'stone' second element<sup>74</sup>:

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<sup>72</sup> This is not an easy name. Reaney (PNEss 396) says: "Perhaps originally 'at the dwellings of a man named *Mearc'* or 'on the *mearc* or boundary,' here that between Lexden and Hinckford Hundreds, v. **ing, sele**. Either there was an early substitution of the dat. sing. of **healh** for the dat. pl. of **sele**, or two places close together were named from the same man or object. On the identification v. EAS xvii, 21-2. Later, *-hall* was, as often, substituted for *-hale*. Cf. Markshall (Nf), in which was *Merkeslawe* 1304 Chanc, and Marksbury (So), *Merkesburi* 705 (15th) BCS 112." Note that Ekwall (DEPN) says that Marksbury (So) "seems to be *„Mārec's BURG'* " and considers Markshall (Nf) to have perhaps the same first element as Marksbury (So). Ekwall (Studies<sup>2</sup> 48) does not, however, agree with Reaney, but says: "The correct Old English form was *Mearc-gesella* 'shelters by a *mearc'*. *Mearc* may mean 'boundary' or 'boundary district'. The place is near a hundred boundary. OE *Mearcgesella* became *Mearcigsella*; cf. *Rindigsel* from *Rindgesell* BCS 194. Later an intrusive *n* developed, or the *n* is simply a hypercorrect spelling, an *n* being often dropped in the suffix *-ing-*. The form *-seollan* may be compared with *Runweolla* for *-wella* 939 (14) BCS 737. We need not discuss the question whether this *eo* is due to a sound-change or is an incorrect spelling. Reaney, *op.cit.* [Ekwall refers to PNEss], thinks the original element was OE *eale* 'hall', the first being either a personal name *Mearc* or OE *mearc* 'boundary'. The original form would have been *Mearcingselas*. I do not think that is satisfactory." Ekwall's postulation of the original form as a combination of *mearc* and *gesella* is to be preferred to Reaney's analysis. The normal development (accepting *\*mearc-gesella* > *\*mearcigsella* as a special development) can then be expected to have been *\*mearc-gesella* > *\*mearcēsella* with weakening of *ge-*. The *-es-* can have been understood as a gen. ending of a personal name, not surprising since *de Merk*, etc. is a very common Essex personal name (see under II Simplex names). Substitution of OE *h(e)all* 'hall, manor house' for the more humble (*ge*)*sella* is then natural. Some forms seem to show confusion with OE *h(e)alh* 'nook', etc.

<sup>73</sup> Markstakes Farm in Chailey (Sx) (PNSx 2:297) no doubt contains this combination, but the forms are not old enough for the name to be included in the material. The entry is, however, worth quoting: "MARKSTAKES FM [...] is on the parish boundary (v. **mearc**). It is spelt *Masticks* in 1703 (*Lewes Deeds*) and in 1823 (G), a common local form. In the Watling Ct Rolls (1421) a man is fined for breaking *veteres markstakys* in Salehurst." It ought to be pointed out that the *veteres markstakys* are not identical with those stakes that gave name to Markstakes Farm, for Chailey and Salehurst are not adjacent parishes.

<sup>74</sup> The Essex name Marks Stone (6''): *Marks Stone* 1641 (PNEss 92, 119) very likely contains a personal name as first element, so it has not been included in the material. See below, note 78.

D: Markstone (6''): *Markeston* 1319 Ass (p), 1415 Ass, *Markstone* 1529 ECP 6, 69 (PND 1:190: "Probably „boundary stone,’ v. **mearc**. The farm is at the boundary mark of three parishes.").

OE *wall* (Angl), *weall* (Kt, WSax) „wall’ second element:

Nt: *Merkewall* 1455 (PNNt 293).

OE *weg* „way’ second element:

Do: *Merkewey* n. d. (e 15) *MiltRoll* (PND 1:31).

Ess: *Merkewey* 1387 (PNEss 593).

Nth: *Markeweye* 1200 (PNNth 271).

OE *wīc* „dairy farm’, etc. second element:

Sr: Markwich Farm (6''): *Merkewyke* 1282 Bodl (p), *Merquik* 1332 SR (p), *Merkwyke* 1535 VE (PNSr 243: “ „Farm on the boundary,’ v. **mearc**, **wīc**. The place lies on the Dunsfold - Hascombe boundary.").

## II Simplex names<sup>75</sup>

Sx: (*Alex*’, *Aylward*, *Gilib.*, *Will.*) *atte Merke* 1296 SR 31 (Löfvenberg 1942:130, PNSx 2:378 f, Reaney 1987:232), (*Joh.*) *atte Merke* 1327 SR 188 (Löfvenberg op.cit. p. 130, SMED<sup>5</sup> 160). See note 59. – (*Joh.*, *Rob.*, *Thom’ de*) *la Merke* 1296 SR 101 (Löfvenberg op.cit. p. 130), (*Joh.*) *atte Mirk* 1332 SR 239 (Löfvenberg op.cit. p. 130, SMED<sup>5</sup> 160).

Sr: *le Marke* 1378, 1412 (PNSr 377: “ Great Marks (cf. *le Marke* 1378, 1412); it is on the parish boundary, v. **mearc**.”).

K: *atte Marke* (p) 1327 SR 36, *atte Merke* (p) 1327 SR 34, 1332 SR 17 (= *atte Mearke* (p) 1327 SR 34), 18, *le Marke* (p) 1332 SR 28 (SMED<sup>5</sup> 160)<sup>76</sup>

Mx: *le Merk* 1502 Ct (PNMx 79). See note 65, where Markfield House, the name surviving in Markfield Road, are mentioned, and also *Merkgrove* and *Merkmede*.

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<sup>75</sup> Simplex names are above all to be found in personal names consisting of a preposition + **mearc** preceded by the definite article. The article shows that the meaning of **mearc** was understood when the personal name was written down (see Löfvenberg 1942:XXII), and that **mearc** had local reference. But when there is no definite article, it is not known to which county (or even country, note (*Geoffrey de Merc* 1130 P (Essex), where *Merc* is Marck (Pas-de-Calais) (Reaney 1976:232)) **mearc** belongs, so such instances have not been included in the material. The Sussex instances have been separated into two different groups, according to Löfvenberg’s use of the semicolon to separate instances where different places are referred to (see his Explanatory Notes), but this has not been possible with the Kent and Essex instances.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. PNK 151: “**Mark Fm** (6''). Cf. Ric., Will *de Merke* (s. Shamwell hd) 1327 Subs. – OE *mearc* “march, boundary”.” Mark Farm is in Snodland. Glover (1976:125) says: “Mark Farm (Snodland). Boundary, march (OE *mearc* → *Merke* 1327).”.

- Bk:** Mirk (6''): *Merke* c. 1242 13th cent. *Records of Merton*, App. xlv, (*de la Merke* 13th AD i (p), *Merk* 1248 FF (p) (PNBk 243: “ ‚Boundary’, v. **mearc**. The farm is just on the boundary of Datchet and Slough parishes.”).
- Ess:** (*John*) *atte Meerk*’ 1327 SR 21 (PNEss 230<sup>77</sup>, SMED<sup>3</sup> 82), (*Henry*) *de(l) Merc* 1203 Cur, FF (Mark’s Farm: *Merkes* 1412 FA is probably associated with this family) (PNEss 263), (*Simon de*) *Merk* 1330 FF (PNEss 92 f, 118 f<sup>78</sup>), (*Herbert*) *del Mert* (PNEss: sic) 1223-52 AD i, (*Benedict*) *de la Merke* 1225 FF, (*Thomas*) *Attemark* 1248 Ass (PNEss 107)<sup>79</sup>, (*Walter*) *de(l) Merc*, *Merk* 1219-27 Fees, 1235 Ass (PNEss 495<sup>80</sup>), (*Simon*) *del Merc* 1208 Cur (Reaney 1976:232), (*Matilda de*) *la Merke* 1227 FFEss (Reaney 1976: 232), and, finally, *atte Meerk*’ (p) 1327 SR 21, *atte Merk*’ (p) 1327 SR 21, *atte Merk*’ (p) 1327 SR 21, *atte Merke* (p) 1327 SR 21 (all SMED<sup>3</sup>, p. 82).
- Ca:** *Lamarke* 1251 (PNCa 339).
- Ch:** Marks 1843 TA 142: *the Markes* 1541, 1542 AD (PNCh 2:149: “ ‚the boundary marks’, v. **mearc**”).

### III Combinations with OE *mearc* as the second element<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> See PNEss:“MARK FM, MARK GROVE (6''), MARK ROAD (6'') preserve the name of *Merks* (1777 C) which was the home of John *atte Meerk* (1327 SR). v. **mearc**. All are near the northern boundary of the parish, which coincides with that of the Grove. Note also *Sowthmarcke* in Tillingham (1587 *Rental*)”. *Sowthmarcke* is listed under III.

<sup>78</sup> The inclusion of (*Simon de*) *Merk* in the material is an exception to the principle not to include personal names without the definite article (note 75). The reason is that the boundary in question is known to be in Essex. See PNEss 92 f: “BEAM BRIDGE, ... (all 6''), ..., MARK’S GATE and MARKS STONE<sup>4</sup> (6'') were probably the homes of Stephen *de la Beme* (t. John HPD), ... and Simon *de Merk* (1330 FF), who lived on the **mearc** or forest-boundary.”, and note 4 (p. 92): “*Marks Gate* 1777 C, *Marks Stone* 1641 Fisher. v. Mark’s Hall *infra* 118.”, and p. 118 f: “MARK’S HALL (6'') is *Merkes* 1368 AD vi, *Markys* 1475-85 ECP, *Markes* 1594 N. It is to be associated with the family of Simon *de Merk* (1330 FF), which no doubt owed its name to the fact that it lived on the forest-boundary, which finds further record in Mark’s Gate and Marks Stone *supra* 92, and in *Markethorne* (1301 *For*). v. **mearc**.”. Since *Markethorne* 1301 is to be interpreted as ‚thorn-tree on the boundary of the estate belonging to the *de Merk* family’ rather than ‚boundary thorn-tree’, it has not been included in the material.

<sup>79</sup> See note 62.

<sup>80</sup> PNEss 495:“..., MERKS HALL, ... are probably to be associated with the families of ..., Walter *de(l) Merc*, *Merk* (1219-27 Fees, 1235 Ass), ...”.

<sup>81</sup> Foremark in Derbyshire (PNDb 3:634 f) is not a *mearc*-name originally, so it has not been included in the material. Older formas are: *Fornewerche* 1086, *Forn(e)werc*, *-werk(e)* 1228, 1243, 1302, 1308, 1325, 1328 *et passim* to 1489, *Forniwerk* 1296, *Fornewarke* c. 1275 (p), 1346, 1394, 1529, *Fornework* 1284-6, *Fernewerk(e)* 1306, 1330, *Fronewerk* 1335, 1344, *Fornewarke* 1486, 1532, 1545, *Fornemerch* 1271, *Fornemerck(e)* 1337, 1513, *Fornemark* 1552, 1601, *Farmark(e)* 1577, 1610. The elements are ON *forn* ‚old’ and ON *verk* ‚fortification’, later replaced by OE *mearc*. PNDb takes the second element in *Fornemerch* 1271 to be influenced by OE *mersc*, but *ch* could also be an Anglo-Norman spelling for *k* (see note 9).

OE *\*cegel* (Angl), *\*ci(e)gel* (WSax) ‚pole’ first element<sup>82</sup>:

Do: Chillmark (Ware) (local): *Chilmark* 1571 WimC W (PND<sup>o</sup> 1:37: “... perhaps identical in origin with Chillmark W 185, ‚boundary marked with a pole or poles’, v. **cegel**, **mearc**, with **ware** ‚sheep walk’, as elsewhere in this par., ...”). “Chilmark W 185” is the next name.

W: Chillmark: (*æt*) *Chieldmearc* 929-40 (14th) BCS 745 (S 458), *cigel marc*, (*to*) *cigelmerc broce* 983 (15th) KCD 641 (S 850), *Chilmerc* 1086 DB, 1166, 1194 P, 1195 *Wilton*, 1206 FF, *-merk* c. 1190 *Wilton*, 1289 *Ass*, *Chilmerk* 1332 *SR 11* (2x), *Childmerk(e)* 1195 *Wilton*, 1242 *Fees*, *Chylmerk* 1302 *Sarum*, *Chilmark* 1306 *Ass*, *Chelmerk* 1279, 1289 *Ass*, *-mark* 1326 *Pat*, *Chelesmerke* 1289 *Ass*, *Chilemark* 1297 *Pat*, *-merk* 1351 *Ass* (DEPN, Grundy 1920:91, 95, PNW 185 f, SMED<sup>5</sup> 160, Studies<sup>2</sup> 165).<sup>83</sup>

The personal name *Leshart* first element:

Db: *Leshart Marke* 1630 *Plan* (PND<sup>b</sup> 2:217: “the first element is a family name, the second **mearc** ‚boundary’ ”).

OE *mīl* ‚mile’ first element:

NRy: *Milemerke* c. 1167 (EPNE 2:41, PNNRY 331). See note 13.

OE *scīr* ‚shire’ first element:

Sx: Shiremark Farm (6’): (*Ad’ de*) *Shyrmerk* 1296 *SR* 269, (*Alic.*) *Shirmarke* 1327 *SR* 154, (*Adam*) *atte Shirmerke* 1327 *FF* 62, (*Ad*) *atte Shirmark* 1332 *SR* 269, (*Giles*) *atte Shiremarkes* 1379 *FF* 183, *Shermarke* 1547 *SAC* xiii, *Shermarke* 1547 *FF*. The farm is on the Sussex - Surrey boundary. (Löfvenberg 1942:185: “ ‚Boundary-mark between two shires’ ”, PNSr 288, PNSx 1:239, SMED<sup>5</sup> 160)

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<sup>82</sup> In Derbyshire we find Chelmorton: *Chelmaredon*’ 1196, *Chelmardon*’ 1212, *Chelemeredune* 1225, *Chilmerdon*’ 1236, *Cheilmardon* 1265, 1315, 1317, *Cheylmardone* 1275, *Chailmardon* 1335 (PND<sup>b</sup> 1:74 (with a few more forms than in Studies<sup>2</sup>), Studies<sup>2</sup> 165f), which may be a third instance of *\*cegel*, *\*ci(e)gel*, in this case with OE *dūn* ‚hill’ added. Cameron (PND<sup>b</sup>) considers the name means ‘Cēolmār’s hill’ but cf. Ekwall (Studies<sup>2</sup>): “The first element is clearly OE *cegel*. It is quite possible that the name consists of OE *Cegel-mearc*, identical with CHILMARK [Chilmark (W) has just been discussed in Studies<sup>2</sup>], and OE *dūn* ‚hill’. A *k* would be apt to disappear between the two consonants. But it is possible that the name consists of OE *cegel* and *gemærdun* ‚boundary hill’; OE *gemære* means ‚boundary’. Or else the first element may be an OE *cegel-gemære* of the same meaning as *cigel-mearc* ‚boundary marked by poles’, to which OE *dūn* ‚hill’ was added.”. This problematic name is also mentioned in note 169 in the chapter on *(ge)mære*, since it may be *cegelmære* + *dūn*.

<sup>83</sup> The text in KCD runs: “*Arest ðe cigel marc sched on nodre andlang stremes oð Gofesdene;*”. Grundy says that OE *brōc* ‚brook’ must have been left out in *cigel marc* and considers the correct reading is *\*cigel marc broc*. PNW declares that Grundy is no doubt right. Ekwall (Studies<sup>2</sup>) suggests that *cigel marc* “refers to a boundary line. Apparently one consisting of a series of poles.”.

OE *sūð* ‚southern, south‘ first element:

Ess: *Sowthmarcke* 1587 *Rental* (PNEss 230).

OE *wearg*, *werg* (Angl) ‚felon, criminal, outlaw‘ or an OE personal name \**Wæra* first element:

Bd: Warmark: *Warimarc*, *Waremerche* 13th *Dunst* (PNBd & Hu 139: “There is not much to go upon here. The suffix is clearly OE **mearc** and the farm lies near the boundary of the parish. The first part may be an unrecorded OE pers. name *Wæra*, a short form of one of the numerous OE names in *Wær-*. Alternatively it might be an OE *wearg(a)-mearc*, ‚outlaw(s)-mark,‘ referring perhaps to a place where such were to be found or where bodies might be thrown after execution. v. **mearc**.”).<sup>84</sup>

### 3.3 Discussion

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

Except for a few Domesday forms, all the instances are from OE boundary surveys. As stated above under the Other Counties A II and III, the same principles for inclusion in the material as those used for OE *(ge)mære* have been followed. See the chapter on OE *(ge)mære* under Gloucestershire A II and III and note 12. That the same principles for inclusion are used is in accordance with the fact that these two elements have much in common. It should be appropriate to try to see just what is common to *mearc* and *(ge)mære* in OE, and in which respects they differ.

The usual position for both *mearc* and *(ge)mære* in the material from OE boundary surveys is as first element in combination with a second element. The number of instances with *mearc* or *(ge)mære* as a simplex or as second element in combination with another word as first element is much smaller for both elements. As first element, both *mearc* and *(ge)mære* can be assumed to mean usually

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<sup>84</sup> Since it is reasonable to believe that the execution as well as the burial of criminals took place at the parish boundary, a compound *wearg-mearc* referring to a post where criminals were buried near the parish-boundary makes good sense. The *i* in *Warimarc* would then be paralleled by the *i* in *Werihill* 13th (mod. Wreighill: OE \**wearg-hyll* ‚felon hill, hill where felons were executed‘ (DEPN)).



„boundary’.<sup>85</sup> As a simplex and as second element, a concrete sense is usually required for the instance to be included in the material.<sup>86</sup> This concrete sense seems often to be „balk of a ploughland’ for both *mearc* and *(ge)māere*, but in *(to) se mære on Sigeres ac* (S 681) (WRY) it may be „boundary-mark’ (if the element is in fact *(ge)māere* and not *mere*) and in *(habet ab oriente) æla mearc* (S 335) (K) it may be „district’. Partly because the material is so limited, it is often difficult to know what the concrete meaning is.

Another similarity between *mearc* and *(ge)māere* is that they occur in compounds with OE *land-*: *land-mearc* and *land-gemāere*. There are, however, no instances of these compounds included in the OE material.<sup>87 88</sup>

It is worth noticing that *mearc* and *(ge)māere* are sometimes found side by side in a boundary survey, although the material does not show this well, the only instances being *(on) mærdic* and in the same charter (S 786) (Wo) *(on) blacan mearcan* (see above and note 54), *(on) þa mearc (þæt swa to feower gemæran)* (S 1297) (Wo) (see above and note 51), and possibly *(on) Mærbroc (of) Mær broce* and in the

<sup>85</sup> There is, of course, also the possibility that such combinations as *(on) mære broc* (S 850) (W) and *(on) markbrok* (S 727) (W) do not mean „boundary brook’ but, e.g., „brook at the boundary-mark’, but „boundary brook’ is a much more likely interpretation. The combination of *mearc* with a word for a tree can be interpreted in more than one way. The *mearc trēow* in S 582 (W) (*(to) mearc treowe*) should probably be translated „the boundary tree’, but „the boundary-mark tree’ (because it has been marked with a boundary-mark) or „the tree serving as a boundary-mark’ are also possible interpretations. That trees on boundaries were marked both in OE times and later is certain. See the quotation from Middendorff in note 13, and also Rackham (1986:211) (on OE charters): “Some trees were „marked’: at Ecchinswell (Hants) there was a marked aspen and a marked oak; at Horton (Dorset), not now lime country, there was a marked lime.” and Winchester (cop. 1990:41): “At Croydon (Surrey), for example, in the sixteenth century the parishioners „set their crosse to the side of the Vicar’s Oak, a great oak tree on Penge Common claimed by them to be the boundary between Croydon and Battersea parishes (Public Record Office, E134/20 Eliz/E.7). (...) As late as the nineteenth century the Ordnance Survey maps show boundaries in Epping Forest (Essex) defined by boundary marks on pollarded trees through the woodland.”

<sup>86</sup> See the quotation from Grundy in note 13 and the quotation from Tengstrand in note 90, both in the chapter on OE *(ge)māere*. However, it is by no means always possible to decide if the sense is abstract or concrete. This is especially true of *mearc* and *(ge)māere* as simplex elements.

<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, these compounds not seldom occur in examples not included in the material, not the least in the opening phrases of boundary surveys. Examples with *land-gemāere*: *Þis synd ða landgemæra to Teodintune* (S 1554) (Gl) and *ðær Lencgemu and Herefordtunes landgemæru togædere liggad æt Wænnacumbe* (S 1599) (Wo) (see note 12 in the chapter on OE *(ge)māere*). Examples with *land-mearc*: *þis is þe landmark to Edyndon* (S 765) (W) and *þær þa þreo landmearca gafe togædere* (S 365) (Ha) (see note 7; the second example would not have been included anyway, since Hampshire is not among the counties studied).

<sup>88</sup> But with *mearc* there is no form with *ge-* which corresponds to *gemāere*. OE neut. *gemearc* and the possible fem. *\*gemearca* (see note 13) are not equivalent to *mearc* in the way *gemāere* is equivalent to *mære*. A form corresponding to *gemāere* would have been a fem. *\*gemearc*.

same charter (S 553) (Gl) (*on*) *Merces feld (of) Merces felda* (see above and note 14)<sup>89</sup>. It is doubtful whether the occurrence side by side implies any difference of meaning, as Grundy thinks (see note 54). In the Kentish charter S 546, *mearc* and *(ge)mære* seem to be used without any difference of meaning: (*oð*) *sancte Agustines mearce* and (*to*) *Cristes cirican gemære*.<sup>90</sup> Provided that the two manuscripts in the Dorset charter S 969 contain *mearc* and *(ge)mære* respectively, see note 48, and also note 71 in the chapter on OE *(ge)mære*, this also suggests that they are synonymous.

While *mearc* and *(ge)mære* seem to be synonyms in OE, there is a clear difference in the number of instances in the material: the material for *(ge)mære* is much larger than the material for *mearc*. Before drawing any conclusions from this fact, it must be borne in mind that not all the counties of England have been dealt with.<sup>91</sup> If Venezky's microfiche concordance is studied, it is remarkable how often one finds that a charter example with *mearc* belongs to Hampshire. The inclusion of at least Hampshire would thus have yielded many more instances of *mearc* to be included in the material. And in Middendorff's list of charter examples with *mearc* as first element, there is no county with so many examples as Hampshire.

Moreover, if the geographical distribution of the instances in the material is studied, another clear difference between *(ge)mære* and *mearc* is found. In the south-eastern counties of Sussex, Kent, Surrey, Middlesex and Essex, *mearc* dominates over *(ge)mære*. There is not a single instance of *(ge)mære* in Kent and only one in Sussex. If we exclude the counties with less than three examples of *(ge)mære* and *mearc* taken together, too few for any conclusions to be drawn, the opposite is true of the rest of the counties studied. Here *(ge)mære* is the

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<sup>89</sup> Examples from categories not included in the material are *on þa wude mearca andlang þæs mæres* (S 794) (Ca), *oð ciolmundes mearce & ðes landes mere* (S 1276) (K), *on lamburninga mearce swa est andlang mearce oð ælfwiges gemære* (S 855) (Brk), and possibly *oð cinges mear. and ut fram cinges merce* (S 321) (K). In the Hampshire charter S 273 both *land-gemære* and *mearc* occur: *to ðam land gemære oð bisceopes mearce*. An example of *(ge)mære* as first element (and *land-gemære*) side by side with *mearc* in a county not dealt with occurs in the Somerset charter S 431, which has both *on merewelle* and *þe land mere at Merkesburi*. But *to merce mot and to mere dic* in S 782 (Li) is rather an example of OE (non-WSax) *(ge)merce* occurring in the same charter as *(ge)mære*. Cf. Everson & Knowles (1993:19 ff).

<sup>90</sup> This charter is 949 BCS 880, and the passages occur in this context: "*Of stoccum andlong stræte oð sancte Agustines mearce from sancte Agustines mearce oð broc andlang broces oð stan brycge suð from stan brycge oð wifeling to Cristes cirican gemære from Cristes cirican gemære oð ealdan hege on west healfe ealdan hege to feaxum.*" (Venezky: microfiche).

<sup>91</sup> It has also to be pointed out again that some categories of examples with *mearc* and *(ge)mære* have not been included in the material, according to the principles mentioned in note 12 in the chapter on OE *(ge)mære*. However, an inclusion of those categories would probably have given the same result for the relation in this respect between *mearc* and *(ge)mære*.

dominating term, and in fact the only term in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, and perhaps in Gloucestershire. It seems as if for southern England *mearc* is a word of the south-east and *(ge)māere* a word of at least much of the rest of the area.<sup>92</sup> This is confirmed by Kitson's detailed study (1995), where he shows the distribution of *mearc* and *(ge)māere* and a third main word for 'boundary', OE *landscaru*, not dealt with in this study. He says (p. 55): "West Saxon and Anglian agree in using the standard Old English term *(ge)māere*, against *landscaru* preferred in a limited area of the south-west, and *mearc* in a larger area of the south-east." Kitson holds that *mearc* and *land-sc(e)aru* used to be the standard terms in wider areas earlier and resisted, with varying success, the spread of *(ge)māere* from north Wiltshire and parts close by. He looks upon this area as the very centre of West Saxon: "The heartland of West Saxon must be the part of historical Wessex where only *gemāere* is used, that is north Wiltshire and adjacent parts." (loc.cit.).<sup>93</sup>

The material includes a few instances with *merc* or *mærc*: *merc dic* (S 108) (Sx); *merc fleot* (S 110) (K); *merc lege* and *mærc lege* (S 934) (Brk); *merc stane* (S 582) (W); *merc wælle* (S 188) (Mx); *cigelmerc broce* (S 850) and *Chilmerc* DB (W). They have been included on the assumption that they end in unpalatalized *c*, i.e. the *k*-sound. This is no doubt true of *cigelmerc* and *Chilmerc*, since the mod. form is Chilmark<sup>94</sup>, but the other instances are not so certain. It is quite possible (but highly unlikely in the case of *merc fleot* if it is identical with *mearcfleot* (S 35)) that they have palatalized *c*. See ERN s.n. Marden River, where Ekwall mentions this possibility for *merc wælle*. Non-WSax *(ge)merce* would then be the probable element. According to Jordan this form spread into the West Saxon dialect pressing back *(ge)mierce* perhaps already in OE.<sup>95</sup> Maybe OE *(ge)mierce*,

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<sup>92</sup> Again it has to be pointed out that some categories of examples with *mearc* and *(ge)māere* have not been included in the material, according to the principles mentioned in note 12 in the chapter on OE *(ge)māere*. However, an inclusion of those categories would probably not have affected this statement.

<sup>93</sup> Note also Zachrisson's discussion of the relation between these words (and OE *land* in the sense *land-gemāere*) (Zachrisson: "*gemæru, mearc, land, landscearu*") and the Anglo-Saxon settlement in southern England. (Zachrisson 1936:27 ff).

<sup>94</sup> It may be worth noting that 983 (15th) KCD 641 (S 850) (W) has three different spellings for *mearc*: *mearc wei*, *cigel marc*, and *cigel merc broce* (Venezky: microfiche). They are all from a 15th century manuscript and show that spellings may not always be relied on. In this case, the discrepancy may have three causes: the OE scribe, the 15th century copyist, or Kemble (KCD), or a combination of them.

<sup>95</sup> For possible or probable examples of *(ge)merce* see *Mercesfeld(a)* (S 553) (Gl) above and note 14; *merce cumb* (S 298) (D), note 41; *merce ford* (S 470) (W), note 45; with ME spelling *merchebroke* (S 1165) and *Merchebroke* (S 353) (Sr) (mod. Marsh Brook), note 40; *yrð* (?) *merce* (S 968) (ERY), note 55 (*mearc* not likely in this Anglian area). See also Jordan § 60 on OE

(ge)merce is a more common place-name element than has hitherto been supposed. It is not among the place-name elements in EPNE.

Another problem is when *mearc* occurs with *e* outside the Anglian dialect area. The expected development is for unsmoothed OE *ea* to remain until it becomes *æ* about 1000 and then *a* from 1100, see the Introductory remarks. Nevertheless we find *merke(n)dene* (S 1575) in Wiltshire and in Surrey *merke pol* (S 747). Moreover, if the element is *mearc* (which, after all, seems more probable than (ge)merce, see the preceding paragraph), *merc dic* (S 108) in Sussex, *merc fleot* (S 110) in Kent, *merclege* (S 934) in Berkshire, *merc stane* (S 963) in Devon, *merc wælle* (S 188) in Middlesex, and *cigelmerc* (S 850) and *Chilmerc* DEPN in Wiltshire all show an unexpected *e*-spelling. A probable explanation of the *e*-forms is offered by Kristensson (SMED<sup>3</sup> 92), who discusses Löfvenberg's treatment of this problem (Löfvenberg 1942:130), and points out that the fact that there are two instances of *Meerk*'<sup>96</sup> 1327 in Essex (see *B ME and later material* above) suggests a long vowel, and says that "Perhaps OE *ea* was lengthened before *rc* despite the fact that OE *rc* did not belong to the 'lengthening' consonant combinations.". If *ea* was lengthened in *mearc*, the spelling in OE would still be *ea*; the *e* would be an unreliable spelling, perhaps often belonging to a ME copy.

### *B ME and later material*

The material suggests that *mearc* and (ge)māere are no longer so similar semantically as in OE. While they both have the meaning 'boundary', *mearc* is now, as distinguished from (ge)māere, where this meaning is rare, not seldom used in the sense 'boundary-mark'. The sense 'mark' is also to be reckoned with.<sup>97</sup> And in WRY (ge)māere has developed the special meaning not found for *mearc*, where it is synonymous with the administrative term *quarter*. However, both elements usually occur as first element in combination with another word, and then they both have very likely usually the meaning 'boundary'. In the forms for the Essex name Mardyke Farm, (ge)māere occurs side by side with *mearc*.

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non-WSax *e* and Angl *æ* from unfractured *a*: "In ME, as perhaps already in the living OE language, WS /y/ (written <u>) becomes ever more repressed. Predominantly *e* was current: ... Beside these are *a* forms (from Angl. *æ*): ...". But in *Marcheton(e)* 1086, etc., *Merchetune* 1086 (mod. Markeaton (Db) and *Mercheshalam* 1086 (mod. Markshall (Ess)) the *ch* is in all probability an Anglo-Norman spelling for the *k*-sound (see Jordan § 17).

<sup>96</sup> But see SMED<sup>1</sup> 130, where *Paar* 1332 is among the forms (the other forms are *Parr* and *Par*) from OE \**pearr(e)* 'enclosure' (mod. Parr (La)) and SMED<sup>4</sup> 66, where *Throup* 1332 is the only form from OE *þrop* 'hamlet' (mod. Throope (W)).

<sup>97</sup> Some special kind of mark may be referred to in the West Riding instances of High Mark.

Also in the ME and later material there are many more instances of *(ge)māere* than of *mearc*. It is remarkable that Kent has only one instance of *mearc* (and one of *(ge)māere*), but *mearc* is still well represented in the south-east. Moreover there are several instances of *mearc* in WRY, which suggests that *(ge)māere* is not now so dominating in the north as it perhaps used to be. And Gloucestershire with no certain OE instances of *mearc* has now a few *mearc*-instances. Sussex, on the other hand, with no OE instances in the material of *(ge)māere*, has now several instances of both *(ge)māere* and *mearc* in the material. Devon, which used to be *land-sc(e)aru*-area (see Kitson op.cit.), has now a fair number of instances of *(ge)māere* (but *mearc* is rare in both the OE and the ME and later material). The OE dialect boundaries for *mearc*, *(ge)māere*, and *land-sc(e)aru* seem to have become somewhat dissolved.<sup>98</sup>

As in OE, it is sometimes difficult to know whether a form contains *mearc* or another element. Markyate (Hrt), which is *Marchiate*, *-iete* 1202, and Warmark (Bd), which is *Waremerche* 13th, have in all probability the Anglo-Norman spelling *ch* for the *k*-sound (see Jordan § 17), but there are names which are more uncertain.<sup>99</sup> A name which will be discussed in this connection here, although it has both Domesday and later forms, is March (Ca). These are the forms: *Merc(c)* 1086 InqEl, *Merche*, *Mercha* 1086 DB, *Merch(e)* 1170 LibEl *et freq* to 1355 Walden, *Merk(e)* 1236 Ch, 1298 Ass, *March(e)* 1286 *MinAcct et freq* to 1554 Pat, (*by Welle*) 1346 1, *Mersh* 1576 Saxton, *Marsh* 17th *AdvL*, *Merch* 1819 Carter (DEPN, PNCa 253). Ekwall (DEPN) says: “Perhaps OE *mearc* ‘boundary’ with palatal *c* from a locative form in *-i*.” and Reaney (PNCa) takes Ekwall’s suggestion to be probably right. The locative form must be rare in place-names, but March would not be unique.<sup>100</sup> However, a more simple explanation is to derive March from OE *(ge)merce*, interchanging with OE *mearc*. See also EPNE 2: 37 s.v. *mearc*.

It cannot be excluded that ON *mǫrk* ‘forest’ or with a later meaning ‘ground’ was borrowed into English, but there is nothing in the material that points to this.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> But note that Zachrisson (loc.cit., see note 93) says about southern England that the modern geographical distribution of *mere*, *mark*, and *landshare* agrees on the whole with the OE distribution. (“Den moderna geografiska fördelningen av *mere*, *mark* och *landshare* överensstämmer i stort sett med den fornengelska.”)

<sup>99</sup> See notes 58 and 59.

<sup>100</sup> See Steane, Shute, Twyford, and OE *sceat* in DEPN.

<sup>101</sup> The name *Danmark* (Li) (see note 3) does not prove that ON *mǫrk* was borrowed into English, for it is probably a name transferred from the country-name Denmark.

# Chapter 4 OE \*rān, \*rān(e), ON rein

## 4.1 Introductory remarks

The principal meaning of ON *rein* is ‚boundary strip’. It is an  $\bar{o}$ -stem.

The IE origin of *rein* is a root \**rei-* ‚scratch, tear’, in the form IE \**roi-no-*. IE \**roi-no-* developed into PGermanic \**rainō-*, which is the source of ON *rein* and its OEScand form *rēn*, and of OHG *rein*. These can all mean ‚boundary strip’.<sup>1</sup> ON *rein* is the OWScand form. There is no doubt about its existence in England, but OEScand *rēn* is hardly to be reckoned with.<sup>2 3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Pokorny 1:857 f, W-P 2:343, OED s.v. *Rain sb.*<sup>2</sup>, Hellquist 2:826. Lindkvist (1912:74) gives a useful survey in his discussion of Rainhill (La), which, however, is not included in the material because it is not likely that the first element is ON *rein*. Rather it is a personal name, or, as suggested by Smith (PNWRY 1:108), OE *regn* ‚rain’. Lindkvist says: “1st mem. may be O.W.Scand. *rein* f. ‚a strip of land which forms the boundary of a tilled field or an estate’. O.E.Scand. *rēn*; on M.E. *rēne* ‚border’, see BJÖRKMAN Loan-words, p. 63. This etymology goes well with the meaning of the 2nd member, M.E. *hil*, *hul* ‚hill’. The former word appears to have been common to the several Teutonic languages, and it may be appropriate to consider, in some measure, the sense-development it has undergone in them. In Norw. dial. (AASEN) *rein* has retained the meaning of the O.W.Scand. word; moreover, it signifies a narrow ridge or elevation of the ground, a long bank of earth or gravel. MLG. *rēn* meant ‚Ackergrenze’; OHG. *rein* (Germ. *Rain*) ‚abgrenzender Bodenstreifen, meist erhöht, als Ackergrenze’, and in South Germ. dialects (see GRIMM’S Wörterb.) we find *rain* used of a long slope, a slope descending towards a fen or river (Bavarian), the slope of a hill (Swiss). It should be noticed that the site of Rainhill favours such an explanation of the name. The township of R. occupies the southern slope of a hill; ‚roughly speaking the ridge of the hill forms the boundary against Eccleston on the north.’ ” Cf. Ekwall (PNLa 107) on this name: “... The township occupies the S. slope of a hill, which was no doubt originally called Rainhill. Lindkvist p. 74 suggests as first el. O.N. *rein* “strip of land forming the boundary of a field or estate,” and points out that the hill forms the boundary against Eccleston. But it is doubtful if *rein* could be used of such a boundary; the fields of Eccleston and Rainhill hardly met on the hill. And we do not expect a Scand. word as the first el. It seems plausible that Rainhill and Rainford have the same first el. ... This el. is very likely a hypochothic form (*Regna*) of O.E. names in *Regn-*, *Regen-*; ...”. However, Rainhill may, after all, contain ON *rein* in the sense ‚terraced ploughstrip’ and mean ‚hill with terraces’. See below.

<sup>2</sup> See PNWRY 5:10 (s.n. Gelsthorpe): “Probably ON *ei* and ODan  $\bar{e}$  occurred side by side in the Danelaw and to some extent were interchangeable.” See, however, also Fellows-Jensen (1997:86) (discussing *þveit* in Cheshire): “In his list of elements, Dodgson records this generic as *þveit(i)* ON, *thwēt* ODan’ but it should be noted that monophthongization of the *ei* to  $\bar{e}$  had not taken place in Denmark at the time when the Danes settled in the Danelaw.”

OE *\*rān* is a postulated form. There are no certain instances in OE charters or other OE texts. Mawer & Stenton (PNBk 55 s.n. Rhon Hill) take it to occur in *(to) rancumb* BCS 724 (S 386), *(oth, of) ran wylle* BCS 894 (S 516), and *(ofer) randune* BCS 390 (S 272), but Kökeritz (PNIoW 221 f s.n. Rancombe) is somewhat sceptical and points out that the first element may be the gen.sg. of OE *rā* ‘roe-deer’. On the other hand, Mills (PND0 3:380) translates *ran wylle* (S 516): “ ‚spring or stream by a boundary strip’, v. **rān, wiell(a)**”.

OE *\*rān* is, however, recorded in ME, where the form is *rōn(e)*, except in the Northern dialect, where *ā* remains, and except when *ā* was shortened to *ǣ*.

The existence of OE *\*rān* is also supported by the fact that an *i*-mutated variant, OE *\*rāen* (< PGermanic *\*rainjō* -), or OE *\*rāene* (< PGermanic *\*rainjōn*) is recorded in BCS 1119 (S 723) (Sa): *on þa bradan ræne*.<sup>4</sup> The ME form of OE *rāen(e)* is *ren(e)*. It occurs, if the rhymes may be trusted, in *Palladius on husbandrie* ?1440, rhyming with ME *lēne* ‘jean’ and *unclēne* ‘unclean’.<sup>5</sup> It is probable that ModE dial. *rean*, which EDD takes to be from ON *rein*, at least sometimes originates from OE *\*rāen(e)*. The form *rean* would be the expected modern form.<sup>6</sup>

ON *rein*, OE *\*rān*, and OE *\*rāen(e)* are probably more or less synonymous, with ‘boundary strip’ as the principal meaning.<sup>7</sup> Boundary strips, which may also be called

<sup>3</sup> OEScand *rēn* occurs, e.g., in the ModSw plant-name ‘renfana’ (*Tanacetum vulgare*).

<sup>4</sup> See Middendorff 106: “*rāene* st.f. Furche zwischen Ackerstücken zum Entwässern, kleiner Wasserlauf; ne. dial. rean dasselbe; of ðæs dices geate on ða bradan ræne 119 (a° 963).”.

<sup>5</sup> See MED s.v. **rein** n. (2): “(?1440) Palladius 1.159: Sette not out thi londis faat or lene To hym whos lond adioyneth on thy rene [L confinia] [...] (?1440) Palladius 1.62: Se not the swerd al nakid .. Nor hungry cley, ner stonys ful vche rene [rime: vnclene, lene].”.

<sup>6</sup> See Gelling (1995:188 f), on ON *rein* in Cheshire: “... This word (meaning ‘boundary strip’) may be the ultimate origin of dialect *rean* ‘furrow between plough ridges’, but field-names in which *rean* occurs cannot reasonably be considered evidence for Norse settlement. As a field-name element *rean* seems to have been employed in the West Midlands in areas where the plough furrows carried water, and Wet Reans is a very common name in both Cheshire and Shropshire. An Old English form is found in Shropshire as early as 963, in the bounds of Church Aston, which run *on bradan ræne* ...”.

<sup>7</sup> OED defines **Rain** sb.<sup>2</sup> as “**1.** A strip of land, a ridge, a division between lands or fields.” and “**2.** A furrow between the ridges or lands in a field.”, with “† **b.** A small stream or ditch.”. EPNE says s.v. ON *rein* that it means ‘a boundary strip’ and s.v. OE *\*rān* that this element is used in ME field-names in the sense ‘a boundary strip, a balk’. Among the meanings of REAN in EDD are: “A balk in a field, esp. one serving as a boundary; a strip of uncultivated and overgrown ground round an arable field; a division of land.”, and “A footpath or roadway.”, and “A furrow or space between the ridges in a ploughed field, used for carrying off the water.”, and “A large open ditch; a main artificial watercourse; a very small stream; a runnel.”, and “A steep hillside; only used in place-names.”. See also Dilley 200: “RANE, RAIN, RAYNE, REAN: Several possible meanings: “A strip of land, a ridge; a division between lands or fields; a furrow between the ridges or lands in a field” (O.E.D.). “A strip of uncultivated and overgrown land round an arable field” (Wright). “A strip of any cultivated

balks, occurred within the open fields<sup>8</sup> and elsewhere<sup>9</sup>, and they could be of some importance in the agrarian economy by providing hay to be mown or pasture for animals.<sup>10</sup>

A development of meaning from ‚boundary strip’ to ‚ploughed area bounded by boundary strips’ has taken place.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Seebohm 381 describes how terraces, i.e. terraced ploughstrips, are made and how they in his time are still called ‚*reeans*’ or ‚*reins*’ by people in the Dales of Yorkshire.<sup>12</sup> This represents a similar

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land in an arable field” (Prevost I). In Cumberland *rane* appears to be used mainly to describe a strip of unploughed land left standing as a boundary between holdings in a common field or as a means of access – elsewhere more commonly referred to as a balk. Such *ranes* are often fairly wide, as evidenced by the number of times they are mentioned as being mown for hay or as having grazing animals tethered on them.”

<sup>8</sup> The features denoted by ON *rein*, etc. were no doubt balks originally, but separating furrows seem also to have become denoted by these words, see, e.g., Dodgson (note 11) and Gelling (note 6).

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., Beecham 25: “In a wider context than that of open-field farming the balk or mere is of course as recognized a form of field boundary as is the hedge, ditch, wall, or fence.”

<sup>10</sup> On their farming uses when they occurred within the open fields see note 7, the last sentence, and also Ault 22 f: “Ploughstrips might be separated from each other by a balk of turf. These were sometimes wide enough to be of some value as mow-land or pasture. As population increased, many of the balks were ploughed up and selions were separated by double furrows. These were easy to discern in a field of grain; in the broad furrow there was little depth of earth. Stalks were short and the spears of grain small.” See also Gray 228 f, where a description of a glebe terrier from about 1704 concerning the glebe at Orton in Cumberland is dealt with: “Apart from parcels of moss and rights of pasture over the moors, the parson had sixty-three riggs and one butt of arable, with various small pieces of meadow at the ends of these and certain *raines* or strips of turf between them.” A few quotations from this glebe terrier run: “In Low Croft or East Roods 4 Riggs with a Raine between them and a piece of Meadow at the North End, 1 acre ... In the Organ Butts two small Riggs, half an acre ... In Sheep Coats two Riggs, one acre with a broad Raine between them and a piece of Meadow at the low end ...”. Presumably at least the ‚broad Raine’ was not only used as a boundary marker but, like the pieces of meadow, was also used for farming purposes.

<sup>11</sup> See the reference to Prevost in note 7: “A strip of any cultivated land in an arable field” and Dodgson’s definition of ON *rein* (PNCh 5(1:ii):318): “**rein** ON, „a boundary strip’, later „a ploughland strip’ and ModEdial. *rean* „the broad furrow separating the ridges or “lands” in ploughing’.”

<sup>12</sup> Seebohm says: “In the English system the furlongs were divided into strips or acres by the turf balks left in the ploughing, and, as we have seen, on hill-sides, the strips became terraces, and the balks steep banks called „*lincs*.’ It will be remembered that these were produced by the practice of always turning the sod downhill in the ploughing. There are many *lincs* as far north as in the district of the „Teutoburger Wald,<sup>1 2</sup> and they occur in great numbers as far south as the Inn Valley, all the way up to St. Mauritz and Pontresina. Although in many places the terraces in the Engadine are now grassland, it is well known to the peasantry that they were made by ancient ploughing. The German word for the turf slope of these terraces is ‘*Rain*,’ and, like the word balk, it means a strip of unploughed turf.<sup>3</sup> It is sometimes used for the terrace itself. Precisely the same word is used for the similar terraces in the Dales of Yorkshire, which are still called by the Dalesmen ‚*reeans*’ or ‚*reins*.<sup>4</sup>”. Seebohm’s relevant notes (2-4) are: “<sup>2</sup> There are great numbers to be seen from the railway



development of meaning, from ‚bank between terraces’ to ‚terrace’; see the quotation from Seeböhm in note 12.

The later forms of OE *\*rān* and ON *rein* sometimes coincide. ON *ei* became *ai* from the second half of the 13th century (Jordan § 130) (and perhaps occasionally earlier, see *Rainstallegate* 12, note 15). This resulted in the new spellings *ai*, *ay* beside the old *ei*-spelling. However, ME *ā* could in the north of England, after the northern monophthongization *ai* > *ā* in the second half of the 14th century<sup>13</sup>, also be spelt *ai*, *ay*, where *i*, *y* functioned as the sign of a long vowel (Jordan §§ 19, 44, 32). This made a form *raine* or *rayne* in the north of England ambiguous.

## 4.2 Material

### 4.2.1 GLOUCESTERSHIRE

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

No instances found.

#### B ME and later material

No instances enough probable to be included in the material found.<sup>14</sup>

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from Ems as far as Nordhausen on the route to Berlin.”. “<sup>3</sup> Thus *Rainbalken* is the turf balk left unploughed as a boundary.”. “<sup>4</sup> Halliwell. ‚*Rain*,’ a ridge (north). See also *Studies*, by Joseph Lucas, F.G.S., c. viii., where there is an interesting description of the ‚Reins’ in Nidderdale. These terraces occur in the neighbouring dales of Billsdale, Bransdale, and Furdale; and also in Wharfedale and the valley of the Ribble, &c.”.

<sup>13</sup> This monophthongization took place in the greater part of Scotland and in the southern part of Yorkshire (Jordan § 132), making a form *rane* ambiguous in Scotland, and also, if this southern part of Yorkshire is to some extent within the ME *ā*-area, also here. Moreover, insofar as the monophthongization area coincides with the ME *ǣ*-area, a form *rane* here would be ambiguous if it occurred in a compound where it could represent OE *\*rān* with *ā* shortened, as well as ON *rein*.

