THE PLACE-NAMES
OF
SUSSEX
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by

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To M. W. M.
PREFACE

THE following work was originally written as a dissertation for the degree of B.A. with Honours in English Language and Philology in the University of Liverpool. It has since been completely revised and brought up to date. The scope of the book is purely linguistic; no attempt has been made to describe geographical or topographical features, although these have naturally been taken into account in determining etymologies.

My source for the modern forms of the names has been Kelly's *Directory of Kent, Surrey and Sussex*, amplified by reference to Bartholomew's *Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles* and to the *Times Atlas*. Besides the Introduction, the work falls into two parts. Part I contains in alphabetical order all Sussex names for which early forms have been found, with a discussion concerning their meaning and history; Part II presents classified lists of the elements occurring in Sussex names. Many names which through lack of early spellings do not appear in Part I will thus be found in Part II under their separate elements.

It is my pleasant duty to return my best thanks to Professor H. C. Wyld, who suggested the work and who, always ready with help and advice, has since revised the proof-sheets with me; also to Professor Mawer, of Armstrong College, Newcastle, who, when External Examiner to the University of Liverpool,
read the original MS. and gave me many hints for its improvement. I have also to thank Professor Dibelius, of Hamburg, who read the whole of the manuscript as it was being revised, offering many valuable suggestions and criticisms, and the Rev. A. A. Evans, Vicar of East Dean, who has given me much information about local pronunciations when Hope's Dialectal Place-nomenclature failed me. In Part I I have marked with E. the forms which I owe to Mr Evans. I have naturally made much use of the literature of place-names mentioned in the Bibliography below; especially would I thank my friend and former fellow-student, Mr B. Walker, of Cowley Grammar School, St Helens, who supplied me with much information from the MS. of his Derbyshire Place-names, which has now appeared.

Since the work is not intended for beginners, I have omitted too minute an explanation of the linguistic phenomena observable in the development of Sussex Place-names. For the same reason the number of references to the results obtained by my predecessors in place-name research is large, and I hope this feature will contribute to the utility of the monograph.

R. G. ROBERTS.

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Spelling.

Many of the apparent sound-changes which appear in D.B. and in the 11th and 12th centuries are merely spelling-changes, and are due to the attempts of Norman scribes to render sounds which had no symbols in their alphabet. Moreover the same scribes frequently wrote Norman-French symbols for English sounds which had equivalents in their own speech. The M.E. *seldcêne* for O.E. *seldgesêne*, and the modern Sussex *Alciston* for O.E. *Ælfsigestun* are examples of this habit.

(a) Of Norman-French attempts to render English sounds foreign to the scribes, D.B. has numerous instances. They were especially vague about diphthongs; the O.E. ēā appears variously in D.B. as a, e, ae, and even ai.

The spelling -ey- in early documents often seems to be an attempt to express the long tense ē. Cf. Steyning and Treyford (= treōford) below, and Chelmorton in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

(b) Among consonants, -h- = -h- (front-open-voiceless) was usually expressed by -s- (see early forms of Brightling and Brighton below), and the English ð (voiced or voiceless) was written almost universally t or d. Cf. such D.B. spellings as Tacheha for Thakeham, and wrde, worde for O.E. weorð, “home-stead.” The spelling -ch- in D.B. very seldom expressed (if) the descendant of O.E. ĵ (front-stop), but was principally used to indicate the back-stop. Cf. such D.B. spellings as Chingestone for Kingston (q.v. below) and chemere for Keymer (q.v.). The Lancashire Knowsley appears in D.B. as Chenulweslei (= O.E. Ċēn(w)ulfeslēah; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under this name).
The O.E. symbol $c$ was always written for the O.E. $\acute{c}$ (< $t\acute{f}$) sound during the whole of the O.E. period, and part of the early M.E. (till about 1150), and when this symbol appears in D.B. it either means ($t\acute{f}$) or (s) (cf. Alciston, p. 1 below), and never ($k$).

(c) Before combinations of $s$ + cons. in the initial position, the Normans prefixed a "prothetic" $e$- which was pronounced as (e) or ($\varepsilon$), and which survives in French at the present day. Cf. Fr. état < estat < Lat. statum (acc.); être < estre < Late L. *esserē; écu < escue(t) < Lat. scutum; espace < Lat. spatium, etc.

This $e$- is often found before Engl. names beginning with $s$ + cons.; for examples cf. D.B. Eslindone = Slindon; Estrat = Streat or Street; Estocbridge = Stockbridge (see these names below) and Esmedune = Smithdown (Road) (Liverpool), q.v. in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

This change, however, was purely Norman-French, and, as far as I am aware, no modern English pl.-ns. show retention of the $e$-. At any rate, no examples are adduced by Zachrisson (Anglo-Norman Influence on Engl. Pl.-Ns.).

§ 2. The chief M.E. spelling-changes.

(a) Vowels.

1. $\ddot{u}$ is written o (but pronounced $\ddot{u} >$ mod. a, u) in the neighbourhood of $w$, $m$, $v$, $n$, $l$, $r$. O.E. -tūn > -tūn (unstressed), generally written -ton; so also O.E. -dūn > -dūn = -don. The early forms of Woolavington (q.v.) have five Wol-, Woll- as against one Wullavington in 1411–12.

2. O.E. $\ddot{u}$, M.E. $\ddot{u}$ written ou, ow probably through influence of French. O.E. hūs, M.E. hous (M.E. $\ddot{u}$, ou pronounced as $\ddot{u}$, probably not diphthongised till late in the 15th century). O.E. mūs, M.E. mous(e), etc.

3. There is another M.E. ou which is a diphthong and represents (ou) or (ōu), as in Houghton, Stoughton (q.v.). This -ōu- was levelled under -āu- and developed into modern (5).

4. M.E. $y$ represents (i) less often (i) but never (y) high-front-tense round). This latter sound is written u, and sometimes ui if long.
5. From the 14th century -ie-, -ye- were often written for M.E. tense (ê) as distinguished from the slack (ë) which was generally ea, e. Cf. mod. believe, as lief, reprieve (M.E. ê); stead, head, lead (M.E. ë). On -ey- for (ê) cf. 1 (a) above and the -ei- spellings in Grinstead below.

(β) Consonants.

1. O.E. ñ > M.E. (ñf) generally written -ch- initially after the beginning of the 12th cent., and occasionally medially as -tch-, but not before the 14th cent. See the early forms of Echinham.

2. O.E. sc > M.E. (sc) written variously. Sch-, sh- and -ss- (the latter is common in Kentish texts and is possibly due to N.-Fr. influence). See early forms of Shipley below.

3. u, v are written indifferently for (v). It is sometimes difficult to decide whether u is a consonant or a vowel. Cf. the common Ancren Riwle spelling vuel (= ûvel = O.E. yfel), and as a second element M.E. -oure < O.E. òfre (dative), “a bank” (see Bignor below), ù- sometimes = vel-, cf. Wlavinton, H.R. ii. anno 1274 = Woolavington, and the common -wrth = O.E. weorh.

4. O.E. h (back-open-voiceless) and O.E. ñ (front-open-voiceless) generally written g, gh, sometimes c in the combination -ct-. Cf. -legh, -leg = O.E. lêah, and see Brighton, Houghton and Laughton below.

§ 3. Phonology.

(a) Vowels. Isolative changes.


2. O.E. æ generally > â in M.E., but often ê in Sussex. O.E. *Bæbbantun > mod. Babintone, but also Bebyngton and Bepton; O.E. Ælfesstede and Ælfwinesstede > M.E. Elvestede and Elnestede respectively > mod. Elstead: O.E. cnæpp > Knepp Castle (all early forms in -a-).

3. O.E. ð (= W.Gmc. å) and ð* (i- umlaut of O.E. å) together with O.E. êå are levelled under M.E. slack ë (if not previously shortened). O.E. gemþru > M.E. (1) mûre, “boundary” [= ð]: O.E. lêah, Êadburg > late O.E. lêh, Ædburg > M.E. lêh, Êdburg. On shortening of this ð see § 3, γ (1) below.
4. O.E. ē (1. mutation of ɵ; 2. lengthening of ē before -ld, -nd, -mb, etc.; 3. Kentish type of ə², cf. 3 above) is levelled with O.E. ɵ and becomes M.E. tense ē, if not shortened by combinative change. Examples—ē(i), O.E. grēne, M.E. greene, see Grinstead; ē(τ), O.E. fēld, M.E. feld, mod. "field"; ē(η) (Kt. type of ə²). O.E. stēningas > late Kt. stēningas > M.E. stēnings > stēnings (see Luick's 3 syllable theory below), mod. Steyning = (steniŋ).

5. O.E. ī, ī remained in M.E. ī was later diphthongised and developed into mod. (ai). Cf. O.E. sittan, mod. sit.: O.E. ridan, mod. ride (= raid).

6. O.E. ə > M.E. ē, later over-rounded to ū and generally spelt -oo-. This ē or -oo- was never confused with the slack ū from O.E. ā or the lengthening of O.E. ə in open syllable. O.E. pōl, mod. pool (pūl); O.E. brōma, "genista"; M.E. brome, broome, see Broomhill.

7. O.E. ā > M.E. ā later diphthongised to mod. (ai). Cf. § 2, a (2) above.

8. The question of the distribution of the M.E. i, e, and ū spellings for O.E. ̄ has been made the subject of a careful enquiry by Wyld in Engl. Studien 41, 1913. In Sussex u and e predominate, while i occurs comparatively seldom. For example, O.E. hyrst occurs in the early forms generally as -hurst or -herst, rarely as -hirst, while no modern Sussex name has the latter spelling. In the discussions under the names below I have arranged the M.E. forms under separate types. Very often only one type remains in the modern name, but sometimes two are preserved. See for example, Chidham, Didling or Dudelyng, Guilford or Guldeford, Rotherbridge and Piddinghoe below.

There are some cases in which i, e, and ū appear in M.E. where the starting-point is not O.E. ̄. Cf. Chidham below, in which M.E. Chedham < O.E. *Ceddanhām (undiphthongised), M.E. Chidham < O.E. *Ciddan- (W.S. monophthonging), M.E. Chudeham < O.E. Cyddan- (W.S. rounding of i, ie to y). See also Bilsham in Pt I.
(8) Vowels. Qualitative combinative changes.

1. O.E. ðw > M.E. āu > mod. (5).
   O.E. hlāw > M.E. lawe > (15). See Cudlawe and Cudlow below. Mod. -low (-lou) is from the O.E. nom. hlā type.
   O.E. crāwe- > M.E. crau- > (krō-). See Crawley below and compare Crowhurst < O.E. *Crdhyrst.

2. O.E. aga > au > (5); O.E. dragan > M.E. drawen; O.E. scaga ("wood," "shaw") > M.E. shaw(e).

3. M.E. a is diphthongised to au before a nasal and before l-combinations. These changes are generally taken to be due to the influence of Norman-French. In modern English sometimes the diphthongised, sometimes the undiphthongised type has survived; cf. chance, lance, aunt, ant, haunt, launch, paunch, etc. In Sussex: (1) Before nasals. O.E. *Eammerlēh > M.E. aumberlei (see Amberley, Type II, below); late O.E. Wlancing > M.E. Lansing (N.-Fr. influence, see the names in Pt 1) > Launsing > mod. Lancing (lānsin) and (lānsin). (2) Before l-combinations. O.E. *Cufald > M.E. Coufald; appears once as Cufaude; M.E. Balecumb and Baldcumb > late M.E. Baulcumb > mod. Balcombe (bālkom). Examples are numerous in the names treated in Pt 1.

4. O.E. āg, ēg, ēh, āh, ēh or such combinations if they arose early in M.E. > ai, ei > mod. (ei).
   O.E. weg, M.E. wei also later wai > way; greg > grai, grei; O.E. *māgefēld > Mayfield (q.v. below); O.E. læhtun > M.E. lihtun > lehtun > (*leitn). See Laughton, Type I below, and cf. Phonology, § 3, γ (1).

5. e is diphthongised to eu before l. This is a N.-Fr. change and only appears in the element -feud = O.E. feld and in Beuchief (= Beachy q.v.) < bel chef. No trace has survived in modern Sussex names.

6. O.E. early M.E. er > -ar-. This is a well-known sound-change. Cf. the standard pronunciations of Derby, hearth, clerk, etc. all with ā. Sussex examples are M.E. Bercombe > Barcombe; O.E. ceorlatun, mod. Charlton; M.E. Herst Monceux > *Hermonceux > (hāmaunsiz). See Herst Monceux below.
7. M.E. e is raised to i before certain consonant combinations, especially before nasals. It is not possible to decide definitely whether the change is combinatoric or isolative. Morsbach (Me. Grammatik, pp. 143–4) says the change takes place mainly before d, t, s, j, r, l, n (vor dentalen und dental-nasalen), before gg, ch, sh, x, gg, k (vor palatalen reibe- und verschlusslauten) also before ng, nk. The change begins in the 13th century and is commoner in the 14th. See the early forms of Grinsted below, where six forms in Grin- appear between 1316 and 1421. Examples of this sound-law before nasals are very common. Cf. the very name English (inglif). In Sussex: (1) Before nasals. O.E. *bēānstede > M.E. bēnstede, mod. Binsted; O.E. *Bēńheretūn > M.E. beneretūn > Bendritun, mod. Binderton; O.E. grēnstede, mod. Grinsted. O.E. *Ēomr(ē)horn > M.E. Emberhorne, mod. Imberhorne. Cf. also Jespersen, Mod. Engl. Grammar, pp. 64, 65.


Cf. also the examples given by Walker in Derby. Pl.-Ns., Idrigehay (=ī占领si) < O.E. *Eādricesgehæge; Ilkeston < *Eolcestūn. These raisings may in some cases be due to some analogy, but how it is not easy to see. It is difficult to understand why e should be raised in so many cases, and yet by no means everywhere.

8. The influence of an initial lip-stop is seen in the 1579 Bordham for mod. Birdham < O.E. *bridham, and in 1316 Borlavylon (modern Barlavington) < Berlaventun < O.E. *Beorn-lāfantūn. Perhaps also in the form Boleynshurst = M.E. Billingshurst, although in this case the Boleyn- may be a mere N.-Fr. spelling.

Cf. also modern names in War- (w5-). In this case the rounding belongs to the modern period and was perhaps not completed till the beginning of the 19th century. See Jespersen, Mod. E. Gr., and Horn, Hist. E. Gr. Examples in Sussex are: Warminghurst < O.E. *Wermanhyrst < *Wyrman-; Warnham, Warningcamp, and Warninglid, all of which go back to O.E. *Werman- gen. of the pers. n. Werna, and Wartling < O.E. *Wertelingas < *Wyrtingas. See all these names below.
(γ) Quantitative Vowel Changes.

1. There are of course numerous examples in Sussex of the usual lengthenings in open syllables and shortenings before consonant combinations, of which the pages of Pt I show ample proof. It is worth noting that O.E. ǣ and ē, which were levelled under ā in late O.E., appear when shortened in M.E. as ē or ę according to the period in which the shortening took place. On this point see Pogatscher, Anglia xxiii. pp. 302 ff., and Ritter, Anglia, June 1913, pp. 269 ff., also Jordan’s article on M.E. dialects in the Germanische-Romanische Monatschrift ii. p. 124. In Sussex the O.E. læhtun > læhtun > (i) læhtun, (ii) læhtun > læhtun. Type I has given rise to the modern Laughton, but the second, which would give *Leighton, is common among the early forms. O.E. *Hǣleāh appears in mod. Sussex as Hadlow (with change of suffix), whereas *hǣfeld gives Heathfield, locally pronounced as (hefl). O.E. Easttun > Easton; *Eādburgtun > Edburton in Sussex; but cf. the numerous Astons, Abram (=*Eādburgham) in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and Adderbury in Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns. Ritter (Zur engl. Grenze, loc. cit.) quotes Edmund, Edward, etc. by the side of Abberley, Abbotton, Adbalton, Atherstone, etc., and gives for O.E. hǣp- the developments Hat-, Had-, Heat(h)-, Head-.

2. Shortening of accented long vowels in M.E.

Many trisyllabic pl.-ns. in mod. Engl. have a short vowel in the first syllable, whereas in the M.E. prototypes this vowel was long. This shortening was explained by Luick in the third of his “Beiträge zur englischen Grammatik” in Anglia xx. pp. 333 ff. On p. 339 he states “das gesetz,...wonach in dreisilbigen Wörtern und überhaupt formen lange gekürzt wird und andererseits natürlicherweise vorhandene kürze trotzstellung in offener silbe bewahrt bleibt.” Among his examples are Coventry < M.E. Cōventre < O.E. Čōfan-; Whitaker < O.E. hwītæcær; Beverley < O.E. Beoforlic; errand < M.E. ērende < O.E. ērende; ammet < O.E. ēmete, etc.

Examples of this shortening in Sussex are Bedingehomm < M.E. Bēdingehamm < O.E. Beadingahamm, contrast Beeding <
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O.E. Beadingas; Bevendean < M.E. Bëwendene < O.E. Beofandenu; Poynings (= paniqz) < M.E. Pûninges < O.E. Pûningas; and Steyning (= steniq) < M.E. Stëninges < O.E. Kt. Stëninges < Stëningas (et Stëningum in C.D.). See all these names in C.D. and note that the last two, through having lost the M.E. -es, have become disyllabic in mod. Engl. Possibly also this law will explain Rodmell (q.v.) < M.E. Rödemelde < O.E. rëdamylde with shifting of stress to the second element of the diphthong.

3. Loss of syllables in unstressed positions.

It frequently happens that a long pl.-n. containing a long O.E. word as its first element appears in a considerably shortened form in mod. Engl. In these cases a syllable has been lost in M.E., mainly through the levelling of unstressed vowels which took place in that period and subsequent syncope. When this happened, there arose an unpronounceable consonant-combination which was simplified by dropping the whole syllable. See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., § 14, pp. 27-28.

Examples in Sussex are O.E. *Briht(helmes)tun > Brighton; O.E. *Ceori(lâce)stûn > Charleston; O.E. Göd(wine)wudu > Goodwood (gudad); O.E. Wig(stâne)stûn > M.E. Wîstûn > mod. Wiston. Cf. also the pronunciation Barlton for Barlavington, which also shows this phenomenon. I.e. O.E. Beorl(fantûn) > M.E. Ber(n)lavinton > Barlavington as one type, and M.E. Berlavinton > Berl(vn)tun > Berltun > Barlton as the other.

(δ) Consonants. Isolative Changes.


2. O.E. medial ȝ (back-open-voiced) > ȝw > w. O.E. Burgesc > M.E. Burȝwach > Burwash (= barf), the -w- being lost into the unstressed syllable.

3. The interchange of -l- and -r- is considered by Zachrisson to be due to the influence of Norman-French, but it is surely
fairly common in all languages. Examples in Sussex are O.E. Æpelantun or Æpelwinetun > mod. Atherington; in the early forms of Falmer and Keymer (q.v. below), Fallemella and Kiemella appear (1107–18). See also remarks under Walberton and Warbleton in Pt 1.

4. Zachrisson also considers the interchange of t and d to be N.-Fr. In Sussex Chidham < O.E. *Cedd-; under the early forms of the (linguistically) allied Chiddingley are three with -t-, while O.E. *Ceddánhyrst is Chithurst to-day. Tottingworth has a form Toddyngworth in 1309.

5. The change of O.E. -b- > -d- > -d- is seemingly not entirely determined by the neighbouring sounds, although it is fairly common in the neighbourhood of -l- and -r-. Cf. O.E. morbor > murder; O.E. byrðen > burden; O.E. Sulþorn > Soul­dern (Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns.). The Sussex example is Hadlow < O.E. *hǣþleāh (with change of suffix).

6. The unfronting of O.E. ęg, ęc to g and k is likewise partly an isolative change, although here again it is common before certain sounds, such as n, l, r. See Wyld, Contributions to the History of the English Gutturals (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899). Modern Sussex Bignor < *Biéganôfre; Bognor < *Bucganôre (which form exists in C.D.); Beckley < *Beccanleah; Egdean < *Egdenu (Ečg a pers. n. or ečg = edge, ridge).

(e) Combinative Changes.

Loss of consonants in combination.


(b) Loss of (-w-) in the unstressed element. Although the w is generally retained in the spelling, it is seldom heard in the local pronunciation of the name. Well-known examples are Norwich (= noridž), Southwark (= saSok), Woolwich (= wulidž), etc. In Sussex O.E. Bôtwulfes > Botolphs or Butolphs where
the -w- has even disappeared in the spelling. See also *Berwick and Southwick (saṅk) below.

(c) **Simplification of consonant-groups.**

-ldk->-lk- O.E. *Bealdcumb > Balcombe (bākam).
-lhb->-lb- O.E. *Ealhurna > Albourne (?).
-lfm->-lm- O.E. *Ælfmōdantūn > Almodington.
-lgn->-ln- M.E. *Hālkswaker > Halmaker.

-Inst->-lst- O.E. *Ælfwinesstedē > M.E. *Elnes(s)te < Elstead (Type I).
-lvst->-lst- O.E. *Ælfesstēdē > M.E. *Elves(s)te < Elstead (Type II).

(kst->-st- O.E. *Ælfricstētūn > Alfriston.

-st(ɔ)t->-st- O.E. *přědrstatūn > M.E. Prest(f)tūn > Preston.

(d) A similar phenomenon is the complete loss of whole syllables for which see γ (3) above.

(e) **Assimilation.** It is not always easy to draw the line between assimilation and loss of consonants in combinations. In all cases the double assimilated consonant is shortened in mod. Engl. Sussex examples are:

-ht->-tt- O.E. *hēhtūn > hēhtūn > Hettūn (1320), early forms of Heighton (Type I).
late O.E. *Ractūn > Raktūn > Rattūn (in early forms of Racton q.v.).

-O.E. *Oktanāhm > ottechām > Otham.


-nl->-ll- O.E. *Bœrnlfāfantūn > M.E. Berlavintūn > Barlavington.

-um->-mm- O.E. *Lěömynstre > Lém(m)instre > mod. Lynminster (q.v.).


Cf. also M.E. Rodemeld > mod. Rodmell. The second element is O.E. *-mylde; is mod. *-mell due to the analogy of O.E. mylen, "a mill," or is it assimilation of -ld- > -ll-?
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(f) By the side of the simplification of consonant-groups, by assimilation or otherwise, the groups -mr-, -nr- and -lr- develop into -mbr-, -ndr- and -Idr- respectively. This is not an “insertion” of a consonant, as those ignorant of phonetics suppose. Cf. French je viendrai with venir, je viens, etc., chambre, early O. Fr. chamre, Lat. camera. Examples in Sussex are:


2. -nr- > -ndr-. O.E. *alratūn, D.B. Eldritūne, 1278 Aldryngton > Aldrington (but this name may contain O.E. Eald-here, see Pt 1 below), O.E. *Beanheretiin > Be(n)e retun > 1233 Bendriton > mod. Binderton.


(η) Inflexion and Word-formation.


1. The following names have no genitive suffix in the earliest forms. This seems specially to be the case with names in -here and -wine. Amberley (683? Amberla, 957 Amberle, D.B. Ambrelie < O.E. *Eamherelēah); Binderton (M.E. Bendriton < O.E. *Bēānheretūn); Goodwood (M.E. Godnewude < O.E. *Gōd-winewudu); Imberhorne < O.E. *Ēōmārhorn, -hyrne; Kirdford (1379 Kerrededeford < earlier M.E. Kēnredeford < O.E. *Cēnvrēdeford); Walderton (D.B. Waldere 1167 and passim, Walderton < O.E. *Wealdheretūn); Wod-, Woodmancote (D.B. Odemancote < O.E. *Wudumancote).
2. A strong -es- is substituted for a weak -an- in Avisford < M.E. Avesford < O.E. *Afesford for *Afan-.

3. A weak -an- replaces a strong -es- in Almodington < O.E. *Ælfmōndantūn; Barlavington, Barlton < O.E. *Beornlāfantūn; and Woolavington < O.E. *Wulflāfantūn. See all these names, and also Lavington, in Pt I below.

(b) The particle -ing-. This has also been investigated by Alexander, in Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, vol. ii. (1911), pp. 158 ff. The medial -ing- may be: (1) Seldom the O.E. patronymic suffix, but certainly such in Beddingham and Washington (q.v. below). (2) Most often the O.E. weak genitive suffix -an- > M.E. -in-. O.E. *Bebbantūn > Bebbin- > Bebing-, mod. Bebyngton; O.E. *Dallantūn > Dallington; O.E. *Wernan(ge)lād > Warninglid. Examples are very common in the names under Part I below. (3) The O.E. adjective suffix -en-, -egn- as in Lancs. Haslingden < O.E. *hæsle(l)endan (cit. Wyld) and Sussex Hollington < O.E. *holegantūn.

(4) The O.E. pers. n. suffix -wine as in Jevington < *Gefwinetūn. Or Jevington may equally well be derived from a form Gefan- where Gefa is a shortened form of the above Gefwine. For the examples of -ing- in Sussex, see the Index of Separate Elements in Pt II below.

(c) Substitution of one suffix for another. See Walker's article in E. St. 48, Heft 1. It frequently happens that a mod. pl.-n. has a different suffix from that which it shows in its early forms, owing to confusion between certain similar elements. This was very likely to happen in the unstressed second part of the compound, especially between such pairs as O.E. -dūn and -denu which appear in M.E. as -don and -den, probably both pronounced (-don). Indeed almost all names in -den and -dean have a -don amongst their early forms, and vice versa. Some Sussex examples of this interchange are (1) O.E. berg and burh (burg). Modern Pulborough and Swanborough, both with -bergh, -berwe in the early forms, but seldom -burgh. Also 1411-2 Wisebergh, 1409 Wysbergh, modern Wyseberg and Wisborough Green. (2) O.E. -camp and -k + ham(m). Mod. Barcombe with earlier types, I. Berkham(m) < *beorchamm,
II. *Bercamp, a new suffix from an imagined etymology such as *Beorncamp, III. Bercombe. The pronunciation of all three types was in M.E. the same, the official spelling of the modern name is of course that of III. Also Warningcump, which is probably O.E. *Wernancamp < *Wyrnan-, but which may also be *Werne-canhamm (or -hām) > M.E. Wernecamp as in the early forms noted below. (3) Mod. -den (-dene, -dean) and -don. This is the commonest example in Sussex. I note some here; see also Pts I and II below. 1278 Egedene, 1539 Eggedean, 1279 Egedon = Egedean; mod. Findon, early forms in -don and Findene once in 1280; mod. Marden has several early spellings like Meredon; for Standean we have D.B. Standene and two other forms in -dene but 1253, 1409 Standon; D.B. Playdene, other forms in -den and -don, mod. Playden, etc.

4. -don also sometimes alternates with -ton, cf. M.E. Fontin- and Funintton, 1330 Fontyngdon = mod. Funtington, also modern Willingdon for which we find usually types like Wylindon, but also 1248 Wilenden, Wylinden and 1633-4 Willington.

5. O.E. -feld and -fald is also fairly common; cf. 1287 Ashfelde = Ashfold.

6. O.E. lēāh, lēh, lēāge often interchanges with other elements, for instance -lei, -low; -lei, -hill; -lei, -lake (O.E. lacu), etc. Cf. D.B. Baldeslei, Badeslei, 1274 Baldeslowe, 1316 -lawe = Baldslow, 1253 Hadlegh, 1409 Hadlow, mod. Hadlow Down; O.E. *byxalēāh (mod. Bexhill) > Type I Bixele, Bexe, Type II Buxhull, Bexhill, Bixhelle, etc.; O.E. *scépleēāh > M.E. Schiplee, Sheplei (Type I), cf. Type II Schiplake, Shepelake = mod. Shipley. See also remarks on Fairlight in Pt I below.

7. O.E. -mere, gemēru, *gemāre (unmutated < W. Gmc. *ga-mair-), mōr. With names in -mere and -more it is often difficult to tell what the second element really is. At any rate the interchange of -mere, -more is frequent. Cf. 1294 Bromere, 1439 Brommore (< *brōm(ge)mē eru, -māre, or *brīmnere, -mōr), mod. Broomer's Green, also Udimore with all its early forms in -mere.

8. The M.E. spelling -ston(e), in default of evidence from O.E., may be sometimes referred to stān, sometimes to -es + tun.
Sussex Hunston is definitely O.E. *Hunesstán, as the early forms prove, but Bishopstone may be either O.E. *biscopesstán or *biscopesstôn. See both names below.

9. A suffix has completely disappeared in the modern Monks, which is 1316 Moneksy, 1317 Monekeseye, and in Rye which is Rieberge in D.B.

(θ) Foreign Influence.

1. Norse influence is hardly possible in Sussex, but there are two or three older forms which would seem to point to it. The pers. n. Hasten seen in mod. Hastings was certainly the name of a Danish chief, but it may also have been an Engl. name, since Hæsten, Hasten appears in an O.E. pl.-n. from C.D. (see Hastings below). Again there never appears in Sussex a modern -yett, -it, or -itt < O.E. geat, but only the form gate, which may either be from the O.E. plural type gatu, gatum, or from the O.N. gata, which however meant "thoroughfare," "path," a meaning not known in the case of the O.E. word. Since these -gate forms first appear in M.E. times, it is just possible that they are derived from the Scand. word, or that their meaning has been influenced by it. There is, however, no definite indication of Scandinavian influence in Sussex names, but see remarks under Tangmere below.

2. Norman-French influence. The standard authority is of course Zachrisson (Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names, Lund 1907). Sussex names do not show as many effects of such influence as might be expected from the geographical position of the county. The following characteristics are certainly Anglo-French:—(1) Alternation of -ling and -ning in the early forms of Ditchling, q.v. (Z., p. 140, considers this an actual sound-change, not a mere variation in spelling). (2) Substitution of (s) for English (tʃ) as in Cissbury Hill (< O.E. *Cissanbyrig, cf. Chichester and its early forms below) initially, medially in Lancing < O.E. *Wlançiŋ < Wlenciŋ, and Ticehurst < O.E. ticcenhryst. (3) Substitution of (s) for Engl. (ʃ) medially, as in Maresfield and Merston (< O.E. *merscfeld, *mersetūn). The English type survives in Marsham (mūsâm) < O.E. *merschām.
See all these names below. (4) Certain names are purely French, e.g. Beachy Head (< bel-chef, the spelling being affected by the M.E. beach), Beauport, Bewbush (< beau-buisson), Broyle. The common combination of an Engl. pl.-n. with a French family name is seen in Herst- or Hurstmonceux and Horsted Keynes (q.v. below). (5) Certain French words appear as elements in Sussex pl.-ns., as -boys, “wood,” -ett(e) (diminutive suffix), bel-, -beu, and beau. Also port, if of Romance origin, but this was already a loan-word in O.E.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE CHIEF CONTRACTIONS USED.

(The letters refer to the sections of the Bibliography, the small Roman number to the sub-section, and the Arabic figure to the number against the document in that section.)

| Anc. Ch. | A ii. 6. |
| A.-S. Chron. | A ii. 3. |
| B.-T. | F 2. |
| Cal. Inq. ad quod D. | A ii. 19. |
| Cal. Inq. P.M. | A ii. 20. |
| Camden's Britt. | A ii. 25. |
| Cart. Sax. | A ii. 2. |
| Cat. Anc. Dds. | A ii. 21. |
| C.D. | A ii. 1. |
| Ch. Du. Lancs. | A ii. 15. |
| Cl. Rolls of Hen. III. | A ii. 7 and 8. |
| Cowfold Accs. | A i. 9. |
| Cust. B. Abbey. | A i. 2. |
| Cust. of Pevensy. | A i. 4. |
| D.B. | A ii. 4. |
| Docs. Lewes Pr. | A i. 7. |
| E.D.D. | F 8. |
| H.R. ii. | A ii. 10. |
| Ind. Ch. and Rolls. | A ii. 23. |
| Introd. to D.B. | C 2. |
| J. of G.'s Reg. | A ii. 16. |
| Leland's Itin. | A ii. 24. |
| Lewes Subs. Roll. | A i. 3. |
| Malling Surv. | A i. 6. |
| Pat. Rolls Hen. III. | A ii. 9. |
| Pipe Rolls. | A ii. 5. |
| Plac. de quo War. | A ii. 11. |
| Tax. Eccl. | A ii. 27. |
| T. N., T. de N., Testa de N. | A ii. 12. |
| Vist. Ssx. | A i. 10. |

< comes from; is derived from.
> develops into.
* denotes a hypothetical or re-constructed form.
TABLE OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>as in bit, p'll, rid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>bet, red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>cat, fallow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>seed, feed, plead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>German nehmen, leben.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>but, run.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>father, card.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>put, pull.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>hot, cot, shod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ü</td>
<td>boot, root.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ő</td>
<td>German bohne, so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>saw, cord, law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>bird, heard, word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, i</td>
<td>about, father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e, i</td>
<td>fire, choir, lie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>pay, day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>house, loud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou</td>
<td>bone, home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>boy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consonants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>as in tear, pet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>dear, red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>thin, thorn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>then, there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>nose, bone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>lie, loud, bull.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>round, rash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>sin, sigh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>zeal, raise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>skip, shot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>asure, pleasure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>yet, young.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pin, post.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>bend, boast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>fat, laughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>vent, vaunt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>will, woe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>wheel, when (= voiceless w.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>men, mar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>king, cat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>guest, gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>sing, long, tongue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>host, hill.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Phonetic script is enclosed in round brackets, thus:—Keymer (=koim).
A. Sources of early forms of Sussex Place-names.

Documents relating particularly to Sussex (mainly from the Collections of the Sussex Archaeological Society).

Sources


8. *Roll of a Subsidy levied 13 Hen. IV* (1411-12), so far as relates to the County of Sussex. Ed. T. H. Noyes. (Sussex Arch. Soc. vol. x. pp. 129-146.)


ii. Documents which contain early forms of Sussex Place-Names, as well as of those of other counties.

Sources

12. *Testa de Nevil sive Liber Feodorum in Curia Scaccarii, temporibus Henry III et Edward II*. Record Commission London, 1807. (According to Sarghill-Bird, compiled late in the reign of Edward II. I have taken the date as circa 1320.)

Abbreviations and mode of reference

(Cart. Sax.) cit. date, vol., p. and no.
(A.-S. Chron.) cit. date, MS. and p. Also year of the entry.
(D.B. i.) cit. folio, and date 1085.
(Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1227-1231.) cit. date and p.
(Cl. Rolls, Hen. III (1231-1234.) cit. date and p.
(Pat. Rolls, Hen. III (1216-1225.) cit. date and p.
(H.R. ii.) cit. date and p.
(Plac. de quo War.) cit. date and p.
(T. N., T. de N., or Testa de N. cit. date and p.
(Adbr. Plac.) cit. date and p.
Sources


17. *Calendar of Charter Rolls.* Vols. i. and ii. (Deputy Keeper of Records), 1903 and 1906.

18. *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum.* Record Commission 1803. The same volume contains:

- (Cal. Inq. ad quod Damnum)
- (Cal. Inq. P.M.)

19. *Calendarium Inquisitionum ad quod Damnum.*


25. *Camden's Britannia, newly transl. into English,* London, 1695. (Contains an account of the various counties, with historical and archaeological details, and maps.)


Abbreviations and mode of reference

(Ch. Du. Lancs.)

(j. of G.'s Reg.)

(Cal. Ch. Rolls.)

(Cal. Rot. Ch.)

(Cal. Inq. ad quod D.)

(Cal. Inq. P.M.)

(Cat. Anc. Dds.)

(Bodl. Cal. Ch. and Rolls.)

(Ind. Ch. and Rolls.)

(cit. vol. and p.)

(cit. by p.)

(cit. date, no. and p.)

(Exch. Red Bk.)
B. Documents containing early forms of Place- and Personal Names other than in Sussex.


BIRCH, Cartularium Saxonum. 3 vols. (See A ii. 2 above.)
Codex Diplomaticus. Ed. S. Kemble. (See A ii. 1 above.)
Introduction to Domesday Book. By Sir H. Ellis. 2 vols, 1833 (contains lists of personal names, see C below).

C. Old English Personal Names in the Early Period.


D. Works on English Place-names.


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E. Continental Place- and Personal Names.

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LUCAS, E. V. Highways and Byways in Sussex. Macmillan, 1904. (Contains interesting historical information and a very clear map of modern Sussex.)
WRIGHT, J. The English Dialect Dictionary. (E. D. D.)
PART I

Adsdean.


O.E. *denu*, a dene, valley. The first element is probably a pers. n. Cf. *Adda* in Bede iii. 21, p. 170, and also *Æddl* (ibid. iv. 2, p. 205). The latter is more likely, since *Adda* would normally have a weak genitive.

Albourne.

circa 1320 Aleburn, T. de N. p. 222.

The *Al-, Ale-* in the above forms probably represent an O.E. pers. n. *Ealh-.* Cf. *Ealhmund, Ealhnoph*, etc. in Searle. For O.E. *burna*, "stream," see Pt II. Possibly also the first element might be O.E. *eald*, "old," or *Eald* as a pers. n., but in this case one would expect some early spellings in *Aldb-. For O.E. Ealhmund see also Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns., under *Almondbury.*

Alciston.

1085 Alchitone? D.B. i. 19 b.
Alstime, D.B. i. 17 b.
Alsitone, D.B. i. 19 a.
circa 1320 Alsiestun, T. de N. p. 227.

"Ælfsige's tūn," O.E. *Ælfsigestūn*. The name *Ælfsige* is well authenticated; see Searle. Cf. Duignan's remarks, Worcs.
Pl.-Ns., on the *Alston* in that county. The T. de N. forms *Alsiestun* is the M.E. precursor of the modern pronunciation (*àlsistån*).

