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Leeds Studies in English
School of English
University of Leeds
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THE *-ER-* IN HATTERSLEY CHESHIRE AND HOTHERSALL LANCASHIRE

J. McN. DODGSON

The place-name HATTERSLEY Cheshire was not well handled by me in Ch 1 307 and addenda,¹ or by Ekwall in DEPN and *Studies on English Place-Names*,² where the first element is thought to be OE *hēah-dēor* "stag". Löfvenberg (in an addendum, Ch 1 xxii) offered ME *hattere* "hatter" more in resignation than in hope.

HATTERSLEY appears to have the same first element as the Cheshire field-name HATTER SHOOT (19c, Ch 1 308) in Hattersley township, and as the lost Yorkshire West Riding place-name *HATERODE* (13c, YWR 2 182) in Batley township. (At YWR 2 182 the Bardsley reference should be 365, and it is irrelevant anyway.) In these names the first element appears as *hat(t)er-* and *hat(t)eres-* as if representing alternative nominative and genitive inflexions of an OE noun of the *es/os* declension like *lamb*, *cild*, etc.,³ or of an OE noun formed with the stem suffix PrGer *-ra*, *-pra*, *-pro*, etc..⁴

A model is to hand for the first element of HATTERSLEY, in OE *hāteru* "garments, clothing, rags". This is recorded only in the plural form; it represents the nominative plural of an *es/os* declension neuter **hāt* (see OED s.v. *hater*, *hatter* sb²). Pokorny⁵ indicates derivation from PrGer **hāp-iz* whence OHG *hāz*, MHG *hāze* "garment, raiment". For OE **hāt* alternative forms are theoretically possible, in nominative singular **hāt(er)*, genitive singular *hāter(es)*.⁶ The theoretically possible composition-forms for OE **hāt* as first element in place-names would be **hāt(er)* nominative singular, **hāter(es)* genitive singular, **hāt(e)ra* genitive plural, forms which are discernible from the spellings recorded for the place-names under discussion. The cognate appears to be the first element of such medieval continental German place-names as *HATTRUNGEN* (the dative plural of an *-ing* suffix formation) and *HATTARSCETHA* (where the final element is late-Roman *-zetum*, Celtic *kaito-*, "forest").⁷

The significance of the element OE **hāt(er)* in the English place-names would probably be "a patch of ground, a scrap of land", referring to detached small patches of open pasture and cleared arable in heath or woodland country; in the putative OE models **hāter(es)-lēah*, **hāter-rod*, there would be some overlap in the sense of the first and second elements, (see EPN s.vv. *lēah*, *rod*¹). An interesting comparison is offered by the German dialect word *Hader(n)* "rag(s), tatter(s), flap(s)". This is cited as a field-name element by Sturmfels-Bischof.⁸ It is similar to OE **hāt(er)* but not identical. For G *Hader(n)*, Pokorny⁹ indicates derivation

from PrGer *hāp-(b)ro whence OHG *hadara* feminine.¹⁰ Although ME *hatteren* looks superficially similar to G plural *Hadern*, the -en is more likely a ME unhistoric plural inflexion, like that in ModE *children*, added to a plural form *hatter* from OE *hæteru*. One is tempted to conjecture that the rarity of OE *hæt(er) in English place-names might be the result of some Anglo-Saxon preference for the elements OE *scēat*, *sciēte*, *scēte*, etc..¹¹

The -er- in *Hattersley*, then, is taken to represent the stem-suffix of the OE -es/os declension (PrGer -az, -iz) as in OE *dogor*, ME/ModE dialect *childer*. A new element, in which appears the OE form of the PrGer noun-suffix -ra, -ri,¹² emerges from reconsideration of HURDSFIELD Cheshire (Ch 1 106) and a comparison of this place-name with HUDDERSFIELD Yorkshire West Riding (YWR 2 295); HOTHERSALL Lancashire (PNLa 145); and HUDSWELL Yorkshire North Riding (NRY 245).