<sup>14</sup> Randwick: *Rende*- 1121, 1135-50, 1248, *Rend*- 1535, 1538, *Ri*-, *Rynde*- 12, 1216, 1220 to 1308, *Rande*-1248, *Rand*- 1635, *Rone*- 1494, *Ron*- 1556, *Ran*- 1526, 1535, *Ren*- 1547, also with the forms *Renwyke als*, *Rendwyke* 1576 and Runnick 1713, 1715 (PNGI 2:189 f) has OE *wīc* ‚dairy-farm’, etc. as the second element. The first element is probably *\*rend* sometimes substituted by the unmutated form *rand*, both meaning ‚edge’, see PNGI. However, substitution by OE *\*rān* is possible in the 1494 form *Ronewyke*, and in *Ronwi(c)ke* 1556 and *Ranwyke* 1526, 1535. *Renhulles* 1425 (PNGI 1:209) is more likely to contain OE *regn* ‚rain’ than OE *\*rān(e)*. *Renysam* 1299 (PNGI 1:29, no comment) is more likely to contain a personal name than OE *\*rān(e)*. (*Little*) *Rowell* 1606 (PNGI 2:100), with OE

## 4.2.2 THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

### A OE (mainly charter) material

No instances found.

### B ME and later material

#### ***I Combinations with OE \*rān, \*rān(e), ON rein as the first element***

The material contains several names with only late spellings. These are therefore uncertain instances of OE \*rān, \*rān(e), ON *rein*.<sup>15</sup>

OE *bere-ærn* ‚barn’ second element:

Rains Barn: *le Rane* 13 *Sawl* 91, a minor name, t. of Stainforth [SD 8267], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:155). The form *le Rane* is listed under II.

OE *botm*, \**boðm* ‚bottom, valley bottom’ second element:

Rein Bottom 1847 *TA* (PNWRY 6:247), see Reyn under II. The reference of Reyn Bottom may be to a valley bottom with a boundary strip. Valleys are often associated with boundaries. It might also refer to the lower end of a boundary strip, cf. below *the Raneheade*.

OE \**burgæsn* ‚burial place’<sup>16</sup> second element:

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*wella*, etc. ‚spring, stream’ as the second element, has probably OE *rā* ‚roe, roe-buck’ as the first element, but the first element may also be OE \**rān* with the same loss of *n* before the labial *w* as in Stowell: *Staw-* 13, *Stow-* 1269 (PNGL 1:182 f, 4:73).

<sup>15</sup> The uncertainty is not limited to names with only late spellings. Rainborough Grange: *Reinbergha* 1145, *Raineberga* 1186, *Re-*, *Rainesberga* c. 1154, 1154, 1154-9, *-bergh* 1155-8, *Remesbergh* (PNWRY: sic) Hy 2 (1230), *Rayn-*, *Rainber* 1512, 1646, *-bargh* 1566, 1593, *Raynebarghe Grange* 1592, Rainbrow-Park 1822 is taken by PNWRY (1:108) to contain a personal name or possibly OE *regn* ‚rain’, with OE *beorg* ‚hill’ as the second element. ON *rein* is not mentioned as an alternative, and it is unlikely but not impossible (as in Rainhill (La), see note 1). The name is too uncertain to be included in the material. Other examples, not included in the material, with ME spellings, are *Rainstallegate* 12 (PNWRY 4:185: “v. *rein* ‚boundary strip’, or a pers.n. derived from some name in *Regen-*, *stall*, *gata*”) and Rainscar House, 1858: *Raynscarr* 1409 (PNWRY 6:141: “probably ‚raven scar’, v. *hræfn*, *sker*”). Not included in the material are also the following uncertain names: *Raniesyke* 1557 (PNWRY 2:173: “v. *sīc* ‚stream’ ”), Reines flatt 1764 (PNWRY 3:221: “v. *reinn* ‚boundary strip’, *flat*”), Reinsber Scar: *Rayneb’ crosse* 1580 (PNWRY 6:146: “probably ‚raven hill”, v. *hræfn*, *beorg*”), Reins Pasture 1842 (PNWRY 5:189: “v. *rein* ‚boundary strip’ ”). ON *rein* has no doubt influenced the modern form in Rain Carr 1840: *Randker(r)* 1242, 1364, *Randekerr* 1369 (PNWRY 5:171: “v. *rand* ‚edge, border’ *kjarr* ‚marsh’ ”).

<sup>16</sup> Since burial places are often associated with boundaries, this is the most likely meaning of \**burgæsn* here, although it may also mean ‚heap of stones’.

Rains Borans 1764 *Glebe* 6 (PNWRY 6:110), see Rain Slack below and note 19.

ME *clos(e)* ‚enclosure’ second element:

Rain Close 1843 *TA* 313, a field-name, t. of Owston [SE 5511], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:33). – Rain Close 1840 *TA* 25, a field-name, t. of Azerley [SE 2574], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:201). – Rains Close 1843 *TA* 424, a field-name, t. of Adwick upon Dearne [SE 4701], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:80). – Rein Close 1844 *TA* 271, a field-name, t. of Hooton Levitt [SK 5291], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:137). – Rein Close 1846 *TA* 292, a field-name, t. of Moss [SE 5914], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:49). – Rein Close 1840 *TA* 26, a field-name, t. of Badsworth [SE 4614], or the adjacent t. of Upton, Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:97). – Reins Close 1840 *TA* 252, a field-name, t. of Laughton en le Morthen [SK 5288], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:143).

OE *ende*, *ænde* (ESax), ON *endi* ‚end’, etc. second element:

Reignends 1764 *Glebe*, a field-name, t. of Mexborough [SE 4700], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:79).<sup>17</sup>

OE *feld* ‚open country, arable land’, perhaps in the late OE, ME sense ‚open field’, or perhaps in the modern sense ‚enclosed or fenced-in plot of land’ second element:

*the Rainefields* 1684, 1694 *Glebe*, a lost field-name, t. of Linton [SD 9962], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:104). – *the Renefeild* 1574 *Comm*, a lost field-name, t. of Flasby [SD 9456], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:52). This name contains OE *\*ræn(e)* rather than ON *rein*.

OWScand *gil* ‚ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream’ second element:

Rain Gill, 1771 M: *Rayng’nill* (PNWRY: sic) 1538 *MinAcct*, a minor name, t. of Easington [SD 7259], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:202).

OE *hēafod* ‚head’, probably in the sense ‚upper end’, second element:

*the Raneheade* 1581 *YAS* Md 284, Dd 104, *Raineheadhouse* 1687 *ib.*, lost field-names, t. of Horton in Ribblesdale [SD 8072], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:225: “v. **rān**, **rein** ‚boundary strip’ ”).

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<sup>17</sup> The spelling is unusual, but see Reign (twice) among the simplex names. A similar compound is probably the Lincolnshire instance (*Ad.*) **atte Ronesend** 1327 (SMET 85: “ „End of the boundary strip’ (OE *\*rān* in the gen. + *ende*). The person concerned was assessed in Long Bennington close to the boundary between Lincolnshire and Leicestershire.”). Cf., however, Elliott (1979:59): “Whether the fourteenth-century Lincolnshire surname *Ad. atte Ronesend* contains Old English *\*rān* ‚a boundary strip’, as G. Kristensson avers, or refers to the end of a *rone*, a thicket or piece of scrubland, must remain a moot point, although the latter is quite probable. The word was certainly familiar in areas of Scandinavian settlement.”. The origin of *rone* ‚thicket’, etc. is ON *runnr* ‚brake, thicket’ (see Elliott loc.cit.).

OE *hlāw* ‚hill, mound, tumulus’<sup>18</sup> second element:

*Ranlowe* c. 1280 *Nost* fols. 49-54, 117, 136d, 142-144d, a lost field-name, t. of Swinton [SK 4598], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:118: “probably OE **rān** ‚boundary strip’, **hlāw**”).

OE *hol*, *holh*, ON *hol* ‚hollow, valley, depression’ second element:

Rain hole 1847 *TA* 294, a field-name, t. of Nesfield [SE 0949], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:70). – Rainholes 1848 *TA* 296, a field-name, t. of Newall with Clifton [SE 1947], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:57). – Renhole 1822 Langd, a field-name, t. of Long Drax [SE 6828], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:13). The first element in this name may be OE *\*rāen(e)*.

OE *land*, *lond*, ON *land* ‚land’ second element:

Rainlands, 1846 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Hebden [SE 0263], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:102).

OFr, ME *park* ‚enclosed tract of land for beasts of the chase’ or the related element OE *pearroc* ‚small enclosure’, etc. second element:

Rein Park 1842 *TA* 158, ib. 1841 O.S., a field-name, t. of Firbeck [SK 5688], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:141). – Rein Park 1844 *TA* 193, a field-name, t. of Harthill [SK 4980], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:155).

OE *rād* ‚road’ second element:

Rein Road, a minor name, t. of Ardsley (East [SE 3025] and West), Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:177: “v. **reinn** ‚boundary strip’ ”). The reference may be to a road on a boundary strip.

OE *\*rod*, *\*rodu* ‚clearing’ second element:

*Ranherode* 13 Hnt, a lost field-name, t. of Wombwell [SE 3902], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:106: “v. **rān** ‚boundary strip’, **rod**<sup>18</sup>”).

OE *\*ryding* ‚clearing’ second element:

*Rainriding* 1688 Grainge 360, a lost field-name, t. of Killinghall [SE 2858], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:101).

OE *sceaga* ‚copse’, perhaps in the ModE sense ‚strip of wood or underwood forming the border of a field’ second element:

Rainshaw, 1771 M, a minor name, t. of Whixley [SE 4458], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:11). – Renshaw Royd, a minor name, t. of Shelley [SE 2011], Agbrigg w.

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<sup>18</sup> Since burial places are often associated with boundaries, *hlāw* is perhaps most likely to mean ‚tumulus’ here, although this sense is more typical of the southern half of England (see Gelling (1984:162 f)).

(PNWRY 2:250). – Renshaw Wood, a minor name, t. of Towton [SE4839], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:73).

OE *sīde* ‚side’ second element:

Rein Side 1840 *TA* 299, a field-name, t. of Huddleston [SE 4633] or the adjacent t. of Newthorpe, Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:55).

OWScand *slakki* ‚hollow, depression, small shallow valley’ second element:

Rain Slack, a minor name, t. of Kettlewell [SD 9772], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:110<sup>19</sup>).

ON *storð* ‚plantation’ second element:

Rainstorth, a minor name, t. of Ecclesfield [SK 3594], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:251).<sup>20</sup>

OE *wudu* ‚wood’ second element:

Rein Wood 1841 *TA* 287, a field-name, t. of Middleton [SE 2927], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:140). – Rein Wood 1842 *TA* 360, a field-name, t. of Skelmanthorpe [SE 2310] or the adjacent t. of Cumberworth, Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:223). – Rein Wood: Reins 1851 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Lindley [SE 1118], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:302). – Rein Wood: Low Rein 1842 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Horsforth [SE 2438], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:150). – Reins Wood, a minor name, t. of Rastrick [SE 1321], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:41).

## II Simplex names

The plural form is common.

There is one name with *ea*-spelling:

Rean’s 1847 *TA* 370, a field-name, t. of Sprotborough [SE 5302] or the adjacent t. of Cadeby, Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:67: “v. **reinn** ‚boundary strip’ ”). Rean may be a personal name, but since this name and Butler Reans and Spring Reans (see under III), both with *ea*-spelling, are in the same or adjacent townships, Rean is perhaps more likely to be an appellative, which may be *\*ræn(e)* or *rein*.

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<sup>19</sup> PNWRY: “RAIN SLACK, cf. *Rains Borans 1764 Glebe*, v. **rein** ‚boundary strip’, **slakki** ‚hollow’, and cf. *Borrans supra*.” *Borrans* is another minor name in the township (PNWRY 6:109: “BORRANS, *Borganes*, -is 1170, c. 1200 Font, *Borans 1764 Glebe*, v. **burgæsn** ‚burial place, cairn’.”).

<sup>20</sup> See Goodall 272: “RAINSTORTH, in Ecclesfield, is probably ‚the wood on the balk or rein,’ from ON *rein*, a balk or steep hill-side.”. Smith (PNWRY) does not comment upon this name, and neither he nor Goodall comments upon the minor name Raincliffe in the same township (PNWRY 1:251). From a semantic point of view, ‚raven cliff’ is better than ‚boundary strip cliff’.

A few names have *a*-spelling. The element is \**rān* in the first four names, with early forms, and probably also in the last, modern, name:

*le Rane* 13 YD ix, a lost field-name, t. of Cononley [SD 9847], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:29). – *le Rane* 13 *Sawl* 91 (PNWRY 6:155), see Rains Barn under I. – *Ranes* 12 and/or 13 Font, a lost field-name, t. of Long Marston [5051], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:256). – *Ranes* l. 12 YD x, a lost field-name, t. of Great Ribston [SE 3954], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:22). – *Ranes* 1844 TA 123, a field-name, t. of Dacre [SE 1960], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:142).

More names are spelt with *ai* or *ay*. Leaving aside the unreliable 18th and 19th century forms, there remain *Rainne* 1615 in Dent, *the Ranyes* 15 in North Deighton, and *the Rayne* 1668 in Southowram. The double *n* in *Rainne* excludes \**rān*, and so does the fact that *the Rayne* is in the *ō*-area. The element can be assumed to be *rein* in these two names. Provided that *the Ranyes* stands for \**the Raynes*<sup>21</sup>, the element may be \**rān* with *y* as the sign of a long vowel, but *rein* is more likely:

*Raines* 1852 TA 24, a field-name, t. of Austwick [SD 7668], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:232). – *Raines* 1842 TA 400, a field-name, t. of Thornton in Lonsdale [SD 6873], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:252). – *Rainne* 1615 PRDnt, a lost field-name, t. of Dent [SD 7086], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:260). – *Rains* 1845 TA 91, a field-name, t. of Catterton [SE 5145], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:237). – *Rains* 1732 *M*, a field-name, t. of Hazlewood [SE 0853], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:75). – *Rains* 1843 TA 62 and/or 1866 local valuation list, a field-name, t. of Bradleys Both [SE 0048], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:12). – *Rains* 1846 TA, a field-name, t. of Silsden [SE 0446], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:23). – *Rains* 1849 *EnclA*, a field-name. T. of Hanlith [SD 9061], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:131). – *the Ranyes* 15 *Heal* 62d-65, 190-1, a lost field-name, t. of North Deighton [SE 3951], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:26). – *the Rayne* 1668 HAS 9, 250, a lost field-name, t. of Southowram [SE 1123], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:96).

Several names have *ei*- or *ey*-spelling. The element is *rein*:

*Reign* 1849 TA 262, a field-name, t. of Linthwaite [SE 1014], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:275). – *Reign: Far & Narr Rayne* 1676 HAS 15, 255, a minor name, t. of Warley [SE 0525], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:129). – *Rein mod*, a field-name, t. of Brierley [SE 4110], Staincross w. (PNWRY 1:269). – *Rein* 1814 *Surv*, a field-name, t. of Nether Soothill [6'' O.S. 274NE], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:195). – *Rein* 1849 TA 353, a field-name, t. of Shitlington, now Sitlington [SE 2615], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:210). – *The Rein*, a minor name, t. of Calverley [SE 2036], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:226: “cf. *Wright Rein* 1847 TA, v. **rein** „boundary strip’ ”). – *The Rein: Reins* 1760 *M*, *Riens*

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<sup>21</sup> See PNWRY: “v. **rein**”. A similar metathesis occurs perhaps in *Raniesyke* 1557, see note 15.

1847 TA, a minor name, t. of Farsley [SE 2135], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:230)<sup>22</sup>. – The Rein, a minor name, t. of SE 5251), Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:233). – Rein 1849 TA 17, a field-name, t. of Wighill [SE 4746], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:244). – *the Reine 17 Glebe*, a lost field-name, t. of Burghwallis [SE 5311], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:36). – Reins *mod* (1930, Mr. J. Hanson Green), a field-name, t. of Wooldale [SE 1508], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:255). – Reins 1851 TA, see Rein Wood under I (PNWRY 2:302). – *Reins 1626 Stansf* 638-687, 1699 YDr, see Dead Mans Reign under III (PNWRY 4:157). – Reins, a minor name, t. of Arkendale [SE 3860], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:105). – Reins 1840 TA 182, a field-name, t. of Grewelthorpe [SE 2376], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:208). – Reins 1844 TA 3, a field-name, t. of Addingham [SE 0749], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:59). – Reyn: Rein Bottom 1847 TA, a minor name, t. of Ingleton [SD 6973], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:247). – *le Reyne* 1623 SheffMan, probably to be associated with the minor names Ranfall & Ranmoor, t. of Ecclesall [SK 3284], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:200).<sup>23</sup>

### III Combinations with OE *\*rān*, *\*rān(e)*, ON *rein* as the second element

Many names have only late forms. The plural form is common. The first elements can be grouped together in semantic groups:

a The first element refers to the character of the strip<sup>24</sup> itself

*A word for size or shape first element:*

OE *brād* „broad”:

*Braderane* 13 YD x, a lost field-name, t. of Hawksworth [SE 1641], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:201). – Broad Reyn Hill, a minor name, t. of Horton in Ribblesdale [SD 8072], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:221).

ME *croked* „crooked”:

Crooked Rains 1841 TA 321: *Crooktrane* 1684 *Glebe*, a field-name, t. of Long Preston [SD 8358], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:161).

<sup>22</sup> Maybe this name and the preceding name refer to one and the same boundary strip, marking the boundary between the townships of Calverley and Farsley. See PNWRY on this name: “v. **reinn** „boundary strip”; it is on the Calverley boundary”.

<sup>23</sup> See PNWRY: “RANFALL & RANMOOR, probably identical with *Randfeld* 1441 SheffMan, *le Reyne* 1623 SheffMan, *Rand-Moor* 1822 Langd, v. **rand** „edge, border”, replaced in *le Reyne* by ON **reinn** „boundary strip”, **feld**, **mōr**”.

<sup>24</sup> The word „strip” is here and in the rest of the material used as a general term covering not only „boundary strip” but also „ploughed area bounded by boundary strips”, „bank between terraces”, and „terrace”. For these meanings see the Introductory remarks.

OE *grēat* ‚great, thick, stout, bulky, massive<sup>25</sup>:

Great Rhone 1846 *TA* 46 or 1849 *TA* 108, a field-name, t. of Bingley [SE 1139], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:170). – *the Gret Rane* 15 *Heal* 62d-65, 190-1, a lost field-name, t. of North Deighton [SE 3951], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:26).

OE *hēah* (Kt, WSax), \**hāh*, *hēh* (Angl) ‚high<sup>26</sup>:

Highraynes 1772 *EnclA* 6, a field-name, t. of Coneythorpe [SE 3958], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:15).

ON *lágr*, early ME *lāh* ‚low<sup>26</sup>:

Low Rein, a minor name, t. of Eccleshill [SE 1736], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:259: „LOW REIN, cf. Long Rein 1851 *TA*, v. **reinn** ‚boundary strip’”). – Low Rein 1842 *TA*, see Rein Wood under I (PNWRY 4:150).

OE *lang*, ON *langr* ‚long’:

*Langerame* (PNWRY: sic) e. 13 Tockw, *Langrane* 16 *Heal* 143d-145, a lost field-name, t. of Tockwith [SE 4652], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:252: “v. **lang**, **rān** ‚boundary strip’”). – *Lang(e)rane* 13 *Heal* 54-55d, 58d-59, 60-62d, a lost field-name, t. of Walton [SE 4447], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:247). – Langroons 1847 *TA* 77, a field-name, t. of Burley in Wharfedale [SE 1646], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:199). – Long Rain, a minor name, t. of Walden Stubbs [SE 5516], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:53). – Long Rein 1851 *TA*, see Low Rein above (PNWRY 3:259). – *the long Reine* 1674 *HAS* 21, 99, a lost field-name, t. of Midgley [SE 0226], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:137). – *Neder-*, *Ouerlang(ge)raynes* 1521 *Rent* 10, 2: *Houer-*, *Netherlangrane* 1316 *YD* iv, lost field-names, t. of Aldborough [SE 4066], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:81).<sup>27</sup>

OE *sc(e)ort* ‚short’:

Short Reyns Shutt 1736-64 Fairb, a field-name, t. of Rotherham [SK 4392], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:190: “v. **reinn** ‚boundary strip’, dial. *shutt* ‚a division of land’”).

OE *wīd* ‚wide’:

White Rains 1775 *EnclA* 13: Wide Reyns 1716 *WYEnr* 140-1, a field-name, t. of Rigton [SE 2849], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:47: “ ‚wide boundary strips’, v. **wīd**, **rein**”).

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<sup>25</sup> It cannot be excluded that the first element in these names is instead OE *grōt* ‚gravel’ or the corresponding word ON *grjót* ‚gravel, stones’.

<sup>26</sup> ‚High’ and ‚low’ are ambiguous; they can refer to the height of the strip itself, or to its vertical position.

<sup>27</sup> If *Houer-* and *Nether-* refer to vertical position, the meaning may be ‚higher long terrace’ and ‚lower long terrace’. However, the meanings may also be ‚the upper part of the long boundary strip’ and ‚the lower part of the long boundary strip’.



A word for the quality of the soil first element<sup>28</sup>:

OE *flōde* ‚intermittent spring or stream, gutter’:

*Flodranes* 12, e.13, c.1250, 1270, 1280 Font, a lost field-name, t. of Long Marston [SE 5051], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:256).<sup>29</sup>

ME *povere* ‚unproductive’:

*Poor Rayves* 1622 *Comm* 4912, a lost field-name, t. of Burley in Wharfedale [SE 1646], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:199; no comment). The *v* is here assumed to be an error for *n*. In this township are also *Piper Raynes* and *Storre raynes*, both 1622 *Comm* 4912, see below.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps ME *slate* ‚slate’:

*Slate Rein* 1839 *TA* 19, a field-name, t. of Aston [SK 4685], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:161).<sup>31</sup>

OE *spēd* ‚abundance’:

*Spitterings* 1844 *TA* 233: *Spedrane* 12 Font, c. 1200, 1357 *Vyner*. a field-name, t. of Ingerthorpe [SE 2966] or possibly the adjacent t. of Markington, Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:178: “*v.* **spēd** ‚abundance’, **rān** ‚boundary strip’, denoting highly productive land”).

OE *stānig* ‚stony’:

*Stoney Reins* 1840 *TA* 249, a field-name, t. of Brearton [SE 3260], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:108).

A word for position first element:

*Vertical position*:

There are only late forms of the names, and they occur in pairs. The words are ModE *high*, *lower*, *middle*, and *upper*. The reference may be to terraces, see the Introductory remarks<sup>32</sup>:

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<sup>28</sup> Great Rhone and *the Gret Rane* (see above) may also belong here, see note 25.

<sup>29</sup> See PNWRY: “*v.* **flōde** ‚gutter’, **rān** ‚boundary strip’ ”. The combination may be more or less synonymous with *Wet Reans*, etc. (Ch), below.

<sup>30</sup> *Poor Rayves* may also refer to land used for the benefit of the poor. See PNDb 3:757 (on “The elements in field and minor names”): “**poor(s)**, whilst in occasional instances referring to „poor land”, almost invariably denotes land used for charitable purposes.”. See also Field (cop. 1972:171 f).

<sup>31</sup> The first element may also be OE *\*slæget*, *\*sleget* ‚sheep pasture’, so that the name refers to a boundary strip where sheep used to graze.

<sup>32</sup> In High & Middle Rayns, the reference may also be to the height of the strip; see note 26. In Lower & Middle Reyn, in Lower & Upper Rein, and in Middle & Upper Reins, the reference may also be to the lower, middle, and upper part of the strip.

High & Middle Rayns, field-names, t. of Denton [SE 1448], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:64). – Lower & Middle Reyn 1850 TA 10, field-names, t. of Almondbury [SE 1515], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:262). – Lower & Upper Rein 1794 Glebe, field-names, t. of Bradford [SE 1632], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:253). – Middle & Upper Reins, minor names, t. of Honley [SE 1311], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:273).

*Horizontal position:*

The words are ModE *far* and *near*:

*Far & Narr Rayne* 1676 HAS 15, 255, see Reign under II (PNWRY 3:129).

*Decidedly sloping position:*

The words are OE *hangende*, ON *hengjandi* ‚hanging, steep’:

Hanging Rain 1847 TA 294, a field-name, t. of Nesfield [SE 0949], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:70: “v. **hangende** ‚steep’, **rein** ‚boundary strip’ ”). – Hinging Raynes 1843 TA 187, a field-name, t. of Halton East [SE 0453], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:71: “v. **hengjandi** ‚steep’, **rein** ‚boundary strip’ ”).

b The first element refers to the fauna or flora on the strip

*A word for an animal first element*<sup>33</sup>:

OE *bridd* ‚bird’:

Bird Reinds 1847 TA 245, a field-name, t. of Kirk Deighton [SE 3950] or the adjacent t. of Spofforth, Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:24).

OE *cocc* ‚cock, woodcock’:

Cockrains 1844 TA 3, a field-name, t. of Addingham [SE 0749], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:59).

Perhaps ME *dāw(e)* ‚jackdaw’:

*Doweranes* 1300 YD viii, a lost field-name, t. of Ripon [SE 3171] or a neighbouring t., Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:172).<sup>34</sup>

OE *fox* ‚fox’:

Fox Rains 1842 TA 112, a field-name, t. of Cononley [SD 9847], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:29).

OE *\*fūlmearð* ‚foumart, polecat’:

Foulmart Rein 1840 TA 347, a field-name, t. of Scriven [SE 3458] or the adjacent t. of Knaresborough, Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:115).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> All the names may also have the word for the animal used as a personal name.

<sup>34</sup> See PNWRY: “ME *daw* ‚jackdaw’ or the pers.n. *Daw* (from *David*), **rān** ‚boundary strip’ ”.

ON *geit* ‚goat’:

*Gaiterane* 13 Percy, a lost field-name, t. of Settle [SD 8163], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:154).

OE *swīn*, ON *svín* ‚swine, pig’:

Swine Reinds 1847 *TA* 245, a field-name, t. of Kirk Deighton [SE 3950] or the adjacent t. of Spofforth, Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:25).

*A word for vegetation first element*<sup>36</sup>:

OE *æsc* ‚ash-tree’:

Ash (Bank &) Reans 1847 *TA* 40, a field-name, t. of Bentham [SD 6669], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:241). – Ash Rein 1841 *TA* 157, a field-name, t. of Ferry Fryston, later called Ferrybridge [SE 4724], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:68). – Ash Rein 1841, 1858 O.S., a field-name, t. of Selby [SE 6132], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:35).

OE *birce* (Angl), *bierce*, *byrce* (WSax) ‚birch-tree’:

Birch Rein, a minor name, t. of Gunthwaite [SE 2206], Staincross w. (PNWRY 1:328).

OE *brēr*, *brēr* ‚briar’:

Brier Rein 1846 *TA* 40, 9, a field-name, t. of Colton [SE 5444], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:223).

OE *clāfer* ‚clover’:

*Cloverane* 17 *Raist*, a lost field-name, t. of Malham [SD 9062], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:137).

Probably ME *damesine*, later *damsin(e)* ‚damson’:

Damasin Reins 1849 *TA* 410: *Damsins Reyms* 1643 Hnt i, *Damsell Remes* (PNWRY: sic) 1668 *Surv* 12/6B, a field-name, t. of Tickhill [SE 5993], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:57<sup>37</sup>).

ME *fogge* ‚long thin grass’:

Fog Raines *mod* (T. S. Gowland): Fograins 1764 *Glebe*, Fog Ranes 1846 *TA* 80, a field-name, t. of Burton Leonard [SE 3263], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:94).

OE *hæsel* (Angl, WSax), *hesel* (Kt, Merc), ON *hesli* ‚hazel’:

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<sup>35</sup> The same elements are found in Fomart Raines 1708, Foalmart- 1752 (We) (PNWe 1:98 s.n. Foul Mart railing).

<sup>36</sup> Maybe some of the names have instead the word for vegetation used as a personal name.

<sup>37</sup> See PNWRY: “probably ME *damesine*, later *damsin(e)* ‚a damson’, and ON **reinn** ‚a boundary strip’, though ME *damselle* ‚damsel’ is also possible”.

*Heslrane* 12, e.13, 13 Font, a lost field-name, t. of Winksley [SE 2571] or a neighbouring t., Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:196). - the Hesle Rain 1716 *Thm* 153: *Heslrane* 13 *LeonR* 2-3, a field-name, t. of Bramhope [SE 2543], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:196). Both names ON *hesli*.

ON *lyng* ‚heather‘:

Ling Rains 1847 *TA*, a field-name, t. of Draughton [SE 0352], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:67).

ON *storð* ‚plantation‘:

*Storre raynes* 1622 *Comm* 4912, mentioned under Storr Flatts & Pitts 1847 *TA* 77, field-names, t. of Burley in Wharfedale [SE 1646], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:199). The same elements has Rainstorth, above and note 20.

OE *stubb* ‚tree-stump‘:

Stubbs Rein, 1848 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Pudsey [SE 2233], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:239).

ON *þornig* ‚growing with thorns‘:

Thorney Raine 1828 *Lord*, a field-name, t. of Airton [SD 9059], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:129).

OE *\*wilig* ‚willow‘:

Willow (Batts &) Reins 1841 *TA* 372, a field-name, t. of North Stainley [SE 2876], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:162). - Willow Reins 1841 *TA* 383, a field-name, t. of Studley Roger [SE 2970], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:191).

ç The first element refers to a person or persons associated with the strip

Arthur’s Rein, a minor name, t. of Roundhay [SE 3337], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:113). - Barber Reins 1817 *M*, a field-name, t. of Selby [SE 6132], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:35). Barber probably a personal name. - *Beiston Reanes* 1650 *WCR*, a lost field-name, t. of Wakefield [SE 3320], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:171, taking *Beiston* to be, probably, a surname from Beeston in the t. of Holbeck, Morley w. (PNWRY 3:217). - *Blyndvarlorane* 1449 *YD* i, a lost field-name, t. of Skipton [SD 9851], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:75: “ ‚blind servant’s strip‘, from ME *varlet*, - *ot*, *rān*”). - Butler (Close &) Reans 1847 *TA* 370, a field-name, t. of Sprotborough [SE 5302] or the adjacent t. of Cadeby, Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:67). Butler probably a personal name. - *Carloraneflatt* 15 *Heal* 62d-65, 190-1, a lost field-name, t. of North Deighton [SE 3951], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:26). No comment in PNWRY. If *o* stands for *e*, the name may contain ON *karl* ‚freeman of the lower class‘ in the gen.pl. or the ON personal name *Karl(i)*. - Carlrayne: Carl Rain 1848 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Menston [SE 1743], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:202. “the ON pers.n. *Karl(i)*, ME *Carle*, **rein** ‚boundary strip‘ ”). - Dead Mans Reign 1839 *TA* 446:

-*man reynes*, *Reins* 1626 *Stansf* 638-687, 1699 YDr, a field-name, t. of Yeadon [SE 2040] or the adjacent t. of Esholt, Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:157<sup>38</sup>). - *Goditrane* 12 Font, a lost field-name, t. of North Stainley [SE 2876], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:162: “the OE fem. pers.n. *Godgȳð*, ME *Godit*, **rān** „boundary strip’ ”). - *Henryran* 1300 YD viii, a lost field-name, t. of Ripon [SE 3171] or a neighbouring t., Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:173: “the ME pers.n. *Henry*, **rān** „boundary strip’ ”). - *Hermit(es)rane* 12 Font, a lost field-name, t. of North Stainley [SE 2876], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:162: “v. **ermite** „hermit’, **rān**”). - Jonas Rein, a minor name, t. of Hemsworth [SE 4213], Staincross w. (PNWRY 1:266). - Milner Raness 1849 *TA* 79, a field-name, t. of Burnsall [SE 0361], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:85: “the surname *Milner*, **rān** „boundary strip’ ”). - *le Monckdyke*, -*rayne* 1481 RipAct, a lost field-name, t. of Skelton [SE 3668], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:154).<sup>39</sup> - *Piper Raynes* 1622 *Comm* 4912, a lost field-name, t. of Burley in Wharfedale [SE 1646], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:199: “the surname *Piper*, **rein** „boundary strip’ ”). - Priest rein 1847 *TA* 237, a field-name, t. of Kettlewell [SD 9772], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:111: “v. **prēost**, **rein** „boundary strip’ ”). - Stanhope Rein, 1851 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Eccleshill [SE 1736], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:260: “v. **reinn** „boundary strip’, *Stanhope* probably a surname”). There is a minor place-name Stanhope in the t. of Sowerby, Morley w. (PNWRY 3:154), which may be the origin of such a surname. - *Stephenrane* 1303 Ebor, a lost field-name, t. of Ripon [SE 3171] or a neighbouring t., Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:173: “the ME pers.n. *Stephen*, **rān** „boundary strip’ ”). In the same township is *Henryran*, see above. - Wright Rein 1847 *TA*, see The Rein under II (PNWRY 3:226). Wright is a common personal name.

d The first element refers to a topographical feature or an object associated with the strip

*The following words form, alone or compounded with other words, the first elements:*

ON *apaldrs-garðr* „orchard’:

Applegarth Rein: Apple Garth 1839 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Sicklinghall [SE 3648], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:47).

ME *bank(e)* „bank, slope of a hill or ridge’:

<sup>38</sup> PNWRY: “v. **rein** ’boundary strip’, where a dead man was found”. This name may be an example of the association of burials with boundaries.

<sup>39</sup> PNWRY: “v. **munuc**, **dic**, **rein** „boundary strip’ ”. The township is in the parish of Ripon, which “included the large estates of Fountains Abbey and the Liberties of the Archbishop of York and of the Chapter of Ripon” (PNWRY 5:138), so it is natural to have OE **munuc** „monk’ as a place-name element in this township.

Stony Bank Rein 1840 TA 284: *Stonishe banke* 1633 *Glebe*, a field-name, t. of Mexborough [SE 4700], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:79).

ON *bekkr* ‚stream, beck’:

*Beckerane* 17 *Raist*, a lost field-name, t. of Malham [SD 9062], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:137).

OE *beorg*, *berg* (Angl), ON *berg* ‚hill’:

Sulber Hill: *Sulber rayne* 1595 *Skp* 3, *Sulbar* 1655 ib. 25, a minor name, t. of Stirton [SD 9752], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:77: “ ‚sunny hill’, v. *sól*<sup>2</sup> ‚sun’, **beorg**”). – *Thistelberghrane* 12 and/or 13 Font, a lost field-name, t. of Long Marston [SE 5051], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:256: “v. **pistel**, **beorg** ‚hill’, **rān** ‚boundary strip’ ”). In Long Marston are also *Ranes* and *Flodranes*, see above.

OE *brōc* ‚brook’:

Brook Rein, 1841 O.S., a minor name, t. of Gateforth [SE 5628], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:28: “v. **brōc**, **rein** ‚boundary strip’; this narrow strip of woodland lies on the Hambleton boundary”). Hambleton is an adjacent township.

OE *brocc-hol* ‚badger hole’:

Brockholes 1841 TA 321: *Brockleranes* 1625 YAS Md 207, a field-name, t. of Long Preston [SD 8358], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:161).

Perhaps OE *bryne* ‚place cleared by burning’:

Brine Reins 1845 TA 168, a field-name, t. of Giggleswick [SD 8164], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:146: “v. **rein** ‚boundary strip’ ”).<sup>40</sup>

Probably dial. (Y, Sc) *call*, *caw* ‚place where cattle are driven, cow-gang’:

*le call raynes* 1481 RipAct, a lost field-name, t. of Westwick [SE 3466], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:175).<sup>41</sup>

OFr, ME *castel* ‚castle, fortification, earthwork, residence’:

Castle Reins 1844 TA 271, a field-name, t. of Maltby [SK 5292], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:139).<sup>42</sup>

OE *cirice* ‚church’:

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<sup>40</sup> The first element may be the OE personal name *Brȳni*.

<sup>41</sup> PNWRY: “for *call* cf. The Calls iv, 125 *supra*, v. **rein** ‚boundary strip’ ”. Two different words are dealt with under The Calls: dial. (Y, SC) *call*, *caw* ‚place where cattle are driven, cow-gang’ and dial. *cauld* or *caul* ‚weir on a river to divert water to a mill-stream’. In the case of *le call raynes*, the former word seems preferable.

<sup>42</sup> PNWRY: “v. **castel**, **reinn** ‚boundary strip’ ”. In the township is also the minor name Castle Lidget, 1841 O.S.: *le Castle lyddehat* 1335 YD x (PNWRY 1:138: “v. **castel**, **hlid-geat**”).

Church Rein, 1841 O.S., a minor name, t. of Warmsworth [SE 5400], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:62).

ME *clos(e)* ‚enclosure’:

Broom Close Rein: Broom Close 1847 TA, a minor name, t. of Byram [SE 4925], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:47). Broom is probably OE *brōm* ‚broom’.

OE *cot(e)* ‚shed, cottage’:

*Coterane* 17 *Raist*, a lost field-name, t. of Malham [SD 9062], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:137). In the same township (and source) are also *Beckerane* and *Cloverane*, see above.

Perhaps OE *dæl* (Angl, WSax), *del* (Merc, Kt), ON *dalr* ‚valley’:

*Lidale Rayne* 1481 RipAct, a lost field-name, t. of Sharow [SE 3271] or perhaps the adjacent t. of Ripon, Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:158).<sup>43</sup>

OE *galga*, *gealga*, ON *galgi* ‚gallows’:

*Galgherane* 1203-46 Font, mentioned under the major name Galphay, t. of Azerley [SE 2574], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:199 f).

ON *garðr* ‚enclosure’:

Hargarth Field: *Hertegarþe*, *-garth*, *Herthegard’*, *Herttegart* 13 *Sawl* 156d, 171d, 178, 179d, *Hartgarthrane* 1443 YD i, Hargarth Carr & Ings 1845 TA, a major name, t. of Tadcaster East [SE 4944], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:239 f, with the comment (on p. 240): “ ‚Hart enclosure’, v. **heorot**, **hjørtr**, **garðr**, **rān** ‚boundary strip’, **kjarr**, **eng**”).

Probably OE *haga* ‚enclosure, game enclosure; strong enclosure fence, hedge’, ON *hagi* ‚grazing enclosure, pasture’:

Haw (Butts &) Raynes 1843 TA 187, 1820 *Raist*, a field-name, t. of Halton East [SE 0453], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:71).<sup>44</sup>

OE *hēafod* ‚head’, perhaps in the sense ‚hill’:

Hazelheads Lane: *Hesilhederane* 1407 YD i, Hazle Banks, *-Heads* 1840 TA, a minor name, t. of Scriven [SE 3458], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:115: “v. *hesli* (*hæsel*) ‚hazel’, *hēafod*, *rān* ‚boundary strip”).

Probably OE *hol*, *holh*, ON *hol* ‚hollow, valley, depression’:

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<sup>43</sup> *Li-* might be from ON *hlý* ‚shelter’, or perhaps there is some connection between *Lidale Rayne* and *Likedale Flatt*, which comes just after *Lidale Rayne* on the page. No comment(s) in PNWRY.

<sup>44</sup> PNWRY: “v. **haga**, **butte**, **reinn**”. Maybe Haw is not from *haga*<sup>1</sup> ‚hedge; enclosure’, etc. (or from ON *hagi*) but from *haga*<sup>2</sup> ‚haw, the fruit of the hawthorn’. The name would then belong to the names with a word for vegetation as the first element.

Sunley Rains, 1822 Langd: *Sunholgate* 1362 *Vyner*, *Sunley Raynes* 1629 Willy, a major name, t. of Studley Roger [SE 2970], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:190: “OE [sic for ME ?] *sunne* ‚sun’, used in the sense ‚sunny’ or ‚south’, **hol**<sup>1</sup> ‚hollow’, **rein** ‚boundary strip’.”).

ON *kelda* ‚spring, well’:

Keld Rane 1727 PRArn: *the Keld raine* 1684 *Glebe*, a field-name, t. of Arncliffe [SD 9371], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:115: “v. **kelda** ‚spring’, **rān** ‚boundary strip’”). If the element is \**rān*, not *rein*, the *i* in *raine* 1684 functions as the sign of a long vowel.

ON *kjarr* ‚marsh, brushwood’:

Turker Pasture 1842 TA 351: *Turff-car Rayne* 1481 RipAct, a field-name, t. of Sharow [SE 3271] or perhaps the adjacent t. of Ripon, Lower Claro w. The first word is OE *turf* ‚turf’.<sup>45</sup>

OE *land*, *lond*, ON *land* ‚land’:

*Layland Raynes* 1481 RipAct, a lost field-name, t. of Sharow [SE 3271] or perhaps the adjacent t. of Ripon, Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:158: “v. **læge** ‚fallow’, **land**, **rein** ‚boundary strip’”).

OFr, ME *launde* ‚open space in woodland, forest glade, woodland pasture’, possibly in the ModE sense ‚lawn’:

Great Lawn Rein (& Wood), 1841 O.S., a minor name, t. of Womersley [SE 5319], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:54 f: “v. **launde**, **reinn** ‚boundary strip’”). – Lawn Rein, a minor name, t. of Sicklinghall [SE 3648], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:48).

OE *mōr*, ON *mór* ‚moor’:

Woodhouse Moor Rein, 1858 O.S.: *Woodhowsemore* 1570 FF, a minor name, t. of Saxton [SE 4736], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:72).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> In Sharow or perhaps in Ripon are also *Lidale Rayne* 1481 RipAct (see above) and *Layland Raynes* 1481 RipAct, the next name. It is likely that the three names contain ON *rein* in the same sense in all of them.

<sup>46</sup> See PNWRY: “v. Woodhouse Grange *supra*, **rein** ‚boundary strip’; the township boundary here follows a long ancient entrenchment (I’ O.S. 97-445370)”. Woodhouse is ‚house in the wood’, see Woodhouse Grange (PNWRY 4:71). The entrenchment is in all probability identical with the earthwork mentioned by Michelmore (1979:1): “Even dated man-made features which define boundaries may not prove the correct date for the boundaries concerned, since they may have been constructed for the better definition of an already existing boundary, such as the many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century merestones defining boundaries which are at the very latest medieval in date. Alternatively they may have been reused as boundary markers at a date long after their original purpose had been forgotten, as with the Rein (no. 9), a linear earthwork which now defines part of the boundary between the new counties of North and West Yorkshire, but which formerly defined that



OE *\*rod*, *\*rodu* ‚clearing’:

Stephen Royd: *Steuensrodan*, *-rode* 1311, 1320 WYD, a minor name, t. of Rawdon [SE 2139], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:153: “from the ME pers.n. *Stephen*, v. **rod**<sup>1</sup> ‚clearing’, **rān** ‚boundary strip’ ”).

OE *spring* ‚spring, well’:

Spring Dike: Spring Dyke Close, Spring Reans 1847 TA, a minor name, t. of Sprotbrough [SE 5302], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:67).

OE *stān* ‚stone’:

*Harestaneran* 13 *LeonR* 2-3, a lost field-name, t. of Bramhope [SE 2543], Skyrack w. (Moorhouse 1981:275, PNWRY 4:196: “ ‚boundary stone’, v. **hār**, **stān**, **rān** ‚boundary strip’ ”). This name is also listed in the chapter on OE *hār*.

ME *stank* ‚pond’:

*Stankerayne* 1580 *Skp* 24, a lost field-name, t. of Giggleswick [SD 8164], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:147: “v. **stank** ‚pond’, **rein** ‚boundary strip’ ”).

ON *þveit*, *þveiti* ‚clearing, meadow’:

Barley Wit Reins 1849 TA 108, 1814 *EnclA* 15, a field-name. t. of Collingham [SE 3845] or the adjacent t. of Micklethwaite, Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:175). Barley may be simply OE *bærlic* ‚barley’. In the township of Aberford in the same wapentake is Haverthwaites Lane, which contains ON *hafri* ‚oats’ and *þveit*, according to PNWRY 4:98.

OE *wudu* ‚wood’:

Wood Reins 1846 TA 27, a field-name, t. of Baildon [SE 1539], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:160). There are several names in the West Riding of Yorkshire with these elements in the reverse order, see above.

ę The first element indicates that the strip is a boundary strip

A *place-name* first element:

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between that between Lotherton and Saxton townships and the limit of the lordship of Sherburn in Elmet, and which may well have had a prehistoric origin (Faull and Moorhouse 1980).” Of the two parentheses, “(no. 9)” refers to the location as shown on a map in the article, and “Faull and Moorhouse 1980” to *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500* (ed. Faull, M.L. & Moorhouse, S.A.) (1981) (forthcoming at the time of Michelmore’s article). It is probable that the entrenchment was called Woodhouse Moor Rein and the Rein because it was taken to be an elevated boundary strip. A similar instance is perhaps this one in Cumberland (PNCu 1:180): “The Rean (dial. *rean*, ‚a balk in a field, especially one serving as a boundary’ (v. EDD). Miss Y. Adamson informs us that this is “an earth wall, supposed to be of Saxon origin, and which, tradition has it, was built to divide the pasture from fell land”). See also Highraynes and Low Rein (twice) above with note 26 and High & Middle Rayns above with note 32, where the reference may be to the height of the strip.

Balby Rein 1841 *TA* 423, a field-name, t. of Warmsworth [SE 5400], Lower Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:63: “v. **reinn** ‚boundary strip’, here adjoining Balby township ...”). – Wales Rein 1839 *TA* 19, a field-name, t. of Aston [SK 4685], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:161: “v. Wales [...], **reinn**”). Wales is an adjacent township. – Skelbrooke Rein, 1841 O.S., a minor name, t. of Skelbrooke [SE 5012], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:43).

The first two names mean ‚boundary strip on the boundary of Balby and Wales, respectively’, denoting a strip on the boundary with the adjacent township. The third name probably means ‚boundary strip on the boundary of Skelbrooke’, denoting a strip on the Skelbrooke side of the boundary, without specifying where on the Skelbrooke boundary it is.

Perhaps OFr, ME *calenge* ‚dispute’ first element:

Callen Rein 1840 *TA* 184: *Scallan rein* 1685 *Glebe*, the Callen Rean 1764 *ib.*, a field-name, t. of Guiseley [SE 1942], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:148). ‚Disputed boundary strip’ makes good sense.

ME *com(m)un* ‚common’ first element:

Common Raine 1842 *TA* 112, a field-name, t. of Cononley [SD 9847], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:29). At least originally, the reference may be to a strip between holdings in the open field, used as a means of access, see Dilley (1970) in note 7, Beecham (1956:23 f), Orwin & Orwin (1954:47 f). The name may be synonymous with *The Comon Meare* 1440-41 (Brk); see the chapter on OE *(ge)māre*.