Aldingbourne.

1085 Aldingborne, D.B. i. 16 b.  
1226, 1230 Aldingburne, Cal. Rot. Ch. pp. 34, 47.  
1274 Aldingburne, H.R. ii. p. 212.  
1278 Aldingburne, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.  

Probably O.E. *Ealdinga burna,* “the brook, stream of the Ealdings.” The *Ealdings* themselves are not directly mentioned by Searle, but there are columns of names in *Eald,* such as *Ealdbeorht, Ealdhelm,* etc. *Ealda* is the name of a witness to a Charter, Cart. Sax. No. 197. See O.E. *burna* in Pt II.

Aldrington.

1085 Eldretun, D.B. i. 26 b.  }  
Eldritune H., D.B. i. 28 b.  
1278 Adryngton, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.  
1298 Alrington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 149.  
1386 Aldrington, ibid. iii. p. 83.  

Probably “the *tūn* of the alder-trees,” O.E. *alratūn > M.E. aldritun.* The -*ing-* in the above forms and in the modern name is probably due to the analogy of some name containing medial -*ing-* such as *Aldingbourne.* For the second element see O.E. *tūn* in Pt II.


Or possibly the above name contains the O.E. pers. n. *Eald-herę* (or the gen. plur. of the patronymic *Ealdheringa-*).
Aldsworth.  
1477 Allysworth, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 9.  
O.E. *Ealdesweorþ, “the ‘worth’ or farm of Eald.” Eald is probably shortened from such pers. ns. as Ealdhelm, Ealdwine, etc. -weorþ = “farm”; see Pt II.  

Aldwick.  
Simply O.E. eald wic, “the old house.” O.E. wic always appears in Sussex as -wick or -wyke (wik) or (waik). On this point see remarks on the element in Pt II.  

Aldworth.  
The form Aldingworth above seems to point to an O.E. *Ealdanweorþ, Ealda being a pers. n., discussed under Aldingbourne. But the modern form presupposes O.E. *ealdworth > M.E. ældworth either (1) “the old farmstead,” or (2) “the farmstead of Eald(a),” the genitive suffix -an- of Ealdan- being lost in late O.E. Either is equally probable.  

Alfriston.  

Type I.  
1085 Alvricesstone, D.B. i. 21 b.  
1136 Alfrichestunam, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 512.  
circa 1320 Alfricheston, T. de N. p. 223.  
1588 Alfriston, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 10.  

Type II.  
1314 Alfretheston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.  
O.E. Ælfrices tun. ē (= M.E. tf) is lost before -st. See Phonology above. Type II shows confusion of the first element with another O.E. pers. n., possibly Ælfrēd.
Almodington.

1386 Almodyton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 84.
1421 Almoditon, ibid. iv. p. 64.
1501 Almodyton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 11.

“The tūn of Ælfmōd.” Grueber (Cat. of English coins in the
British Museum) gives Ælfmōd or Elemōd as an O.E. pers. n.
(see Searle, Onomast. p. 14).

The name must have had a weak genitive Ælfmōdan instead of
the strong *Ælfmōdes, hence O.E. Ælfmōdantūn > Almodington.

Amberley.

Type I.

683! Amberla (Latin), C.D. v. p. 33.
1085 Ambrelie, D.B. i. 17a.
1226 Amberl’, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.
1278 Amberleigh} Plac. de quo War. p. 759.

Type II.

1278 Aumberly, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.

Searle records a pers. n. *Eamhere, for which he gives two
eexamples—Eamer from a coin of Æthelred II, and Eammer
(c. 1045), the name of a landowner from C.D. No. 912.

O.E. *Eamhere leāh > late O.E. *æmerelæh > M.E. ambrelei.
The genitive suffix was often omitted with pers. ns. in -here; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Phonology. If this etymology be
true, the C.D. forms must have been copied from some M.E.
document, since we could hardly have an intrusive -b- so early.
Type II shows the common M.E. (Norman-Fr.) diphthongising
of a- to au- before nasals. Cf. Chaucerian forms like launce,
commaunde, etc. See O.E. leāh in Pt II.

Ancton, Ankton.

1085 Antone? D.B. i. 25 b.
Angmering, East and West.

1085 Angemare, D.B. i. 24 b.
circa 1320 Angemere, T. de N. p. 222.

The C.D. form above explains this name as the tūn of the Angemăringas. No other authority exists for the O.E. Angemær; Searle quotes it as “local,” from the evidence of this Sussex pl.-n. The ending -tūn has been lost in the modern name, and already before 1085.

It is possible also that the name was really O.E. Angemēr-ing-tūn, i.e. “the tūn by the meadow (O.E. ing) of Angemēr.” In this case the tūn may have been dropped as a third and superfluous element. But the O.E. tūn generally occurred in conjunction with a personal name, and this seems rather to favour the first explanation. See O.E. ing, incg and tūn in Pt II.

For similar instances of pl.-ns. compounded with three elements cf. Ashburnham below, Berkhampstead (Hants.), Ash-ampstead (Berks.), Ashleyhay and Alderwasley (Derby).

Appledram or Apuldram.

1085 Aplesham? D.B. i. 28 b.
1274 Apeldreham, H.R. ii. p. 212.

O.E. apulrahām or apuldrahām, “the homestead of the apple-trees.”
Ardingley (ádıñli) and (árdıñ lái).

_Type I._

1278 Herdingelegh, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1409 Ardingeleg, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 213.
1441 Erthynglegh, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 18.

_Type II._?

1213 Erdinton, Abbr. Plac. p. 89.
circa 1320 Erdinton

The medial -e- in the 1278 and 1409 spellings in Type I above suggests an O.E. patronymic, in the gen. plur.—such a name as Eardinga—"of the sons of Earda." Earda would be a shortened form of one of the many names beginning with Eard-, of which perhaps Eardwine is the most common. Skeat explains the Herts. Ardeley as *Eardantēah. See O.E. teāh in Pt II.

If Type II represents the same name, it shows an exchange of O.E. -tūn for O.E. teāh.

_Arlington._

1085 Herlintone, D.B. i. 19 a.

O.E. Eorlan tun, "the tun of Eorla." Eorla is a short form of some pers. n. beginning with Eorl- such as Eorlbeald, Eorlwine, etc., for which Searle gives good authority. The initial H-in the D.B. form is a Norman-French scribal peculiarity, and means nothing. See Hailsham below.
Arundel.

1085 Arundel Rap', D.B. i. 28 a.
Harundel Rap', D.B. i. 17 a.


1278 Arundel, Arundell, Plac. de quo War. p. 751.

circa 1320 Arundell, T. de N. p. 222.


Simply "the dell on the Arun," a river in Sussex. This is the only example of the element *dell* in Sussex. It represents an O.E. *dell* from *dalja* (cf. O.E. *del*, "a dale"). But for the -ll in the above forms the second element might represent an unstressed form of O.E. *del*. There are no -dales in modern Sussex.

See O.E. *dell* in Pt II.

Ashburnham (*e*/brəm).


1085 Esseborne, D.B. i. 18 a.


1275 Ashburnham, Hasseburnham, Abbr. Plac. p. 188.

1278 Esseburnham, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.


1633-4 Ashbornham, Vist. Ssx. p. 68.

O.E. *æscburnahām*, "the homestead by Ash's stream." Or possibly *æsc* may be here the name of the tree. The modern pronunciation (*e*/brəm), given by Hope, is just what one should expect the O.E. *æscburn(a)hām* to become in Sussex.

See O.E. *æsc*, burna, and *hām* in Pt II.
Ashdown Forest.

1275 Ashedon forest, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 58.
1293 Asshetdown, ibid. p. 122.
1325 Asshedonne, ibid. p. 328.
1372 Asshedon, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 12.

Æsca is probably a pers. n. The second element is O.E. dūn, "a down, hill" (q.v. Pt 11). Skeat (Berks. Pl.-Ns.) takes Æsc to be a pers. n. in the Ashdown in that county. The name occurs in the A.S. Chron. annis 648, 661, 871. Cf. Ashington below.

Ashfold.


Æsc may be here the name of the tree, but the absence of the genitive suffix does not necessarily exclude the pers. n. O.E. -fald and -feld are frequently confused as second elements. Cf. Cowfold below.

Ashington.

1073 Essingetona, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Eschintone, D.B. i. 19 b.


Ashling, East and West.


The above forms differ very little from the modern. Probably Ashling is O.E. *Æscelingas, "descendants of Æsele." *Æsele is a diminutive of the common pers. n. Æsc, formed from it by the addition of the suffix -el(e), -ol. For other O.E. diminutives in Sussex pl.-ns. see Brightling and Duncton below.

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Ashurst and Ashurstwood.

1448 Asshehurst, ibid. p. 238.

O.E. æschyrst, “the ash wood.” æsc is here probably the name of the tree. See O.E. hyrst in Pt II.

Atherington.


The first element is possibly an O.E. Æþela, shortened from one of the numerous names in Æbel-, for which see Searle. Hence O.E. Æþelantun > M.E. Athelington, wherein the substitution of -r- for -l- may be a sign of Norman-French influence (Zachrisson, p. 142).

Or perhaps the first element may be the common O.E. pers. Æþelwine, with loss of -w- in M.E. and change of -ine to -ing. See remarks on -ing in Pt II.

Avisford.

1331 Avesforde, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. i. No. B 125, p. 228.

The first element is a pers. n. There is an Afa mentioned in Kemble C.D. No. 1313 (circa 1017), and another of the same name was a witness to a charter in Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 1248 (circa 970). The second element is O.E. ford, “a ford.” Normally the genitive of Afa would be Afan, but the strong type Aves has persisted, and given rise to the modern Avisford. If we may take the 1418 form above seriously, the second element shows substitution of the O. Norse fjordr for O.E. ford.

See O.E. ford in Pt II.
A \textit{-v-} (<\text{O.E.} -f-) between vowels does not normally disappear in Sussex. Cf. the names Barlavington, Woolavington, Lavington, Bevendean, Ovingdean, and see Wright's E. D. Gr. p. 227.

\textbf{Babintone, Bebyngton, Bepton.}

\textit{Type I.}

1085 Babintone, D.B. i. 23 b.
1278 Babington, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

\textit{Type II.}

1281 Bebington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 73.

\textit{Type III.}

1428 Bebeton, F.A. v. p. 156.

"The \textit{tūn} of Babba (or Bæbba?);" O.E. \textit{Babbantūn}. Searle gives Babba as a "mon," and as the first element of a pl.-n. in Babbanbeorh from C.D. Nos. 389, 623. Neither Searle nor Birch (Cart. Sax. vol. iv. Index of Pers. Ns.) cites the form \textit{*Bæbba}, but it may have existed side by side with the commoner Babba; and, compounded with O.E. \textit{tūn}, would have given rise to Types II and III (O.E. Bebbantūn and Bebbatūn, with the Kt. or Southern \textit{e} for Pr. O.E. \textit{a}).

The first element of Types II and III might further be derived from an O.E. Bebba, mentioned by Bede as the name of the queen of Bernicia in 593–617 (Eccl. Hist. Bk. iii. § 6, p. 138, in Plummer's Ed.).

In any case Type I represents O.E. \textit{Babbantūn} > \textit{Babbintun} > Babington (= bæbintan or bæbītán). The modern Babintone is a survival of the D.B. spelling. Type II is late O.E. Bebbantūn, and Type III is from a form without a genitive suffix, Bebbatūn (or \textit{*Bæbbatūn}), the development of the name being Bebbatūn > Bebiton or Bebeton > Bepton, the second \textit{-b-} being naturally unvoiced before the following \textit{-t-}. 
Balcombe.

Type I.

1278 Balcumbe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1284-5 Baldcomb, F.A. v. p. 129.

Type II.


Type III.


The second element is O.E. *comb*, *cumb*, "a hollow," "valley"; cf. Pt II.

The first element may be O.E. *bæl*, "a flame, fire of funeral pyre," but a funeral pyre was more likely to be burnt on a hill-top than in a valley.

The F.A. form in Type I suggests confusion with a pers. n. beginning with *Bald-* (O.E. *beald-*, as in *Bealdhere*, *Bealdwine*, etc.).

Type III shows M.E. diphthongising of *a* to *au* before *-l* with subsequent loss of the *-l*. I cannot explain the diphthong *-ai-* in Type II.

Baldslow.

Type I.

1085 Baldeslei Hund', D.B. i. 18 a. }
Badeslei Hund', D.B. i. 20 a. }

Type II.

1316 Baldeslawe, F.A. v. p. 133.

Originally O.E. *Bealdes* or *Baldes Teah*, "the pasture-land of Bald." *Bald* is a shortened form of some name beginning with this component, like *Bealdhere*, *Bealdwine*, etc.

Searle gives more than three columns of names in *Bald-*, *Beald-*. [He also quotes *Bald* as a "nomen viri" from Förstemann, i. 202, but he quotes from the edition of 1856-72. The
second edition (1900) has Bald, and Baldo, i. 235, and place-names Baldisheim, Baldingen, Paldinperc, Baldenstat (under Bald and Baldo).

Type II shows a change of suffix from O.E. laēh to O.E. hlæw (= tumulus, burial-ground). The latter suffix becomes a modern -law or -low (l5 or lou), according to its derivation from O.E. hlæw and O.E. hlā respectively. Both these forms are illustrated in Type II above. Cf. the name Cudlawe or Cudlow below: see also Lowfield Heath. For the interchange of -low and -ley see also Wyld’s remarks and the forms cited under Osmotherley in Lanes. Pl.-Ns.

The D.B. form, No. 2 above, may be a mere spelling variation for Baldeslei or it may indicate a real loss of -l. See Zachrisson, p. 148, under B.

Barcombe.

Type I.

1085 Berchā, Bercham, D.B. i. 27 a, 27 b.
1386 Berkham, ibid. iii. p. 83.

Type II.

1202 Bercamp, Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1274 Berecomp [Berecomp]
1278 Berecompe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

Type III.

1289 Bercombe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 102.

which suggests Barley land (v. here + camp in
rnz) through loss of final l. Early confusion with the
element har = lor. Stone, and later confusion with ambe.
frequently confused with Berkham in this county.
The original form was probably O.E. beorc hām or beorc-hamm, as suggested by Type I above. O.E. beorc is another form of birce, “a birch tree,” and corresponds etymologically to the modern “bark” (O.E. beorc < Gmc. *berka; O.E. birce < Gmc. *berki). The -hamm and -horn spellings in 1361 and 1446 (Type I) above suggest that the second element was originally O.E. hām, which meant (1) “a dwelling,” “enclosed land,” i.e. “something hemmed in,” or (2) “the ham,” “hind part of the knee,” and in pl.-ns. “bend of a river.” This element was indistinguishable in M.E. from O.E. hām, which being unstressed had become M.E. -hām. (See hām (1) and (2) in Pt II.)

At any rate Type I is the earliest, and represents O.E. beorc-hām or beorc-hamm.

Type II shows a different second element, O.E. camp, “camping-ground,” which Skeat (Hunts. Pl.-Ns.) says is not English, but a loan-word direct from Latin. The forms in Type II are generally written Bercamp or Berecamp, and possibly were felt to contain the O.E. bere, “barley”(?). This Bercamp again was identical in pronunciation with Berkham in Type I.

Type III shows yet another second element, O.E. cumb, “a valley,” and this type is the precursor, as far as spelling is concerned, of the modern name. All three types have regularly developed into the modern (bākm).

Barlavington, Barlton, Belton.

725 lauingtunes, C.D. v. pp. 42–3 (Kemble’s identification).
1085 Berleventune, D.B. i. 23 b.
1241 Berlavintun, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 57.
1278 Berlavynstone, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.

The modern Barlavington is normally descended from this O.E. form.

Barlton seems to be derived from an O.E. *Beornlāftūn \(\rightarrow\) M.E. *Berlōtūn, and by simplification of the group -\(rlvt\)- *Berlton and finally Barlton.

I cannot account phonetically for the form Belton. See Lavington and Woolavington below.

Barnham.

880-5 Burnhām, C.D. ii. p. 115. (Does this really represent Sussex Barnham?)
1085 Bernehā, D.B. i. 25 a.
1162 Berneham, Fr. Ch. No. 776, p. 281.
1322 Bernham, ibid. iv. p. 432.

The earliest form from C.D. (if Kemble’s identification is correct) seems to point to an O.E. burn(a) hām, “the homestead by the brook.” All the later forms, however, have Bern-, and the modern (bānām) could not possibly develop out of O.E. burnhām.

The first element bern- may be the O.E. bern, bere- ærn (a “barn,” properly “barley-house”), but more probably it represents a pers. n. O.E. Beorna-, a short form of one of the numerous names beginning with this element, like Beornheard, Beornwulf, etc.

Skeat takes the first element of Cambs. Barnwell to be the pers. n. Beorna.

Battle Abbey.

1158–9 Abbt de Bello, Pipe Rolls, vol. i. p. 60.
1200 Abbas de Bello, Abbr. Plac. p. 32.
Battle Abbey was founded by William the Conqueror to commemorate his victory at Hastings, and the explanation of the name is sufficiently obvious.

The various forms in *de Bello* above are of course from the Latin *bellum*, a “battle,” “war,” although the earliest form and the modern name contain the Norman-French *bataille*, “a battle.”

**Beachy Head.**

1278 Beuchef, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.

Norman-French *bel ch(i)ef*, “fair promontory.” N.-Fr. *Bel-* in Engl. pl.-ns. has two developments:

1. It appears as *Bel-* and is pronounced as (bel-) or (bi-), the latter being possibly due to loss of -l- and vowel lengthening. Cf. *Belmont* (= belmont or bèlmont) and *Belvoir* (= bîvø). Luick, Anglia xvi. pp. 499 ff., explains it as due to the loss of the *y* in the M.E. diphth. -eu-.

2. It is diphthongised by an early (N.-Fr.) process, and appears in modern names as *Beau-, Beu-* (= bjû-), as in *Beaulieu* (bjûli). The name *Beauchamps* (bîtʃəm) has the spelling of the second type and the pronunciation of the first.

Despite the 1278 form above, the modern (bitʃi hêd) seems to be from a type *bel chef* (with loss of *l*?). The spelling seems to indicate confusion with the common “beach,” helped by popular etymology. For the loss of final *f* cf. hasty, M.E. *hastif*.

See *Beauchief Abbey* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

**Beckley.**

880–5 Beccanlea (dative), C.D. ii. p. 115.


1253 Becheleya, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 54.


1316 Beckele, F.A. v. p. 133.


The difficulty is that O.E. *Beccanlēah should give a modern (betli). But the modern form may be explained by assuming the loss of the genitive suffix in late O.E. The name would then be O.E. *Becc(a)lēah, and the -ē- would normally be simplified to -ē-, and unfronted before the following -l-. For another example of this sound-law cf. modern dialectal mickle and muckle (from O.E. miclum, myclum type) with M.E. michel, muchel (from O.E. micel, mycel type).

Note the 1167 Bikelea above. This may contain the O.E. variant pers. n. Bicca (see Searle). The 1408 form Betteley is interesting. The change of -kl- to -tl- is common in children’s speech, and occurs sporadically in Standard Engl. For instance, Shakspeare rhymes “brittle” (O.E. *bricol, cf. brecan) with “fickle.” (Passionate Pilgrim, Stanza 7.) Cf. also Brickelhampton < *Briht-helmeSTIN in Duignan, Worc. Pl.-Ns., and compare it with Brighton below.

Beddingham.

825 Bedingehomm, C.D. v. p. 75.
880–5 Beadingahamme, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1085 Bedinghā, D.B. i. 20 b.
1268 Bedingham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 98.
1278 Bedingham, Bedyngham, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
circa 1320 Bedingeham, T. de N. p. 227.
1418 Bedingham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 34.
Probably O.E. Beadingahamm (as suggested by the 880–5 C.D. form, No. 2 above), the hamm, "enclosure," of the Beadings or descendants of Beada. Beada occurs in another O.E. pl.-n. Beadanheal in C.D. No. 461 and Cart. Sax. No. 936. It is probably a shortened form of some name in Beadu-, such as Beaduheard, Beaduhelm, etc., which were common in O.E. See hamm in Pt II, and note that after 1085 only -ham is written as the second element. For e instead of i see Phonology above.

Beeding, Lower and Upper.

Type I.

880–5 Beadingum (dat.), C.D. ii. p. 115.
1073 Bedinges, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Bedinges, D.B. i. 27 b, 28 a.
     Bedinges, D.B. i. 27 b.
1361 Beding, ibid. ii. p. 240.

Type II.


Simply O.E. Beedingas, "the descendants of Beada" (cf. preceding name). There are many place-names which seem to consist simply of an O.E. patronymic without any determinative second element.

Sometimes they end in -ings (i.e. Hastings), sometimes in -ing (i.e. Goring). Cf. also Lancing below, which represents an O.E. Wlencing.

Type II I cannot explain. If the O.E. form were Beadingas it might be accounted for by shifting of stress (*Beadingas > *Beëdingas > Bödinges), but it seems that the quantity of the -ea- in O.E. Beadingas was short. It may, of course, be a mere scribal error.

Bersted, North and South.

696 Berkamystede (?), C.D. i. p. 45.
988 to Beorganstedinga mearce, C.D. iii. p. 236.

R. S.
BERSTED, NORTH AND SOUTH

1576 North Barsted, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 67.

Kemble's identification of the C.D. form Berkamystede (No. 2 above) with the Sussex Bersted seems incorrect; possibly it represents Berkhamstead (Herts.).

I take the first element of the Sussex Bersted to be an O.E. Beorga (pers. n. = "the protector"). Searle records only one example of this name from the C.D. form, No. 1 above. He also cites continental Beorga and Berga from Piper (which Piper?) and Förstemann.

The development is O.E. *Beorganstede > late O.E. *Bergstede > *Berhstede > M.E. Berstede by interconsonantal loss of -h- (q.v. under Phonology above).

See O.E. stede in Pt II.

Berwick.

1085 Berewice, D.B. i. 19 b.)
   Bervice, D.B. i. 19 b. }
   Berewike, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 109.)

gradoff's "Growth of the Manor" there given.


Bevendean.

1085 Bevedene, D.B. i. 22 b, 26 b.
incerto tempore Hen. III Benenden (= Bev-), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 43.
1241 Benenden (miswritten for Bev-), Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 57.
1268 Benendon (= Bev-), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
about 1320 Bevenden, T. de N. p. 222, § 63, p. 224, § 68.


The first element is a pers. n., O.E. *Beofa. There are three instances of Beoba in Cart. Sax. Chs. No. 108, 145, 211. The last two charters refer to Sussex. It is possible that this Beoba represents an earlier *Beofa, the -b- being a survival of the older attempts to spell intervocalic -f- (=v).

If this etymology be correct O.E. *Beofandene > M.E. *Bevingden by shortening of the first stressed long vowel in a trisyllable. (See Phonology ante, and cf. Beddingham above.)

Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns., derives Bevington from O.E. *Beffantūn, but does not explain the voiced -v- for -ff-.

**Bewbussh.**

1325 Beaubossen, ibid. p. 284.
1361 Beanbush (= Beau-), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 239.
1398, 1399 Beaubusson


This is a purely French name; N.-Fr. beaubuisson or beaubuisson < bel buisson. The first element is N.-Fr. bel, “bright,” “beautiful”; the second N.-Fr. buisson, “a bush,” “thicket.” See bel, bush and bois in Pt II, and cf. Beachy Head above.

**Bexhill-on-Sea.**

*Type I.*

3. 1278 Bixla
   Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
4. Bixele
5. 1306 Bixle, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 25.

*Type II.*

1. 1316 Buxle, F.A. v. p. 133.
From the evidence of the three types above it would seem that the first element is O.E. *byxa, a mutated form of O.E. box, "a box tree" (q.v. Pt II, and under Boxgrove below). The modern form is descended from the Kentish Type III above.

The second element may have been originally O.E. leāh, for which O.E. hyll was later substituted (there are no -hull's before 1325, Type II (No. 3) above).

Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 147) suggests O.E. Becca (cf. Beckley above) as the first element, but this etymology will not explain Types I and II.

**Bignor.**

*Type I.*

1085 Bigenevre, D.B. i. 25 a.
1261 Biggeneure, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 91.
1283 Bigenevere, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.

*Type II.*

1278 Bigenou, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1314 Biggenore, ibid. p. 262.
The first element would seem to be a pers. n. *Bicga, but I can find no evidence of such a name. Searle, Onom. p. 106, gives Biga as a “nomen viri” from Ellis’ Introd. to D.B., Bigo and Bigweald from Förstemann.

I can make nothing of the second element in Type I, unless it represents *efer, a mutated form of äfer, “bank.” Jellinghaus (Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn., Anglia xx. p. 309) gives ?myceldefer C.D. iii. 203, Candevere, Condefer v. 86 (Candover, Hants.), Endefer iii. 203 (?Andover, Hants.). These names seem to contain this *efer.

The second element of Type II is O.E. öfer (q.v. Pt II).

Billingshurst.

Type I.

1304 Byllingeshurst, ibid. p. 204.
1521 Byllyngeshurst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 73.

Type II.

1278 Boleynsherst, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.


Type II seems to contain a Normalised form of Billinges for its first element. Or possibly the Bol- = Bul- and is due to lip modification. See Phonology above and cf. hussshoppede (pret.) in Langland, Text C. Passus xviii. l. 268. See also Dibelius, Engl. Schriftspr., Anglia xxiii. p. 332.

Bilsham.

Type I.

1085 Bilesham, D.B. i. 25 a.

Type II.

1307 Bulesham, ibid. p. 228.
1345 Bulsham, ibid. ii. p. 124.
**Type III.**


"The hām or 'homestead' of Bill." Cf. preceding name. The $i$, $e$ and $u$ forms above point to O.E. *Bylla* < *Bul-ja*, which is not recorded but which may have existed, since we have Bola < *Bul-a*. See Bolebrook below.

**Binderton.**

1233 Bendriton, Cl. Rolls of Hen. III (1231-4), p. 239.

"The tūn of Bēānhere?" The pers. n. *Bēānhere* is not recorded by Searle, but Bēān- did exist as a first element, and -here was very common as a second.

The development is O.E. *Bēānheretūn* > *Bēneretūn* > Bēn(d)-ertūn > Binderton (bindatn) by raising of $e$ to $i$ before $n+$ cons. On this change see Phonology above, Binsted and Grinstead below.

**Bineham.**

**Type I.**

1244 Bynelham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 60.

**Type II.**

1341 Bunelham, ibid. ii. p. 100.

The first element is a pers. n. Searle gives instances of Buna, Byni, also Buno from Förstemann. A diminutive *Bynele* < *Bunila* may be the first element of this name.

If this etymology be correct the early forms above are from a diminutive form *Bynele*, but the modern name contains the O.E. Byni. If so (bainam) must be either due to Norman-French influence, which tended to lengthen $i$ to $i$ (see Ticehurst below), or it may be a spelling-pronunciation.

The second element is O.E. hām, q.v. Pt II.
Binsted.

1085 Benestede, D.B. i. 17 b, 25 a, b.
1278 Bynstede, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
p. 136.


The first element of the Berks. Binsfield is O.E. beonet, "bent grass." Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., gives the early forms Benetfeld and Bentfeld from Inq. P.M. (no reference or date). See O.E. bēan and stede in Pt II.

Possibly also the first element of the Sussex Binsted may be an O.E. pers. n. in Bēan-, of which Searle cites Bēanstān from Beowulf, l. 524, and Beanhard without reference.

Birdham.

1085 Bridehā, D.B. i. 24 a.
1105 Bridsham, Fr. Ch. No. 921, p. 328.
1280 Briddeham, ibid. p. 73.
1336 Bridham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 301.
1501 Byrdeham } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 76.
1579 Bordham }

O.E. brīdhām, "the homestead where young birds were plentiful." Or Brid- may have been a pers. n., but Searle gives no reliable authority for its use as such. The modern form
shows metathesis of -ri- to -ir-, as in the separate word "bird." On the 1579 Bordham see Phonology above (bi- > bu-).

Birling Gap.

**Type I.**

1253 Berlinge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 82.
1266 Berling, ibid. p. 95.
1303 Berlinge, ibid. p. 192.

**Type II.**


There is an O.E. byrle (< *burila), which means a "cup-bearer," "butler," "calicum magister" (B.-T.). This may be the first element of Birling, and the sense of the name "the butler's meadow," O.E. byrle-ing. This would account for the two types above, but the meaning is not very satisfactory. See Birlingham in Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns., and O.E. -ing, -incg in Pt II.

Bishopstone.

1085 Biscopestone, D.B. i. 16 b.
1278 Bissopestune, Bisepeston, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.

The first element is O.E. biscoes, genitive singular of bisco, "a bishop." The second element may be O.E. stān or O.E. ān, and the 1278 form Bissopestune makes the latter more likely, although the modern form has -stone.

See Hunston below, and O.E. stān and ān in Pt II.
Blachington, East and West.

_Type I_ (blat-).

circa 1320 Blechington, T. de N. p. 222.

_Type II_ (blak-).

1386 Blackington, ibid. vol. iii. p. 83.
1471 Blackington, ibid. vol. iv. p. 316.

O.E. _Blæccantūn_, “the _tūn_ of Blæcca,” a well-known O.E. pers. n. This is _Type I_ above. _Type II_ shows confusion with another common pers. n., namely O.E. _Blaca_. See O.E. _tūn_ in Pt II.

Blackboys.


Or the first element may simply be the adjective _black_; M.E. _blak, black_; O.E. _blæc_.

Blackham.

_Type I._

1316 Blakehame, F.A. v. p. 139.
1354 Blakehamme, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 188.
1371 Blakhamme, ibid. p. 313.
Type II.


The forms in -hamme under Type I above make it probable that the second element was originally O.E. *hamm, either (1) "enclosure," or (2) "bend in a river."

Type I is O.E. Blacannahm, "the hamm (q.v. Pt II) of Blaca." O.E. Blaca normally becomes M.E. Blāke > mod. (bleik). The short vowel in the model (blækam) may be due to syncopation of the O.E. compound to *Blacannahm > E.M.E. Blāk(n)-hamm > later M.E. (Blākam).

Type II shows a confusion of the first element with the O.E. pers. n. Blæcca (q.v. under Blachington above).

Blackstone.

Alexandro Blakstone | ii. p. 304.

Either simply "black stone," O.E. blēc stān, or possibly just the opposite, O.E. blēc stān, "shining, white stone." Or again the first element may be the pers. n. O.E. Blaca (with a strong genitive), and the second O.E. tūn.

The forms in -stone above tell us nothing about the second element. -stone may be O.E. stān or O.E. -s (genitive) + tūn.

See Hunston below, which has O.E. stān as its second element.

Boarzell.


The evidence is scanty, but the name may be O.E. *bāreshyll, "boar's hill." -ell is the remains of the Kt. *hell for O.E. hyll.

See both elements in Pt II.

Bodiam (bodžam).

1050–4 Bodesham (?), C.D. vi. p. 199. (Kemble identifies this with Bosham, but see early forms under this name.)

1085 Bodehā, D.B. i. 20 a.


BOLNEY

1695 Bodigham, Map of Ssx., Camden's Britt. p. 164.

The first element is a pers. n., O.E. Boda, for which Searle gives authority. A diminutive Bodeca is found also in Bodecan-leah, Cart. Sax. No. 300.

The -i- in the above forms and the modern name is all that remains of the O.E. genitive -au. Cf. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under Padiham (= O.E. *Paddanham).

For the second element see hām in Pt II.

Bognor.

680 Bucganora, C.D. i. p. 23.
1274 Bugenor', H.R. ii. p. 211.

The first element is a pers. n., which is only found in the above charters, O.E. *Bucga.

The second element is O.E. ðora, “a shore,” “bank” (q.v. Pt II), O.E. Bucganōra > late O.E. *Bucgnōra > M.E. *Bugnor (unfronting of ð before n immediately following). In this case the pronunciation (bagna) is a spelling-pronunciation for (bagna).

Bolebrook.


Probably “the brook of Bola,” O.E. Bolanbrōc. Bola is mentioned as a witness to a ch. of 824, Cart. Sax. No. 379, C.D. No. 218. For the second element, see O.E. brōc in Pt II.

Bolney (boulni).

1284–5 Bolnee, F.A. v. p. 129.
The first element is O.E. Bolan, genitive of the pers. n. Bola (q.v. preceding name). The second is probably O.E. ēā, “water” (q.v. under -ey in Pt II). Hope (Dial. Pl.-Nomenclature) gives the pronunciation of this name as Bōleney (=boulni). This is from O.E. Bolanēā, M.E. *Bōlēney(y), and not *Bōlne(y), or perhaps from the M.E. short type by the modern lengthening before / + cons., cf. M.E. göld > mod. (gōuld).

Borde Hill.

1633–4 Thomas Borde (Boord), Vist. Ssx. p. 93.

N.-Fr. borde “cottage.” Bardsley, Surname Dict. (1901), p. 114, gives Board, Boards, Bord, Boord as a local surname. He cites Robert Bourde co. Somers. i Edw. III (Kirby’s Quest, 228); 1634. Baptism of Thomas, son of James Boord (Kensington Ch. p. 29), etc.

borde, “a little house,” “lodging,” “cottage of timber standing alone in a field” (Cotgr.). Cf. French “de la Borde” (Bardsley, loc. cit.).

Bosham.

1050–4 Bodesham (?) (Kemble’s identification), C.D. vi. p. 119.
1085 Bosehā, D.B. i. 17 b, 27 a. }
Boseham, D.B. i. 16 a, 17 a.}
1278 Boseham, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
circa 1320 Boscham, T. de N. p. 222.
The C.D. form *Bodesham*, which Kemble identifies with *Bosham*, seems hardly to square with the others cited above. More likely it represents *Bodiam* (q.v. above).

The O.E. form is *Bosanhām*, “the homestead of Bosa.” *Bosa* is a well-authenticated name in O.E., see Cart. Sax. Index.

Hope gives the modern pronunciation as *Bos-ham*, but Professor Mawer tells me it is normally (bozãm). See O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

**Botolphs, Buttolphs.**

1620 Botolphs, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 90.

O.E. *Bōtwulfes*, genitive singular of *Bōtwulf*, a well-authenti-
cated pers. n.

This name has two developments:

(1) It became M.E. *Bōt(w)ulfes*, with shortening of the ō before -lw-, and gave rise to the modern form.

(2) It lost the -w- of the second element already in O.E., and became M.E. *Bōtulfes*, 16th cent. (būtulfs) and modern (batulf).

The early forms above seem to be this second type.

**Boxgrove.**

1085 Bosgrave, D.B. i. 25 b.
1278 Boxgrave, Plac. de quod War. p. 755.

circa 1320 Boxgve, T. de N. p. 229, § 94.
1428 Boxgrave, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 120.

O.E. (at þam) *boxgrāfe*, “at the box-tree grove.” The s in the D.B. *Bosgrave* is probably due to faulty hearing on the part of the scribe. Cf. *Bexhill* above, and see O.E. *box* in Pt II.

The modern (-grôv) or (-grouv) for the second element is descended from the O.E. dative type *grāfe*. 
[The Cambs. Boxworth has early forms Bochesuorode in D.B., Bokesworth in F.A. (1284). Skeat (Cambs. Pl.-Ns.) takes the first element to be O.E. böces (?), perhaps Norse, Icel. bokkr, Swed. bock, "he goat," have O.E. buc, "back," "although" (he says) "we find the spelling Bukeswrth in Pedes Finium, 1228."

Bracklesham.

945 Brakelesham, Cart. Sax. vol. ii. p. 562 (No. 807).
1363 Brakelesham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 94.
I suggest for the first element a pers. n. *Braccol or *Braccele, a diminutive of Bracca, of which Searle quotes only one instance, a pl.-n. Braccanheal, Cart. Sax. No. 778, and C.D. No. 1142.
For the second element see O.E. hám in Pt II.

Bramber.

Type I.

956 bremre, Cart. Sax. vol. iii. p. 144 (No. 961).
1085 Brëbre Castellum, D.B. i. 28 a.
1278 Brembre, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.
circa 1320 Brembr, T. de N. p. 222.

Type II.

Probably simply O.E. brêmre, a by-form of brêmel, "bramble."
B.-T. cites the forms brêmel,brêmbel,bræmbel,brêmber = "bramble," "briar," "tribulus," etc. See next name.

Brambletye.

1284 Bremebelt', Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1316 Brambelty, F.A. v. p. 139.

The first element is O.E. brēmel, bræm(b)el, "bramble." The second element is -tye, < M.E. tiegh < O.E. læg, "enclosure," "paddock." See discussion under this element in Pt II.

Brantridge.


The first element is O.E. brant, "lofty," "high," which is still used in the mod. dialects (mainly in the North) in the sense of "lofty," "steep," said of hills. See E.D.D. The second is hrecg, the (later) Kentish form of O.E. hrycg, "ridge," "hill-side." See both words in Pt II.

Brede.

Type I.

1274 Brode, H.R. ii. p. 216.

Type II.

1278 Brede, Plac. de quo War. p. 749.

This seems to be an O.E. *bɾēde, a mutated form of the common brād, "broad," "wide." It would thus mean "the broad place," "the wide field" or something of the kind. See the early forms of Bradkirk in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and remarks under that name.

Type I above shows the usual O.E. unmutated brād.

Type II is the ancestor of the modern name.
Brightling.

