

Old English collective plant-names in place-names

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Tree-names and other plant-names are widespread in English place-names, and in most cases consist of either a simplex name (e.g. Noke), a nominal compound (Oakley), or an adjectival compound (Okenhill). Missing from such a picture is the more conjectural class of collectives, which are recognized in the philological literature as a common Germanic grammatical feature. Here I consider the analysis of names such as Each in Kent, which could be either a dative singular (*ǣce* ‘at the oak’), or a collective (**ǣce* ‘the oak-copse’ or ‘the oak-covered region’). I argue that there are more collective plant-names in place-names than generally recognized.

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The existence in early Germanic languages of collective names for trees and other plants formed with the suffixes *-ja* or *-jōn* has long been accepted. This type was inherited by OE, and the suffixation is the usual explanation of the existence of pairs which appear as synonymous in the historical record, such as *berc* < **berka-*, *birce* < **birkjōn* ‘birch’, and *bōc* < **bōka*, *bēce* < **bōkjōn* ‘beech’. These examples are strong feminine and weak feminine respectively in the suffixless and suffixed forms.

The term *baumcollectiva* was used for this class of nouns by Kluge (1926: §65, §83, §94), who saw collective suffixes in the ON words *birke*, *báke*, *eike*, *elre*, *eske*, *espe*, *fyre*, *grene*, *hesle*, *linde*, *þelle*, *viðe*, and *lyngve*.¹ The existence of this type is also accepted by the recent Germanic etymological dictionary of Orel (2003), such as under **askjan*, **berkjōn*, and **bōkjan*.² A set of examples from German place-names is given by Bach (1953: 158): *Hesi* c.1000 (related to OE *hǣs* ‘brushwood’), *Durne*

¹ The list was taken by Kluge from the earlier work of Hellquist (1891: 35).

² The authorities disagree on the vowel length in the *-ja* suffix. Orel (2003) derives OE *bēce* ‘beech’ from proto-Germanic **bōkjan* ~ **bōkjon*, whereas OED writes **bōkā-* for the etymon.

‘Dornegebüsch [land covered with thorn-bushes]’, *Pohhi* a.700 ‘Buchicht [beech-wood]’, *Eki* a.1197 < **asgi* ‘Eschengebüsch [ash-wood]’.³

Though there are many hints that OE inherited a parallel construction, it certainly ceased to be productive after the early OE period and we see only scattered remnants of it in the place-name record. In English, the prehistoric phonetic development was *-ja*, *-jōn* > *-ia*, *-iōn* > *-i* > *-e*. The suffix caused mutation (*i*-umlaut) of the stem-vowels *a*, *o*, and *æ*, and palatization of *c* in *āc*, *berc*, and *bōc*. This means that the forms would in most cases develop into ME in the same way as datives in *-e* (or even archaic locatives in *-i*), so that individual examples are in no single case proof of the existence of collectives. We rather rely on the cumulative evidence from a number of examples, and the general argument that places are more likely to have been named after groups than single trees, except perhaps when an isolated or prominent tree was a meeting-place. In no English case is there any evidence for a *ge*- prefix.

The topic is quite neglected in the standard reference works on plants in English place-names; for example there is no mention of the concept in Gelling (1984: 219–22) at the point where tree-species names are listed, nor in Hooke (2010), or Bintley and Shapland (2013). This note thus has two modest aims: to argue that there are more examples of such collective nouns in English place-names than generally appreciated, and to issue a plea for a comprehensive and systematic examination of the potential examples. I attempt here no more than giving some background and displaying a random collection of suggestive instances. A summary of examples is given in the tables below; the inclusion of **ācē*, **esce*, and **sælge* amongst collectives is the main novelty. Simplex place-names should form the clearest examples, as the declensional endings are not obscured by composition. Let us consider some cases which I suggest are more likely to be collectives than datives.

³ But we must keep in mind that alternative explanations are possible; for example, modern German *Esche* ‘ash’ (feminine) cannot descend directly from MHG *asch* (masculine), and if not the collective, then it might be back-formed from the adjective *eschen*.

Singular	Collective		References
<i>āc</i>	* <i>āce</i>	‘oak’	
<i>æsc</i>	* <i>esce</i>	‘ash’	
<i>bōc</i>	<i>bēce</i>	‘beech’	OED ‘beech, n.’
<i>be(o)rc</i>	<i>birce</i>	‘birch’	OED ‘birch, n.’
<i>box</i>	* <i>byxe</i>	‘box-bush’	Coates 1999
<i>brōm</i>	* <i>brēme</i>	‘broom’	VEPN 1 17, 42
<i>mos</i>	* <i>myse</i>	‘moss’	OED ‘moss, n. ¹ ’; EPNE 2 47; Dodgson and Khaliq 1969–70: 27
<i>plūm</i>	<i>plȳme</i>	‘plum’	PN D 1 251
	? <i>pyrige</i>	‘perry, pear-tree’	OED ‘perry, n. ¹ ’; Kluge 1926: §82
<i>risc</i>	* <i>rysce</i>	‘rush’	OED ‘rush, n. ¹ ’
<i>salh</i>	* <i>sælge</i>	‘sallow’	OED ‘seal, n. ⁴ ’
* <i>sorf</i>	<i>syrfe</i> > ME <i>serve</i>	‘service-tree’	OED ‘service, n. ² ’
* <i>þurn-</i>	<i>þyrne</i>	‘thorn-bush’	OED ‘thorn, n.’
* <i>wic-</i>	<i>wice</i>	‘wych-elm’	OED ‘witch wych, n. ³ ’; Kluge 1926: §82

Table 1: OE and ME collective plant-names.