Perhaps OE *sc(e)aru* ‚boundary’ first element:

Shair Reins 1716 *WYEnr* 119-20, a field-name, t. of Denton [SE 1448], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:64).

f The first element is a preposition<sup>47</sup>

OE *behindan* ‚behind’:

*Hynderan* 1589 *Skp* 3, *Linderan (myer)* 1685 *Skp* 3, mentioned under the minor name Gandering Laithe: *Gohinderan*, ‚Hinderan Mire, Millhinderan 1842 *TA*, t. of Stirton [SD 9752], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:76<sup>48</sup>).

Probably OE *betwēonan*, *betwēonum* ‚between’:

Tween Rains 1852 *TA* 97, a field-name, t. of Clapham [SD 7469], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:236, not commenting on Tween).

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<sup>47</sup> Such a name is elliptical, with a word for ‚village’ or ‚homestead’ understood. See DEPN xviii f.

<sup>48</sup> PNWRY: “GANDERING LAITHE, *Gohinderan*, ‚Hinderan Mire, Millhinderan 1842 *TA*, probably identical with *Hynderan* 1589 *Skp* 3, *Linderan (myer)* 1685 *Skp* 3, ME *(be)hind*, **rān** ‚boundary strip’.”

## 4.2.3 OTHER COUNTIES

### A OE (mainly charter) material

No certain instances found.<sup>49</sup>

### B ME and later material

Only names first recorded before 1700 have been included.

### *I Combinations with OE \*rān, \*rān(e), ON rein as the first element*

With some names it is impossible to know whether the first element is an element discussed in this chapter or a personal name.<sup>50</sup> It can also be difficult to decide whether the first element is an element discussed in this chapter or another appellative.<sup>51</sup> No certain instances found.

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<sup>49</sup> Possible instances of OE \*rān are (to) *rancumb* (S 386) (D), (oth, of) *ran wylle* (S 516) (Do), and (ofer) *randune* (S 272) (W). OE \*rān(e) occurs in *on þa bradan rāne* (S 723), but since this is a Shropshire charter, it is not included in the material. See the Introductory remarks.

<sup>50</sup> Here belong:

*Rainholm* 1307 (Ess) (PNEss 581: “v. **rein**”). The first element may also be the OE personal name \**Regna* or the OE personal name \**Regen*. – Rains Brook (Wa): *Reynesbroc* c. 1150, c. 1155 (1235), *Rainsbrooke* 1725 (PNWa 5: “As this stream forms for some distance the boundary between Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, it is probable that the first element is OWScand *rein*, ‘strip, boundary’ (cf. Lindkvist 74), and dialectal *rean* (EDD s.v.) similarly so used. For a similar genitival compound with a word denoting a boundary cf. Mazedale (PN Nth 27).”). The first reference is to Lindkvist (1912) (see also note 1 above). For Mazedale (Spinney) see the chapter on OE (*ge*)*māre*. The first element may also be the OE personal name \**Regen*. – *Reinesfeld* 1265-91 (Ch) (PNCh 4:206: “perhaps ‘field at a boundary’, v. **rein, feld**”). The OE personal name \**Regen* is also possible. Maybe OE \**rān(e)* is also an alternative, see the Discussion. – *Reynlond* 1365 (Db) (PNDb 3:535: “perhaps ‘boundary land’, v. **reinn, land**”). The OE personal name \**Regna* and the OE personal name \**Regen* are also possible. – On the Lancashire names *Rainford* (ON *rein*, Scand *rōynir* meaning ‘rowan-tree’ or *rōyni* ‘place growing with rowan-trees’, or a personal name) and *Rainhill* (ON *rein* or a personal name) see Fellows-Jensen (1985:245).

<sup>51</sup> Here belong:

*Rangilclose* 1523 (We) (PNWe 2:96, no comment). An inflected form of OE *rā*, ON *rá* ‘roe, roe-buck’ is also possible. – Rhon Hill (Bk): *Ranell* 1670, *Rannell* 1674, *Ranhill* 1674 (PNBk 55). It is pointed out in PNBk that Rhon Hill is on the parish boundary, and PNBk thinks that the first element is OE \**rān*, but Kökeritz (1940:221 f) is of the opinion that it may just as well be OE *rā* in the gen. pl. – Roncombe Farm (D): *Roncombe* 1369, 1394, *Roncomb al. Runckcombe* 1564 (PND 2:597, suggesting OE \**rān*, pointing out that “The head of the valley is on the parish boundary and the first part of the combe runs parallel to its course.”). A combination of *rā* in the gen. pl. and *cumb* is the etymology suggested by Kökeritz for *Rancombe* (IoW) (Kökeritz (1940:221 f), under this name also discussing *rancumb* (S 386) and other charter instances, see the Introductory remarks). – On the

## II Simplex names<sup>52</sup>

- Ch:** *the Reanes* 1639 Sheaf (PBCh 4:266<sup>53</sup>). – *le Rene* 1310 Chol (PNCh 4:27: “v. **rein**”). – *le Renis* 1272-1307 JRC (PNCh 4:250).<sup>54</sup>
- We:** Rayne: *Reyne* 1632 FF, *Rayne* 1663 Dep, *Rain* 1823 M (PNWe 2:47: “v. **rein** „boundary strip’ ”).<sup>55</sup> – Reins 1842 TA 61: *the Raynes* 1544 Crk (Nbn) (PNWe 2:127: “v. **rein** „boundary strip’ ”). – Reins narrow close 1836 KCR: *the Raynes* 1551 Kend i, 225-8 (PNWe 1:144: “v. **rein** „boundary strip’ ”).
- NRY:** *le Ranex* 13th (PNNRY 329).
- Cu:** *Le Raines in Stanygatefoote* 1568 LRMB (PNCu 1:195). – the Rains 1789 *EcclComm: le Ranex* 1423 CCt, *le Raynes* 1540 ib. (PNCu 1:138: “v. **reinn**”). – *the Rane* c. 1180 HolmC (PNCu 2:287: “ON **rein**, „strip of land’ ”). – *the Raynes* 1578 Cocker (PNCu 2:409).<sup>56</sup>

## III Combinations with OE \**rān*, \**rān(e)*, ON *rein* as the second element

a The first element refers to the character of the strip itself

A word for size or shape first element:

OE *brād* „broad’:

- Ch:** *the Broade Riene* 1639 Sheaf (PNCh 4:266). See note 53. – *the Brode Rene* 1454 Sheaf<sup>3</sup> 5 (PNCh 4:286: “ „the broad boundary-strip’, v. **brād, rein**”). – *Broderenes* 1398 Add, *les Brodereenes* 1432 Rental, *-renes* 1440 ib. (PNCh 4:140: “ „broad strips of land’, v. **brād, rein**”).
- Db:** Broad Reins 1846 TA: *ye Broadreanes* 1611 DuLaSC (PNDb 3:562: “v. **brād, reinn**”). – *Broadreines Close* 1673 Snelston (PNDb 3:604: “v. **brād, reinn, clos**”).

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Nottinghamshire name Rainworth (ON *rein* or ON *hreinn* „clean’) see Fellows-Jensen (1978:171 f). The OE personal name \**Regen* also seems possible.

<sup>52</sup> The Buckinghamshire place-name Raan’s Farm (PNBk 211) contains a personal name which might originally be a simplex \**rān*-name. The earlier forms are *the fee Le raan* 1331, *fee of Raan* 1331, *Ranys Fee* 1485, Rheins Farm 1826. PNBk says: “This manorial name originates from the *Rane* family. John *de Rane* was a tenant in Amersham in 1235 (*Fees* 465) and Walter *le Ran* in 1312 (Cl).”

<sup>53</sup> PNCh: “Wet Reans (cf. *the Reanes*, *the Broade Riene* 1639, v. **wēt, rein**)”.

<sup>54</sup> PNCh: “Rain Fd (cf. *le Renis* 1272-1307, v. **rein**)”. *Renis* probably stands for \**Reins*.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Rayne (Ess), probably of different origin: (æt) *Rægene* c. 995, (æt) *Hrægenan* c. 1000, which appears as e.g. *Rayne* 1121-36, *Rein(e)*, -y- 1218, 1235, 1271, (*Parva* or *Wellys*) 1475 (PNEss 452, DEPn suggesting an OE \**hrægene* possibly meaning „shelter, hut’ or „eminence’). It cannot be altogether excluded that Rayne (We) is of the same origin as Rayne (Ess), and this is also true of some of the West Riding simplex names, but it is unlikely.

<sup>56</sup> In Cumberland are also *one rane* 1589 LRMB (PNCu 1:190, no comment) and Roan: *the Rone* 1583 (PNCu 1:106, no comment). Possibly simplex \**rān*.

We: *Bradrane* a. 1300 *Lowth* (Lo 51) (PNWe 2:186: “v. **brad, rān** ‚boundary strip’”). - Broad Rain, 1706, 1716 *Ct: Broad roan* 1630 PR, -Rayne 1847 CW xxviii (PNWe 1:199: “v. **brād, rān** or **rein** ‚boundary strip’”).

Perhaps OE *hēah* (Kt, WSax), \**hāh*, *hēh* (Angl) ‚high’:

Cu: *Heiranes* 1568 *LRMB* (PNCu 1:221). See note 26. It is, however, also possible that the first element is OE (*ge*)*hæg*, (*ge*)*heg* (Kt, Merc), ME *hay* ‚fence; enclosure’, ME also ‚part of a forest fenced off for hunting’, OE *hēg* (Angl, Kt), *hī(e)g* (WSax) ‚hay, mowing grass’, or OE *hege* ‚hedge, fence’.

OE *lang*, ON *langr* ‚long’:

Ch: Long Rein 1840 *TA* 192: *le longe reane* 1574 *AddRoll* 6278-88 (PNCh 3:16: “v. **lang, rein**”).

NRy: *Langeran* 13th (PNNRY 329).

Cu: *Langaran* 1694 Gilpin (PNCu 2:453).

OE *smæl* ‚narrow’:

We: *Smale raines* 1657 *Comm* 6116 (PNWe 2:135).

*A word for the quality of the soil first element:*

OE *gōd* ‚good, fertile’:

NRy: *Goderan* 12th (PNNRY 329). The first element may, however, also be the OE personal name *Gōda*.

ON *steinn* ‚stone’:

Cu: *Staineranes* 1568 *LRMB* (PNCu 1:221). The first element may, however, also be the ON personal name *Steinn*.

OE *wēt* ‚wet’<sup>57</sup>:

Ch: *Great & Little Wete Reans* 1542 *PRO IND/17278/ff.* 5-6 (PNCh 5(1:i), pp xlv). -Wet Reans 1838 *TA* 120, 1747 *LRMB* 257: *le Waterenes* 1321-22 Sheaf, *Wetrains* 1615 ib., -*reins* 1615 ib., 1672 ib., -*Reanes* 1673 ib., Whet Raines 1790 ib. (PNCh 4:161 f: “ ‚wet boundary-strips’, v. **wēt, rein**”). - The Wetrains, Wetrains Farm, Gorse, Green & Lane: *the Wethernes* 1558-1603 *Surv*,

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<sup>57</sup> See note 6. See also note 29 and Field (1987:163): “The general uniformity of spelling among *wheat* names makes few demands on etymological skills, but one or two traps exist. There is occasional uncertainty among forms referring to “wheat”, “wet”, “white”, and even “woad”. Wheat Moss, in Winnington Ch, is undoubtedly “wet moss”, and the first element in Wheat Reins, in several places in Cheshire and Staffordshire, is more likely to be “wet” than “wheat”. *Reins* are “boundary strips”, and such land is not usually very well drained.” Note, however, PNCh 3:234: “Wheat Reans (v. **hwāte, rein**)”. The form is 1844 *TA* 173. If the first element is OE *hwāte* ‚wheat’, the name can mean ‚ploughland strips grown with wheat’, which makes good sense. See note 11.

Wetreams Green 1767 ChRR, Wetreans Green 1831 Bry, Wetrains- 1842 OS (PNCh 4:57 f: “ ‚the wet boundary-selions’, v. **wēt, rein, gorst, grēne<sup>2</sup>, lane.**”).  
- *the Wet(t) Reynys, the Wete Reynes, the Wette Reynes Fylde* 1454 Sheaf<sup>3</sup> 5 (PNCh 4:287: “v. **wēt, rein**”).

*A word for position first element:*

OE *hēafod* ‚head’, probably in the sense ‚upper end’:

Cu: *Head raine* 1689 *Cocker* (PNCu 2:280: “v. **rein**”). The reference is probably to a boundary strip at the upper end of a piece of land.

OE, ON *norð* ‚northern, north’:

NRy: *Nordrane* 1329 (PNNRY 329).

OE *west*, ON *vestr* ‚western, west’:

Cu: *West raine firth* 1695 *Cocker* (PNCu 2:369: “v. **rein, fyrhþ(e)**”). The meaning may be ‚land overgrown with brushwood beside the west boundary strip’.<sup>58</sup>

*A word for the age of the strip first element:*

OE *ald* (Angl), *eald* (Kt, WSax) ‚old’:

Ch: *Alde Rene, -Rhene, -Rehne* c. 1220 *Chol, -Rene* 1315 ib. (PNCh 4:19: “ ‚the old boundary strip’, v. **ald, rein**”).

b The first element refers to the flora on the strip

(No certain instance found where a word for an animal is the first element.<sup>59</sup>)

Perhaps OE *bēce* ‚beech-tree’ and perhaps in the second instance combined with OE *hǣst* ‚brushwood’:

Cu: *Beggranes or Bekestraynes* 1512 LP (PNCu 1:248, no comment). The first element in *Beggranes* may be OE *bēce* ‚beech-tree’, where *ch* has been substituted by ON *k*, which has then been voiced to *g*, and the first part of *Bekestraynes* may be OE *bēce* + OE *\*hǣst*, where *ch* has been substituted by ON *k*.

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<sup>58</sup> In Cumberland are also the lost field-names *Southeranraw* (PNCu 1:171: “v. **rāw**”) and *Southeranwodd* (PNCu 1:171) in the same parish, both 1568 *LRMB*. They might be compounds of OE *sūð* ‚southern, south’ and *\*rān*, with *rāw* and *wudu*, respectively, added. However, the first part of the names is perhaps more likely to be OE *sūðerne*, ON *súðraen* ‚southern, southerly’.

<sup>59</sup> An example of the use of boundary strips as pasture for animals might possibly be afforded by the Lancashire place-name Cowran: *Coran* 1623, *Coren* 1666, by Ekwall (PNLa 211) suggested to be ‚cow-house’, derived from ON *kǫr* (gen. pl. *kúa*) or OE *cū* and ON *rann* ‚house’. If the second element is indeed *rān*, the first element is OE rather than ON.

ON *birki* ‚birch-tree’<sup>60</sup>:

We: *Birkrane* 1366 Clib 239-43 (PNWe 2:138).

ON *blá-ber* ‚blaeberry, bilberry’:

NRy: *Blaberyrane* 13th (PNNRY 329).

Probably OE *golde* ‚marigold’ (*Chrysantemum segetum*) or ‚marsh marigold’ (*Caltha palustris*):

Cu: *Goldraynes* 1568 *LRMB* (PNCu 1:221).

OE *hæsel* (Angl, WSax), *hesel* (Kt, Merc), ON *hesli* ‚hazel’:

NRy: *Heselrane* 14th (PNNRY 329).

Probably OE *hind-berige* ‚hindberry, raspberry’:

NRy: *Hinderbergrane* 13th (PNNRY 329).

c The first element refers to a person associated with the strip

We: *Cadreyne*, a pasture 1570 *FF*, *Caderaine* 1584 CW xxiv, 127 (PNWe 1:57: “v. **rein**”). First element probably the OE personal name *Cada*. Here is an example of the use of boundary strips as pasture for animals, see the Introductory remarks.

NRy: *Ysaacranes* 13th. First element the personal name *Isaac*. (PNNRY 333)

Cu: *Jackraynes* 1568 *LRMB* (PNCu 1:221). First element the ME personal name *Jack* (*Jak(k)e*), a pet-form of *James* (PNWRY 5:125 s.n. Jack Hill, 7:296). – Long Gill (6’): *Longe gill of Mungrane* 1589 *LRMB*. Long Gill is on the boundary of the parish of Mungrisdale, the name of which probably contains the name of St Mungo, and the parish of Bowscale. (PNCu 1:20, 226). It seems likely that *Mungrane* is a compound of the saint’s name and *\*rān*. – *Roger Raynes* 1652 *Cocker* (PNCu 2:369).

d The first element refers to a topographical feature or an object associated with the strip

*The following words form, alone or compounded with other words, the first elements:*

OFr, ME *chapel(e)* ‚chapel’:

Db: *Chapel Reins* 1846 *TA*: *Chapel Reynes* 1638 *Snelston* (PNDb 3:562).

OE *cot(e)* ‚shed, cottage’:

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<sup>60</sup> ON *birki* can also mean ‚place overgrown with birch-trees, birch copse’. If it has one of these meanings here, the name belongs to d.

Cu: *Coteraynes* 1568 *LRMB* (PNCu 1:221).

ModE *creel*, probably in the sense ‚contrivance of wickerwork used as a device for catching fish, lobsters, etc.’:

Cu: *Wellcraile raines* 1619 *ExchKR* (PNCu 1:233: v. **rein**). *Well-* is probably OE *wella*, etc. in the sense ‚stream’.

OFR *demeine* ‚demesne land’:

Cu: *Le Demaunte Rayne close* 1604 *LRMB* (PNCu 1:189 f<sup>61</sup>).

Perhaps ON *haugr* ‚hill, mound’:

Cu: *le Brathaurane* c. 1225 StB (PNCu 2:397). The first part of the name may be OE *brād*, ON *breiðr* ‚broad’.

ON *hverr* ‚cauldron, boiler’, probably in some such sense as ‚hollow in the ground’:

NRy: *Huwerranes* 13th (PNNRY 329).

Probably ON *kelda* ‚spring, well’:

NRy: *Austkeldrane* 13th (PNNRY 329). The first part of the name may be ON *austr* ‚east’.

OE *land*, *lond*, ON *land* ‚land’:

NRy: *Haverlandesrane* 1290 (PNNRY 329). *Haver-* is probably ON *hafri* ‚pats’ or OE *\*hæfera* ‚pats’.

Perhaps ME *leyne*, *lain* ‚layer; tract of arable land’:

Ch: *Taralayne*, *Tarlara(y)ne*, *Tarlarone* 1454 Sheaf<sup>3</sup> 5 (PNCh 4:287). *Tara-* could be the plant-name ‚common vetch’ (*Vicia sativa*), see Grigson (1975:152). *Tarlara(y)ne*, *Tarlarone* could be from *\*Taralaynera(y)ne*, *\*Taralaynerone*, respectively.<sup>62</sup>

OE *mōr*, ON *mór* ‚moor’:

We: Lingmer 1843 *TA* 63: *Lingmoore(raynes)* 1675, 1693 *Hothf* (B. 2, Br.5, W.7), Ling-Moor-Rains 1704 Terr, Lingmore 1726 *Hothf* (B. 2, Br. 5, W. 7) (PNWe 2:90: “ ‚heather moor’, v. **lyng**, **mōr**, **rein** ‚boundary strip’ ”).

Cu: *le more rayne* 1604 *LRMB* (PNCu 1:190).

ON *skarð* ‚gap, pass’:

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<sup>61</sup> PNCu: “*Demain close* (cf. *Le Demaunte Rayne close* 1604 ib. v. **rein**)”.

<sup>62</sup> See, however, PNCh: “*Taralayne*, *Tarlara(y)ne*, *Tarlarone* 1454 (from **leyne** or **rein** and unidentified first el., cf. foll.); *Tarleton’s Hey* 1639 (from (**ge**)**hæg** and the surname *Tarleton*. There is no evidence to support Sheaf<sup>3</sup> 23 (5307) which suggests connection with prec.)”.



Cu: *Broadeskarr Rain* 1619 *ExchKR* (PNCu 1:233: “v. **skarð**, **rein**”). First element OE *brād* ‘broad’.

ON *storð* ‘plantation’:

Cu: *the Storthe Rayne* 1550 (1687) Whellan (PNCu 2:436).

Probably ON *viðr* ‘wood’:

NRy: *Ovenamwithrane* 1336; *Ovenam-* is ME *ofnam*, which is used of land ‘taken from’ the common land (PNNRY 329).

OE *wudu* ‘wood’:

Db: *Birkewood Reyne Close* 1639 *Hard* (PNDb 2:304<sup>63</sup>).

e The first element indicates that the strip is a boundary strip

*A place-name first element:*

Cu: *Sowerby Rayne* 1650 *ParlSurv* (PNCu 1:247: “RAINE HO is *Rein-house* 1809 PR (Dalston). Cf. *Sowerby Rayne* 1650 *ParlSurv* and v. **rein**.”). It is probable that *Sowerby Rayne* means ‘boundary strip on the boundary of Sowerby’. The parishes of Dalston and Castle Sowerby are adjacent.

*A compound of OE, ON norð ‘northern, north’ and OE (ge)mære ‘boundary’ first element:*

Ch: *Northemerenes* 1398 *Add*, *Northmere Renes* 1440 *Rental* (PNCh 4:244). This name is also listed under OE *(ge)mære*.

## 4.3 Discussion

All the material is ME or later.

There is a striking difference between the West Riding material with many names and the absence of material for Gloucestershire. The material for the Other Counties shows a corresponding difference, for here the whole material is limited to the counties in the northern half of England. It is necessary to try to explain why this is so.

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<sup>63</sup> PNDb: “Breckwood Rene (cf. *Birkewood Reyne Close* 1639, v. **birki**, **wudu**, **reinn**)”.

A possible explanation might be that Gloucestershire and the other counties in the southern half of England mainly used other words than OE *\*rān* or *\*rān(e)* to denote boundary strips. Against this speaks the fact that OE *balca*, which would then perhaps be the most likely candidate, frequently occurs in West Riding place-names but is seldom or never found in Gloucestershire place-names and is not listed in Middendorff.

It is more likely that balks of unploughed land were much more frequently used to form boundaries in the northern half of England than in the southern half where, e.g., ditches and hedges may have been used instead. This may be the reason for the absence of OE material in the south. The lack of OE material in the north may be due partly to the circumstance that there are not at all so many OE charters existing for this part of England, partly to the circumstance that ON *rein* is not to be reckoned with until the end of the OE period. It may well be, however, that *\*rān* and *\*rān(e)* were rare in the whole country before the Scandinavian settlement but were later reinforced by ON *rein* in the area of Scandinavian settlement.<sup>64</sup> A combination of these hypotheses is also possible, i.e. that boundary strips were more common in the north and the use of *\*rān*, *\*rān(e)* to denote them was reinforced by the Scandinavian word.<sup>65</sup>

All the forms before 1481<sup>66</sup> in the material, except the Cheshire forms for this period, and possibly except *Langerame* e. 13 (WRY), which may stand for *\*Langeraine*<sup>67</sup>, have *a*. It seems as if *rein* did not establish itself as a place-name element until late ME. This may indicate that names containing *rein* were not created by the Scandinavian settlers but later on by Englishmen into whose vocabulary ON *rein* had been adopted.<sup>68</sup> Cheshire has a remarkably large number of *e*-forms before c. 1500. It

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<sup>64</sup> See Jespersen (1962:61): “Sometimes the Scandinavians gave a fresh lease of life to obsolescent or obsolete native words.”. Among Jespersen’s examples (p. 61 f) is *dale* (OE *dæl*), which “„appears to have been reinforced from Norse (*dal*), for it is in the north that the word is a living geographical name’ (NED.)”.

<sup>65</sup> Probably only ON *rein*. It is very unlikely that OEScand *rēn* occurred in England; see note 2.

<sup>66</sup> WRY has 5 forms with *ay* 1481 RipAct (le call raynes, Laydale Raynes, Lidale Rayne, le Monckrayne, Turff-carr Rayne).

<sup>67</sup> A form *\*Langeraine* would have *rein*, but it seems more likely that the element is *rān*; see PNWRY: “v. *lang, rān* „boundary strip’ ”. *Remes* in *Damsell Remes* 1668 (WRY, see Damasins Reins above), on the other hand, probably stands for *\*Reines*.

<sup>68</sup> See PNWRY 7:48: “Two factors, however, complicate the assessment of Scandinavian settlement in West Yorkshire as elsewhere in the Danelaw; these are the formation of hybrid compounds and the substitution of Scandinavian words and forms for their English equivalents. The late date at which many of the names first appear in the records makes it uncertain whether a concentration of Scandinavian place-names is reliable and precise evidence of Scandinavian settlement. The Scandinavian language had certainly brought many new elements of vocabulary and personal

is perhaps most likely that these forms are miswritten forms of *rein*, but they might perhaps also be derived from *\*rǣn(e)*.

After c. 1500 there is a wide variety of spellings. It is not always possible to distinguish between *\*rān* and *rein*. An example of this is *Beggranes or Bekestraynes* 1512 (Cu). *Beggranes* may contain *\*rān* and *Bekestraynes rein*, but both may contain *\*rān*, with *y* as the sign of a long vowel in *Bekestraynes*. Spellings with *ea* may indicate OE *\*rǣn(e)*.

The modern spellings of the names in the material are usually with *ai* or *ei*, which seems to point to *rein*, but this is uncertain.

A rough picture of the distribution over time of *\*rān* and *rein* may look like this: before c. 1500 at least overwhelmingly *\*rān*; between c. 1500 and 1700 both *\*rān* and *rein*; after 1700 mostly *rein*.<sup>69</sup>

There is nothing in the material that suggests that any other meaning than ‚boundary strip’ is the principal meaning of *\*rān*, *\*rǣn(e)*, *rein*, or that there is any difference of meaning between the elements. The meaning ‚ploughland area bounded by boundary strips, ploughland strip’ is possible in some names, e.g. *Spitterings* (WRY), containing OE *spēd* ‚abundance’ and *Goditrane* (WRY), containing a personal name. The meaning ‚bank between terraces’ is possible in hilly country, and ‚terrace’ may be the meaning when the element is preceded by e.g. ModE *high* and *low*. It seems, however, not impossible, but perhaps less likely, that *\*rǣn(e)* has more to do with wet boundary strips than *\*rān* and *rein* have. See Middendorff (note 4), Gelling (note 6) and also OED s.v. **Rain** *sb.*<sup>2</sup> and EDD s.v. **Rean** (note 7). See also Field (note 57).

When the first element denotes a person, as in *Goditrane*, for example, there are, theoretically, several possible interpretations: *Goditrane* may refer, for instance, to Godit’s ploughland strip in the open field, or to a boundary strip bounding selions belonging to Godit in the open field, or to a boundary strip bounding Godit’s estate.

The *Goditrane*-instance leads to the question of the size of the boundary. That *\*rān*, *\*rǣn(e)*, *rein* could be used to denote minor boundaries is certain, and is in accordance with the fact that the West Riding names are almost exclusively field-

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nomenclature into common use in the English language spoken in Yorkshire and undoubtedly some, if not a great many, of the place-names in question were created not by Viking settlers but by Englishmen of a later period using the mixed Anglo-Scandinavian vocabulary of Middle English.”

<sup>69</sup> Instead of regarding place-names as containing ON *rein*, it is from a formal point of view equally possible to regard them as containing OE *\*rān* with *ā* substituted by ON *ei*. See PNWRY 7:51, note 2. Such a substitution seems to have taken place in Broad Rain, 1706, 1716: **Broad roan** 1630, - Rayne 1847 (We), but it is more natural to believe that in general the element is ON *rein*.

names, lost field-names, and minor names. However, Balby Rein (WRY) is on the township boundary, just as e.g. Brook Rein (WRY), and they are thus associated with major boundaries. A boundary between enclosures or other smaller areas could of course at the same time be a boundary between larger areas such as townships, and a boundary strip could therefore be associated primarily with a minor boundary and indirectly with a major boundary. But it is also possible that particularly wide boundary strips were sometimes used to form major boundaries.

Several of the names tell us about boundary strips that were not only used as boundary-formers. Thus, pasturing of animals took place on *Gaiterane* and Swine Reinds, and probably on *Cloverane*, and perhaps on Ling Rains (all WRY), and the fruits and nuts yielded by Damasin Reins (WRY) (if it contains ME *damesine*), *Heslrane* (WRY and twice NRY), the Hesle Rain (WRY), and *Blaberyrane* and *Hinderbergrane* (NRY) were certainly much appreciated.

The association of burial places with boundaries may be reflected in Rains Borans, *Ranlowe*, Dead Mans Reign, and *Galgherane* (all WRY).

It is in accordance with the meanings of the elements that they are much more common as simplex names or as second elements than as first elements.

Unusual spellings are with *d*: Bird Reinds and Swine Reinds (WRY), with *g*: e.g. Reignends (WRY), with *h*: *Alde Rhene*, *-Rehne* (Ch), and with *ing*: Spitterings and perhaps Gandering (WRY). Metathesis probably occurs in *the Ranyes* 15 and Riens 1847 (The Rein) (WRY), and in *the Broade Riene* 1639, *the Wethernes* 1558-1603 and *le Renis* 1272-1307 (Ch).



# Chapter 5 ON *rá*

## 5.1 Introductory remarks

ON *rá*<sup>1</sup> in place-names in England means ‚boundary’ or ‚boundary-mark’<sup>2</sup>. It is developed from PGermanic *\*rahō-* ‚pole’ (Hellquist 1980:2, p. 861 s.v. 2. **rå** and s.v. 3. **rå**, SAOB s.v. **RÅ** subst.<sup>2</sup> and subst.<sup>3</sup>). The IE root is *\*rek-* ‚pole’ (Pokorny 1989:863). MLG has *râ* and MHG *rahe*. There is no corresponding OE word.

The meaning ‚boundary’ is the result of the following sense-development: ‚pole’ > ‚pole used to mark a boundary’ > ‚boundary-mark’ > ‚boundary’.<sup>3</sup>

No descendant of ON *rá* seems to occur in modern Standard English.<sup>4</sup>

If the long *á* in *rá* was not shortened to *ǣ*, it remained in the north of England but became *ō* in ME south of a line through Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The word is **rå**<sup>2</sup> in EPNE, to distinguish it from OE **rā**<sup>1</sup>, ON **rá** ‚roe, roe-buck’.

<sup>2</sup> Another meaning of this word is ‚sail-yard’, a nautical term. Both Hellquist and SAOB consider ON **rå** meaning ‚boundary, boundary-mark’ to be the same word as ON **rå** ‚sail-yard’, but note that de Vries (1962:430) reckons with two possibilities: either there are two ON words, where one is developed from PGermanic *\*rahō-* (‘1 f. ‚rahe, segelstange (< germ. *\*rahō*)’) and the other from PGermanic *\*raihō-* (‘2 f., in *rámerki* ‚grenzlinie, ackergrenze’ (< germ. *\*raihō*)’), or they are identical. On the postulated PGermanic form with *ai* see also Lindkvist (1912:188).

<sup>3</sup> See on the development from ‚pole used to mark a boundary’ to ‚boundary’ Sahlgren (1916:171): „Redan i fsv. ha nämligen *ra* och *staver* övergått från betydelsen ‚råstång’ till bet. ‚rågång.’” (‘For already in OSw *ra* and *staver* have passed from the meaning ‚boundary pole’ to the meaning ‚boundary’.’). See also PNERY 36 f (s.n. Paull): „... just as ODan *raa*, Norw *ran*, both meaning ‚pole’ came to mean ‚boundary mark’ and so ‚boundary’ ...”. See, moreover, KLNLM vol. 5, col. 505: „Orden ‚rå’ och ‚stabel’, som förekomma i ortnamn och i fasta ordförbindelser som ‚rør og rå’ och ‚sten og stabel’, betyder egentl. gränspåle.” (‘The words ‚rå’ and ‚stabel’, which occur in place-names and in fixed phrases like ‚rør og rå’ and ‚sten og stabel’, really mean ‚boundary pole’.’) and op.cit., col 504: „Två stenar mellan åkartergar och ängstegar kallas rå.” (‘Two stones between strips of ploughed land and strips of meadow land are called ‚rå’.’).

<sup>4</sup> In the senses “A sail-yard” and “A rod, a small branch of a tree”, however, it (or its equivalent from Dutch) lives on in Scottish. See The Scottish National Dictionary s.v. RAE, *n.*<sup>2</sup>. See also OED s.v. † **rā**<sup>1</sup> meaning ‚sail-yard’ and note that OED says: “In Sc. prob. adopted from ON., or Du.”. The nautical term **roband** “rope for attaching head of sail to its yard” (ODEE s.v. **roband**) is adopted from Low Dutch *raband* according to ODEE.

The greatest difficulty when dealing with ON *rá* as a place-name element in England is that it is often difficult or impossible to distinguish it from OE *rā* < earlier OE *rāha*, ON *rá* ‚roe, roe-buck‘.<sup>6</sup>

## 5.2 Material

### (5.2.1 GLOUCESTERSHIRE)

No instances found, as is expected so far to the south.<sup>7</sup>

### 5.2.2 THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

Only one, uncertain, OE instance found (with OWScand *gil* ‚ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream‘ as the second element):

*Raghile* 1086 DB (PNWRY 6:187). Mod. Raygill, see Raygill Moss under B.

#### B ME and later material

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<sup>5</sup> On this important boundary see SMED<sup>1</sup> 30-36 and Map 17, p. 283. Ekwall says (1922b:78): “Was Cadeby in Leicester betrifft, ist zu betrachten, dass auch sonst bisweilen altes *a* in Ortsnamen bewahrt ist in Gegenden, wo *a* zu *o* wird; vgl. Raby in Ches. (an. *Raby*). In Cadeby kann übrigens frühe Kürzung eingetreten sein.” Ekwall’s examples are special cases. Cadeby, containing the personal name *Kāti* (DEPN), has probably *a* due to early shortening, as he himself suggests as a possibility. And the *a* in Raby (Ch) is probably best explained as coined and used by a Scandinavian-speaking enclave in the Wirral peninsula (see Raby (Ch) below). Note that Kristensson (SMED<sup>2</sup> 27) says on the West Midland counties, among them Cheshire: “There is no doubt that OE *ā* had become /ɔ:/ in the whole area examined.” This must also apply to ON *á*, as appears from his explanation of the personal names *Gase* (ON *gás*) and *le Scalewarde* (containing ON *skáli*).

<sup>6</sup> The corresponding problem also exists in Scandinavia. See, e.g., Råbjerg, Ringkøbing Amt in DaSN. 17: 1. halvbind:130.

<sup>7</sup> The possibility that any one of the names listed under OE *rā*, *rāha* ‚roe, roe-buck‘ in PNGI (4:165) may contain ON *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark‘ can probably be dismissed. One of them refers, moreover, to a place which Ordericus in the early Middle Ages calls “*Rawella, id est capreae fons*”. It is the parish-name Roel: *Rawell(e)* c 1050, 1086, 1174, 1221 (see PNGI 2:21, where also more forms are given). Note, however, that in the 1327 Lay Subsidy Roll for Shropshire occurs (*Alic*). *del Rohous*, the compound no doubt meaning ‚house on the boundary‘ (SMET 84). Kristensson remarks (loc.cit.) that “The appearance of ON *rá* ‚boundary‘ as far south as Shropshire is noteworthy.” See also SMED<sup>2</sup> 23.

Not one of the names included in the material with certainty contains ON *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’.

### *I Combinations with ON rá as the first element*

ON *á* ‚river, stream’ perhaps second element:

Ray Head: *Raheued* l. 12, 13, 1269 *Sawl* 8-9d, 13 Percy, 1246 *Ass* 14 *et freq* to 1576 Comm, *Raueheued* 13 Percy<sup>8</sup>, *capite occidentale Raache*, *capud de Raaghe* Hy 3 *Sawl* 28d<sup>9</sup>, *Rahed* 1576 BM, *Reyhead(e)* 1578 Willy, 1612 PRBlT, *Read* 1648 ib., *Raid* 1771 M, a major name, t. of Bolton by Bowland [SD 7849], West Staincliffe w. (Ekwall 1926: 152 f, 161, ERN (also Ekwall) 1928:346, PNWRY 6:187, *Studies*<sup>2</sup> (also Ekwall) 1936a:82). Ray may be analysed in at least three different ways:

1 Ray is a compound of ON *rá* ‚boundary’ and ON *á* ‚river’. Ekwall (1926) and ERN discusses this name and a lost Yorkshire river-name *Ragh* (NRY), see below, under the river-name Roe in Roe Beck (Cu), see below. He considers Ray in Ray Head refers to a river and takes at least Ray and Roe to be identical, perhaps also *Ragh*. Moreover, all three names are associated with boundaries. He prefers ON *rá* ‚boundary’ to the OE word meaning ‚roe’ and points out that a combination of *rá* ‚boundary’ with ON *á* ‚river’ would make the three names parallel with the name Råån in the province of Scania (Skåne), Sweden.<sup>10</sup> Scania (Skåne) was formerly a Danish province. Head and its Latin translation would no doubt mean ‚source’.

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<sup>8</sup> See Early Yorkshire Charters XI p. 63, where it says in a charter here dated ?1184-99 (also numbered 63): “*Et in foresta mea quoque de Gisburn’ dedi eciam Juliane totam terram de Raheued et de Midelholm’ ...*”. See also (op.cit. p. 81) in APPENDIX A: “Maud countess of Warwick gave to Robert de Beaugrant the land of Ray Head (*Raheued*) in the forest of Gisburn.” (Maud died 1202-1204) and (op.cit. p. 311), discussing number 239, a charter here dated ?1188-89: “The abbey also acquired an interest in Ray Head in the forest of Gisburn, in par. Bolton by Bowland, which was a member of the Percy fee.”

<sup>9</sup> See Early Yorkshire Charters XI p. 126, where it says in number 110, the charter here dated c 1170-91: “*a capite occidentali Raathe ... usque ad predictum capud de Raaghe*”, with footnote to *Raathe*: “*Sic.*, this and Raaghe are the modern Ray Head ...”.

<sup>10</sup> See ERN under Roe Beck (Cu): “ON *á* ‚river’ appears in some names as *-agh* (v. AIRY, LIZA and *Wasagh*). I believe Roe is a compound containing O Scand *ā*. The first element might be ON *rá* ‚roe’, but more likely it is ON *rá* ‚boundary’. The English name would have an exact parallel in Råån, the name of a river in Scania, Sweden. A meaning ‚boundary river’ would suit the names, which are all mentioned in boundaries. *Rā-agh* would become *Rāgh*, and the final *gh* would be long preserved in the stressed syllable, though it was lost in Liza &c.”. However, Råån in Scania (Skåne) would not be an exact parallel, for Råån is a compound of the simplex place-name Råå and ON *á*, where Råå < ON *rá* was originally the name of the stream (“*in amne dicta Raa*” 1398) but was later transferred to the settlement by the stream, which then received a new name: Råån ‚the stream by Råå’. See SkO. Serie A:12, p. 355.



2 Ray is a compound of ON *rá* ‚roe-buck’ and ON *á*, see note 10. Roeburn (La) with OE *ræge* ‚female roe-deer’, the modern form “due to influence from the word *roe*” (PNLa 169), would be a similar name.

3 Ray is OE *rā* ‚roe-buck’. Ekwall (Studies<sup>2</sup>) mentions “RAYHEAD YW (*Raheved* 1246 FF)” among place-names containing OE *rā* ‚roedeer’, so he has changed his mind. Also PNWRY considers that Ray Head contains OE *rā*: “‚Roe-buck headland or hill’, v. **rā**, **hēafod**. The spellings *Raue-*, *Raaghe* are from the earlier OE form *rāha*.” Read (La): *Rieheved* 1418, where the first element is *ræge* (DEPN), would be a similar name.

It does not seem possible to be certain of the meaning of Ray Head. In the quotation from Early Yorkshire Charters in note 8 it is used of a piece of land, but in the quotation from this book in note 9 it seems to be used of the source of a river. Maybe Ray Head was used of the source of a river originally and was then transferred to a piece of land near the source of this river.

ON *bein* in the sense ‚leg’ or in the sense ‚bone’ second element:

*Rabainholmes* 12 and/or e. 13 and/or 13 Font, a lost field-name, t. of Winksley [SE 2571] or a neighbouring t., Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:196: “possibly an ON byname \**Rábeinn* ‚roe-buck leg’, v. **holmr**”). ON *holmr* means ‚isle, small island, water-meadow’. On this nickname see Jönsjö (1979:149) (quoted in MED s.v. **rō** n. (1)). Jönsjö has two Yorkshire examples: *Will. Rabayn* 1301 and *Rob. Rabayn* 1327 and one Lancashire example: *Will. Rabayn* 1332 and translates the name as ‚one who has a roe’s leg, legs as speedy as those of a roe, fast runner’. But *Rabainholmes* might also contain another personal name, for MED has under **rau(e)** adj. (“[OE **hrēaw**, **hrēow**; cf. OI **hrār**]”) the example *Peter rabayn* 1321-4, where *rabayn* may have been thought to mean ‚raw-boned’, i.e. ‚lean and scraggy’. ON *hrár* would be more likely than OE *hrēaw*. Another possibility if *Rabainholmes* contains ON *hrár* or OE *hrēaw* is that it is a derogatory name for *holmes* that are meagre and poor, making people raw-boned. See PNSr 371 (under FIELD AND MINOR NAMES, (c) *Miscellaneous*): “but derogatory are the four examples of *Rawbones* ...”.<sup>11</sup> It is, however, also possible that *Rabain-* refers to a bone from a fairly large farm animal forced into the ground to indicate a boundary.<sup>12</sup> In that case *rá* ‚boundary’ seems more probable than *rá* ‚roe-buck’. Furthermore, there is the possibility that *Rabain-* refers to bones laid under raised boundary-stones to prove that these stones had been

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<sup>11</sup> A derogatory name with the same meaning is Bare Bones, see PNNt 294.

<sup>12</sup> This was an old Swedish practice, at least in the province of Dalecarlia (Dalarna). See Rietz (1867:546): “RÅ-BEN, n., större kreaturs ben, som nedslås i marken till att utvisa gränsen mellan bygrannars lotter i åker och skogsmark. Dl. (Särna).” (“RÅ-BEN, n., the bone of a fairly large farm animal, which is hammered down into the ground to show the boundary between the shares of neighbouring villagers in arable land and woodland.”).

raised by human beings.<sup>13</sup> In that case also, *rá* ‚boundary’ seems more probable than *rá* ‚roe-buck’.

OE *brycg* ‚bridge’ second element:

Ray Bridge: *Raybridg banck* Chas 1 *Rent*, -*brigge* 1685 *Skp* 3, a minor name, t. of Gargrave [SD 9354], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:54: “possibly *rā* ‚roe’ or *rá* ‚boundary’, v. **brycg**; it may have originally denoted a bridge across Eshton Beck, which forms the township boundary”).<sup>14</sup> Eshton is an adjoining township. It seems to be uncommon for *brycg*-names to be combined with words for wild creatures, see Gelling (1984:66).<sup>15</sup> ‚Boundary bridge’ makes good sense, but then Ray Bridge is a hybrid name, which is of course not impossible, unless the second element was originally ON *bryggj*. This word has a different sense: ‚jetty, quay’, but it might have been influenced by the meaning of the cognate English word. Besides ‚roe bridge’ and ‚boundary bridge’ there is the possibility that Ray was an earlier name of Eshton Beck and had itself supplanted a now-lost name. In that case there are at least two possibilities: Ray may be derived from ON *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’, just as the earlier name of Råån in Scania (Skåne), Sweden (see note 10), or Ray may be the result of a wrong division of OE *æt þære ēa*.<sup>16</sup>

ON *bȳ*, *býr* (where *bȳ* is the ODan form) ‚farmstead, village’ second element:

Raby Park, a minor name, t. of Wetherby [SE 4048], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:39, no comment). Although there is only this modern form, it is justifiable to believe that *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’ is the first element of Raby, for this is a common combination, both in Scandinavia<sup>17</sup> and in Scandinavianized parts of England. See Raby (Ch) and (Cu) and Roby (La) below.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See KLMN 5:506 (under **Gränsläggning**): “Bevis för att människor, ej slump rest stenar erhöills genom att under stenarna lägga ben (UL Bb XVIII) och senare även kol.” (“Proof that stones had been erected by human beings, that it was not chance, was obtained by placing bones (UL Bb XVIII) and later also pieces of coal under the stones.”).

<sup>14</sup> Ray Bridge now denotes a bridge across the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, which dates from 1770-1816 (see Chambers’s *Encyclopædia* III:40).

<sup>15</sup> Gelling (1984:66), discussing OE **brycg** in her material, says: “The only reference noted to wild creatures is Beobridge SHR.”

<sup>16</sup> See Grundy’s discussion of Ray Bridge (Brk) (Grundy 1925:203) and DEP N under the river-name Ray, in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire and the river-name Rea, in Cambridgeshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire.

<sup>17</sup> Probable Scandinavian instances are e.g. Råby (“*Jn villa raby maiore*” c. 1120) in Scania (Skåne), Sweden, and Råby (*Raby* c. 1370) on the Stevns peninsula, Denmark. It is less likely that an animal-word is the first element. See Houken (1956:139), Ingers (1970:48 ff), *Svensk uppslagsbok* 27 (Professor B. Ejder) s.n. **Stora Råby**.

<sup>18</sup> An English example of the difficulty of deciding between an animal-word and *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’ is the Durham name Raby: **Raby** c. 1050, 1334 (DEPN). DEP N takes it to contain ON *rá* ‚boundary-mark’, but CDEP s.n. Raby Castle notes on Raby that “On formal grounds this

ON *gap* ‚gap, opening’ second element:

*le Ragappe* 13 *Drax* 64d, a lost field-name, t. of Wetherby [SE 4048], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:39: “v. **rá** ‚boundary’, **gap**”). In the same township as the preceding name. While ‚boundary gap’ is quite possible, ‚roe-buck gap’ makes at least as good sense, for it would then refer to a deer-leap. This was a gap in the palisade of a park so constructed that deer could get in but they could not get out (Rackham 1980:191). Raby Park, Swinnow Park (Swinnow-Park) 1822 and Dog Parks 1824 are names in this township. There are no early forms, but they may be used of old parks, and in the township is also: “Parkhill, cf. *Parke close* 1540 PrHosp, v. **park**.” (PNWRY loc.cit.).<sup>19</sup> – Ray Gap 1847 TA, a field-name, t. of Draughton [SE 0352], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:67, no comment) may be synonymous with *Ragappe*.