1085 Brislinga, D.B. i. 18 b.
1294 Brightling, ibid. p. 126.

Possibly O.E. *Byrhtelingas or rather *Bryhtelingum (dative plural), "(among the) sons of *Bryhtele, or *Brihtele." O.E. *Brihtele is a diminutive of Briht-, a shortened form of one of the numerous names in Briht-, Beorht-, Byrht-, etc. Probably it is a form of the name Brihthelm, since this name, in its full form, was the first element of the neighbouring Brighton (q.v. below).

Or the -ing may represent O.E. ing(un), an inflected form of O.E. ing, incg, "a water-meadow" (q.v. Pt II).

The D.B. Brislinga probably = Bristlinga, where -st- is the common Norman-French rendering of O.E. -ht-, cf. Introduction under Spelling.

Brighton.

1085 Bristelmestune} D.B. i. 266.
Bristelmetune
1278 Brithelmeston (= Bright-), Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1312 Brightelmeston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 146.

The modern (braiwt) shows a total loss of the second syllable of the original Brihthelmestūn, and if we may take the 1335 form Bruyton seriously, the syllable was already lost in early M.E., although scribes continued to write Brighthelmeston.

See Brighthampton in Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns., for another development of O.E. Brihthelmestūn, and for yet another see Bricklehampton in Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns.

Harrison (Liverpool District Pl.-Ns., under New Brighton) says that “the Sussex Brighton was...anciently called Brihthelmesstān”; but surely he could not have seen the D.B. forms above.

Brimfast. (In Kelly’s Directory; I cannot find it on the map.)


The second element is O.E. faeșten, “a fastness,” “fort,” “castle.” The first is probably O.E. brim, “ocean,” “sea.”

Broadbridge.

about 1320 Bradebrugg, T. de N. p. 226.
1420 Bradbrug, ibid. iv. p. 47.

*at bære brādan brycg, “at the broad bridge,” or O.E. brāda brycg, “the broad bridge.” The M.E. forms have a short â in the trisyllabic compound brādebrugg; the modern name is a new formation from the independent word broad.

Broadford Bridge.

*Type I.*

1085 Bredford, H. D.B. i. 28 b.
1278 Bretford, Plac. de quo War. p. 762.
1428 Bretford, F.A. v. p. 159.
**Type II.**

1361 Brutforde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 239.

**Type III.**


Type I is the commonest and earliest form, and contains as its first element O.E. *brǣde*, a mutated form of *brād*, “broad” (see *Brede* above).

The modern form (brōdfad) is not descended from any of these Types, but is a new formation, as in *Broadbridge* above.

I can make nothing of Type II, unless the first element be O.E. *brýd*, “a bride,” which is not probable.

See O.E. *brād* and *ford* in Pt ii. 

**Broadwater.**

1085 Bradewatre, D.B. i. 26 b, 28 b.

1312 Bradwater, ibid. p. 252.
1387–9 Bradewater, ibid. p. 191.
1695 Broodwater, Camden’s Britt. p. 171.

O.E. *et þæm brādan wætere*. Here again, as in *Broadbridge*, the vowel was shortened in M.E. The M.E. form *Brōdewater* occurs 1633–4 above, the exact precursor of modern (*brōdwater*).

No. 5 above, *Brawatre*, is probably merely a scribal error. A loss of -d- before -w- is not proved for M.E.

**Brookham.**


“The homestead by the brook.” The form above points to an O.E. *bröceshām*, with the first element in the genitive singular. See both elements in Pt ii.
BROYLE

Broomer's Green.


Probably O.E. brōm gemāru (brōm = genista). The 1439 -more is from the O.E. unmutated *gemāre. See both elements in Pt II.

The "Green" has been added in post-M.E. times, possibly because it was felt that Broomer was a pers. n.

Broomhill.


The first element is O.E. brōm, "broom," "genista," combined in the 13th cent. with the adjectival suffix -ig > -y.

The second was originally O.E. cnoll, "knoll," "hill-top," for which the commoner -hill (O.E. hyll) has been substituted in the modern name.

See O.E. brōm, cnoll, and hyll in Pt II.

Broyle.

1278  le Bruyl, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.

B.-T. says "O.E. broel, brogel" (no reference for its appearance in O.E.), "...a park,' 'warren stored with deer,' hence the Broyle, a wood in Sussex, belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury; vivarium, hortus cervorum, O.H.G. brogil, broil."

I take the name to be O.Fr. breuil (mod. Fr. "breuil")", "a thicket" < Late Lat. *brogilus. The word exists also as an element in continental pl.-ns. See Heilig, Ortsn. d. Grossherzogtums Baden, p. 19, under O.H.G. brugil, M.H.G. brüel; Leithaueser, Bergische Ortsn., p. 189, under Bröhl, and Jellinghaus, Westf. Ortsn., p. 8, under bröggel, bröhl. All these authorities agree with the above etymology.
Buckhurst Park.

1085  Biochest (?), D.B. i. 22 b.

The first element is probably O.E. bōc, "a charter" ("book"). See O.E. bōc and hyrst in Pt II. The (a) in (bak-) is 17th cent. unrounding of ū < ū < M.E. ð < O.E. ð. On this point see Wyld, Hist. Study, chapter on Modern Period.
The independent word (būk) is probably descended from early 19th cent. (būk), with shortening of ū to ū before -k.

Bucksteep Manor.

1301  Boxtepe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.

The second element is probably O.E. stēap, "lofty," "tall," "mountainous," used as a noun in the sense of "hill." The first is O.E. bōc, "a charter" (q.v. under Buckhurst Park above, and in Pt II).

Buddington.

1283  Bodeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1432  Buddington, ibid. iv. p. 151.

The first element is a pers. n. O.E. Budda, which is found in Cart. Sax. No. 189.
For the second, see O.E. tun in Pt II.

Bulver Hithe.

BURTON, AND BURTON WEST

Buncton.

1085 Bongetune, D.B. i. 29 a.
1292 Bungetone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 113.
1302 Bougeton (= Bongeton), Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.
1361 Bengeton (?), ibid. ii. p. 240.

I cannot suggest any etymology for the first element bung-, bong-. Neither the E.D.D. nor the N.E.D. gives any meanings of bung that would suit.

There is a Bungay in Suffolk, amongst the early forms of which are 1594 and passim Bongey (Ind. Ch. and Rolls), 1358 Bungey and Edw. I Bunghaye (cit. Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 147). These Bung-, Bong- spellings may represent an unrecorded O.E. pers. n. *Bung-, although I can find no continental cognates to support the assumption.

Burpham (bאfhאm, E).

No early forms. Very probably Burpham represents O.E. *burghām > *burhhām > M.E. *burhǣm > (bאfm). The -ph- is merely a N.-Fr. spelling, which frequently appears in early documents for -f-, cf. Grapham (= Graffham, Hunts.) in F. A. ii. anno 1285. See Felpham below.

Burton, and Burton West.

Type I.

1085 Bortone, D.B. i. 19 a.
1284 Burton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.

Type II.


O.E. *burgtūn > *burhtūn. O.E. burg meant first a "fortified place," "a fastness," and later "a city." The medial -h- was normally lost between two other consonants. Type II, if it may be taken seriously, seems to be a mixture between O.E. *burhtūn and O.E. *burhhām.
Burwash (barif).

**Type I.**

1379 Burgasshe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 112.
1428 Burgwassh, ibid. iv. p. 121.
1548 Burwasshe, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 135.

**Type II.**

1307 Burghershe, ibid. p. 140.
1320 Burghersh, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 263.
1372 Burghersh, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 56.


Type II has as its second element O.E. *ersc* which Kemble (C.D. iii. preface, p. xxiv) defines as "ersh," "edish," "aftermath," or "stubble." It is found in O.E. pl.-ns., langanersc C.D. No. 589, *hean ersc* No. 18 (cit. Kemble).

B.-T. defines O.E. *ersc* as "a park," "preserve," and glosses Lat. *vivarium* from Bentley and Lye's 18th cent. A.S. dicts., and refers to *edisc,* "aftermath."

(K. (loc. cit.) says that "ersh still (1845) survives in Surrey. Near Chertsey are some meadows, commonly called *Wettish,* i.e. 'the wheat-ersh,' *hwæt-ersc,* according to the explanation given me on the spot.")

See O.E. *burg* and *asc* in Pt II.

Bury.

**Type I.**

1085 Berie, D.B. i. 17 a, 25 a.

**Type II.**

1278 Bury, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1283 Bury, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.

Type III.

The modern name has the spelling of the M.E. Saxon type, but the pronunciation is that of the Kentish (beri).

Buxted.
1342  Boxstede, ibid. ii. p. 103.
1369  Bucstede, ibid. ii. p. 299.
1382  Bukstede, ibid. iii. p. 50.
1404  Bokstede, ibid. iii. p. 300.

O.E. bœcstede, “the ‘stead,’ ‘place’ given by charter (bœc).”
Most modern names in Buck-, Bux- are derived from an O.E. bœc- or bœces. Cf. Buckhurst Park and Bucksteep above, and see stede in Pt II.

Byworth.
1539  Byworth, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 139.
1595  Byworth, Belgrave.

Possibly simply O.E. bī weorpe, by the “worth.” Skeat explains Bygrave in Hunts. as containing the stressed form of the preposition O.E. bī(g) = “by,” “near.”
See O.E. weorþ in Pt II.

Castle Hill.

Catsfield Place.

1282 Catsfeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 204.
1356, 1362 Cattefeld, ibid. ii. pp. 198, 251.


The genitive singular in the first element makes it unlikely that Catt- is the name of the animal.

Chailey.

1268 Chegley, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
1316 Chaggeley, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 249.
1401 Chaggeleye, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 157.
1439 Chagglegh, ibid. iv. p. 198.


The first element is a pers. n. O.E. Ėge < *Ėge, a variant of the Ceagga recorded by Searle. The name Ėge is recorded by Kemble, Index to C.D. from Cegham, C.D. 363 and Ceigham 532, 896 (= Surrey Cheam). The Sussex Chailey goes back to an O.E. *Cegan lēāh > M.E. Chai(e)ley > (tʃeili).

See O.E. lēāh in Pt II.

Chalvington (tʃɔtn).

1085 Calvintone, D.B. i. 20 a, 22 a (bis).
1278 Chalvynton, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.

O.E. *Cealfantŭn, "the tūn of Cealfa." Names of animals frequently formed components of pers. ns., or were used as such themselves. Cf. such names as Catt, Fisc, and the numerous names in Wulf-.

The following names from Kemble's C.D. Index may contain Cealfa as a pers. n.—Cealfadūn 812, Cealfaleah 526, 1091, Calfhealas 150. Or Cealfa may equally well be the name of the animal.

The mod. pronunciation (tʃōtn) is developed out of O.E. *Cealfantūn > M.E. *Chalvetūn > (tʃaulvtun) > (tʃōtn), while the spelling preserves the M.E. -ing- < O.E. -an-.

See O.E. tūn in Pt II.

Charleston.

1085 Cerlocestone, D.B. i. 20 b.
1295 Cherlackeston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 133.
1306 Charlaxton, ibid. p. 225.
1316 Charlacton, ibid. p. 281.

I can find no authority for a pers. n. to fit the first element. The evidence of the early forms points to an O.E. *Ceorlāc (or *Ceorllāc), and this name, though not recorded by Searle, may have existed, since both Ceorl- and -lāc are common constituents of pers. ns. Cf. names like Ceortwulf, Ceorl, and Hygelāc, king of the Gauts, in Beowulf. If the O.E. form be *Ceorlācestūn, the second (unstressed) syllable has been completely lost. For other examples of this change, see Brighton above and Wiston below; cf. also Wyld's remarks, Lancs. Pl.-Ns. § 14, pp. 27, 28.

Charlton.

1085 Cerletone, D.B. i. 21 a.
1325 Churletone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 325.

O.E. Æorla tun, "the tūn of the churls or 'free men.'" Cf. Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns. under Charlton, also Carlton in Cambs., where the first element is the Norse Karl; see also early forms of Charleston in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

Chichester (tʃɪstə).

956 Cicestriæ (Latin locative), C.D. ii. p. 335.
988 Cycester, C.D. iii. p. 236.
1085 Cicestre, D.B. i. 16a, 16b and passim.
1204 Cicestr Civitas
   Cicestrensis Ecclesia
   } Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 15.
1278 Cycestr, Plac. de quo War. p. 761.
1361 Cicestre, ibid. ii. p. 233.

O.E. Čissan ceaster, "the city of Cissa." Cissa is a well-authenticated O.E. pers. n.; see Searle.

The modern pronunciation (tʃɪstə) is normally developed from late O.E. Cissecester, thus tʃɪsetʃestə > tʃɪʃestə > tʃɪʃestə > tʃɪʃər > tʃɪstə.

Note that most of the early form appear as Cicestr, i.e. are Norman forms which the scribes persisted in writing. Had the
Norman type of pronunciation survived, the modern name would be (sisista) or (sista). On this point, see remarks under Cissbury Hill below. Note that the popular (English) type Chichester only appears once, and that very late.

Chick Hill.


For the Beds. Chicksands, Skeat finds early forms D.B. Chic-sane; F.A. and H.R. Chikesaund; Chiksond, Inq. P.M. He assumes for the first element a pers. n. *Cicc, for which Searle gives no authority. *Cicc, he says, “has nothing in common with M.E. chike, a shortened form of chiken, a chicken; for this chike was unknown till after 1300.”

Chiddingly.

Type I.

1213 Chittingeleg, Abbr. Plac. p. 89.
1284 Chitinglegh, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1323 Chytyngelegh, ibid. p. 208.
1348 Chydyngelegh, ibid. ii. p. 146.

Type II.


There is a pers. n. Cedda for which Searle gives authority from Ceddanleah in Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 506.

Type I above is from the W.S. *Cieddanlēah type; Type II is Cieddan- > Cyddan- > Chuding- (= tfydiŋ) in M.E.

The interchange of -t- and -d- in Type I above is considered by Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 43, footnote) to be due to the influence of Norman-French. He seems to consider that the Normans could not properly distinguish between Engl. (t) and (d), and pronounced or wrote either indifferently. In Chiddingly the -t- forms have vanished entirely, but they persist in Chithurst (q.v. below), and O.E. *Tottantūn is in modern Sussex called both Toddington and Tottington (q.v. below).
Chidham.

**Type I.**
1278 Chedeham, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.

**Type II.**
1334 Chudeham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 172.

**Type III.**

The first element is the O.E. *Cedda* discussed under Chiddingly above. The above spellings show the three M.E. types—
I. *Cedd*- undiphthongised; II. *Cedd->Ciedd->Cydd-*; III. *Cedd->Ciedd->Cidd-* , with late O.E. monophthongising of -ie- to -i-.

The modern name is descended from Type III.

See O.E. *hâm* in Pt II.

Chilgrove.

**Type I.**
1278 Chelegrave, Plac. de quo War. p. 761.
1307 Chelgrave, ibid. p. 228.

**Type II.**

The first element is doubtful. It may represent:
1. O.E. *ceole*, "throat," used in pl.-ns. in the sense of "narrow valley." or guilty
2. O.E. *cöol*, "a ship" (always so in O.E.), but also perhaps "a keel," "ridge," applied to geographical features.
3. A pers. n. O.E. *Cœla* or *Cœl-*, a "familiar" or shortened form of *Cœlumund, Cœlbald, Cœlwulf*, etc.

Phonetically speaking, No. 4 above would fit the early forms of Sussex Chilgrove best, with Type II from the W.S. type Ciele. But the meaning of an O.E. ēlegræf, “cold grove,” is hardly satisfactory.

More probably No. 3 above is the first element. O.E. (æt) Cēolangræf > M.E. chelegrave (Type I).

Type II and the modern (t)ilgrove must be due to popular etymology, the association of the first element with the word “chill,” common in all periods of English.


See also O.E. græf in Pt II.

Chiltington.

1085 Cilletone, D.B. i. 24 b. { Cilletune, D.B. i. 29 a. }
1274 Chiltington, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1278 Chyltynton, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1285 Chiltinton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 173.

Under O.E. Cilt-ern (Chiltern, Oxf.) B.-T. notes “ceald, ‘cold,’ and ern ‘place.’” But I do not see how the authors account for the -t-. In the above spellings there are six Chill- forms against one Child-.

The D.B. spellings may represent an O.E. cild(an)tūn (Cild, Cilda, a pers. n.; see Searle). This would square with the 1313 form Childyntone above, but it would not account for Chilt-.

Possibly Child- and Chilt- existed side by side, showing the N.-Fr. interchange of -t- and -d-. See Toddington below and cf. Zachrisson, p. 43, fnr.
CHITHURST

Chithurst.
1341 Chedehurst, ibid. ii. p. 100.
1605 } Chithurst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 175.
1630-2

The first element is probably the O.E. pers. n. Cedda (q.v. under Chiddingly and Chidham above). If this be so, the early (Norman-French) confusion between (d) and (t) has persisted at least till the 14th cent., and the form with (t) has been chosen for the modern. See remarks on (d) and (t) under Chiddingly above.

For the second element see O.E. hyrst in Pt II.

Chorley Common.

Cinque Ports.
1296 de libertate Quinq’ Portuum, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 144.

"The five ports," familiar to all students of English history.

Cissbury, Cissbury Hill.
No early forms. The first element is probably the same O.E. Cissa that forms the first element of Chichester (q.v. above). The modern pronunciation (sisbari) is due to Norman-French substitution of ts > s for the English -ts-. For another example of this substitution see early forms of Ticehurst below, and remarks under that name. The second element is O.E. byrig, dative of burg (q.v. Pt II).

Clapham. Type I.
1085 Clopehā, D.B. i. 28 a.
1361 Clapham, ibid. ii. p. 240.
1394 Clapham, ibid. iii. p. 182.
Type II.


Skeat finds for the Beds. Clapham early forms exactly like those given above. Moreover he says (Beds. Pl.-Ns. pp. 25–6) that, “In a genuine ch. of the time of Ælfric, Clapham in Surrey appears as Cloppa-hám, see Sweet, O.E. T. p. 451. Cloppa must be a gen. plu. of a form clop, which occurs in clop acer (clop-acre) and clop hyrst (clop-hurst) in Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 589, 590.... The meaning of clop is not certainly known; but Kalkar’s Middle Dan. Dict. has klop in the sense of ‘stub’ or ‘stump,’ which would suit all three forms. The mod. Engl. ‘clump’ may be related....It would then mean ‘enclosure of stubby ground,’ lit. ‘of stubs.’”

Furthermore, the same authority (Berks. Pl.-Ns. p. 94, under Clapton) says, “The prefix Clap- or Clop- is common; the A.S. form, in both cases, is usually clop-.”

This word is not mentioned either in B.-T. or Sweet’s A.S. Dict. It is difficult to see how O.E. clop- became mod. clap- (kläp-), except by the dialectal interchange of a and o (= a, o) (by isolative change?). This change (Wright, E. D. Gr. p. 74) may well go back to the 15th century. Cf. Diehl, Anglia xxix. pp. 154 ff., Horn, Untersuchungen, pp. 26 ff. Wright mentions that the change is spread over a large area and seems to be specially common before -p. Cf. strap and strop, flap and flop.

Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns., takes the first element of the Yorks. Clapham to be a pers. n., O.E. Cloppa, Clappa, or Clapa. He does not explain the interchange of -o- and -a-. So also Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns., under Clopton, for which he reconstructs O.E. *Cloppantún.

Clayton, and Clayton Urban.

Type I.

1085 Claitune, D.B. i. 27 a.
1274 Clayton, H.R. ii. p. 201.

**Type II.**


Type I represents O.E. *clǣg tūn*, M.E. *claiton*, and has normally developed into modern (*kleitn*).

Type II represents an O.E. *clǣg tūn*, with loss of *g* in *clǣg* before the following -*t*-. This, had it survived, would have given a modern (*klītan*).

**Cliffe.**

1547 Cliva juxta Lewes, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 182.

Simply O.E. *clīf*, “the cliff.” The above forms are from the O.E. dative *clīfe* > mod. *Clive* (*klīv*), a pers. n. The pronunciation (*klīv*) for *Clive* is either due to Norman-French lengthening of *v* to *i*, or to a spelling-pronunciation.

**Climping.**

1085 Clepinges? D.B. i. 25 a.
1390 Clumpyng, ibid. iii. p. 130.

The Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 185, mentions 1633 *Climesfeild* (= *Climpsfold*, nr. Slindon, now lost), and *Climeslande* (1217–20) = *Stoke Climsland*, Cornwall. These names seem to contain the same first element as the Ssx. *Climping*.

Searle quotes an O.E. pers. n. *Clīma*, “local,” from Cart. Sax. No. 751. This may be the first element, O.E. *Clīman(ing)* (“Clīma’s meadow”) > *Climning* > *Climping* (?). But this does not satisfy me.
Coates.

1314 Cotes, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1345 Cotes, ibid. ii. p. 129.
1399 Cotes, ibid. iii. p. 261.
1501 Cotes, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 184.

O.E. cotes, genitive singular of cot, "a dwelling," "house" (not necessarily a small dwelling or cottage). Skeat, under Coates in Cambs. Pl.-Ns., says that this name is O.E. plu. cotas, but cot(t) was either neut. or fem. (plu. cotu or cotan), never masc.

Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns. p. 45, under Coton, discussing the Cotes forms which he finds, says they are from the gen. sing. cotes.

(N.B. The name Coates must be from the gen. sing. of the cot type; O.E. cottes must have given modern (*kots.).)

See O.E. cot(t) in Pt II.

Cocking.

1278 Cockyng, Kockyng, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1314 Cockingg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.
1379 Cockinge, ibid. iii. p. 27.


Cokeham.

1085 Cocheha, D.B. i. 28 a.

The first element may be O.E. coc, "gallus," or it may be O.E. *coc, "a narrow valley" (cf. preceding name). Or again, as is probable, it is the O.E. pers. n. Cocca, which Searle cites from Coccanburh in Cart. Sax. No. 246.
The second element is O.E. *hām*, "a homestead," or *hamm*, (1) an enclosure, (2) bend in a river, land enclosed therein.

On the whole, I think that O.E. *Coccanhām*, "Cocca's homestead," is the most likely prototype of the modern name.

**Coleman's Hatch.**


The "hatch" or "gate" of Coleman, a M.E. surname (Modern Coleman, Colman). "Hatch" is O.E. *hǣce*, "a gate" (q.v. Pt II). The name Coleman is also given by Ellis in Index B (Introd. to D.B. vol. ii.) as the name of persons holding land in Surrey, Hunts., Berks., and Oxf. (p. 70).

**Colworth.**

988 Colewort, C.D. iii. p. 236.

The first element is a pers. n., O.E. *Cola*, of which Searle gives several instances. He cites, for example, the O.E. pl.-n. *Colanthrēow* from C.D. Nos. 712, 780.

See O.E. *weorf* in Pt II.

**Compton.**

*Type I.*

1278 Compton, Plac. de quo War. p. 761.
1346 Compton, ibid. p. 136.

*Type II.*


O.E. *combūn, cumbūn*, "the enclosure in or by the valley." Type I represents O.E. *combtūn*, and is the ancestor of the modern (komtūn). Type II is O.E. *cumbūn*, and would give a modern (*kamtan*).

See Duignan's remarks in Staffs. Pl.-Ns. under this name, and see comb and tūn in Pt II.
Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 16 note) considers Compton to be a mere spelling variation of Cumpton due to the M.E. habit of writing o for u before m. On the other hand, probably both comb and cumb existed in O.E., and were presumably equally common, and would normally give rise to two M.E. types, and two modern pronunciations (komtən) and (kamtən).

Conyboro.

The first element is M.E. coni, conyng, "a rabbit" (mod. "coney"), q.v. Pt II.
The second may be M.E. -ber < O.E. bearu (nom.), "a grove," or O.E. berh, beorh, "a hill."
"Rabbit grove" is a very convincing meaning. The second element of the mod. Engl. pl.-ns. Kingbeare and Loxbear (Dev.), has been shown by Wyld, E. St. 47, pp. 145–53, also p. 166, to be from O.E. bjære, through the stages (bër, bĕr, bêr) by a series of sound-changes peculiar to the S.W. dialects.
The dative O.E. bearwe > M.E. barwe, and is thus indistinguishable from the barwe which arose out of O.E. beorge, the dative of beorg, "a hill."
See M.E. coni in Pt II.

Coombes.

1085 Cumbe ? D.B. i. 28 b.

O.E. Cumbas, plu. of cumb, "a valley." See Compton above, and O.E. comb, cumb in Pt II.

Cowdray Park (kaudri).

1535–43 Cowdrey, Leland's Itinerary, iii. p. 92.
The first element is probably O.E. *cū*, "a cow." On the other hand, many pl.-ns. in *Cow-* have a pers. n. *Col-* as their first element. Cf. *Cowsdown* (Worcs.) which is *Collesduna* (1108), *Coulesden* (1300), etc. (Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns. p. 45). Similarly *Cowthrpe* (Yorks.) is *Coletorp* in D.B. (cit. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.).

But the meaning of the second element, O.E. *gedr&g*, "a shelter," "cot for shelter" (q.v. Pt II), makes it probable that the first is the name of the animal.

[Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 211, explains *Cowderoy*, *Cowdery*, *Couldery* as being from earlier *Coudray* (1273), *Coudraye* (1307), *Cowdrye* (1618), etc. This he takes to be O.Fr. *coudraie*, "a filbert," "orchard," Mod. Fr. *coudrier*, "hazel." I still hold, however, to the above explanation; I consider the name is as English as it can be.]

*Cowfold* (ˈkaʊfəʊld, E).

1. late Hen. III Cufaude, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 203.

Here again, the spelling *Cu-* in No. 1 above points to O.E. *cū*, "cow," as the first element. The second was originally O.E. *fald*, but it has been confused, as usual, with O.E. *feld*. (See both elements in Pt II.) The form *Cufaude* (No. 1) above shows Norman-Fr. diphthongising of *a* to *au* before *l*.

*Crawley Down.*


See *Crowhurst* below, and O.E. *dūn(e)* in Pt II.

*Crocker Hill.*


Bardsley, Surnames, gives for *Crocker* early forms *Crochere*, co. Devon, Hen. III—Edw. I, later *Crocker*. He considers it as a "surname of occupation" meaning simply "a maker of creaks" or "crockery." But there is a *Crōc* mentioned as a "nomen viri" by Ellis in Indices to D.B. A and B, and Searle cites *Croce*, *Crocc* temp. Cnut and Harold I, from Grueber. It is not going too far to assume that this *Crōc* was increased to *Crochere* by
the addition of the common pers. n. suffix -here, which ends hundreds of O.E. names. The early form Crochere given by Bardsley would seem to bear out such an assumption.

Crowhurst.

_Type I (Mod. krouæst).

1085 Croherst, D.B. i. 17 b. 
   Crohest, D.B. i. 18 b.  
1164–9 Chroerst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 211.  
1244 Croherst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 60.  
1274 Crouhurst (Crowehurst), H.R. ii. p. 216.  
1339 Crowhurst, ibid. ii. p. 92.  
1372 Crowehirst, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 22.  

_Type II (Mod. krōæst).

1316 Crauehurst, F.A. v. p. 133.  

The first element may be the O.E. feminine name Crâwe (q.v. under Crawley above), or it may be the name of the bird, O.E. crâwe. The second is the common O.E. hyrst (q.v. Pt II).

Type I and the modern (krouæst) is derived from the O.E. crâ- type (with loss of final -w). Type II, modern (*krōæst), is from O.E. crâw- > M.E. crâw- > crau- > modern (krō-).

Crowlinke.


Cuckfield.

_Type I (-feld).

1312 Cukefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 146.
1633–4 Cockfeild \ Vist. Ssx. p. 40.

Type II (-feud).
1278 Cokefeud, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

No trace of the N.-Fr. type ending in -feud has survived in the modern (kukflld). Compare Henfield, Hayfield below.

The first element of the Sussex Cuckfield is probably a pers. n. Searle quotes Cuca from an O.E. pl.-n. Cucanhealas, Cart. Sax. No. 936, C.D. No. 461. A diminutive Cucola also exists.

The O.E. *Cukanfield develops normally into M.E. Cukefeld, and mod. (kukflld).

For the second element see O.E. feld, Pt II.

Cudlawe, Cudlow.

Type I (-læwe).
1278 Codelawe, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.

about 1322 Cudelawe, T. de N. p. 222.

Type II (-lōwe).
1534–43 Cudlo, Leland's Itinerary, iii. p. 93.

The first element is a pers. n., O.E. Cudda, cf. Searle. The modern spellings presuppose two M.E. types Cudlawe < O.E. *Cuddanhldwe (dative), and Cud(e)lōwe < O.E. *Cuddanhlā(w) (nom.). Both -læwe and -lōwe are pronounced locally merely as (-lə).

For the second element see O.E. hlōw, "a tumulus," "mound," "burial-mound," in Pt II.
Dallington (dæliŋtən).

1085 Dalintone, D.B. i. 18 b.
1264 Dallington, ibid. p. 93.
1301 Dallington, ibid. p. 133.
1337 Dalinton, ibid. p. 172.
1484 Dalyngton, ibid. iv. p. 421.

The first element is a pers. n. There is no authority in O.E. for *Dalla, which would suit the above name perfectly, but Searle gives a few examples of Dealla. An O.E. *Deallantun, however, might give a modern (dæliŋtən), although its normal development would be (dɔliŋtən), from the O.E. diphthongised type (not found, however, among the early forms) *Daulington.

For the second element see tun in Pt II.

Dean, East and West.

725 Dene, C.D. v. p. 42.
1085 Dene, D.B. i. 19 a, 19 b, 21 a (bis).
1226 Westdene, Estdene, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.
1274 Denne, H.R. ii. p. 207.
1278 Dene, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.

Simply O.E. dene, dative of denu, a “dean,” “valley.”

The 1274 and 1383 Denne above is probably due to the influence of the unstressed form (which was often thus written) or to the O.E. denn, a “den,” “lustrum fearum.” See Wyld’s remarks under denu and denn in Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II.

Denne Hill.

1274 Denne, H.R. ii. p. 207.

This is probably the O.E. denn referred to in the last name. See Pt II.
Denton, and Denton Urban.

825 Deanton, C.D. v. p. 75.
1085 Dentune, D.B. i. 29 a.

Of the Hunts. Denton Skeat remarks (Hunts. Pl.-Ns.), “the prefix may represent either O.E. denu, ‘a valley,’ or the gen. plu. Dena ‘of the Danes,’ of which the plu. nom. was dene.” The C.D. forms above make it probable that the Sussex name contained O.E. denu as its first element.

The Dicker.

1359 Dyker, ibid. ii. p. 214.

Does this mean “the ditcher’s,” i.e. “the ditcher’s place” or “hut”? This is the only definition in E.D.D. for dicker which would suit this name. The O.E. word for a “digger” or “ditcher” was dicere (cit. B.-T. from Ælfric’s Gr. and Gloss).

Didling, Dudelyng.

Type I.

Also Dedlinge, incerto tempore Hen. III, ibid. p. 43.

Type II.

1428 Dudelynge, F.A. v. p. 171.

Ditchling, Ditchelling.

Type I.

1085 Dicelinges, D.B. i. 22 b, 26 a.
circa 1320 Dycheling, T. de N. p. 222.
    Dicheling, T. de N. p. 224.

Type II.

1085 Diceninges, D.B. i. 22 b.
1260 Dicheninge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
1274 Dychening, H.R. ii. p. 213.
1278 Dychennyg' Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
    Dichenningga Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1486 Dyckening, ibid. p. 379.

Is it possible that this name meant "place of the dwellers near the ditch"? < O.E. *dicel- or dicel-, a diminutive of dic, "a ditch"? But there is no evidence of (*ditʃl) or (*dikl) in the modern dialects.

The spellings in Type II are considered by Zachrisson to be due to Norman-French interchange between -l- and -n-. (A.-N. Influence, p. 140.)

Donnington.


Duddleswell.

Type I.

1317 Dodeleswell, ibid. p. 288.
DUDDLESWELL

Type II.

1315 Dodeswelle, ibid. p. 275.

O.E. Duddeleswell. Searle gives Duddel as a witness to a charter, Cart. Sax. No. 426, and C.D. No. 256 (anno 824). Cf. Didling above for Dyddel, the mutated type of the name.

Dumpford.

Type I.


Type II.

1289 Demeford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 103.
1418 Dempford, ibid. iv. p. 38.
1428 Demfard, F.A. v. p. 156.

It seems that the first element is a pers. n., but I can find no evidence of one to fit the above types.

There is no *Dem-*, *Dum-* or *Dymm-* recorded by Searle. On the other hand, S. gives authority for the name Dynne in eight instances. But for Type I above, this name might fit the mod. Dumpford, and would also explain the forms under Type II (Kt. e for y < (u + i)). But this is unsatisfactory. The second element is O.E. ford, q.v. Pt II.

Duncton.

1085 Donechitone, D.B. i. 23 b.
1136 Dunecktuna, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 510.
1316 Donekton, ibid. p. 281.
1388 Doneghton, ibid. iii. p. 109.

The "tun" of Dumneca. The first element is a diminutive of the O.E. Dunn or Dunna, both of which are recorded by Searle. He further quotes the form Dunnic as occurring once. Note that the ancestor of this name is late O.E. Dun(n)ecatun,
where the first element has lost its genitive suffix. See Dunkenhalgh in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

**Durrington.**

1085 Derentune, D.B. i. 28 b (bis).


The D.B. form above has the Kentish type of the vowel (O.E. *y* ≪ *u* + *i*), while the modern form is derived from the southern type.

**Earnley.**


930 Earnelega (Lat.), C.D. ii. p. 166.

945 Earnele (Lat.), C.D. ii. p. 257.


O.E. *earnalēah.* The O.E. *earn* meant “an eagle,” but it may also have been a pers. n., as was *Hafoc.* Note that O.E. *Earnleie* in a charter dated 994 develops into *Arley* in Worcs. (see Duignan under *Arley Kings* in Worcs. Pl.-Ns.), and that O.E. *Earnanford* > *Arnford* (Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns.). The *Ern-* forms are probably southern.

**Earham.**


1397 Ertham, ibid. iii. p. 227.


1428 Ertham, F.A. v. p. 171.


The first element is probably O.E. *erh,* “plough-land” (W.S. *ierh,* *yrh*), < *arbi,* cognate with O.E. *eorhe,* *erian,* *eard.* On this element see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Arbury,* and in Pt II.

For the second element see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.
Easebourne.

1085 Esborne H., D.B. i. 29 b.

Eseburne H., D.B. i. 23 b.


1278 Esesburn, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.

1316 Eseseburne, F.A. v. p. 139.


The first element is probably O.E. *Es*; M.E. *Ese(n)*-, the genitive singular of the pers. n. *Esa*, for which see Searle, p. 235. Cf. also *Easington* and *Easingwold* in Yorkshire.

Eastbourne.

1085 Burne, D.B. i. 19 b, 22 a, 24 a.


*Also* Estbourne (twice), Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 225.

1316 Bourne, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 149.


The name was originally simply O.E. *burna*, “brook,” the qualifying *East-* being added in the early M.E. period. There is also a *Westbourne* in Sussex. See O.E. *burna* in Pt II.

Eastdean.

1085 Esdene, D.B. i. 19 a.

1202, 1203 Eastden, Estden, Abbr. Plac. pp. 38, 44.

1253 Esten, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 82.

1278 Estdenn, Plac. de quo War. p. 762.

1283 Estdene, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.


O.E. *Eastdene* dative of *Eastdenu*, “the east valley.” O.E. *denu* as a second element often appears in Sussex as *-dean*. The normal unstressed form is M.E. *-den*; *-dean* must have been restored on the analogy of the independent word. See *east* and *denn* in Pt II.
ECHINHAM, ECHINGHAM; ETCHINHAM, ETCHINGHAM

Eastergate.

Easthampnett.
1295 Esthamptenet, ibid. p. 128.

O.E. *ēāsthāmtūn, "the east enclosure round the homestead," with the addition of the N.-Fr. diminutive suffix -et, -ot (Mod. Fr. -ette). Cf. the pers. ns. Annett < Anne; Wilmot < Wilm < Wilhelm. See also Littlehampton below.

Easton.
1085 Estone, D.B. i. 21 b, 24 a.
1306 Estone, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 17.


Echingham, Echingham; Etchinham, Etchingham.

1158-9 Hechingehā, Pipe Rolls, vol. i. p. 60.
1268 Echingham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 98.
1278 Ecchyngeham, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
circa 1320 Echingham, T. de N. p. 223.
1381 Ethingham (= Etchingham) ibid. iii. p. 36.

From the evidence of the -inge-, -ynge- spellings above this name would seem to be O.E. Eccinghām, "the homestead of the Eccings." Searle records several examples of O.E. Ecc (which I take to be Etca, with the double front stop). Duignan explains the Worcs. Eckington thus, but see Eckington below.
Eckington.

1085 1 Echentone, D.B. i. 19 a.
     2 Achintone, D.B. i. 22 a.
     3 Achiltone, D.B. i. 22 a.


From the 1325 form above, it is probable that the back-stop (k) existed in this name in the O.E. period. Achintone and Achiltone (Nos. 2 and 3 above) are due to Norman-French interchange of -l and -n in the unstressed syllable (cf. Zachrisson, A.-N. Influence, p. 141).

Moreover the D.B. forms point to a long vowel, either ā, or ēā in O.E. There is a pers. n. Eacca in Cart. Sax. No. 519, but the quantity of the ea is doubtful.

