

applied to important rivers, we must start from a Celtic base \**Staur-* or \**Steur-*, for Celtic *Stūr-* would have given an OW form with *i*. A base *Steur-* will no doubt do for the Continental *Stura*, for *eu*, as well as *au*, tended to become *ū* in Gaulish (Dottin, p. 97), and *ū* may also be due to Latin influence; *eu*, *ou* became *ū* early in Latin (Sommer, p. 80 f.). A Prim Celtic \**Staur-* or \**Steur-* would give Brit \**Stūr-*, whose *ū* became OW *ū*; this sound gives OE *ū* in some cases.

Now there is a Germanic adj *stūr* meaning literally 'stiff', but also 'big, sulky, fierce' and the like. The adjective belongs to the root here discussed. Examples are Norw *stur* 'gloomy', MDu *stuur* 'heavy, fierce', MLG *stūr* 'stiff, unfriendly' &c., LG also 'strong'. The corresponding word is absent in Old English and Old Frisian. It might have belonged to the early Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, but it would be remarkable if a word so common at the time of the invasion, that it could give rise to numerous river-names, should have gone completely out of use by the time written literature begins. Also the usual meanings of the adjective in Germanic languages do not seem a likely starting-point for a common river-name.

There are two LG river-names which show a certain likeness to the name Stour, viz. the STÖR (Schleswig) and the STUHR (Oldenburg). But the former is *Sturia* 10th &c., *Store* 1225, *Storiam* 1267. The latter is *Sturia* 810, *Stuere* 1420 (see Witt, pp. 203 f.). Witt derives them from the adj *stūr*, but the forms point to a short vowel. And the base of the names was *Sturia*, which cannot be that of the English Stour. See also Förster, ZSIPh i, 16.

Strat Co. See Neth.

#### Sturkel Do

A tributary of the Stour, perhaps that which rises near Melbury Abbas and runs past West Orchard to the Stour at Manston.

*Stirchel* 932, 956, *Stirtel*, *Stirthel* 939 (all 15th) BCS 691, 744, 970.

*Sturkel* 1278, 1280-1 QW. *Sterkel* 1280-1 ib.

*Sturkel* obviously contains the river-name Stour. The OE forms, though very corrupt, seem to point to a base with *i*-mutation (\**Stýrcel* or the like). I suppose *Sturkel* is a diminutive of OE *Stūr*. It may be simply OE \**Stýrincel*, a name analogous to *Bydincel*, *Worwinchel* (see BOYD, WOLF). The reduction of *Stýrincel* would have analogies in DART, DARTFORD from *Dærente*, *Dærentanford*. For the loss of *n* between two consonants, we may also compare the pers. name *Arkel* for *Arnkell*. It is just possible, however, that there existed in OE a diminutive suffix without *n*, corresponding to OHG *-ikli* (as in *esilikli*, *lêwikli*, Kluge St, § 63). A possible but doubtful example of this suffix is OE *fornaetlicli* Ep.

#### Styric

Apparently a lost name of the upper Cam (Beds, Ess, Ca). The stream is mentioned in boundaries of Littlebury. Ickleton also occurs in the boundaries.

(andlang) *Styrice* 10th (12th) Lib El 521.

Apparently a derivative of *Stūr* with the British derivative suffix *-ic*. Cf. DOERIC. The suffix is no doubt diminutive, and the name means 'little Stour'.

#### Summergil or Somergil He

Rises in Radnor W of New Radnor and falls into the Lugg E of Presteigne (12 m.). Forms the boundary for some way between He and Radnor.

*Somergil* c. 1540 L, 1578 S, 1602 Owen iii, 333; *-gill* 1586 H.

Harrison 1577 gives *Somergill* (*-gil*) as an alternative name of the Onny (Sa). A similar name is *Somergelde* 1394 Cl, which is apparently the old name of the little brook that runs from near Preston Gubbals via Albrighton to the Severn near Uffington. A further example is probably the lost place-name SUMMERGILD near Leominster: *Sumergeilde* n.d. Leominster, *Somergylde* 1539 (Bannister).

Though the Somergil runs most of its course in Wales, its name is no doubt English, the first element being the word *summer*. The second element could not be identified with OScand *gil*, Engl *gill*, even if it were not for *Somergelde*, which presumably gives us an earlier form of the name. The said form points to OE *gelde* 'barren' as the second element. OE *gelde* corresponds to ON *geldr*, Norw *gjeld*, OHG *galt*, MHG *gelt*, *gelde*, which mean 'giving no milk' or 'barren'. Also transferred senses occur. Thus in Swiss dialects *galt* also means 'dried up' (of a spring). I suppose 'dried up' is the meaning of *gelde* in Somergil, so that the name means 'brook dry in summer'. It is true I have not had an opportunity of finding out if this is an accurate name. If this suggestion is correct, Somergil is an exact counterpart of HAMPS, Welsh HAFHESP. The second element of the latter actually means 'dry; barren, sterile'. It is quite possible that Somergil (*Somergelde*) is in reality a translation of the Welsh Hafhesp, which might have been the earlier name. For loss of *d* after *l* in dialects, see EDGr, § 307.

#### Swale K

A branch of the Medway, which forms a channel between the Isle of Sheppey and the mainland (12 m.).

*Suneahuue* (fluminis) 812 BCS 341. *Sualuæ* (nom) 815 ib. 353.

*Swale* 1361 Pat. *West-, Eastswale* 1576 Lambarde, 1586 Camden 171.

SWALE (pasture): *La Swale*, *Westeswale* 1329 Ch.