ON *garðr* ‚enclosure, yard’ or perhaps rather ‚fence’ second element:

*le Raygarth Eyng* 1538 *MinAcct*, a lost field-name, t. of Wigglesorth [SD 8056], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:164: “v. **rā** ‚roe-buck’, **garðr**, **eng**”). It is, however, perhaps more likely that the first element is ON *rá* ‚boundary’, forming part of a fixed compound ON *\*rá-garðr* ‚boundary fence’, see under the Other Counties, below, especially the reference to Janzén 1957. – *Raygarth house* 1538 *MinAcct* is another name where the first part may well be a compound of ON *\*rá-garðr* ‚boundary fence’, see Ragged Hall, a field-name, t. of Rathmell [SD 8059], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:150: “Ragged Hall (*Rag’d Hall* 1806 PRSk, probably an adaptation of *Raygarth house* 1538, v. **rā** ‚roe-buck’, **garðr**)”.<sup>20</sup>

ON *gata* ‚road, cattle walk or pasture’ or OE *geat* (WSax), *get* (Kt), *gæt* (ONb) ‚gap’, etc. second element:

Ragged Shaw Wood: Reygate Shaw Wood 1770 *EnclA*, a minor name, t. of South Milford [SE 4931], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:59: “Since this is on the parish boundary it is possibly from ON **rá** ‚landmark, boundary’, **gata**, **sceaga** ‚copse’ ”). Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, the first part of the name may be a compound of an animal-word (OE *rā*, less likely ON *rá*, ‚roe, roe-buck’ or OE *rāge* ‚female roe-

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could be either ON **rā** ‚a roe-deer’ or ON **rá** ‚a boundary’ + **bȳ**. Swedish *Raby*, Danish *Raby*, the Rabies in Cheshire and Cumbria and Roby in Lancs have usually been taken to be ‚boundary village’ for local reasons, but the Durham Raby lies on no known boundary. In the 13th cent. the customary rent for the estate was the annual offering of a stag at the shrine of St Cuthbert in Durham. This suggests that the name may then have been understood to mean ‚deer farm, deer estate’ . . .”.

<sup>19</sup> Almost certainly consisting of an animal-word and OE *\*hlēp* ‚place that can be crossed by leaping’ is the first part of the lost field-name *Roliphirst* 1307 (PNWRY 2:265, no comment). Note that Hartlip (K) and Hindlip (Wo) contain OE *heor(o)t* ‚stag’ and OE *hind* ‚hind’ (DEPN).

<sup>20</sup> In the township of Gisburn Forest (or the township of Tosside), West Staincliffe w., is the modern field-name Ragged Hall Farm 1848 (PNWRY 6:169, no comment), which might be connected with Ragged Hall in Rathmell.

deer’) and OE *geat*, *get*, *gæt* and refer to a deer-leap.<sup>21</sup> This could then be yet another term for a deer-leap, see *le Ragappe* above and *Roliphirst* note 19.

The following names with only late forms may also contain an animal-word and OE *geat*, *get*, *gæt* or ON *rá* ‘boundary’ and ON *gata*: Raygate Fields 1841 TA 434, a field-name, t. of Wigglesworth [SD 8056], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:164). – Raygate Hill, a minor name, t. of Carleton [SD 9749], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:30). – Raygate Well, a minor name, t. of Baildon [SE 1539], Skyrack w. (PNWRY 4:160). – Roe Gate, a minor name, t. of Bradfield [SK 2692], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:238).

OWScand *gil* ‘ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream’ second element:

Raygill Moss, 1771 M: *Raghile* 1086 DB, *Ragile*, *-gill(e)* 1206 *Sawl* 50, 50d, 1577 Puds, *Raggill* 1280 *Ass*, a major name, t. of Bolton by Bowland [SD 7849], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:187: “Probably ‘roe-buck ravine’, v. **rā**, **gil**, though the first el. could be ON **rá** ‘boundary’, since the valley forms the boundary with Paythorne.”). This fact makes Fellows-Jensen (1972:102) incline towards *rá* ‘boundary’. Words for animals are often combined with *gil*.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, ‘boundary ravine’ suits the position of the ravine very well.<sup>23</sup> – *Ragill beck* 1613 Grainge 82, a lost field-name, t. of Great Timble [no grid reference; Timble is at grid SE 1752], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:130: “v. **rā** ‘roe’, **gil** ‘ravine’”). ON *rá* ‘boundary’ is another possibility. – Raygill: *Ragill* 1611 WYD, 1632 WillY, *Raigill* 1638 *ib.*, a minor name, t. of Lothersdale [SD 9645], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:32: “‘roe-buck ravine’, v. **rā**<sup>1</sup>, **gil**”). ON *rá* ‘boundary’ is another possibility here also, but since Raygill is not near the township boundary, an animal-word is more likely.

The following names with only late forms may contain ON *rá* ‘boundary’ or OE *rā*, ON *rá* ‘roe-buck’, but e.g. OE *ragu*, *rægu* ‘moss, lichen’ and OE *ræge* ‘female roe-deer’ are also possible: Ray Gill, a minor name, t. of Brogden [SD 8546], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:36, no comment). – Ray Gill, 1845 TA, a minor name, t. of Bordley [SD 9464], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:83: “v. **rā** ‘roe-buck’, **gil**”). Ray Gill Laithe (not in PNWRY, third element perhaps ON *leið* ‘track’) is in this township, near the township boundary. – Ray Gill, 1846 TA, a minor name, t. of Garsdale [SD 7390], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:262, no comment). – Raygill Ings 1842

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<sup>21</sup> In Sussex is Rogate (< OE *rā* + OE *geat*) and in Surrey Reigate (< OE *ræge* + OE *geat*), see DEPNE and Löfvenberg (1942:169). The existence of such names may speak in favour of Ragged Shaw Wood containing an animal-word. On the other hand, see the Swedish word *rågata* in Östergren (1938) 5:2. col. 920: “**Rågata**. I skog upphuggen gränslinje.” (“Boundary line cut out in a wood.”).

<sup>22</sup> Examples are, with ON *gás* ‘goose, wild-goose’: Gaisgill (PNWe 2:50), Gazegill (PNWRY 6:176), with ON *ikorni* ‘squirrel’: Ickering Gill (lost) (PNWRY 5:71), with ON *refr* ‘fox’: Reagill (PNWe 2:157), with ON *hross* ‘horse’: Rosgill (PNWe 2:170). See the list under *gil* in EPNE 1.

<sup>23</sup> Raygill would then be synonymous with Mear Gill (PNWRY 6:189), see under OE (*ge*)*mære*.

TA 378, a field-name, t. of Stirton [SD 9752], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:77, no comment).<sup>24 25</sup>

ON *kjarr* ‚marsh, brushwood’ second element:

Roscarrs: *Rokers* 1535 VE, Roccars 1700 *AddRoll*, Rocarr 1822 Langd, Ross Car 1841 O.S., a minor name, t. of Selby [SE 6132], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:34: “v. **kjarr** ‚marsh’ ”). Near the Riding boundary and in the  $\bar{a}/\bar{o}$  border area.

ON *runnr* ‚brake, thicket’ probably second element:

Raram Ridge. This modern form is not in PNWRY, but Raram is almost certainly identical with *Rarun* 1220, 1251, *-um* 1401 Furn, which is in PNWRY listed as a lost field-name, t. of Horton in Ribblesdale [SD 8172], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:225: “possibly ‚roebuck thicket’, v. **rā**, **runnr**”). It is, however, quite possible that the first element is ON *rá* ‚boundary’, for *Rarun* is a point in at least the 1251 perambulation of Souterscales: “*et sic usque ad Rarun, deinde ad capud de Mosdalebech*”, see Higham (1997:137). A further possibility is that *Rarun* is a simplex name from ON *hreyrr* ‚cairn’, as suggested by Gelling (mentioned by Higham (op.cit.) in note 20, p. 137<sup>26</sup>). In any case, *Rarun* is almost certainly not a lost field-name, for Higham shows in her article that there is on the O.S. 1st edn 6” map a name Raram Ridge whose position agrees with that of *Rarun*.

OE *þyrne*, ON *þyrnir* ‚thorn-bush; thorn thicket’ second element:

*Rathirne* 1250 Puds, a lost field-name, t. of Bolton by Bowland [SD 7849], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:192: “probably ‚boundary thorn’, v. **rā**<sup>2</sup>, **þyrne**”).

OE *weg* ‚way’ perhaps second element:

*Roweye* 1305 Abbr, a lost field-name, t. of Church Fenton [SE 5136], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:64: “v. **rāw**, **ēg** ‚water-meadow’ ”). The etymology in PNWRY goes well with Fenton, which means ‚farmstead in the fen’. In support of the suggestion that *Roweye* might mean ‚boundary way’ reference may be made to Rietz (1867:547), who mentions the term Swed dial. *rāväg* for a way along the boundary between two

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<sup>24</sup> The North Riding name Ray Gill (6”) shows how impossible it is to draw any conclusions when only such modern forms are available, for it is *Reylgaile* c. 1170 (PNNRY 294: “v. **geil**. The first element is obscure”).

<sup>25</sup> The *e*-forms of the following names make ON *rá* ‚boundary’ unlikely: Ray Gill: *Regillclugh* 1624, *Raygillihough* (PNWRY: sic) 1653, *Rawgill Clugh* 1655 (PNWRY 6:173: “‚mossy ravine’, v. **ragu**, **rægu** ‚moss, lichen’, **gil**, **clōh**”). – Raygill House: *Regallhous* 1594, *Ragill House* 1649, 1685, Raygill- 1752, Regill 1771 (PNWRY 5:215: “‚Roebuck ravine’, v. **rā**<sup>1</sup>, **gil**”). – Raygill House: *Raygill* 1617, 1621, Booth Raygill 1762, Regill 1771 (PNWRY 6:247: “‚roebuck valley’, v. **rā**<sup>1</sup>, **gil**”).

<sup>26</sup> Higham: “Dr M. Gelling has suggested that *Rarun* might be ‚at the cairns’, from dat.pl. of ON *hreyrr*.”.

parishes.<sup>27</sup> It is also possible that the name is a compound of OE *rā*, ON *rá* ‚roe, roe-buck’ and OE *weg*. ERN 346 s.n. Roe Beck (Cu) mentions the late OE compound *rāhweg* containing OE *rā* ‚roe’.<sup>28</sup>

## II Simplex names

Possible instances are Ray in Ray Bridge (see above)  
and

*Ray* 12th RegAlb iii, 19, a lost field-name, t. of Middleton [SE 1249], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:68, no comment).<sup>29 30</sup>

## III Combinations with ON *rá* as the second element

OE *Golda*, influenced by ON *Gulli*, both personal names, probably first element: Guldrey: *Gou-*, *Gowldray* 1599 PR, 1648 Wills, *Guldrey* 1654 PR, *Guldrowe* 1664 ib., a minor name, t. of Sedbergh [SD 6492], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:268: “probably the OE pers.n. *Golda*, influenced by ON *Gulli*, v. *vrá* ‚nook of land’”). If the second element is ON *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’, the reference may be to a boundary-mark or land on the boundary of *Golda*’s estate.<sup>31</sup>

OE *hræfn*, ON *hrafn* ‚raven’ or a personal name formed from one of these first element:

Raven Ray: Raven Ree 1822 Langd (‚a rock promontory’), a minor name, t. of Thornton in Lonsdale [SD 6873], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:251: “v. *hræfn* and probably *vrá* ‚nook’, since the place is within a sharp bend of the river”). It is near the township boundary. If the second element is ON *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’, the reference may be to a boundary-mark on which ravens like to perch, or to a boundary-mark or land on the boundary of *Hrafn*’s or *Hræfn*’s estate.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Rietz: “RÅ-VÄG, m., vägen utmed tvenne socknars rågång.”

<sup>28</sup> Probably from 757 (11th) BCS 183 (S 55) : “*suð be ðam heafdon þæt on rahweg þæt ondlong rahweges on rahdene*” (Venezky: microfiche).

<sup>29</sup> No comment in PNWRY, unless *Ray* and *le Rawes* in “*Ray* 12, *le Rawes* 1490, 1496 (v. *rāw* ‚row (of houses, etc.)’)” (PNWRY loc.cit.) are meant to be taken together, which seems unlikely.

<sup>30</sup> Besides *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’ there are at least the possibilities that this name is from OE *æt þære ēa* ‚at the river’ or OE *æt þære ēg* ‚at the water-meadow’.

<sup>31</sup> See Gelling (1978:188) (on OE charter boundaries): “... *burgilde treowe* will mean ‚tree on the boundary of the estate belonging to the lady called *Burghild*’. This sense can be proved to be the correct one in one of the boundary marks, *Leppan crundlas*, of the estate at Bibury granted to *Leppa* (...), and it is the obvious one in the numerous occurrences of such phrases as *ælfheages gemære*, *ælfælde gemære*, which means ‚boundary of the estate belonging to *Ælfhēah/Ælfæd*’.” See also the chapter on OE (*ge*)*mære*.

ON *kráka* ‚crow, raven’ or the ON pers.n. *Kráki* first element:

*Crakeray* 1334 YD ii, a lost field-name, t. of Long Marston [SE 5051], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:255, no comment). If the second element is ON *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’, the reference may be to a boundary-mark on which crows or ravens like to perch, or to a boundary-mark or land on the boundary of *Kráki*’s estate.

OE *molda*, ON *\*moldi* ‚hill-top’ or OE *molde* ‚earth, soil’ first element:

Mold Roe: The Mould Roo 1764 *Glebe*, a field-name, t. of Oulton [SE 3628], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:143: “v. **molde**, **vrá**”). It might also refer to a boundary-mark on a hill-top.

OE *stān*, ON *steinn* ‚stone’ first element:

*Sta(i)nray* c. 1190 YCh 54-9, a lost field-name, t. of Farnley [[SE 2147], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:60: “v. **steinn**, **rá**<sup>2</sup> ‚boundary mark’ ”). The name would refer to a boundary-mark made of stone or consisting of one or more stones, in contrast to a wooden pole.

### 5.2.3 OTHER COUNTIES

It is unavoidable that the material contains uncertain names.

#### A OE material

##### ***I Combinations with ON rá as the first element***

ON *bȳ*, *bȳr* (where *bȳ* is the ODan form) ‚farmstead, village’ second element:

Ch: *Rabie* 1086 DB (PNCh 4:228 f). Mod. Raby, see under B.

La: *Rabil* 1086 DB (PNLa 113). Mod. Roby, see under B.

##### ***II Simplex names***

No instances found.

##### ***III Combinations with ON rá as the second element***

No instances found.

#### B ME and later material<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are:

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with OE *burna* „spring, stream’: **Cu**: Rae Burn: *Raburn* 1292, *Raborn* 1552, *Raeburn* 1632, Rayburn 1740 (PNCu 1:24: “„Roe-buck burn,’ from OE *rā* and *burna*”). – Raeburn: *Reaburn* 1697 (PNCu 1:106: “v. *burna*”).

with ME *cragge* „crag, rock’: **We**: Wray Crag: *Rayecragge* 1577, *Racrag(ge)* 1578 (PNWe 1:168: “„røebuck crag’, v. *rā*, *cragge*, the modern form being influenced by Wray Quarter (...”). If the first element is *rā* „boundary’, the name is similar to another Westmorland name: *Merecrags*, see under OE *(ge)mære*.

with OIr *cross*, ON *kross*, late OE, ME *cross* „cross’: **We/NRY**: Rey Cross: *Rerercros* Hy 2 (1348), (*la*) *Rerecrosse* c. 1275, 1360, 1577, *Rerecros* 1301, *Reir croiz de Staynmore* c. 1280, *le Redecros super Steynmor* 1314, *Reare crosse* 1687. Rey (or Rere) Cross was throughout the Middle Ages the boundary-mark between Westmorland and the North Riding of Yorkshire. The first element in Rere Cross is ON *hreyrr* „cairn’ and this may also be the first element in Rey Cross with *r* lost by dissimilation. But Rey may well be ON *rā* „boundary’, so that *hreyrr* and *rā* varied in the name of the cross. (Collingwood 1927, PNNRY 305 s.n. Rere or Rey Cross and Add. & Corr. p. xlvi, PNWe 2:73). Both PNNRY and PNWe mention this article by W.G. Collingwood, which is “Rey-Cross”, pp 1-10 in *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, vol. 27, new series (1927), and which Professor Ekwall had called attention to. This is an interesting article, discussing various legends and facts about this cross. On p. 4 Collingwood says: “Camden spoke also of “the remainder of a Cross, which we call Rere-cross, and the Scots Rei-cross, that is a *Royal Cross*.” This is a mistaken interpretation of the word, which like the “Rear or Ray Cragg” in the old boulder of Coniston pretty certainly means “boundary,” from the Norse *rā* as in *rā-merki*, a land mark.” This quotation from Camden (1551-1623) is valuable since it gives the form *Rei-cross* without the final *r* in the first part of the name. Both PNNRY and PNWe mention in connection with this name the Swedish legal phrase *rå och rör* (PNWe *ra och rör*), which contains both words and has the general meaning „boundary-marks’, a *rå* originally referring to a (boundary-)pole and a *rör* to a pile of stones put together in a certain way (Svensk uppslagsbok 24 s.v. *Rågång*, Tollin (1999:30, 55)).

with ON *dalr*, OE *dæl* „valley’: **NRY**: Raydale: *Radale* 1307 (PNNRY 264: “„Røebuck valley’ v. *ra*, *dæl*”).

with OE *dūn* „hill’, less likely OE *denu* ‘valley’: **La**: Rooden Lane: *Roden* 1340, *Rodoun* 1341 (PNLa 49, noting that it is a hamlet situated on a slight hill: “Possibly “rood hill,” O.E. *rōd-dūn*; cf. Lanc. Ant. Soc. XXXVI. 91 ff.”). For the 1341 form PNLa refers to VHLa 5:79. Rooden Lane is also mentioned on p. 76 in VHLa 5: “On the eastern side, on the border of Heaton Park, is the hamlet of Rooden Lane, ...”, so its position is on a boundary. Nevertheless, since Rooden Lane is in Salford hundred, where the place-name nomenclature is almost wholly English according to PNLa 6, and since a compound of ON *rā* „boundary’ with OE *dūn* or OE *denu* would make Rooden a hybrid name, it is perhaps not very likely that this is the first element. Maybe the first element is OE *rā* „roe, roe-buck’ and Rooden synonymous with Radholme in Radholme Laund (WRY) (PNWRY 6:209 f), which is explained as dat. pl. of OE *rād* “„riding’, no doubt in its later sense „riding track, road’ ” or as a compound OE *rā(h)-dūn* „roe-buck hill’.

possibly with ODan, OE *\*dus* „heap’: **Db**: *le Long radus* c. 1300 (PNDb 1:176: “*le Long radus* (sic) c. 1300 (fac) (perhaps „long clearings’, v. *lang*, *rod*”).

with ON *gil* „ravine, deep narrow valley with a stream’: **Cu**: *Ragil*, *Ragill* c. 1270 (PNCu 1:218: “„roe-gil’ ”). – *Ragilmire* 1603 (PNCu 1:69: “v. *mýrr*”). See the *gil*-names in WRY, above.

with ON *haugr* „hill, mound’ or OE *hōh* „heel of land’: **Nt**: Roehoe Wood: *claus called Rohowe* 1585 (PNNt 258: “perhaps „roe hill’, v. *ra*, *hoh*”). A compound of *rā* with *haugr*: „boundary hill’ would suit the position of Roehoe Wood on the parish boundary.

with OE *hlāw*, *hlēw* „tumulus, hill’: **Db**: *Rolow* 1415 (PNDb 3:556: “v. *rūh*, *hlāw*”).



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with ON *hryggr*, OE *hrycg* ‚ridge‘: **We**: Rayrigg Hall: *Rayrigg(e)* 1675, 1694 *et freq* to 1787, (-Hall) 1823 (PNWe 1:197: “v. *rā* ‚roe-buck‘ or *ræge* ‚female roe-deer‘, *hrycg*”). Rayrigg Hall seems to be not far from the boundary between the township of Windermere and the township of Bowness on Windermere. **Cu**: *Rayrigge* 1578 (PNCu 1:166: “v. *hrycg*”).

with OE *hyll* ‚hill‘: **La**: Royle: *Rohille* 1296, *Roel* 1324, 1325, *Le Roile Hill* 1558, *Roill Hill* 1564 (PNLa 83, noting that Royle is situated on the Calder and by a small hill and taking the name to mean ‚roe hill‘). Royle is in the north-west corner of the township of Burnley (see VHLa 6:348: map), so ‚boundary hill‘ would suit the location. This would mean that Royle is a hybrid name.

with ON *kjarr* ‚marsh, brushwood‘: **Ch**: *le Roker* 1348 (p), *Roe Carr*, *Roecarre-wood*, *the Rocarrs* 1611 (PNCh 1:180 f: “‚rough marsh‘, v. *rūh*, *kjarr*”). **La**: *Racarr* 1509? (VHLa 7:158, note 18, mentioning “a close called Racarr 10 s.”, which appears to be in a rental of 1509). – *Rokar* 1215 CC. The name of a boundary point. (CC 2:1:394-96, PNLa 251, VHLa 6:68, note 11). In the same parish (Penwortham) as *Rokar* is *Harekar* 1220-46 (see note in the chapter on OE *hār*). If *Harekar* contains the animal-word OE *hara* ‚hare‘, this might speak for an animal-word as the first element of *Rokar* also. However, *Rokar* and *Merepul* and *Merkepul* (see under (*ge*)*mære* and *mearc*) all occur in this boundary-description (CC 2:1:394):

*“Est autem Hohum a parte occidentale a Merepul sequendo sablones versus aquilonem usque ad Mukelpul, et sequendo Mukelpul versus orientem usque in Turnebuthsike, inde sequendo Turnebuthsike versus meridiem usque in latam viam, a lata via usque in Craefot juxta pratum quod vocatur pratum aulæ, inde usque in Marescallesfurlong, et sic ex transverso Marescallisfurlong versus meridiem usque in Rokar, ita quod excludantur ab eodem Marescallisfurlong decem et octo acrae a parte orientali de quibus ecclesia de Penwortham percipiet decimas, ac inde in Middelsic, et sic versus occidentem in Hohum Kar et sic iterum in Merkepul.”*, with ModE version (CC 2:1:396): “The boundary of Hoham1 begins on the western side of the Mere or Mark-pool, along the sands northward to Muckle-pool, following the same eastward to Turnebutt-syke, thence along Turnebutt-syke southward to the high road, from thence to Craic-foot by the meadow called Hall-meadow, thence to Marshall’s furlong, and across the same southward to Rokarr – excluding from Marshall’s furlong eighteen acres of land on the eastern side, the tithes of which the church of Penwortham collects – from thence into Middle-syke, and so westward unto Hoham Carr back again to Mark-pool.” The footnote reads: “In the margin – “The boundary of Hutton Grange.” From this it appears that the ancient name was Hoham or Hohum.”. If *Rokar* contains ON *rā* ‚boundary‘ or ‚boundary-mark‘, it is etymologically equivalent to the Danish place-name Raakær. See DaSN 5:3:76, PNERy 36f. See also Roscarrs (WRY) above.

with ON *klif*, OE *clif* ‚cliff‘: **La**: Rockliffe: *de Roclif* 1296, *Roelyf* 1324 (both Gelling (1984:136) and PNLa 60 consider this name to mean, probably, ‚roe cliff‘, and also SMED<sup>1</sup> 23 considers it to contain the name of an animal).

with OE *mæd* ‚meadow‘: **Db**: Roe Meadow 1846: *Row(e) Meadow(e)* 1611 (PNDb 3:562: “v. *ra*<sup>1</sup>, *mæd*).

with ON *sætr* ‚mountain pasture, shieling‘: **We**: Rasett Hill: *Rasett* 12 (1645), *Rasate* 1224 (1651) (PNWe 2:25 f: “‚roe hill-pasture‘, v. *rā*, *sætr*, cf. Rayside (ii, 169 *infra*).” But a reference to a pasture or a hut on a boundary or with a boundary-mark seems more likely than a reference to a pasture or a hut for roes. Moreover, the form *Rasate* is from a collection of Boundary Rolls, see PNWe loc. cit. But this, of course, does not prove anything. The name referred to above is Rayside: *Rasate* c. 1200, -*set* 1343, -*side* 1594, *Racet(t)* 1540, 1547, 1589, *Racyde* 1600, *Rayside* 1577, 1613, 1625, *Raysett* 1593, *Rasehead* 1686, *Raishead* 1823 (Fellows-Jensen (1985:67): “The specific is probably the Scand appellative *rā* f. ‚roe-deer‘. The Scand appellative *rā* f. ‚boundary mark‘ would fit the forms equally well but R. is not situated close to a parish or ward boundary...”, PNWe 2:169: “‚Roebuck

Only names first recorded before 1700 have been included.

### ***I Combinations with ON rá as the first element***

ON *á* ‚river, stream’ perhaps second element:

NRy: *fossatum del Ragh, Ragehilbek* n.d. Percy 485, *fossatum Raff.. dik, fossatum de Ragh* 1337 ib. 486 (Ekwall 1926:152 f, ERN 346 (both s.n. Roe Beck (Cu))). Ekwall considers, both (1926) and (1928) (ERN), with some hesitation, this name to be a compound of ON *rá* ‚boundary’ and ON *á* ‚river’, pointing out that it is a boundary river. See Ray Head (WRY) above and Roe Beck (Cu) below.

Cu: Roe Beck: *aquam de Rawe* 1272 For, 1589 ExchKR, *Ranhe* (probably for *Rauhe*) 1272 For, *Rache* 1285 ib., *Rane* (probably for *Raue*) 1292 Ass, *Raw* 1331 For, 1623 PR (Dalston), *Raugh* c. 1333 NB, 1687 CW xv, *Raghe* 1610 Denton, beck or river called Raugh (or Raghe) 1777 NB (Ekwall 1926:152 f, 161, ERN 346, Fellows-Jensen 1985:423, PNCu 1:25).

Names connected with Roe Beck are:

Roe House: *Raghe* 1285 For and Raughton Head: *Ragton’* 1182 P, *Rachton’* 1186, 1187 P, 1285 For, *Rachtona* 1188 P, *Raghton’* 1292 Ass, *Raghton* 1295 Ipm (Ekwall 1926:152 f, ERN loc.cit.). PNCu has Raughton (many forms) on p. 1:134 and Raughtonhead: *Raughtonheved* 1367 Ipm, *Raghtonheved* ib., 1394 GDR, *Raughton Hede* 1476 IpmR, *Rawghtonhead* 1592 Border on p. 1:245, saying on p. 245: “Raughtonhead is about two miles south-west of Raughton (*supra* 134) from which it is separated by Gatesgill. It is on high ground and the **hēafod** probably denoted a stretch of hill pasture used by the men of Raughton.” PNCu has also Roebanks (6’): *Rawbankis* 1272 For, *Rawebankes* 1305 Fine, 1368 Cl, 1619 ExchKR (PNCu 1:225: “It is by Roe Beck *supra* 25. v. *bank*.”). Fellows-Jensen, referring to PNCu 1:25, mentions the following forms of Roe Beck: *Rawe* 1272, *Rauhe* 1272, *Raw* 1331, and, referring to PNCu 1:134, the following forms of Raughton: *Ragton’* 1182, 1278, *Rachton’* 1186, 1187, etc., *Racton* 1190-92, *Rahton* 1203, *Raghton* 1276, etc.

Ekwall discusses the possibility that Raughton is derived from OE *Rāh-dūn* meaning ‚roe hill’, in which case Roe is a back-formation (“unless it is really

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shieling’, v. **rá**, **sætr**, cf. Rayseat (ii, 40 *supra*”). The name just referred to is Rayseat: **Rasate** 1224, Rayseat als. Racet 1859 (PNWe 2:40: “‚roe-buck shieling’, v. **rā**<sup>1</sup>, **sætr**, cf. Rayside (ii, 169 *infra*”). possibly with ON **steinn** ‚stone, rock’: **Ch**: **Rastyn** 1357 (PNCh 4:191: “the name of a parcel of land, inexplicable”). If the second element is **steinn**, this presupposes, of course, weakening of the stress. perhaps with OE **weg** ‚way’: **Ch**: **Roweyes meadowe neere Agden Mill** 1668 (PNCh 2:43: “‚rough islands or water-meadows’, v. **rūh**, **ēg**”). See **Roweye** (WRY) above.

OE *Rāh-ēa*” (ERN)). He mentions in ERN also the possibility that Roe is a combination of ON *rá* ‚roe’ and ON *á* ‚river’. However, in both the 1926 article and in ERN he comes to the conclusion that Roe is a compound of ON *rá* ‚boundary’ and ON *á* ‚river’, just as he considers *Raaghe* (WRY, see above) and possibly *Ragh* (NRY, see above) to be derived from these elements. He points out that all three are mentioned in boundaries.

PNCu 1:25 accepts Ekwall’s derivation of Roe Beck and translates Raughton (PNCu 1:134: „Farm on Roe (Beck),’ v. **tūn** ...”.

Fellows-Jensen, however, advocates a solution where neither an animal-word nor ON *rá* ‚boundary’ is involved, but OE *ragu* ‚moss, lichen’, in Raughton alternating with a side-form *\*ragge*. The original name of Roe Beck would be *\*Ragu*. This is accepted by Watts (CDEP), who translates Roe Beck ‚Moss stream’ and Raughton ‚Settlement by Roe Beck’. One might perhaps also think of *ragu* as directly having given rise to not only Roe Beck but also, alternating with *\*ragge*<sup>33</sup>, to Raughton, so that this name would mean ‚moss settlement’.

ON *bekkr* ‚stream, beck’ second element:

NRY: Raisbeck (locally Raybeck): *Rabec* 12 Guis, 1180-90 YCh 767 (PNNRY 154:“From ON **ra** ‚roe-buck’ (...) and **bekkr**. The modern form is corrupt.”). It is, however, at least as probable that the first element is ON *rá* ‚boundary’. Ekwall (ERN) says on this name on p. 30: “*Rabec* (Y) Guisb ii, 231 248, (Saltburn and Redcar). First element probably ON *rá* ‚boundary’.”, and already Lindkvist (1912:189) mentions this name: “**Rabec** Yo. 1206 Ped. fin. Eb.; in Upleatham.” and is of the same opinion as Ekwall.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> See Fellows-Jensen s. n. Raughton, after having discussed Ekwall’s proposal that Raugh- in Raughton is a compound of *rá* ‚boundary’ and *á* ‚river’: “I would prefer to explain the name Raughton in a different way. It has been suggested to me by John Kousgård Sørensen that the specific may be the original name of Roe Beck *\*Ragu* f., derived from the OE plant-name *ragu* f. ‚moss, lichen’. Cf. the recorded forms of the stream-name (*Rawe* 1272, *Rauhe* 1272, *Raw* 1331; PNCu 25). As the specific of the p.n. Raughton, *ragu* would seem to alternate with the side-form of the plant-name *\*ragge*. This form, although not recorded independently in OE, is found in a number of p.ns. and occurs in several English dialects (cf. M.T. Löfvenberg *Studies in Middle English Local Surnames* (Lund, 1942) s.n. Ragge). There is no reason to look upon Raughton as a hybrid name in *-tūn*.” However, on p. 154 (op.cit.) s.n. Roebanks (by Roe Beck, see above), Fellows-Jensen takes Roe- to be “the Scand river-name *\*rá+á* ‚boundary stream’ ”.

<sup>34</sup> The instances in PNNRY, ERN and Lindkvist must refer to the same beck, in the parish and township of Upleatham, The reference in PNNRY to 12th Guisb is to the same chartulary as the reference in ERN to Guisb ii. This is *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, part 2, printed in 1894 (Surtees Society vol. 89). On p. 231 and p. 248 occurs **ad Rabec** and on p. 246 occurs **apud Rabec**. The reference in PNNRY to 1180-90 YCh 767 is to a charter on p. 105 in *Early Yorkshire Charters II*, also printed as number 1002 in Guisb ii (the charter where **ad Rabec** occurs on p. 231). On this page (231) is a footnote where **in Rabec** 1206 is mentioned (in “Pedes Finium Ebor., 6-16 John, No. 10”).

ON *bȳ*, *býr* (where *bȳ* is the ODan form) ‚farmstead, village’ second element<sup>35</sup>:

Ch: Raby, Raby Hall (Farm), -House (Farm) & -Mill: *Rabie* 1086 DB, *Raby* 1096-1101 (1280) Chest *et freq* with variant spellings *Rabi(e)*, *Raby in Wyrhale* 1377 Plea, Raby Mill 1831 Bry, -Watermill 1842 OS, *Rabbi* 1150 Chest, *Robi* 1208-11 Chest (p), *Roby* 1321 City (p), *Reaby* 1663 Sheaf (PNCh 4:228 f: „‚Village at a boundary’, from **rá** and **býr**, ... This p.n. suggests the confines of a Scandinavian enclave in Wirral, ...”). Cheshire is south of the *ā/ȳ*-boundary<sup>36</sup>, but Raby has not taken part in the change. This is due to the existence of the Scandinavian enclave in the Wirral peninsula mentioned above, where Raby ‚boundary village’ or ‚village with a boundary-mark’ is on the southern boundary. The settlers probably came to Wirral across the sea from the Isle of Man (see Fellows-Jensen (1985:373), (1997:83 f)). Their language was a Scandinavian language or an English with many Scandinavian loan-words, and the fact that Raby preserved the *ā*-sound shows that the settlement in Wirral was a colony more or less isolated from the surroundings.<sup>37</sup> See on Raby also Atkin (1997:13), Dodgson (1957:308, 310), Fellows-Jensen (1985:3) (and note 69 in the chapter on OE *hār*), Lindkvist (1912: 188 f), Reaney (1961:171), SMED2 23. Also forming part of *Neston-Raby* 1459 ChRR (PNCh 4:227) and *Raby Yate* 1569 Sheaf (PNCh 4:220). There is also *vastum de Raby* 1340 ChFor (PNCh 4:229 s.n. Benty Heath Lane). It has also given rise to a personal name occurring in the lost Chester street-name *Rabyeslone* 1420 Vern (PNCh 5(1:i):18).

La: Roby: *Rabil* 1086 DB, *Rabi* 1185 LPR, *Raby* 1238 LF, 1246 LAR, 1311 IPM, 1327 SR, *Roby* 1304 ChR, 1322 LI, 1332 SR, etc. (Atkin 1997:15, Dodgson 1957:312 and map p. 306, Fellows-Jensen 1985:38, Lindkvist 1912:188 f, PNL<sub>a</sub> 113, SMED1 23, 33). Roby is in the part of Lancashire where *ā* > *ȳ*. It is close to the parish boundary (Fellows-Jensen loc.cit., see also PNL<sub>a</sub> loc.cit.).

Cu: Raby: *Rabi* c. 1150 HolmC *et passim*, with variant spellings *Raby*, *-bye*, *-bie*, *Raaby* 1332 SR (p), *Reaby* 1624 Ct, *Rabby* 1636 LRMB (Fellows-Jensen 1985:38, Lindkvist 1912:188 f, PNCu 2:292 + Add. & Corr. 3:lxix). It is close to the parish boundary (Fellows-Jensen loc.cit, PNCu 2:292). Also forming part of Raby Cote: *Raby(e) Cote* c. 1530 CW i, *Raby Cott*, *Raby Coote* 1548 ib., *Raby Coitt* 1566 ib., *Rabby Coat* 1655 ib. xxi, *Raybecott* 1656 CantW vii

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<sup>35</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material is We: *Rabbyoak* 1585 (PNWe 1:203, no comment). Note with **bb** *Rabbi* 1150 (Raby Ch) and *Rabby* 1636, *Rabby Coat* 1655, *Rabby Marshe* 1636 (Raby Cu). *Rabbyoak* might be a compound with OE *āc* ‚oak-tree’ containing **rá** ‚roe, roe-buck’ or **rá** ‚boundary’, but it seems more probable that the first part of the name is a personal name, perhaps a pet-form of **Robert**.

<sup>36</sup> This is an important dialect boundary. See note 5.

<sup>37</sup> See note 5.

(PNCu 2:292: “v. **cot(e)**”), and furthermore of Rabycote Marsh (6’): *Rabby Marshe al. Rabye Coate Marshe* 1636 *LRMB* and Raby Grange: *Rayby Graunge* 1538 *AOMB* (both PNCu 2:292).

OE *dīc*, ‘ditch, dike’ second element:

La: *Raa Ditch* t. Mary 1 Duchy of Lanc. Dep. The name of a boundary ditch. (VHLa 7:157, note 12<sup>38</sup>).

ON *garðr* ‘enclosure, yard’ or perhaps rather ‘fence’ second element<sup>39</sup>:

La: *Ragarthout* 1240-1268 CC (CC 3:1:772 f, Janzén 1957:198 ff<sup>40</sup>, PNL a 253).

We: *le Raygarthe* 1552 ChantKL 95-6 (PNWe 1:31: “‘roe enclosure’, v. **rā**, **rāge**, **garðr**” + Add. & Corr. 1:xiv: “Professor Janzén thinks that an ON \**rā-garðr* (cf. OSwed *rāgardher*, ODan *rāgarth*) meaning ‘boundary fence’ is also possible, as also in Raygarth (i, 45) and Roe garth ii, 24<sup>41</sup> (cf. his note in Names v, 198 ff).” – Raygarth Lane: *Ragarth* 1227 *FF*, Raygarth 1848 *TA* (PNWe 1:45: “v. **rā**<sup>1</sup> ‘roe’, **garðr**”). Raygarth Lane and *le Raygarthe* are in

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<sup>38</sup> Note 12: “Duchy of Lanc. Dep. I Mary, lxvi, R 5. John Benson and James Davy, queen’s farmers of part of Ribby, Cuthbert Clifton of Westby and the lords of the manor of Kirkham were the parties to the dispute. It was alleged that, large parts of the wastes of Westby and Kirkham having been wrongfully inclosed within the preceding twenty years, the tenants of those manors, being short of common, had pastured on all the waste or moor of Ribby. The bounds of this last began at the east end of a close adjoining Richard Crook’s house, followed an old ditch called Raa Ditch to the east end of Tarnbreck, thence west to Tarnbreck Cross, then along a running water to the east end of a close by Henry Hall’s house, and thence along a running water westward.” Provided that the form *Raa Ditch* can be trusted, the first element is likely to be ON *rā* ‘boundary’. This is then a hybrid name, unless the second element was originally ON *dīk*.

<sup>39</sup> PNNRY 326 mentions among “FIELD AND OTHER MINOR NAMES” under **garðr** two instances of *Ragarth*: “**garðr** is fairly common as *Cunyngarth* (1407), *le enegarth* (1406), *Halgarth* (1298). Usually the first element is a significant word denoting animals as in *Hertegarth* (1294), *Ragarth* (2), *Suinegarth* (1193-9), or crops as in *Apelgarth* (2), *le Haygarth* (1311), and *Lingarth* (c. 1223)”. Maybe (1193-9) refers to both *Ragarth* and *Suinegarth*. Even if it does not, the two instances of *Raygarth* are in all probability pre-1700. However, for safety’s sake they have not been included in the material.

<sup>40</sup> The reference to Janzén (1957:198 ff) is to the section **Ragarth** in his article “Scandinavian Place Names in England. I.” in *Names* 5 (1957), where he suggests that *Ragarth* and *Ragarthfield* in Cumberland and *Ragarthout* in Lancashire contain OEScand *rāgardher* ‘boundary-fence, fence serving as a boundary-line’ and sees no obstacle in assuming that also *Ragarthheued*, *Reygarths* and *Riggarthnooke* in Cumberland contain this element. *Ragarth*, *Ragarthheued* and *Ragarthout* are included in the material, but *Ragarthfield*: *Regarthfeild* 1647, *Racotfeld* 1694 (PNCu 1:251: “v. **feld**”), *Reygarths* 1546 (PNCu 2:286: “v. **garðr**”) and *Riggarthnooke* 1603 (PNCu 1:90, no comment) are too uncertain to be included in the material. PNWe did not exist when Janzén wrote his article.

<sup>41</sup> *Raygarth* is included in the material (*Raygarth Lane*, the next name), but the form *Roe garth* 1841 (PNWe 2:24: “v. **rā**<sup>1</sup> ‘roe’, **garðr**”, Add. + Corr. 2:xi to *Roe garth*: “Cf. *le Raygarthe* (i, p. xiv, 31).” is too late to be included in the material.

adjacent townships (Kirkby Lonsdale and Casterton), and should the names refer to the same *garðr*, this would strengthen the theory that the element is *rá* ‚boundary’.

Cu: *Ragarhued* c. 1220 Fountains (Janzén 1957:198 ff, PNCu 2:303: “either (v)*rá*’ or ‚roe *garðr*’ and *hēafod*”). – Ragarth (lost): *Ragarth(e)* 1276 *Ass*, 1285 *For* (both p), (*del*) *Ragarch* 1296 *Cl* (p), *Raygarth* 1540 *AOMB*, *Ragarth* 1541 *MinAcct* (Janzén 1957:198 ff, PNCu 1:77: “The medieval forms are all derived from personal names, and it is impossible to tell from what place the family originally came.”).<sup>42</sup>

ON *lundr* ‚small wood, grove; sacred grove, one offering sanctuary’ second element<sup>43</sup>:

Db: Rowland: *Ralunt* 1086 *DB*, *Raalund* 1101-8 *RegLich*, a. 1108 *Dugd*, 1169 *P*, *Ralund* 1200 *P*, *Hy 3 WollCh* (p), *Rolund* 1230 *FF* (p), *Hy 3 WollCh* (p), -*lound*’ 1348 *DbA* xxxvi, *Roland* 1236 *Cl* (p), c. 1250 *BelCh*, 1300 *WollCh* (p) *et passim* to 1481 *Woll*, -*lond* 1403, 1409, 1490 *WollCh*, *Rou-*, *Rowland* 1332 *Ipm*, 1431 *FA et passim* (*DEPN*, Fellows-Jensen 1978:159, Gelling 1984:208, *PNDb* 1:162). Despite the statement in *DEPN* that this name means ‚roe wood’, it seems a little more likely that the first element is *rá* ‚boundary’, for, as pointed out by Fellows-Jensen: “R. is a small elongated parish which separates the two large parishes of Great Longstone and Hassop from each other so the sense “boundary grove” would be appropriate.” Also Gelling takes Rowland to contain probably ON *rá* ‚boundary’. This may have something to do with her observation that there seems to be some relation between *lundr*-names and boundaries.<sup>44</sup> *PNDb* hesitates between ‚roe-buck’ and ‚boundary, boundary-mark’ as the meaning of the first element, but tends to prefer the boundary-alternative.<sup>45</sup> The fact that the only field-name listed in this parish is *Flitlands* 1848 *TA* (*PNDb* 1:163: “perhaps ‚disputed lands’, v. (**ge**)**flit**, **land**”) may

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<sup>42</sup> Janzén (op.cit. p. 198) objects to this statement: “It is difficult indeed to see any reason for the assumption that this place-name necessarily is derived from a personal name.” *EPNE* 1:195 mentions under ON **garðr** a Cumberland name *Raygarth* and takes it to contain an animal-word. This name may be the lost Cumberland *Ragarth*, see Janzén (op.cit. p. 199).

<sup>43</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material is the Nottinghamshire *lundr*-name *Raalund* (*PNNt* 287: “from ON **rá**, ‚roe-deer’ ”).

<sup>44</sup> See Gelling (op.cit. p. 207) on ON *lundr*: “It occurs in two wapentake names – Aveland *LIN* and Framland *LEI* – and in *Naveslund* Hundred in *NTP*. This may indicate that woods designated *lundr* were particularly likely to stand on boundaries.”

<sup>45</sup> See *PNDb* loc.cit.: “This is a Scandinavian compound of **rá** and **lúndr**, but it is difficult to decide whether the first element means ‚roe-buck’ or ‚boundary, boundary-mark’. In this parish is *Rowdale Ho*, and though the forms are late the first elements are presumably identical. Perhaps they are ‚boundary grove’ and ‚boundary valley’ respectively. The forms show the common replacement of **lúndr** by **land**; ... ”.

strengthen the theory that Rowland means ‚boundary grove’, since ‚disputed area’ and ‚boundary area’ (and also no-man’s-land’) are related concepts.

ON *skógr* ‚wood’ second element:

La: Roscoe Low: (*rivulum de Rascahae* 1184-90 CC, ?*de Rascok, de Rachecok* 1246 LAR (CC 2:1:510 f, rendering *rivulum de Rascahae* by ‚Rascahay brook’, Fellows-Jensen 1985:154: “The specific is the Scand appellative *rá* f. ‚roe-deer’. The generic is the Scand appellative *skógr* m. ‚wood’, with the first form showing confusion with cognate OE *sceaga* m. ‚wood’ (PNLa 128).”, PNLa 128: “Roscoe Low seems to go O.N. *rā-skōgr* meaning either “roe wood” or possibly “boundary wood.” *Rascahae* is apparently an anglicized form.”). Roscoe Low is in the township of Anderton in the parish of Standish, and the fact that Anderton forms a projecting part of this parish, so that the greater part of the township boundary is also the parish boundary (see VHLA 6:182), may speak for *rá* ‚boundary’ as the first part of Roscoe. Low (PNLa) or Law (Fellows-Jensen) is probably OE *hlāw* ‚hill’. Roscoe Low is a 525 feet high hill, see PNLa loc.cit.<sup>46</sup>

OE, ON *þorn* ‚thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

Ob: *Atterrathorne Field* 1622 *Dep* (PNDb 2:463, no comment). *Atter-* is probably ME *atter* ‚at the’ from OE *æt þære*, early ME *at þer* (see EPNE 1:14 (+ Add. & Corr. in *JEPNS* 1 (1968-69):11)).

La: *Rathornthwait* 1250-1268 CC (CC 3:2:945, Lindkvist 1912:119, PNLa 254). The final element is ON *þveit*, *þveiti* ‚clearing, meadow’.

ON *þveit*, *þveiti* ‚clearing, meadow’ second element:

NRy: Raithwaite: *Raithwait* 1351 Whitby, *Rathwayte* c. 1540 Whitby (Lindkvist 1912:119, PNNRY 124). The comment in PNNRY deserves to be quoted in full.<sup>47</sup> The fact that according to Gelling (1984:211) there are no place-names

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<sup>46</sup> Swedish parallels would then be Råskogen: *Råskog* 1634 (SOÅ 16:56) and probably Råskog: *Raaskoffh* 1540, 1541 (op.cit. p. 38).

<sup>47</sup> PNNRY 124 s.n. Raithwaite (*Raithwait* 1351, *Rathwayte* c. 1540): “v. *þveit*. The form *Rai-* is at first sight against Lindkvist’s suggestion of derivation from ON *rá* ‚landmark’ (p. 119, n. 4, 5) but too much stress should not perhaps be laid on a form which first appears in 1351. It is worth noting also that in a Danelaw charter of c. 1190 (ed. Stenton no. 529) land lying compactly is contrasted with land described as lying *rái a rái*. It would seem that this can only mean ‚strip by strip’ and if so it is difficult to think that we have any other word than ON *rá* ‚boundary-mark.’ The spelling is exceedingly difficult but it is possibly an inversion due to the fact that OE *ā* alternates with ON *ai*, *ei*, so that ON *á* might possibly have been spelt *ai* on occasion, in an area where OE long *a* was preserved.”.

with wild creatures as the first element in DEPN speaks for *rá* ‚boundary’ as the first element.<sup>48</sup>

## II Simplex names

No instances found.