Possibly the first element is O.E. *ǣcen, "oaken," a form not given in the dictionaries, but which may have existed in popular speech. I take this *ǣcen to be a mutated form of the adjective ācen (i.e. ěcen <*ācinn-), with restoration of the back-stop through the influence of āc.

Thus O.E. *ǣcentūn > M.E. (*ēkiytun). On the shortening of the first syllable see Phonology above. Cf. also Oakendean below.

Edburton.

1317 Edburgheton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 250.
1434 Edburghton, ibid.
1633–4 Edberton, Vist. Ssx. p. 64.


Egdean.

Type I (-dene).

1278 Egedene, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
1539 Eggdean, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 252.

Type II (-dune).

The first element is probably O.E. *Eĩg*-, a familiar form of one of the numerous names in *Ecg*-, such as *Ecgbold*, *Ecgberht*, *Ecgheard*, etc., of which Searle gives copious examples.

The -*ĩg*- was unfronted to *g* in late O.E. before the following -*d*. The second element was originally O.E. *denu*, “a valley,” but it has been confused with O.E. *düne*, “down,” “hill.” Cf. *Findon* and *Playden* below, and O.E. *dene* and *düne* in Pt II.

Or the first element may be O.E. *eĩg*, “hill-side,” “hill.” If so the sense is “the valley by the hill-side.” But the explanation above is just as likely.

**Elstead.**

*Type I.*

1274 Elnested, H.R. ii. p. 213.
circa 1320 Elnestede, T. de N. p. 224.

*Type II.*

circa 1320 Elvestede, T. de N. p. 222.
1428 Elvestede, F.A. v. p. 156.

*Type III.*


O.E. *Ælfwinesstede*, “the ‘stead,’ ‘place’ of *Ælfwine*,” a well-known O.E. pers. n. Type I above represents the M.E. form of *Ælfwinesstede*, while Type II appears to stand for O.E. *Ælfesstede*, where *Ælf* is a short form of the full name, like the modern Alf. for Alfred, Will. for William, etc. Very often we find pl.-ns. containing these short forms of O.E. names, while the earliest records write the full name. On this point see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Ainsdale* and *Ainsworth*.

It is interesting to note that this name preserves the late Kt. or southern vowel *e* for pr. O.E. *ae* in the old forms as well as in the modern.
Type III appears to be a later development of Type II, through the simplifying of the consonant-group -lust- to -lst-, and is the immediate precursor of the modern (elsted).

Eridge Green.

1349 Erugg, ibid. ii. p. 160.
1399 Erysshe, ibid. iii. p. 271.


The second element is O.E. hrycg, the spelling Erysshe above is probably a scribal error. O.E. -ēg- can hardly develop phonetically into M.E. -sh-.

Eringham.

1085 Eringehā, D.B. i. 28 a.
1314 Herryngham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 262.

Possibly a compound of the ēār mentioned in the preceding name with O.E. inge and hām. O.E. ēāringegehām would mean "the homestead by the earthy meadow."

Ewhurst, Yewhurst.

1073 Luvehest, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1279 Iwehurste, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 70.
1316 Iwehurst, F.A. v. p. 133.
About 1320 Yvehurst, T. de N. p. 223, § 67.
1336 Iwehurst, ibid. p. 72.
1378 Uhurst, ibid. iii. p. 17.

The first element is O.E. īn, īow, "a yew tree," the second O.E. hyrst (q.v. Pt II). Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 66 note) explains the 1073 Luvehest simply as = iuvehest, with (French) orthographical confusion between i and l.
Fairlight.

1085 Ferlega, D.B. i. 22 b.
1253 Farleg, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 82.
1316 Farleigh, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
1320 Farleye, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 263.
1535–43 Fareley, Leland’s Itinerary, iii. p. 113 (the editor identifies Fairlight with a query).
1592 Farlighe, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 272.
1695 Fairleigh, Map of Ssx., Camden’s Britannia, p. 164.

The absence of M.E. -ai-, -ay- spellings makes O.E. fæger as the first element unlikely. I suggest an O.E. pers. n. in Fær-, of which Searle gives numerous examples: Færbegn, Færwulf, Færwine, etc. Cf. also Færsgaga, C.D. No. 658 (= Fairshaw, Hants.), Færden, No. 187. The modern Fairlight must be due to popular etymology, both as regards the first and second elements.

The second element was originally O.E. lēage (dative) > M.E. lēge, lighe > ly, ley, pronounced in Sussex till quite recently (lai). Possibly this (lai) was increased to (lait) to make the name mean something.

Falmer.

1085 1 Falemere H., D.B. i. 16 b, 26 a.
2 Falemere, D.B. i. 26 a, b.
3 Felesmere, D.B. i. 22 b.
1278 Falemere, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

Zachrisson explains the Anc. Ch. form Fallemella above as due to Norman-French assimilation of l—r > l—l (p. 122, § 4 b). The first element may be O.E. fealu (dat. fealwe), “fallow,” the second either mere, “a lake,” or gemēru, “a boundary.” The -es in the D.B. No. 3 form Felesmere above may point to a pers. n., but I can find no authority for such a name as *Fæle, *Fala.

R. S.
The O.E. dative *fealwe* persists to-day in the Lancs. *Fallow-field*.

**Faulking, Folking, Fulking** (fōkin) and (foukin).
- 1085 Fochinges, D.B. i. 26 b.
- 1278 Folkynng, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
- 1327 Fulking, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 158;
- and 1328 Fulkynng, ibid. p. 160.

The first element is an O.E. pers. n. *Folc(a)*, a shortened form of one of the numerous names like *Folchere, Folcwine*, etc., for which Searle gives nearly three columns of instances. He also cites forms in *Fulk-* and Ellis (Introd. to D.B.) gives numerous names in *Fulc-*, i.e. in vol. ii. pp. 114–15 (Index of persons holding land before the Survey). This *Fulc-* is a variant of *Folc-* (i.e. *Fulc*- Gmc. *Fulk-u*; *Folc*- Gmc. *Fulk-a*). The -*ing* may be patronymic, or it may be O.E. *ing, incg* (“water-meadow,” q.v. Pt II).

**Felpham** (felfm, E).
- 1085 Falcheham, D.B. i. 17 b.

Whatever the first element, it is obvious that the modern -*ph-* = -*f-* goes back to an O.E. back-open-voiceless. The only *fealh, følh* given in the dicts. means “a felly of a wheel” or “a harrow,” neither of which will suit. Nor can I adduce any evidence for such a pers. n. as *Felh, *Fælh. For -*h-* → -*ham-* → -*f-* cf. *Burpham* above. The second element was probably originally O.E. *hamm*, “enclosure,” “land enclosed in a river-bend,” which was levelled with O.E. *hám* in M.E.

**Fernhurst.**

**Ferring.**

765 Ferring, C.D. v. p. 49.
791 Ferring, C.D. v. p. 54.
1085 Feringes, D.B. i. 16 b.
1274 Fering, Ferynges, H.R. ii. p. 213.

I cannot make much of this name. Possibly the first element is O.E. *Fer-*, a shortened form of *Farbeorht*, *Færgrim*, etc., for which see *Fairlight* above, but the spellings in *Ferr-* above do not favour this suggestion. Another possibility is O.E., M.E. ferre, "further." In this case the name would mean "the further meadow," i.e. "one further off than a given point or landmark."

**Findon.**

*Type I* (-dune).

1085 Findune, D.B. i. 28 a.
Fintune, D.B. i. 28 a.
1278 Findon, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.

*Type II* (-dene).


The first element is a pers. n., O.E. Finn, for which Searle gives good authority. A Finn is mentioned in the A.-S. Chron. anno 855. Type I is O.E. Finndüne, and the ancestor of the modern form, as spelt.

Type II shows substitution of O.E. -dene for -düne in the unstressed position. Cf. *Playden* below.
Firle (faral).

1085 Ferles, D.B. i. 21 b (bis).
   Ferla, D.B. i. 19 a.
   Ferle, D.B. i. 19 a, b, 26 b.
1296 Estfirle, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 133.
1439 Fyrles, ibid. iv. p. 198.

Is this O.E. *fyrel < *furhil, a diminutive of furh, “a furrow”? This *fyrel is not recorded in the O.E. dicts., but it would be just as normally developed from a W. Gmc. *furhilo (Idg. *prüwilo ; cf. Lat. quercus) as O.E. fyrhpe is from Gmc. *furhipo. (See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II, pp. 328–9.) If we accept this hypothetical *fyrel, the above spellings in Fer- and Fir- can be explained, and so can the mod. pronunciation (farol), from the O.E. W.S. type.

Fishbourne, Old and New.

1085 Fiseborne, D.B. i. 24 a.
1278 Fisseburn, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1440 Fishborne, ibid. p. 200.

O.E. fiscburna, “a brook where fish were plentiful.” Or the first element may be a pers. n. Fisc. See Fishwick in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and O.E. fisc and burna in Pt II.

Fishergate.

1361 Fissheresgat, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 239.
1486 Fishergate, ibid. iv. p. 379.
O.E. *fisceresgeat, “the fisher’s gate,” or rather *fisceresgatu* or *-gatum*, with the second element in the nominative or dative plural. O.E. *geat* would develop into *-it*, *-yet*, or *-ett* as in *Ditchett*, Devon. Cf. *Polegate*, near East Dean.

**Fittleworth.**

1488 Fitelworthe, ibid. p. 389.

O.E. *Fitelanweor*, “the enclosure of Fitela.” *Fitela* is mentioned in Beowulf as the son of *Sigemund*, and Searle gives examples of the name in O.E. charters. Note the loss of the genitive *-an* in M.E.; O.E. *Fitelanweor* might also give modern (*fitlinwa)*.

**Fletching.**

1085 Flescinge, D.B. i. 22 b.
1085 Flescinges, D.B. i. 22 b.
1202 Fletching
Fletchingh
Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1241 Fleching, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 57.
1253 Fletsinge, ibid. p. 83.
1268 Flechinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
1274 Flessing, H.R. ii. p. 207.
1278 Fleching, Plac. de quo War. p. 753.
Flegging, ibid. p. 757.
1296 Flechinges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 133.
1323 Flechyng, ibid. p. 308.
1409 Flescinge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 213.

The above forms present some curious (Norman-French) attempts to express (tʃ) (< O.E. *ʃ*). It is written in no less than eight different ways, of which *-sc*, *-ts*, *-ss*, *-gg*, *-t* are probably Norman. Only the English type has survived in the modern *Fletching* (fletʃɪŋ).
I can find no satisfactory explanation of the name, if it be really English. If it is French, the only word which would suit the first element is O.Fr. *fleche* (mod. "flèche"), "an arrow," possibly in connexion with a battlefield. Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns., suggests O.E. *fleex* for the first element of *Flehamsted* (D.B. *Flechamstude*), but the variety of the spellings above makes this doubtful for the Sussex name.

**Folkington.**

1085 Fochintone, D.B. i. 26 b.
1251 Fuington, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 75.
1274 Fokinton, H.R. ii. p. 208.
1278 Folkynton, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.

The first element may be the same O.E. *Folca* discussed under *Faulking* above. The absence of an *-l* in the majority of the above forms is noteworthy. See O.E. *tun* in Pt II. Searle gives *Focco* as a "nomen viri" from Piper, but there is no evidence of a *Focce* or *Focca* in O.E.

**Ford.**

1212 Fordes, Abbr. Plac. p. 86.
1272 Forde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 50.
1274 Fordes, H.R. ii. p. 214.
1278 Fordes, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
temp. Edw. I atte Forde, Cust. B. Abbey, pp. 4, 6 and passim.
circa 1320 Fordes, T. de N. p. 222.

O.E. (*at þæm*) forde, "at the ford." See Pt II.

**Framfield.**

1085 Framelle, D.B. i. 21 b.
1314 Fremelfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
The first element is probably a pers. n. in *Fram-. Searle gives *Fram from Grueber, also *Frambeald, *Frambolt, and *Frapalt. The spellings in *Frem- above are probably descended from an O.E. mutated form *Freme, not recorded by Searle.

**Friston.**

*Type I.*

1328 Friston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 159.

*Type II.*

1288 Freston, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 100.

The first element may be O.E. *friþ, fyrrþe,* "forest land," used in the genitive (see this element in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II; no connexion with O.E. *friþ, "peace"). But more probably the first element is O.E. *Friþes-,* the genitive singular of a pers. n. such as *Friþubeald, Friþstan,* or *Friþustan.* Searle gives five columns of names beginning with O.E. *Friþu-.*

The development to mod. Friston is normal; O.E. *Friþestun > Friþestun > M.E. Friþstun < by loss of (ð);* M.E. mod. Friston.

[There is an O.E. pl.-n. *Friþesleah* in C.D. No. 187, which Kemble identifies as mod. *Friesley* in Kent. This name seems to contain the O.E. pers. n. *Friþ-* discussed above.]

**Funtiongton.**

*Type I* (-tun).


*Type II* (-dun).


The second element was originally O.E. *tun* as in the modern name, but in Type II above it has been confused with O.E. *dun,* "hill."
Furnace.

1306 Furneysllond, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 18.

M.E. furnace, furneis < Fr. forneys, forneise < Lat. fornācem
(acc.) = "furnace," "fire." The second element, O.E. land, has
been lost in the mod. name.

Glynde (glaind).
1418 Glynde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 34.

This is probably a Celtic word. Skeat, Etym. Dict., cites as
cognates of glen Gael. and Ir. gleann, Welsh glyn, "valley," "glen."
Dr Imelmann, of the University of Bonn, suggests that the word
was brought by the English from their continental home in the
form *glind, where the final -d is due to some popular etymology.
But for the 1274 form above one might assume that the -d was
added in late M.E. times, but this would not account for the
modern (glaind), nor is the date of the addition of the -d definitely
determined. See N.E.D. under astound, pound, laund, sound;

Goodwood (gudæd, gudwud).

The first element is probably the well-known O.E. pers. n.
Göðwine. The 1252 form above shows the normal development
of O.E. Göðwine to M.E. Gödyne, Gōdine. The 1379 form
Godmewude is due to assimilation of the n of God(i)ne to m
before the following lip-cons. The second element is O.E. wudu
(q.v. Pt ii). For loss of medial syllable see Phonology above.

Goring.
1085 Garinges, D.B. i. 24 b, 25 a, 28 a, 28 b.
Goringe

1274 Garing, Garya, H.R. ii. p. 213.
1278 Garing, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
circa 1320 Garinges, T. de N. p. 222.
1379 Goringe, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 27.
1633–4 Gooring, Vist. Ssx. p. 44.

O.E. Gāringas, "descendants of Gār." Gār- is a shortened form of some O.E. pers. n. beginning with this element, such as Gārfrip, Gārmund, Gārwulf, etc., for which Searle gives good authority.


Graffham.

1085 Grafhā, D.B. i. 23 b.
1136 Grafaam, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 510.
1283 Grafham, ibid. p. 84.


Graylingwell.

1243 Greningewell, ibid. p. 277.

Zachrisson (Anglo-Norman Influence, p. 139) considers that the above spellings show Anglo-French interchange of -ling and -ning.
Greatham.
1085 Grethã, D.B. i. 23 b.
    Grethã, D.B. i. 24 b.
1268 Grosham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 32.
1302 Garetham, ibid. p. 182.
1307 Gretham, ibid. p. 228.
1330 Grossham, ibid. ii. p. 32.

Simply O.E. *grēat(e)hãm*, "the large homestead." The *Gros(s)ham* forms above are due to substitution of the Norman-French *gros* or *grosse* for the native Middle-English *grête*. See O.E. *grēat* in Pt II.

Grinstead, East and West.

*Type I.*
1085 Grenestede H., D.B. i. 22 b, 29 a.
    Estgrensted, H.R. ii. p. 204.
    Westgrensted, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1278 Estgrenstede, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
circa 1320 Grenstede, T. de N. p. 222.
circa 1336 Estgrenstede, Docs. Lewes Pr., Ssx. Arch. Soc. xxv.
    p. 145.

*Type II.*
1392 Westgrynsted, ibid. iii. p. 151.
1416 Estgrimsted, ibid. iv. p. 21.
1421 Westgrysted, ibid. iv. p. 60.
GULDEFORD, GUILFORD

O.E. grën(e)stede, "the green place." The O.E. compound grënstede would normally become (grënsted) in M.E. as represented in Type I.

Type II exemplifies the fairly common M.E. raising of e to i before nasal + cons., for which see Phonology above, and the early forms of Binsted. Cf. the pronunciation of England. See O.E. stede in Pt II.

Guestling.

1085 Gestelinges H., D.B. i. 19 b. { Ghestelinges H., D.B. i. 17 a. }  
1207 Gestelings, Abbr. Plac. p. 56.  
1409 Gestlyng, ibid. iii. p. 328.

Guldeford, Guilford.

Types I and II.


Type I.

1274 Gildeford, H.R. ii. p. 205.  
1278 Gildeford, Plac. de quo War. p. 753.

Type II.

1278 Guldeford, Plac. de quo War. p. 751.  
1511 New Guldeford } Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 317.  
1546 East Guldeford }

The first element is probably an O.E. pers. n. *Gylđa (< Gmc. *guldja), but I can find no authority for such a name. Names in O.E. Gold-, such as Goldwine, etc., are common; cf. the modern Gould.

If we assume O.E. *Gyldanford, Type I (gilfød) is from the M.E. Midland type, Type II (gal(d)fød) from the Saxon type. See O.E. ford in Pt II.

Ch. Gestling (Essex)
Hadlow Down.


Possibly O.E. hædléah > M.E. hâdlei > hadlei, by stopping of d to l before l or r. Cf. O.E. byrđen > burden; O.E. mordor > murder; O.E. sul(h)porn > Souldern (Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns., sub. nom.).

The first element might also be an O.E. pers. n. Hadd (cf. Cart. Sax. Nos. 677, 702; C.D. Nos. 353, 364), but here we should expect a medial -es- in M.E., although the genitive suffix was often dropped, especially after names in -here.

Note the change of the second element from -ley (O.E. lēah) to -low (O.E. hlā(w)).

Hailsham.

1251 Haylesham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 73.
1304 Haylesham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.

Probably O.E. *Ægel(e)leshâm, “the homestead of Ægel.” Searle, Onomasticon, p. 5, says that Ægel- is a late form of Æpel- which first appears on coins of Æpelred II (978-1017). The H- is a Norman-French addition, and has survived till the present day.

Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, pp. 101-6) attempts to prove that the change of Æpel- to Ægel- is a sound-change, and is due to the influence of N.-Fr. On the other hand, names like Ægelbriht, Agilbert, Agilberct are found quite early (cf. Agilberct, Eccl. Hist. iii. 7; egilmund in Lib. Vitæ (O.E.T.), p. 157, etc.). I consider that the late forms in Ægel- are merely substitutions of this (early English) element for Æpel-, and are not due to sound-change. In support of this are the many continental
names in Agil- (O.E. Ægel-) and Adhal-, Adhil- (O.E. Æhel-),
two separate and distinct elements. Förstemann (Altd. NBch.)
gives 10 columns (27–36) of Agil- in continental names, and 25
(158–182) of Adhal-, Adhil-.

For the second element see O.E. hām in Pt II.

Halnaker.

**Type I.**

1085 Helnache, Helneche, D.B. i. 25 b.
1187 Halnac, Fr. Ch. No. 928, p. 331.
1274 Hannake, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1278 Halnak'e, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
About 1320 Halnak', T. de N. p. 222.
   p. 135.
1428 Holnaker, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iv. p. 120.

**Type II.**

1281 Halfnaked, ibid. p. 77.
1329 Hannaked } ibid. ii. p. 25.
   Halfnakede { ibid.
1337 Halnaked, ibid. ii. p. 78.

The first element may be a pers. n. *Hala-*, a short form of
such names as Halmund, Halweard, for which Searle gives
authority (p. 279), or just as probably it may be O.E. hālga,
"a saint," although the D.B. form has no -g.

If so, O.E. *hālganæcer, "the saint's land" > L. M.E. *hāl(3)-
naker > halnaker. The spellings in -nn- in Type I above are
due to assimilation of the l and the n; cf. Pr. Gmc. *fulla < Idg.
*p³l³n- for the opposite assimilation of -ln- to -ll-.

The forms in Type II above show a curious popular
etymology.

See O.E. æcer in Pt II.
Ham Manor.

1085 Hame, D.B. i. 22 b, 27 b.
1375 Hammes, ibid. p. 349.

O.E. hamm, either (1) “an enclosure,” “dwelling,” or (2) “a bend of a river.” See this element in Pt II.

Hampden Park.


Probably O.E. *hâmdenu, “valley where the homestead or estate stood.” Or possibly the first element may be O.E. hann (2), “bend in a river.” The early form does not justify the reconstruction of the O.E. *æt þære hǣn dene. See Little-hampton below.

Hamsey.


Either O.E. hammes eā, “stream bordering the enclosure” (hann (1)), or hammes ēg (hann (2)), “island or marshy land in the bend of a river.”

See in Pt II hann (1) and (2), and -ey (1), (2) and (3).

Hangleton.

1085 Hangetone, D.B. i. 26 b.
1278 Hangelton, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1327 Hangelton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 158.

I can find no authority for an O.E. pers. n. *Hangel. Possibly the initial H- in the above forms is due to Norman scribes, and the first element is really a pers. n. in Angel-, such as Angelbeow,
which is mentioned in the A.-S. Chron. annis 626 and 755. Förstemann also in the Altddeutsches Namenbuch gives numerous examples of Angil- (107–19), also of Engel- and Ingel- (loc. cit.).

But this is rather unsatisfactory, since forms in \( H \)- are the rule, and no forms are found without it. The second element is O.E. \( tūn \) (q.v. Pt II).

**Hankham.**

1085 Henechã, D.B. i. 22 a (bis).

This name probably contains the O.E. pers. n. Haneca, which is found in an O.E. pl.-n. Hanecanhām in Cart. Sax. Nos. 821, 822 and C.D. No. 416.

Haneca is a diminutive of Hana, just as Dun(n)eca is a diminutive of Dunn, Dunna. See Duncton above. For the second element see hām in Pt II.

**Harbreatning.**

1085 herbertinges, D.B. i. 26 a.


The above forms point to O.E. Herebeorhtingas, a patronymic from Herebeorht, a well-authenticated name in O.E. (modern Herbert). A late O.E. variant Herebrehtingas would give a modern pronunciation (hābritiŋ), and would account for the spelling of the modern name.

**Hardham.**


Probably O.E. heordhām, “herd-enclosure.” Or the first element may be O.E. (non-W.S.) heorde, “a shepherd, pastor” (W.S. hirde, non-W.S. heorde, both \(< W.Gmc. *hirdja \)). See O.E. heordwic in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II.

**Hartfield.**

Type 1 (-feld).

1085 Hertevel, D.B. i. 21 b.

1265 Hertefeld, Abbr. Plac. p. 162.

1274 Hertefed (Hertefead), H.R. ii. pp. 204, 206.


1316 Hertfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
circa 1320 Hertfeld, T. de N. p. 223.

Type II (-fold).


O.E. heorot feld. O.E. heorot is found also as a first element in Hertford (= hātfæd) which is (æt) Heorot forda in A.-S. Chron. Parker MS. anno 913.

In the Sussex name Type II shows O.E. -fald as a second element.

See heorot, feld, and fold in Pt II.

Harting, East, South and West.

1085 Hertinges, D.B. i. 23 a.
1278 Herting, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.

circa 1320 Herting, T. de N. p. 222.
1383 Hertyngge, ibid. iii. p. 59.

Probably O.E. heoroting(as) or heorotingc(as), "stag-meadow(s)." Cf. Hartfield above. See heorot and ing, incg in Pt II.

Hastings.

1085 Hastinges, D.B. i. 17 a, 17 b, 18 a, and passim.
1122 { Hæstingas } A.-S. Chron. Land MS. (E), pp. 141, 198.
1122 Hestigan
1205 Hastinges, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 22.
Hazelwood.


1361 Haselholte, ibid. p. 240.
1399 Haselholt, ibid. iii. p. 271.

If the above forms really represent *Hazelwood*, the second element has changed from O.E. *holt*, M.E. *holt* to O.E. *wudu*, M.E. *wude, woode*, which meant the same thing, namely, “a wood,” “copse,” “thicket.” *Holt wudu* was a common compound in O.E. poetry.


Heathfield (hefæl).

*Type I.*

1274 La Hethfeld, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1328 Hethefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 159.
HEATHFIELD

Type II.


The modern name is descended from Type I, O.E. hæpfeld. Type II seems to contain O.E. hæpen, “a heathen,” or the adj. form of hæp with suffix -en, as its first element. Had it survived, it would have produced a modern (hænɪfɪld) or (hænɪfɪld). See O.E. hæp and feld in Pt II.

Heathfield in Yorks. is explained by Moorman as O.E. Hildegæresfeld.

Heene.

1085 Hene, D.B. i. 28 b.
1285 Hyen, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 353.
circa 1320 Heen, T. de N. p. 222.
1397 Heen, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1448 Hyen, ibid. p. 238.

All the above spellings point to a M.E. tense ē. I assume an O.E. *hēna, which is connected with the common hōh.

Just as O.E. hēla, “heel,” < *hōh-ila, with the suffix -ila, so might there be another diminutive *hēna < *hōh-ina, with the suffix -ina. But this word is not recorded in the dict., nor can I find any Norse cognate. The reconstruction is tempting.

Heighton, South.

Type I.

1. 1085 Hectone, D.B. i. 20 a.
Hellingly

Type II.


O.E. hēh tūn, “the high town.” Type I is O.E. hēhtūn > M.E. hēhtun > M.E. hēttun, as found in T. de N. (Type I, No. 6 above), and, had it survived, would have produced a modern (*hētn).

Type II is O.E. hēhtūn > M.E. (early) hēh tūn (with long ē through the influence of the independent word hēh) > later M.E. hehtun, with diphthongising before the front (h). This M.E. heihtun, with subsequent loss of (h) (written gh above), is the ancestor of the modern (heitn).

Hellingly.

Type I.

1278 Hellingley, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1328 Helingleghe, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 159.

Type II.

1309 Hillynglegh, ibid. p. 235.
1377 Hilyngelegh, ibid. ii. p. 362.

Skeat, Cambs. Pl.-Ns., p. 57, connects Hilgay with a tribal name in -ing, represented by Hellingly in Sussex. But there is no evidence in O.E. for the existence of such a tribe. It is possible that Helling- (Type I) and Hilling- (Type II) < O.E. *hylling, “hill-dweller.” The suffix -ing frequently had the sense of “dwellers in or among” (Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., under -ing). O.E. *hyllinga léah, “hill-dwellers’ meadow,” would give a modern Hellingly (Kt. e for y < u + i).

See O.E. léah in Pt II.
Henfield.

_Type I._

1230 Hamfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 47.
1278 Hanfeud, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.

_Type II._

1278 Henfeud, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.

The presence of the _-e-_ in the first element of Type I, annis 770 and 1377 above, excludes the tempting derivation from _æt þeōm hēan fēlde_ (thus Duignan for the Worcs. Hanley) and favours O.E. *hananfeld, “cock's field,” as the prototype of this name. Type II, the ancestor of the modern name, shows alteration of the first element from O.E. _hana_ to O.E. _hen, henna_, “a fowl,” “hen.”

_Herstmonceux_ (hāstmonsjū), (hāmaunsi), (hosmaunsiz),
_Hurstmonceux_ (hāstmaunsiz).

_Type I_ (Herst-).

1633–4 Herst Mounsure (!), Vist. Ssx. p. 32.

_Type II_ (Hurst-).

The "hurst" or "wood" of Monceux, a Norman-French family n., originally meaning "at the mound" (Lat. monticulum). The name Joues de Monceux appears above the entry for 1316 in the Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 280.

Hope (Dial. Pl.-Nomenclature, p. 126) gives the pronunciation of this name as Harmouncy, Hossmouncies, and Hurstmounceys, by which he probably means (hāmaunsi), (hosmaunsiz), and (hāstmaunsiz). The first of these is normally descended from the Kt. type (I) above, the third from the Saxon type (II); (hosmaunsiz) I cannot account for phonetically.

Heyshot.

1283 Heyshott, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1314 Heshete { ibid. p. 262.
   Heyshete

1428 Heyshete, F.A. v. p. 156.
1538 Heyshott, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 364.


See O.E. gehage and O.E. sceāt in Pt II.

Hickstead.


There is an O.E. pers. n. Hicca which is found in a pl.-n. Hiccan porn, Cart. Sax. No. 1143, C.D. No. 1252. This may be the first element of the Ssx. Hickstead; O.E. Hiccanstede > late O.E. Hiccastede > (hiksted), but the form given above is very late.

For the second element see O.E. stede in Pt II.

Higham, alias Iham.

1303 Iham
1346 Ihamme { Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 365.
1731 Higham alias Igham manor}
Probably O.E. *iæghamm (iæg the W.S. form; non-W.S. ēg), "the enclosure round the marshy ground." If so, the High-, which does not appear before the 18th cent., is the result of popular etymology, the deliberate substitution of the common word high- for the unfamiliar first element.

See Ifield and Iford below.

**Highden.**


The spelling Hi- in 1203 cannot represent O.E. heāh. It may stand for O.E. Hyge-, a familiar form of one of the many names like Hygebeald, Hygebeorht, Hygemær, Hygewine, etc., for which Searle gives good authority (p. 311).

An O.E. *Hygedenu, “Hyge’s valley” > late O.E. *Higedene (unrounding of y) > by loss of ē and compensatory lengthening Hiden > (haidn). The spelling of the modern name has been influenced by the common word high, which was doubtless felt to be the first element.

**Hoathly.**

1278 Hodlegh, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1407 Hotheleth, ibid. iii. p. 317.

The first element may be O.E. hāp, an unmutated form of hāp, not however recorded in B.-T. Cf. gemāre side by side with gemēru. Gemāre is also not recorded, although it exists (in the form imēre) in Elfwines imēre (anno 1001), C.D. iii. p. 321. Cf. Hadlow Down above. The 1407 form Hotheleth is probably a scribal error, although -leth may be a Mercian form of O.E. hlīp, "slope." For the interchange of hlīp and lōāh in the second element see Wyld, Lanes. Pl.-Ns., under Adgarley.
Hollington, Rural, and Hollington, St John.

1085 Hollintun, D.B. i. 17 b.
1278 Hollington, Plac. de quo War. p. 756.
1284 Holindale, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
1390 Holyngton, ibid. iii. p. 131.


The 1284 Holindale above is interesting as the only example I have found of the suffix -dale in Sussex, although it is common in the North and Midlands. This lends colour to the supposition that -dale in pl.-ns. is the Scand. dalr more probably than the O.E. dēl.

*Holmestrowe.

1085 Homestreu, D.B. i. 26 a.

The first element can hardly be the O.Norse hólmr, “an islet.” It is more probably the O.E. *holm, which Skeat finds in Holmhurst Hill (Herts.), a word meaning “holly” or “holm bush,” connected with O.E. hōlegn, holen. E.D.D. gives the distribution of modern holm as Glouc., Ssx., Hants., Dors., Somers., Devon and Cornwall, entirely in the south. The second element is O.E. treōwe, dative of treō, “tree.”

*Holmstead.


The first element is probably the same O.E. holm which is found in Holmestrowe above (q.v.). See O.E. stede in Pt II.
Hooe.
1085 Hou? D.B. i. 17 b, 18 a, 22 a (or Hove?).
1278 Hoo, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
About 1320 Hoo, T. de N. p. 222, § 62.

O.E. æt bæm hœe, dative of hōh, “heel,” “hill,” “promontory.”
The modern pronunciation (hū) is the normal development of this O.E. dative. For other forms of hōh when used as a second element see Piddinghoe below.

The Hooke.
1202 la Hoc, Abbr. Plac. p. 35.

O.E. æt bæm hōce. O.E. hōc (modern “hook”) is used in pl.-ns. to denote (1) “bend or turning in a river, land enclosed by such a bend,” (2) “a piece of land situated on a slope” (Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II, under O.E. hōc).

Horsey.
1085 Horselie, D.B. i. 22 a.
1202 Horseie, Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1304 Horseye, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.
1327 Horssye, ibid. ii. p. 20.
1406 Horsye, ibid. iii. p. 310.
1484 Horsey, ibid. iv. p. 421.

The first element may be O.E. hors (< *hros), “a horse,” or it may represent the pers. n. Horsa. The second element may be O.E. ēā, “water,” or O.E. ǣg (1) or (2), “island” or “water meadow.” See these elements under -ey in Pt II. Note that the D.B. form shows O.E. lēāh as the second element.
Horsham.

1232 Horsham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 50.
1325 Horsham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 325.

The C.D. forms above point to O.E. hors, the name of the animal, as the first element. The diacritics of the second element in the first two forms make it fairly certain that O.E. hām was meant, and not O.E. hamm.

Horsted, Little.

_Type I._

1085 Horsted, D.B. i. 22 a, 22 b.
circa 1320 Horstede, T. de N. p. 223.

_Type II._


_Type III._

1278 Herstede, Plac. de quo War. p. 753.

Type I is the O.E. _hors stede_ or _horsa stede_, “place for horses,” and the ancestor of the modern form. Types II and III show confusion of the first element with O.E. _hyrst_, “a wood.”

Horsted Keynes.

1306 Horsted Kaynes, ibid. p. 225.
1388 Horstedekeyes, ibid. iii. p. 107.
The *Keynes* were a well-known Norman family residing in Sussex. E. V. Lucas in Highways and Byways in Sussex, p. 233, says that the name is "an anglicisation of N.-Fr. 'de Cahanges,' a family which sent a representative to assist in the Norman Conquest." I have found in the Red Exch. Bk. 16th cent. *Kahaynges*, i. 65; *Chahaynges*, i. 72; 13th cent. *Kaynes*, ii. 554.

**Houghton.**

*Type I.*

3. 1226 Hoctone, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.
4. 1278 Houton, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

*Type II.*

1. 1256 Hoton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 86.
3. 1278 Hotton, Plac. de quo War. pp. 753, 759.

Type I, No. 2, *Hoghton* above, is evidently a later (M.E.) spelling, since O.E. -k- (back-open-voiceless) was not written -gh- so early as 957. The evidence points to O.E. hōh, "hill," "ridge," as the first element, and not O.E. hoc (q.v. under *The Hook* above). Most of the Engl. Houghtons have as their first element either O.E. hoc or a pers. n. Hōc (see, for instance, Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns., under *Houghton*). The spelling *Hoctone* in No. 3, Type I above, tells us nothing, since M.E. -ht- was generally written thus by Norman scribes.

**Houndean.**

1316 Houndeden, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 386.

O.E. *Hundandenu*, "the valley of Hunda," for which name see Searle. See O.E. *denu* in Pt II.
Hove.

1085 Hove, D.B. i. 17 b, 18 a, 22 a.
1306 Northehou, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 21.

O.E. æt þæm hofe, "at the hall." O.E. hof meant a "house," "dwelling" in the sense of a large dwelling such as a lord's abode. Cf. modern German Hof, "court," and also (especially in Westphalia) "a large farm."

How.

1085 How, D.B. i. 29 a.

M.E. (at pe) hōge, dative of houh, O.E. höh. The -w in the D.B. form seems to prove that the voiced open g was lip-modified already in the O.E. period. For another dative of O.E. höh cf. Hooe above and Piddinghoe below.

Hunston.

1085 Hunestan, D.B. i. 24 a.
1105 Honestona, Fr. Ch., No. 339, p. 134.
1278 Hunstan, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1302 Hunstane, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.


The second element is obviously O.E. stan, not O.E. tun. The first is Hun, a well-authenticated O.E. pers. n. See Kemble, C.D. vol. vi. Index, and Searle, who gives several examples of Hunbeald, Hunbeorht, etc.

Hurst, Hurst Green.

Type I.

1085 Herst, D.B. i. 27 a, 29 a. 
   Herste, D.B. i. 18 a, 20 a.)

© EPS says "the name would seem to go back to
the hilfe; O.E. hōwe = hood, covering part
prol. added as a nickname to some small
dwelling."
Type II.

1312 Hurst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 146.
1339 Hurst, ibid. p. 92.
1471 Hurst, ibid. iv. p. 316.

Type III.

circa 1320 Hirst, T. de N. p. 224.

O.E. hyrst, “a wood,” q.v. Pt II. Note the distribution of the -e-, -u- for O.E. ğ, on which see Wyld, E. St. 47, pp. 1 ff.

Hurstpierpoint.


The “hurst” of Pierpoint, M.E. Pierrepoint or Pierrepund, a Norman-French personal name. See Herstmonceux above.


The Hyde.


O.E. lǣd (mod. “hide”). The O.E. word meant “an estate,” “farm,” rather than a “fixed measure of land,” which was a later development (B.-T.).
Icklesham.

772 Icklesham, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 295 (No. 208).
1306 Icklesham, Cust. B. Abbey, p. 25.

O.E. *Iceles hām,* “the homestead of *Icel.*” This is a fairly well-known pers. n. in O.E. There is an entry in the A.-S. Chron. anno 626, “Cnebba wæs *Iceling, Icel* wæs Eomārīng.” For the second element see *hām* in Pt II. Cf. *Ickleton* in Skeat’s Cambs. Pl.-Ns., and see O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

Iden (aidn, E).

1085 Idene, D.B. i. 20 a.

1361 Idene, ibid. p. 233.
1385 Idenne, ibid. iii. p. 77.
1443 Iden, ibid. iv. p. 218.

I can hazard no other suggestion but that the first element may be O.E. *ieg* (W.S. form), “an island.”

