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OF
SUSSEX

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THE PLACE-NAMES
OF
SUSSEX

by

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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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Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xi
ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE CHIEF CONTRACTIONS USED . .	xxv
TABLE OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS	xxvi
BIBLIOGRAPHY	xxvii
PART I. SUSSEX NAMES WITH THEIR OLDER FORMS AND A DISCUSSION CONCERNING THEIR ORIGIN AND DEVELOP- MENT I	
PART II. INDEX OF SEPARATE ELEMENTS :	
A. PERSONAL NAMES	181
B. WORDS OTHER THAN PERSONAL NAMES	186

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R. G. Roberts
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

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. *seldcēne* for O.E. *seldgesēne*, and the modern Sussex *Alciston* for O.E. *Ælfsigestūn* 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* (= *trēōford*) below, and *Chelmorton* in Walker, Derby. Pl.-Ns.

(b) Among consonants, *-h-* = *-ĥ-* (front-open-voiceless) was usually expressed by *-s-* (see early forms of *Brightling* and *Brighton* below), and the English *þ* (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. *weorþ*, “home-stead.” The spelling *-ch-* in D.B. very seldom expressed (*tʃ*) the descendant of O.E. *č* (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. *Cēn(w)ulfeslēah*; see Wyld, Lancs. Pl.-Ns., under this name).

The O.E. symbol *c* was always written for the O.E. *ċ* (< *tʃ*) 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 (*tʃ*) 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 (*ε*), and which survives in French at the present day. Cf. Fr. *état* < *estat* < Lat. *statum* (acc.); *être* < *estre* < Late L. **essere*; *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.*

(α) *Vowels.*

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

2. O.E. *ū*, M.E. *ū* written *ou*, *ow* probably through influence of French. O.E. *hūs*, M.E. *hous* (M.E. *ū*, *ou* pronounced as *ū*, 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 *-ǣu-* and developed into modern (*ō*).

4. M.E. *y* represents (*ī*) less often (*ȳ*) but never (*ȳ* 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 (*ē*) as distinguished from the slack (*ē̄*) which was generally *ea*, *e*. Cf. mod. believe, as lief, reprieve (M.E. *ē*); stead, head, lead (M.E. *ē̄*). On *-ey-* for (*ē*) cf. 1 (α) above and the *-ei-* spellings in *Grinstead* below.

(β) *Consonants.*

1. O.E. *č* > M.E. (*tf*) 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. (*f*) 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 Riwe spelling *vuel* (= *üvel* = O.E. *yfel*), and as a second element M.E. *-oure* < O.E. *ōfre* (dative), “a bank” (see *Bignor* below), *w-* sometimes = *wl-*, cf. *Wlavinton*, H.R. ii. anno 1274 = *Woolavington*, and the common *-wrth* = O.E. *weorþ*.

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

§ 3. *Phonology.*

(α) *Vowels. Isolative changes.*

1. O.E. *ā*, M.E. *ē̄*, mod. *ō^u*. O.E. *stān*, M.E. *stēn*; O.E. *-hlā*, M.E. *lē̄*, mod. *-lowe* (= *-lōu*) as a second element.

2. O.E. *æ* generally > *ǣ* in M.E., but often *ē* in Sussex. O.E. **Bæbbantūn* > 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. *ǣ* (= W.Gmc. *ā*) and *ǣ̄* (*i-* umlaut of O.E. *ā*) together with O.E. *ē̄* are levelled under M.E. slack *ē̄* (if not previously shortened). O.E. *gemǣru* > M.E. (1) *mēre*, “boundary” [= *ǣ̄*]: O.E. *lēah*, *Ēadburg* > late O.E. *lēh*, *Ēdburg* > M.E. *lēh*, *Ēdburg*. On shortening of this *ǣ̄* see § 3, γ (1) below.