## III Combinations with ON *rá* as the second element

No instances found.<sup>49</sup>

# 5.3 Discussion

ON *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’ is a difficult place-name element. The names included in the material are few, but they amply illustrate how impossible it is, at least as a rule, to know if a name contains this element or not. It would be hard to think of a combination with a second place-name element that cannot have a word meaning ‚roe, roe-buck’ (*rá*, *rā*) as its first element. Also, it would be hard to think of a combination with a first place-name element that cannot have a word meaning ‚nook, corner of land’ (*vrá*, *rá*) as its second element. Moreover, it does not help to assume that non-hybrid names are to be preferred to hybrid names, since *rá* ‚roe, roe-buck’

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<sup>48</sup> Parallel place-names would then be the Lincolnshire place-name *Rathuait* 1189 and the ODan place-name *Rathwet* LCD (both from Lindkvist 1912:119), perhaps also the modern Westmorland place-name Raithwaite (PNWe 1:129, no comment).

<sup>49</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are the following field-names: **Db:** *Buttroe Close* 1600 (PNDb 2:466, no comment). A combination of OE *butt* ‚tree-stump, log’ or ON *butr* ‚log’ with ON *rá* ‚boundary-mark’ could mean ‚boundary-mark formed by a log (or a tree-stump). A combination of ME *butte* in the sense ‚strip of land abutting on a boundary’ with ON *rá* ‚boundary-mark’ could mean ‚boundary-mark at a strip of land abutting on a boundary’. *Buttroe* might also be synonymous with the Durham place-name Butterby: *Beutroue* 1242, *Beautrove* 1296 (DEPN: “ ‚Beautiful find.’”). (Boutra 1835 (PNWe 1:130) might be a synonymous name.). – **We:** *the Blackcroo* 1582 (PNWe 1:94: “v. *blæc*, *vrá* ‚nook’ ”). A combination of OE *blæc* with ON *rá* ‚boundary-mark’ could mean ‚black (or dark-coloured or dark) boundary-mark’. – **Cu:** *Outray* and *Out Oughtray* 1720: *owtraye close* 1580, *Roughoutrey* 1652, *High Routery* 1679, *Low Oughtree* 1680 (PNCu 2:280, no comment). A combination of ON *út*, *úti* in the sense ‚outer, more distant’ with ON *rá* ‚boundary-mark’ seems possible. The reference could then be (with ME *clos(e)*) to an enclosure at a more distant boundary-mark, (with OE *rūh*) to a rough, more distant boundary-mark, (with OE *hē(a)h*) to a high, more distant boundary-mark, and (with ON *lágr*) to a low, more distant boundary-mark. If *Out Oughtray* might refer to an even more distant boundary-mark (than *Outray*) is impossible to know.



and *vrá, rá* ‚nook, corner of land’ are also ON elements. As a simplex name, both *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’ and *vrá, rá* ‚nook, corner of land’ are possible.

Despite these difficulties, place-name scholars agree that ON *rá* ‚boundary, boundary-mark’ does exist in place-names in England. This raises another question, namely where it was used, and by whom. The place-names included in the material are all in counties where Scandinavians have settled.<sup>50</sup> This, and the fact that the word does not seem to occur in modern Standard English (see the Introductory remarks) might suggest that it was never adopted into general use among people who spoke English. However, the non-existence of the element in the material for counties in other parts of England may be due to my having taken for granted that which should be investigated, namely the geographical distribution of the element, so that a name possibly containing the element was automatically dismissed as containing OE *rā* or another OE element, in other parts of England than the north.

There seem to be two, perhaps three, place-name types in the material:

1 The place-name is common in Scandinavia and may have been brought to England as a fixed compound. Here belong Raby (Roby) and perhaps the names with ON *garðr*. Such names were probably given to places in England by Scandinavian-speaking persons.

2 The place-name consists wholly of Scandinavian elements but has no fixed counterpart in Scandinavia. Here belong most of the names in the material: with ON *gap*, OWScand *gil*, ON *kjarr*, etc. Also such names were probably formed by Scandinavian-speaking persons. It is not always easy to distinguish between 1 and 2. Names with *gil* may belong to 1.

3 Hybrid place-names. A possible example is Ray Bridge. A place-name consisting of a Scandinavian and an English word may have been formed by both a Scandinavian-speaking and an English-speaking person.

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<sup>50</sup> The Shropshire example (*Alic.*) *del Rohous* 1327 (see note 7) is notable.

# Chapter 6 OE *hār*

## 6.1 Introductory remarks

OE *hār* is an adjective, in contrast to the other elements discussed in this study.

The IE origin of OE *hār* is a root *\*koi-* > PGermanic *\*hai-*, in the form IE *\*koi-ro-*, which according to Pokorny (1:540) means ‚dunkel, grau, braun‘. IE *\*koi-ro-* developed into PGermanic *\*haira-*, which is the source of OE *hār*, and of OS, OHG *hēr* ‚old‘, ‚venerable‘ and ON *hárr* ‚hoary‘, ‚old‘.<sup>1</sup>

B-T gives the following meanings of OE *hār*: ‚hoar‘, ‚hoary‘, ‚grey‘, and ‚old‘<sup>2</sup>, and B-T Suppl. adds: ‚grey-haired with age‘ (and ‚a grey-haired person‘, used substantively) and ‚of great age‘, and notes that “the word occurs often as epithet of stones and trees used as boundary-marks”.

The first person to study the problematic relation between OE *hār* and boundaries was probably a William Hamper, who in 1820 published “*Observations on certain ancient Pillars of Memorial, called Hoar-Stones*”. A second and enlarged version was read to the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1832 and published in *Archaeologia*, Vol. 25 (1834).<sup>3</sup> Hamper comes to the conclusion that *hoar* can mean ‚boundary-mark‘ and ‚boundary‘.

Several later scholars have also studied the relation between OE *hār* and boundaries. Here must first be mentioned John McNeal Dodgson, who says in PNCh 4:228 (1972), s.n. Hargrave (Hall & Lane):

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<sup>1</sup> See W-P 1:360: “anord. *hārr*, ags. *hār* ‚altersgrau, grau‘ (*\*koi-ro-*) = ahd. as. *hēr* ‚würdig, erhaben‘ (ursprgl. von ergrauten Männern), Komp. *\*hēriro*, *hēr(r)o* ‚Herr‘”, and ODEE s.v. **hoar**. On the OS, OHG comparative form *\*hēriro*, syncopated *hēr(r)o*, see also Hellquist 1:348 s.v. **herre**, where the parallel to MLat *senior*, Ital *signore*, Fr *seigneur*, *sire* and Eng *Sir* is noted.

<sup>2</sup> See Alexander (1912:127): “*Hār* in O. E. means first ‚grey‘, and then, probably by application to grey hair, ‚old‘.”

<sup>3</sup> This is “*Observations on certain ancient Pillars of Memorial, called Hoar-Stones*. By the late WILLIAM HAMPER, Esq. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Honorary Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, &c.”. Although his work does not reach today’s standard of scholarship, Hamper deserves credit for being a pioneer in the study of this problem. See also Kitson (1993:37), note 10.

“ ‚hoar wood’, from **hār**<sup>2</sup> and **græfe**, with **hall** and **lane**. Hargrave was a manor in the same hands as Little Neston, TRE and 1086. **hār** is probably used here in the sense ‚boundary’, hence ‚the boundary wood’ [...]. Boundary marks and territory would tend to be left undisturbed for fear of trespass, and an unbroken wood or an untouched boundary stone would grow mossy, venerable and ‚hoary’ with age. ...”<sup>4</sup>

Other scholars who have come to the result that *hār* can mean ‚boundary-”<sup>5</sup> (apart from in combination with OE *stān*, see below) are Duignan<sup>6</sup>, Mawer and Stenton<sup>7 9</sup>, Fägersten<sup>8</sup>, and Gover<sup>9</sup>. Hesitant are Bannister<sup>10</sup>, Cameron<sup>11</sup>, Padel<sup>12</sup>, and Mills<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> In PNCh 4:xv (Add. & Corr. to PNCh 4:228), Dodgson declares that the first element of Hargrave could also be OE *hara* ‚hare’. This does not, however, affect his discussion of *hār* on p. 228. See also note 23 below.

<sup>5</sup> When a scholar gives ‚boundary’ as a meaning of OE *hār*, it is here assumed that he or she means ‚boundary-’, i.e. that *hār* is an attributive to a following noun and means ‚marking a boundary’ or ‚on a boundary’ or the like. That *hār* has become a noun meaning ‚boundary’ can hardly be the opinion of any one of them, except perhaps of Duignan (1905:171) s.n. Warndon (Wo), provided that he means that *hore* in *Wermes hore* 956 (14th) BCS 970 (S 630) is OE *hār*, for he translates *Wermes hore* as ‚Werm’s boundary’. (The second element is, in fact, probably OE *ōra* ‚bank’, hillside’, see Grundy (1920:58).)

<sup>6</sup> See Duignan, *Worcestershire Place Names* (1905:83): “HOARSTONE. A. S. *hār* (pron. hoar) plays an important part in pl. names. All dictionaries translate it ‚hoary, grey, old,’ and that undoubtedly is one of its meanings; but it certainly came to be used, at a very early period, in the sense of ‚boundary’; it is one of the commonest words to be found in the charters, generally in its dative form *hāran*; always on a boundary, and always in that obvious sense; yet it has been perversely translated ‚grey,’ – the ‚grey oak,’ the ‚grey withy,’ the ‚grey pit,’ the ‚grey apple-tree,’ the ‚grey thorn,’ the ‚grey lea,’ the ‚grey stone,’ the ‚grey spring,’ the ‚grey cross,’ the ‚grey lane,’ and similar absurdities, have long been served up to us. The H. E. D., s. Hoarstone, is the first great authority to recognize the true meaning of the word. In and after the 15th c. the form has frequently become Horestone, Warstone, Worston, and Whorestone. Boundary stones were used in the most remote times. „And Jacob took a stone, and set it up for a pillar,’ as a boundary mark between him and Laban, Gen. xxxi. 45. „And the border went up to the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben,’ Joshua xv. 6.” See also Duignan, *Notes on Staffordshire Place Names* (1902:74 f), where he discusses OE *hār* at some length and *inter alia* refers to William Hamper (see note 3 above) and says: “Mr. William Hamper published an exhaustive article in *Archæologia*, 1832, p. 30, on ‚Hoar-stones,’ and the meaning of the word ‚Hoar,’ which he contends to be ‚boundary.’”

<sup>7</sup> See Mawer and Stenton, *PNBd & Hu* 32 f s.n. Harrold: “The second element in this compound is **weald**, the reference being to the high ground rising up here from the Ouse valley. The first is **har**, used probably not in its original sense of ‚grey’ but in its transferred sense of ‚boundary’ for the ‚wold’ lies on the border of the county. Skeat takes the first element to be OE *hara*, ‚hare,’ but the forms in *Hor-*, of which he was not aware, show that this cannot be right. OE *hār* normally becomes *hore* in ME, but early shortening of the vowel in the first element of the compound ultimately led to the development of *Har-* rather than *Hor-*.”

<sup>8</sup> See Fägersten, *The Place-Names of Dorset* (1933:30) s.n. Hartgrove: “The material is scanty, and it is difficult to be sure whether the first el. is OE *hār* ‚grey’ (possibly in its transferred sense of ‚boundary’) or *hara* ‚hare’, cf. EPN s.v. **hār**. The fact that Hartgrove is on the bounds of East Orchard

Ekwall, however, rejects the theory<sup>14</sup>, and Rackham suggests that trees in Anglo-Saxon charters said to be *hār* were so described because they were grown with “beard-like lichens such as *Usnea* and *Ramalina* species”<sup>15</sup>. Also Kitson rejects the theory, in a detailed study of *hār* and other qualifiers in OE charters.<sup>16</sup> The most comprehensive study of OE *hār* is probably that of Biggam 1998<sup>17</sup>. Biggam discusses *hār* in all kinds of OE sources: charters, riddles, leechbooks, *Beowulf*, etc. She notes

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and Fontmell Magna would seem to speak in favour of the former alternative.” Cf. on this name note 13 (Mills).

- <sup>9</sup> See Gover, Mawer, and Stenton, PNW (1939:448): “The use of thorn-trees as boundary-marks gives rise to the numerous compounds with **har**, descriptive first of a grey stone or thornbush and then by sense transference, of a boundary-stone or thornbush as in *haran þorn* (KCD 778) and later *Horthorneforlong* (1348), *Hoorethornes close* (1570), *Whore Thornes* (1587).”
- <sup>10</sup> See Bannister, *The Place-names of Herefordshire* (1916:94) s.n. Hoarwithy: “O. E. **har**, ‘gray,’ then ‘old.’ But some say *hoar*- in place-names implies a boundary, quoting the (fairly common) *hoar-stone* as an example. ‘At the old withy-tree,’ or ‘at the withy-tree on the boundary.’”
- <sup>11</sup> See Cameron, PNDb (1959:3:683): “**har**<sup>2</sup> OE, ‘grey, hoar’. The theory that it also means ‘boundary’ in p.ns. is likely enough, though no certain compound is known where it could only mean ‘boundary.’”
- <sup>12</sup> See Padel, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names* (1988:198): “**hār** (OE) ‘grey’, possibly ‘on a boundary’”
- <sup>13</sup> See Mills, PNDc (1989:3:134) s.n. Hartgrove (Fm): “The second el. is **grāf(a)** ‘grove, cope’, the first may be **hara** ‘hare’ or **hār**<sup>2</sup> (wk. obl. **hāran**) ‘hoar, grey’ (perhaps used in a transferred sense ‘boundary’, the place being on the par. bdy with Fontmell M.).” Cf. on this name note 8 (Fägersten).
- <sup>14</sup> See DEPN s.v. OE **hār**: “It is often stated that OE *hār* had developed the meaning ‘boundary’, ‘boundary-defining’. This theory is not well founded.”
- <sup>15</sup> See Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (1986:210) (on trees in charters from the Anglo-Saxon period): “Individual trees are often distinguished, either by somebody’s name or by some peculiarity. Many trees were **hār**, ‘hoar’, an adjective which survives in ‘hoar-frost’ and is often used of old men’s beards. A hoar tree was probably grown with beard-like lichens such as *Usnea* and *Ramalina* species. Surprisingly few trees were ‘old.’”
- <sup>16</sup> See Kitson, “Quantifying Qualifiers in Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries” (1993:37 ff), especially (p. 37 f): “Being an adjective, it [i.e. OE **hār**] usually in names has the weak ending *-an*, as already mentioned; as already mentioned its meaning is ‘hoar’. I wish to emphasize that that is all it means. But there is a long history of antiquarian and place-name scholars’ not wanting it to mean that. They have argued in effect that because ‘hoar’ in place-names is much commoner than it is in normal discourse in modern English, it must have had a special meaning, the one usually assigned being ‘boundary’. [...] The argument is one of frequency, and fails at once when confronted with Table 4 [not included in this study]: *hār* is exactly as frequent in charters as, as an Old English colour-word, it ought to be. But the matter is worth pursuing further. The unstated reason why modern scholars have not been happy with it is that it encapsulates an archaic way of encoding colour, with hue and surface texture as a unitary concept. *Hār* means ‘white, grey, bluish or greenish with a textured surface’ as opposed *inter alia* to *græg* ‘(smooth and) grey’. See also Higham 1999:67, footnote 27, where she says that in this article Kitson presents “strong arguments against the traditional interpretation of *hār* as ‘boundary’”
- <sup>17</sup> C.P. Biggam, *Grey in Old English. An Interdisciplinary Semantic Study*.

several shades of meaning in OE *hār*, among them ‚hairy‘, ‚downy‘, ‚grey/white‘, ‚old‘, and, maybe, ‚boundary‘.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to surviving as ModE *hoar* and (from the 16th century) in ModE *hoary*, the word occurs in ModE compounds such as *hoar-frost*, the tree-name *hoar withy* ‚whitebeam‘ (*Sorbus aria*)<sup>19</sup>, and the plant-names *black* and *white horehound* (*Ballota nigra* and *Marrubium vulgare*)<sup>20</sup>.

It also occurs in the compound ModE *hoar-stone*, which is of special interest for this study, since according to the OED it has ‚ancient boundary-stone‘ as one of its meanings. Even if this is true, it does not, however, follow that the first element has come to mean ‚boundary-‘ generally; it may be that just this compound has gradually become a ‚true compound‘.<sup>21, 22</sup>

It is sometimes difficult to know whether the element is OE *hār* or another word. One such word is OE *hara* ‚hare‘.<sup>23</sup> Another word is OE *\*hær*, which EPNE s.v. takes to

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<sup>18</sup> See Biggam (op.cit. p. 232): “In conclusion, it is quite possible that a new sememe of ‚boundary‘ was in process of development for *har*, but no case has been found of a *har* marker which could not have been grey, white or ancient, and it has been concluded in this research that the existence of such a sememe cannot be substantiated.”

<sup>19</sup> See Grigson (1975:191): “Hoar withy, ‚grey willow‘, occurs as *hāra wīthig* in Anglo-Saxon charters, dealing with land, for instance, in Surrey, Berkshire, and Hampshire – probably for *Sorbus aria* [...]”. (OED and DEPN give the Latin name as *Pyrus Aria*.)

<sup>20</sup> See on *white horehound* Grigson (op.cit. p. 352): “White and woolly and smelly, the OE name for this plant was *hune* (which has nothing to do with dogs) or *har hune*, white or hoary *hune*.”

<sup>21</sup> See on ‚true compounds‘ Smith, EPNE 1:xxi f, where he discusses combinations with OE *tūn* and distinguishes between true compounds and common place-names such as Ashton, Newton and Thornton (and various other examples), which are “not from compound words in Old English, but are merely *ad hoc* combinations of pairs of significant words; they are distinct from true compounds such as *bere-tūn*, *lēac-tūn*, etc., which are independently recorded as compound words in Old English or in which the actual meaning of the compound is modified in a particular way because of the combination and is not precisely that of the individual elements; *lēac-tūn* means ‚vegetable garden‘ and not ‚leek enclosure.’”

<sup>22</sup> See DEPN s.v. OE *hār*: “It is often combined with stone, as in HARSTON, HOARSTONE, HORSTON, and *hoar-stone*, lit. ‚a grey lichen-covered stone‘, came to be a technical term for such a stone used as a boundary mark.”

<sup>23</sup> See Dodgson, PNCh 4:xv: “The vexed question of whether *hara* ‚a hare‘ or *hār*<sup>2</sup> ‚hoar, grey‘ is to be cited as first el. in p.n.s. in *Har(e)-*, especially those which do not show ME *hore*-spellings, is controlled by various factors, (i) the co-incidence of form *Har(e)-* resulting from the eME shortening of OE *hār-* in cpds., (ii) the co-incidence of *Har(e)-* p.n.s. with boundary locations (...), (iii) the habitat of the hare, an animal more usually associated with field and heath than with woodland. This last consideration ought to be taken into account in all instances of *Har(e)-* p.n.s. whose second el. is a woodland term, e.g. with *bearu*, Harebarrow 1 101; with *græfe*, *Har(d)greue* 1 53, Hargrave 4 105, 228, Hargeaves [sic] Hill 4 110; with *wudu*, *Harewode* 1 83, *Harewodehacrus* 2 319, Harewood Hill 3 211, Harewood Lodge 1 314. Names in *lēah* may be added (although the meaning of this el. is

mean ‚rock, heap of stones, tumulus’ and which DEPN s.v. *har* suggests means ‚stone, stony ground’.<sup>24</sup> OE *horh*, *horu* ‚dirt, mud’ is also sometimes difficult to distinguish from OE *hār*.

I hope that the material will throw some light on the nature of the relation, which no doubt exists, between *hār* and boundaries.

## 6.2 Material

Since *hār* only occurs as first element<sup>25</sup>, the distinction made for the other elements as first or second element or a simplex is not relevant here (but see the special case of OE *\*Hara* or *\*Hare* (Brk) below). The material is different from the material for the other elements (except for ON *rá*, where uncertain names have been included in the material for the Other Counties) in another aspect also: since my intention is to try to find out if *hār* can mean ‚boundary-’, uncertain *hār*-names have been included also in the material for the Other Counties, insofar as they are known to refer to something on a boundary. The material for Gloucestershire and the West Riding contains names which do not fulfil this condition.

### 6.2.1 GLOUCESTERSHIRE

#### A OE (mainly charter) material

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ambiguous between ‚woodland’ and ‚clearing’ and does not clearly indicate the oecological context), Arley **2** 101 (with *Harlagh* **2** 50), *Harlescloh* **3** 210. The ‚boundary’ factor affects Harebarrow **1** 101 (on an estate and township boundary), Hargrave **4** 105 (on a township boundary, the boundary of Broxton and Eddisbury Hundreds, adjacent to R. Gowy which appears to have been an ancient frontier extending from Tarvin **3** 281 to Macefen **4** 37 (...)), Hargrave **4** 228 (on a parish boundary adjacent to Raby **4** 228, on the boundary of the Norse enclave in Wirral (...), and Arley, *Harlagh* **2** 101, 50 (near a township boundary, on the boundary of the DB Hundreds of *Bochelau* and *Tunendune*). It would be advisable to leave the identification of the first el. in such p.ns. an open question between *hār*<sup>2</sup> and *hara*, but derivation from *hār*<sup>2</sup> might be preferred in *Har(e)*- p.ns. whose second el. is a woodland term and which lie near a boundary.”. Note, however, that Grundy (1923:244, note) mentions “the fact that small woods were reserved as sanctuaries for hares”.

<sup>24</sup> See DEPN s.v. OE *hār*: “We must also reckon with an element *hær* or the like that has only recently been discovered. [...] The exact meaning and OE form of the word are unknown. [...] The OE form may have been *hær* n. [...] The meaning of OE *hær* may have been ‚stone, stony ground’.”

<sup>25</sup> An exception is probably simplex *hār* as the postulated place-name *\*Hāra* or *\*Hāre* in mod. Horn Down and mod. Harwell (Brk), see below.

OE *apuldor*, *apuldre* ‚apple-tree’<sup>26</sup> second element:

(*to*) *þære haran apeldran* 816 (11th) BCS 356 (S 179), p. of Sudeley [SP 0326], Lower Kiftsgate hd (Grundy 1927b:124: “to the Hoar Apple-tree”, PNGl 2:28: “ ‚hoar or boundary apple-tree’, v. **hār**, **apuldre** at grid 144-031271”).

OE *hyll* ‚hill’ second element:

*Harehille* 1086 DB (PNGl 1:75). Mod. Harnhill, see under B.

OE (*ge*)*māre*, perhaps in the sense ‚boundary-stone’, probably second element:

(*on*) *haran mære (norðwardne)* 984 (11th) KCD 646 (S 1346), p. of Westbury on Trym [ST 5677], Henbury hd (PNGl 3:144: “v. **hār** ‚grey’ or ‚boundary’, (**ge**)**māre** ‚boundary’ ”).<sup>27</sup>

OE *stān* ‚stone’ second element:

(*on*) *haran stan* 999 KCD 703 (S 896), p. of South Cerney [SU 0497], Crowthorne & Minety hd (Grundy 1935-36:63: “to the Hoar Stone”, PNGl 1:60: “v. **hār**, **stān**”). – (*on*) *þone haran stan* 977 BCS 1299 (S 1335), (*on*) *ðane haran stan* 987 (11th) KCD 660 (S 1353), p. of Cutsdean [SP 0830], Lower Kiftsgate hd (Grundy 1927b:69<sup>28</sup>, 1935-36:100, PNGl 2:8 f: “ ‚boundary stone’, v. **hār**, **stān**”). – (*on*) *ðone Haran stan* 11 Heming (S 1549), p. of Southam [SO 9725] & Brockhampton, Cleeve hd (or possibly p. of Winchcomb, Lower Kiftsgate hd) (Grundy 1935-36:84, PNGl 2:92: “ ‚boundary stone’, v. **hār**, **stān**”). – (*on*) *haranstan* 950 BCS 887 (S 553), p. of Wick [ST 7073] & Abson, Pucklechurch hd (Grundy 1935-36:207, PNGl 3:73). ME (*atte*) *Horstone*, see under B. – *on thone haran stan* 950 BCS 887 (S 553), p. of Westerleigh [ST 6979], Pucklechurch hd (Grundy 1935-36:216, PNGl 3:70: “v. **hār**, **stān**”).<sup>29</sup> – (*to*) *þam haran stane* 816 (11th) BCS 356 (S 179), p. of Hawling [SP 0623], Lower Kiftsgate hd (or possibly another p.) (Grundy 1927b:124, 1935-36:136, PNGl 2:19: “ ‚boundary stone’, v. **hār**, **stān**”).<sup>30</sup> – *la Hore stone* n. d. (14th) BCS 673 (S 1552), p. of Kemble [ST 9897], Crowthorne & Minety hd (Grundy 1935-36:149, pointing out on p. 148 that some of the forms in the charter, among them *stone*, are not OE, PNGl 1:76). Mod. Hoar stone 1713, see under B.

OE *wīðig* ‚withy, willow’ second element:

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<sup>26</sup> This is the crab apple, see note 6 in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*māre*.

<sup>27</sup> See note 18 in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*māre*.

<sup>28</sup> Grundy translates “to the Hoar Stone” and says in a note: “Hoar Stone may have come to mean Boundary Stone in post-Saxon times; but I do not think that *Har Stan* had acquired that meaning at the time at which the Saxon surveys were drawn up.”

<sup>29</sup> Although in the same charter as the preceding instance, these are two different stones.

<sup>30</sup> In this charter are also (*to*) *þære haran apeldran* (see above) and (*to*) *mær apeldran* (see the chapter on OE (*ge*)*māre*).

(on) *ḍonne haran wiðig* 999 (13th) KCD 703 (S 896), p. of South Cerney [SU 0497], Crowthorne & Minety hd (Grundy 1935-36:63: “to the Hoar Willowtree”).<sup>31</sup> Not in PNGI.

### B ME and later material<sup>32</sup>

OE *cot(e)* ‘shed, cottage’ second element:

Horcott: *Horcote* 12, 1225, p. 1412 Glouc, 1225, 1312, 1512 *FF*, *-cott* 1638 InqM, Will, Harcutt 1749 *ib.*, a major name, p. of Kempsford [SU 1696], Brightwells Barrow hd (PNGI 1:39: “‘Cottage in a dirty or muddy spot’, v. **horu**, **cot**”). In this parish is also the field-name Horcutt field 1801 *EnclA* (PRO) (PNGI 1:39). Horcott is near the parish boundary. See also Hamper (op.cit. p. 47): “*Horcote*, in Kempsford, co. Gloucester, bounding on Wiltshire.”

e. ModE, ModE dial. *gout* ‘water-channel, millstream’ second element:

Hoar Gout, a minor name, p. of Henbury [ST 5678], Henbury hd (PNGI 3:134).

OE *grāf*, *grāfa*, *grāfe* ‘grove, copse’ second element:

Hargrove: *spinet’ de Haregraue* 1287 *Ass*, a minor name, p. of Sapperton [SO 9403], Bisley hd (PNGI 1:138: “‘hare wood’, v. **hara**, **grāf**”). Hargrove Barn [SO 9300] is not far from the parish boundary according to PNNth, see below.

OE *grēne*<sup>2</sup> ‘grassy spot, village green’ second element:

Woogreens: Hoar Green 1758 *Comm*, a minor name, p. of East Dean [SO 6520], St Briavels hd (PNGI 3:224). On the prosthetic *w-* see PNGI 4:74.

OE *hrycg* ‘ridge’ second element:

Horage Wood 1830 M: *Harredge hill*, a grove 1565 *GR* 421, a minor name, p. of Lydney [SO 6303], Bledisloe hd (PNGI 3:260: “‘grey ridge’, v. **hār**, **hrycg**”).

OE *hyll* ‘hill’ second element:

Harnhill: *Harehille* 1086 DB, *Harhull* 1248 *Ass*, 1285 FA, *Harnhill(a)* 1177 P (p), 1287 *Ass*, 1406 Pat, 1454 FF, *-hull(e)* 1220 Fees, 1221, 1248 *Ass*, 1303 FA *et passim*

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<sup>31</sup> In this charter is also (on) *haran stan*, see above.

<sup>32</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are the field-name Hare barrow 1840 (PNGI 1:28) and both the field-name Harmers 1840: *Horemersfurlong* 1370, *Hormer* 1411, ‘close called *Harmers*’ 1595, *Harmers lane*, *-poole* 1654 (PNGI 1:94: “‘filth pool’, v. **horu**, **mere**”) and the lost field-name *Horemaredoune* 13, *Harmer Downe* 1633 (PNGI 1:113). These last two names might well be combinations of *hār* and (ge)*māere* in the sense ‘boundary-stone’. OE *hār* is likely to form indirectly part of the following field-name: Worlocks leaze 1840. The reference may be to pasture or meadow (OE *lāes*) belonging to a person called Worlock (from *hār* in the sense ‘grey’ and OE *locc* ‘lock of hair’), the same nickname as is borne by *Will. Herloc* 1297, *Joh. Harloc* 1327, and *Ad. Harloke*, see Jönsjö (1979:110).



to 1421 Pat, *-ulle* 1225-50 *CirenP*, *-helle* 1316 BM, *-yll* 1535 VE, *Harenhull* 1221 Ass, Eyre (p), 1225-50 *CirenP*, 1226 FF, 1269 Episc (p), *-hill* 1420 AD i, *Harneshull* 1415 AD iii, 1494 Ipm, 1586 FF, *-hill* 1509 *MinAcct*, a parish-name [SP 0700], Crowthorne & Minety hd (Pngl 1:75: “The grey hill’ or ‘hares’ hill’, v. **hār**, **hara**, **hyll**, as suggested by the variation between the *har(e)-* and *har(e)n-* spellings”). The settlement is not far from the parish boundary with Drifffield.<sup>33</sup> – Harn Hill, 1840 TA, a minor name, p. of Elberton [ST 6088], Lower Langley and Swinehead hd (Pngl 3:114: “v. **hæren** ‘rocky’, **hyll**, but cf. Harnhill (i, 75 *supra*)”). The reference is to the preceding name.

OE *stān* ‘stone’ second element:

*the Hoare Stone* Eliz Surv, a lost field-name, p. of Wotton under Edge [ST 7692], Upper Berkeley hd (Pngl 2:261). – Hoarston: *Hoarstenbanke* 1631 Inq, a minor name, p. of Ebrington [SP 1840], Upper Kiftsgate hd. On the boundary with Warwickshire. (Pngl 1:243, 4:1, footnote 1.). – Hoarstone, a minor name, p. of Duntisbourne Abbots [SO 9707], Crowthorne & Minety hd (Pngl 1:72: “a long barrow, probably ‘boundary stone’, v. **hār**, **stān**”).<sup>34</sup> – Hoar stone 1713 GR 225: *la Hore stone* n. d. (14th) BCS 673, a field-name, p. of Kemble [ST 9897], Crowthorne & Minety hd. On the Wiltshire boundary. (Grundy 1935-36:149, Pngl 1:76, 4:1, footnote 1). – Hoar stone 1841 TA 25: *Harestan*’ 1255-90 *CirenR*, a field-name, p. of Bisley [SO 9006], Bisley hd (Pngl 1:124). – Hoar Stone 1765 *EnclA*, a field-name, p.

<sup>33</sup> See also DEPN s.n. Harnhill (Gl): “OE *hāra hyll* ‘grey hill’ or ‘hares’ hill’ may be suggested. Cf. HĀR”, and s.v. OE **hār**: “It [i.e. OE **hær**, EPNE \***hær**] is certainly found in HAROME YN, HERNE Bd and may be suspected to enter into some other names, such as HARROLD, HARNAGE, HARNHILL &c.”.

<sup>34</sup> See Hamper (op.cit. p. 53): “The *Hoar Stone* at Duntisbourne Abbots. Engraved in the *Archæologia*, xvi. p. 362.” and see *Archæologia* 16 (1812), Appendix, p. 361 f: “November 20, 1806, An account of a Tumulus, opened on an estate of Matthew Baillie, M. D. in the parish of Duntisbourne Abbots, in Gloucestershire, communicated to Samuel Lysons, Esq. Director, by the Rev. Anthony Freston, Rector of Edgeworth, in the same county. The length of the Barrow was about forty yards, and the width thirty; it contained about eight or nine bodies of different ages; it was composed of loose quarry stones; the largest stone, at the east end, has been long known, in that County, by the name of the Hoar Stone. It is of the calcareous kind, twelve feet high, fifteen in circumference, and weighs probably about five or six tons. All that part under the dotted line was below the surface of the ground. See Plate LV. N<sup>o</sup> 1. South east view before it was opened. 2. The Hoar Stone. LVI 3. The Kistvaen before it was opened. 4. The same, after it was opened.” The first engraving shows how prominent the Hoar Stone is, and the second that a very large part of it is underground. The barrow is also mentioned by Drinkwater in an article called “Barrows in Gloucestershire: Patterns of Destruction” (1972:129-156) among “Sites partially excavated, or examined before 1900”. It is not far from the boundary between the parishes of Duntisbourne Abbots and Duntisbourne Rouse, but OED, quoting *Archæologia* (1812), puts the quotation under **hoar-stone** in the sense “An ancient stone associated with some event or tradition; a stone of memorial; a standing stone.”, *not* in the sense “A stone (ancient or grey with lichen), frequently mentioned in charters as marking a boundary line; an ancient boundary stone, merestone.”.

of Donnington [SP 1928], Upper Slaughter hd (PNGl 1:218). - *Horestone* 12-1319 WinchLB, a lost field-name, p. of Sherborne [SP 1714], Lower Slaughter hd (PNGl 1:205). - Horestone, a minor name, p. of Lower Swell [SP 1725], Upper Slaughter hd (PNGl 1:227). - *le Horestone* 1316 Ipm, a lost field-name, p. of East Dean [SO 6520], St Briavels hd (PNGl 3:224). - Hore Stone ground 1796 *EnclA*, a field-name, p. of Aston Blank (= Cold Aston) [SP 1219], Bradley hd (PNGl 1:165). - *Horeston Hill* 1621 and/or 1639 Inq, a lost field-name, p. of Farmington [SP 1315], Bradley hd (PNGl 1:173). - Horstan 1189 GlastonInq, a lost field-name, p. of Pucklechurch [ST 6976], Pucklechurch hd. This stone is possibly identical with that referred to by *Horstone* 1327, (*on*) *haranstan* 950 BCS 887, in the adjacent p. of Wick & Abson, see under A and below (PNGl 3:67, 73). - *la Horston(e)* 1307 MchCust, Ric 2 *Rent* 11, 238, *Horestone* 1438 *Rent* 11, 237-43, a lost field-name, p. of Minchinhampton [SO 8600] or perhaps p. of Nailsworth, Longtree hd (PNGl 1:101). - (*atte*) *Horstone* 1327 SR (p), a lost field-name, p. of Rodborough [SO 8404], Longtree hd (PNGl 1:105, SMED<sup>2</sup> 22). - Horstone 1779 Rudder, a field-name, p. of Mickleton [SP 1643], Upper Kiftsgate hd (PNGl 1:250). - (*atte*) *Horstone* 1327 SR (p), (*on*) *haranstan* 950 BCS 887, a lost field-name, p. of Wick [ST 7073] & Abson, Pucklechurch hd (Grundy 1935-36:207, PNGl 3:73: “possibly identical with *Horstan* 67 *supra*, ‘boundary stone’, v. **hār, stān**”, SMED<sup>2</sup> 22). - *Horstoune peece* 1597 *Talbot*, a lost field-name, p. of Longborough [SP 1729], Upper Kiftsgate hd (PNGl 1:248: “probably ‘boundary stone’, v. **hār, stān**”). - Whorestone 1837 *TA* 32, a field-name, p. of Brimpsfield [SO 9312], Rapsgate hd (PNGl 1:147). - Whorestone 1840 *TA* 200, a field-name, p. of Todenham [SP 2436], Upper Kiftsgate hd (PNGl 1:259: “‘boundary stone’, v. **hār, stān**, cf. Phonol. § 42a”). The reference is to the section on prosthetic *w-*, PNGl 4:74. - *Whorestone* 1537 *MinAcct*, a lost field-name, p. of Bristol [ST 6075], Barton Regis hd (PNGl 3:97).

OE *þorn* ‘thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

*Harethorn* 1241 *FF*, a lost field-name, p. of Cirencester [SP 0201], Crowthorne & Minety hd (PNGl 1:67: “‘grey or boundary thorn, v. **hār, þorn**”). - Hoarthorns Farm: *Hagethorn(esweie)* 1224 *FF*, *Whorethornes* 1635 *For*, 1645 *Comm*, *Horethornes* 1669 *ib.*, Warthorns Farm 1770 *ib.*, a major name, p. of West Dean [SO 6009], St Briavels hd (PNGl 3:228: “If the oldest form is correctly identified, this is OE **hagu-þorn** ‘hawthorn’; otherwise, and more probably, it is ‘boundary thorns’, v. **hār, þorn**. Cf. Phonol. § 42 (a).”). The reference is to the section on prosthetic *w-*, PNGl 4:74. It may be that in an original *hagu-þorn*, *hagu* has been replaced by *hār*. Confusion of *hagu-þorn*, *hæg-þorn* (and ON *hag-þorn*) with *hār þorn* occurs also in other names, see Hawthorn Hill (Brk), Hawthorn Hall and probably *locum vocatum Horethorne*

1466 (both Ch), and no doubt *Le Haythornes*, *Le Har(e)thornes* 1597 (Cu), below. Hoarthorns Farm is at some distance from the parish boundary.

OE *wella*, etc. ‚spring, stream’ second element<sup>35</sup>:

Horwell 1775 *EnclA* (PRO): *Harwell* 1627 Inq, a field-name, p. of Stanton [SP 0634], Lower Kiftsgate hd (PNGI 2:23: “ ‚boundary spring’, v. **hār**, **wella**”). *Worwell* 1575 *TRMB* 39 may be a further form, as PNGI 2:24 points out. – Horwell Hill: *la Harewulle*, *le Horewall(es sich)* 1284 *For*, *Horewell* c. 1340 *For*, *Horwalhull*’ 15 *MinAcct*, a minor name, p. of West Dean [SO 6009], St Briavels hd (PNGI 3:229 f: “ ‚boundary spring’, v. **hār**, **wella** (Merc **wælla**); it was on the boundary of Bearse Bailiwick”).

OE *wudu* ‚wood’ second element:

Harwood Gate Farm: Hor- 1830 M, *Hor(e)wood* 1602 *FF* 1633 Inq, a minor name, p. of Old Sodbury [ST 7581], Lower Grumbald’s Ash hd (PNGI 3:54: “ ‚grey or dirty wood’, v. **hār**, **horu**, **wudu**, (...”). The farm is near the parish boundary. – Horwood Eaves: *Harewde* 1282 *For*, *Harwood Eaves* 1692 *Comm*, a minor name, p. of East Dean [SO 6520], St Briavels hd (PNGI 3:222: “ ‚grey wood’, v. **hār**, **wudu**, **efes** ‚edge of a wood’”).

## 6.2.2 THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE

### A OE (mainly charter) material<sup>36</sup>

No instances found.

### B ME and later material<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> A name too uncertain to be included in the material but still deserving to be mentioned occurs on p 51 in Hamper (op.cit.): “The Rev. Mr. Leman, in Coxe’s Monmouthshire, Introd. p. 14 note, observes, “It is a curious circumstance, that the drain called *Whore’s Well*, and the little stream which runs near our Roman road [the Julia strata] form the *boundaries* of an insulated part of the hundred of Berkeley [co. Gloucester]: the name given to the drain was probably a corruption of *Hæduorum Vallum*.””.

<sup>36</sup> It is possible that *æt harawuda* 10, *Hareuode* 1086 (PNWRY 4:180 f) contains **hār**, but **hara** and **\*hær** are also formally possible. It is mod. Harewood, see note 37 under B, the next note.

<sup>37</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material is the lost field-name *Har(e)fflet(e)* 1541 (PNWRY 5:21: “perhaps **hār** ‚boundary’, **flēot** ‚stream’”).

Too uncertain to be included in the material is also the minor name Hare Lane (PNWRY 3:238). PNWRY does not comment upon this name, with only a modern form, but Moorhouse 1981:271 discusses the local conditions and says: “A track known as Hare Lane follows part of this line, a name which almost certainly comes from OE *hār*, one meaning of which is ‚boundary’, preserving the eastern boundary of *Ulvesthorpe* hamlet at this point.”.

OE *æppel-trēow* ‚apple-tree’ second element:

Hare Appletree Close 1851 TA 228, a field-name, t. of Hunsingore [SE 4253], Upper Claro w. (PNWRY 5:19: “v. **hār** ‚grey’, **æppel-trēow**”).

OE *\*clōh* perhaps ‚slight valley’, ME *clough* ‚ravine’ second element:

Another name too uncertain to be included in the material is the township-name (and parish-name) (in Skyrack w.) Harewood: *æt harawuda* 10, *Hareuuode* 1086, 1276, *-wud(e)* 1190, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1224, 1252, 1290 (p), *-wod(e)* 1198, 13, 13 (1311), 1209 *et passim* to 1377, 1421, *-wde* 1200, 1203, 1263, *-wood* 1363, *Harwod(e)* 1135-50, 1177, 1205, 1242, 1280 *et passim* to 1545, *-wood(e)* 1545 *et freq* to 1678, *Harrewode* 1400, 1510, *Herwo(o)d* 1521, 1539, Harwood 1716 (PNWRY 4:180 f: “There is a measure of ambiguity in the interpretation of this name. It is probably from OE **hær** ‚rock, heap of stones’ (gen. pl. *hara*), but it could be ‚hare wood’ from OE **hara** and **wudu**. v. Addenda.”). In Addenda (Add. & Corr. p. xii): “HAREWOOD. Mrs Frances Finlay calls attention to a large rock called Greystone (iv, 182), on which ring-markings have been incised. It stands towards the south of the woodland area. If the name refers to this, we should, however, have expected the first el. to be in the sg., not the gen. plur. But other rocks might once have been exposed in the district.”. The first element may well be **hār**, even if the 10th century form would then have been expected to be *\*æt haranwuda*. Ekwall (DEPN) says about Harewood (Ha), Harewood (He), and Harewood (WRY): “H~ Ha has as first el. OE *hār* ‚grey’. The name means ‚grey wood’. The same may be the etymology of the other two, but ‚hares’ wood’ is more probable. H~ YW may even have as first el. the OE *\*hær* ‚stony ground’ or the like mentioned under HÄR. The place is on a high ridge.”. An early advocate of **hār** as first element is Moorman (1910:89): “It is possible that Harewood derives its name from O. E. *hara* = a hare, but it is much more probable that the first element in the name is the O. E. adjective *hār* = hoary, grey, also old. In Kemble’s *Codex* (iii., 279), we meet with the phrase *on thone hāran hāsel* = to the grey hazel-tree, and in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (anno 1066) we read *æt thære hāran apuldre* = at the apple-tree grey (with lichen), so that the association of the adjective *hār* with the colour of trees is clear. The full form of Harewood in O. E. would be *on thām hāran wuda* = in the grey (or old) wood. The colour-adjective may refer to the grey trunks of the trees or to the grey lichen on the branches, or *hār* may be used in its secondary sense of ‚old.’”. More recent advocates of **hār** as first element are Coates 1997, and also Watts (2004) (CDEP), who explains Harewood (WRY) and Harewood in Harewood Forest (Ha) as “ ‚(The) grey wood’, OE **hār**, definite form **hāra**, + **wudu**.”.

Moreover, five uncertain names in the West Riding which Dodgson (PNCh 1:138) calls attention to deserve to be mentioned. They are: Harrop Dale (PNWRY 2:311), Harrop Edge (PNWRY 3:249), Harrop (PNWRY 3:275), Harrop (PNWRY 6:123), and Harrop Hall (PNWRY 6:196). See the quotation on p. 138 in PNCh 1 (on the Cheshire name Harrop): “Possibly ‚hare valley’, from **hara** and **hop**<sup>1</sup>, with (ge)hæg. But the same p.n. appears in Ch at Harropgreen 183 *infra*, Harropgreen 90 *supra*, Harrop Edge 312 *infra*, five times in WRY (2 311, 3 249, 275, 6 123, 196), twice in Db (70, 121), and this repetition of ‚hare valleys’ may be suspicious. The first el. could be **hār** ‚old, hoary, grey’, perhaps here denoting valleys on boundaries. Professor Löfvenberg observes that this type of name may be a compound of **hær** ‚a rock’ and **hop**<sup>1</sup>, meaning ‚rocky valley’ (cf. WRY 2 311). However, there are no early forms with *h-* in the second syllable. This feature, and the spelling *Harap*, suggest that the final el. could be **rāp** ‚a rope, a measure of land, an extent of territory, a jurisdiction’, cf. Rope 333 *infra*, and a series of p.n.s. from **hār** and **rāp**, meaning ‚old rope of land’, or ‚rope of land at a boundary’, is feasible. Harrop in Rainow [i.e. this Harrop, PNCh 1:138] gives name to Harrop Brook 28 *supra*.”.

But see PNCh 3:xiv, Add. & Corr., where Dodgson with reference to Professor Jackson substitutes ‚Probably’ for ‚Possibly’.

Hoar Clough, a minor name, t. of Holme [SE 1005], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:269). – Hoar Clough, 1843 O.S., a minor name, t. of Saddleworth [SD 9805], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:315: “v. **hār** ‚grey’, **clōh** ‚dell’). – *Horecloghe* 1499 WCR, a lost field-name, t. of Sowerby [SE 0423], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:158: “ ‚boundary or grey valley’, v. **hār**, **clōh**”).<sup>38</sup>

OE *hēafod* ‚head’ or ‚headland, hill, head of a valley, source of a river, headland in the common field’ second element:

Hare Head: *le hayre hede* 1540 *MinAcct*, a minor name, t. of Bolton Abbey [SE 0753], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:63: “v. **hara** ‚hare’, **hēafod**”). The first element may rather be *hār*, the combination referring to a hill or the like resembling a hoary head. In the adjacent township of Barden is the minor name Hare Head Side (PNWRY 6:61), with which the name Hare Head may be connected.