O.E. *ieg* meant not only “an island,” but also “any elevated piece of land, wholly or partially surrounded by marshy country or flooded depressions.” If we accept the latter meaning here, then O.E. *iegdenu* would mean “a valley wherein lay a flooded piece of land.” Such a compound as O.E. *iegdenu* would develop into a modern (aidn). See *denu* in Pt II.

Ifield (aifild, E).

1085 Ifelt, D.B. i. 29 a.
The first element may be the O.E. *ieg discussed under the previous name. O.E. *iegfeld would mean “the field containing elevated ground in a marsh.”

Iford (aifad, E).

1085 Ifiwirde, D.B. i. 17 a.
    Ifewerit, D.B. i. 29 a.
1278 Iford, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
circa 1320 Iford (Yford), T. de N. pp. 222, 224.


Imberhorne.

1293 Hymberhorne, Cat. Anc. Dds. vol. ii. No. 2123, p. 484.


SUA says, “Corner of land where raspberries grow
four of hindberrie = raspberry, still used in N.Cy
hindberr. (and this after Robert’s labors!!!)
Iping (aipinj, E).

1095 Epinges, D.B. i. 29 b.
1283 Ipinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1330 Ipyng, ibid. ii. p. 29.

Possibly O.E. *Ipingas*, “descendants of Ipa.” I have only found one instance of this pers. n. in a charter, C.D. No. 1281, *Ipan lea*.

Iridge Place (airidž, E).


Most probably simply O.E. *iēghrycg*, “ridge of land near the marsh.”

Isfield.

1349 Isefeld, ibid. p. 154.
1386 Isefeld, ibid. iii. p. 88.

O.E. *isig feld*, “icy field.” The medial -e- in the early forms is all that remains of the O.E. adjectival suffix -ig. Note the Norman-French diphthongising of -e- to -eu- in the 1313 *Isfeude* above. See O.E. *feld* in Pt II.

Itchenor, West.

683 Iccanore (Lat.), C.D. v. p. 33.
1085 Icenore, D.B. i. 17 b, 24 a.
1187 Chienore, Fr. Ch. No. 928, p. 331.
1280 Westichenore, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 73.
1329 Ichenore, ibid. ii. p. 25.
1337 Ichenore, ibid. p. 79.
1346 Estichchenore, ibid. p. 136.
The first element is an O.E. pers. n. Icca, but Searle quotes as the only instance of Icca the C.D. form (1) above. The early forms make it certain that the second element is O.E. ðora, “bank,” “shore.” Many pl.-ns. ending in -or have as their second element O.E. ðor, “bank of a river,” or even O.E. hofer, “a hill,” literally “a hump or swelling.” On O.E. hofer see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns.; for ðor cf. Bignor above.

Itchingfield.
1260–70 Hechtingfeld

Hechtingfeld


1580 Hechingfeilde, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 402.

The above spellings, if they really represent the Sussex Itchingfield, throw no certain light. The first element may be (1) O.E. Icca, the pers. n. discussed under Itchenor above, or (2) O.E. Òcca (with fronted -cc-) for which see Echinham above.

Jevington.

Jevington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.

1335 Jevyngton, ibid. ii. p. 67.

O.E. Gefantun, “the tun of Gefa.” Cf. such names as Gefwine, Gefwulf in Searle. The modern form, and the early forms cited above, show substitution of initial ðz- for the usual Y- from O.E. front ð-. On this sporadic development of ð- to ðz- see Wyld’s article in Olia Merseiana (Liverpool) ii. pp. 129–42. Among other instances occur jicks, “hiccough” and jallow, “yellow” in W. Cornw. (Wyld, loc. cit.). Thus the normal English development of O.E. Gefantun would have been

160 70 Hecchingfeld

Bodl. Cal. Ch. and Rolls, p. 1321. 1260

Hecchingfeld

1580 Hechingfeilde, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 402.

The above spellings, if they really represent the Sussex Itchingfield, throw no certain light. The first element may be (1) O.E. Icca, the pers. n. discussed under Itchenor above, or (2) O.E. Òcca (with fronted -cc-) for which see Echinham above.

Jevington.

Jevington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.

1335 Jevyngton, ibid. ii. p. 67.

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*Yevington (jevîtnœ). For other examples of this change see Zachrisson, Anglo-Norman Influence, pp. 57 ff.

Or possibly, Jevington may be from O.E. Gefwinetun, where -(w)ine- > -in- > -ing-.

Keymer, and Keymer Urban (kaimœ).

1. 1085 Chemere, D.B. i. 27 a.
5. 1278 Kymere, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
9. 1416 Kymer, ibid. iv. p. 27.

One is tempted to assume as the first element O.E. cy, plu. of cû, “a cow,” although M.E. i for O.E. ţ is not usual in Sussex. I cannot make anything satisfactory out of Nos. 3 and 4 unless they are scribal errors for *Kynore (n, nn written for m). No. 7 shows a new second element, O.E. mersc, “marsh” (q.v. Pt II).

If this assumption be correct, the -ey- represents a tense (ê), the Kt. vowel for O.E. ţ (= ʊ + i), those in y, of course, represent (i), the Midland type, which is preserved in the modern local pronunciation (kaimœ).

The second element is probably O.E. mere, “lake,” “pond.”

The meaning then is “drinking-pond for cows.” This sounds quite plausible.

Kingsham.


O.E. Cyningeshâm, “the king’s enclosure.” See both these elements in Pt II.

R. S.

1085 Chingestone (Chingestune), D.B. i. 26 b, 28 b.
1200 Kingeston, Abbr. Plac. p. 32.
1278 Kyngeston, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

Circa 1320 Kyngeston, T. de N. p. 224.
1434 Kingeston, ibid. iv. p. 159.

O.E. Cyninges tūn, "the king's town."

Kerford.

1278 Kenredeford, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1310 Kenrodeford, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 422.
1379 Kerredeford, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 27.
1430 Kerdeforde
1434 Kurdeforde
1566 Kyrdedford

The first element is the O.E. pers. n. Cēnrēd. The development of the modern name is interesting. O.E. Cēnrēd(es)fora > M.E. Kēnredeford > by assimilation Kerredeford > Mod. (kādfād). The assimilated form first occurs above in 1379.

Knepp Castle.

1361 Knape, ibid. ii. p. 239.
1386 Knappe, ibid. iii. p. 83.

O.E. cnepp, "top," "cop," "small hill." See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under this element in Pt II.

The modern (nep) shows the Kt. or Southern vowel -e- for
LANGLEY, LANGLEY FONT, AND LANGLEY POINT

W.S. -æ-, whereas all the M.E. forms above have -a-, the M.E. Midland type.

Lancing, North, South, and Upper. Lancing Downs.

_Type I._
circa 900 Whencing (pers. n.), A.-S. Chron. Parker MS. (A),
1085 Lancinges, D.B. i. 29 a.
circa 1320 Langinges, Lazinges, T. de N. p. 222.

_Type II._
1274 Launcyng, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1278 Launcinges, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.

Simply originally O.E. Whencing, a pers. n. The second
element, whatever it may have been, had been lost already in
O.E. Earle, on p. 12 of vol. ii. of the A.-S. Chron., says in a
note that Whencing came over with Ælla, founder of the South
Saxons, and gave his name to the place where he landed.

The late O.E. form of the name must have been *Wlancing
(preserving the fronted (ê), through the influence of the in-
dependent adjective wulanc, "proud," "imperious").

This is Type I above, the ancestor of the modern (länșiñ),
with N.-Fr. substitution of -c- (= s) for -ch- (= tf). Type II
shows M.E. (Norman-French?) diphthongising of a- to au-
before -n, and would be the precursor of a pronunciation
(länșiñ).

On the substitution of N.-Fr. (s) for Engl. (tf) see Cissbury
_Hill_ above, Ticehurst below, and the section on "Norman-French
Influence" in Phonology ante.

Langley, Langley Font, and Langley Point.

_Type I._
1085 Langelie, D.B. i. 22 a.
Type II.


Type I is O.E. lang læåh, “long meadow,” and the ancestor of the modern form. Type II, if it really represents the same name, is O.E. æet læågan æa, “by the long water-meadow.” O.E. læåh meant “meadow,” “pasture land,” and O.E. æa (-ey (2) in Pt II) meant a “watery meadow” or “marsh land.”

The development of Type II is O.E. (æet) læåganæa > læågnæa (syncopation) > M.E. læånee. Otherwise O.E. læå > mod. long (= lon). See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under Langtree.

Laughton (läftn).

Type I.

1. 1085 Lestone, D.B. i. 19 a, b, 22 a. ]
   Lestun, D.B. i. 26 a.]
3. 1239 Leighton, ibid. p. 56.

Type II.

4. 1338 Laughton, ibid. ii. p. 87.
5. 1349 Laughton, ibid. ii. p. 160.
10. 1633-4 Laughton, Vist. Ssx. p. 44.

O.E. *léåhtün, late O.E. *læhtün, “vegetable garden.”

Type II shows a different development—O.E. *lahtun > M.E. *lāhtun > *lauhtun by -u- diphthongising of -a- before the following back -h-. The modern spelling and the “polite” pronunciation of the name are descended from this *lauhtun type, seen in Type II, Nos. (1), (4), (5), (9), and (10) above.

The local pronunciation (læftn) is from the undiphthongised forms, Type II, Nos. (2), (3), (6), (7), and (8) above.

Lavington, East and West (see Woolavington).

Type I.

1085 Levitone, D.B. i. 17 b.
1314 Estlevente, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.

Type II.

1212 Lovinton, Abbr. Plac. p. 86.
1274 Loveton (Estlovinton), H.R. ii. p. 211.
circa 1320 Lovinton (Westlovinton), T. de N. pp. 223, 229.

The first element is a pers. n., either Lufa (masc.) or Lufu (fem.), for both of which Searle gives good authority. Lufandun occurs in C.D. v. p. 103 and refers to Somers. Lovington. Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns., takes O.E. Lufu as the first element of the Worcs. Lovington. The Sussex name, then, is O.E. *Lufantūn, which would normally develop into mod. (lavinţan). The form Lavington (lavinţan) is due to the influence of the name Woolavington, a town only a little to the west of Lovington. Hence the popular etymology West Lavington for Woolavington (= *Wulf-lāftantūn) and the substitution of this new Lavington for the normally developed Lovington. See Woolavington below.

The forms in Type I probably represent O.E. *Lēōfantūn. Lēōfa is well-authenticated in O.E., and is of course in ablaut relation to Lufa.
Lewes (lūis, lūs).

961 Lewes (Latin acc. to inxta), C.D. vi. p. 46.
960–3 Læwe (English dat. to wið), C.D. ii. p. 388.
1085 Lewes, D.B. i. 16 b (bis), 17 a and passim.


about 1320 Lewes, T. de N. p. 226.
1325 Lewis, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 207.
1377 Lewes, ibid. p. 359.

Probably simply O.E. hlē̄was, plu. of hlēō(w), “a mound,” “tumulus.” The ordinary plural of hlēōw is hlē̄was; hlē̄was is due to analogy of the singular. The absence of an initial h- in the C.D. forms above is rather a difficulty, but in O.E. charters, especially the later ones, many peculiar forms are found. In fact many of the so-called early charters are pure forgeries by later scribes, since they often include purely M.E. forms. See the C.D. forms of Selsey below, and see hlē̄w in Pt II.

Lidsey.

692 Lydesige, C.D. v. p. 36.
957 Ludesey, C.D. ii. p. 341.

The 957 form above would seem to be O.E. Ludesēg, where Lude is a well-authenticated pers. n. (see Searle). But the other forms and the modern (lidzi) point to a name containing y, possibly *Lyde, a hypothetical mutated form of Lude. See -ey in Pt II.

Linch, Lynch.

Type I.

1085 Lince, D.B. i. 23 a.
1283 Linche, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
LODSWORTH

1421 Lynche, ibid. iv. p. 61.

Type II.


O.E. hlinc, “slope,” “ridge” (cf. modern “golf-links”). Type II goes back to a by-form O.E. hlen< *halangi-, from a different ablaut-grade. See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under Coupe Lench.

Lindfield.

765 Lindefeldia, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 280.
1274 Lindefeld, H.R. ii. p. 207.
1278 Lyndefend, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1409 Lindefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 213.
1496 Lynfeld, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 451.


The second is the common O.E. feld (q.v. Pt II).

Littlehampton.

1278 Hampton, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

O.E. hæmtūn > M.E. hæmtun > (hæmtn).

The Little- is a later M.E. addition. See Easthampnett above, and Westhampnett below.

Lodsworth.

1274 Loddeswrth, H.R. ii. p. 212.
The first element is possibly the same O.E. pers. n. *Lude as discussed under *Lidsey above. Or it may be O.E. *Hlœþ, a shortened form of some name like *Hlœþphere, or *Hlœþgær (for the latter see *Lurgashall below). The second element is O.E. *weorþ (q.v. Pt II). If O.E. *Lude is the first element, the above o spellings are purely graphic, and the modern (lodzwaþ) a spelling-pronunciation.

1085 Lodintone (Lodivtone), D.B. i. 22 a.
1213 Lerdeton, Abbr. Plac. p. 89.

Lordington.

early 14th cent. Lurdyngton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 486.

I cannot find any O.E. word or pers. n. for the first element. It certainly is not O.E. hlæford, which occurs in early M.E. variously as (h)læverd, lœverd, lœrde, etc. (see Strat-Bradl. M.E. Dict.).

Nor can I find any pers. n. *Hlyrd- or *Lyrd-, which would account for the e, o, and u spellings above.

The second element is certainly O.E. tūn, q.v. Pt II.

Lowfield Heath.

1278 Lofeud, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.

Probably O.E. *hlæ-feld, “field of the mound.” O.E. hlæ(w) arose from the nominative hlæð(w) through analogy of the plu. type hlæðwas.

The 1274 form Lowesfeud does not necessarily point to a pers. n. as the first element; it probably represents the O.E. compound *hlæwesfeld. See hlæw in Pt II.
LYMINSTER

Lullington.

Type I.

1085 Lolinminstre, D.B. i. 24 b., 28 a.

Type II.


If the forms under Type I represent this name, the second element has been altered from O.E. -mynstre (q.v. Pt II) to O.E. -tun. The first element is a well-known pers. n., O.E. Lulla.  

Lurgashall, Lurgershall (ladʒəʊʃəl)

1. 1136 Letegareshale, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 510.  
3. 1471 Lurgashall, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 490.

“Hlōbgar’s corner,” O.E. (æt) Hlōbgares hāl (halk). The modern (-5l), of course, is not normally descended from the O.E. dative hāl, but has been developed from the M.E. shortened (unstressed) -(h)āl, as in No. 1 above.

The Letegareshale, No. 1 above, is probably the error of a Norman scribe. The modern pronunciation (ladʒəʊʃəl) is normal, but I cannot explain the spelling Lurgashall.

Lydhurst.


The evidence is scanty; the above form seems to have as its first element O.E. lind(e), “lime-tree” (q.v. under Lindfield above), whereas the modern name has Lyd-, which may be the O.E. pers. n. *Lyde (q.v. under Lidsey above). The second element is O.E. hyrst, “wood.”

Lyminster.


1086 Lolinminstre  
1242 helimenstre

"Leo's minster." A Pope Leo III who reigned (795-816) is mentioned in the A.-S. Chron., and Leo VII (936-9) in Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 732.

I take the Leone-, Lene- forms above to contain as their first element Latin Leon- an oblique case of Leo.

The 1250 Limestre and the 1421 Lynemenstr must have been influenced by the English word lion (also used as a pers. n.), which was borrowed from Norman-French. The development was Leoneminstr > Lion(e)minster > Lionminster, and by assimilation of nm to -m- > modern (laiminste). See mynster in Pt II.

Madhurst.


"Mada's wood," O.E. Madanhyrst. Duignan had assumed an O.E. (unrecorded) Mad, Mada to explain Madeley in Staffs., and given references to Ssx. Madehurst, Cambs. Madingley and Heref. Madley. The name Mada appears, however, in Cart. Sax. No. 1312 in the pl.-n. Madanleah, which is the very form that Duignan needed.

Malling (möliŋ).

838 øt Mallingum, Cott. MS. Ang. ii. 20, 21, 27; cit. Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 497.
1085 Mellinges H., D.B. i. 16a, 16b.

1343 South Malling, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 177.
Malling (Kent) is Meallingas in C.D. i. p. 318 (No. 240, anno 838), also Mallingum in the same ch. and Meallingas in C.D. ii. p. 265 (No. 409, anno 946). It seems that the first element is an O.E. pers. n. Searle records Melanbeorh from C.D. No. 1008, Cart. Sax. No. 622, and a Mældun is mentioned in the A.-S. Chron. anno 913. Possibly this Mæl- (if the æ be short) is the first element in Malling; but there are no O.E. names in *Mæll-, *Meall-, with double -l.

Marden, East, North, and West and Upmarden.

Type I.

1085 Meredone, D.B. i. 24 a (ter).

about 1320 Merdon, T. de N. p. 222.

Type II.

1345 Westmorden, ibid. ii. p. 129.

The first element may be either O.E. (ge)mær, “a boundary,” or O.E. mere, “a lake,” “pond.” See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under Marland and Marton. Type I has the second element O.E. dün, Type II has denu. For a similar interchange, cf. Findon above and Playden below.

Maresfield.

1316 Mersefelde, F.A. v. p. 139.
1325 Marsefeld, ibid. i. p. 328.

The first element is probably O.E. *mersc*, "a marsh." The above forms, and the modern name show the Norman-French substitution of -s- for English -sh- (=f). See Zachrisson, Anglo-Norman Influence, pp. 18 ff.

See O.E. *feld* in Pt II.

**Marsham.**

1289 Mersham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 120.

The first element is probably O.E. *mersc*, uninfluenced by Norman-French, and developing normally into modern (mäf-). See preceding name.

**Maundling, Maudlin (mōdlin).**


This name doubtless preserves the saint’s name Magdalene. Bardsley quotes early forms 1275 Maudeleyn, Maudlin, 1562 Mawdelyn.

**Mayfield.**

1316 Maghefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.


**Merston.**

1302 Merschtone, ibid. p. 182.
1352 Mershtone, ibid. ii. p. 173.
1396 Merston, ibid. iii. p. 197.

Michelgrove.

Type I.
1278 Michelgrove, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 66.
circa 1320 Michelg’ve, T. de N. p. 222.

Type II.

O.E. miceps grāf, "the great grove." The second element has developed, side by side with the independent word "grove," from O.E. dative grafe. Type II is O.E. (W.-S.) mycelgrāfe > M.E. muchelgrōve (Stnh. form) > mod. (*matʃolgrōuv or *matʃolgrɔv). Cf. O.E. grāf in Pt II, and cf. Micklefield, Micklethwaite in Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns.

Middleton.

1085 Middeltone, D.B. i. 25 a.
1278 Middelton, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
1315 Middleton, Abbr. Plac. p. 324.

Simply O.E. middel-tūn, "the middle town."

Midhurst (midast).

1278 Middehurst → Plac. de quo War. pp. 752, 762.

Midhurst

circa 1320 Midherst, T. de N. p. 222.

Simply O.E. midde hyrst or middhyst. O.E. hyst as a second element is normally pronounced in modern names as (-ast).

**Milton Hide, Milton Street.**

about 1320 Mildetun, T. de N. p. 227, § 83.

Possibly O.E. middel-tun > by metathesis *mildtun > (milton). Skeat explains the Berks. Milton thus.

On the other hand the first element may be a pers. n. *Milda, with which cf. Mildburh, Mildfrij in Searle and Milda “libera femina” in Ellis, Introd. D.B. ii. 186. For a Milton whose early forms are quite different from the above, see Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns., sub nomine.

**Minsted.**


Probably O.E. mintestede, “the mint place.” O.E. mint is a loan-word from Lat. mentha. For the second element see stede in Pt II.

**Miswell.**

772 meoswille \{ Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 296 (No. 208).
meoswylle

1085 Mesewelle, D.B. i. 22 b.

The first element is O.E. mēōs, “moss.” The Mod. spelling represents an Early Mod. shortening of (mīz-) from M.E. (mēz-). Cf. (britfiz), earlier (britfiz) from breech (ē). For the second, see O.E. well, wiell in Pt II.

**Monks.**

1317 Monekeseye, ibid. p. 254.

Probably O.E. muneces êā or muneces êō, “the ‘island’ or ‘water-meadow’ of the monk.” The modern (maŋks) shows a total loss of the second element.
Morley.

1339 Marle, ibid. ii. p. 92.
1388 Morle, ibid. iii. p. 102.
1417 Morle, ibid. iv. p. 28.

Either O.E. mœlœah or (ge)mær(e)lœah, where gemâre is an unmutated form of gemærnu, "a boundary." See Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under Moreton, and for gemâre see remarks under Hoathley above.

Moulsecombe.

1278 Molescombe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

The first element is probably a pers. n. Moll, for which Searle gives good authority. I have found it, for example, in Cart. Sax. No. 184. The modern (maulskm) is due to M.E. diphthongising of -ol- to -ou-. For this diphthongising, cf. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Phonology, p. 23, also under Cowburg and Cowford, and Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns., under Cowling Hill and Cowthorpe.

Skeat takes the first element of Berks. Moulsford to be O.E. mül (< Lat. mūlus), "mule," or Mül as a pers. n.

Mountfield.

1085 Montifelle, D.B. i. 18 b.
1316 Mundefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
1351 Mundefeld, ibid. ii. p. 170.

Possibly O.E. *muntefeld, "the field containing a hill or mount." All the M.E. forms have Mund-, Munde- (Maund- in 1326 is due to some analogy, perhaps that of Maundlyng, q.v.). This Mund(e)- points to such an O.E. pers. n. as Mund or Munda, both of which are well-authenticated; see Searle.
I take O.E. *Mundanfeld to be the original form, and explain D.B. Montifelle and the modern name as due to Norman scribes, who substituted French munt- for English Mundan-.

Mundham, North and South.

680? Mundanham (oðer Mundanham), C.D. i. p. 23; also
   Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 529.
1085 Mundrehā, D.B. i. 24 a.

O.E. Mundanhām, "Munda's homestead." The first element is the pers. n. Munda referred to under the preceding name; for the second see O.E. hām in Pt II. The D.B. Mundreham is probably a scribal error, since the form in -r- is not found elsewhere. Otherwise it might represent the pers. n. Mundhere.

Netherfield.

Type I.
1085 Nedrefelle, D.B. i. 18 b.
1278 Neddrefeud, Plac. de quo War. pp. 756, 759.
1316 Naddrefelde, F.A. v. p. 133.

Type II.

The oldest forms seem to point to an O.E. *nǣddran feld, "adder field," and this is confirmed by the frequency of the spellings with -dd-. Although Norman scribes often wrote -d- for -th-, we should expect spellings with -th- in the 13th and
14th centuries, had the first element been O.E. *neopor*, "lower," as would appear from the modern form and from Type II.

It seems probable that the name was originally *næddran feld*, and that the *Nether-* forms were due to popular etymology. In most names containing *Nether-* as the first element, this stands for O.E. *neopor*; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under *Netherlee*, and Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns., under *Netherton*.

(Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 87) takes O.E. *niperra-* as the first element, and considers Type I above to be due to N.-Fr. substitution of *d* for *th*. But I consider that the numerous *Neddre-, Naddre-* spellings cannot admit of this explanation.)

**Newbridge.**

1278 de Novo Ponte, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.

The above translates a M.E. (*of*) *nēwe(n)bridge*, or *nēwe(n)-brugge* most probably in Sussex. See O.E. *nīwe* and *brycg* in Pt II.

**Newick.**

1278 Newyk, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1593 Newycke, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 539.

See O.E. *nīwe* and *wic* in Pt II.

**Newtimber.**

1283 Newtimbre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1302 Neutymbre, ibid. p. 182.

O.E. *nīwe timber*. See both elements in Pt II.

**Ninfield.**

1. 1278 Nyneynefeld, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
2. 1279 Nimesfeld, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 70.
4. 1475 Nenfeld, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 544.

R. S.
The 1278 form above seems to have as its first element the saint's name Ninian, which appears in Bede's Eccl. Hist. in the form Nynias, i.e. in Bk iii. cap. iv. (p. 133 in Plummer's Ed. vol. i.). Nos. 3 and 4 above have the by-form Nennius (on which see Plummer, vol. ii. (Notes) p. 128).

The second element is O.E. feld, q.v. Pt II.

Northiam (nōdžēm).

1320 Northyham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 263.
1578 Northyham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 551.

The medial -y- in the above forms is all that remains of the O.E. -an- in at hēm norpan hāme. See O.E. norh and hām in Pt II.

See Northicote in Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns.

Norton.


Norwood.

1348 Northwode, ibid. ii. p. 149.
1397 Northwode, ibid. iii. p. 227.

O.E. norþwudu. The -þ- disappears in M.E. after -r- and before -w-. For other examples of loss of -þ- after -r- and before a cons. see Wyld, Lanes. Pl.-Ns., pp. 32, 33.

See norh and wudu in Pt II.
**Nyetimber**

1302 Notbourne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 182.
1307 Nutteburne, ibid. p. 228.
circa 1320 Nutburn (Nudburn), T. de N. p. 222.

O.E. *hnut(u)barna*, "the brook by the nut-tree."

The *Nud-* spellings above (1274 and 1320), if genuine, show a perfectly natural voicing of *-t-* to *-d-* before the following *-b-*. This would give rise to a modern (*nadbən*) or even (*nabən*). See O.E. *hnutu* and *burna* in Pt II.

**Nuthurst.**

1395 Nutherst, ibid. iii. p. 188.
1443 Notehurst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 560.

O.E. *hnut(u)hyrst*. Cf. preceding name.

**Nyetimber.**

1085 Nitimbrehā, D.B. i. 24 b.
1382 Nytymbre, ibid. iii. p. 53.
1471 Nitimbre, ibid. iv. p. 316.

The Ind. Ch. and Rolls identifies the 960 form above with *Newtimber* (q.v. above), but phonetically it must represent *Nyetimber*. The O.E. *nīve, nēve* < Gmc. *neuji* (cf. Gk. νέος < *néfos, Lat. novus) never appeared in O.E. in the form *nige*, although an adverb *nige* is well-authenticated (see B.-T.). This *nige* may have been formed from *nīve* on the analogy of such pairs as
hweowol, hweogol, where the -g- and -w- represent different O.E. treatments of Pr.-Gmc. -gw-. Once the adverbial form nige had become well established, it may have given rise to a new adj. *nige, but B.-T. cites no instances of the adjectival use of the word.

In this case O.E. *nigetimber has exactly the same meaning as nìwe-, nèvetimber (Newtimber), the difference being that the former develops normally to (naitimba), the latter to (njūtimba).

Oakendean.


O.E. ācen denu. O.E. ācen is the adjective to āc; see this element in Pt II.

Offham.

1085 Offhā, D.B. i. 25 a.

The first element is the O.E. pers. n. Offa, well-known as the name of the first king of the East Angles in the late 6th cent. Cf. Offington below, and Offord (< O.E. *Offanweorþ) in Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns.

Offington House.

1085 Ofintune, D.B. i. 28 b.
12-13 cent. Offentun (1285 Offytun), Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 563.
1515 Offynto, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 563.
O.E. Offantūn, “the tūn of Offa.” See preceding name.

Oldcourt (= Oldlands Hall ?).

1289 Veillecourt, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 120.
This name is self-explanatory. I cannot find an *Oldcourt on the modern maps. Possibly it is the place now called Oldlands Hall.


O.E. ðora, “a bank,” “shore.” See Bognor and Itchenor above, and ðora in Pt II. I cannot explain the -n- in the D.B. form above.

Otham.


Oving (övin).


Possibly O.E. *Öfan inge, “the meadow of Öfa,” a name found as that of a witness in Cart. Sax. No. 32. When we find M.E. forms in -ingg(e), we are, I think, justified in assuming

Oving (övin).
O.E. *inge (with front ȝ), since the "patronymic" -ing(s) had the back-stop ȝ in all periods. The modern pronunciation (ūvin) points to an O.E. form with long ȝ. Unfortunately no diacritics exist to confirm this.

See O.E. *ing, *inge in Pt II.

**Ovingdean.**

1100-23  Ouingdene, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 572.
1343  Ovyngden, ibid. ii. p. 110.
1402  Ovyngdene, ibid. iii. p. 284.
1439  Ovyngden, ibid. iv. p. 198.

The first element is probably the O.E. Ĭfa referred to in the preceding name. For the second element see O.E. denu in Pt II.

Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns., takes the first element of Yks. Ovenden to be O.E. ufenan, ofenan, "from above." The (ā) in the Sussex name precludes this explanation here.

**Pagham.**

2.  1085  Pagehā, Pageham, D.B. i. 16 b.
5.  1204  Pageham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 16.
8.  1274  Pageham, H.R. ii. p. 211.

The C.D. form above points to an O.E. pers. n. *Pæcga as the first element; cf. Searle.

Nos. (3) and (11) above seem to point to an O.E. variant *Paga (with back ȝ), i.e. O.E. *Paganhām > M.E. pageham > modern (pægm). But this is conjectural. For the second element see O.E. hām in Pt II.
Parham.

1085 Perham, D.B. i. 17 a, 24 b.
1386 Perham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. iii. p. 84.

The first element is O.E. *pere or peru, “a pear.” Cf. Perry Barr in Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns. (O.E. *pirige).

Pashley.

1452 Lytyl Passhelele
Great Passhle

1633–4 Pachley


Is this O.E. * Paeccanleah > M.E. *Patchlei (=patflei) > (paflei) > (pæflei)? On (tʃ) and (f) see Zachrisson, pp. 156 ff., and for Paeca cf. next name.

Patcham.

1278 Pecham, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1343 Pecham, ibid. ii. p. 110.
1416 Pecham, ibid. iv. p. 27.

O.E. *Paecnhanham, “the homestead of *Paecce or *Paeca.” This name is found in O.E. in the patronymic Paeccingas, C.D. ii. 360, for which see the next name. Duignan derives the Worcs. Paxford from O.E. *Paeccesford, and *Paece, he says, is “an unrecorded A.-S. pers. n. *Pæcc, gen. *Pæces.”

For the second element see O.E. *hām in Pt II.
Patching.

1006 Peæcingas, C.D. iii. p. 349.
1085 Patchinges, D.B. i. 16 b.
1364 Pacchyngge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 578.
1418 Patchyng, ibid. iv. p. 34.

Simply O.E. Peæcingas, "sons of Pæce." This name is not otherwise recorded in O.E., but, says Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns., under Paxton, p. 345, "it is otherwise known as explaining the place-name Packington." (O.E. Pæcse)! See preceding name.

Peasmarsh.

1279 Pesmershe, ibid. p. 70.

The first element is O.E. pisa, M.E. pese, pl. pesen (Latin pisum) = "peas." For the second element see O.E. merse in Pt II. Pease- is the first element of Suffolk Peasenhall, and Berks. Peasemore, which is Pesemere in the Inq. P.M. p. 167. See Peasemore in Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns. M.E. pêse, if the ê is slack, as the spelling would indicate, goes back to O.E. peosa with a- uumlaut of -i- to -eo-. If it is tense it represents the M.E. lengthening of i to ê, for which see Luick, Beiträge zur engl. Gramm. Anglia, xvi., xviii., xx.

Penhurst.

1085 Peneheest, D.B. i. 17 b.
1341 Penhurst, ibid. ii. p. 100.
1412 Penherst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 583.
The first element may be O.E. *pennhyrst = “the wood by the cattle-pen” and in the second O.E. *penhyrst, “the wood by the hillock.” There is a Penshurst in Kent, where Pen- is probably a pers. n. See *pennos in Holder, Altcelt. Sprachschatz.

Peppering.

725 Piperingas, C.D. v. p. 43.

The first element can hardly be O.E. *pipor, “pepper,” in its literal sense, but Pepper is a common English surname (originally a nickname?), and Kemble, C.D. Index, vol. vi., records another O.E. pers. n. Piperness, C.D. No. 737, where Piper seems to be a pers. n. See -ing in Pt II.

Petworth.

Type I.

1085 Peteorde, D.B. i. 23 b.
1135-50 Petawrda, Cott. MS. Nero C. iii. f. 188, cit. Ind. Ch. and Rolls (p. 587).
1260 Pettewerth, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 587.
1278 Petteworth, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.
circa 1320 Pettewurth, T. de N. p. 222.
1399 Petworth, ibid. iii. p. 265.

Type II.

Type III.


Type IV.

1539 Putteworth, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 587.

The first element is probably the O.E. *pytt,* "a pit" (an early loan-word from Latin *puteus*). Type I above, and the modern form contain the Kt. *e* for O.E. *y* the mutation of *u,* Type III is Midland, and Type IV Southern. The form *Paiteworth* in Type II above is probably a corrupt spelling, since it cannot, as far as I can see, be accounted for by any known sound-law. For the second element see *weorþ* in Pt II.

Pevensey, and Pevensey Bay (pemzi, pimzi).

Type I.

circa 1100 Pefenesæ, A.-S. Chron. MS. (C), anno 1049, p. 168.
1234 Pevenese, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 52.
1239 Pevensey, ibid. p. 56.
1245, 1252, 1268 Pevensey(e), ibid. pp. 60, 78, 99.
1278 Pevenese, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1366 Pevenesse, ibid. ii. p. 278.
1589 Pevensey, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 587.

Type II.

1085 Pevensel H. (Pevensel Burg), D.B. i. 20 b, 22 a.
PIDDINGHOE

1226 Pevensell, ibid. p. 34.

The second element is O.E. ēā, "island"; the -esell forms in Type II I take to be Norman-Fr. substitutions of isele, isle (Mod. Fr. île) for the English word. The first element is almost certainly a pers. n., although it is not recorded by Searle. There is a Pefe in O.E., which is found in pl.-ns. Pefesige, C.D. No. 314, Peuesige, No. 380 (= Pewsey, Wilts.). Pefene may be a form of the same pers. n. base Pef-. I can find no Celtic name *Peven, *Pefen. (The modern Pevan, Bevan = Ap-Evan (Bardsley) and is much later than the O.E. period.)

Piddinghoe.

Type I.

1278 Podingho, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

Type II.


Type III.


There is no word in the O.E. dict. to fit the first element. Skeat (Etym. Dict.) derives modern puddle from "A.-S. pudd (ditch, furrow) with suffix (-el) = (-il)." Possibly a by-form may have existed with suffix -in, bearing a semi-adjectival sense, O.E. *pyden. This hypothetical form would account for the first element of Piddinghoe. The second element is O.E. hōh, "hough," "hill," "ridge." Type I (modern -hoe) represents an M.E. shortened form of O.E. hō(h); Type II is the M.E. dative.

Type III shows a change of the second element to O.E. (ge)hōge, "fenced-in land," "paddock," q.v. also in Pt II.

**Piecombe, Pyecome (paikûm, Hope).**

**Type I.**

1085 Piceha, D.B. i. 26 a.
1308 Pickham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 316 (under Guestling).

**Type II.**

1278 Piccombe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1284-5 Pikcombe, F.A. v. p. 129.
1404 Pycombe, ibid. iii. p. 300.
1416 Pycombe, ibid. iv. p. 27.


Type II above shows an M.E. *piccum, which would be identical in pronunciation with M.E. *pikám from Type I above. For another example of the alternation of -hám and -combe see Barcombe above.

**Playden.**

**Type I** (dene).

1085 Pleidenâ, D.B. i. 19 b.

**Type II** (düne).

1316 Pleydonne, F.A. v. p. 133.
The first element is the O.E. pers. n. Plega for which see Searle, who gives numerous examples of Plegwine, Pleghelm, Plegmund, etc. Note the interchange of -den and -don in the second element, for which cf. Findon above.

Plumpton, North and South.

1085 Pluntune, D.B. i. 27 a.
1278 Pломpton, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1503 Plompton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 592.

O.E. plœm(a)tun, “enclosure containing the plum-tree.” O.E. pluma meant “a plum-tree,” and probably all the English Plumptons contain this word as their first element. The 1426 Plimpton is probably a corrupt spelling; it might otherwise be accounted for by assuming an O.E. mutated form *plyme.

Poling.

Type I.

1278 Pallinges (Paling), Plac. de quo War. pp. 758, 760.
1390 Poling, ibid. iii. p. 130.
1593 Polynge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 593.

Type II.

1085 Pellinges, D.B. i. 22 a.
Possibly O.E. *pāl-incg or *pāl-ing, “water-meadow where the ‘pole’ or ‘stake’ stood” (i.e. as a boundary mark). Type I is the ancestor of the modern (poulirj) and represents O.E. *pāling. Type II would give a modern (*pilirj), and represents an O.E. mutated form *pēl-ing. Cf. the modern pers. n. Pealing.

See O.E. ing, incg in Pt II.

Portfield.


The first element may be a pers. n. O.E. Port, which is found in O.E. pl.-ns. Porteswudu in C.D. No. 776, and Portesmupa in A.-S. Chron. anno 501 (MSS. Parker and Laud), pp. 14 and 15 in Plummer’s Ed. Or else it may be O.E. *port, “a town,” for which cf. Port Meadow in Oxfordshire. The absence of a genitival inflexion rather confirms this.

The second element may have been originally either O.E. *fald or O.E. *feld (see both in Pt II). For interchange of these elements, see Cowfold above.

Portslade.

1085 Porteslage, D.B. i. 26 b.
1277 Porteslad, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 68.
1278 Porteslad, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
circa 1320 Porteslade, T. de N. p. 222.

O.E. Portes(ge)lād. The first element is the O.E. pers. n. Port discussed under Portfield above.