4. O.E. *ē* (1. mutation of *ō*; 2. lengthening of *ǣ* before *-ld*, *-nd*, *-mb*, etc.; 3. Kentish type of *ǣ*², cf. 3 above) is levelled with O.E. *ēō* and becomes M.E. tense *ē*, if not shortened by combinative change. Examples—*ē*^(u), O.E. *grēne*, M.E. *greene*, see *Grinstead*; *ē*^(u), O.E. *fēld*, M.E. *fēld*, mod. “field”; *ē*^(a) (Kt. type of *ǣ*²). O.E. *stǣningas* > late Kt. *stēningas* > M.E. *stēninges* > *stēnings* (see Luick’s 3 syllable theory below), mod. *Steyning* = (steninj).

5. O.E. *ī*, *ȳ* 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. *ō* > M.E. *ō*, later over-rounded to *ū* and generally spelt *-oo-*. This *ō* or *-oo-* was never confused with the slack *ō* from O.E. *ā* or the lengthening of O.E. *ǫ* in open syllable. O.E. *pōl*, mod. *pool* (pūl); O.E. *brōma*, “genista”; M.E. *brome*, *broome*, see *Broomhill*.

7. O.E. *ū* > M.E. *ū* later diphthongised to mod. (*au*). Cf. § 2, *α* (2) above.

8. The question of the distribution of the M.E. *i*, *e*, and *u* spellings for O.E. *ȳ* 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 *u* appear in M.E. where the starting-point is not O.E. *ȳ*. 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.

(*ß*) *Vowels. Qualitative combinative changes.*

1. O.E. *āw* > M.E. *āu* > mod. (ō).

O.E. *hlāw* > M.E. *larwe* > (lō). See *Cudlarwe* 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. **Crāhyrst*.

2. O.E. *aga* > *au* > (ō); 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. **Eammerlāh* > M.E. *amberlei* > *aumberlei* (see *Amberley*, Type II, below); late O.E. *Wlancing* > M.E. *Lansing* (N.-Fr. influence, see the names in Pt I) > *Launsing* > mod. *Lancing* (lōnsɪŋ) and (lānsɪŋ). (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* (bāl(1)kəm). Examples are numerous in the names treated in Pt I.

4. O.E. *ǣg*, *ēg*, *ǣh*, *ah*, *eh* or such combinations if they arose early in M.E. > *ai*, *ei* > mod. (ei).

O.E. *weg*, M.E. *wei* also later *wai* > *way*; *græg* > *grai*, *grei*; O.E. **mǣgfeld* > *Mayfield* (q.v. below); O.E. *lǣhtun* > M.E. *lēhtun* > *leihtun* > (**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. *ceorlatūn*, 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 combinative or isolative. Morsbach (Me. Grammatik, pp. 143–4) says the change takes place mainly before *d, t, s, þ, r, l, n* (vor dentalen und dental-nasalen), before *gǣ, 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. **bēānstedē* > M.E. *bēnstedē*, mod. *Binsted*; O.E. **Bēānheretūn* > M.E. *beneretun* > *bendritun*, mod. *Binderton*; O.E. *grēnstedē*, mod. *Grinsted*. O.E. **Ēomræ(es)horn* > M.E. *Emberhorne*, mod. *Imberhorne*. Cf. also Jespersen, Mod. Engl. Grammar, pp. 64, 65. (2) Otherwise: before M.E. *-ch*—O.E. *Eccanfeld*, mod. *Itchingfield*; before M.E. *-s*—O.E. *mēōswille*, mod. *Miswell*.

Cf. also the examples given by Walker in Derby. Pl.-Ns., *Idrige hay* (= iðəsi) < O.E. **Ēādricesgēhæge*; *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. **bridhām*, and in 1316 *Borlavylton* (modern *Barlavington*) < *Berlaventun* < O.E. **Beornlāfantūn*. Perhaps also in the form *Boleynshurst* = M.E. *Bil-lingeshurst*, although in this case the *Boleyn-* may be a mere N.-Fr. spelling.