The discussion of these place-names in DEPN, in the English Place-Name Society volumes and in PNLa, brings up various candidates proposed for what may well be a first element in common: (1) OE *hyrde* "hurdle"; (2) OE **hyrdels* "hurdle enclosure", an unhistorical analogy of a deverbative in PrGer -*isla*, proposed by Löfvenberg for the place-name HURLESTON Cheshire (Ch 3 147) and HURDSFIELD, and dismissed by Arngart;¹³ (3) OE *hirde* "herdsman" and a conjectured place-name OE **Hirdalēah* "herdsmen's clearing" in genitive singular **Hirdalēas*; (4) OE *Hygeræd* personal name; (5) OE **Hūthere* personal name, variant of the once-only recorded *Hūthhere*; (6) OE **Hūdræd* personal name, proposed for HUDDERSFIELD by Smith (YWR 2 295) who took it to be analogous with the personal name OE *Hudeman*, recorded only once (in 963-975 BCS 1130, Sawyer 1377), a form which Forssner¹⁴ identifies as OG *Hutuman*; (7) OE personal name **Hudder*, an -r suffix derivative of the recorded OE personal name *Hud(d)a*.¹⁵ This was proposed by Ekwall and taken up by Smith (YWR 2 295) who compared DODDERSHALL Buckinghamshire (Bu 109), the first element of which is supposed an OE personal name **Dodder* related to the OE personal name *Dodda*¹⁶ (cf. Wo xxiii); yet the place-name DODDERSHALL could contain the very rarely recorded plant-name *dodder* (mid 13c, OED) in its OE form **doder*.¹⁷

It would be more convenient if we might suppose a common first element, an OE **hūder* "shelter", an -r suffix extension of the stem PrGer **hūd(h)*,¹⁸ which is the basis of OE *hūð*, OHG *hūt* "skin, hide", OE *hūdan* "to hide, conceal, cover up", OHG *hutta*, G. *Hütte* "hut, shelter, cover", OE *hōōma* "darkness" and probably OE *hūð* "hithe, harbour". A cognate OHG **hūd(h)ra* is likely in the medieval German place-names *HUDERECHEM* 1190 and *HUTHERE* 12c.¹⁹

It is possible to project a set of OE words related to this PrGer stem **hūd(h)* which appear as likely elements in a range of English place-names at present ascribed to various indifferently recorded or explained personal names. An -ing suffix derivative, OE **hūding*, would appear in HEADFOLDSWOOD Sussex (Sx 1 133), UDIAM Sussex (Sx 2 520), HUDDINGTON Worcestershire (Wo 142). OE **hūdel* and **hūdels* (see OED s.vv. *huddle*, *hidel(s)*) representing derivatives in the PrGer suffixes -l-, -*isla*²⁰) appear in HUDDLESTONE Sussex

(Sx 1 237), HUDDISFORD and HURDLECOMBE Devon (D 1 81, 262), HUDDLESTON Yorkshire West Riding (YWR 4 54), and HUDLESDALE Derbyshire (Db 1 140). An OE personal name *Hūda* is on record.²¹ The related putative strong and weak substantives masculine and neuter, OE **hūd*, **hūde* "hut, shelter, cover" and **hūda* "one who has a shelter, that which gives shelter or cover"; or a neuter collective **hydde* (PrGer **hud(h)-ja*²²) "hutments, sheltering place, camp"; appear to offer satisfactory formal bases for the place-names *HUDESIG* (BCS 801, Sawyer 496) at Blewbury Berkshire (Brk 3 794), *HUDENHILL* Oxfordshire (O 2 373), *HUDNALL* Hertfordshire (Hrt 37), *HUDNALLS* Gloucestershire (Gl 3 243), *HUDSCOTT*, *HUDSON*, and *HUDLEY* Devon (D 2 340, 1 157, 62), *WOOD ROYD* (2x), *HUDROYD* and *HUDD HILL* Yorkshire West Riding (YWR 1 325, 3 59, 2 260, 3 101), *HOTHORPE* Northamptonshire (Nth 115), *HUTCLIFFE* Derbyshire (Db 2 286). The putative OE formal antecedent of ME *hutte* "hut, shelter, herdsman's hut", equivalent of G *Hütte* feminine, either an OE neuter collective **(ge)hytte* "collection of shelters" (PrGer **hūd(h)-(i)þja*²³) or an OE feminine verb-derived noun **hutte* (PrGer **hūd(h)-(i)þjon*²⁴) "that which shelters", might be observed in such place-names as *HUTSWELL* Derbyshire (Db 2 420), *UPBURY* Bedfordshire and *HUTESBUTT* Huntingdonshire (BdHu 161), *HUDDLESCEUGH* [hʌdlskiuf] Cumberland, and the neighbouring field-name *HUDGILL* (Cu 1 216).²⁵

These names, and probably also *HURDSFIELD*, *HOTHERSALL*, *HUDDERSFIELD* and the other related place-names discussed here, containing elements in **hūder*, **hūd-*, etc., would be significant of huts, shelters or sheltering-places at seasonal camps used in herding, woodcutting or hunting, and would signify an epoch in the settlement, and a condition of the oecology of their districts.