The second element is O.E. gelād, “a road,” “pathway.” Normally this would develop into a modern (loud), but in a second element O.E. (ge)lād(e) would be shortened in M.E. to *lād(e), and the modern pronunciation of the element as (leid) is due to the spelling.
Cf. the Wilts. *Cricklade* (kriklæd) which is *Creccagelade* in A.-S. Chron. (Parker MS.) anno 905, and *Creccilade* in A.-S. Chron. (Laud MS.) anno 1016.

(There is also an O.E. *sleæd* (slæd?) which Sweet, A.-S. Dict., defines as “valley.” The authorities are divided as to the quantity of the -æ-; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II, and Jellinghaus, “Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn.” in Anglia xx. This may also be the second element of *Portslade*, although I have found no other example of it in Sussex.)

**Poynings** (paningz).

1085 Poninges H., D.B. i. 26 b.
1278 Ponyngges, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
circa 1320 Poninges, T. de N. pp. 222, 224.
1369 Poinynges, ibid. p. 298.
1373 Ponynges, J. of G.'s Reg. i. p. 31.

O.E. *Püningas*, “sons of Pün(a).” This name *Pün(a)* is not otherwise recorded in O.E. The various spellings *o, u, oi, ou,* in the above forms all express M.E. *u*, which was shortened to *i* in the trisyllabic *þüninges*, and which gave rise to the mod. (a) in (paningz). The “polite” pronunciation (poiningz) is purely bogus, and is merely due to the accidental preservation of the spellings in -oy-. [In the North, the spellings -oi-, -oy- were often used to express a sound which was approximately *(ŷ)*, and which developed out of the O.E. *ō*. See, for instance, such Northern texts as the “Bruce,” where these spellings abound, and compare *Mytholmroyd*, and *Holyroyd* in Yorks., where the second element is apparently O.E. *rōd.*]

**Preston.**

1085 Presteton, D.B. i. 17 b.
1226 Preston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 41.
1278 Preston, Plac. de quo War. p. 757.
circa 1320 Preston (Prestitun), T. de N. pp. 222, 227.


Pulborough.

Type I.

1. 1085 Poleberge, D.B. i. 24 b.
4. 1302 Pulberwe, ibid. p. 182.
5. circa 1320 Pulleberg, T. de N. p. 222.
7. 1383 Pulbergh, ibid. iii. p. 59.

Type II.

1. 1434 Pulburgh, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 601.
3. 1618 Pulborough, ibid. p. 482.

Type III.

1278 Pilleberg, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

The first element is O.E. pul(l), "a pool," in ablaut relation to O.E. pōl (> mod. "pool"). See this word in Pt II.

Type I has the suffix O.E. beorg, "a hill." The spellings in -bergh are from the O.E. nom., those in -berwe from the dative beorge.

The form Poleberethe (No. 6 in Type I) above is a scribal or editorial error, due to confusion between the O.E. symbols p = w, and p = th. But see Aigburth in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

The modern name is descended from Type II, O.E. *pul-burh. See beorg and burg, burh in Pt II below.
The Plac. de quo War. *Pilleberg*, which I have typed as Type III is, if genuine, the descendant of the O.E. mutated form *pyll*, for which B.-T. gives authority. Had it survived, it would have given rise to a mod. (pilbra).

**Rackham.**


**Racton.**

1. 1085 Rachetone, D.B. i. 24 a.
4. 1284 a. Racton b. Ratton
     Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.
5. 1306 Ratton, ibid. p. 225.

O.E. *Racantun*; cf. preceding name. Nos. (2) and (3) above show medial *-in-* < O.E. *-an-* of *Racantun*. Nos. (4 b), (5), and (9) show a development O.E. *Racantun* > *Rac(a)tun* > M.E. *Rāhtun* > Rattun by metathesis. Nos. (1), (4 a), (6), (7) and (8) represent O.E. *Raca(n)tūn* > M.E. Rak(e)ton > mod. Racton (ræktan).

**Ridgewick (ridžik), Rudgewick (radžik).**

**Type I.**

1259 Ruggewyk, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 89.
1278 Rusgewicke, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

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1. Raca is a late OE pers. cognate with the To. name Raco, Rakin, Racca, Rakhil, given by Förstemann.
1304 Rugewyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.

Type II.

1283 Ridgewike, ibid. p. 84.
1598 Rydgeweke, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 630.

O.E. *hrycg(e)wic, "the abode by the ridge, or hill-side.” See both elements in Pt II. Type I is Southern, and the ancestor of modern (radžik), Type II Midland, and the ancestor of modern (ridžik).


Ringmer.

1412 Ryngmere, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 617.

The first element can hardly be the O.E. hring, which means “a ring” or “a circle,” “globe,” etc., and can scarcely be applied to land-features. It is probably a shortened form of some pers. n. like Hringweald, Hringwine, Hringwulf, etc. O.E. Hringweald is found in a pl.-n. Hringwoldes beorh in Cart. Sax. No. 729.

The second element may be either O.E. mere, “a mere,” “lake,” or O.E. gemæræu, “a boundary.” See both these elements in Pt II.

Ripe.

1085 Ripe, D.B. i. 19 a (ter), 22 b.
1377 Rype, ibid. p. 359.
E.D.D. under *ripe* sb. (2) gives “a bank,” “the seashore” (pronounced (råip), (råip)), and derives the word from Latin *ripa*. This word is mentioned as occurring only in Kent and Sussex.

Jellinghaus (Engl. und Niederdeuts. Ortsn., Anglia xx. p. 311) says “Engl. *ripe* = uferrand, schärfholz für sensen; ostfries *ripe* = rand; thüringisch *riefe* = vertiefsten streifen,” and quotes the Sussex *Ripe* as an example. See this element in Pt II.

Robertsbridge, Rotherbridge.

*Type I.*

1085 Redrebrige, D.B. i. 17 b.
1085 Redebruge, D.B. i. 23 b.

*Type II.*

1278 Rurrebrugge, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

*Type III.*

1200 de Ponte Roberti, Abbr. Plac. p. 32.
1268 de Ponte Roberti, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1332 de Ponte Roberti, ibid. ii. p. 53.
1475 Robertisbriggge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 619.

*Type IV* (different spelling of Type II?).

1397 Rotherbrugge, ibid. iii. p. 227.

The original form was O.E. *hryþerabrycg*. O.E. *hryþer* (< *hrunþrī*) meant “a cow,” “heifer,” “ox,” “horned animal.”
There was also a by-form hrī̂ber (*hrenbri). See this element in Pt II.

Type I and Type II are normal descendants from this O.E. hrīrābercyeg with the Kentish and Southern vowels ɛ and ā for O.E. ī.

Type III is due to popular etymology; by confusion of the first element of the Ruthere-type (II above) with the Norman or Normanised pers. n. Robert(us) (= O.E. Hrōphere). This type seems to have arisen quite early in the M.E. period, and has persisted down to the present day.

Type IV is capable of two explanations. Either it is (1) a different spelling of Type II, due to the writing of -o- for -u- before -th-, or else (2) it shows confusion of the first element with the O.E. pers. n. Hrōphere. In either case the modern (rodbridz) is a spelling-pronunciation. See Wyld's remarks under Ritherham in Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and cf. Rotherfield below.

**Rodmell.**

**Type I.**

1085 Redmelle, D.B. i. 28 a.
1535-43 Syr William de Redmille, Leland's Itinerary iii. p. 93.

**Type II.**

1278 Radmeld, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

I can offer no satisfactory explanation of this name. But for the modern Rod-, the first element might be a pers. n. Rēda (> Red-, Type I) or Rada- (> Rad-, Type II). True, the modern Rod- might develop out of Rad- by dialectal interchange of a and o (see Clapham above, and reference to E. D. Gr. there given).

Or else the first element could be O.E. rēād, "red," Type I being from O.E. Rēad- > Rēd- > M.E. Red- before -dm-, and
Type II from O.E. Rād- > M.E. Rād- under the same conditions. See Pogatscher, Anglia xxiii. pp. 302 ff., and Ritter, Anglia, June 1913, pp. 269-75, in the articles “zur engl. Ä/E Grenze.” Again the modern Rodmell might represent in this case M.E. *rōdemelle or *rōdemelde < O.E. redda- with shifting of stress, on which see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., § 11, p. 25.

The second element also presents difficulties. The modern -mell looks like the Kt. form of O.E. mylne, dative of mylen, “mill,” the M.E. forms in -meld, -mylde having developed an “excrecent” -d. But the date of the addition of this -d is not definitely known (see Glynde above), nor does the number of -d forms support the explanation. I suggest an O.E. *mylde, an unrecorded mutated form of molde (modern “mould”), which B.-T. gives with the meanings “dust,” “sand,” “earth.” In this case modern -mell may be merely an unstressed form of -melde, or it may be due to confusion with the above-mentioned mell from mylne. “The place of red sand or red earth” seems quite a convincing meaning.

Roffey, Roughhey (rafi).

1364 La Roghhey, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 383 (under Horsham).

Either O.E. *rūh(ge)hāge, “rough pathway” or O.E. *Rūgan-hāge, “the pathway of Rūga,” a pers. n., meaning “the rough one,” which is found in Ruganbeorh, Ruwanbeorh, Ruanbeorh, Ruwancnol, Rugan diċ, etc. Kemble’s Index (cit. Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns., under Rowey, p. 325). If we assume the pers. n. Rūga, we have to admit the loss of the gen. suffix -an and a subsequent development *Rūghēye > *Rūh(he)y > *rūhw(h)ey > (rafi); precisely parallel is the development of the other O.E. form *rūghēhēge.

See O.E. gehēge in Pt II.

Rogate (rougeit, E).

1273 Rogate, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 54.
ROGATE

1274 Rougate
       Rugate
1278 Rogate, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1340, 1377 Rogate, Cal. Rot. Ch. pp. 176, 188.
       Soc. x. p. 131.
   temp. Hen. VI Rogate
       Regate

The first element is either O.E. rūh or the pers. n. Rūga, as
in the preceding name, and the modern (rougeit) must be re-
garded as a spelling-pronunciation. For -gate see remarks
under Fishergate ante.

Rotherfield (radæval).

Types I and II.


Type I.

1085 Reredfelle, D.B. i. 16 a.
1278 Rederesfeld, Plac. de quo War. p. 753.
1316 Rethurfelde, F.A. v. p. 137.

Type II.

       p. 141.

The O.E. form above explains the name as "the rams' field." Type I is Kentish, and II Southern. The spellings in
Rother- may be simply graphic changes from Ruther-, or they
may be on the analogy of the O.E. pers. n. Hrāphere. See
Robertsbridge, Rotherbridge above. The modern local pronun-
ciation is the normal descendant of Type II.
Rottingdean.
1085 Rottingedene, D.B. i. 26 b.
circa 1320 Rottingeden, T. de N. pp. 222, 224.
p. 132.
1457 Rottingdene, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 627.

It is hardly likely that the first element is O.E. "rotung," "corruption," "putrefaction," for this word was principally used figuratively (the mod. "rot" and "rotten" are from Scand.: Skeat, Etym. Diet.).

There is an O.E. pers. n. *Ruta quoted by Searle from Cart. Sax. Nos. 159, 175 and C.D. Nos. 85, 96, but the frequency of the spellings in -o- argue against this. There is no *Hröta or *Rōta- in the Onomasticon.

Possibly (but not, I fear, probably) the first element was O.E. *Hröpinga- gen. plu. "of the sons of Hröp," a common first element in O.E. pers. ns. But if we accept this, we have to account for the other forms and the modern name by assuming wholesale N.-Fr. influence in substituting -t- for -b-.

All that is fairly certain is that the second element is O.E. *denu, "valley" (q.v. Pt II).

Rumboldswhyke.
circa 1320 Wyk-Rumbald, T. de N. p. 223.
1399, 1400 Rumbaldeswyke, ibid. iii. pp. 261, 278.
1501 Rumbaldeswyke, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 630.

The "wíc" or "abode" of Rumbold. Both Rumbold and the earlier Rumbeald are well-authenticated in O.E.; see Searle.

For wíc see remarks in Pt II.
Runcton.

1274 Rungeton, H.R. ii. p. 212.
about 1320 Rungeton, T. de N. p. 222.
1331 Rungeton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 44.
1495 Rongeton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 631.

Is the first element O.E. hrung (mod. "rung" of a ladder) = "a staff," "rod," "beam," "pole" (B.-T.)? If so, the sense would be "the enclosure round the pole" (i.e. the "pole" as a sort of boundary mark; cf. the name Poling above).

B.-T. compares Gthc. hrugga, "a staff," German runge, "pin," and says that "in Icel. Hrungnir was the name of a giant (Grimm, Deut. Mythol. 494)." I can find no evidence of Hrung- as a pers. n. in O.E.

Rusper (raspa).

1325 Roussparre, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 325.
1361 Roussparre, ibid. ii. p. 240.

temp. Hen. VI Rughesperre
Ruspere
Ruspere

1549 Roughsparre, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 632.

The 1549 form, although the latest, is the most primitive. It points to O.E. rūh sparr, "a rough spar." The -ou-, -ow- spellings above represent a M.E. type in which the -u- remained unshortened; the mod. pronunciation represents M.E. rūhsparre > rūsparre by interconsonantal loss of -h-.

Modern "spar" means a "beam," "bar," or "rafter," but Skeat, Etym. Diet. (spar (1)), says the original meaning was a "stick" or "pole," and connects with "spear." See the element in Pt II.

Rustington.

1194 Rustintun(e), Fr. Ch. No. 695, p. 246.
If the D.B. form is to be trusted, the name was originally O.E. *rygebeorg, “rye-hill,” and the second element has subsequently been completely lost. But this is not very convincing. (It is just possible that the word is really O.Fr. rüe (a road), or that it was influenced by this word. O.Fr. rüe (< Lat. rūga)\(^1\) was already in the 12th or 13th cent. pronounced as (rýe). If this word were borrowed in early M.E. it might become \(\star rý(e)\) by unrounding of \(\ddot{y}\), although the difficulty is that in Sussex, whose dialect was mainly Southern, the unrounded form would be retained. I put this forward tentatively, for what it may be worth.)

St Leonard’s Forest.

1278 Foresta de Sêo Leonardo, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1361 Sancti Leonardi chacea, ibid. ii. p. 239.
1406 Sancti Leonardi chacea, ibid. iii. p. 313.

Explanation obvious.

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\(^1\) Brachet, Dictionnaire Étymologique de la langue française, sub rue.
St Pancras.

1375  In paroch' Sancti Pancrasii, ibid. ii. p. 341.

Salehurst.

1205-16  Salhirst }  
1278  Salehurst, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1332  Salherst, ibid. ii. p. 53.
1341  Salhurst, ibid. ii. p. 100.
1369  Saleherst, ibid. ii. p. 300.

I see no reason why the first element should not be O.E. sal, “a hall” (O.H.G. sal; O.Norse salr), although this word is mainly used in poetry to describe such places as Heorot, the famous hall of king Hrödgar (see Beowulf, passim). The second element is certainly O.E. hyrst.

The element sel is common in continental pl.-ns., both as a first and as a second element (see, for instance, Leithaeuser, Berg. Ortsn., pp. 78, 79), and moreover, such a hall often stood in or near a wood. I quote here from Jellinghaus, Westfäl Ortsn., p. 114.

sel a.s. (altsächsisch), seli, “Gebäude, nur aus einem grossen Saale bestehend, auch zur Aufbewahrung von Feldfrüchten dienend....Das dreimalige Eintreten von loh für sele beweist die häufige Anlage solcher Saalgebäude an Gehölzen. Manche sind mit den Namen der Erbauer zusammengesetzt.”

Salvington.

1274  Salington, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1357  Salvington, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 640.
Is this O.E. *Sālāfantūn, "the tūn of Sālāf"? For Sālāf see Searle. In this case we should have to assume a weak genitive in -an-, and a subsequent contraction of the trisyllabic O.E. *Sālāfantūn to M.E. *Sāleventun > Salvintun and mod. Salvington.

Seaford.

1274 Sefford  H.R. ii. pp. 204, 205.
1377 Seford, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 10, p. 35.

O.E. Sāfords. See O.E. sā and ford in Pt II. Seaforth (near Liverpool) contains O.Norse fjordr (cognate with ford) as its second element. On ford and forth see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II.

Sedgewick (sedžik).

   Seggewyk
1311 Seggewyk, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 245.
   circa 1320 Seghwik, T. de N. p. 222.
1383 Seggewyk, ibid. iii. p. 57.

The first element is O.E. sege, "sedge," "sword-grass." The second is O.E. wic, "house," "abode," "dwelling." See both words in Pt II. Sedge- is a common element in Engl. pl.-ns.; see the examples given in Jellinghaus, Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn.
Sedlescombe, Selscombe.

_Type I._

1085 Salescome, D.B. i. 20 a, 27 a. 
Selescome, D.B. i. 20 a. 
1205–16 Sedelescumbe, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 650. 
1344 Sedlescumebe, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 650. 
1539 Sellescombe, ibid. p. 651. 

_(Type II)_ Sadlescombe? (Kelly's Direct., but not Bartholomew.)

1278 Sadescombe, Plac. de quo War. p. 750. 

Moorman, W.Rid. Pl.-Ns., explains Yorks. Saddleworth as "the farm, or property of Sædel." He cites O.E. _Sædlessträt_ from C.D. Nos. 597, 1190, and takes _Sædel_ as a pers. n., originally a nickname. The independent word _sædel_ is of course the modern "saddle." For _Sedelscombe_ as compared with _Selscombe_ see remarks under _Telscombe_ below.

Selsey.

circa 980 Seolesigge, A.-S. Chron. MS. (C), anno 980, p. 122. 
1085 Seleisie, D.B. i. 17 a. 
1226 Selesya, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34. 

The first element is O.E. _sæol_, genitive sing. of _seolh_, "a seal." Searle merely gives _Seol-_ as "local" in _Seolesburne_ from Cart. Sax. No. 1200, and C.D. No. 535. Since it occurs in conjunction with such words as _-burne_, "brook" and _-ige_, "island," _seolah_ is probably the name of the creature. The C.D. form above dated 801 is obviously much later, since _-egh_ is a M.E., not an O.E. spelling.

**Sharnden.**

1341 Sharndenc, ibid. ii. p. 100.

The Ind. Ch. and Rolls gives for the Kent Sharnden a form Scearn dan (anno 973) Cott. MS. viii. 33 (Index, p. 655). C.D. also has Scearnford (= Sharnford, Leics.), Nos. 710, 1298.

The first element may be O.E. scearn, which B.-T. defines as "sharn," "dung," "filth." E.D.D. gives "sharn" in this sense in the modern dialects. B.-T. cites the cognates O.Fris. skern; Icel. sharn (n.), "dung"; Dan. skarn, "dung," "muck," "filth"; O.E. scearnwibba or scearnwifel is "a dung-beetle."

**Shermanbury.**

1584 Shermanbury, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 660.

The first element is probably O.E. scirmann, "official," "officer," "ruler," "one who discharges the duties of a scir" (B.-T.). "Sheriff's city" is quite a convincing meaning.

Another possible explanation is that the first element is the M.E. family name Sherman, modern Shearman, Sherman. Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 682, cites c. 1300, John le Sheremon, Robert le Sherman: 14th cent. William le Sherman, and says the name is "occupative" and = "cloth-shearer." See O.E. burg, byrig in Pt II.

**Sherrington.**

1377 Sheryngton, ibid. iii. p. 1.
Possibly "Scīra's tūn," O.E. *Scīrantun. Searle records numerous names in Scīr, e.g. Scirbeald, Scirheard, Scirweald, etc., and quotes Scīra as a witness to a ch. Cart. Sax. No. 208 (anno 772) and as "local" in Sciranpul, Cart. Sax. No. 1088, C.D. No. 495. The difficulty consists in the Shir-, Shor- forms above. The Shir- is probably due to M.E. raising of e (Morsbach, Me.Gr. pp. 143–4), and Shor- (= Shur-) is possibly the result of the rounding of this -i- before -r-. See tūn in Pt II.

Shillinglee.

1437 Shullynglegh, ibid. p. 184.

The above forms are very late, but they doubtless preserve the O.E. pers. n. Scilling (mod. surname Shilling) which is well-authenticated (see Searle, pp. 410, 411).

The second element is O.E. lēāh, q.v. Pt II.

Shipley.

Type I.

1085 Sepelie, D.B. i. 26 b.
1353 Schipplee, ibid. ii. p. 185.
1361 Shepele
    Shepelaye
  ibid. ii. pp. 239, 240.
1421 Shepelle, ibid. iv. p. 60.

Type II.

1278 Schiplak, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1366 Sheplake, ibid. p. 275.

The first element is O.E. scēpa, gen. plu. of scēp, W.S. scēāp, "sheep." Type I shows the second element -lēāh, Type II has O.E. lacu, lace, "a lake," "small mere." Jellinghaus, Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn., under lake, implies that the Yorks. Beverley has O.E. lacu as the second element. He cites the early form Beferlac without date or reference.

* lacu has also the sense of "stream, creek" in the numerous creeks turned lakes near Portsmouth.
Most of the above early forms have M.E. *shēpe*, from O.E. *scēpa*, but the forms in *schip-* and the modern name would seem to be descended from a by-form O.E. *scēp*, which was, however, mainly Northumbrian. See *Shipley* in Moorman, W. Rid. Pl.-Ns. Or possibly the M.E. forms were really pronounced (*fēp*) or (*fēp*), and some analogy has been at work to produce the modern (*fipli*) in Sussex. Southern names have mainly *-e*; cf. *Sheppey Island*, Kent.

**Shoreham, Old and New.**

1085  Sorehā, D.B. i. 29 a.  
       Soreshā, D.B. i. 28 a.  
1273–4  Shorham, Abbr. Plac. p. 263.
1278  Schorham, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1396  Shoram, ibid. iii. p. 196.

O.E. *scorehām*, “the homestead on the sea-shore.” The modern *shore* is M.E. *schore*, but it is not found in O.E. The original sense is “edge” or “part shorn off” < *scoren*, p.p. of *sceran*, *scieran*, “to cut,” “shear.” (Skeat, Etym. Dict. under *shore*.)

See *Shore* and O.E. *hām* in Pt II.

**Shripney.**


The first element is a pers. n. Searle merely quotes O.E. *Scrippa* as “local” from the above name, and the same charter in Cart. Sax. No. 50.

For the second element see *-ey* in Pt II.
Sidlesham.

714 Sideleshamstede, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 196 (No. 132).
1226 Sydelesham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 84.
1346 Sidelesham, ibid. ii. p. 135.
1383 Sydlesham, ibid. iii. p. 63.
1579 Sidlesam, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 66.

The first element is a pers. n. Searle records Sidel, "local," from Sidelesham, Cart. Sax. No. 997 and C.D. No. 464. The latter reference is the C.D. form above. I take this Sidel to be a diminutive of Sida (which is also recorded by Searle), which, in its turn, is a shortened form of some name beginning with Sid-, for which S. gives about a column of examples. (Onomast. pp. 416, 417.)

For the second element see O.E. hām in Pt II.

Singleton.

Type I.

1326 Singeltone, ibid. p. 334.
1418 Seintgelton, ibid. iv. p. 38.

Type II.

1278 Sengelton, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
circa 1320 Sengleton, T. de N. p. 222.

Type III.

1274 Sungylton, H.R. ii. p. 213.

this *Syngel to be a kind of nickname or pet-name formed, by means of the diminutive suffix -il, from *sung-, the 3rd grade of singan, “to sing.” Thus *Syngel would have the meaning of a “minstrel” or “singer.” This would account for the three types above, but the explanation is not very satisfactory.

Slaugham Park, Slaugham Place (slæfm).


The first element is probably O.E. slaga, “a slayer,” possibly used in the sense of “a butcher” or perhaps “game-hunter.” The second element is O.E. hām, “homestead.” O.E. slaga is found, for instance, in Cura Pastoralis, “Hu, ne bi p he ponne swelce he sie his slaga, þonne he hine mæg gehælan, and nyle?” (Sweet’s Ed. p. 275, l. 9). The modern local pronunciation (slæfm) is normally developed from O.E. slaganhām > *slah(an)-ham > *slahw(h)am > *slafam > mod. (slæfm). Cf. the development of modern (läfta) from O.E. hleahtor.

Slindon.

1085 Eslindone, D.B. i. 25 a.
1274 Slyndon, H.R. ii. p. 211.
1314 Slyndon, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
1316 Slyndon, F.A. v. p. 139.
circa 1320 Slindon, T. de N. p. 226.

N.H.G. Schlund means “a gorge,” “abyss,” “the throat.” Although not recorded in the dicts., there may have been an O.E. cognate *slynde (< *slnbþ). This is purely conjectural.
Slinfold.

1304 Slindefolde, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.
1325 Slindefolde, ibid. p. 325.

late 14th cent. Slindefolde, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 670.

1633-4 Slinfield, Vist. Ssx. p. 69.

See remarks on preceding name.

Sompting, Sumpting.

956 Suntinga, Cart. Sax. vol. iii. p. 144 (No. 961).
1305 Sontinges, ibid. p. 207.
About 1320 Sunting, T. de N. p. 223.

_Sumptinges, T. de N. p. 222._

1365 Suntyngge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 676.
1397 Somptingy, ibid. iii. p. 227.
1455 Somptynge Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 676.
1472 Somptynge Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 676.

There is a place in Northants. called _Sunting_, which is found in C.D. No. 445 in the form _Suntinga gemüro_ (cit. Kemble, Index to C.D. vol. vi. p. 337).

Southease.

1278 Suthesse, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1344 Suthese, ibid. ii. p. 121.
The first element is certainly O.E. *sūþ. As for the second, it may be a plu. of ēā, “island,” “water”; but I have never seen the word used in the plural.

More possibly it is the genitive singular of O.E. *gēā, “farm-land” (not the plu.; the Gmc. cognates O.S. gā, gō; O.H.G. gewi, kawi, gawi; Gthc. gawi are neuter; the O.E. plural then would probably be *gēā and not *gēās). If so, the name must represent O.E. *(e)sujyan *geas, “(of the) south farm.” For O.E. *gēā see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt II.

Southover.
1274 Suthov’e, H.R. ii. p. 209.

O.E. sūþ ōfer, “south bank.” See both elements in Pt II. O.E. ōfer (N.H.G. ufer) often appears in mod. names as -or. See Bignor above.

Southwick (saðik).
About 1320 Suwyk, T. de N. pp. 222, 223.
1403 Southwik, ibid. iii. p. 298.

O.E. sūþ wic. See both elements in Pt II. The modern pronunciation of this name is (saðik), from M.E. *Sūðwik.

Standean.

Type I.

1085 Standene, D.B. i. 22 b.

Type II.

1409 Standon, ibid. p. 213.

**Stanmer.**

circa 765 stanmere, Cart. Sax. vol. i. p. 280 (No. 197).
1085 Staðmere, D.B. i. 16 b.
1274 Stanmere, H.R. ii. p. 207.
O.E. stān mere, or possibly stan(ge)māru. See these elements in Pt II.

**Stansted.**

1326 Stanstede, ibid. p. 334.
1330 Stanstede, ibid. ii. p. 32.
1397 Stanstede, ibid. iii. p. 227.

O.E. stān stede. See both elements in Pt II.

**Stedham.**

1085 Stedehā, D.B. i. 23 b.
1283 Stedham, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1314 Stodeham, ibid. p. 262.

Searle quotes a pers. n. O.E. Stedda, on the evidence of Kemble, C.D. No. 481, which is the very reference above. No other authority for this name exists. But for the C.D. form above, one would be tempted to explain Stedham simply as O.E. Stedēmān. I cannot account phonetically for the 1314 Stodeham.

**Steyning (steniŋ).**

*Type I.*

1073 Staninges, Fr. Ch. No. 1131, p. 405.
1085 Staninges, D.B. i. 17 a, 28 a, 29 a.
1278 Stanynges, Plac. de quo War. p. 749.
1289 Stanynges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 103.
1331 Stanynges, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 293.

Type II.

880–5 at Stæningum, C.D. ii. p. 115.
1278 Steininger, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1304 Steninges, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 204.
1369 Steininge, ibid. ii. p. 298.
1383 Stenynge, ibid. iii. p. 57.
1633–4 in Steynings  
  of Steninges  


Type I is O.E. *stān-ingas*, which may be a patronymic from some name beginning with *staun-,* or else a compound meaning “stony meadow.” The latter is more likely, since we find Type II with a mutated form *staen-* as its first element.

Type II, O.E. *stāningas* or *stāninegas*, is the ancestor of the modern name.

The -ey- spellings above may indicate either a tense M.E. ē or a slack ę. In the 15th cent. and even in Wyclif they seem to represent the slack sound (Dibelius, John Capgrave und die engl. Schriftspr., Anglia xxiii. § 25 ff.). If on the other hand the ē be tense, it goes back to the Kentish ē for &; the i- umlaut of O.E. ā. In either case the result is modern (stenin), with shortening of the first syllable in the trisyllabic M.E. *stēninges*.

Stockbridge.

1085 Estocbrigge H., D.B. i. 17 b, 24 a.
1274 Stokbrugg, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1275 Stokebrigg, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 60.
1278 Stokebrugg, Plac. de quo War. p. 759.
1397 Stokebrugge, ibid. iii. p. 227.

O.E. stoc(e)brycg. O.E. stoc(c) is common in pl.-ns., both as a first and second element. Its meaning seems to have been "a fenced-in place." See O.E. stoc(c) and brycg in Pt II.

Stoke, North, South, and West.

1085 Stoches, D.B. i. 24 b, 25 a.
1278 Stoke, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.

circa 1320 Stokes
Stok
Sudstok
T. de N. p. 222.


O.E. stoc(c), "a fenced-in place." The above spellings show various inflected types in M.E. The modern Stoke is, of course, the O.E. dative stoce (not stocce) > M.E. stöke.

Stopham.

1399 Stopham, ibid. iii. p. 261.

The first element may be a pers. n. Searle records no O.E. *Stoppa, but I have found the following in Kemble, C.D. i. p. 100 (No. 83), "Est autem ager qui traditur in regione quae
antiquitus nominatur *Stoppingas...* Kemble identifies this in the Index (vol. vi.) with Warw. *Stopping*, which identification, however, he queries.

This points to O.E. *Stoppanhām* as the ancestor of Ssx. *Stopham*.

Skeat, Beds. Pl.-Ns., under *Stopsley*, refers to *Stoppingas* in Kemble's Index, which is the *Stoppingas* in the above quotation.

**Storrington.**

1085 Storgetune, D.B. i. 29 a.
1283 Storton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 84.
1290 Storighton, ibid. p. 105.
1302 Storghton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.
circa 1320 Storgetun, T. de N. p. 222.

**Stoughton.**

1213 Stocton, Abbr. Plac. p. 89.
1251 Stoktun, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 75.
1274 Stocton, H.R. ii. p. 212.
1278 Stoghton, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1282–3 Stotton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 703.
1399 Stokton, ibid. iii. p. 267.

O.E. Stoctūn > M.E. Stohtun > Stouhtun > mod. (stōtan). See *Stockbridge* and *Stoke* above, also O.E. Stoc(e) and tūn in Pt II, and for -kt- > -ht- cf. Broughton (< O.E. *brōctūn*) in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

**Streat, Street.**

1085 Estrat, D.B. i. 27 a.
1278 Strete, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1334 Strete, ibid. ii. p. 60.
1375 Strete, ibid. ii. p. 349.

O.E. Stræt, “a street,” “paved way,” “road.” The spelling Streat seems to point to the W.S. forms Stræt, the Street spelling is the representative of the non-W.S. Stræt.

Sulham.

1428 Suleham, F.A. v. p. 156.

I assume for the first element the O.E. pers. n. Sula, for which see the next name.

Sullington.

1085 Sillentone, D.B. i. 16 b.  
Siletone, D.B. i. 23 a.  
1297 Sullyngton, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 146.

circa 1320 Sillington, T. de N. p. 223.
1361 Sullington, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 239.


Sutton.

1085 Sudtune, D.B. i. 23 b.
1278 Sutton, Plac. de quo War. p. 754.

O.E. *Sūþ tūn*, “south town.” All the *Suttons* in England have the same origin. See the name, for instance, in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.; Skeat, Beds. Pl.-Ns.; Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns.; and Harrison, Liverpool District Pl.-Ns. The M.E. *u* in Sutton is due to shortening before *-ht-*, and this consonant-combination was assimilated to *-tt-*. For other examples of this assimilation cf. *Norton* above, and *Smithdown* in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns.

Swanborough.

*Type I.*

1085 Suaneberge, D.B. i. 26 b.
Soanberge, D.B. i. 26 a, 27 b.
1278 Swanberg, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

*Type II.*


Duignan, Worcs. Pl.-Ns. under *Swanshurst*, gives early forms 1275 *Swanhurst* and 1332 *Suanneshurste*, and says that “Swan was not a pers. n. before the Conquest, but by the 13th cent. it had become one. The double *n* in the last form points to the pers. n., and we may read this ‘Swann’s wood,’ M.E. *hurst*, ‘a wood.’"
But Grueber quotes Swan from a coin in Cnut's reign. Probably the name was Swân (cognate with O.Norse sveinn, mod. Engl. "swain").

Type I above is O.E. Swân(es)beorh, "Swân's hill," and Type II is the O.E. dative Swân(es)beorge > M.E. Swanberwe, the -th- in the spelling being the scribe's error for -w- (through confusion of O.E. p ("wên" = w) with þ ("thorn" = th); see Pulborough above).

The second element has been entirely changed from O.E. beorg, "a hill" to O.E. burh, burg, "a fortress," "castle," "city." See also Pulborough above.

Tangmere.

1085 Tangemere, D.B. i. 16 b.
1314 Tanghemere, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
1428 Tangmere, F.A. v. p. 171.

The second element is pretty certainly O.E. mere, "lake," "pond." For tang, tong Jellinghaus (Engl. und Nddtsche Ortsn., Anglia xx. p. 321) says "altnord. tange, landzunge. Nds. vor sprung höheren landes in die moor- und marschniederungen... Tange häufig in Schleswig...etc." He gives from C.D. tangmére 1. 23, on Atange? 4. 31; and mentions Garstang (Lancs.), Mallerstang (Westm.) and Tong(e) Kt., Leic., Worcs., Sal., Yorks., Lancs. Possibly this tang-, despite its Norse origin, may be the first element of Ssx. Tangmere. Cf. also Tangle (Hants.) and Tong in Duignan, Warw. Pl.-Ns. The O.E. tang meant "a pair of tongs" (German Zange).

Tarring, West.

Type I.

941 Terringges, C.D. v. p. 269.
1085 Terringes, D.B. i. 16 b.


1274 Terringg, H.R. ii. p. 201. } 
   Terring, H.R. ii. p. 219. } 
1397 Terrynge, ibid. iii. p. 226. 
1458 Terryngge, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 727. 

Type II.

1085 Toringes, D.B. i. 21 b, 22 b. 
1194 Torring, Abbr. Plac. p. 4. 
1278 Torring, Plac. de quo War. pp. 758, 760. } 
   Torrynge, ibid. p. 757. 
   p. 142.

It seems that the second element was originally O.E. *inég* (*ing*), "a water-meadow." As for the first, Type II seems to contain a pers. n. *Tora*, for which see Searle, p. 457. 

C.D. has *Tærstán*, *Terstán stream*, Nos. 633, 652, 752, etc. This *Tær*-, *Ter*– may be the first element in Type I above, but if it be a pers. n., no other authority for it occurs.

Telham Hill, Telham Court.


A pers. n. *Tella*, the name of a monk, is found in the Liber Vitae (O.E.T. p. 520) and Förstemann cites *Tello* as a "nomen viri."

Telscombe.

1278 Tetelscumb, Plac. de quo War. p. 750. 
1377 Titlescombe, ibid. iii. p. 6. 

It seems that the second element was originally O.E. *inég* (*ing*), “a water-meadow.” As for the first, Type II seems to contain a pers. n. *Tora*, for which see Searle, p. 457.

C.D. has *Tærstán*, *Terstán stream*, Nos. 633, 652, 752, etc. This *Tær*-, *Ter*– may be the first element in Type I above, but if it be a pers. n., no other authority for it occurs.

Telham Hill, Telham Court.


A pers. n. *Tella*, the name of a monk, is found in the Liber Vitae (O.E.T. p. 520) and Förstemann cites *Tello* as a “nomen viri.”
The first element I take to be an O.E. pers. n. *Tetel or *Tetele, a diminutive of such a name as Teta. Searle quotes a continental Teta with merely a reference “Piper”: O.E. Teta is found in a pl.-n. Tetanhyl in Cart. Sax. No. 1002, and C.D. No. 1216. For the second element see O.E. comb, cumb in Pt II. For the change of M.E. Tetlescumb > *Tetlscumb > (telskām) cf. M.E. sedelescumb > *sedlscumb > (selskām) under Selscombe above.

Thakeham.

1073 Tacaham, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Tacehā, D.B. i. 29 a.
circa 1320 Techem, T. de N. p. 222.
1361 Thakham, ibid. p. 240.
1421 Thakham, ibid. iv. p. 60.
1695 Thakeham, Map of Ssx., Camden's Britt. p. 164.

I take the first element to be O.E. pacā; not pacā=“a roof,” “thatch,” “cover” (B.-T.), but a nomen agentis with the agent suffix -a, and the meaning “thatcher,” “coverer.” “The Thatcher's homestead” is a convincing meaning. For the agent suffix -a cf. hunta (huntian), wealda (wealdan), bora (beran) etc. See O.E. ham in Pt II.