OE *hlāw* ‚hill, mound, tumulus’ second element:

Great Harlow: *Harelow* 1165-77 Furn, *Harlaw* 1307 YI, a minor name, t. of Clapham [SD 7469], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:234: “ ‚grey or boundary mound’, v. **hār**, **hlāw**; it is on the Bowland boundary”). Mary Higham in her article on the medieval boundary of Burton Chase (pp 69-73 in *Nomina* 15 (1991-92)) says that this *Harlaw* 1307 belongs to the group of Burton boundary points “which mark a change of alignment, often marked on the ground by a tumulus” (p. 70).<sup>39</sup> – Harlow Hill: *Harelaw* 1181-90 YCh 515, *Herlawe* 1219 Ass 11d, *-loe* 1670 Hrg, *Harlawgh* 1482 Hrg, *-lowe* 1544 *Surv* 10, 23, *Harlo Hill* 1597 KnaresWill, *Harley Hill* 1722 Hrg, *Harlow Hill* 1770 *EnclA*, a major name, t. of Pannal [SE 3051], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:117: “

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<sup>38</sup> See on this name and *Harethirn*, see below, also Moorhouse (1981:275) (after having discussed the combination of *hār* and *stān*): “The element *hār* is also associated with other topographical and natural boundaries, as in the now-lost *Horecloghe*, ‚the grey or boundary clough’, recorded in Sowerby township in 1499 and the *Harethirn*, ‚the grey or boundary thorn tree”, recorded in Ledston before 1210.” and his note to *Horecloghe* (p 287): “Yorks Archaeol Soc MD 225/1499, m. 4. It is equally possible that this particular combination of elements refers to a clough which retained mist or fog, hence the descriptive name ‚grey’.”. Too uncertain to be included in the material are three other names with OE *\*clōh*: the lost field-name *the Hareclough* 1679 (PNWRY 3:103) and the minor name Hare Clough, 1712: *Harclogh* 1367 (PNWRY 6:213 f), both of which contain *hara*, according to PNWRY, and the lost field-name *Horclouf* 13 (PNWRY 1:307), which contains *horu* ‚dirt’, according to PNWRY.

<sup>39</sup> “The Metes and Bounds of Burton Chase” are given in Mary Higham’s article in ModE translation on p. 71, where *Harlaw* occurs in this passage: “... and from Caldestan’ by a place called Harlaw to *le Tong* of Brounmore between the county of Lancashire and the county of York; ...”. See also the map on p. 73 and note the important observation on p. 71 that “What the research on the Burton Boundary has shown is that medieval boundary records, largely ignored because they are felt to be too late to be of any real value, are the northern equivalent of Anglo-Saxon charters, and may be used similarly, for they contain information relating to landscape features, early routeways, and indeed territorial units, which pre-date the documents by several centuries.”.

„Grey hill or mound’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **hlāw**, or possibly ‚mound of stones’, v. **hær**; [...]). Harlow Hill is now in the adjacent t. of Harrogate. PNWRY 5:109 mentions Harlow Moor, a minor name in Harrogate. It is probable that these names contain the same “Harlow”, and that Harlow Hill used to be near or on the boundary between the two townships, a boundary which has no doubt been changed owing to the expansion (PNWRY 5:108) of Harrogate. - y<sup>e</sup> *Hearlaw* 1579 *Skp* 31, a lost field-name, t. of Silsden [SE 0446], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:23: “v. **hlāw** ‚mound’, the first el. may be **hār** ‚grey’ ”). The *ea*-spelling points to *hār* in a northern dial. form. - Hore Law 1709 WMB, a field-name, t. of Hepworth [SE 1606], Agbrigg w. (or possibly another t.) (PNWRY 2:245: “ ‚boundary mound or hill’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **hlāw**”). - Horley Green: *Horlawegrene* 1374, 1434 WCR, *Horlawgrenecross* 1537 HAS 7, 94, *Horleygrene*, -*green(e)* 1565 PRHfx, 1565, 1570 Willy, 1577 Tayl 34, 1625 WB 37 *et freq* to 1733 *HfxD*, *Halley Greene* 1665 Visit, *Hawlawgreen* 1682 *FGr* 14, Harley Green 1709 WMB, a major name, name, t. of Northowram [SE 1126], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:99)<sup>40</sup>. - *Horre-*, *Horys-Lawe* Hy 8 Hnt ii, 360-1, a lost field-name, t. of Thurlstone [SE 2303]. Staincross w. (PNWRY 1:344: “v. **hlāw**, the first el. may be **hār** ‚boundary’ ”). - Warlow Pike, 1843 O.S.: *Harelowe* 1468 SadD, a minor name, t. of Saddleworth [SD 9805], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:317: “v. **hār** ‚grey, boundary’, **hlāw** ‚mound, hill’, **pīc**<sup>1</sup> ‚pointed hill’ ”). It is on the county boundary with Cheshire and is also included under the Other Counties. - Whirlaw: *Wharlow* 1592 Stansf, Hoorlaw 1719 ib., Worelaw 1726 HAS 16, 175, Whole Law 1751 Rent, a minor name, t. of Todmorden [SD 9424], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:186: “probably ‚boundary mound’, v. **hār**, **hlāw**”). - Whirlow, 1822 Langd, & Whirlow Green: *Hurlowe* 1501 Goodall, *Whorlow(e) (Lane, grene)* 1557 Willy, 1587 Dep, 1591 Willy, 1655 Wheat, *Horlowe grene* 1587 Dep, a major name, t. of Ecclesall [SK 3284], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:197: “Whirlow is near the county boundary above Limb Brook on the Sheffield - Hathersage road, and means ‚boundary mound’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> ‚grey’ (sometimes used to denote a boundary mark, v. EPN i, 234), **hlāw**. The late forms with *W-* are paralleled by Warstock (Wo 357, Wa 72). v. **grēne**<sup>2</sup>.”)<sup>41</sup> - Worlow: War Low 1843 O.

<sup>40</sup> See PNWRY: “ ‚Filth hill’ (probably denoting ‚a dung-hill’), v. **horu**, **hlāw**, **grēne**<sup>2</sup> ‚grassy plot’. But ‚grey or boundary mound’ (v. **hār**) is also possible. The later spellings are attempts at phonetic representations.”. See also Moorhouse (1981:279): “A now-lost cross, which probably stood on the borders of Northowram and Southowram, is referred to in deeds of 1537 and 1545 as *Horlawgrenecrosse*. The boundaries referred to in both documents place the cross on the borders of the two townships, somewhere in the area of the intersection of the township boundaries with the two important medieval routes represented by Barrowclough Lane, the ‚Wakefield Gate’, and Godley Old Lane, the main Halifax - Bradford route. The importance of this junction and the fact that both routes served as roads to the parish church, the market and the manorial meeting centre in Halifax, provide reasons why there should have been some kind of marker at these cross-roads.”.

<sup>41</sup> See also Add. & Corr. 1:xi: “i, 197. WHIRLOW. The later forms would also seem to have been influenced by Worrall (i, 230) [explained as a combination of *wir* ‚myrtle’ and *halth* ‚nook’]. Professor Löfvenberg thinks it possible that the els. are **hwyrfel** and **hlaw** or **haugr**, the name

S., a minor name, t. of Marsden [SE 0411], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:281: “probably **hār**<sup>2</sup> ‚grey’ (also in the sense ‚boundary’), **hlāw** ‚mound, hill’ ”).

OE *nebb* ‚projecting hill’ or the like second element:

Hoar Nib, a minor name, t. of Wadsworth [SD 9833], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:205, no comment). Called Hoar Rib in Moorhouse (1981:276).<sup>42</sup>

OE *\*rod*, *\*rodu* ‚clearing’ second element:

Hoar Royd, a major name, t. of Heptonstall [SD 9728], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:193: “probably identical with *Ormroydfield* 1660 HAS 3, ‚Orm’s clearing’, from the ME pers. n. *Orm* (ON *Ormr*) and **rod**<sup>1</sup>”). This seems to be a case of substitution of *hār* for a phonetically similar personal name. See note 43.

OE *sceaga* ‚copse’ second element:

Hare Shaw, a minor name, t. of Dent [SD 7086], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:257: “HARE SHAW & STONE, near the Garsdale boundary, v. **hār** ‚grey’, **sceaga** ‚copse’, **stān**”).

OE *sīde* ‚side’ second element:

Hoar Side (Moor): Waterside (Moor) 1843 O. S., a minor name, t. of Heptonstall [SD 9728], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:193). In the same t. as Hoar Royd, and like that name probably a case of substitution of *hār* for a phonetically similar element. Hoar Side Moor is not very far from the township boundary. See note 43.

OE *stān* ‚stone’ second element:

*Harestan* 1270 *Nost* 20, 44, a lost field-name, t. of Rothwell [SE 3428], Agbrigg w. (or a neighbouring t.) (Moorhouse (1981:275): “The same elements [i.e. OE *hār* and OE *stān*] are used to describe single boundary stones, as in the *Harestan* recorded in Rothwell in 1270 and the *Harestaneran*, ‚the boundary stone on a boundary strip’, recorded in Bramhope during the thirteenth century, whose sites have not been located.”, PNWRY 2:148). - *Harestan(e)* 13 Font, 1321, 1340 YD ii, a lost field-name, t. of Long Marston [SE 5051], Ainsty w. (PNWRY 4:256). - *Harestaneran* 13 *LeonR* 2-3, a lost field-name, t. of Bramhope [SE 2543], Skyrack w. (Moorhouse 1981:275, see above, PNWRY 4:196). Also included in the chapter on OE *\*rān*, *rān(e)*, ON *rein*. - Hare Stone, a minor name, t. of Dent [SD 7086], Ewcross w. (PNWRY 6:257). See Hare Shaw above. - Hare Stones, 1771 M, a minor name, t. of Heptonstall [SD 9728], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:193: “since this is on the county

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meaning ‚circle mound’, but this still leaves phonological difficulties as the normal form in Y would be *hwerfel*. Whirlaw (iii, 186) should be noted as providing a parallel to the spellings of Whirlow (cf. also Phonol. § 9). Whirlaw 3:186 is the preceding name.

<sup>42</sup> See note 46.

boundary it is probably ‚boundary stones’ (v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **stān**), despite the late spelling”).<sup>43</sup> – Harestones 1843 *TA* 187, a field-name, t. of Halton East [SE 0453], East Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:71). – Harestones, 1758 *Lord*, a minor name, t. of Settle [SD 8163], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:152: “ ‚grey or boundary stones’, v. **hār**, **stān**, near the boundary of Long Preston and Airton”). – Hare Stones, 1848 *TA*, a minor name, t. of Gisburn Forest [SD 7457], West Staincliffe w. (PNWRY 6:168 f: “v. **hara** ‚a hare’ or possibly **hær** ‚a heap of stones, tumulus, **stān**; it is the name of a lofty hill-top”).<sup>44</sup> – *Harstonlay* (no date given), a lost field-name, t. of Campsall [SE 5413], Osgoldcross w. (PNWRY 2:47: “v. **lēah**, the first theme is probably ‚boundary stone’, v. **hār**, **stān**”). – Hoar Stones, 1817 *M*, a minor name, t. of Bradfield [SK 2692], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:235: “ ‚boundary stones’, v. **hār**, **stān**, cf. Horse Stone *infra*; it is possibly identical with ‚the cross of Richard’, a boundary cross erected by Richard de Lovetot a. 1290 Hall 110”).<sup>45</sup> – Hoarstones: Hirstones 1781 *FGr* 1, a minor name, t. of Wadsworth [SD 9833], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:205).<sup>46</sup> – *Ho(o)restones* 1406 Watson 315, 1603 *FGr* 18, *Horestanes* 1539 *ib.* 6, a lost field-name, t. of Warley [SE 0525], Morley w. (PNWRY 3:131).<sup>47</sup> – Horse Stone: *the Horestone* 1695 *Hnt*, a minor name, t. of Bradfield [SK 2692], Upper Strafforth w. (PNWRY 1:235: “

<sup>43</sup> The township is in the *ǫ*-area, so the *a*-spelling is unexpected. However, such late forms are unreliable, and the position on a boundary speaks for the common compound of *hār* and *stān*. Too uncertain to be included in the material are two other names in this township: the minor name Hareshaw Wood, 1744: *Har(e)shaye* 1571, 1578 (PNWRY 3:193: “ ‚hare copse’, v. **hara**, **sceaga**”) and the field-name Hare Horns 1830 (or 1835 or 1862): *Harehorns* 1625, *Hairehaws* (PNWRY: sic) 1672 (PNWRY 3:195: “ ‚hare nooks’, v. **hara**, **horn**”). On the other hand, Hoar Royd and Hoar Side (Moor), also in this township, have been included in the material.

<sup>44</sup> Despite PNWRY, this name has been included in the material, since *hār* and *stān* is such a common combination.

<sup>45</sup> See also Moorhouse (1981:280): “A known boundary point at Bradfield in South Yorkshire probably marks the site of a cross erected during the mid twelfth century; the Hoar Stones still survive in the township, the cairn probably perpetuating the site of a cross erected by Richard de Lovetot as one of a series of boundary crosses.”

<sup>46</sup> PNWRY: “probably ‚grey (or possibly ‚boundary’) stones’, v. **hār**, **stān**; these stones and Hoar Nib are not near any known boundary, as is also the case with Mere Stones *infra*”. See also Moorhouse (1981:276): “A number of modern names, with no known antiquity, containing elements describing boundaries, survive in areas where there is no evidence for former unlocated administrative units or boundaries. Three such possible names exist in Wadsworth township – Hoarstones, Hoar Rib [sic], and Mere Stones – although they are not known to have had any boundary function, it is possible that the sites of such names preserve the lines of ancient boundaries whose existence had been forgotten by the time the Ordnance Survey recorded the boundaries during the mid nineteenth century.”. Hoar Nib (assuming that Hoar Nib, not Rib, is the correct form) is listed above and Mere Stones in the chapter on OE (*ge)mære*.

<sup>47</sup> PNWRY: “ ‚boundary stones’, v. **hār**, **stān**, probably on the Midgley boundary near Wainstalls”. See also Moorhouse (1981:275), no doubt referring to the same place: “A now-lost boundary site of this name [i.e. *hār* combined with *stān*] lies on the boundary between Warley and Midgley in the region of Saltonstall, recorded as *Hoorstones* in 1406, *le Horestones* in 1539, and *Hoorstones* in 1603.”.



„boundary stone’. v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **stān**; it is near the county boundary”). – Hostingley: *Hostingley* 1694 PRThl, *Hostingley* 1634 M, a minor name, t. of Thornhill [SE 2518], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:214).<sup>48</sup> – Whorestonewood 1709 WMB, a field-name, t. of Upperthong [SE 1308], Agbrigg w. (PNWRY 2:291: “v. **hār** „grey, boundary’, **stān**”). Note the prosthetic *w*-.

OE, ON *þorn*, „thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

*Harthornes* 1622 *Glebe*, a lost field-name, t. of South Stainley [SE 3063], Lower Claro w. (PNWRY 5:97).

OE *þyrne*, ON *þyrnir* „thorn-bush; thorn thicket’ second element:

*Harethirn* 1210, 1240 Pont, *Harethirl* 1226 ib., a lost field-name, t. of Ledston [SE 4328], Barkston Ash w. (PNWRY 4:52: “probably „grey or boundary thorn’, v. **hār**, **þyrne**”).<sup>49 50</sup>

OE *\*wīðign*, *\*wīðegn* „willow’ second element:

Harrowins: *Horwythyns*, -i- 1434 Stansf, 1682 HAS 8, 186, *Hardwythings* 1612 *MinAcct*, a major name, t. of Queensbury [SE 0930], Morley w. This is OE *\*hāra-wīðign* „white-beam’ according to PNWRY. (PNWRY 3:87 + Add. & Corr. 3:xii, 7:201).

## 6.2.3 OTHER COUNTIES

### A OE (mainly charter) material<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> PNWRY: “v. **lēah**; the first el. is obscure, but Ritter 140 suggests late OE *hūsting* (ON *hús-þing* „a small assembly’, v. **þing**”). Ritter is = Ritter, O., *Vermischte Beiträge zur englischen Sprachgeschichte*. (1922). Cf., however, Ekwall (1924:27), reviewing Ritter: “H o s t i n g l e y, Yorks., has not been found in early sources. If I may venture a guess, I would much rather derive its first element from OE. *hārstān* „boundary stone’ than from *husting*. I would compare *Hastingley*, Lancs., whose first element is *hārstān*.”. *Hastingley* (La) is listed below.

<sup>49</sup> See also the quotation from Moorhouse (1981) in note 38 above, and his note to *Harethirn* (op.cit. p. 287): “Holmes 1899, p. 209, no. 164; p. 255, no. 172; p. 228, no. 175; Holmes 1902, p. 358, no. 278. *Ibid.*, p. 255, no. 173, note 3, suggests that the name can be equated with Near Lawns which can be located from the Leddon title award (PRO IR 29/43/257, field no. 162) as lying at SE 43802920 to the north-east of Ledston Hall, and about 600 metres from the Ledston/Ledsham township boundary. If the name was derived from a thorn marking a boundary, all knowledge of the boundary had disappeared by the time the Ordnance Survey surveyed the township in the mid nineteenth century.”.

<sup>50</sup> The *l*-form is difficult to explain, unless a derivative noun OE *\*þyrel* from *þorn* + the suffix *-el* < PGermanic *-ila-* exists, just as we have OE *brēmel* „bramble’ from OE *brōm* + *-el*.

<sup>51</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are: **W**: (on) *harammere* 964 (14th) BCS 1127 (S 727) (Grundy 1920:74, PNSx 2:45 (s.n. Haremere Hall)). Since both *lechmere* „leech pond’ and *cranmere* „heron pond’ also occur in this charter, *harammere* is probably a compound of *hara* and *mere*.

OE *appel-trēow* ‚apple-tree’ second element:

Wo: (*on*) *þa haran apeltreo* 757 x 775 BCS 219 (S 142) (Grundy 1927b:18: “to the Hoar Apple-tree”).

OE *apuldor, apuldre* ‚apple-tree’ second element:

Do: (*on*) *ða haran apuldran* 1033 (12) *SherC*, (*on*) *þe hore apeldore* n. d. (12) *SherC* (f.24v), two manuscripts, KCD 1318 (S 969) (Grundy 1936:125: “to the Hoar Appletree”, PND0 2:161: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> ‚hoar, grey’, **apuldor, apuldre** ‚apple-tree’ ”). – (*on*) *þa haran apuldran* 956 (14) *Harl* = BCS 958 (S 609) (Grundy 1934:114: “to the Hoar Appletree”, PND0 2:136: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> (wk. obl.an), **apuldre**”). – (*on*) *þa heren apeldren* 956 (14) *ShaftR* = BCS 970 (S 630) (Grundy 1936:134: “to the Hoar Appletree”, PND0 3:128 (noting that *heren* stands for *haran*): “ ‚grey apple tree’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **apuldor**”).

Sx: (*æt*) *þære hāran apuldran* AS Chronicle 1066 (Plummer 1892:199).<sup>52</sup>

W: (*on*) *ða haran apeldran* 1043 (13th) KCD 767 (S 999) (Venezky: microfiche). – (*on*) *ða haran apoldre* 940 BCS 748 (S 470) (Grundy 1919:251: “to the Hoar Appletree”, PNW 422: ”**har** ‚gray’ ”). – (*on*) *haran apuldre* 968 (14th) *Dugdale* 1846:2:323 f (S 766) (Grundy 1919:268: “The Hoar Appletree (*Har Apuldor*).”).<sup>53</sup>

Sr: (*to*) *þere hore epeldure* 772 x 674 (13th) BCS 34 (S 1165) (PNSr 119, note: “grey appletree”, Venezky: microfiche).

Brk: (*on*) *þa haran apeldere* 943 (c. 1200) BCS 789 (S 491) (Grundy 1926:111: “to the Hoar Appletree”, PNBk 3:662: “ ‚boundary apple-tree’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **apuldor**; several of these are mentioned in charter bounds in this area”). – (*on*) *þa haran apoldre* 951 (16th) BCS 892 (S 558) (Grundy 1922b/23:238: “to the Hoar Appletree”, PNBk 3:652, 653: “ ‚the boundary apple-tree’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **apuldor**”).

O: (*to*) *ðære haran apeldran* 1044 (12th) KCD 775 (S 1001) (PNO 2:315: “ ‚hoar or boundary apple tree,’ v. **hār**”).

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However, neither **hār** as the first element nor (*ge*)**mære** as the second element can be excluded. See (*on*) *haran mære (norðwardne)* (Gl) above. – **K**: with OE *strōd* ‚marshy land overgrown with brushwood’ second element: (*be*) *haran strode* 993 for 996 *Liber de Hyda* (S 877) (KPN 337, 339: “From OE **hara** “hare” or **hār** “grey; ?boundary” + **strōd** “marshy land overgrown with brushwood?”. ME version of the charter: (*by*) *Harstrode* (Hyd 250, KPN 337). Note that Hyd 246 has: “be haran **rode**” with footnote: “MS. reads **strode**.”! – **Wa**: (*to*) *haran mere* 1001 KCD 705 (S 898) (PNWa 134 note: “to the *haran mere* or boundary pool, i.e. the present Dayman Pool (6’”).

<sup>52</sup> A very special apple-tree, associated with the Battle of Hastings. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, King Harold and Duke William met at this apple-tree: “*Ð com Wyllelm eorl of Normandige into Pefnes eā on sċe Michaelæs mæsse æfen. And sona þæs hi fēre wæron, worthton castel æt Hæstinga port. Þis wearð þa Haroldle cyng ge cydd. And he gaderade þa mycelne here. And com him to gēnes æt þære hāran apuldran.*”

<sup>53</sup> It is worth noting that this charter (S 766) has also (*on*) *ealdan þorn*, and moreover (*on*) *haran wic*, see below.

Wo: (*ufan in*) *haran eapolderne* 849 (11th) BCS 455 (S 1272) (Grundy 1927b:56: “up to the Hoar Apple-tree”).

OE *crundel* ‘chalk-pit, quarry, gully’ second element:

Brk: (*on*) *þa haran crundol* 953 (c. 1240) BCS 900 (S 560) (PNBrk 3:655: “ ‚chalk-pit’, v. **crundel**, *haran* ‚boundary’ is dotted for omission in the MS”).<sup>54</sup>

OE *denu* ‘valley’ second element:

W: (*in*) *harandene* 778 BCS 225 (S 264) (Grundy 1919:151: “in Hare’s Dean”), (*æt*) *harandene (forð)* 968 BCS 1213 (S 756) (Grundy 1920:75 f: “at Hare Dean”). According to Grundy, the reference is to the same valley, and the name is likely to survive in the name of Harding Farm.<sup>55</sup>

OE *geat* (WSax), *get* (Kt), *gæt* (ONb) ‘hole, opening, gap; gate’ second element:

Do: (*to*) *Horgate* 943 (15th) BCS 781 (S 490) (Grundy 1933b:246: “to Mud Gate”).<sup>56</sup>

OE *græfe* ‘grove, copse, thicket’ second element:

Ch: *Haregrave* 1086 DB (PNCh 4:228). Mod. Hargrave (Hall & Lane), see under B.

OE *grāf*, *grāfa*, *grāfe* ‘grove, copse’ second element:

W: (*to*) *haran grafan (norþeuerdan)* 968 BCS 1213 (S 756) (Grundy 1920:75: “to Hare Grove”). See note 55 above.

Brk: (*be suþan*) *haran grafas* 948 (c. 1240) BCS 866 (S 542) (Grundy 1923:224: “to the south of Hare Groves”, PNBrk 3:651, 652: “ ‚boundary groves’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **grāf**”).<sup>57</sup>

Nth: *Haregrave, Heregrave* 1086 DB (PNNth 191). Mod. Hargrave, see under B.

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<sup>54</sup> The dots shown in PNBrk have been omitted in this study, and maybe the whole instance should have been omitted. Birch does not include it in the text, only in a note: “Haran, here in MS., expuncted.”. Grundy translates “to the Stonepit” and says nothing about *haran*. See on *crundel* note 59 in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*mære*.

<sup>55</sup> In this charter (S 756) are also (*to*) *haran grafan* (see below) and (*on*) *hundandene*. Grundy translates: “at Hare Dean”, “to Hare Grove”, and “to Dog’s Dean”. OE *hund* (EPNE ‘bound’) may speak for OE *hara*, also a word for an animal, in the other combinations. But according to Birch another manuscript has *Huntandene*; the first element may therefore be OE *hunta* ‘hunter’.

<sup>56</sup> Despite the *o*-form, this may be OE *hār*, for there are some clearly medieval forms in this manuscript, e.g. *diche* and *weie*, see Grundy (op.cit. p. 244).

<sup>57</sup> But in the following combination with OE *grāf*, etc. the first element is probably OE \**hær*: (*on*) *hærgraf* 968 (c. 1200) BCS 1225 (S 760). See PNBrk 3:656: “ ‚grove by the rock’, v. **hær**, **grāf**; Grundy thought that this must be identical with the *haran grafas* in the Stanmore survey (p. 652, n. 21), but neither the spellings in the texts nor the probable course of the surveys supports this.”. The Stanmore survey is BCS 866 (S 542).

OE *hæsel* (Angl, WSax), *hesel* (Kt, Merc) ‚hazel’ second element:

W: (on) *ðone haran hæsel* 994 (14th) KCD 687 (S 881) (Grundy 1919:197: “to the Hoar Hazel-tree”).

OE *lēah*, *lēh* (Angl) ‚clearing; wood’ second element:

Wo: (on) *haran læh* 943 for 963 (11th) BCS 1108 (S 1297) (Grundy 1927b:125: “to Hare Lea”).

OE *mapuldor* ‚maple-tree’ second element:

Sr: (to) *þe hore Mapeldure* 672 x 674 (13th) BCS 34 (S 1165) (PNSr 106, note, 119, note: “grey or boundary maple-tree”), (to) *þene hore mapeldure* 871 x 899 (13th) BCS 563 (S 353) (Venezky: microfiche).

OE *pæð* (Angl, WSax), *peð* (Kt, Merc) ‚path, track’ second element:

Nt: (on) *þam haran pæð* 1021 x 1023 KCD 736 (S 977) (Biggam 250: “to the old (?) path”).

OE *stān* ‚stone’ second element:

D: (an) *haran stan* 847 [= 846] (9th) BCS 451 (S 298) (Finberg 1969:11 (on the date), 16, Venezky: microfiche).<sup>58</sup>

Do: (on) *ða haran stanas* 1033 (12) *SherC*, (on) *þe horestones* n. d. (12) *SherC* (f.24v), two manuscripts, KCD 1318 (S 969) (Grundy 1936:125: “to the Hoar Stones”, PND0 2:161: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **stān**”).

W: (on) *þone haran stan* 854 BCS 477 (S 312) (Grundy 1919:174: “to the Hoar Stone”, Venezky: microfiche). – (æt) *þam haran stane* 922 for ?972 BCS 1145 (S 668) (Grundy 1920:24: “at the Hoar Stone” (translation only), Venezky: microfiche).<sup>59</sup>

Sr: (to) *þe horestone* 871 x 899 (13th) BCS 563 (S 353) (PNSr 106, note: “boundary stone”, Venezky: microfiche).

Brk: (on) *þone haranstan* 939 (c. 1240) BCS 743 (S 448) (Grundy 1922b/23:226: “to the Hoar Stone”, PNBk 3:660, 661: “ ‚boundary-stone’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **stān**”). – (on) *þone haran stan* 968 (c. 1200) BCS 1222 (S 757) (Grundy 1922b/23:150: “to the Hoar Stone”, PNBk 3:731, 732: “ ‚boundary stone’ ”). – (to) *þan haran stane* 958 for 959 (c. 1200) BCS 1047 (S 673) (Grundy 1922b/23:198: “To the Hoar Stone”, PNBk 3:724, 725: “ ‚boundary stone’, v. **hār**, **stān**”). This stone may be identical with that in S 757, see PNBk 3:725, 732. – (to) *þan*

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<sup>58</sup> Finberg (op.cit. p. 16): “17. Thence to the hoar stone. A likely place for this boundary stone would be to the high ground above Huxton Cross.”. This charter mentions also a white stone: (*wið*) *huitan stanes* and a grey stone: (to) *græwan stane* (Venezky: microfiche).

<sup>59</sup> It is most likely, but not absolutely certain, that this is a Wiltshire charter. Land at *Winterburnan* is granted. See the chapter on OE *mearc*, note 56.

*horestonford* 947 (14th) BCS 828 (S 524) (PNBrk 3:694, 696: “ „boundary stone”, v. **hār**, **stān**, followed by the word *forð* „forward’ ”).

Q: (on) *þone haran stan* 1059 (11th) *St Denis* (S 1028) (PNO 2:385: “v. **hār**”).

Wo: (on) *haran stan* 757 (11th) BCS 183 (S 55) (Grundy 1928b:79: “to the Hoar Stone”).<sup>60</sup>

OE *torr* „rock, rocky outcrop, rocky peak’ second element:

Do: (on) *ðare haren torre* 1019 (15) *ShaftR* = KCD 730 (S 955) (Grundy 1934:119: “to the Grey Rock”, PND0 3:206: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> (wk. obl. -an) „grey’, **torr** „rock’ ”).

OE *þorn* „thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

W: (on) *ðone haran þorn* 1045 (14th) KCD 778 (S 1010) (Grundy 1919:291: “to the Hoar Thorntree”, PNW 448 (see note 9 above)).

Sr: (to) *þe Hore þorne* 672 x 674 (13th) BCS 34 (S 1165) (PNSr 105, note, 114, note: “ „boundary-thorn’ ”, Venezky: microfiche), (on) *þe horeþorne* 871 x 899 (13th) BCS 563 (S 353) (PNSr 106, note, Venezky: microfiche).

Brk: (to) *þam haran þornan* 931 (c. 1200) BCS 682 (S 411) (PNBrk 3:671, 673: “ „boundary thorn-trees’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **þorn**”), (to) *ðam haran þornan* 1042 KCD 762 (S 993) (Venezky: microfiche). Also in BCS 633 (S 1542): (to) *þam haran þornan* (Venezky: microfiche).

Hrt: (to) *haran þorne* 1007 KCD 1304 (S 916) (PNHrt 106, note: “ „boundary thorn’ ”, Venezky: microfiche).

Wa: (on) *ðone haran þorn* 1033 KCD 751 (S 967) (Venezky: microfiche).

OE *þyrne* „thorn-bush; thorn thicket’ second element:

Brk: (on) *þa haran þyrnan* 953 (c. 1240) BCS 900 (S 560) (PNBrk 3:655: “ „boundary thorn-bush’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **þyrne**”).

OE *wald* (Angl), *weald* (Kt, WSax) probably in the sense „woodland on high ground’ second element:

Bd: *Hareuuelle* 1086 DB (PNBd & Hu 32 f). Mod. Harrold, see under B.

OE *wice* “ „a wych-elm’ or other tree with pliant branches” (EPNE) probably second element:

W: (on) *haran wic (westwearde)* 968 (14th) *Dugdale* 1846:2:323 f (S 766) (Grundy 1919:268: “The west side of the Grey Dairy Farm (*Har Wic*)”, Venezky: microfiche). OE *wice* seems more likely than Grundy’s suggestion. Other trees are mentioned in this charter: (on) *haran apuldre* and (on) *ealdan þorn*; see above and note 53. - In 860 BCS 499 (S 329) we find the phrase (*wið*) *ðere heren Wike* (Forsberg 1942:154), which Biggam (1998:148),

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<sup>60</sup> In Worcestershire according to Birch and Grundy, but in Warwickshire according to Sawyer (1968).

referring to Forsberg, considers to be the same. Whether or not they are identical, OE *wice* may be more likely than *wīc* also in S 329. Biggam, however, takes the element to be *wīc* ‚dairy farm‘, etc. in these charters.

OE *wīðig* ‚withy, willow‘ second element:

Do: (on) *þona haran wiðig* 1033 (12) *SherC*, (on) *þane horewīþeh* n. d. (12) *SherC* (f. 24v), two manuscripts, KCD 1318 (S 969) (Grundy 1936:125: “to the Hoar Willowtree”, PND0 2:161: “‚the whitebeam‘, v. *hār*<sup>2</sup>, *wīðig*, cf. Hoarwithy He (DEPN), ModE dial. hoar withy”).<sup>61</sup>

Sr: (to) *ðam haran wiðie* 1005 KCD 714 (S 911) (*Studies*<sup>2</sup> 119 f), (to) *þam haranwydie* 983 (c. 1325) *Red Book of Thorney* (S 847) (PNSr 90, note).

Wo: (on) *þone haran wiðig* 967 BCS 542 (Grundy 1928b:26: “to the Hoar Willowtree”, *Studies*<sup>2</sup> 119 f), (on) *þone haran wīþig* 967 BCS 1208 (Venezky: microfiche), two manuscripts (S 1314).

OE *word̄*, *weorð*, *wurð*, *wyrð* perhaps in the sense ‚enclosed settlement‘ second element:

Nt: *Hareworde* 1086 DB (PNNt 80). Mod. Harworth, see under B.

### ***A special case: OE hār probably a simplex name originally***

Brk: \**Hara* or \**Hare*.

This was probably the original name of the hill now called Horn Down, with OE *dūn* ‚hill‘ added:

*Harandūn* c. 895 (c. 1200) BCS 581 (S 355), (on) *haran dune* c. 960 (12th) BCS 1183 (S 672), (on) *harandune* 973 (12th) BCS 1292 (S 790), (of) *Harandune (wege)* 985 (12th) KCD 648 (S 856) (DEPN s.n. Harwell (Brk), PNBrk 2:480 f).

Mod. Harwell is likely to be a combination with OE *wella*, etc. ‚spring, stream‘ added to the original hill-name:

(æt) *haranwylle* 956 (12th) BCS 1183 (S 672), *Harawille* 973 (12th) BCS 1292 (S 790), (æt) *Harewillan* 985 (12th) KCD 648 (S 856), *Harvvelle*, *Harowelle* 1086 DB (DEPN s.n. Harwell (Brk), PNBrk 2:521 f).

See mod. Horn Down and mod. Harwell under B.

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<sup>61</sup> S 969 has OE *hār* in three combinations: (on) *ða haran apuldran* ((on) *þe hore apeldore*), (on) *ða haran stanás* ((on) *þe horestones*), (on) *þona haran wiðig* ((on) *þane horewīþeh*). The frequent use of *hār* may be the reason for hore in the second member of this pair in the same charter: “on *heara wulfrices gemære*, of *þam land gemære* 1033 (12) [i.e. *SherC* (S 969)], on *hore wlvrichesimere*, of *þan londimere* n. d. (12) [i.e. *SherC* (f. 24v)] („Wulfrīc’s boundary‘, from the O. E. pers.n. *Wulfrīc* and (land-)gemære; *heara* in the first charter, interpreted as from *hār*<sup>2</sup> ‚hoar‘ in the second, is probably corrupt.)” (PND0 2:161). Note that PND0 regards S 969 as consisting of two charters.

## B ME and later material<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are:

with OE *cot(e)* „shed, cottage’: **D**: Harracott: *Harecote* 1330, 1390 (PND 1:122: “As the place is not near the parish boundary the first element must be either **har** in the sense of ‚gray’ or OE **hara**, ‚hare.’”). Cf. Horcott (Gl), which is near a boundary and is included in the material.

with OE *croft* „small enclosed field’: **Brk**: Hoarecroft Shaw: *Hoarecroft* 1548, Hoare Croft 1839 (PNBrk 1:168: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> ‚grey’, the wood is not near a boundary”).

with OE *dīc* „ditch, dike’: **Ch**: *Hor(e)dīch(e)gre(e)ues*, *Horddichgreues* 1334 (PNCh 3:177: “perhaps ‚(woods at) the old ditch’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **dīc**, **grāfe**, but the first el. is probably **horu**, **horh**, hence ‚dirty, filthy ditch’”).

with OE *feld* „open country’, perhaps in the late OE, ME sense „open field’: **K**: Harville Farm (6’): *Northharifeld* 1271, *Harifeldmed* 1272-1307 (PNK 386). **Ch**: (*campus de*) *Horefeld* 1468 (PNCh 2:232: “ ‚the hoar field’, v. **har**<sup>2</sup>, **feld**”). **Db**: *Harefeld* 1491 (PNDb 2:268: “probably ‚boundary field’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **feld**”).

with OE *hecg(e)* „hedge’: **Do**: *Ho(o)rehegg(e)* 1384 (e. 16), 1385 (e. 15) (PNDo 3:237: “v. **hecg** ‚hedge’, first el. **har** ‚grey’ (possibly with the sense ‚boundary’) or **horu** ‚dirt’”).

with OE *hege-stōw* „hedged place’: **Ch**: *le hore heystowe* l. 13 (PNCh 2:319: “ ‚the ancient hedged place’, from **hege** and **stōw** [corrected in Add. & Corr. (PNCh 5 (I:i): xxxiii) to **hege-stōw**], with **hār**<sup>2</sup>, cf. **hege-stall**”).

with OE *holt* „wood, holt, thicket’: **Ess**: *Horeholte* 1291 (PNEss 582: “denoting ‚grey’ or ‚boundary wood.’”).

with ON *kjarr* „marsh, brushwood’: **La**: *Harekar* 1220-46 (CC 2:1:411 f, PNLa 251). – *Harekar*, *Harekarfurlong* 1238-59, *Harekar*, *Harecar furlong* 1249-68, *Harekar*, *Harecarfurlong* 1262-68 (CC 1:1:86 f, 92 f, 107 f). See also PNLa 252: “*Harekar* CC 97”, probably referring to this *Harekar*. – Harker *Harekar* c. 1225 (PNLa 120: “**Harker** (cf Harker’s Bridge in Halsall, near the Downholland boundary): *Harekar* c 1225 CC. Second el. *carr*, O.N. *kiarr*; first el. perhaps O. E. *hara* “hare” or *hār* “grey” or the corresponding O.N. word. Cf. Norw. Harekjær NG VIII, supposed to have as first el. the word for “hare.””). Harker is in Halsall parish, West Derby hd.

with OE *lās* „pasture, meadow land’ or OE *lēah*, *lēh* (Angl) „clearing; wood’: **Ch**: *Harlescloh* 1276 (PNCh 3:210: “ ‚(dell at) the gray wood’, from **hār**<sup>2</sup> and **lēah**, with **clōh**”). **Db**: *le Hareleys* 1507 (PNDb 2:273: “perhaps ‚boundary pasture’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **lās**”).

with OE *land*, *lond*, ON *land* „land’: **Do**: Hoary Land: *Horeland Close* 1652 (PNDo 1:286: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> ‚grey’ or **horu** ‚dirt’, **land**”). **Bk**: *Harelond* 1284 (PNBk 258 f: “the position [is described] in ..., *le Harelond* (1284) (v. **har**”). **Db**: *Harland* 1326 (PNDb 3:608: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **land**”). – *Harlondes* 1424 (PNDb 1:43: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **land**”).

with OFr, ME *roche* „rock, cliff’: **Db**: *Whoreroche*, *Whoareroache* 1617 (PNDb 1:161: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **roche**<sup>1</sup>”).

OE *hār* is likely to form indirectly part of Hoare Farm (Wa), for it is probable that it is associated with the family of *Geoffrey le Hore* 1344 (PNWa 73).

It is possible that Hornsey (Mx): *Haringeie* 1201, *Haringue* 1200, *Harengheye* 1232, *Haringesheye* 1243, *Harnesey* 1543, *Hornsey* 1564 and other forms contains OE *hār* + the suffix *-ing*, see DEPn: “... The original name may have been OE *Hāring-gehæg*, the second el. being OE *gehæg* „hay, enclosure’. The first may be the name of a wood, derived from *hār* ‚grey’ and meaning ‚grey wood’”. For other suggestions see CDEP and PNMx 121 f.

Moreover, perhaps with OE *hop* „valley’ or OE *rāp* „rope’: **Ch**: Haropgreen (PNCh 1:90), Harrop (PNCh 1:138), Harropgreen Farm, Harrop Lane (PNCh 1:183, Harrop Edge (PNCh 1:312). **Db**:

Only names first recorded before 1700 have been included.

OE *āc* ‚oak-tree’ second element<sup>63</sup>:

D: Hoar oak: *Horeoak Ball* 1651 DA 39, *Whore Oake Ball* 1651 Exmoor (PND 1:64: “Boundary oak,” v. **har**. It is on the county boundary, ...”).

La: Harrock Hall, Harrock Hill: *Harakiskar* c 1260 CC, *Harrok-hyll* 1501 CC, *Harrok-hill* 1539 CC (PNLa 130: “O.E. *hār* “hoary” and *āc* “oak.” *Harrock Hill*, on which is Harrock Hall (estate), reaches over 400 ft. I suppose the hill was named from a place at which there was a “hoar oak.””). The final element in *Harakiskar* is ON *kjarr* ‚marsh, brushwood’ (DEPN s.n.: “*carr* ‚marsh’ ”), less likely ON *sker* ‚rock’, etc., see CC 2:1:505, where *Harakiskar* is rendered by ‚Haraki-skar’ in the comment to the charter.

OE *æppel-trēow* ‚apple-tree’ second element:

La: Harappletree or Appletree: *Harapeltre* 1323 LI, *Harapultre* 1324 LI, *Appultre* 1537 DL (PNLa 173: “O.E. *hār* “grey” and *æppeltrēo*”).

OE *apuldor*, *apuldre* ‚apple-tree’ second element:

Do: *la Hore Apeldure* Hy 3 (14) Cerne, *la Horeapeldere* 1247 (1270) *For, Horeappledore, Horeapeldes* (PNDo: sic) 1300 Hutch<sup>3</sup>, *Hor Appildor’* 1338-40 Glast, (*the water called Gowge Pole, of old called*) *Horeappledore* 1568 Hutch<sup>3</sup> (this form in the bounds of the forest of Gillingham) (PNDo 3:13 (under Gutch Pool Hole) explaining it as ‚the grey (boundary) apple-tree’ from *hār* and *apuldor*).

K: (*Salamon*) *de Horapuldre* a. 1307 HundredR. in Archaeol.Cant.6 188 (MED s.v. **hōr** adj.).

OE *bearu* ‚wood, grove’ second element:

Ch: Harebarrow Farm formerly Old Harborough, Lower & New Harebarrow, Harebarrowlake: *Harebarwe* c. 1220 Chest, *-barwe* 1364 *Eyre* (p), *-borowe* 1376 Tab, *Harborowe (Hall)* 15 Orm<sup>2</sup>, New & Old Harbarrow, Harbarrow Lake 1831 Bry (PNCh 1:101: “ ‚hoar wood’, from *hār*<sup>2</sup> and *bearu*, with **hall**, **lacu**, (...). The district is on the Prestbury boundary and its earliest appearance is in the bounds of land called *Bothes* in Prestbury (...).”).<sup>64</sup>

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Harrop Moss (PNDb 1:70), Harrop Farm (PNDb 1:121). See the quotation from PNCh 1:138 in note 37.

<sup>63</sup> The Cumberland name *higorake* 1507 (PNCu 2:435, no comment) may be a triple compound of ME *high* ‚high’ with *hār* + *āc*, but it is too uncertain to be included in the material.

<sup>64</sup> There is a possible parallel to this name in the name Harrowbarrow in Cornwall: (**Robert de Harebere** c. 1286, **Harebeare** 1327, Harrobear 1748, Harrowburrow 1813 (Padel (1988:94): “English, ‚grey wood’, **hār** + **bearu**; or, if **hār** can mean ‚boundary’, then ‚boundary-wood’. The place is on the parish boundary, bordering with both St Dominick and Callington. Compare Harrowbarrow, in



OE *brycg* ‚bridge’ second element:

D: Horrabridge: *Horebrigg* 1345 Ass, 1377 Ct, *Le Horebrugg* 1348 BM, *la Horabrigg* t. Ed 3 Ass, *Hollowbridge* 1675 Ogilby (PND 1:247: “ ‚Boundary bridge,’ v. **har**. The bridge here over the Walkham is at the boundary of three parishes, and there is an old boundary stone on the bridge (J. J. A.). Cf. Harrowbridge (Co), *la Horabrigge* 1302 Ass, *Horebrigg* 1470 FF, on the boundary between St Cleer, St Neot and Altarnon parishes.”). ‚Grey bridge’ is the translation in DEPN of Horrabridge.

OE *ceaster*, *cæster* (Angl) ‚old fortification’ second element:

Do: *La Northernehorchestre* (a furlong) 1305 CI (PND 1:41 (s.n. Chestus): “ ‚grey or hoar (remains of a) fortification or earthwork’, from **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **ceaster**, with **la**, **norðerne** ‚northern’ ”).

OE *cumb* ‚valley’ second element:

W: Harcombe Wood (6’): (*pastura de*) *Harcombe* 1585 AOMB, *Harecombe* 1626 FF (PNW 80: “ ‚Boundary valley,’ v. **har**, **cumb**. It is on the parish boundary.”).

OE *dæl* (Angl, WSax), *del* (Merc, Kt), ON *dalr* ‚valley’ second element<sup>65</sup>:

NR: Hard Dale (6’): *Haradale* 12th Whitby, *Haredale* c. 1265-78 ib., *Hardale* 1286 ib. (PNNRY 112 f: “These spellings have been taken to refer to the modern Harwood Dale 113 *infra* but the site of the place, so far as can be ascertained from the bounds in the Whitby Cartulary, is here rather than at Harwood Dale, and the latter name can scarcely be a direct descendant of the above spellings. The first element is perhaps OE *hara* ‚hare.’ v. **dæl**”). For Harwood Dale see note 91.

OE *dūn* ‚hill’ second element<sup>66</sup>:

D: Hore Down: *Horedown* 1525 AOMB (PND 1:48: “As this is on the parish boundary the meaning may be ‚boundary hill,’ v. **har**, **dun**”).

Brk: Horn Down: *Harandun* c. 895 (c. 1200) BCS 581 (S 355), (*on*) *haran dune* c. 960 (12th) ib. 1183 (S 673), (*on*) *harandune* 973 (12th) ib. 1292 (S 790), (*of*) *Harandune (wege)* 985 (12th) KCD 648 (S 856), *Harnden* 1607 LRMB, *Horne Downe which is accompted to be in the parish of Sutton, Manner of Sutton*

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Cheshire. The modern form of the name is due to re-interpretation.”). Note, however, that Svensson (1987:86 f) (with more forms than Padel) interprets the Cornwall name as OE *hara-bearu* ‚hares’ wood’.

<sup>65</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material is Db: *Hardale* 1654 (PND 2:374: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **dæl**<sup>1</sup>”). Note Silverdale (La): “ ‚Silver valley’, the name referring to the silver-grey rocks in the place” (DEPN).

<sup>66</sup> Also the Warwickshire name Hardon Hill: *Hardunhyll* c. 1350 may well contain OE *hār*, as stated in PNWa 360: “ ‚boundary hill,’ v. **har**, **dun**”.

*Curtney called Horneden* 1623 *Dep, Harn(e)don Hedge, Horendon Feild* 1628 *SpecCom* (PNBrk 2:480 f. “Probably, as suggested in DEPN, the hill here was called *Hāre* or *Hāra* ‘the grey one’, and **dūn** was added to the gen. of this. Harwell 521-2 is named from the same hill.”). See also DEPN s.n. Harwell (Brk). Harwell is listed in the material below. Both Horn Down and Harwell are listed among the compound names in this section. See on this postulated simplex OE name also the end of the section on OE material.