Cf. also modern names in *War-* (wō-). 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. **Wermanhȳrst* < **Wyrman-*; *Warnham*, *Warningcamp*, and *Warninglid*, all of which go back to O.E. **Wernan-* 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. *ēā* and *ē*, which were levelled under *ē* in late O.E., appear when shortened in M.E. as *ǣ* or *ɛ* 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. *lēāhtun* > *lēhtun* > (i) *lāhtun*, (ii) *lēhtūn* > *lēhtun*. Type I has given rise to the modern *Laughton*, but the second, which would give **Leighton*, is common among the early forms. O.E. **Hǣþlāh* appears in mod. Sussex as *Hadlow* (with change of suffix), whereas **hǣþfeld* gives *Heathfield*, locally pronounced as (heffl). O.E. *Easttūn* > *Easton*; **Ēādburgtūn* > *Edburton* in Sussex; but cf. the numerous *Astons*, *Abram* (= **Ēādburgham*) in Wyld, *Lancs. Pl.-Ns.*, and *Adderbury* in Alexander, *Oxf. Pl.-Ns.* Ritter (*Zur engl. Ä/Ē Grenze*, loc. cit.) quotes *Edmund*, *Edward*, etc. by the side of *Abberley*, *Abberton*, *Adbalton*, *Atherstone*, etc., and gives for O.E. *hǣþ-* the developments *Hat-*, *Had-*, *Heat(i)-*, *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. 335 ff. On p. 339 he states "das gesetz, ... wonach in dreisilbigen Wörtern und überhaupt formen länge gekürzt wird und andererseits natürlich vorhandene kürze trotz stellung in offener silbe bewahrt bleibt." Among his examples are *Coventry* < M.E. *Cōventre* < O.E. *Cōfan-*; *Whitaker* < O.E. *hwītæcer*; *Beverley* < O.E. *Beoforlic*; *errand* < M.E. *ērende* < O.E. *ērende*; *ammet* < O.E. *ǣmette*, etc.

Examples of this shortening in Sussex are *Beddingham* < M.E. *Bēdingehomm* < O.E. *Beadingahamm*, contrast *Beeding* <

O.E. *Beadingas*; *Bevendean* < M.E. *Bēvendene* < O.E. *Beofandenu*; *Poynings* (= paniŋz) < M.E. *Pūninges* < O.E. *Pūningas*; and *Steyning* (= steniŋ) < M.E. *Stēninges* < O.E. Kt. *Stēninges* < *Stāningas* (æt *Stāningum* 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. *Rōdemelde* < O.E. *rēādamyldē* 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)tūn* > *Brighton*; O.E. **Ceorl(lāce)stūn* > *Charleston*; O.E. *Gōd(wine)wudu* > *Goodwood* (gudəd); O.E. *Wīg(stāne)stūn* > M.E. *Wihstūn* > mod. *Wiston*. Cf. also the pronunciation *Barlton* for *Barlavington*, which also shows this phenomenon. I.e. O.E. *Beornlāfantūn* > 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.*

1. O.E. medial *-h-* (back-open-voiceless) is labialised in M.E. to *h^w* > mod. (*f*). O.E. *Burghām* > *Burhhām* > M.E. *Burh^wham*, mod. *Burpham*; O.E. *Fealhham* > M.E. *Felh^wham* > mod. *Felpham*; O.E. **Slaganham* > *Slagham* > *Slah^wam* > *Slaugham* (= slæfm). In modern Sussex both *Burpham* and *Felpham* are pronounced locally with (*f*).

2. O.E. medial *ǣ* (back-open-voiced) > *ǣ^w* > *w*. O.E. *Burgæsc* > M.E. *Burg^wash* > *Burwash* (= barif), 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

INTRODUCTION

xix

fairly common in all languages. Examples in Sussex are O.E. *Æpelantūn* or *Æpelwinetūn* > 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. **Ceddankhyrst* is *Chithurst* to-day. *Tottingworth* has a form *Toddyngworth* in 1309.

5. The change of O.E. *-þ-* > *-ð-* > *-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. *morþor* > *murder*; O.E. *byrðen* > *burden*; O.E. *Sulþorn* > *Souldern* (Alexander, Oxf. Pl.-Ns.). The Sussex example is *Hadlow* < O.E. **hæþlēah* (with change of suffix).