Thorney Island.

1085 Tornei, D.B. i. 17 a.
1289 Thorneia, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 120.
circa 1320 Thorneye, T. de N. p. 222.
1406 Abbas de Thorney, Ch. Du. Lanes. No. 19, p. 149.
The first element is O.E. *born*, "thorn," or "thorn-tree." The second is O.E. *ēg, ēg* (q.v. under -ey in Pt II).

There are numerous Thorntons and Thornleys in England, most of which have O.E. *born* as their first element. But see names in Thorn- in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., and note that the Lancs. Thornley and Thornton contain as their first element the O.Norse pers. n. *boran*.

**Ticehurst.**

1085 Titeherste, D.B. i. 23 a.
1316 Tichesherst, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 150.
  Ticheshurst, F.A. v. p. 133.
1543 Tyseherst, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 744.

The first element is probably O.E. *ticcen*, "a kid." Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 31) says that "it is not necessary to assume French influence here, since -ch- may have been dropped before -s after the syncopation of unstressed -e-." He compares *Tisted* (Hants.) < O.E. *Ticcestede* in Cart. Sax. No. 786. But, as Z. later points out, the modern pronunciation (taisast) obviously points to French influence, unless it be explained as a spelling-pronunciation. Björkman (cited by Zachrisson on p. 99) points out that the lengthening of *i*- is a criterion of French influence (Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen 116, p. 105). For other examples of Norman-French types in modern Sussex names see Cissbury Hill, Maresfield, and Marston above.

**Tillington.**

1085 Telentone, D.B. i. 20 b, 21 a.
  Telitone, D.B. i. 19 a.
1136 Tulintona, Fr. Ch. No. 1391, p. 510
1302-3 Teliton, F.A. v. p. 130.
The first element may be O.E. *Tila*, a shortened form of some name beginning with *Til-*, such as *Tilbeorht*, *Tilbrand*, *Tilhere*, etc., for which Searle gives authority.

Under *Tillbrook*, in Hunts., Skeat gives the form *Tilebroc* from H.R. ii., and compares this Sussex *Tillington*. It must be admitted that the *-e*, *-u* - spellings above present difficulty. They may, however, be due to confusion of the first element with another pers. n. with *-y*. Searle quotes *Tytlla* and *Tytela*, but the disappearance of the second *-t* - before *-l* - so early as 960 is very improbable.

**Toddington, Tottington.**

1073 Totintona, Fr. Ch. No. 1130, p. 405.
1085 Totintune, D.B. i. 28 a. }
       Totintone, D.B. i. 24 b. }
1278 Totyngton, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1316 Totington, F.A. v. p. 142.


This name is a good example of the interchange of medial *-t*- and *-d*- in pl.-ns., which Zachrisson considers to be due to N.-Fr. influence. For remarks on this change see under *Chiddingly* above. In the early forms of the Lancs. *Tottington*, Wyld finds six spellings in *Tot*-, as against one *Todyngton* in 1400.

**Tortington.**

1085 Tortintone, D.B. i. 25 a.
1302 Tortytone, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 182.
circa 1320 Tortinton, T. de N. p. 229.
1394 Tortyngton, ibid. iii. p. 185.
       x. p. 131.
1617 Tortington, ibid. p. 481.
I take the first element to be an O.E. *Torhta, a shortened form of one of the pers. ns. in Torht-, of which Searle gives some forty examples (pp. 457, 458).

O.E. *Torhtantūn > *Tor(h)tantūn > M.E. Tortintun > mod. (tōtintūn).

See O.E. tun in Pt II.

**Tottingworth.**


O.E. Totanweorj, "Tota's homestead." See Tottington above, and remarks under that name on Todding-.

See also O.E. weorj in Pt II.

**Treyford** (trifad, trefad).

1085 Treverde, D.B. i. 23 a.
1256 Treford, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 86.

1605 Treford, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 758.

O.E. treōford. The -ey- in the modern name is probably a M.E. spelling for the long tense ē.

**Tripp Hill.**


Tripp is a mod. surname, of which I can find no O.E. ancestor. Bardsley, Engl. and Welsh Surnames, p. 765, says that Tripp is "an early personal name." The earliest examples he cites are (1273) William Tripp, Cambs.; Robert Trippe, Bedf.; Gilbert Tripp, Wilts.; 1 Edw. III (1327) John Tryp, Somers.—Kirby's Quest. p. 107.

**Trotton.**

1085 Traitone, D.B. i. 23 a (bis).
1288 Tradyntona, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 759.
1631 Tratton, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 759.

This may be O.E. *Trotantun (for Trota see Searle) > M.E. Trotentun, with short -o- in the trisyllabic word, and subsequent syncopation to Trotton. Then the -a- forms above would be due to dialectal interchange of -o- and -a- (see Clapham above). The D.B. Traitone and 1398 Trayton I cannot explain.

Twineham.

1278 Twyne?, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
About 1320 Twynem, T. de N. pp. 222, 224.
1369 Twynam, ibid. ii. p. 298.
1387 Twynam, ibid. iii. p. 96.
1633-4 Twineham, Vist. Ssx. p. 41.

The above forms point to O.E. hamm (2), “bend in a river,” as the second element. See this word in Pt II.

The name was O.E. (et þæm) twigan hamme, “(at the) double bend,” i.e. the place where the stream bent twice.

See Skeat, Beds. Pl.-Ns., and Herts. Pl.-Ns. under Twyford, and O.E. twi in Pt II.

Uckfield.

Type I.

1316 Uckfeude, F.A. v. p. 139.
1378 Ukkefeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 188.
1474 Ukkefeld, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 765.
Type II.


The 1248 form above points to M.E. òke, O.E. ðac(a) as the first element. But all the remaining forms have Ukke-. Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under Ogden, gives two 13th and 14th cent. forms Uggedene and Ugdene, which he supposes to be corrupt spellings.

Ukke may be the M.E. form of *Uccan, genitive singular of a pers. n. O.E. *Ucca, which is not, however, found in O.E., although Searle quotes a continental Ucco with merely the reference “Piper.”

The forms in Type II are even more unsatisfactory. Were they relative to the North or Midlands they might point to an O.E. *Ulk(ëles)feld from the Norse pers. n. Ulketill, cognate with O.E. Wulfcytel. But this can hardly be the case in Sussex.

Udimore.

1268 Odimere, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 98.
1278 Odymer, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
1315 Oddemere, ibid. p. 249.
1490 Udymere, ibid. p. 216.
1592 Udymer, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 765.
1695 Udimere, Map of Ssx., Camden’s Britt. p. 164.


R. S.
The -i- in the above forms and in the modern Udimore is all that remains of the genitive suffix -an- of the O.E. *Udanmere.

The second element was originally O.E. mere, "a lake," or possibly gemāru, "a boundary." There is no sign of the mod. -more in the early forms. The modern suffix is probably the descendant of the unmutated *gemāre (q.v. under Morley above), or possibly it was O.E. mōr, "a moor."

Upmarden.

_Type I (-dene)._  

_Type II (-dune)._  
1397 Upmerdon, ibid. iii. p. 227.  
1421 Upmardon, ibid. iv. p. 60.  
1428 Upmardon, F.A. v. p. 158.

Simply Upper Marden. See Marden above. Note here again the usual interchange of M.E. -den and -dou (O.E. denu and dune).

_Upwaltham (-woltam)._  
1085 Walthā  
D.B. i. 25 b.  
Waltham  
1274 Waltham, H.R. ii. p. 212.  
1451 Upwaltham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 780.

Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns., explains Waltham as "the hām of Wealta," a name not otherwise known.

Later, in Berks. Pl.-Ns. (1911), he quotes Waltham, Cart. Sax. ii. 490 (anno 940), and again Wealthāminga (gen. plu.), Cart. Sax. ii. 285 (anno 909), "where the suffix implies derivation from hām, not hamm."
"...The absence of the suffix -an in charters so early as 909 and 940 suggests that we may regard *Wealthām as the right form. If we take hām to mean 'home' or 'house,' weal must be inferred (from the adj. unwēal, 'steady' or 'firm') to mean 'unsteady' or 'infirm,' i.e. ill-built, shattered, or decayed. Cf. Icel. valtr, 'easily upset.' If we take the compound to mean 'decayed house,' it is probable enough that it is correct. A common error is to explain Wealt- from weald, 'a wood'!

(Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., pp. 59, 60.)

I see no reason to disagree with Skeat. See O.E. hām in Pt II.

Wadhurst.


O.E. Wadanhyrst, "Wada's wood." Wada is a well-authenticated name in O.E. It is found, for instance, in a pl.-n. Wadan-hlew in Cart. Sax. No. 50, and Searle gives almost a column of examples.

Wakehurst Place.


The first element may be an O.E. *waca, "a watcher," "a guardian." The ordinary word for a guardian was O.E. weard (mod. "ward"), but this *waca (from the base *wak- seen in wacian, "to be awake or watchful") may well have existed, although the dictionaries do not mention it. Compare the adj. wacol, "wakeful."

Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns., takes the first element of Wakeley to be O.E. wacu, "wake," "watch," "vigil" (i.e. as a festival). But the above explanation is equally probable. For the second element see O.E. hyrst in Pt II.
Walberton.

1085 Walburgetone, D.B. i. 25 a.
1203 Wauberton, Abbr. Plac. p. 43.
1278 Walburton, Plac. de quo War., p. 752.

"The tun of Wealdburh." Searle quotes Wealdburh (also Waltpurgis (H.G. form), Walburgis, circa 780), daughter of Ricardus Rex, legendary king of the Anglo-Saxons, circa 770-80, from Hardy's Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland.

The development of the name is O.E. Wealdburhtun > Waldburhtun > Walbur(h) tun > Walberton (wobatn). The -h of -burh was lost before the following t-. Cf. Edburton above.

Note the 1203 form above, which shows Norman-French diphthongising of a to au before l.

Walderton.

1085 Waldere, D.B. i. 19 a.
1316 Walderton, ibid. p. 281.

Simply the "tun of Wealhere." O.E. Wealhere(s) tun. Wealhere is a very common pers. n. in O.E. from the earliest period. The modern Walter is a H.G. form of the same name. Cf. also the French Gauthier < Lat. *Waltharius, a Latinised form of the same Gmc. name.
Waldron.
1085 Waldrene, D.B. i. 23 a.
1278 Walderne, Plac. de quo War. p. 760.
1284 Walderne, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 86.

The first element is a pers. n. O.E. Wealda, a shortened form of some name like Wealdhere, Wealdhelm, etc. (cf. preceding name). The 1268 form Waudern above shows Norman-French diphthongising of a to au before l. Cf. Walberton above.

The second element is O.E. ærn, “a house.” The modern (wō(l)dren) shows metathesis of M.E. -ern to -ren. See O.E. ærn in Pt II.

Wannock (wonak).
1. 1085 Walnoch, D.B. i. 21 a.

O.E. *Wēala hnōc, “the nook of the foreigners.” Nos. (2) and (3) above contain the W.S. form *Wēala hnōc, No. (1) may contain either W.S. or non-W.S., but the modern form (wonak) is from O.E. *Wālahnōc, non-W.S. > M.E. Wālnok > Wannok by assimilation. There is a glen at Wannock, Wannock Glen, a well-known feature of the place. This is certainly the hnōc referred to. Possibly the inhabitants took refuge in this glen, and held it for a time against the English.

See O.E. āc, *hnōc, and wealth in Pt II.

Warbleton.

Type I.
1085 Warborgetone, D.B. i. 18 b.}
Warblitetone, D.B. i. 23 b.
1105 Warborgultona, Fr. Ch. No. 776, p. 281.
WARBLETON


Type II.


Zachrisson (A.-N. Influence, p. 126, footnote), commenting on Stolze, who noted some cases of interchange of -l- and -r- in D.B., says that the D.B. Walburgeton = Walberton (q.v. above), and that Warborgetone = Warbleton; later 13th cent. Warbilthun (Type I, No. 4 above). He cites also from the early Fr. charters the form Warborgultona.

This seems to mean that the name Warbleton has the same origin as Walberton (i.e. O.E. *Wealdburhtun). If so the development in the 11th and 12th centuries is identical with that of the latter name, but later on in the former name the l and r interchanged, and *Walberton became Warbelton, Warbleton. This is borne out by the evidence of the above forms, but it is rather curious that the names of two different places in the same county should have an identical origin.

Warminghurst.

Type I.

1278 Wermynghirst, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

Type II.


I take the first element to be O.E. wyrm, “a serpent,” “reptile,” “worm,” here used as a pers. n. in the form *Wyrma. I can find no authority for its use as such in O.E. documents, but it may have been used in popular speech as a kind of
nickname. Cf. the widespread pers. n. Orm (from the O.Norse cognate Ormr), and the use of this name in Engl. pl.-ns. See, for instance, Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under Ormerod and Ormskirk. The second element is O.E. hyrst, "a wood" (q.v. Pt II).

Type I is O.E. *Wermanherst (with Kt. e for y (> u + i)) and the ancestor of the modern (wāmiñðast). O.E. *Wermanherst > M.E. *Wermingherst, -hurst > *Wæringhurst (17th cent.) > *Wærminghurst (18th cent.) > 19th cent. *wā(r)miñðast, and with rounding of ȳ after w > mod. (wāmiñðast).

Type II is O.E. Wyrmahyrst with the Southern type of the y in M.E. > mod. (*wāmiñðast).

Warnham.
1329, 1361 Warnham, ibid. ii. pp. 23, 245.


For the development of O.E. Wer- to modern (wā-) cf. preceding name.

Warningcamp.
1085 1. Warnechā, D.B. i. 24 b. }
2. Garnecampo, D.B. i. 29 a. }
circa 1320 Warnekomp, T. de N. p. 222.
For the first element, O.E. Werna, cf. preceding name. The second is most probably O.E. camp, comp, "camping-ground" (q.v. Pt II, and under Barcombe above).

The D.B. No. 2 form above shows the usual Lat.-Fr. initial g- for a Gmc. w-. Cf. guêpe and wasp, garder and ward, Gauthier and O.E. Waldhere, O.H.G. Walthari.

It is also possible that the first element was O.E. Werneca, a diminutive of Werna, and the second O.E. hām, as suggested by the D.B. No. 1 spelling. In this case O.E. *Werneca(n)hām > late O.E. *Wernecam > M.E. Wernecamp by confusion with the element -camp. Cf. the various types under Barcombe above.

Warninglid.

1477–8 Warmyngled, ibid. p. 320. }

The above forms are very late, but I think we are justified in assuming as the first element the O.E. pers. n. Werna (see the two preceding names).

For the second element I suggest an O.E. *gelēd, either (1) a mutated form of O.E. gelād (< Gmc. *galātīd- < *galaih-), or (2) an analogical form due to the influence of O.E. gelēdan, which is connected both in meaning and form. Cf. Portslade above.

O.E. *Wernan(ge)lēd, "the road or pathway of Werna," would normally give rise to the two forms above and to the modern (wōni§lid), the final vowel being raised, probably because unstressed.

Wartling.

Type I.

1279 Werthlinge, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 70.
1293 Wartlinge, ibid. p. 119.
1378 Wartlinge, ibid. iii. p. 12.
Type II.

1301 Wirtlinge, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 133.

Type III.


I take the first element to be an O.E. pers. n. *Wyrtele, a diminutive of *Wytra, a shortened form of such a name as Wyrtgeorn. The second element may be the O.E. ing, inceg, "a meadow," or else the original form was O.E. Wyrt(e)lingas, "descendants of Wyrtela." Either is possible.

Type I has the Kentish vowel e for y (> u + i); Type II has the E. Midland; Type III the Southern. On the development of O.E. Wer- to mod. (w5-) see Warminghurst above.

Washington.

1085 Wasingetune, D.B. i. 28 a, 29 a.
1448 Wassyngton Washington Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 787.
1472 Wasshyington ibid. iv. p. 386.


The Sussex name is O.E. Wassingatūn, "tūn of the W.'s." Searle does not mention the Wassings themselves, but cites Wassa from a pl.-n. Wassinburn, Cart. Sax. No. 236, C.D. No. 140. The mod. (wosīntān) of course is due to the analogy of the common verb wash.
The 1487 form seems to show a M.E. diphthongising of a to ai- before sh-. Cf. early forms of Ashford, Ashport in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns., also Morsbach, Me. Gr. § 87, Anm. 3.

Wepham.

_Type I._

1247 Wepham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 64.

_Type II._

1267 Wappeham, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 97. + 1273 W.
1324 Waphame, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 278.

Westbourne.

1274 Westburn, H.R. ii. p. 213.

O.E. Westburna, “west brook.” Cf. Eastbourne above, and see O.E. burna in Pt II.

Westerton.

1269 Westreton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 100.
1278 Westerton, Plac. de quo War. p. 752.

Is this the "wester town" simply, i.e. the town further west? Cf. Eastergate above.

Westham.

1307 Westham, Cal. Inq. ad quod D. p. 221.

**Note:** The phrase "Westpham ham (m), this name is not on record in 1487, but seems to be found in Wephamit in Suss. west in Wephamham (colv.) Wapemanham (northe) Westenburg (Warwick) DB Wapheberie."
1338 Westham, ibid. p. 88.
1484 Westham, ibid. iv. p. 421.

O.E. west hām, “west homestead.” The Westhamme forms above point to O.E. hamm (1) or (2) “enclosure” or “bend in a river” as the second element. See all three words in Pt II.

Westhamptonett.

1278 Westhæmonett, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.

O.E. westhāmtūn > M.E. westhāmtūn. The -ett is the N.-Fr. diminutive suffix, mod. Fr. -ette. See Easthamptonett and Little-hampton above.

See O.E. west, hām, and tūn in Pt II.

Westmeston.

Type I.

1085 Wesmestun, D.B. i. 27 a.
1278 Westmeston, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1312 Westmeston, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 146.

Type II.

1284 Westmesdon, F.A. v. p. 130.


Type II shows confusion of the second element O.E. tūn with O.E. dūne. Cf. Willingdon below, whose early forms have -ton, -den, and -don.
Weston.

O.E. west(e) tun, "west town." Cf. Easton, Norton, and Sutton above, and see west and tun in Pt II.

Whatlington.
1085 Watlingetone, D.B. i. 18 b.
1331 Wathlington, ibid. ii. p. 44.

"The tun of the Watlings," O.E. *Wætlingatūn. The name of the famous Watling Street appears in O.E. variously as Waitlinga-, Wætlinga-, and Wætlinga strēt. C.D. has Hucetlinctūn, No. 311, Watlinworth, No. 809, but neither of these pl.-ns. has been successfully identified.

O.E. Wætling(as) is generally taken to mean "sons of Wætla," and there is a tradition that a king of that name helped to build the famous way, but this is unsupported by historical evidence. See Duignan's long article on Watling Street in Staffs. Pl.-Ns.

Whitehall.

Wick.
1085 Wiche, D.B. i. 24 a.
1266 La Wyk, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 93.
1278 Wyk (Westiwyk), Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
About 1320 Wyke, T. de N. p. 224.
1327 La Wyke, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 158.

O.E. wīc. The normal development of the O.E. nom. wīc is modern (waitf). On (wik) see Pt II.
Wiggonholt.

1085 Wigentone? D.B. i. 19 a.

Skeat derives the first element of the Herts. Wigginton from O.E. *Wicgan, gen. sing. of the common pers. n. Wicga. But this would normally give a mod. (*widžin-).

I hazard the theory that the Ssx. Wiggonholt < O.E. *Wigangholt, “Wicga’s wood” (*ċġ = front stop). This O.E. Wigangholt later > *Wiggholt by syncopation of the -a- and unfronting of -ċġ- to -g- before n.

This would develop normally into a modern (wigenholt). But it is unsatisfactory.

Wildham Wood.

1085 Wildene? D.B. i. 21 b.
Wiledene? D.B. i. 21 a.

Willingdon.

Type I (-dune).

1085 Wilendone, D.B. i. 19 a, b, 21 a, 22 a.
Willendone, D.B. i. 19 a.
Wylindon, H.R. ii. p. 204.
1372 Wilyndon, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 8, p. 28.

Type II (-dene).

1248 Wilenden
Type III (-tūn).


The first element is the O.E. Willan-, gen. sing. of Willa, probably a short form of some name in Wil-. Searle gives it as "local" in Willandic, Cart. Sax. No. 466, and cites besides four more examples (Onomast. p. 497). Type I O.E. *Willandūn is the ancestor of the modern name; Type II has -dene; Type III -tūn.

Wilmington.

Type I.

1314 Wilmynnton, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 147.
circa 1320 Wilmetun, T. de N. p. 227.

Type II.

1372 Wilmingdon, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 8, pp. 27, 303.

Searle cites O.E. Wilman as local from Wilmanleaktun, to Wilmanforda, Cat. Sax. No. 946, C.D. Nos. 1205, 1312. But these names point rather to an O.E. *Wilma than to Wilman. Wilma is probably not the same name as Willelm, Wilhelm (mod. William) for which see Searle, p. 498.

O.E. *Wilmantūn > normally mod. Wilmington.

See O.E. tūn and dūn in Pt II.

Winchelsea.

1279 Winchelesey, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 70.
1322, 1333 Winchelsey, ibid. pp. 268, 297.
WITHYHAM, WITHIAM

O.E. *Wincelesēa or *wincelesēg, "island or water in an angle of land" (O.E. wincel, "a corner," cf. N.H.G. winkel). See -ey in Pt II.

Wineham.

1085 Windehā, D.B. i. 28 b. } Wingehā? D.B. i. 27 b. }
1274 Wyndeham, H.R. ii. p. 201.
1278 Wyndeham, Plac. de quo War. p. 750.

1279. Wyndeham. ii.

Wiston.

1202 Wicsthaneston, Abbr. Plac. p. 35.
1472 Wyston, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 828.


"The tun of Wīgstan," a well-known O.E. pers. n.; see the examples in Searle, p. 492. The modern name shows loss of the medial syllable—O.E. *Wīgstānestun > *Wī(h)stānestūn > *Wīstānestūn < *Wi(tns)tun. The unpronounceable *Wi(tns)tun became Wiston by dropping the medial -tns-.

"loss of syllables" in Phonology above, and O.E. tun in Pt II.

Withdean.

1278 Wytendenu, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.

Withyham, Withiam (wiθiæm).

1326 Wydyham, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 830.
1354 Withinhamme, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. ii. p. 188.
1371 Withiam, ibid. p. 313.
1372 Withiam, Ch. Du. Lancs. No. 8, pp. 27, 303.

The first element is O.E. wīpīg, "withy," "willow." This is a common element in pl.-ns. Withy Grove (nr. Manchester),
The second element is O.E. *hamm, (1) “enclosure,” or (2) “bend in a river.”

Wittering.

_Type I._

1230 Wictringes, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 47.
1278 Wystringes, Plac. de quo War. p. 758.
1280 Westwytryng, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 73.
1337? Westwycryng, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 831.
1501 Estwyghtryng; Westwyghtryng \{ Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 831.

_Type II._

1226 Wactringes, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 34.

O.E. Wihtheringas, either patronymic or = “the meadow-land, watery-meadow of Wihthere,” for which name see Searle, p. 494.

Searle quotes an O.E. pl.-n. Wihtheringfalod, Cart. Sax. No. 779, which contains this patronymic.

I cannot account for Type II Wactringes, if it be genuine. See O.E. *ing, incg in Pt II.

Wivlesfield.

1407 Wivelesfeld, ibid. iii. p. 317.
1409 Wivelesfeld, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 213.
1485 Wyvelesfeld, Ind. Ch. and Rolls, p. 831.

O.E. *Wivelesfeld, “the field of Wifel.” Searle quotes Wifel
WOOLAVINGTON


Walker finds this pers. n. in the early forms of the Derby. Wiltsthorpe and Willesley (q.v. Derby. Pl.-Ns.). See O.E. feld in Pt II.

Wodmancote, Woodmancote.


Either "the woodman's dwelling" or "Woodman's dwelling." Searle takes Wudeman(n) as a pers. n. in Wudemannestun in Cart. Sax. No. 1289, also a Wudeman as a tenant of Queen Æadgýp from C.D. No. 918, and Dipl. Angl. 427.

Either is equally probable.

Woodcote.

1301 Wodecote, Cal. Inq. P.M. vol. i. p. 175.

1337 Wodecote, ibid. ii. p. 78.

See O.E. wudu and cot in Pt II.

Woodhurst.


O.E. wuduhyrst. See both elements in Pt II.

Woolavington.


1268 Wollavington, ibid. p. 321.


R. S.
1278 Wollavyeton, Plac. de quo War. p. 755.
circa 1320 Wllaveton, T. de N. p. 224.

"The tun of Wulflaf," O.E. Wulfśafantūn, with substitution of the weak genitive suffix in -an for the strong in -es. The O.E. *Wulfśafestūn is the ancestor of Woollaston in Staffs. (on which see Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns.).

The name Wulfśaf is well-authenticated in O.E.; see the examples in Searle.

See also Barlavington, and compare remarks under Lavington above.

Woolbeding.

1283 Wolbedinge, ibid. p. 84.
1308 Wolbeding, Cal. Rot. Ch. p. 141.
1381 Wulbedinge, ibid. iii. p. 36.

Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns., under Edingale, says "...the best authorities...take Woolbedington from O.E. Wulfśeđingtūn...." The difficulty is that no *Wulfbead is recorded in O.E.

There may have been an O.E. *Wulfbeadu, but I can give no other instance of -beadu as a second element in a pers. n., although it is common as a first.

Then again, if *Wulfbeadu meant "war-wolf," we should expect to find it in the usual form Beaduwulf. But the reconstruction of *Wulfbeadu is very tempting, and it jumps with the above forms.

\[ OE \text{Wulfbēdēng} = \text{people of one Wulfbēd} \]
Worth.

_Type I (Werth).


_Type II (Worth).

1278 Worth (bis), Plac. de quo War. p. 750.
1327 Wourth, ibid. ii. p. 3.
1439 Worthe, ibid. iv. p. 198.

O.E. _weorp_, "enclosed land." Strictly speaking, Type I represents O.E. _weorp_ > M.E. _werth_; Type II is O.E. _weorp_ > M.E. _wurth_. Both types give rise to a modern (wā)p.

Worthing.

1408 Worthyng
1456 Wordyng
1587 Worthing

The form _Worthing_ seems to be practically synonymous with O.E. _weorp_ (q.v. in Pt II). Kemble has _andlang streames in widdan weording_ (C.D. iii. p. 391, No. 262). B.-T. cites also the O.E. forms _worbig_ , _worpign_ , dat. _worpine_ , "close," "enclosed place." Duignan, Staffs. Pl.-Ns. p. xix, says that "the latter forms (i.e. _worbig_, _worpign_) have frequently, especially in Salop, hardened into _wardine_, e.g. _Shrawardine_, _Belswardine_, _Pedwardine_, _Cheswardine_, etc., and in the S.W. have become _worthy_, as in _Holsworthy_, _King's Worthy_.”

Wyseberg, Wisborough Green.


\[SPHS\text{ says: } \text{this is part of } \text{hill (see}\] 
\text{bog) by the } \text{wth or damp meadow (v. wise)}\]
The second element was certainly originally O.E. beorg, beorh, “hill” (q.v. Pt II). The modern Wyseberg (= waizba) preserves this suffix to-day. The other modern form Wisborough shows the same confusion between M.E. -bergh and -burgh that we have seen in Pulborough and Swanborough. The first element was probably O.E. wisa, “a wise man,” possibly used here as a pers. n., or else a shortened form of such a name as Wislac, Wisgar etc., for which see Searle.

Searle records a name *Eappa < Eadbeorht, and such a name as *Eabba may be the first element in Sussex Yapton. The Y- might then be due to the so-called “pre-iotization,” for which cf. York > Eoforwic, and the common spelling yearth, yearthe in the Prayer-Book of 1549.

*Younsmere.

PART II

THE PRINCIPAL SEPARATE ELEMENTS IN SUSSEX PLACE-NAMES

A. Personal names.

(A hyphen - after a name denotes that it is a shortened form, e.g. Ægel- = Ægelbeorht, Ægelwine, Ægelwulf, etc.)

1. Historical and quasi-historical names.

Æddi (Ædde) Adsdean.
Ælfred Alfriston (Type II).
Ælfric Alfriston (Type I).
Ælfsige Alciston.
Ælwine Elstead (Type I).
Ælf- Elstead (Type II).
Æsca Ashburnham, Ashfold.
Æsca Ashdown, Ashton.
Bebba (*Bæbba) Bebyngton (Type II), Bepton (Type III).
Bola Bolebrook, Bolney.
Bötulf Botolphs or Buttolphs.
Brihtelm Brighton.
Budda Buddington.
Cenred Kirdford.
Cissa Chichester, Cissbury Hill.
Colman Coleman's Hatch.
Crâwe (see (3) below) Crawley, Crowhurst, Crowlinke.
Cudda Cudlawe or Cudlowe.
Eadburg, -burh Edburton.
Ecca Echinton.
Eomær Imberhorne.
Gödwine Goodwood
Hæsten Hastings.
Herebeorht Harbreating.
Horsa (see (3) below) Horsey(?), Horsham, Horsted, Horsted Keynes.

Icel Icklesham.
Leō, Lion Lymminster.
[Ninian Ninfield.
   (Nynias, Nennius)
Offa Offham, Offington.
Plega Playden.
Waetlinga Whatlington.
Wealdburg Walberton, Warbleton.
Wealder Wealderton.
Wīgstān Wiston.
Wlencing Lancing.
Wulfāf Woolavington.

2. Mythological names.
Becca (in Wīdsīþ) Beckley.
Finn (Wīdsīþ, Beowulf) Findon.
Fitela (Beowulf) Fittleworth.
Hyge- (Hygelāc in Beowulf) Highden.
Scilling (Wīdsīþ) Shillinglee.
Wada (Wīdsīþ) Wadhurst.

3. Names which may either be pers. ns. or names of animals or birds.
Catt Catsfield Place.
Cēalfa Chalvington.
Crāwe (see (1) above) Crawley, Crowhurst, Crowlinke.
Earna Earnley.
Fisc Fishbourne.
Horsa (see (1) above) Horsey(?), Horsham, Horsted.

4. Other personal names.
Ægel- Hailsham.
Afa Avisford.
? Angemær Angmering.
Babba Babintone (Type I).
Bald-, Beald- Balcombe (?), Baldslow.
Beadinga Beddingham.
\{ Beadingas Beeding.
Beada Binsted (?).
Bean- Binderton.
\{ Beänhere Bevendean.
*Beofa Bevendean.
Beorga Bersted.
Beorn Barnham.
Beornlæf Barlavington, Bareton.
Bicga Bignor.
Bill, *Bylle Billingshurst.
Billing Bilsham.
Blaca Blackboys (?), Blackham, Blackstone (?).
Blæcca Blachington.
Boda Bodiam.
Braccol, -ele Bracklesham.
*Brihtele Brightling.
Bucga Bognor.
*Bunga Buncton (?).
\{ Bynele Bineham (early forms).
\{ (Byne)
*Caega Chailey.
\{ (Ceg-, Ceig- in C.D.)
Cedda Chiddingly, Chidham, Chidhurst.
Cēöl- Chilgrove (?).
*Ceorllāc Charleston (early forms).
*Cice Chick Hill.
Cild, Cilda Chiltington (?).
? Clima Climping (?).
Cola Colworth.
*Crochere Crocker Hill.
Cuca Cuckfield, Cuckmere Haven.
Dealla (*Dælla) Dallington.
I8
4

SEPARATE ELEMENTS

Duddel
Dunna
Dunnec\n
Dyddel
Dyra
*Eabba
Eald

Ealda
Ealdheringa
Ealh-
Eamhere
Eardinga
Earda
Ecg
Eorla
Esa
Fær-
(Folc-
(Fulc-
Fram-
Fripu-
Gär-
(Gefwine
(Gefa
*Gyl\na
*Hrōþeorht, see Robertus.

Hadd
Haneca
Hēōþgar
Hicca
Hring-
Hrōþhere
Hroþinga
Hun
Hunda
Icca

Duddleswell.
Donnington.
Duncton.
Didling or Dudelyng.
Durrington.
Yapton (?).
Albourne (?) (see Pt 1), Aldsworth.
Aldingbourne, Aldworth.
(possibly in) Aldrington (q.v. Pt 1).
Albourne.
Amberley.
Ardingly.
Egdean.
Arlington.
Easebourne.
Fairoght, Ferring.
Folking or Fulking.
Framfield.
Friston.
Goring.
Jevington.
Guildford or Guldesford.
Hadlow Down (?) (see Pt 1).
Hankham.
Lurgashall or Lugershall.
Hickstead (?).
Ringmer.
Rotherbridge (?), Rotherfield.
Rottingdean (?).
Hunston.
Houndean.
Itchenor, Itchingsfield.
SEPARATE ELEMENTS

IPA
Lude
*Lyde
{Lufa (masc.)
{Lufu (fem.)
Lulla
Mada
*Mæll(a)
M.E. Maudelayn
(= Μαρδαληνί)
Milda
Munda
Otta
*Pæcce
*Paga, Pæcga
*Pefene, Pefe-
Port
Pūna
*Raca
Ræda, Rada

Lat. Robertus

Rūga
Rumbeald, -bold
*Ruta
Sædel
Sælāf
Scīra
Scrippa
Sidele
Stedda
*Stoppa
Sulla, *Sylle
*Sunting
Swān
*Syngel

Iping.
Lodsworth.
Lidsey.
Lavington.
Lullington.
Madehurst.
Malling.
Maudlin or Maundling.
Milton (?).
Mountfield (?), Mundham.
Oving, Ovingdean.
Otham.
Pashley (?), Patcham, Patching.
Pagham.
Pevensey.
Portfield, Portslade.
Poynings.
Rackham, Racton.
Rodmell (?) (see Pt I).
Robertsbridge (or Rotherbridge; see Pt I).
Roffey or Roughrey, Rogate.
Rumboldswhyke.
Rottingdean (?).
Saddlescombe, Sedlescombe or Selscombe.
Salvington.
Sherrington.
Shripney.
Sidlesham.
Stedham.
Stopham.
Sulham, Sullington.
Sompting or Sumpting (?).
Swanborough.
Singleton.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tær-, Ter- (in C.D.)</th>
<th>Tarring.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tella</td>
<td>Telham Hill.</td>
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<td>*Tetele</td>
<td>Telscombe.</td>
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<td>Tila</td>
<td>Tillington.</td>
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<td>Torhta</td>
<td>Tortington.</td>
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<td>Totta, Tota</td>
<td>Toddington or Tottinghamworth.</td>
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**M.E. Tripp = O.E.?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tripp Hill.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Trotton.</td>
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<td>Uckfield.</td>
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<td>Udimore.</td>
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<td>Washington.</td>
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<td>Waldron.</td>
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<td>Warnham, Warningcamp, Warninglid.</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>Wiggonholt (?)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Witlesfield.</td>
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<td>Wittering.</td>
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<td>Willingdon.</td>
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<td>Wilmington.</td>
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<td>Wyseberg or Wisborough Green.</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Wiggonholt (?)</th>
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<tr>
<th>Woodmancote.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Woolbeding (?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warminghurst.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wartling.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**B. Elements in Sussex place-names which are other than personal names.**

(Research on such elements has been carried out by Wyld, Lances. Pl.-Ns., Pt II; Jellinghaus, Engl. und Niederdeutsche Ortsnamen, Anglia xx. pp. 257–334, and Middendorff, Alten-englisches Flurnamenbuch, Halle, 1902. To avoid needless repetition I have frequently referred to these authorities for the distribution of the elements both in O.E. and Mod. E. In every case, however, I have given a full list of Sussex names which contain the element under discussion.)
1. The element -ham. This may either be O.E. hām, "homestead," or O.E. hamm, (1) "an enclosure," (2) "a bend in a river." Without O.E. forms it is impossible to decide definitely, but -mm spellings in M.E. make the derivation from hamm very tempting. See Wyld and Jellinghaus, on hamm, cf. Kemble's remarks in C.D. iii. Preface.

Sussex names. (a) O.E. ham. Barcombe (early forms), Beddingham, Felpham, Ham Manor, Hamsey, Twineham.

(b) O.E. hām. Appledram, Ashburnham, Barnham, Bilsham, Bineham, Birdham, Blackham, Bodiam, Bosham, Burpham, Chidham, Clapham, Earham, Echinham, Graffham, Greatham, Hailsham, Hankham, Hardham, Higham, Icklesham, Kingsham, Marsham, Mundham, Northiam, Offham, Otham, Pagham, Parham, Patcham, Piecombe (see Pt 1), Rackham, Shoreham, Sidlesham, Slaugham, Stedham, Stopham, Sulham, Telham Hill, Thakeham, Upwaltham, Warnham, Wepham, Withyham or Witham.

(c) No early forms. Ambersham, Barham, Bedham, Bittlesham, Boreham Street, Brookham, Buckham, Chestham Park, Cokeham, Coldwaltham, Coolham, Cootham, Crowham, Ersham, Flansham, Hambrook, Horeham Road, Magham, Mallydame(?), Muntham, Westham.


(a) Medial -ing- representing O.E. -an- genitive singular, or -inga- gen. plu. of the patronymic, or -wine as the second element of a pers. n., or else it may be O.E. ing, incg, "water meadow," on which see Wyld, or even -in, -egn, adjectival suffix.

(b) Final -ings(s), patronymic or = "water-meadow."

(c) Final -ling, a patronymic of a pers. n. ending in -ol, -ele.