ABBREVIATIONS

BCS = W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols. (London, 1885-93); reference is to document number. BGHu = A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire*, English Place-Name Society, 3 (Cambridge, 1926). Brk = Margaret Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire*, 3 vols., English Place-Name Society, 49 (Cambridge, 1973); 50-51 (Nottingham, 1974, 1976). Bu = A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*, English Place-Name Society, 2 (Cambridge, 1925). Ch = J.McN. Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, 6 vols., English Place-Name Society, 44-7 (Cambridge, 1970-2); 48, 54 (Nottingham, 1981). Cu = A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, B. Dickins, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, 3 vols., English Place-Name Society, 20-22 (Cambridge, 1950, 1952). D = J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon*, 2 vols., English Place-Name Society, 8-9 (Cambridge, 1931-2). Db = K. Cameron, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, 3 vols., English Place-Name Society, 27-9 (Cambridge, 1959). DEPN = E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edn., Oxford, 1960). EPN = A.H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols., English Place-Name Society, 25-6 (Cambridge, 1956). Gl = A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, 4 vols., English Place-Name Society, 38-41 (Cambridge, 1964-5). Hrt = J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire*, English Place-Name Society, 15 (Cambridge, 1938). NRY = A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, English Place-Name Society, 5 (Cambridge, 1928). Nth = J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, English Place-Name Society, 10 (Cambridge, 1933). O = Margaret Gelling, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire*, 2 vols., English Place-Name Society, 23-4 (Cambridge, 1953-4). OED = The Oxford English Dictionary. PNLa = E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1924). Sawyer = P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an annotated list and bibliography*, Royal Historical Society, Handbook 8 (London, 1968); reference is to document number. Sx = A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, J.E.B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Sussex*, 2 vols., English Place-Name Society, 6-7 (Cambridge, 1929-30). Wo = A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton, F.T.S. Houghton, *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, English Place-Name Society, 4 (Cambridge, 1927). YWR = A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 8 vols., English Place-Name Society, 30-7 (Cambridge, 1961-3).

English Place-Name Society volumes are referred to by part- and page-number.

NOTES

- ¹ For abbreviations see above.
- ² (Stockholm, 1936) p.81.
- ³ E. Sievers, *Altenglische Grammatik*, revised by K. Brunner (2nd ed., Halle, 1951) §§288-9.
- ⁴ F. Kluge, *Nominale Stämmbildungslehre der altgermanischen Dialekte*, 3rd ed., revised by L. Sütterlin and E. Ochs (Halle, 1926) §§92-6.
- ⁵ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1959) I, p.919 s.v. *skēd-, "clothe, bedeck".
- ⁶ A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959) §653; Sievers-Brunner, *Alt. Gram.*, §§288-9.
- ⁷ See E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenkunde*, ed. H. Jellinghaus, *Ortsnamen I*

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(1913) cols.1294, 1298; A. Bach, *Deutsche Namenkunde II, Die deutschen Ortsnamen I* (Heidelberg, 1953) §353; Pokorny, *Ind. etym. Wört.*, I, p.521 s.v. *kaito-*.

- ⁸ W. Sturmfels and H. Bischof, *Unsere Ortsnamen im A.B.C. Eklärt* (3rd ed., Bonn, 1961) p.102.
- ⁹ *Ind. etym. Wört.*, I, p.567 s.v. **kent(h)o-*.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Kluge, *Nom. Stämm.*, §96.
- ¹¹ EPN s.vv.; M.T. Löfvenberg, *Studies on Middle English Local Surnames* (Lund, 1942) pp.186-7.
- ¹² Kluge, *Nom. Stämm.*, §92; EPN s.v. *er*.
- ¹³ O. Arngart in a review of Ch 3, *Studia Neophilologica* 44 (1971) p.436.
- ¹⁴ T. Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names in England* (Uppsala, 1916) p.156.
- ¹⁵ M.A. Redin, *Studies on Uncompounded Personal Names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919) p.98.
- ¹⁶ O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937) p.223; Redin, *Uncompounded Personal Names*, p.62.
- ¹⁷ See Pokorny, *Ind. etym. Wört.*, p.265 for cognates.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.952 s.v. (*s*)*keut-*, (*s*)*keudh-*.
- ¹⁹ Reported by Förstemann, *Alt. Nam.*, cols.1481, 1535.
- ²⁰ Kluge, *Nom. Stämm.*, §§56, 98; EPN s.vv. *el³*, *els*.
- ²¹ Redin, *Uncompounded Personal Names*, p.98.
- ²² Cf. Kluge, *Nom. Stämm.*, §65.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, §70.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, §126.
- ²⁵ Cf. G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985) p.233.