6. The unfronting of O.E. *ċġ*, *ċc* 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* < **Biċġanōfre*; *Bognor* < **Bucġanōre* (which form exists in C.D.); *Beckley* < **Beċċanleah*; *Egdean* < **Ecġdenu* (*Ēċġ* a pers. n. or *ēċġ* = edge, ridge).

(ε) *Combinative Changes.*

Loss of consonants in combination.

(a) *Loss of interconsonantal -h-*; O.E. **Beorganstede* > M.E. *Berhstede* > *Bersted*; O.E. *burhtūn* > *Burton*; O.E. *Ēādburhtūn* > *Edburton*; O.E. **rūhsperre* > M.E. *rūhsper* (1325 *Rousparre*, 1549 *Roughsparre*) > *Rusper*; O.E. **Torhtantūn* > *Tortantūn* > *Tor-tington*.

(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* (= saðək), *Woolwich* (= wulidž), etc. In Sussex O.E. *Bōtwulfes* > *Botolphs* or *Buttolphs* where

b 2

the *-w-* has even disappeared in the spelling. See also *Berwick* and *Southwick* (saðik) below.

(c) *Simplification of consonant-groups.*

- ldk- > -lk- O.E. *Bealdcumb > Balcombe (bōkə̃m).
- ldb- > -lb- O.E. *Ealdburna > Albourne. }
- lhb- > -lb- O.E. *Ealhburna > Albourne (?). }
- lfm- > -lm- O.E. *Ælfmōdantūn > Almodington.
- lfs- > -ls- O.E. *Ælfsigestūn > Alciston.
- lgn- > -ln- M.E. *Hālgñaker > Halnaker.
- lnst- > -lst- O.E. *Ælfwinesstede > M.E. Elnes(s)tede > Elstead (Type I). }
- lvst- > -lst- O.E. *Ælfsstede > M.E. Elves(s)tede > Elstead (Type II). }
- kst- > -st- O.E. *Ælfricestūn > Alfriston.
- rþw- > -rw- O.E. norþwudu > M.E. Northwode > Norwood.
- st(ə)t- > -st- O.E. *prēostatūn > M.E. Prest(i)tun > Preston.
- þst- > -st- O.E. *Friþestūn > Friston.

(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 > Hettun (1320), early forms of Heighton (Type I).
 O.E. *höhtūn > höhtūn > Hotton, early forms of Houghton.
 late O.E. *Ractūn > Rahtūn > Rattun (in early forms of Racton q. v.).
 O.E. *Ohtanhām > ottehām > Otham.
- ln- > -un- D.B. Helnache, 1252. Hannak, 1274. Hannake but also early forms Halnaker (< *O.E. hālganacer) = mod. Halnaker.
- lvl- > -ll- O.E. *Wulflāfantūn > M.E. Wullavintun > Woolavington.
- nl- > -ll- O.E. *Beornlāfantūn > M.E. Berlavintūn > Barlavington.
- um- > -mm- *Lēonmynstre > Lēm(m)instre > mod. Lyminster (q. v.).
- nr- > -rr- O.E. *Cēnredeford > M.E. Kenredeford > Kerrede- (1379 Kerredeford) > mod. Kirdford.
- þt- > -tt- O.E. Sūptūn > mod. Sutton; norþtūn > Norton.

Cf. also M.E. Rademeld > 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-*?

(*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 *-ldr-* 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:

1. *-mr- > -mbr-*. O.E. *brēmre* > mod. *Bramber* (cf. the by-form O.E. *brēmel*, mod. “bramble”). O.E. **Eamherelēah* > M.E. *Amberlei* and *Aumberlei* > mod. *Amberley*; O.E. **Eomær(es)horn* > M.E. *Emberhorne* > mod. *Imberhorne* (raising of *e* to *i*, see Phonology (β) 7 above).

2. *-nr- > -ndr-*. O.E. **alratūn*, D.B. *Eldritūne*, 1278 *Al-dryngton* > *Aldrington* (but this name may contain O.E. *Ealdhere*, see Pt I below), O.E. **Beanheretūn* > *Bēn(e)retun* > 1233 *Bendriton* > mod. *Binderton*.