OE *ecg* ‘edge’ second element:

**Bk:** Hornage (Farm): *Harnage* 1541 L. i. 135, 1607 *VCH*, 1739 L. i. 135 (PNBk 121: “There are not many forms to go upon and those are late but as the farm lies on the bounds of Chilton parish, with the ground falling away to the valley below it may be suggested that it is from OE *haran ecge* (dat.), ‘boundary edge.’ v. **har**.”).<sup>67</sup>

OE *grāfe* ‘grove, copse, thicket’ second element<sup>68</sup>:

**Ch:** Hargrave (Hall & Lane): *Haregrave* 1086 DB, 1305 Chest, (-in *Wirral*) 1330 Pat, *Haregreue* 13 *AddCh* (p), -*greve* 1313 Plea (p) *et freq* to 1521 ib., (-in *Wirhale*) 1315 Adl, (*Parva Neston et-*) 1353 Plea, *Hargreue* 1304 Chamb (p) *et freq* with variant spelling -*greve* to 1602 Orm<sup>2</sup>, (*Litel-Neston et-*) 1431 ChRR, *Hargreave* (in *Wyrhal*) 1316 ib., Hargreave 1724 NotCestr, (Little Neston cum-) 1819 Orm<sup>2</sup>, *Hargrave* 1432 ChRR (*Litelneston et-*), 1724 NotCestr, 1819 Orm<sup>2</sup>, (-Hall & Lane) 1831 Bry, *Harregreave* (Little Neston cum-) 1499 ChRR, 1507 Orm<sup>2</sup>, *Hergreave* 1620 Orm<sup>2</sup> (PNCh 4:228: “ ‘The hoar wood’, from **hār**<sup>2</sup> and **grāfe**, with **hall** and **lane**. ...”); see also the quotation in the Introductory remarks and note 4).<sup>69</sup> - Hargrave, Hargrave (Old) Hall, Hargrave Stubbs (lost) & Hargrave Farm: *le Haregreve* e. 13 Orm<sup>2</sup> (p), *Haregreve* 1285 Court (p) *Hargreve* l. 13 Orm<sup>2</sup> (p) *et freq* with variant

<sup>67</sup> However, since such late forms are not to be trusted, the name is perhaps a parallel to the Shropshire name Harnage (*Harenegga* 1167, *Hernegie* 1232, *Hernegg* 1234, *Harnegge* 1327), for which Ekwall (DEPN) suggests an OE *\*hāren* or *\*heren* ‘stony, rocky’ as first element. Too uncertain to be included in the material are: **Ch:** Hourush Meadow: (*the*) *Horeedge-*, *Horidge meadow(e)* 1611, Here Edge Meadow 1831 (PNCh 1:163 f. “ ‘the grey edge’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **ecg**”). **Db:** *Horsedge ende* 1533, *Hore edge* 1654 (PNDb 2:375: “ ‘grey ridge’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **ecg**”).

<sup>68</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are: **Ch:** *Haregreue* 1285, -*grave* 1287, 1288, *Hargreve* 1350, *Hardgreue* 1461 (PNCh 1:53: “ ‘hoar grove’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **grāfe**”). **Db:** *Haregreve* 1615 (PNDb 2:375: “v. **hara**, **grāfe**”). **La:** (*Rich.*) *del Haregreves* 1324 (SMET 66 (on this instance and (*Reyner de*) *la Haregreues* 1308-10 (Yorkshire)): “ ‘Hares’ grove(s)’ (OE *hara* + *grāfe*) or ‘grey grove(s)’ (OE *hār* + *grāfe*). ...”.

<sup>69</sup> See also Fellows-Jensen (1997:91): “The evidence provided by personal names and place-names for the survival of a Scandinavian enclave in Wirral with its boundary marked by the Scandinavian place-name Raby (IV, 228), and the neighbouring English place-name Hargrave (IV, 228), both of which contain as specific a word denoting a boundary, ...”.

spellings *Hare-* (to 1545 *Plea*), *-grave* (from 1287 *Court*, 1339 *BW*), *-greave*, *-grieve*, *-greaves*; *Heregreue* 1304 *Chamb*, *Hardegrave* 1407 *Cl* (p), *Hard-* 1646 *Sheaf*, *Hergreff* 1549 *Surv*, *Haregreve Stubbes* 1533 *Plea*, thereafter with spellings as above and *-Stubb(e)s* to *Hargrave Stubbs* 1842 *OS*, *Hargrave Hall* 1852 *OS* (PNCh 4:105 f: “ ‚The hoar wood’ or ‚the hare-wood’ from **hār**<sup>2</sup> or **hara**, and **grāfe**. ...”).

See on these Hargrave-names, both on boundaries, PNCh 4:xiii and xv: Add. & Corr. to PNCh 4:105, 228.

OE *grāf*, *grāfa*, *grāfe* ‚grove, copse’ second element:

D: Hartgrove Farm: *Hargrave* 1292 *Misc*, *Haregrove* 15th *Newnham* (PND 2:647: “Probably ‚boundary grove,’ v. **har**, **graf**, the farm lying on the parish boundary.”).<sup>70</sup>

Do: Hartgrove (Farm): *Hargrave* Hy 1 (15) *ShaftR*, 1254 *FF*, 1450, 1500, 1505 *Glyn*, *-grove* 1450 *ib.*, *Hargrave* c. 1500 *Eg*, c. 1560, 1576 *Glyn*, *-grove* 1535 *VE*, 1576 *Glyn*, 1648 *SC*, 1699 *Glyn*, 1869 *Hutch*<sup>3</sup>, *-groue* 1618 *Map*, *-grove* 1664 *HTax*, *Harregraue* 1268 *Ass*, *Hardgrove* 1395 (e. 15) *MiltRoll*, *Hartgrove* 1698 *Glyn*, 1795 *Boswell*, 1811 *OS*, 1846 *TA* (- otherwise East Orchard) (PND 3:134: “The second el. is **grāf(a)** ‚grove, copse’, the first may be **hara** (gen. sg. *haran*) ‚hare’ or **hār**<sup>2</sup> (wk. obl. *hāran*) ‚hoar, grey’ (perhaps used in a transferred sense ‚boundary’, the place being on the par. bdy with Fontmell M.).”)<sup>71 72</sup>

Wa: Hargrave Hall: *Haregrave* 1240 *FF*, (*water of*) t. Hy 3 *AD* ii, *Hargrave in Bykenhulle* 1318 *BM*, *Hargrove feild* 1608 *LRMB* (PNWa 59: “ ‚Boundary grove,’ v. **har**, **grafa**. The place stands at the meeting-place of the parishes of Bickenhill, Elmdon and Hampton in Arden. Cf. Hargrave (PN Nth 191).”).  
Hargrave (Nth) is the next name.

Nth: Hargrave: *Haregrave* 1086 *DB et passim* to 1330 *FA*, *-graf* 1282 *Fine*, *Heregrave* 1086 *DB*, 1282 *Ipm*, *Haragrava* 1125-8 *ChronPetro*, 1229 *WellsR*, *-ve* 1227 *FF*, *Hargrave* 1242 *Fees*, *Hordegrave* 1526 *SR*, *Hardgrave* 1535 *VE* (PNNth 191: “Possibly ‚hare grove,’ v. **grafa**, though as the parish is on the

<sup>70</sup> A Devonshire name too uncertain to be included in the material is Harragrove: *Haregrave* 1238, 1274, *Hargrave* 1274, *Haregrove* 1394 (PND 1:233: “ ‚Hare grove’ or ‚grey-grove,’ v. **hara**, **har**.”). It is not on the parish boundary.

<sup>71</sup> The names Hartgrove Farm in Devon and Hartgrove Farm in Dorset refer to different places.

<sup>72</sup> In Dorset are also Hargrove Cottage, Farm & Lane: *Haregraue* 1258, 1268, 1332, *-grove* 1258, *-groue* 1268, 1288, *-grave* 1285, 1288, *Hargraue* 1327, *-grove* 1538, c. 1557 *mancione d’ni voc’* -, 1795 (PND 3:282: “Probably analogous with Hartgrove in E Orchard par. *supra*; the present farm is ½ mile from the par. bdy (R. Lydden), but the grove that gave the place its name may have been on the bdy.”). Too uncertain to be included in the material. Hartgrove in E Orchard is included in the material.

Beds - Hunts border it is more likely to be ‚boundary grove,’ v. **har**. Cf. Harragrove PN D 233, Hargrave in Bockenhill [sic] (Wa) where three parishes meet, and Hargrave Barn [sic, see Hargrove (Barn) above] in Sapperton (Gl) by the parish boundary.”). For Harragrove (D) see note 70, and for the Warwickshire name see above.

OE *halh* (Angl), *healh* (Kt, WSax) ‚nook, corner of land’ second element:

Wa: Harnall (in Harnall Lane (6’)): *Harnall* c. 1170 Monast, 1450 LeetBk, *Harenhal(e)* c. 1185 (1348) Ch, 1223 FF, 1304 Ass, 1308 AD iv, *Haranhall* 1221 Pap, *Ernhale* 1221 Ass, *Arnhale* 1262 ib., 1346 Pat, 1656 Dugdale, *Harnehale* 1289 Ass, *Harnhale* 1306 AD iv, 1309 FF, 1451 Ch, *Harnale* 1374 ib., 1381 AD iii, 1480 LeetBk, *Potteresharnale*, *Prioresarnale* 1315 Ass, *Prioursharnhale* 1348 FF, *Harnehalewaste* 1411 Coventry, *Priors Harnall* 1545 LP (PNWa 166: “The exact site of Harnall is uncertain. Dugdale (129) speaks of it as reduced to one house and gives Harnall-pool as another name for Swanswell Pool [...]. Harnall Lane runs roughly east and west, about a quarter of a mile north of the old city wall. It seems to be referred to in the bounds of the monastery as described in Dugdale (101) from a charter of 1349, where we have reference to the “high-way leading from the midst of Harnall near to Stoke, as far as the gibbet.” The probabilities are that the name goes back to the OE (*æt þæm*) *hāran hēale*, i.e. ‚(at the) boundary nook of land,’ which lay just outside the city walls.”).

OE *hall* (Angl), *heall* (Kt, WSax) ‚hall’, etc. or originally OE *halh* (Angl), *healh* (Kt, WSax) ‚nook, corner of land’ second element:

Wa: Hoare Hall: *Whore Hall* 1608 Stowe, 1821 G, Whorall 1752 J (PNWa 94: “As the place is on the parish boundary, the first element is probably **har**. For the initial *w* of the 17th- and 18th-century forms v. NED s.v. *whole*, *whore*.”).

OE *hlāw* ‚hill, mound, tumulus’ second element<sup>73</sup>:

Ch: Warlow Pike, 1842 OS: *Horelowe* 1348 Eyre (p), *Harelowe* 1468 WRY 2 317 (PNCh 1:326: “ ‚boundary hill’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **hlāw**, **pīc**<sup>1</sup> ‚a pointed hill’. It is on the county boundary, cf. WRY loc. cit.”). Also included under WRY.

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<sup>73</sup> Two Derbyshire names too uncertain to be included in the material are: *Harelow Head* 1681 (PNDb 1:184 f: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **hlāw**, **hēafod**”), and Harlow (in Harlow Barn 1841): *Harlow* Hy 4 (PNDb 2:350: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **hlāw**”). A further Derbyshire name, Hurd Low: *Horlowe* 1327, 1341, *Hurlow* 1610, *Hoordlow* 1655 (PNDb 1:55: “ ‚Grey hill’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **hlāw**, a prominent exposure of darker limestone.”), is unlikely to contain *hār*, for DEPN gives the forms *Hordlawe* 1244, *Hordlowe* 1251 and interprets the name as OE *hord-hlāw* ‚treasure mound’.

Db: *the Whorelowe* 1533 *Bateman*, *Whorloe* 1599 *DuLa*, *the Whore low* 1654 *Bateman* (PNDb 2:375: “probably ‚boundary hill’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **hlāw**; it was on the parish boundary”).

La: *Horelaw*: *Horelaw* 1598 *Burnley R* (PNLa 68: “Horelaw (1,153ft., S. of Burnley): *Horelaw* 1598 *Burnley R*. “Grey Hill.” A small place Wholaw on the slope of the hill was clearly named from it. Cf. *le Horelowe* 1306 *WhC* 1013 (near Wiswell).” – *le Horelowe* 1306 *WhC* 1013 (PNLa 68), see the preceding name.

OE *hrycg* ‚ridge’ second element<sup>74</sup>:

D: Whorridge Farm: *Horerugge*, *Horerigge*, *Horugge* 1445 *Ct* (PND 2:556: “‚Boundary ridge,’ v. **har**. It is by the parish boundary.”).

OE *hyll* ‚hill’ second element<sup>75</sup>:

K: Herne Hill (6’), Herne House: (*de*) *Harn(h)ell*’ 1278 *Ass*, (*de*) *Harhell*’ 1292 *Ass*, (*de*) *Harnhull*’ 1292 *FF*, (*de*) *Harnhelle*’ 1327, 1338, 1346, 1348, 1357

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<sup>74</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are: another Devonshire name, the name of the hundred in which Whorridge Farm is situated: Hayridge Hundred: *Harrigge* 1181, 1244, 1318, *Harigg(e)* 1238, 1275, *Haurege* 1184, *Haurig*’ 1249, *Hairigg* 1323 (PND 2:554: “In the GeldRoll this Hundred is called *Sulfertone* from Silverton [...]. The forms are difficult and inconsistent. It has been suggested that the hundred-name should be associated with Whorridge in Bradninch *infra* 556 (Blomé 91) [included in the material], but it is difficult to see how the names can be connected. It is possible that both alike go back to OE *hār-hrycg*, ‚grey’ or ‚boundary ridge,’ but if so the two names have developed on entirely independent lines.”), and the Derbyshire name *the Hare Ridg yatt* 1640 (PNDb 1:50: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **hrycg**, **geat**”), and the Cumberland names Hardrigg Hall: *Hareridg(e) Hall* 1576, 1695, *Hardrigg* 1584 (1703), *Hardrigg Hall* 1671 (PNCu 1:241). – Hayrigg Hall: *Haryg* 1538, *Harrig(g)e* 1553, 1664, *Hariggs* 1575, *Hayrigge* 1636 (PNCu 2:295: “v. **hrycg**”).

<sup>75</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are: Do: *Harn(e)hull* 1394, 1414, *bysoutheharnhulle* 1404 (PND 1:183 f: “‚(to the south of) the rocky hill’, v. **hæren**, **hyll**, **bī**, **sūðan**, though **hār**<sup>2</sup> (wk. obl. *hāran*) ‚grey’ or **hara** (gen. sg. *haran*) ‚a hare’ would also be possible first els., cf. *Harnhill* Gl 1 75, *Harn Hill* Gl 3 114”). The Gloucestershire names are included in the material. K: *Hernhill*: *Haranhulle* c. 1100, *Harehell*’, (*de*) *Harhull*’ 1226, *Harehull*’ 1237, *Harehell*’ 1240, *Harenhull* 1247, *Harnhulle* 1250, *Har(e)nhill*’, *Hanhull*’ 1254, *Har(e)nhill*’ 1270, *Harnhull*’ 1272, *Harhille* 1277, *Harnehill*’, *Harehull*’ 1278, etc. (PNK 303 f: “The same name returns in Herne Hill in Ruckinge *infra*. Cf. also the field-name *Harenhulle* (c. 1255), Bk, v. EPNS II, 258. I interpret these names as OE *æt þām hāran hylle* “at the grey-coloured hill”. Cf. Felborough hd *infra* and Filborough in Chalk *supra* from OE *fealu* “fallow, grey” + *beorg* “hill”. The Bk field-name is suggested to contain *hār* “? boundary”. The inflected form of the first el. favours, however, my interpretation. Derivation from OE *haran hyll* (OE *hara* “hare”) is theoretically possible. But the repeated occurrence of the name makes this interpretation from the point of view of meaning rather unlikely.”. Wallenberg seems to be of the opinion that PNBk takes **hār** to be a noun. *Hernhill* is a parish, and it ought to be mentioned that Wallenberg (PNK) says that part of the parish is in another hundred. The hill may therefore be on a boundary. Herne Hill in Ruckinge is included in the material and *Harenhulle* (Bk) is the next name in this note. Bk: *Harenhulle* c. 1255 (PNBk 258: “probably from **har**, refers to its position”).

Subs, (*de*) *Harnewelle*, (*de*) *Harnhelle* 1332 Subs, (*de*) *Harn(h)elle* 1334 Subs, *Hegheharnhelle* 15th c. *Bils Terr* (PNK 472: “OE (*æt þām*) *hāran hylle* “(at the) grey-coloured hill” – Cf. *Hernhill supra*.”). The circumstance that HerneHouse is on the boundary between the parishes of Ruckinge and Bilsington justifies the inclusion of Herne Hill and Herne House in the material. *Hernhill* is included in note 75.

OE *hyrst* (Angl, WSax), *herst* (Kt) in the sense ‘wood’, or maybe in the sense ‘wooded hill’ or the sense ‘hillock’ second element:

Sx: Harehurst Wood (6’): *Magna Harehurst* 13th *Durf* (PNSx 1:36: “As it lies near the edge of the county the meaning may be ‘boundary wood,’ v. **har**, **hyrst**.”).

OE *lēah*, *lāh* (Angl) ‘clearing; wood’ second element<sup>76</sup>:

Bk: Harley Field (Farm) (6’): *Harley* 1607 *Terr* (PNBk 14: “Boundary clearing.’ It lies on the border of Gayhurst Par. and the elements are probably **har** and **leah**.”).

Ch: Arley Hall, Mill, Moss Farm, Park & Pool: (*parcum-*, *le park de-*) *Arlegh*, 1340 *CoLeigh*, *-ley* 1360 *Orm<sup>2</sup> et freq*, (*the hall of-*) 1666 *Orm<sup>2</sup>*, *-Mill*, *-Moss*, *-Park* 1831 *Bry*, *-Pool* 1844 *TA*, *Arleye* 1599 AD, *Areley* 1573 *Sheaf*, 1651 *LRMB*, 1673 *Sheaf*, *Ardley* 1646 *Sheaf* (PNCh 2:101 f: “For *Arley* Ekwall (DEPN) suggests ‘eagle wood’, from **earn** and **lēah**, with loss of *-n-* in the cluster *-rnl-*, as in *Arley Wa* 123-24, *Wo* 30, cf. *Yarwoodheath* 58 *supra*. However, (*le*)*Harlae* 1336, 1340, *heya de Harlagh* 1347 *CoLeigh*, 50 *supra*, from deeds relating to the southern parts of High Legh 45 *supra*, probably refer to *Arley*, in which case, unless these contain inorganic *H-*, the first el. would be **hār<sup>2</sup>**, ‘grey, hoary’. This would suit *Arley*’s situation on the boundary between the DB hundreds of *Bochelau* and *Tunendune*, ...”). See also PNCh 2:50: “(*le*) *Harlae* 1336, 1340, *heya de Harlagh* 1347 (‘the hoar clearing’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>**, **lēah**, (Angl. **lāh**), near *Sink Moss supra*, on the south boundary of the township, v. *Arley* 101 *infra*” and note 23.

ON *lundr* ‘small wood, grove; sacred grove, one offering sanctuary’ second element:

Db: Harland Edge: *Harelundhegge* John *Beau* (PNDb 1:44 f (on this name and *Harewood Grange*, see below): “The first element in both cases may be **hara**

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<sup>76</sup> The combination of **har** and **lēah** is also possible in Brk: *Herleye*, *Hareleg*’ c. 1220, *Harelegia* c. 1230, *Harleyghe* 13th (PNBrk 2:320, saying that the first element “may be **hār<sup>2</sup>** ‘grey’, perhaps ‘boundary’, ...”). Ch: *Harlescloh* 1276 (PNCh 3:210: “‘(dell at) the gray wood, from **hār<sup>2</sup>** and **lēah**, with **clōh**”). Db: *Harley*: *Harley* 1382, 1383, *Harley cotes* 1415, 1417, *Harlycotes superior et inferior* 1482, *Harley houses* 1543, *Harley* Eliz (PNDb 2:372: “Perhaps ‘grey clearing’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>**, **lēah**, applied to the outcropping of grey limestone on the eastern side of the farm. v. also **cot**.”).

„hare’, but the situation of the two on the parish boundary, which is also the hundred boundary, suggests rather that it is **hār**<sup>2</sup>. Hence „boundary wood’ and „boundary grove’ respectively, v. **wudu**, **lúndr**. To the latter has been added the topographical element **ecg** „ridge’. For the interchange of **lúndr** and **land**, cf. Haslund [...]”).

OE (*ge*)*māere* perhaps in the sense „boundary stone’ or OE *mere* „pond, pool, lake’ second element.<sup>77</sup>

**Do**: Haremere Wood: *Haremere* 1433, 1434, 1435 all *Weld’*, *Haremere Copice* 1640, l. 17 ib., *Hare Meare Coppice* l. 17 ib., Hare Mare (Trees & Wood) 1839 TA (PNDo 1:191 f: “this wood is situated on the bdy between Wool and Coombe K., so the second el. is likely to be (**ge**)**māere** „boundary’ rather than **mere**<sup>1</sup> „pool’; the first el. could be **hær** „rock’ or **hæren** „rocky’, **hār**<sup>2</sup> (wk. obl. *hāran*) „grey’ (perhaps with the meaning „old’), or **hara** (gen. sg. *Haran* „a hare’, cf. *Harn(e)hull* in Winfrith N. par. *supra*.”). *Harn(e)hull* is included in note 75.<sup>78</sup>

**Sx**: Haremere Hall: *Haremere* 12th Battle 42, 12th (1432) Pat *et passim* to 1332 SR (p), *Harmere* c. 1207 Pens (p), 1279 *Ass* (p), *Harmar* 1610 Norden, *Haremere* 1634 SAC 33, 110, 1724 B (PNSx 2:456: “Cf. *on haranmere* (BCS 1127) and *to haranmere* (KCD 705) in the bounds of Wiltshire and Warwickshire charters. There is low-lying land here by the Rother and the second element may be OE **mere**, „pool,’ Sussex *mare*, but the meaning of the whole name is obscure. It is near the parish-boundary, v. **har**.)” Dodgson (1978:74) takes Haremere to contain as second element OE *mere* and as first element OE *har* meaning „venerable, on a boundary’, and the form *Harmere* c. 1207 is given in MED as an example of ME *hōr* < OE *hār*.

For (*on*) *haranmere* BCS 1127 and (*to*) *haranmere* KCD 705 see note 51. They have not been included in the chapter on OE (*ge*)*māere*, since the second element is in all probability *mere*.

OE *mos*, ON *mosi* „moss, bog’ second element:

<sup>77</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material is: **Ch**: *le Horemere stall* 1353 (PNCh 3:280 f: “perhaps „the old boundary-point’, or „the site of *Horemere* (the hoar pool)’ from (**ge**)**māere** or **mere**<sup>1</sup> and **stall**, with **hār**<sup>2</sup>; however Professor Löfvenberg proposes „muddy pool’ from **horu** and **mere-steall**, which is a preferable interpretation”). See also PNCh 5 (1:ii) (place-name elements): “† **mere-st(e)all** OE, „a (stagnant) pool; a pond’ (...)” with this name listed.

<sup>78</sup> See also Kerr (1960:141): “Boundary fields sometimes have distinctive names like *Haremere* (pt. O.S., 276 Coombe Keynes; 1771; T.A. 1840) which seems to contain two boundary elements, *har*, often a boundary stone, and *maere*, a boundary. ...”. Perhaps it is this field-name that forms part of the name Haremere Wood, since both names are associated with Coombe Keynes.

Ch: (*le*) *Haremos* c. 1130 (1479) *Cott.* Faust. B. VIII, (18) Sheaf<sup>3</sup> 28 (6118), *Hare Moss* 18 ib. (6138). On the county and township boundary. (PNCh 3:94 f (under the later name Brankelow Moss): “ ‚the old moss’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **mos**. ...”).

OE *pytt* (Angl, WSax), *pett* (Kt) ‚pit, hole in the ground serving as a trap for animals’, etc., second element:

Do: *Harpete* 1206 Hutch<sup>3</sup> (PNDō 3:43: “HARPITTS FM & LANE, cf. *Harpis Coppice* 1846 (...), probably to be associated with *Harpete* 1206 Hutch<sup>3</sup> (3 618), ‚grey pit’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **pytt**; Harpitts Lane is on the par. bdy.”).<sup>79</sup>

OE *stān* ‚stone’ second element:

D: *la Horaston* c. 1235-40 (14th) W. D Bdle 39, no. 5 (Finberg 1969:156 f, and footnote p. 157: “... With ”la Horaston” compare the Horestones in Witteridge and Bishop’s Tawton, both from *har stan*, another term for a boundary stone. ...”). – (*Gervase*) *atte Horestone*’ 1330 SR (PND 2:399: “HORESTONE was probably the home of Gervase *atte Horestone*’ 1330 SR. ‚Boundary stone,’ v. **har**, **stan**. The place lies by the parish boundary.”). – Horestone Cottages: *Horestone* 1610 *Recov* (PND 2:353: “ ‚Boundary stone,’ v. **har**. The place is by the parish boundary.”). (Horestone and Horestone Cottages are in Witteridge and Bishop’s Tawton, respectively, see *la Horaston*, above).

Do: Hoare Stone 1837 TA 98: (*claus’ apud*) *Horestone* 1583 *Glyn* (PNDō 2:229). – *le Horestone*’, (*la*) *Horestone* 1280 *Ass*, 1280 QW, *Horesham* (PNDō: sic) 17 *CecilMap*, *the Horestone* 1620 Hutch<sup>3</sup> f<sup>80</sup>). (PNDō 2:259). PNDō translates *hār* in these examples as ‚grey (boundary)’.

O: *harestone* c. 1244 (c. 1450) Godstow (PNO 2:254: “v. **hār**, **stān**”). – Hoarestone, Great Hoarestone: *Horston*’ 1358 (c. 1425) Frid (PNO 1:24: “v. **hār**, **stān**”). – *Hoarestone* 1685 (c. 1700) *BodIT* (PNO 2:310: “v. **hār**”). – Hoar Stone: *le horestone* 1331 Dean, Hoare Stone c. 1840 TA (PNO 2:349: “v. **hār**, **stān**”). – Hoarstone Furlong c. 1840 TA: *meer-stone called Hoarestone* 1591 *Survey*, *Horestone* 1641 Wych (PNO 2:377: “ ‚boundary stone,’ v. **hār**”).<sup>81</sup> –

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<sup>79</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material is: Do: (*Shortland*) *atte Hareputte* 1317 (PNDō 3:253 (s.n. Shortlands): “v. **sc(e)ort**, **land**, **atte**, **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **pytt**”).

<sup>80</sup> See PNDō: “the Wurstone 1869 (described in Hutch<sup>3</sup> 3 388 as ‚a large block of sandstone standing on the heath, not far from the Ringwood Road’, and probably to be identified with *le Horestone*’, (*la*) *Horestone* 12801, 12802, *Horesham* (PNDō: sic) 17, *the Horestone* 1620, a point in the bounds of Cranborne Chase, ‚the grey (boundary) stone’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **stān**”).

<sup>81</sup> Hoarstone Furlong is a field-name in the parish of Shipton under Wychwood. Aston & Rowley (1974:61 f) have an enclosure map (1850) of the adjacent parish of Milton under Wychwood, where there is another HOARSTONE FURLONG. It is on the parish boundary but not the boundary with Shipton under Wychwood. They say: “The enclosure map (1850) shows the pre-enclosure landscape with its composite named furlongs. ‚Hoarstone furlong’ may well refer to a lost prehistoric megalithic



*Horestan* t. Hy 2 *St John* (PNO 1:225: “HOARSTONE SPINNEY (*Horestone* c. 1360 Eynsh (PNO 2:328: “v. **hār, stān**”). – *Horestone* c. 1240 (Os) (PNO 2:406: “v. **hār, stān**”). – *le Horstone* 1551-52 *Survey* (PNO 2:429: “Morton, *The Natural History of Northamptonshire*, 1712, mentions a *Horestone*<sup>82</sup>, apparently on the border of the two counties; v. PN Nth 34 for the quotation, v. **hār, stān**”).

Wo: Hoarstone Farm: *Horstan* 1240 Wigorn (p), *othehoreston*, (*de*) *Horeston* 1275 SR, 1307 Ipm, *Hoarstone* 1651 FF (PNWo 250: “ ‚Boundary-stone’ (v. **har**), possibly one of the bounds of Wyre forest. This is a very common term in the West Country, cf. *Horestone* Furlong in Overbury, *Whoarston*<sup>83</sup> Grove in Himbleton, from the 1649 Survey.”). See also Löfvenberg (1942:107): “*Wo*: Ric. Othehoreston’ 1275 SR 13. The reference is to Hoarstone Fm in Kidderminster [*Ric. de Horeston*’ 1221 Ass 557, *Ric. de Horstan* 1240 WoP 93]. ‚Grey (boundary-)stone’ (OE *hār + stān*). cf. PNWo 250, ODP s.n., and NED s.v. *hoar-stone*.”. See, moreover, Duignan (1905:83): “Hoarstone (The), f., 1 m. NE. of Bewdley. 1275 *Richard o’ th’ horeston*, S. R.; 1449 *Richard Janyns of Horestone* (Lyt. Ch.). V. Hoarstone, *ante*.”. The Duignan passage referred to is quoted in note 6. Hoarstone Farm is near the boundary between Kidderminster Foreign and Bewdley. – *Horestone* Furlong 1649 Survey (PNWo 250, see Hoarstone Farm, above). – *Whoarston* Grove 1649 Survey (PNWo 250, see Hoarstone Farm, above).

Wa: Hoarstone: *Horstounfeld* 1333, *Whorstonfeld*, now *Warstonefield* 1602 (Duignan 1912:70: “V. Hoarstone, *ante*.”). The passage referred to is practically identical with the passage in Duignan 1905 quoted in note 6. – Hoarstone Meadow: *Horestone feild* 1603 Ladbroke, *Whoreston feild* 1634 ib. (PNWa 358: “i.e. ‚boundary-stone,’ v. **har**”). – Horeston Grange: *Harestone* 1221 Ass (p), *Horeston* 1291 Tax, 1535 VE, *Horrestonfeeldes* 1544 Aston, *Horston graunge*, *Horston broke* 1585 LRMB, *Whorestone lane* 1575 Aston, *Whoreston field* 1688 ib. (PNWa 90: “ ‚Grey stone’ or ‚boundary stone,’ v. **har, stan**. As the place is not near the parish boundary, the name may have referred to some stone marking the boundary between the Priory and some other estate.”). – Warstone Piece: *Whoreston or Whorston feild* 1649 *BirmDeed*

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monument, „Clatlands’ (claylands) is first recorded in the twelfth century and the mill on „Mill Furlong’ can be identified from earthworks in the valley bottom.”.

<sup>82</sup> See PNNth 34 (s.n. Paddle Cottage): “Morton records the old saying attributed to the Danes when about to engage in fight on the neighbouring *Danesmore* “If we can Pad-well overgoe and Horestone we can see; Then Lords of England we shall be.” The *Horestone* he tells us was a famous old stone on the borders of Warwickshire (?Oxfordshire) in Wardlinton (PNNth: sic) Field.”. The Oxfordshire name *le Horstone* 1551-52 *Survey* belongs to the parish of Wardington, and the stone may well be Morton’s Horestone.

<sup>83</sup> The spelling is *Whoarstone* in PNWo 357 (s.n. Warstock).

(PNWa 343: “marked by a *hoarstone* or boundary stone.”). – Whorestone Furlong: *Horestone feild* 1603 Ladbroke (PNWa 360: “a boundary-stone between the parishes of Southam and Ladbroke, v. **har-stan**”). Not the same stone as in *Horestone feild* 1603, *Whoreston feild* 1634 listed under Hoarstone Meadow above?

Nth: *Whorestone Furlong* 17th map of Desborough, *Horestan* 1227 *FF*, (PNNth 283: “on the boundary, v. **har, stan**”).

Ch: *le Harestane* 1309 *Plea* or *Sheaf*<sup>3</sup> 25 (PNCh 4:234: “„the hoar stone’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**, a boundary stone between Willaston and Little Neston”). – *Harestanesfield* 1. 12 (17) *Orm*<sup>2</sup>, *Horestonesfield* 13 (17) *ib.*, *-isfeld* 13 (17) *Tab*, *le horston feld* 1325 *CoLegh* (PNCh 2:54: “„field at a hoar stone’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**”). – *Harestanfeld* 1338 *Chol*, *Harstan-* 1359 *ib.*, *le Horestonesmedewe* 1366 *ib.* (PNCh 3:267: “„(field & meadow at) the hoar stone’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān, feld, mæd**”). – *Horestansich, -ston-* 1331 *ChFor* (PNCh 3:164: “„(watercourse at) the old grey stone’, from **hār<sup>2</sup>** and **stān**, with **siċ**”). – *del Horeston*’ 1348 *ChFor* (p) (PNCh 1:178 f<sup>84</sup>). – *le Horeston* 1343 *Chol* (PNCh 4:202: “„the old grey stone’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**, beside a road which led from Ledsham to Church Shotwick”). – *le horestonele, le hor’stonele* 1310 *AddCh* (PNCh 3:158: “„(clearing at) the grey stone’, from **hār<sup>2</sup>** and **stān**, with **lēah**”). – *le Horston* 1. 13 *AddCh* 51047-51178 (PNCh 2:172: “„the hoar stone’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**”). – *le Nether-*, *le Ouereharstonfeld* 1406 *JRC* (PNCh 4:253: “„(the lower and higher fields) at the hoar stone’, v. **neoðera, uferra, feld, hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**”). – Whore Stone Croft 1777 *Chol*: (*le*) *hor(e)ston(es)feld* 1354 *Chol*, 1377 *ib.*, 1394 *ib.*, 1492 *ib.* (PNCh 4:49: “„(croft and field at) the old grey stone’, from **hār<sup>2</sup>** and **stān**, with **feld, croft**”).

Db: *Hare stone* 1627 *Senior* (PNDb 1:130: “v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**”). – *Harstanclyf* 1330 *Ass* (PNDb 2:375: “„grey stone cliff”, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān, clif**”). – *Harstones* 1381 *SR* (p) (PNDb 1:84: “„boundary stones’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**”). – *Harstones* 1550 *DbAns* vi (PNDb 3:655<sup>85</sup>). – Hoarstone: *Whorestones* 1689 *ParReg* (PNDb 1:113: “„grey or boundary stone(s)’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**”). – *le Horestone* *Hy* 3 *WollCh* (PNDb 3:519). – Horsley Castle: *Har(e)stan(e)* 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203 *P*, 1203 *Cur* (p), 1204 *CartAnt*, 1204 *LibR*, 1206, 1207, 1209 *P et freq* to 1347 *DbCh*, *Harestain* 1226 *FF*, *Har(e)ston(e)* 1269 *Ass*, *Ed* 1 *DbCh*, 1325 *WollCh et passim* to 1472 *ib.*, *Hor(e)stan* 1226 *CIR*, 1247 *Lib*, 1258 *BurtAn*, 1347 *Pat*,

<sup>84</sup> See PNCh: “PLAGUE STONE (101 995816), 1’ OS, *Standing Stone* 6’ OS, *Stone* 1842 OS, cf. *del Horeston*’ 1348 *ChFor* (p), „the hoar stone’, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**. The modern name doubtless derives from the suitability of this place, a standing stone near the Lyme Handley boundary, for use as a quarantined rendezvous in times of epidemic sickness.”

<sup>85</sup> See PNDb: “Hailstones (probably to be identified with *Harstones* 1550 *DbAns* vi, v. **hār<sup>2</sup>, stān**”). Hailstones (from a list prepared by W. Fraser) is a modern field-name.

*Hor(e)ston(e)* c. 1200 RegAnt (p), 1264, 1279 Pat, 1279 Fine, 1291 Tax, 1299 Ipm *et passim* to 1610 Speed (PNDb 2:471, noting that *castellum de, castrum de, etc.* precede almost all these forms, and saying: “ „Grey stone’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **stān**. Presumably the castle was built at a place called *Harstan*; this is to be preferred to the popular theory that the name is descriptive of the castle itself. The change to Horsley Castle is late but note John *del Castell de Horsel’* 1373 Cor. ”). Also in SMED<sup>2</sup>, p. 22: “*Horston* 1327 68”.

La: Harsenden: *Harstanden* 13th WhC 664, (*aq. de*) *Haristanden* 1284 ib. 166, *Harestancroft* 1275 ib. 648, *Harstandencroft* 13th ib. 663 (PNLa 60: “ “Grey stone (or, boundary stone) valley.” O.E. *hār* “grey” and *stān*. “Hoar stones” are often mentioned as boundary marks in O.E. charters (cf. NED s.v. *hoarstone*).” ). – Hastingley: (*de*) *Harstaneslegh* 1357 LF, *Harstonelee* 1618 CW 162 (PNLa 73: “ “The hoarstone lea”; cf. p. 60 [the preceding name].” ).

ON *steinn* „stone”:

NRY: *Haresteinegate* 1201 Ped. fin. Eb. (Lindkvist 1912:56, taking the first element to be perhaps OE **hara** „hare’, the second element to be OWScand **stein** „stone, rock’, and the third element to be OWScand **gata** „road’ ). However, OE *hār* (or ON *hár* „hoary, old’) seem much more likely. See also PNNb & Du 103, where this name is mentioned s.n. Harsondale: *Harestanesden* 1255, *Harsenden* 1368, *Harsondale* 1663: “Mathieson (*Place-names of Elginshire*, p. 187) explains *Harestanes* as a boundary wall with notches like a hare’s lip, and Lindkvist (p. 56) suggests for *Haresteinegate*, Yorks., connection with M.E. *hare*, “hare.” Both suggestions are incorrect. *Harestane* is O.E. *hār-stān*, “grey” or “boundary stone” often found in O.E. charters. In the S. and Midl. it becomes *Hoarstone*. Cf. Duignan, *Worcestershire Place-names*, p. 70, and N.E.D. s.v. The same boundary stone is referred to in *Harstanley* in Staward [...]”.

OE *stocc* „tree-trunk, log, stock, something made of logs’ second element:

Wo/Wa: Warstock: *Le Horestok* 1331 Misc, *Whorestocke* 1567 *BirmDeed*, *Hoorestock* 1675 WillsP, *Harstock Corner* c. 1840 *TA* (PNWo 357: “*Hoore* is from OE **har** and is descriptive of a boundary **stocc** or post. The place lies where King’s Norton, Solihull and Yardley meet. The development of initial *w* is dialectal, ...”; PNWa 72: “... *Le Horestok* (in the confines of Worcestershire and Warwickshire) 1331 Misc, ...”).<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> On the dialectal development see Duignan (1905:172) under the names Warstock House, Warstock Farm, Warstock Lane, “on the boundary of Kingsnorton and Yardley”, so obviously it is this Warstock, although no earlier forms are given: “The change from *Hār-* to *War-* took place about the year 1500, and is not singular; *whore* until then was *hore*, and *whole* was *hole*. Leland, c. 1540, says,

OE *torr* ‚rock, rocky outcrop, rocky peak’ second element:

D: *Whoretarr*, *Whoretarrcombe* 1651 Exmoor (PND 1:64 s.n. Hoarok (see above): “... *tarr*, i.e. **tor** (v. **torr**) must refer to Hoarok Hill Sa”).

OE, ON *þorn* ‚thorn-tree, hawthorn’ second element:

D: Harrathorn: *Harethorn* 1249 Ass (p), *Hore-* 1396 Cl (PND 1:155: “Probably ‚boundary thorn tree,’ v. **har**, **þorn**. The place is about 300 yards from the parish boundary.”).

Do: *Horthorn*’ 1376 *Digby* (PNDo 3:392: “v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> ‚grey’, **þorn**”).

W: *Hoorethornes close* 1570. – *Horthorneforlong* 1348. – *Whore Thornes* 1587. All PNW 448, see note 9.

Brk: Hawthorn Hill: *Horethorn*’ 1327 SR (p), *Horethorne* 1494 Ipm, *Hothorne* 1573 *SpecCom*, *Hoe-thorne* 1607 *Norden*, Hawthorne 1790 *Pride*, Hawthorn Hill 1800 *Eden* (PNBrk 1:45: “The place is on the parish boundary, and the meaning is probably ‚boundary thorn’, v. **hār**, **þorn**”). See Hoarthorns Farm (Gl), above.

Ess: *Harethorn* 13th or 1446. – *Harthorn* 13th or 1446 (for both names PNEss 591s.v. **þorn**: “... two examples of *Har(e)thorn* (13th, 1446) (v. **har**)”).

Ch: Hawthorn Hall: *Har(e)thorn(e)* c. 1200, c. 1320, 1337 *Fitt*, *Haythorn(e)* 1512, 1532, 1688 *Earw*, *Hathorne* 1562 *ib.*, (*the*) *Hawthorn(e)* 1655 *ib.*, 1661 *Sheaf* (PNCh 1:229: “ ‚the hoar thorn’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **þorn**, with later spellings from **hæg-þorn**, **hagu-þorn** ‚the hawthorn’ ”). – Hawthorne Abbey: *Harethorne* J Ormerod (DEPN: “ ‚Grey thorn-bush.’ Cf. HĀR.”). (Maybe the forms belong to Hawthorn Hall.) – *locum vocatum Horethorne* 1466 *LeghW* 277 (PNCh 5 (1:i) (Add. & Corr. (PNCh 5(1:i):xxii) to Hawthorn 1849 *TA* 254, 1850 *TAMap* 254 (PNCh 1:287)): “Add ‚cf. *locum vocatum Horethorne* 1466 *LeghW* p. 277, v. **hār**, **þorn**, a boundary point of an estate ...;’ ”). See Hoarthorns Farm (Gl), above.

Cu: *Le Haythornes*, *Le Har(e)thorne(s)* 1597 *LRMB*, *Haythornes* 1617 *Lowther* (PNCu 1:235).<sup>87</sup>

OE *þyrne* ‚thorn-bush; thorn thicket’ second element:

W: *la Horethurne* 1331 (PNW 448: “*þyrne* ‚thorn bush’ is occasionally found as in ..., *la Horethurne* (1331), ‚boundary thorn.’ ...”).

OE *wald* (Angl), *weald* (Kt, WSax) probably in the sense ‚woodland on high ground’ second element:

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‚Clee hills be holy’ (wholly) ‚in Shropshire’; and some modern writers have assumed them to be ‚holy’ to Salopians, and have marvelled wherefore.”.

<sup>87</sup> The forms no doubt show confusion between **hār** and **hæg** (in OE **hæg-þorn** ‚hawthorn, whitethorn’) as the first element. See Hoarthorns Farm (Gl), above.

**Bd:** Harrold: *Hareuuelle* 1086 DB, *Harewold(a)* 1163 P, 1220 LS, 1227 Ass, FF, 1234 Cl, 1237, 1240, 1256, 1268 FF, 1276 1287 Ass, 1322, 1354 Ipm, 1388 Cl, 1476 AD vi, *Harewuda* 1167 P, 1220 LS, *Harawald* 1194 P, *Harewde* 1227 Ass, *Harewode* 1227, 1240 Ass, 1244 FF, 1276 Ass, 1312 Ch, 1322 Cl, 1331 QW, *Harwode* 1232, 1234 FF, *Har(e)wald* 1236, 1244 FF, 1247 Ass, 1253 Ch, 1287 QW, Ass, *Harwold(e)* 1240 FF, 1346, 1428 FA, 1432 IpmR, 1501 Ipm, 1528 LP, *Harewaud* 1240 FF, 1253 Ch, *Horewald* 1247 Ass, *Horwold* 1276 Ass, *Harrold* 1346 Ipm, 1535 AD v, *Harwood* 1525 LP, *Harrold al. Yarrold* 1560 VCH iii. 66, *Harwood* 1610, [sic (,)] Speed, 1730 VCH iii. 66, Harwood or Harrold c. 1750 Bowen (PNBd & Hu 32 f). See note 7.

OE *weg* ‚way‘ second element<sup>88</sup>:

**Bk:** Harelane Bridge (6’): *Hareway* 1639 *Terr* (PNBk 144: “This is on the parish boundary and the name should perhaps really be *Harway* (v. **har**), the modern name having been influenced by the animal name.”).

OE *wella*, etc. ‚spring, stream‘ second element<sup>89</sup>:

**Brk:** Harwell: *æt haranwylle* 956 (12th) BCS 1183 (S 672), *Harawille* 973 (12th) ib. 1292 (S 790), (*æt*) *Harewillan* 985 (12th) KCD 648 (S 856), *Harvvelle*, *Harowelle* 1086 DB, *Harewella* c. 1130 OxonCh *et passim* with variant spellings *Harewell*’, *Harewell(e)*, *Harewille* to 1401-2 FA, *Harrewell*’ 1295 SR, *Arewell* c. 1180 Oxoniensia v., *Arewelle* 1272 Ipm, *Harwell* 1337 Ch, 1381 Fine, 1517 D Inc, *Harwell alias Princes Harwell* 1615-16 *PubLib*, Harwell als Princess Harwell 1756 ArchJ 14 (PNBrk 2:521 f: “ ‚Stream or spring by the hill named \**Hāra*’, v. **w(i)ella**, and cf. Horn Down (480) for the hill-name. The stream rises at Wellshead Fm, near the Church, a short distance from the northern edge of the hill ...”). Horn Down is listed under OE *dūn*, above. See also DEPN s.n. Brk.

**Wa:** Horwell (lost): *Hor(e)welle* 1279 *Nott et freq* to 1656 Dugdale, *le Horewalle* 1279 *Nott*, *Horewell by Anesty* 1376 AD, *Horewelle* 1841 Poole (PNWa 167: “This may be ‚dirty spring or stream,‘ v. **horh**, **wielle**, or, since it was on the boundary of the old city of Coventry, it may be ‚boundary-stream‘ (Duignan 72), v. **har**. “Long depopulated” (Dugdale 128).”).

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<sup>88</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material is the Cheshire name *Harewaieslond* 1497 (PNCh 3:168: “from **land** ‚a selion‘ and a p.n., perhaps ‚old way‘, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **weg**, but the first el. could be **hara** ‚a hare‘ or **hær** ‚a stone‘”).

<sup>89</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are: **K:** Harwell: *Harewelle* 1253-4, *Harwell* 1690 (PNK 295: “More early forms are needed. The first el. may be OE *hār* “hoar, grey; ?boundary” (v. Mawer, EPN, p. 33) or *hara* “hare” ...”). **Brk:** Harril Head, Harrolds Head: *Harewell*’ 1307-9 (PNBrk 2:320, saying that the first element “may be **hār**<sup>2</sup> ‚grey‘, perhaps ‚boundary‘, ...”).

OE *wice* “ ‚a wych-elm’ or other tree with pliant branches” (EPNE) second element:

Do: (*La*) *Horewich*’, *Le Horewichie* (PND<sub>o</sub>: sic), *le-*, *la Horewych*’ 1280 *Ass*, *la Horewyche*, *le Hordewych*’ (PND<sub>o</sub>: sic) 1280 *QW*, *Horewith* 17 *CecilMap*, 1620 *Hutch*<sup>3</sup> (PND<sub>o</sub> 2:259: “ ‚the grey wych-elm’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **wice**, cf. *Horwich La* (DEPN); this was a point in the bounds of Cranborne Chase”).