Sussex names in -ing-. (a) Medial. Aldingbourne, Aldrington, Angmering (see early forms), Ardingly, Arlington, Ashington, Atherington (< O.E. Æþelwineþun), Babintone or Bebyngton, Barlavington, Beddingham, Billingshurst, Blachington, Buddington, Chalvington, Chiddingly, Chiltington, Dallington,

(b) Final -ing(s). Beeding, Climping, Faulking or Folking or Fulking, Ferring, Fletching, Fyning, Goring, Harbreating, Harting, Iping, Lancing (< O.E. Wlencing, see Pt I), Malling, Oving, Patching, Peppering, Poling, Sompting or Sumpting, Steyning, Tarring, Wittering, Woolbeding, and Hastings and Poynings, with -s.

(c) Final -ling. Ashling, Birling Gap, Brightling, Cockmarling, Didling or Dudelyng, Ditchling, Guestling, Maundling or Maudlin, Wartling.


Sussex Names. (i) -mere. Cuckmere Haven, Falmer, Haremere Hall, Keymer (probably O.E. -mere), Linchmere, Marden, Stanmer, Tangmer, Udimore (early forms all in -mer(e)). (ii) -more. Codmore Hill, Tilsmore Corner.

4. Elements denoting geographical or topographical features.

For the distribution of O.E. brōc and its history see Wyld, Pt I, under Broughton, and Part II under brōc. See also the
remarks of Jellinghaus on the meaning and derivation of the word (p. 272).

**Sussex Names.** Bolebrooke, Brookham, Brookhouse, Brook's Green(?), Hambrook, Highbrook, Holbrook, Kidbrooke Park, Parbrook, Tidebrook.


O.E. *camp,* "camping ground," a loan-word from Lat. *campus* (Skeat, Hunts. Pl.-Ns.). O.E. *-camp* sometimes alternates in the early forms with *-k + hām,* *-k + hamm,* and also with *-combe.*

**Sussex Names.** Barcombe (early forms), Warningcamp.


**Sussex Name.** Clayton and Clayton Urban.


**Sussex Name.** Knepp Castle.


**Sussex Name.** Broomhill (early form *Bromy knoll*).

O.E. *cocc,* "ravine," "narrow valley." See Wyld and Middendorff. Many names beginning with *Cock-* may have as the first element the name of the bird or the O.E. pers. n. *Cocca.*

**Sussex Names.** Cocking(?), Cokeham(?), Cockmarling(?).

O.E. *cop,* "top," "head," "crest"; German *kopf*; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

**Sussex Names.** Copsale (< *copes-halh*), Copthorne.

O.E. *cumb,* *comb,* "a hollow in a hill-side," "narrow valley." This is a very common element in Engl. pl.-ns. It is originally a Celtic loan-word (Skeat, Etym. Dict. sub *combe*), and is rare in Yorks., Lincs., Lancs., Northumberland, Surrey, and non-existent
in Old East Anglia, Cumberland, Westmoreland (Jellinghaus, p. 301). However it is fairly common in Sussex. There are numerous Coombe's in England, and most of the Compton's have O.E. cumb- as the first element (but not so the Derby. Compton; see Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.).

Sussex Names. Balcombe, Barcombe (see camp above and Pt 1), Compton, Coombes, Moulescombe, Piecombe (see early forms in Pt 1), Prestcomb, Saddlescombe, Sedlescombe or Selscombe, Telscombe. See also Jellinghaus, Westfäl. Ortsn. p. 88, for the continental Kump = "Bodenfläche, die einem Kumpe, einem Napfe ähnlich ist."

O.E. dell (< *dalja); cf. døl, "dale" in Wyld. -dale is never found as a second element in Sussex. The only Sussex name in which dell occurs is Arundel (q.v. Pt 1).


(3) O.E. ëg, ëg, "island," "elevated piece of land, wholly or partially surrounded by water." [Wyld, Pt II].

See also Jellinghaus, p. 279, under -ey.


O.E. denu, "a valley," denn, "a retreat." See Wyld. It is often impossible to distinguish these elements in M.E.

Sussex Names. (1) O.E. denu. Adsdean, Belmoredean, Bevendean, Charman Dean, East and West Dean, Denton, Egdean, Findon (early forms), Gosden, Hampden Park, Houndean, Housedean, Iden(?), Marden, Oakendean, Ovingdean, Playden, Rottingdean, Sharnden(?), Standean, Swiftsdean, Upmarden, Withdean. (2) O.E. denu. Cranesden(?), Denne Hill, Densworth, Highden(?). These elements often interchange in the early forms with O.E. dun, "down," "mountain," "hill," for which see Wyld and Jellinghaus. Examples of this interchange are given in the Introduction, under "Word Formation."
Sussex names in *dūn* are Allan Down, Ashdown, Blackdown House, Down Ash, Down House, The Downs, Findon (early forms also in *-den*), Five Ash Down, Hadlow Down, Highdown Hill, Marden and Upmarden (see Pt 1), Oakdown, Piltdown, Slindon and Willingdon.

O.E. *feld*, "field"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus. For interchange of *-feld* and *-feld* (q.v. under (9) below) see "Word Formation" in the Introduction.


The local pronunciation of *-field* as a second element is (*-val*), with loss of *d* and initial voicing. Hence *Heathfield* (= Hefl), *Rotherfield* (= radaval) or (radaval).

O.E. *ford*. On *ford* and the Norse *fjörðr* see Wyld.


Sussex names. Birch Grove, Boxgrove, Chilgrove, Michelgrove. The name *Gravenhurst* (no early forms), as pronounced (greivonhāst), may be due to a spelling pronunciation from M.E. *Gravenhurst*, or it may contain a (weak) inflected form of O.E. *gref*, "trench," for which see Graffham above.

O.E. *haga*, "hedge," mod. haw- in "hawthorn." See Wyld. The only Sussex name in which *haga* occurs in Sweethaws.

O.E. *halh*, "corner," "angle." For the older ideas as to the meaning of *halh, healh*, and a discussion on it see Wyld. It is often difficult to decide whether names in *-hall* may be referred to this element, or to O.E. *heall*, "a hall." On this point see Jellinghaus, p. 285.

Sussex names. Buxshalls (?), Copsale, Hall Green, Halton (?), Lurgashall. The Lancs. *Haulgh*, near Bolton, is
locally pronounced (hof) and preserves the M.E. spelling of the independent word.


Sussex Names. Crowlinke, Linch or Lynch, Linchmere, Stonelynk.

O.E. *hnōc, M.E. nook, "a corner," "angle," "nook." The history of the word is doubtful, see Wyld. *hnōc may form the second element of Sussex Wannock.

O.E. hōc, "hook," "corner of land," see Wyld.
In O.E. pl.-ns., Wirtroneshōc, C.D. iii. 97 (cit. Jellinghaus). The name Hooke is common all over England.

Sussex Names. The Hooke, Rowhook.

-hōh appears in M.E. as hough, the datives höe and höge variously as -hoo, -hoe, -howe. Mod. -hoe (= hou) is due to a late lengthening of the M.E. unstressed -ho. For a discussion of this element see Wyld; Jellinghaus, pp. 291–2.

Sussex Names. Ebernoe, Hooe, Houghton (not from *hōc-tūn), Howe, Piddinghoe. In the last name the -hoe, -howe spellings alternate with -hey (< O.E. gehage) in the earlier forms.


Sussex Names. Hazelwood (early forms), Holtye, Wiggonholt.


Sussex Names. Brantridge, Eridge Green, Iridge Place.
SEPARATE ELEMENTS

O.E. hyll, "hill." See Wyld, Jellinghaus, and Middendorff.


O.E. hyrne (horn), "corner"; see Jellinghaus, who cites öd Dodinghyrnan, C.D. i. 1; on Hornan þæm wudu, C.D. ii. 46. The mod. pers. n. Hearne presupposes the O.E. Kt. form *herne.

SUSSEX NAMES. Horncroft and Imberhorne.


A very common element in Engl. pl.-ns. O.E. hyrst always appears in Sussex as hurst or herst, never hirst, and is normally pronounced (-ast) as a second element.

SUSSEX NAMES. Ashurst, Ashurstwood, Bramblehurst, Buckhurst Park, Chithurst, Coghurst Hall, Coneyhurst, Coolhurst, Crowhurst, Ewhurst or Yewhurst, Fernhurst, Gravenhurst, Greenhurst, Herst- or Hurstmonceux, High Hurstwood, Horsted (Hirsted occurs among the early forms; see Pt i), Hurst, Hurst Green, Hurstpierpoint, Isenhurst, Laurelhurst, Lydhurst, Madehurst, Maplehurst, Midhurst, Normanhurst, Nuthurst, Paddockhurst, Penhurst, Rotherhurst, Salehurst, Spithurst, Stonehurst, Ticehurst, Wadhurst, Wakehurst Place, Wallhurst, Warminghurst, Willemhurst, Woldhurstlea, Woodhurst, Wykehurst.

O.E. land, lond, "land," "piece of land"; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Beechlands, Blacklands, Bridgland, Furnace (early form Furneysslond; see Pt i), Halland, Huntsland, Northlands, Oaklands, Oldlands.

R. S.
O.E. *merse, "marsh." Common as an independent word in O.E., and as a component of pl.-ns., e.g. *Bicamersc, C.D. iii. 15; *Stodmersche, C.D. i. 31 (= *Stodmarsh, Kent).

**Sussex Names.** Merston, Maresfield, Marsham (see all these names in Pt I), Wardley Marsh.

O.French *munt < Lat. montem.* See Wyld, Pt II.

**Sussex Names.** The Mount, Mount Harry, Mountfield (but see this name in Pt I), Muntham.

O.E. *næss, "ness," "headland"; see Wyld. Jellinghaus defines O.E. *næsse* as "erdzunge in die see oder in die ebene, vorgebirge." In Southamptonshire *nose* = "a neck of land" (p. 308). Cf. the mod. names *Dungeness, Skegness, The Naze, Naseby*, etc.

**Sussex Names.** Langness, Wilderness (or is this simply called *W.* because of its situation, or of the poverty of the land?).

O.E. *őfer, "bank," "shore" = Germ. *ufer.* Commonly appears in M.E. as *-over, -ore,* in the latter case causing confusion with O.E. *őra,* which had a similar meaning. See Jellinghaus, p. 309.

**Sussex Names.** Bignor, Bolnore(?) Southover.

O.E. *őra,* "bank of a stream"; "rand," "ufer," "ecke" (Jellinghaus).

In O.E. pl.-ns.—*Billanora,* C.D. ii. 74 (Bilnor, Kent), *Cumenoran,* C.D. i. 271 (Cumnor, Berks.) cit. Jellinghaus. Cf. also the modern *Windsor, Hadsor,* etc.

**Sussex Names.** Bognor, Bolnore (?) or *őfer,* West Itchenor, Ore.

O.E. *pöl, "pool." Also *pul.* See Wyld, Pt II, also under *Liverpool* in Pt I; Jellinghaus, p. 310, who says *pöl, pull* are "häufig in namen."

**Sussex Name.** Pulborough.

O.E. *sceaga, "shaw," "wood";* see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

**Sussex Name.** The Shaw.

O.E. *score, M.E. schore, "shore";* see Skeat, Etym. Dict. Only appears in one Sussex name, Shoreham.
O.E. *sēa*, "sea." See Wyld.

**Sussex Names.** Seabeach, Seacoxx House, Seaford.

O.E. *stān*, "stone"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

**Sussex Names.** Hunston, Standean, Stane Street(?), Stanner, Stansted, Stonecross, Stonegate, Stonehurst, Stonelynk.

O.E. *twisla*, "fork of a river or a road"; O.H.G. *zwisila*, "fork," "bent or forked twig"; O.Norse, *kvisil*; see Wyld.

**Sussex Name.** Twisley.

O.E. *weald*, *wald*, "forest"; Mod. *-wold* (would) represents the O.E. Mercian type *wald*; *weald* (wild) goes back to the W.S. fractured *weald*.

**Sussex Names.** The Weald, Burwash Weald, Woldhurstlea, Woldringfold(?).

O.E. *well*, *wiell*, *wyll*, "a well"; often confused in M.E. with *-wall* < O.E. *weall*, "a wall"; cf. *Aspin*(w)all < O.E. *æspenwell*.

**Sussex Names.** Brickwall(?) (or is this what it appears to be?), Buckwell, Colwell, Duddleswell, Flinwell, Fontwell, Graylingwell, Holywell, Miswell, Shoyswell Manor.

O.E. *wudu*, "wood"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

**Sussex Names.** Abbot's Wood, Ashurstwood, Beechwood, Borden Wood, Chelwood, Coldharbour Wood, Cowsley Wood, Goodwood, Hammerwood, Hazelwood (q.v. Pt I), High Hurstwood, Loxwood, Valewood, Wildham Wood, Woodcote, Woodend, Woodhurst, Wodmancote or Woodmancot, Woodman's Green, Wood's Green (or is wood here a pers. n.?).

5. **Elements denoting divisions or portions of land.**

O.E. *accer*, "a field," "land." See Wyld and Jellinghaus.

**Sussex Name.** Halnaker.

O.E. *croft*, "croft," "small, enclosed field." See Wyld and Jellinghaus.

**Sussex Name.** Horncroft.


**Sussex Name.** Eartham.

O.E. *leah*, "pasture land," "open meadow." See Wyld, Pt II, and Jellinghaus, p. 304, under *lea*. This element appears
in modern Engl. variously as -ley, -leigh, -lea, and lee, and its continental cognate as -loeh, -loe, -loo.

Professor Wyld tells me that this element used to be pronounced in Sussex as (-lai) with a secondary stress, but that it is now usually (-li). This older (-lai), if it is not a mere spelling-pronunciation, must represent the O.E. dative læge. Cf. the development of high < O.E. hēah and eye < ðage.


O.E. *mylde (< *mulde), a by-form of O.E. molde, “dust,” “sand,” “earth.” Possibly this element exists in Rodmell (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. timber, “land zum bau von kirchen gegeben” (Jellinghaus, p. 323). For distribution see this article.

SUSSEX NAMES. Newtimber, Nytimber.

6. Elements denoting landmarks and artificial features.

O.E. beorg, “a hill,” dative beorge. The O.E. nominative appears in modern names as -bergh or -ber; e.g. in Sedbergh, the dative generally as -barrow. See Cringlebarrow in Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., Pt I.

O.E. beorg is often confused in early forms of pl.-ns. with O.E. burg (q.v. under (9) below). Leithaeuser Berg. Ortsn., notes a similar interchange in such continental names as Beyenberg (c. 1200 Bienberg, 1396 and later mostly Byenborg or Byenburg). For other examples see Berg. Ortsn. pp. 12, 13, also Jellinghaus, Westf. Ortsn. pp. 3, 11.

SUSSEX NAMES. (i) O.E. beorg—Wyseberg.

(ii) O.E. dative beorge—Barrow Hill.
(iii) O.E. *beorg* confused with *burg*—Pulborough, Swanborough, Wisborrow or Wisborough Green (also called Wyseberg as in (i) above).


SUSSEX NAMES. Ball’s Cross, Crossbush, Cross-in-Hand, Crowborough Cross, Handcross, High Cross, John’s Cross, Mark Cross, Ringle’s Cross, Sandy Cross, Southern Cross, Staplecross, Stonecross, Three Legged Cross, Wychcross Place (*and* Faircrouch?).

Mod.E. *gate*, O.E. *gatu*, *gatum* (plural type; the nom. *geat* would produce modern *yate*, *yett*, as in the pers. n. *Yates*). The *-yate*, *-yett* forms never appear in Sussex. See Wyld, Pt II. On O.E. *geat* and the modern word *gate* see also Jellinghaus, p. 283.

SUSSEX NAMES. Durgates, Eastergate, Faygate, Fishergate (see Pt I), Horsgate, Monksgate, Northgate House, Polegate, Rogate, Sandgate, Shortgate, Tilgate Forest, Watergate House, Westergate.


SUSSEX NAMES. Coleman’s Hatch, Trulls Hatch. “Hatch” is a very common surname in mod. Engl.


SUSSEX NAMES. Heyshot, Piddinghoe (early forms), Roffey or Roughey.


SUSSEX NAMES (no early forms). Cuckmere Haven, The Haven, Newhaven.
O.E. *hlæw, hlæw, hlæ, "burial-mound," "tumulus," "rising-ground." See Wyld and Jellinghaus. It is sufficient here to note the three types—

1. O.E. *hlæ (nom.) > -low(e) (= lou),
2. O.E. hlæwe (oblique cases) > -lawe (= lū),
3. O.E. hlæw (nom.) > -lew (=lū, ljū) as in the surname Martlew (= mūlu or mūtljū).

SUSSEX NAMES. Baldslow (earlier forms also in -lei), Cudlawe or Cudlowe, Lewes, Lowfield Heath.


SUSSEX NAME. Portslade (q.v.).

O.E. *gelād, a mutated or analogical form of the above.

SUSSEX NAME. Warninglid (q.v.).


SUSSEX NAMES. Beauport, Gosport.

Engl. snape; M.E. snāpe, "poor or boggy pasture"; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAME. Snape.

Engl. spar, literally "a beam," "bar," "rafter," possibly used as a boundary mark, although not recorded in O.E.; M.E. sparre in Cant. Tales—"...and rente adoun both wal and sparre and rafter" (Knightes Tale, A, l. 990, in Skeat’s Ed.). The word does not exist in O.E., although the verb sparrian, "to fasten with a bar or bolt," is found. For a discussion of the word see Skeat, Etym. Dict. under spar.

E.D.D. only gives the common meanings "wooden bar," "bolt," "rafter," "small transverse timbers of a roof to which the rafters are nailed." Possibly the word existed in O.E. with the meaning "timber," "stick" or "pole," used as a boundary mark (cf. Polegate, Poling).

SUSSEX NAME. Rusper.
O.E. *strēt, strēt, an early (W.Gmc.) loan-word from Lat. strata (via), O.H.G. strasse.

Jellinghaus says "...in einigen Namen wie Street (Ssx.), Buckle Street (Worcs.) < Buggilde Stret, C.D. iii. 376. Die Namen beziehen sich wohl stets auf römische Strassen."

SUSSEX NAMES. Streat or Street, Strettington(?); Bodle St., Boreham St., Cade St., Coggins Mill St., Gardner St., Gay St., Hewin St., Lynnick St., Milton St., Stane St.

7. Elements denoting trees, plants, and vegetation.

O.E. āc, "oak." See Wyld and Jellinghaus.
SUSSEX NAMES. Broadoak, Five Oaks, Four Oaks, Mile Oak, Oakdown, Oaklands, Oakwood.

O.E. ācen, adj. "oaken."
SUSSEX NAME. Oakendale.

O.E. *ācen (c = back-stop), a by-form of ācen.
SUSSEX NAME. Eckington (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. æsc, "ash-tree." In many cases Ash- in pl.-ns. may be the O.E. pers. n. Æsc, Æsca. See the names in Pt I above.
SUSSEX NAMES. Ashburnham, Ashurst, Ashurstwood, Burwash, Five Ash Down.

O.E. alor, "alder-tree." See Wyld.
SUSSEX NAME. Aldrington (which may, however, contain the pers. n. Ealdhere).

O.E. apuldor, "apple-tree."
SUSSEX NAME. Appledram or Apuldram.

O.E. beān, "bean," "vetch" = N.H.G. bohne; see Wyld.
SUSSEX NAME. Binsted (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. birce, "birch."
SUSSEX NAME. Birch Grove.

O.E. beorc, a by-form of birce, etymologically = mod. "bark."
SUSSEX NAMES. Barcombe, Barkfold House.

A mutated form of the word O.E. *byxe, is the first element of Ssx. Bexhill, which has early forms in Bex-, Bix, and Bux-.

**Sussex Names.** Boxgrove and Bexhill-on-Sea.


**Sussex Names.** Blackboys.

O.E. brēmel, brēmel, bræmber, "bramble," allied to brōm.

**Sussex Names.** Bramber, Bamblehurst, Brambletye.


**Sussex Names.** Broomhill and Broomers Corner.

Engl. bush < O.E. *bysc. For a discussion of the word see Skeat, Etym. Dict., s.v., and Herts. Pl.-Ns., under Bushey. The ultimate origin of the word is "Late Lat. boscus, of unknown origin, whence also French bois" (Skeat).

Jellinghaus, p. 275, points out Warboys as having -bush for its second element.

Or is it not possible that mod. bush may be a French loan-word from buisson, boisson; mod. Fr. buisson?

**Sussex Names.** Bewbush (= O.Fr. *belbuisson), Crossbush, Holmbush.


**Sussex Name.** Ewhurst, Yewhurst.

O.E. fearn, "fern." A very common element; see Wyld.

**Sussex Name.** Fernhurst.

O.E. hesel, "hazel"; O.H.G. hasel, hasul; see Wyld.

**Sussex Names.** Hazelwood, Haslet.

O.E. hnutu, "nut," "nut-tree"; see Wyld.

**Sussex Names.** Nutbourne, Nuthurst, Nutley.

O.E. holegn, holen, adj. "of holly"; see Wyld.

**Sussex Names.** Hollington (Rural and St John).
O.E. holm (not O.Norse hólmr) = “holly,” “holly-bush”; see remarks under Holmestrowe in Pt. I.

SUSSEX NAMES. Holmbush, Holmestrowe, Holmstead, Inholm(?), (no early forms).

O.E. minte, “mint” < Lat. mentha.

SUSSEX NAME. Minsted.


SUSSEX NAMES. Sedgebrook (a very common Engl. pl.-n.), and Sedgwick (= sedžik).

O.E. trāō, dat. trōōwe, “tree”; see Wylde and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAMES. Crabtree, Holmestrowe, Treyford.


SUSSEX NAMES. Copthorne, Island of Thorns or Thorney Isle, Sharphorne.

8. Elements denoting names of animals and birds.

In many cases it is impossible to decide whether such elements as Catt, Earn, Wulf refer to animals or to men. The presence of a genitive suffix argues in favour of a pers. n., although it is not absolutely conclusive. See Wyld, Pt II. The following are examples in Sussex.

O.E. bār, “boar.”

SUSSEX NAMES. Boar’s Head, Boarzell (= *bāreshyll), Borden Wood(?).

O.E. ceatt, catt, “cat.” Probably the Sussex Catsfield Place contains the O.E. pers. n. Catt; see the name in Pt I. Mod. coney, M.E. coni, conyng < A.Fr. conil < Lat. cūniculus (Skeat, Etym. Dict.).

SUSSEX NAMES. Coneyhurst and Conyboro.

O.E. crāowe, “crow”; see Wyld, also Crāowe, a female pers. n.

SUSSEX NAMES. Crowborough, Crowhurst, Crowham.

O.E. cū, “cow.”

SUSSEX NAMES. Cowfold, Cowbeech(?), Cowsley(?) (or does
this contain the pers. n. Col?). The genitive plu. κυα appears in Sussex Keymer (q.v. above).

O.E. earn, e.g. “eagle”; cf. Gk. ὄπως.

SUSSEX NAME. Earnley.

O.E. fise, “fish.” Often a pers. n.; see Wyld, Pt II.

SUSSEX NAME. Old and New Fishbourne.

O.E. gōs, “goose”; O.H.G. gans; O.Norse gōs; see Wyld. There was also an O.E. pers. n. Gōsa.

SUSSEX NAMES. Gosden, Gosport.


SUSSEX NAME. Henfield (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. heorot, “a hart,” “stag.” For examples of heorot in O.E. see Hartfield in Pt I.

SUSSEX NAMES. Hartfield, Harting E., S., and W.

O.E. hors, “horse”; also the pers. n. Horsa.

SUSSEX NAMES. Horse Eye, Horsbridge, Horsey, Horsgate, Horsham, Horsted and Horsted Keynes.

O.E. hriper (< *hrinpri) and hrýðer (< *hrunpri), “ram,” “horned beast.” See Wyld, Pt II. Appears in mod. Ssx. names as Rother- (= rās or rada), possibly influenced by the O.E. pers. n. Hröphere. Such names as Rotherham, Rutherford, etc. are very common in England.

SUSSEX NAMES. Rotherbridge or Robertsbridge (q.v. Pt I), Rotherfield (q.v. Pt I), Rotherhill and Rotherhurst.


SUSSEX NAME. Selsey (q.v. Pt I).

9. Political and economic designations, including shelters and human habitations.


SUSSEX NAMES. Barn Rocks(?), Barnham (?) (q.v. Pt I),
Fryern House, Waldron, and possibly Woodhorn (which may, however, have O.E. *horn, hyrne*, “corner,” as its second element.

O.E. *burg, burh*, dative *byrig*, originally “a fortified place,” “fastness,” then a “castle,” “city,” “town.” See Wyld, Pt II. On the confusion between *burh* and *beorh* in early forms see remarks on *beorh* under (6) above.

In mod. Engl. pl.-ns. O.E. *burg* generally appears as *Bur-*, when a first element, -*borough* or -*burg* or -*boro* when a second, while the dative appears always as -*bury*.

**SUSSEX NAMES.** Burdocks(?), Burpham (< *burhhám*), Burton, Burwash (< *burgæsc*), Bury, Cissbury Hill, Conyboro, Crowborough, Saxonbury Hill, Shermanbury, Wisborrow or Wisborough Green (see *beorh* above), Wolstonbury Beacon and West Borough.

O.E. *cester*, “a city” < Lat. *castra*. In the forms -*chester*, -*ester*, and -*ester*, a very common element in Engl. pl.-ns.

**SUSSEX NAME.** Chichester.

O.E. *cot, cott*, “dwelling,” “house.” See Wyld, also Alexander (Notes on some O.E. elements, p. 25).

**SUSSEX NAMES.** Coates (= *cotes*, gen. sing.), Sennicots, Wodmancote or Woodmancot.


**SUSSEX NAME.** Cowdray Park.


**SUSSEX NAME.** Brimfast.

O.E. *fald*, earlier *falud*, “fold.” See Wyld and Jellinghaus. The confusion between O.E. *fald* and O.E. *feld* in early forms has already been noted (Introduction, under “Word-Formation,” and under *feld* in (5) above).
SUSSEX NAMES. Ashfold, Cowfold, Flitchfold, Ifold, Kingsfold, Lickfold, Shernfold, Slinfold, Woldringfold.

O.E. *gea (cf. yeo- in "yeoman"); O.H.G. gawi, gewi, kawi, kewi; Gthc. gawi = "village."

SUSSEX NAME. Southease (q.v. Pt I).

Mod. grange; M.E. grange, graunge < O.Fr. grange < Lat. graania, cf. granum (Skeat) = "a barn," later "a farm house."

SUSSEX NAME. The Grange.

O.E. mynster, "minster" < Lat. monasterium. Jellinghaus says -minster is "häufig in namen," but gives no examples.

Mod. Engl. names—Leominster, Westminster, etc.

SUSSEX NAMES. Lullington (early forms), Lyminster, Parkminster.

O.E. stede, "a place," "stead"; N.H.G. stätte; Gthc. stahs
A very common element in Engl. pl.-ns.

SUSSEX NAMES. Bersted, Binsted, Buxted, Elstead, Grinstead, Hapstead, Hempstead, Hickstead, Holmstead, Horsted, Minsted, Prinsted, Stansted, Walstead.

O.E. stoc, stocc, "stock," "post," "village."

On the meaning of the word Jellinghaus says "Stock als präfix wird die Bedeutung 'stamm,' 'geschlecht' des ae. stoc haben und die Mutterstadt eines Distriktes anzeigen; als suffix wird es oft das Dorf bedeuten das durch eine Person gegründet ist."

Stoke and Stoughton are very common pl.-ns. in England.

SUSSEX NAMES. Stoke, Stockbridge, Stoughton.

O.E. stōw, "place," "mansion," "house"; see Wyld and Jellinghaus.

SUSSEX NAME. Plaistow.

O.E. tūn, "an enclosed piece of land, manor, hamlet." See Wyld, Jellinghaus, and Middendorff.

SUSSEX NAMES. Aldrington, Alfriston, Almodington, Ancton or Ankton (Angmering < O.E. *Angemærtingatūn), Arlington, Ashington, Atherington, Babintone, Bebyngton or Bepton, Barlavington, Barlton or Belton, Binderton, Bishopstone,

Engl. tye, M.E. teghe, tighe < O.E. tēah, dative tēage, “paddock.” This element has been previously noted by Middendorff in his Al. Flurnamenbuch, but his remarks are somewhat vague. The word is descended from O.E. tēag, tēah in the same way as high from hēah and eye from ēaye.

Sweet (A.-S. Dict.) defines tēag as “bond,” “chain,” “tape,” “case,” “casket,” “enclosure,” “paddock.” The last two meanings are appropriate to our purpose. The word is related to O.E. teōn, “to draw together,” “pull,” and the sense is “something drawn or pulled together,” i.e. “something enclosed.”

On -tye the E.D.D. remarks: “tye, Suff., Essex, Kt., Ssx. Also written tie (Essex), tay (Essex), teage (Kt.), tey (Essex) =

(1) extensive common pasture or field,
(2) a close or enclosure.

...In Kent the word tigh is still used in the same sense (i.e. a close or enclosure, a croft)...”

SUSSEX NAMES. Brambletye, Lavertye.

Anstey may be, as Skeat, Herts. Pl.-Ns., supposes, simply O.E. ānstiga, “path for one,” or it may be O.E. *Anestēah, where Ane is a pers. n. Again Holtye may be O.E. *holtēg or *holt- tēah. In the absence of early forms it is impossible to decide.

**SUSSEX NAMES.** Aldworth, Aldsworth, Byworth, Colworth, Densworth, Fittleworth, Lodsworth, Petworth, Tottingworth Park, Worthing.


Much has been written on this element. See Wyld, Jellinghaus and Middendorff, also Cornelius' suggestive article in the "Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbuch," Stud. zur engl. Philol. 50. The interesting point is that O.E. *wic* unstressed always appears in Sussex as -wick, with the back-stop. It is, in my opinion, unnecessary to assume wholesale Northern influence to account for this form. Out of such O.E. compounds as *wicfold*, *wicford*, *wicborn*, etc. (where the ë immediately precedes a voiceless open consonant) there would normally develop M.E. forms in -wik-, which was then evidently chosen as the standard type in Sussex.

Jellinghaus, p. 327, says, "Engl. dial. wick...Da wic sowohl bei den Deutschen als bei den Dänen gebräuchlich war, so treten die -wick, -wich am häufigsten einerseits in Sussex, Somerset, andererseits in Yorkshire, Northamptonsh. auf...."

Looking through J.'s list of modern names containing this element I find there are 21 -wick's, -wyck's against two -wic's.

**SUSSEX NAMES (i) -wick, etc.** Aldwick, Berwick, Lydwicke, Lynnick Street, Newick, Ridg(e)wick or Rudg(e)wick, Roundwick, Rumboldswyke, Sedgwick, Southwick (= saðik), Terwick, Wick, Wicks, Wykehurst Park.

(ii) *wych*. Wychcross Place.

10. **Human occupation and rank.**


**SUSSEX NAME.** Bishopstone.
O.E. cýning, "a king." The form Coning- from the Norse cognate konungr often appears in Northern names. See Wyld, Pt II.

**Sussex names.** Kingsfold, Kingsham, Kingston.

O.E. fiscere, "fisher."

**Sussex name.** Fishergate.

O.E. prêost, "priest"; O.L. German prêstar < Lat. presbyter < Gk. πρεσβύτερος. See Wyld.

**Sussex names.** Preston and Priestcomb.

O.E. *slaga, *slaha, connected with släën, and derived from the base *slag- by means of the agent suffix -a = "a slayer," perhaps in the sense of "deer-stalker," or possibly "butcher." Unfortunately I cannot trace the word in modern dialects, though it may well have existed in O.E.

**Sussex name.** Slaugham (= slaefm).

O.E. waca, "watcher," "guardian" (= O.E. weard), derived, in the same way as the preceding word, from the base *wak-, "to be on guard," "to be awake" (cf. wacian).

**Sussex name.** Wakehurst (q.v. Pt I).

O.E. wealh, walk, "a foreigner," "stranger." See Wyld.

**Sussex names.** Walstead Common (?), Walton, Wannock.

11. **Elements denoting colours.**

O.E. blāc, "bright," "shining"; O.S. blēk; O.H.G. pleih, bleih. This element often appears in M.E. as blāk- through vowel-shortening before consonant-groups, and is then indistinguishable from M.E. blāk, black < O.E. blæc, which has precisely the opposite meaning, i.e. "black." Possibly the following names may contain O.E. blæc.

**Sussex names.** Blackboys, Blacklands, Blacknest, Blackrock, Blackstone? (=*blæcestan, *blæcstân or Blaca's tun?), Blackwaters.

Blackham (q.v. Pt I) probably represents O.E. *Blacanhám.

O.E. grēne, "green"; O.H.G. gruoni, kruoni; O.S. grōni. Also used in mod. Engl. as a noun meaning "a field," "expanse
of pasture-land.” See Wyld, Pt II. On modern names in Grin- cf. remarks under Grinstead above. Cf. also the pronunciation (grinidʒ) = Greenwich.

SUSSEX NAMES. West Green, Greenhurst, Grinstead, Barn’s Green, Bell’s Yew Green, Bodle Street Green, Brook’s Green, Broomer’s Green, Chapel Green, Dragon’s Green, Eridge Green, Ford’s Green, Furner’s Green, Gipsy Green, Gosden Green, Hale Green, Hurst Green, Ingram’s Green, Maynard’s Green, Muddle’s Green, Partridge Green, Pell Green, Pont’s Green, Rose Green, Rushlake Green, Shover’s Green, Sidley Green, Sparrow’s Green, Stunt’s Green, Wisborough Green, Woodman’s Green, Wood’s Green.

O.E. rēād, “red”; O.H.G. rōt, O.Norse raʊdr; cf. Gk. ἐρυθρός; Lat. ruber. Appears in modern names as Red-, Rad-, and in the North often as Rod-, through influence of the Norse raʊdr. On the Sussex Rodmill and its early forms see Pt I.

SUSSEX NAMES. Redford, Rodmill or Rodmill.

11. Various elements (mostly descriptive adjectives).


SUSSEX NAME. Balcombe (?) (see Pt I).

O.Fr. bel < Lat. bellus, “beautiful,” “bright,” “fair”; see Wyld.

SUSSEX NAMES. Beachy Head, Belmoredean House (?), Belton (?) (= Barlavington, see Pt I), Beaufort, Bewbush.

O.E. bōc, “a book,” but also “a charter.” Cf. the passage “Þæt is þæt hire læðde hire fæder land and bōc, swā he mid rihte beget” (A.-S. Reader?, No. xii. p. 54).

In O.E. pl.-ns. Boc Holt, C.D. No. 72, Boclond, No. 1210, and Boctun, No. 1315 (cit. Kemble, Index to C.D. vol. vi). O.E. bōc appears in modern names as Book- or Buck-, e.g. in Bookholt, Kt., Buckland, Berks.

SUSSEX NAMES. Buckham Hill (?), Bucksteep, Buckwell, Buckhurst Park, Buxted.
O.E. *brād, "broad," "wide." This element always appears in Ssx. names as Broad-, never as Brad-. This may be due to the analogy of the independent adjective, or to the preservation of an O.E. inflected type. See Wyld, Pt II.

**Sussex Names.** Broadoak, Broadford (contrast Yorks-Bradford), Broadhill, Broadwater.

O.E. *brād, a mutated form of brād, is preserved in the modern Sussex name Brede (q.v. in Pt I).

O.E. *brant, "steep," "high." See remarks under Braintree in Pt I.

**Sussex Names.** Brantridge.

O.E. eald, ald, "old." On Eald(a) as a pers. n. see Aldingbourne in Pt I.

**Sussex Names.** Aldworth, Old Fishbourne, Old House Warren, Oldlands Hall.

-et, the N.-Fr. diminutive suffix. -et or -ot is common as a diminutive suffix in pers. ns., cf. Elias and Elliott, Emma and Emmot, William and Wilmot, etc.

**Sussex Names.** Easthampnett and Westhampnett. Haslet may be O.E. *hāsel + -ett or Has-lete = O.E. *Hasan læte.


**Sussex Names.** Fairwarp (?), Faircrouch (?). On Fairlight see Pt I above.

O.E. hēah, "high." Naturally very common in pl.-ns. at all periods. See Wyld, Pt II.

**Sussex Names.** Heighton, High Beeches, High Cross, Highbrook, Highbourn Hill, Highfurl, Highleigh, Highley Manor, High Hurstwood.

On Highden see Pt I above.

O.E. lang, long, "long"; see Wyld.

**Sussex Names.** Langley, Langley Font and Langley Point.


**Sussex Names.** Newells(?), New Fishbourne, New Groombridge, Newbridge, Newhaven, Newick, Newtimber.
O.E. rūh, “rough”; M.E. rough (=rūh). In pl.-ns. the -h- is lost before a following consonant. The following names may equally well contain O.E. rūh, the adjective, or Rūga, a pers. n.

Sussex Names. Roff Park, Roughey, Rogate, Rusper.

O.E. stēāp, “steep,” used as a noun in the sense of “steep ascent,” “hill-side.” Cf. The Steep, the name of a street in Lincoln.

Sussex Names. Bucksteep, Steep.

O.E. twi-, twige, twiwa, “twice,” “double,” “bi-.”

Skeat finds this element in the Berks. and Herts. Twyford and quotes from Bede’s Eccl. Hist. iv. 28 “...ad tuifyrdi, quod significat ad duplex vadum....”

Sussex Names. Twyford, Twineham (q.v. Pt 1).
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