(*g*) *Metathesis*. (1) *r- metathesis*. O.E. **bridham* > M.E. *Bridham* > mod. *Birdham*. Cf. the independent word *bird*; O.E. **Wealdanærn* > M.E. *Waldern* > mod. *Waldron*. (2) *l- metathesis*. Mod. *Milton* < **Mildeton* < **Mideltun* < O.E. **middeltūn*. So Skeat, Berks. Pl.-Ns., pp. 98–99, but for another explanation of the Sussex name, see Pt I below.

(*η*) *Inflexion and Word-formation*.

(*a*) *The suffix of the genitive singular*. See Alexander's article in the *Modern Language Review*, VII. pp. 65 ff.

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. **Gōdwinewudu*); *Imberhorne* < O.E. **Ēōmārhorn*, *-hyrne*; *Kirdford* (1379 *Kerredeford* < earlier M.E. *Kēnredeford* < O.E. **Cēnrēdeford*); *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. **Ælfmōdantūn*; *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)lēd* > *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. **hæslenden* (cit. Wyld) and Sussex *Hollington* < O.E. **holegtūn*. (4) The O.E. pers. n. suffix *-wine* as in *Jevington* < **Gefwinetun*. 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 (-dæn). 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 *Warningcamp*, which is probably O.E. **Wernancamp* < **Wyrnan-*, but which may also be **Wernecanhamm* (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* = *Egdean*; 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 *Funtinton*, 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. *lāah*, *lāh*, *lāage* 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 *Hadleg*, mod. *Hadlow Down*; O.E. **byxalāah* (mod. *Bexhill*) > Type I *Bixelee*, *Bexele*, Type II *Buxhull*, *Bexhill*, *Bixhelle*, etc.; O.E. **scēplāah* > 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*, *gemāru*, **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)māru*, *-māre*, or **brōmmere*, *-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 + tūn*.

Sussex *Hunston* is definitely O.E. **Hunesstān*, as the early forms prove, but *Bishopstone* may be either O.E. **biscoppestān* or **biscopestūn*. 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. *Hæsten* 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. *ġeat*, 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. **Wlanċing* < *Wlenċing*, and *Ticehurst* < O.E. *ticcenhyrst*. (3) Substitution of (s) for Engl. (ʃ) medially, as in *Maresfield* and *Merston* (< O.E. **mersfeld*, **mersetūn*). The English type survives in *Marsham* (māʃəm) < O.E. **merschām*.

INTRODUCTION

xxv

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 *Hurstmonceaux* 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-*, *-ben*, 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.)

<i>Abbr. Plac.</i> A ii. 14.	<i>Etym. Dict.</i> F 6.
<i>Altd. Nbch.</i> E 1.	<i>Exch. Red Bk.</i> A ii. 28.
<i>Anc. Ch.</i> A ii. 6.	<i>F.A.</i> v. A ii. 13.
<i>A.-S. Chron.</i> A ii. 3.	<i>Fr. Ch.</i> A ii. 26.
<i>Bodl. Cal. Ch. and Rolls.</i> A ii. 22.	<i>H.R.</i> ii. A ii. 10.
<i>B.-T.</i> F 2.	<i>Ind. Ch. and Rolls.</i> A ii. 23.
<i>Cal. Ch. Rolls.</i> A ii. 17.	<i>Introd. to D.B.</i> C 2.
<i>Cal. Inq. ad quod D.</i> A ii. 19.	<i>J. of G.'s Reg.</i> A ii. 16.
<i>Cal. Inq. P.M.</i> A ii. 20.	<i>Leland's Itin.</i> A ii. 24.
<i>Cal. Rot. Ch.</i> A ii. 18.	<i>Lewes Subs. Roll.</i> A i. 3.
<i>Camden's Britt.</i> A ii. 25.	<i>Malling Surv.</i> A i. 6.
<i>Cart. Sax.</i> A ii. 2.	<i>Pat. Rolls Hen. III.</i> A ii. 9.
<i>Cat. Anc. Dds.</i> A ii. 21.	<i>Pipe Rolls.</i> A ii. 5.
<i>C.D.</i> A ii. 1.	<i>Plac. de quo War.</i> A ii. 11.
<i>Ch. Du. Lancs.</i> A ii. 15.	<i>Subs. Roll Hen. IV.</i> A i. 8.
<i>Cl. Rolls of Hen. III.</i> A ii. 7 and 8.	<i>Sw. A.-S. Dict.</i> F 7.
<i>Cowfold Accs.</i> A i. 9.	<i>Tax. Eccl.</i> A ii. 27.
<i>Cust. B. Abbey.</i> A i. 2.	<i>T. N., T. de N., Testa de N.</i> A ii. 12.
<i>Cust. of Pevensey.</i> A i. 4.	<i>Vist. Ssx.</i> A i. 10.
<i>D.B.</i> A ii. 4.	
<i>Dipl. Angl.</i> B 5.	< comes from; is derived from.
<i>Docs. Lewes Pr.</i> A i. 7.	> develops into.
<i>Early Stat. Chichr.</i> A i. 1.	* denotes a hypothetical or re-
<i>E.D.D.</i> F 8.	constructed form.