Db: *Horwich End*: *Horwick*, *-wyck* Hy 3, 1285 *For*, *Horewight*, *-wyht* 1285 *ib.*, *Hor(e)wich(e)*, *-wyche* 1285 *ib.*, 1328 *SR* (p) *et passim*, *Horridge* 1640 *Map et passim* (PND<sub>b</sub> 1:99: “ ‚Boundary wych-elm’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **wice**; the place is situated close to the old Db-Ch county boundary. Spellings in *Horridge* indicate the local pronunciation of the name. Cf. *Horwich* (PN *La* 44) and the surname *Horridge*.”), SMED<sup>2</sup>, p. 22: “*de Horewich* (p) 1327 62”).

La: *Horwich*: *Horewych for.* 1254 *Misc*, *Harewych* 1277 *VH*, *Horewiche* 1282 *Ipm* (DEPN: “OE (æt) *hāran wicum* ‚the grey wych elms’. OE *wice* means ‚wych elm’.”). Near the parish boundary, see PNL<sub>a</sub> 44<sup>90</sup>.

OE *\*wīðign*, *\*wīðegn* ‚willow’ second element:

Ch: *le Harewythingreue* 1327 *AddCh* (PNCh 4:87: “ ‚hoar willow-wood’, from **wīðegn** and **grāfe**, with **hār**<sup>2</sup>”). However, it may be suggested that the name can also be analysed as a combination of *hār* and *\*wīðign*, *\*wīðegn*, with *grāfe* added. – *Horewythynis* Hy 3 *MainwB* (PNCh 2:89: “ ‚hoar willows’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, *wīðegn*”).

OE *word̄*, *weord̄*, *wurđ*, *wyrđ* perhaps in the sense ‚enclosed settlement’ second element:

Nt: *Harworth*: *Hareworde* 1086 *DB*, *-wrthe* 1192 *France et passim* to 1344 *Pat*, with variant spellings *-worth*, *-wurth*, *-wrde*, *Harawrda* c. 1175 (17th) *Dodsworth*, *Harewude* 1242 *Fees*, *Hartworht* 1263 *Ipm*, *Harewort* 1286 *Pap*, *Harewrth juxta Blithe* 1291 *Ass*, *Harreworth* 1364 *FF* (p) (PNNt 80: “As this place is just on the Yorkshire border it is probable that the first element is **har**, hence ‚boundary farm or estate,’ v. **worþ**.”). Also (*by*) *Harworth* 1310 *Ipm* (PNNt 80). The form *Harawrda* c. 1175 is given in MED as an example of ME *hōr* adj. (< OE *hār*). Cf., however, DEPN, suggesting that the first element is OE *\*hær* ‚stone, stony ground’.

OE *wudu* ‚wood’ second element<sup>91</sup>:

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<sup>90</sup> PNL<sub>a</sub> 44: “*Horwich* (in the N. W. corner of the parish; town): (forest of) *Horewych*, *-e* 1254 *IM*, *Horewiche* (forest) 1282 *IPM*, *Horewich* 1322 *LI*, 1332 *LF*, *-eley* 1322 *LI*, *Horewyche* 1331 *Ind*, *Horwyge* 1539 *DL*, *Horridge* 1641 *Blackrod R*; now [ɔrid ], Hargreaves, p. 110. *Horwich* was the forest of the lords of Manchester (VHL V. 7). The name probably goes back to O.E. (æt) *hāran wican* “the grey witchelms” (O. E. *hār* “grey” and *wice* “witchelm”); cf. *Harewych* 1277 *VHL* V. 6. Or possibly the second el. is a derivative of *wice* “elm-wood”; cf. *Wicheves* p. 43.”

- D:** Harraton: *Harewodeton* 1244 Ass (p), *Harwodetone*, *-wedetone* 1274, 1286 Exon (p), *Harweton* 1316 AD vi (p) (PND 1:265: “„Grey wood farm’ or perhaps „boundary wood farm,’ v. **har**, the place lying near the parish boundary.”).
- Db:** Harewood Grange: *Harewda* John *WollCh*, *Harewod(e)* John *Beau*, 1291 Tax, *Harwode Graunge* 1486 *HardCh*, *Har(e)wood Grange* 1546 *MinAcct*, 1577 Saxton, Harrod 1722 DbA xix. (PNDb 1:44 f: “v. **grange**, it was formerly in the possession of Beauchief Abbey. With this must be taken the neighbouring Harland Edge, *Harelundhegge* John *Beau*. The first element in both cases may be **hara** „hare’, but the situation of the two on the parish boundary, which is also the hundred boundary, suggests rather that it is **hār**<sup>2</sup>. Hence „boundary

<sup>91</sup> Too uncertain to be included in the material are: **D:** Harwood: *Harewode* 1403 (PND 1:226: “„Hare wood.’ ”). – Horwood: *Hareoda*, *Horew(o)da* 1086, *Harewde* 1219, *Horwude* 1196 *et passim* with variant spelling *-wode*, *Horewode* 1291, *Churchehorwode* 1356, *Horwood al. Worewood* 1692 (PND 1:115: “The term **har** is commonly applied to a wood in OE and the compound **har-wudu** would denote a grey wood. As this compound would explain the early forms in *a*, with later regular rounding to *o* before shortening took place, we are probably right in assuming a first element **har** rather than **hor**, „mud,’ which would leave the *a*-forms unexplained.”). Cf., however, DEPn, where „muddy wood’ is taken to be the probable meaning, and the *a*-forms are suggested to be used to avoid unpleasant associations. **Ch:** (*nemus de*) *Harewode* 1300, 1307, 1313 (PNCh 1:83: “„hoar wood’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **wudu**”). – *Harewode* 1271 (PNCh 1:314: “Harewood Lodge, 1831 Bry, cf. *Harewode* 1271 *AddCh*, „hoar wood’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **wudu**.”). – *Harewodehacrus* c. 1300 (PNCh 2:319: “„(ploughlands at) hoar-wood’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> (wk. dat. sg. **hāran**), **wudu**, **æcer**”). – Harewood-Hill, Harrow Hill: *Harewod(edisc)* 1357, *Harewod(e)* 1503, Harwood Hill 1816, Harewood Hill 1842 (PNCh 3:211: “perhaps „the grey wood’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup> (wk. obl. **hāran**), **wudu** but the first el. could be **hara** ‘a hare’ or even **hær** „a rock’. ...”). **Db:** *Harwood* 1640 (PNDb 1:182: “„boundary wood’, v. **hār**<sup>2</sup>, **wudu**, ...”). **La:** Great Harwood: *majori Harewuda* a 1123, *Harewode* 1243, *Harewude* 1246, *Magna Harwood* 1303, *Magna Harwode* 1327, *Harewode Magna* 1332 (PNLa 72: “The first el. may be O.E. *hār* “grey,” or *hara* “hare.” ”). – Harwood: *Harewode* 1212, 1241, 1292, 1332, f *Harwude* 1227, *Harwode* 1327 (PNLa 46: “The same name is found in Bl. and in Devon; cf. Harewood, Yks. (*Harawuda* 10 cent., *Hareuode* DB; cf. Moorman), Horwood, Bucks. The most probable meaning is “grey (or old) wood,” O.E. *hār* “grey; old” and *wudu*. But in some cases the first el. may be O.E. *hara* “hare.”). Bl. is Blackburn parish, with Great Horwood and Little Horwood. Horwood (Bk) is taken in DEPn to contain OE **horh** and mean „muddy wood’. – Little Harwood: *Little Harewod* 1246, *Parua Har(e)wode* 1327, 1332, *Parua Harwood* 1341, *Little Harewode* 1493 (PNLa 73: “See Great Harwood. Li. Harwood is separated from Gt. Harwood by Rishton township. Yet we must assume the two to have belonged together and to have been named from the same wood.”). **We:** Harewood, 1865: *Harewod* 1327, Harrod 1777, Hared wood 1836 (PNWe 1:143: “v. **hara** „hare’, **wudu**”). **NRy:** Harwood Dale: *Harewode* 1301, 1385, *Harwod* 1301, 1395, *Harwoddale* 1577 (PNNRY 113: “v. Hard Dale 112 *supra*. The first element is doubtful. It may be OE **hara** „hare,’ hence „hare wood.’ It is possible however that we may have OE **har** „rock,’ (...), which would certainly conform with the topography of Harwood Dale. Finally it might be OE (*æt þēm*) *hāra(n) wuda* „(at the) grey wood.’ Equally ambiguous is Harewood (YWR), ONb *æt Harawuda*, where Færeman Glossed the gospel of St John.”). (Not necessarily glossed there, see Coates 1997.) For Harewood (WRY) see also note 37 above. See on *Har(e)wood*-names Coates op.cit. (considering such names to contain OE **hār**) and note 97 below.

wood' and ‚boundary grove' respectively, v. **wudu**, **lúndr**. To the latter has been added the topographical element **ecg** ‚ridge'... ”). The parish is Beeley and the hundred High Peak Hundred, bordering on Scarsdale Hundred. See Harland Edge under ON *lundr*, above, and these two names in the Discussion, below.

## 6.3 Discussion

The material shows clearly that there are two main general problems with OE *hār* as a place-name element: 1. Is the element in the name really OE *hār*, or is it some other element? The most common candidate seems to be OE *hara* ‚hare'. 2. If the element is OE *hār*, what does it mean? Of special interest for this study is if it can mean ‚boundary-’.

The OE material will be discussed first.

### A OE (mainly charter) material

The OE material consists mostly of instances from boundary descriptions belonging to OE charters. These instances refer to something on a boundary, but that does not mean that it is especially likely that the first element means ‚boundary-’.

The most striking thing about the OE material is that it usually has a word for a tree or the word *stān* as second element. The first element is no doubt *hār* in these combinations, and it is reasonable to believe that, as a rule, it has the same meaning in these cases.<sup>92</sup> It may therefore be useful to look at a few charter passages with *hār*. Not all the charters belong to counties dealt with in this thesis.

In S 1819 (So) occur both OE *græg* ‚grey' and *hār*:

“swa forð on gerihta to Greganstane”

“so that [you go] straight ahead to Grey(?) Stone” (Biggam 94)

and

“þanon on ðone haran stan westanwearde”

“from there westward to the old, grey stone” (Biggam 244)

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<sup>92</sup> It is therefore unlikely that the combination of *hār* and *wīðig* means ‚whitebeam' as early as in OE charter boundaries, as Ekwall (Studies<sup>2</sup> 119 f) suggests. He says: “... Though it is possible that *hāra wīðig* sometimes means ‚grey willow', the probability seems to be that it refers to the whitebeam. ...”. This suggestion is rejected with convincing arguments by Biggam (p. 141 f).



Likewise in S1006 (So):

“Of ðan gregean stane to readan forda.”

“*From the grey(?) stone to [the] red ford.*” (Biggam 95)

and

“to ðære haran apelduran”

“*to the old apple tree*” (Biggam 250)

It seems unlikely that *hār* means ‚grey’ in collocations *stān* and words for trees in charter boundaries.

In S 766 (W and IoW) occur both OE *eald* ‚old’ and *hār*:

“þanon on haran apuldre, þanon on þa ealdan gemotewille”

“*From there to [the] old apple tree, from there to the old meeting-place [at the] spring*”

and

“of þam þorne on haran wic westwearde”

“*from the hawthorn, westward to [the] old(?) dairy-farm*” (Biggam 248) (Note that the second element is interpreted as the tree-word *wice* in this thesis, see above.)

Likewise in S 1380 (St):

“and forþ efter þer alde strete on þane Haren stan”

“*and forwards along the old road to the old, grey stone*” (Biggam 258)

It seems unlikely that *hār* means ‚old’ in collocations with *stān* and words for trees in charter boundaries.

In S 630 (W and Do) occur both (*ge*)*mære* ‚boundary’ and *hār*:

“þanen on þone grenwai at merewege uue þanen on þa heren apeldre”

“*from there to the green road at Boundary Road above, from there to the old apple tree*” (Biggam 268)

Likewise in S 462 (So):

“þanne a doun on mere wei þat it comigt on þere hevedstock, þanen on þa herewirnen, on þene pulle”

“*then down to Boundary Road so that it comes to the head-stake, from there to the old hawthorn, to the pool(?)*” (Biggam 268)

It seems unlikely that *hār* means ‚boundary-’ in collocations with words for trees in charter boundaries.

In S 969 (Do) occur both (*on*) *ða haran apeldran*, (*on*) *ða haran stanas*, and (*on*) *þona haran wiðig*. It seems likely that *hār* has the same meaning when it occurs more than once in the same charter, so that *haran stan* does not mean ‚boundary-stone’

here. Moreover, it is reasonable to believe that *hār* has the same meaning in combination with *stān* in all charters.

If ‚grey‘, ‚old‘, and ‚boundary-‘ all seem unlikely as the meaning of *hār* in charter boundaries with words for trees and with *stān*<sup>93</sup>, another meaning must be looked for. This meaning could be ‚grey with a rough surface‘. See in note 16 the quotation from Kitson (1993), where Kitson also combines two concepts.

Another possibility is ‚venerable‘. It is not in B-T or B-T Suppl., but OED has among its meanings ‚grey-haired with age; venerable‘, and OS, OHG *hēr* means ‚old‘, ‚venerable‘. Dodgson (1978:74) mentions OE *hār* meaning ‚venerable, on a boundary‘ (see Haremere Hall (Sx), above). Stones in the countryside which were chosen as boundary-markers may have been of different kinds, e.g. large boulders, megalithic tomb-stones, and Roman mile-stones, which may often have looked venerable to the Anglo-Saxons, associating them with prehistoric times and sometimes with pagan rites. See Biggam 230 ff. It is possible that there is a distinction here between *hār* + *stān* referring to stones from time immemorial and OE *hān* referring to stones set up as boundary-marks. (On OE *hān* see the Introduction and the chapter on OE (*ge*)*mære*, note 119.)

Some of the trees in the countryside which were chosen as boundary-markers may have been chosen because they had beard-like lichens hanging from their branches, making them resemble venerable old men with beards so that they could be described as ‚venerable‘. See Rackham (1986) (in note 15) and Biggam 225 ff.

The OE charter S 896 (Gl) has, as mentioned above (note 31), both (*on*) *haran stan* and (*on*) *ðonne haran wiðig*, and the OE charter S 969 (Do) has both (*on*) *ða haran apeldran*, (*on*) *ða haran stanas*, and (*on*) *þona haran wiðig*. As stated above, it seems likely that *hār* has the same meaning when it occurs more than once in the same charter, so that *haran wiðig* does not mean the tree-name ModE ‚hoar withy, whitebeam‘ in OE charters. Thus I do not agree with DEPN s.n. Hoarwithy in Herefordshire. The combination with *wiðig* has probably become a ‚true compound‘ meaning the tree-name ModE ‚hoar withy, whitebeam‘ by and by, the development similar to that of the combination with *stān*.

The stones and trees described as *hār* in charter boundaries are of course boundary-markers, but it is natural to think that there may be stones and trees so described in

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<sup>93</sup> See also S 298 (D), where both *græg*, *eald*, and *hār* occur: „*fram smalan cumbes heafde to græwan stane [...] wið huitan stanes [...] ðonon on haran stan*“ (See Biggam 97). These seem all to be boundary-stones, and then *haran stan* cannot well mean ‚boundary-stone‘ here.

other OE texts with other functions, e.g. to mark meeting-places.<sup>94</sup> There may, in fact, be an example of this in the material. This is (*æt*) *þære hāran apuldran* (Sx) in the AS Chronicle for 1066 (see above), referring to the famous apple-tree of the Battle of Hastings. It marks a meeting-place, see Biggam 277, 103. However, it may have been a boundary-marker originally, since meeting-places are often on boundaries (see Gelling (1978:214)).

A meaning ‚venerable’ suits well the postulated hill-name \**Hāra* or \**Hāre* (Brk).

The OE charter material contains, however, other words than *stān* and words for trees. If OE (*ge*)*māere* occurs in the sense ‚boundary-stone’ in S 1346 (Gl), and the first element is *hār*, the meanings ‚venerable’ and ‚grey with a rough surface’ are as probable as with *stān*. But there are also the *crundel* in S 560 (Brk), the *denu* in S 264 (W), the *geat* in S 490 (Do), the *grāf*, etc. in S 756 (W) and S 542 (Brk), the *lēah* in S 1297 (Wo), the *pæð* in S 977 (Nt), and the *torr* in S 955 (Do). The *þyrne* in S 560 probably means ‚thorn-bush’.

OE *grāf*, *grāfa*, *grāfe* and OE *lēah* are woodland terms. If Gelling’s (1984) analysis of place-names with *grāfe*, *grāf*, *grāfa*, *grāfe*<sup>95</sup> can also be applied to charter instances, the W and Brk instances are likely to contain *hār* in the sense ‚grey’, rather than *hare*. The question of the habitat of the hare complicates the matter (see note 23) for both these instances and the Wo instance with *lēah*, which seems to be rather common both with colour terms and terms for wild creatures, at least in place-names, see Gelling (op.cit. p. 205).

If the instance with OE *crundel* should not be omitted (see note 54), the element is perhaps *hār* in some sense rather than *hara*. With OE *denu* the first element may well be *hara*, as it may well be in the uncertain names with OE *hop* in its ME sense ‚small enclosed valley, esp. one overhanging the main valley’ (see EPNE). See also note 37. If it is *hār*, the meaning may be ‚grey’, perhaps with reference to mist or fog retained in the valley, see note 38. As for the other non-woodland terms, (*to*) *Horgate* (Do) is perhaps most likely to contain *horh*, *horu*. Probably (*on*) *þæm haran pæð* (Nt)

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<sup>94</sup> One of the meanings of **hoar-stone** mentioned in OED is “An ancient stone associated with some event or tradition; a stone of memorial; a standing stone”. The earliest example is from 1666, but that meaning may well occur earlier.

<sup>95</sup> See Gelling (1984:193 f): “As the second element of a compound, *grāfe*, *grāf*, *grāfa* or *grāfe* occur in about 30 major names. The largest class of first elements consists of words describing the grove, most of these being adjectives of colour. Here belong Blgrave BRK (and several minor names of identical etymology), Hargrave CHE(2),NTP, SFK, Redgrave SFK, Whitgreave STF and Youlgreave DRB. Legrave BDF, ‚light grove’, can be classed with these. [...] only Gedgrave SFK and Musgrave WML [refer] to living creatures.”

contains *hār* in the sense ‚old’ or ‚grey’ or ‚grey with a rough surface’ and (*on*) *ðare haren torre* (Do) *hār* in the sense ‚grey’ or ‚grey with a rough surface’.

The OE material also contains some Domesday forms: *Harehille* (Gl), *Haregrave* (Ch), *Haregrave (Heregrave)* (Nth), *Hareuuelle* (Bd), and *Hareworde* (Nt). They all have modern forms and will be treated under B.

### B ME and later material

There are several instances of *hār* with OE *stān* and words for trees also in the ME and later material. The most remarkable thing is that *hār* has by now occurred so often with *stān* that the combination has become a technical term with the meaning ‚boundary-stone’, see note 22. See also note 28.

To assume that *hār* has developed the meaning ‚boundary-’ generally may not be necessary, however. Alternative interpretations will now be discussed.

Also the combination with *stān* does not always refer to a boundary-stone (but it may, of course, have done so originally). Hoarstone (Gl) refers to a stone in a tumulus, see note 34. The meaning ‚venerable’ may be suggested for *hār* in this name and very likely some of the other *stān*-names, and for all the tree-names.<sup>96</sup>

As woodland terms may be counted OE *bearu*, OE *grāfe*, OE *grāf* (*grāfa*), OE *hyrst* in the sense ‚wood’, OE *lēah*, ON *lundr*, OE *\*rod(u)*, OE *sceaga*, OE *þyrne*, ON *þyrnir* in the sense ‚thorn thicket’, OE *wald*, and OE *wudu*. Since woodland often constituted a natural boundary, the circumstance that the place referred to was near a boundary cannot be taken as an indication that *hār*, if it is the first element, means ‚boundary-’. Apart from Harrold (Bd), which no doubt has *hār* as first element, it is not certain that any of the names with a woodland term contains *hār*, even if it may be the most probable alternative with *wudu*.<sup>97</sup> Woodland terms are common as second

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<sup>96</sup> In combination with OIr *cros*, ON *kross*, late OE, ME *cros* ‚cross’ the meaning ‚venerable’ is very suitable. No certain example found (the lost Cumberland field-name *Harecros* 1279 (PNCu 1:181, no comment) is a possible example), but the combination occurs in the Staffordshire name Hoar Cross, explained as ‚Grey cross’ in DEPN.

<sup>97</sup> See Biggam 215 f: “Coates discusses the *Har(e)wood* names in general, and raises some interesting points. He now regards all such names as containing the Old English element *har*, rather than *hara* ‚hare’, mainly because no other place-names with *wudu* contain a first element consisting of a wild or game mammal name.<sup>6</sup> He also points out that the British equivalent place-name, *\*lētocaiton*, occurring in forms such as (*L*)*etoceto* (Wall, Staffordshire) appears to have the same meaning of ‚hoar wood’. He suggests the Old English may be a semi-technical term indicating ancient woodland, or ‚wildwood’, and that the British term may have been used in the same way. This is compatible with the conclusion reached in this research that, in this particular form of place-name, at least, *har* is

elements in the material. Insofar as the first element is *hār*, it may mean ‚grey’ or ‚old’ or sometimes probably ‚venerable’.

There are many names in the material where the second element is neither *stān* nor a word for a tree nor a woodland term. Valleys, like woodland, often constitute natural boundaries, so e.g. the name Harcombe Wood (W), with OE *cumb*, suits the position on the parish boundary irrespective of the meaning of the first element (which may be *hār*, but *hara* and *\*hær* are also possible). Few of these other names, with the exception of one combination, see below, are more or less certain to contain *hār*. They are Horwell Hill (Gl) (with OE *wella*, etc.), Hare Head (WRY) (with OE *hēafod*), Horrabridge (D) (with OE *brycg*), *La Northernehorchestre* (Do) (with OE *ceaster*, *cæster*), *Whoretarr* (D), and Warstock (Wo/Wa) (with OE *stocc*). Horwell Hill has both *a* and *o* in early forms, so the first element should be *hār*. It refers to a spring according to PNGL, and since springs have often been considered to be holy, *hār* may be suggested to mean ‚venerable’. Hare Head seems to refer to something resembling a hoary head. In Horrabridge *hara* is unlikely for semantic reasons. ‚Grey bridge’<sup>98</sup> and ‚old bridge’ make good sense. The second element in *La Northernehorchester* suits *hār* with the meaning ‚venerable’ but also with the meanings ‚grey’ and ‚old’. *Whoretarr* may mean ‚grey rock’ or ‚rock with a rough surface’. The element *stocc* in Warstock may refer to a boundary-post or to a pollarded tree (since pollards are distinctive enough to act as boundary-marks, see Biggam 228 ff), and *hār* could mean ‚old’ or ‚grey’ or ‚grey with a rough surface’.

It is names with OE *hlāw* that constitute the exception. There are some instances in the material for the Other Counties and a remarkably large number of instances in the West Riding material. Although *hlāw* can mean both ‚tumulus’ and ‚hill’, it seems probable that it means ‚tumulus’ in all these names. They all seem to contain *hār*.<sup>99</sup> As with *ceaster*, *cæster*, the meanings ‚grey’, ‚old’, and ‚venerable’ all fit in with the meaning ‚tumulus’ as the second element. However, the frequent combination of *hār*

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likely to be present in its semantic role of denoting ancientness.” See also Biggam’s note 6 (p. 215): “Coates, ‚The Scriptorium of the Mercian Rushworth Gloss’, p. 454. Coates points out that this reverses his previously published view that some of these names could contain *hara*. See Coates, *The Place-Names of Hampshire*, under *Harewood*.” The article referred to is “The Scriptorium of the Mercian Rushworth Gloss: a Bilingual Perspective” on pp 453-58 in *Notes and Queries* 242 (new series 44): 4 (1997).

<sup>98</sup> Warfield 1838 (Ch) (PNCh 2:17: “Warfield or Near White Fd (perhaps from **hār** ‚hoary’, ModE *hoar*, v. **hwīt** ‚white’)”) deserves to be mentioned, although there is only this 19th century form, as a probable example of **hār** as a colour term.

<sup>99</sup> But Harlow (Ess) contains OE **her(e)-hlāw**, where **hlāw** is ‚hill’. See DEPn: “OE *here-hlāw* (or rather *her-hlāw* with loss of *e* as in *herpæp* ‚the mound of the people’. A hundred meeting-place is referred to. Harlow is also a hundred.”

and *hlāw* may suggest that it has become a ‚true compound’ with some special meaning, perhaps ‚tombus’, just as the combination of *hār* and *stān* and probably the combination of *hār* and *wīðig*.

Of the Domesday forms, *Hargrave* (Ch) (mod. Hargrave), *Haregrave* (*Heregrave*) (Nth) (mod. Hargrave), and *Hareuuelle* (Bd) (mod. Harrold) have woodland terms as second elements, and all may contain *hār*, *hara*, or *\*hær*. *Harehill* (Gl) (mod. Harnhill) may contain *hār*, *hara* or *\*hæren* ‚rocky’. *Hareworde* (Nt) (mod. Harworth) may contain *hār* or *hara* or *\*hær*.



The suggested meaning ‚venerable’ as one of the meanings of OE *hār* may possibly have too positive a ring to it. Biggam (233 ff) gives several OE examples, among others from *Beowulf*, where she stresses that *hār* refers to something fearsome. Maybe it was with mixed feelings of reverence and fear that the Anglo-Saxons looked at the stones and trees they described as *hār*.<sup>100</sup> A more neutral expression is hard to find, however. ‚Awe-inspiring’ might do, perhaps.

The material does not prove that *hār* has developed the meaning ‚boundary-’. On the other hand, it does not disprove it. One can imagine a situation where an ancient boundary-tree called ‚the *hār* tree’ was replaced by a younger tree which took over its predecessor’s name. People would interpret *hār* to mean ‚boundary’, since this characteristic would be what both trees had in common. See Biggam 233 for this explanation.

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<sup>100</sup> See Biggam 235: “Old stone structures were probably understood to be the work of pagan men or, perhaps, even the pagan gods. If so, all the boundary stones would come into the same category, and be regarded with awe. The same feeling would also apply to old trees, established as markers in the unknown past.” and a note on the same page: “Examples of laws forbidding the worship of stones and trees are given in Garrett, *Precious Stones in Old English Literature*, p. 79-83. ...”. The book referred to is Garrett, *Precious Stones in Old English Literature*. Münchener Beiträge zur Romanischen und Englischen Philologie, Heft 47 (Leipzig, 1909).



# Chapter 7 Concluding remarks

A twofold aim of this investigation was stated in the Introduction, namely to ascertain the meanings and in some measure the geographical distributions of OE *(ge)māere*, OE *mearc*, OE *\*rān*, OE *\*rān(e)*, ON *rein*, ON *rá*, and OE *hār*. It is now time to see to what extent this aim has been attained. The distributions of the elements will be discussed first.

Two problems with the source material were pointed out, namely that the extant OE charters are very unevenly distributed and that field-names were not included to any great extent in PNL<sub>a</sub> (1922), PNK (1934), and the Place-Name Society's volumes until *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire* was published in 1933. These problems make it difficult to estimate the distributions of the elements studied. There are, however, some more problems that affect such estimations, namely that this investigation does not cover the whole of England, that the volumes for the Other Counties have not been so thoroughly searched as the Gloucestershire and West Riding volumes, and that other words, more or less similar, often make it difficult or impossible to know if one of the elements under investigation is involved or not. With OE *(ge)māere*, the similarity to OE *mere* 'pond, pool, lake', and to some extent to OE *\*māers-* 'boundary' makes many names uncertain. With OE *mearc*, the related element OE non-WSax *(ge)merce* 'boundary' is sometimes an alternative, making it difficult to know which word occurs in a name. Maybe OE *(ge)mierce* (WSax), *(ge)merce* (non-WSax), which is not among the place-name elements in EPNE, is a more common place-name element than has hitherto been supposed. With OE *\*rān*, OE *\*rān(e)*, ON *rein*, the problem lies within the group, since they are sometimes difficult to separate. Moreover, in three OE charter forms, it is difficult to know if the element is *\*rān* or OE *rā* 'roe, roe-buck'. The problem of more or less similar words applies very much to ON *rá*. Here it is above all OE *rā*, ON *rá* 'roe, roe-buck' that constitutes the difficulty, to a lesser extent also ON *vrá*, *rá* 'nook, corner of land'. With OE *hār*, the similarity to OE *hara* 'hare', OE *\*hær* 'stony ground, rock', etc., and OE *horh*, *horu* 'dirt, mud' often makes it hazardous to interpret a name. Closeness to a boundary does not help, for place-names containing words for 'pool', 'roe-buck', 'corner of land', 'hare', and 'stony ground' can of course also be near boundaries.

Nevertheless, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the distributions of the elements under investigation. OE has three main words for 'boundary', namely *(ge)māere*, *mearc*, and *landsc(e)aru*, but the third element (which is typical of the OE



boundary surveys from the south-western counties, see Chapter 1: Introduction,) is not dealt with in this study. The OE material for *(ge)māere* and *mearc* suggests that for southern England *mearc* is a word of the south-east and *(ge)māere* a word of at least much of the rest of the area. The ME and later material seems to show that the OE dialect boundaries have become somewhat dissolved.

There is no OE material for OE *\*rān* and OE *\*rāen(e)*; nor is there any OE material for ON *rein*, but this is not surprising for an ON element. OE *\*rāen(e)* occurs in S 723, but this is a Shropshire charter, and this county is not among the Other Counties. Both *\*rān* and *rāen(e)* are postulated words, and while the existence of *\*rān* is recognized in EPNE and there are several instances in the material where it is mentioned in the etymological comments quoted, *\*rāen(e)* is not mentioned in EPNE and never in the etymological comments quoted for the names in the material. There are, however, strong reasons to believe that it does exist, see the Introductory remarks to that chapter, and perhaps *\*rāen(e)* is, after all, a not too uncommon place-name element. The material for this group of elements shows a striking difference between on the one hand Gloucestershire and the other counties dealt with in the southern half of England, and on the other hand the West Riding and the other counties dealt with in the northern half of England, for the whole material is limited to the northern half of England. Did the southern half of England use mainly other words than *\*rān* and *\*rāen(e)* to denote boundary strips? Or is it more likely that ditches and hedges, etc. were often used in southern England to form boundaries where boundary strips were used in the north? Or were *\*rān* and *\*rāen(e)* rare in the whole country before the Scandinavian settlement but were later reinforced by *rein* in the area of this settlement? A combination of these hypotheses is also possible. If *\*rān* and *rein* are compared chronologically, a rough picture may look like this: before c. 1500 at least overwhelmingly *\*rān*; before c. 1500 and 1700 both *\*rān* and *rein*; after 1700 mostly *rein*.

The place-names included in the material for ON *rā* are all in counties with Scandinavian settlement. This may, however, be due to my having taken for granted that the element is geographically restricted to these counties, dismissing the possibility that it might occur outside the Scandinavian settlement. There is a notable example as far south as Shropshire (not among the Other Counties): *(Alic.) del Rohous* 1327. The Cheshire name Raby with its many <a>-forms on the Wirral peninsula is remarkable, since Cheshire is south of the  $\bar{a}/\bar{q}$ -boundary. That Raby has not taken part in the  $\bar{a} > \bar{q}$ -development is no doubt due to the existence of a Scandinavian enclave in Wirral, more or less isolated from its surroundings.

There are many instances of OE *hār* in the material. Gloucestershire and the West Riding are well represented, and *hār* is also found in most of the Other Counties, both in the north and in the south. There are no OE instances in the West Riding material.

As for the meanings of these elements, it should now be possible to place them on the scale mentioned in Chapter 1: Introduction, where elements meaning ‚boundary’ are at the top, elements meaning ‚that which forms a boundary, boundary-former’, ‚boundary-mark’, and ‚boundary-forming, boundary-marking, boundary-’ are one step below, and elements meaning, for instance, ‚boundary strip’ and ‚boundary-stone’ are a further step below. The scale is an attempt to illustrate how elements can relate more or less closely to boundaries.

OE *(ge)māere* is of course at the top with the principal meaning ‚boundary’ both in OE and later. Special cases are those names where *(ge)māere* means ‚boundary’, but where there has been a shift of reference from abstract to concrete. Examples are *(into) bealdanhema gemære* 1054 (c. 1200) KCD 800, later *Baldinhamere* c. 1200, *Baldenhamemere* c. 1240 ‚the boundary of the people of Baldon’ (O), *(on) mercna mere* 969 BCS 1234, *Merclumere* c. 1265 (Wa) (mod. Martimow) ‚the boundary of the Mercians’, *Caldhememere* early 13th ‚the boundary of the people of Caulcott’ (O), and *Wingina mere* AS Chronicle 921 ‚the boundary of the Wing people’ (Bk). *Caldhememere* is interesting as an example of elliptical formations where the second part of the place-name is left out when the place-name is combined with a word meaning ‚dwellers’, in this case OE *hāeme*. The meanings ‚boundary-mark’, one level below in the scale, and, with more semantic content further down the scale, ‚boundary-stone’, are both to be reckoned with in OE and later, as are ‚balk of a ploughland’, a kind of boundary strip. See further the chapter on *(ge)māere*. A special meaning is found in the West Riding, where *(ge)māere* is sometimes synonymous with the administrative term *quarter* and does not relate to a boundary.

OE *mearc* with the principal meaning ‚boundary’ both in OE and later is also at the top of the scale. As a simplex and as the second element a concrete sense is mostly assumed for the instances included in the OE material. This concrete sense is probably ‚balk of a ploughland’ in most cases, but at least ‚district’ (*mearc* not relating to a boundary here) also occurs, and *(æt) Chieldmearc* 929-40 (14th) BCS, *Chilmerc* 1086 DB (W) (mod. Chilmark) may have *mearc* ‚boundary’ with a shift of reference to concrete. In ME and later, *mearc* is no longer so similar semantically to *(ge)māere* as in OE, for it is now not seldom used in the sense ‚boundary-mark’ or ‚mark’ (in the latter sense not relating to a boundary).

OE *\*rān*, *\*rāen(e)* and ON *rein* all have ‚boundary strip’ as the principal meaning, but the meaning ‚ploughland area bounded by boundary strips, ploughland strip’ is possible in some names, as also ‚bank between terraces’ and ‚terrace’. It is also possible that *\*rāen(e)* more than *\*rān* and *rein* refers to a concave boundary strip carrying water. It is in accordance with the meanings of these elements that they mostly occur as second elements.

It was pointed out that both *(ge)māere* and *mearc* and perhaps also *\*rān*, *\*rān(e)*, *rein* do not always relate to boundaries. ON *rá*, however, is strictly confined to boundaries. There are a few Domesday forms, but all the rest of the material is ME and later. When *rá* occurs, as it normally does, as the first element of a compound name, it means ‚boundary’ or ‚boundary-mark’. Only two, uncertain, simplex names are found, and if the element is *rá*, it means ‚boundary’ or ‚boundary-mark’. There are a few instances in the West Riding material of *rá* as the second element, all of them uncertain except *Sta(i)nray* c. 1190, which does seem to contain *rá*, and then with the meaning ‚boundary-mark’.

The adjective OE *hār*, finally, is the odd member of my group of elements. Its basic meanings are ‚hoary’, ‚grey’, and ‚old’, but its use to describe stones and trees in the ‚potential place-names’ (Forsberg (1950:xxxvii)) of charter boundaries, where the reference is to boundary-marks, its frequent use in later place-names referring to places near boundaries, and the fact that ModE *hoar-stone* means ‚boundary-stone’ make it a place-name element that no doubt has some relation to boundaries. The great majority of the OE examples consist of *hār* combined with a word for a tree or OE *stān* as second element, and neither ‚grey’, ‚old’, or ‚boundary-’ seem likely as the meaning of *hār* in these combinations. The meanings ‚venerable’ or perhaps ‚awe-inspiring’ have been suggested for *hār* in OE charters used about stones and trees chosen to mark boundaries. In these cases, *hār* can be said to have an indirect relation to boundaries. In ME and later *hār* has occurred so often with *stān* that the combination has become a technical term with the meaning ‚boundary-stone’. Something similar seems to have happened with the combination of *hār* and *wīðig*, now a tree-name ‚hoar withy, whitebeam’. There is a remarkably large number of the combination of *hār* with *hlāw*, especially in the West Riding material, which raises the question whether this combination has become a technical term with some special meaning. A few of these *hlāw*-names are stated to refer to features on boundaries.

The material does not prove that *hār* has developed the meaning ‚boundary-’. On the other hand, it does not disprove it. But in many of the combinations in the OE and the ME and later material the meaning ‚old’ or ‚grey’ is quite acceptable, for instance in combination with words for valleys, where ‚grey’ may refer to mist or fog retained in the valley.

Many ‚potential place-names’ in the OE material have survived to become modern place-names. Examples are: *(on) mærcumb* (S 1549) (Gl) (mod. The Merecoombs), *(on) mærebroc* (S 1599), *(on) mærbroc* (S 873) (Wo) (mod. Merry Brook), *(wið norðan) mæres dæl* (S 495) (Nth) (mod. Mazedale Spinney), *(fram) mærforde*, *(into) marforde* (S 1031) (Hrt) (mod. Marford), *(on) mercna mere* (S 773) (Wa) (mod. Martimow), *(to) ðare marcdice* (S 1036) (Ess) (mod. Mar Dyke), *(æt) mearcyncg seollan* (S 1522) (Ess) (mod. Markshall), and perhaps *(in) harandene* (S 264), *(æt)*

*harandene (forð)* (S 756) (W), which may contain *hār* and which may survive in the name of Harding Farm.

My Index of elements shows the wide variety of words with which the elements under investigation are combined in the material. Not unexpectedly, *stān* is extremely common with reference to boundary-marks, both combined with *(ge)māere* and combined with *hār*. Many species of trees occur, the most popular being the *þorn*, the *apuldor* or *æppel-trēow*, and the *āc*. When it comes to linear elements, it is no wonder that *dīc* is very frequent. Streams are also very suitable for defining boundaries, and there are many words for streams, from the tiny *sīc* or *sīk* to *ēa* in the name of the important river Mersey. Hedges and fences also occur. There are a good many words for valleys, such as *clōh*, *cumb*, *denu*, and *slæd*.

A rich vocabulary is used to describe the boundary strips denoted by *\*rān*, *\*rāen(e)*, *rein*. For instance, we find references to their size and shape, to the birds that visit them, and to the berries that can be gathered from them.

Compound names where the first element means ‚boundary’ are *(ge)māere*, *mearc*, and *rā*, and their second elements can to some extent be grouped into ‚active’ and ‚passive’ words. The words for a stone or a tree or a post (individual elements) and the words for a ditch or a stream or a valley (linear elements) are ‚active’, in the sense that the stone or ditch, etc., marks the boundary. The words for a farmstead or village or a meadow or a field, on the other hand, are ‚passive’ in the sense that the meadow, etc., is situated at the boundary, but does not mark it. This distinction applies by no means always, however. A name meaning ‚boundary hill’, for instance, can refer to a hill which marks a boundary, but it can also merely refer to a hill at a boundary. In any case, the hill was there before the boundary was drawn. With boundary-stones there is the problem of which was there first. Either the stone was placed on a pre-existing boundary to function as a boundary-mark, or the boundary was drawn so that a conveniently situated stone could be used as a boundary-mark. It is possible that *hān* refers to a stone set up as a boundary-mark and *hār + stān* refers to a stone from time immemorial chosen as a boundary-mark when a boundary was drawn. On the similar problem of the association between barrows (and burial cairns) and boundaries see Chapter 1: Introduction, note 10.

When a combination has *mearc* or *rā* as the first element, it seems most natural to regard this element to mean ‚boundary’. The meaning ‚boundary-mark’ must, however, also be reckoned with sometimes. See note 85 in the chapter on *mearc* with some possible interpretations of the *mearc trēow* in S 582 (W) (*(to) mearc treowe*): ‚the boundary tree’, ‚the boundary-mark tree’ (because it has been marked with a boundary-mark), and ‚the tree serving as a boundary-mark’. See also DEPN on Raby (Ch) and Raby (Durham): “The meaning may be ‚BY situated near a boundary mark’ (a hundred boundary or the like) or ‚BY with boundary marks of a certain kind’.”

When *(ge)māre* is the first element, the meaning ‚boundary-mark’ is hardly to be reckoned with.

Some boundaries had to be represented by barriers, such as the fences necessary in deer-parks, whereas boundary-stones could be sufficient around parishes or other administrative entities responsible for poor relief and highway maintenance within their boundaries. In both cases, boundaries were important.

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# Abbreviations not given in the Bibliography

a.	ante.	Hrt	Hertfordshire
acc.	accusative	Hu	Huntingdonshire
AN	Anglo-Norman	ib.	ibidem
Angl	Anglian dialect of	IE	Indo-European
	OE	IoW	the Isle of Wight
Bd	Bedfordshire	Ital	Italian
Bk	Buckinghamshire	K	Kent
Brk	Berkshire	Kt	Kentish dialect of
c.	circa		OE
Ca	Cambridgeshire	L	Lancashire
cf.	compare	Lat	Latin
Ch	Cheshire	loc.cit.	loco citato
col.	column	masc.	masculine
Cu	Cumberland	MDu	Middle Dutch
D	Devon	ME	Middle English
dat.	dative	Merc	Mercian dialect of
Db	Derbyshire		OE
dial.	dialectal	MHG	Middle High
Do	Dorset		German
EFris	East Frisian	ML	Medieval Latin
Eng	English	MLG	Middle Low German
EPNS	English Place-	mod.	modern
	Name Society	ModDan	Modern Danish
ERY	the East Riding of	ModE	Modern English
	Yorkshire	ModSw	Modern Swedish
Ess	Essex	Mx	Middlesex
f, ff	following	n. d.	no date
fem.	feminine	nom.	nominative
Fr	French	NRY	the North Riding of
gen.	genitive		Yorkshire
Gl	Gloucestershire	Nt	Nottinghamshire
hd	hundred	Nth	Northamptonshire
		O	Oxfordshire

ODan	Old Danish	Sc	Scotland
OE	Old English	sg.	singular
OEScand	Old East Scandinavian (ODan and OSwed)	s.n. So	sub nomine Somerset
OFr	Old French	Sr	Surrey
OFrank	Old Frankian	St	Staffordshire
OHG	Old High German	s.v.	sub voce
OIcel	Old Icelandic	Swed	Swedish
OIr	Old Irish	Sx	Sussex
ON	Old Norse	t.	tempore <i>or</i> township
ONb	Old Northumbrian dialect of OE	W	Wiltshire
ONorw	Old Norwegian	w.	wapentake
op.cit.	opere citato	Wa	Warwickshire
OS	Old Saxon	We	Westmorland
OSwed	Old Swedish	Wo	Worcesterhire
OWScand	Old West Scandinavian (esp. ONorw and OIcel)	WRY	the West Riding of Yorkshire
p.	page <i>or</i> parish	WSax	West Saxon Dialect of OE
PGermanic	Primitive Germanic	Y	Yorkshire
pp	pages	*	not recorded in independent use
Sa	Shropshire		

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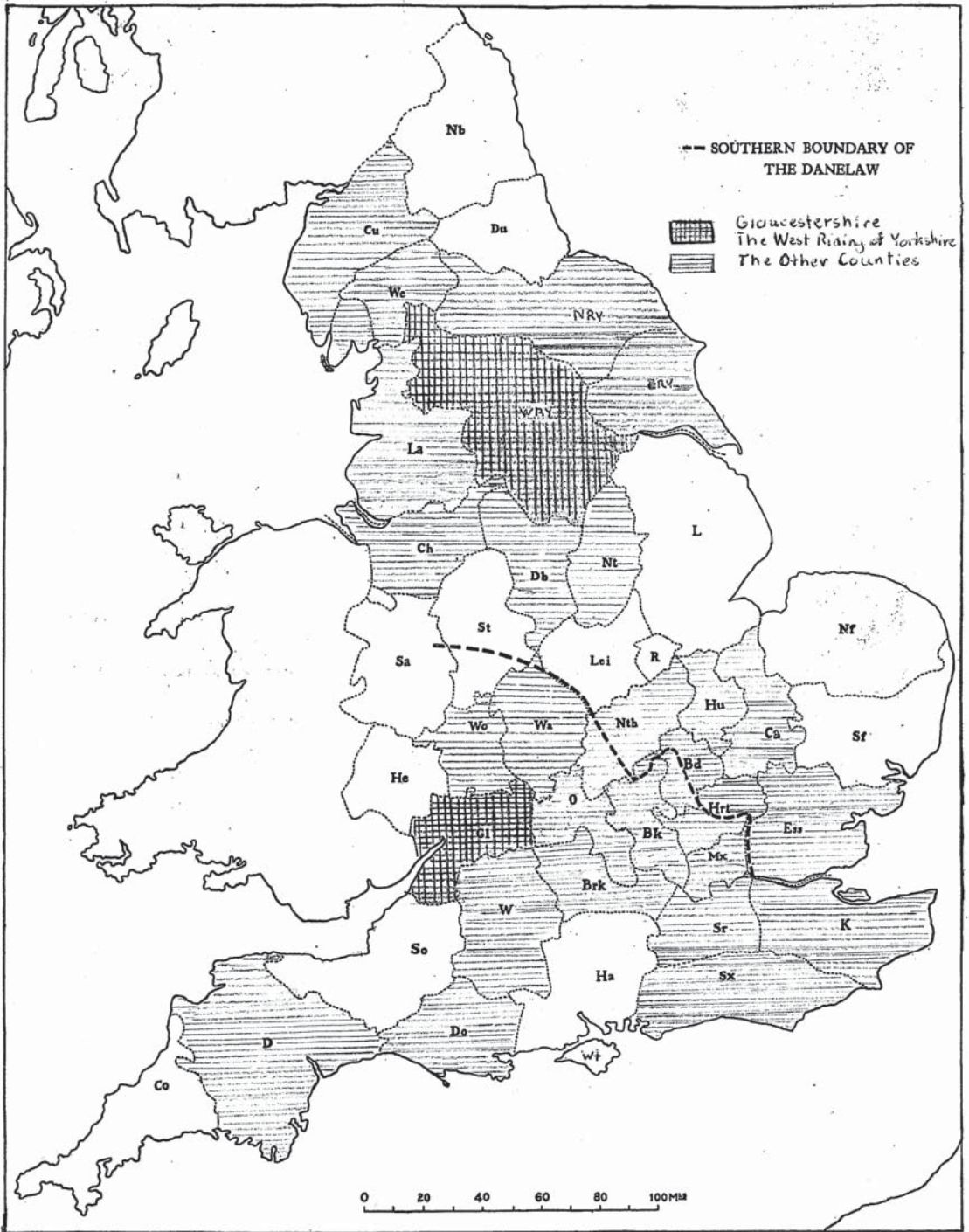
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