TABLE OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS¹.

<i>Vowels.</i>	<i>Consonants.</i>
i as in <i>bít</i> , <i>píll</i> , <i>ríd</i> .	t as in <i>tear</i> , <i>pet</i> .
ɛ „ <i>bet</i> , <i>red</i> .	d „ <i>dear</i> , <i>red</i> .
æ „ <i>cat</i> , <i>fallow</i> .	þ „ <i>thin</i> , <i>thorn</i> .
ī „ <i>seed</i> , <i>feed</i> , <i>plead</i> .	ð „ <i>then</i> , <i>there</i> .
ē „ <i>German nehmen</i> , <i>leben</i> .	n „ <i>nose</i> , <i>bone</i> .
a „ <i>but</i> , <i>run</i> .	l „ <i>lie</i> , <i>loud</i> , <i>bull</i> .
ā „ <i>father</i> , <i>card</i> .	r „ <i>round</i> , <i>rash</i> .
u „ <i>put</i> , <i>pull</i> .	s „ <i>sin</i> , <i>sigh</i> .
o „ <i>hot</i> , <i>cot</i> , <i>shod</i> .	z „ <i>zeal</i> , <i>raise</i> .
ū „ <i>boot</i> , <i>root</i> .	ʃ „ <i>ship</i> , <i>shot</i> .
ō „ <i>German bohne</i> , <i>so</i> .	ʒ „ <i>azure</i> , <i>pleasure</i> .
ō „ <i>saw</i> , <i>cord</i> , <i>law</i> .	j „ <i>yet</i> , <i>young</i> .
ā „ <i>bird</i> , <i>heard</i> , <i>word</i> .	p „ <i>pin</i> , <i>post</i> .
ə „ <i>about</i> , <i>father</i> .	b „ <i>bend</i> , <i>boast</i> .
ai „ <i>fire</i> , <i>choir</i> , <i>lie</i> .	f „ <i>fat</i> , <i>laughter</i> .
ei „ <i>pay</i> , <i>day</i> .	v „ <i>vent</i> , <i>vaunt</i> .
au „ <i>house</i> , <i>loud</i> .	w „ <i>will</i> , <i>woe</i> .
ou „ <i>bone</i> , <i>home</i> .	ʍ „ <i>wheel</i> , <i>when</i> (= voiceless <i>w</i> .)
oi „ <i>boy</i> .	m „ <i>men</i> , <i>mar</i> .
	k „ <i>king</i> , <i>cat</i> .
	g „ <i>guest</i> , <i>gone</i> .
	ŋ „ <i>sing</i> , <i>long</i> , <i>tongue</i> .
	h „ <i>host</i> , <i>hill</i> .

¹ Phonetic script is enclosed in round brackets, thus :—Keymer (=køimə).

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xxix

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xxx

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