Singular	Collective		References
<i>busc</i>	* <i>bysce</i>	‘bushland, thicket’	VEPN 2 94, 116; Kristensson 2001: 109
	(<i>ge</i>) <i>fyrhðe</i>	‘frith’	OED ‘frith, n. ² ’
* <i>hāes</i>	* <i>hāese</i> , * <i>hēse</i>	‘brushwood’	EPNE 1 218
<i>holt</i>	<i>hylte</i>	‘wood’	Bosworth and Toller 1882[–98]: s.v.
* <i>scrobb</i>	<i>scrybb</i> , ? <i>scrybbe</i>	‘scrub, shrubbery’	PN Sa 4 xvi
* <i>stobb</i>	<i>stybb</i>	‘stub’	OED ‘stub, n.’

Table 2: OE and ME non-species-specific collective tree-names and bush-names.

Singular	Collective		Examples
<i>busk</i>	* <i>byski</i>	‘bush’	Bixley (Suffolk and Norfolk)
<i>ēk</i>	<i>eiki, eike</i>	‘oak’	Eyke (Suffolk)
<i>grøn</i>	* <i>greni</i> > <i>grene</i>	‘green place’	Hellquist (1891: 35)

Table 3: Scandinavian collective tree-names and bush-names found in East Anglian place-names.

**ǣce* ‘oak’

Each (Each End and Each Manor Farm in Woodnesborough, TR308584) in Kent is generally explained as from the dative *ǣc*, but nearly all spellings have a final *-e*. Though an unetymological *-e* can be arbitrarily added in ME spellings, in this case it is persistent, and goes back to the DB *Ece* (Wallenberg 1934: 587; Cullen 1997: 507). If this is really a dative **ǣce*, then it is an analogical deviation from OE literary standards. More likely is the collective. In Old Danish, we may compare collective *eki*, given as a headform for ‘oak’ in Lund (1877: 27); this is very likely the etymon of Eyke in Suffolk. Another example may be the manor of Ramsey Abbey which appears as *Bradenech(e)*, *Bradensch*, and *Bradenesche*, in the abbey’s cartulary (Hart and Lyons 1884) and as *Bradenaic* and *Bradenaicen* in original charters of the mid-twelfth century (BL Add. Charters 77736, 77737). The meaning is perhaps ‘broad oak-wood’. In PN Hrt (166), this place is assigned to Brandish Wood in Therfield in Hertfordshire and given the sense ‘at the broad oak’, which of course cannot be excluded.

bēce ‘beech’

Kitson (forthcoming: 22–23) says that *bēce* ‘beech’ (an OE feminine consonant-stem) was a new nomimative formed on the vowel of the old oblique cases. The alternative explanation as a collective seems more likely in cases such as the lost *Beche* in Eastbourne in Sussex, though *bece* ‘stream’ cannot be excluded (PN Sx 427). Other possible Sussex examples are *Estbeche* and *Westbeche* 1528 (East Sussex Record Office HEH/BA/BOX 35/1596), which perhaps represent remnants of a former extensive beech forest. These might correspond to the modern Beech Farm in Whatlington (TQ775197) and Lower Beech Farm in Battle (TQ731165), both of which are near woods called Beech Wood. I have suggested (Briggs 2019) that *Beche* in Eastbourne may even be the etymon of the lexical word “beach”, which otherwise is of obscure etymology.

***birce* ‘birch’**

Kitson (forthcoming: 22–23) says that for “birch” there seems to be just two basic forms, West Saxon *beorc* and Anglian *birce*. I suggest that there is more than simple dialectal variation here. The originally collective *birce* occurs for example in the Much and Little Birch in Herefordshire (Coplestone-Crow 2009: 42); compounds such as Birkenhead and Bergholt contain *be(o)rc* (PN Ch 4 313; Dict Sf 11).

****bysce* ‘bush’**

This is found in a surname ancestral to the modern Bish, some cases of which may derive from a place recorded as *Bysche* 1333 in Frant in Sussex (PN Sx 376; Löfvenberg 1942: 14–15).

****byski* (ODan) ‘bush’**

In Briggs 2011, I have argued that this word occurs in Bixley in Norfolk and Suffolk (TG255062 and TM198432), in which the metathesis *sk* > *ks* is certainly recent in both cases, ruling out a derivation from *byxe* ‘box’. Also possible is a Scandinavianized pronunciation of an English **bysce-lēah*.

****esce* ‘ash’**

Ash in Kent (TR287583) is adjacent to Each, and most early spellings have final *-e* or an apostrophe; moreover they start *E-* (*Esse*, *Eshe*, *Esche*, etc.); see Cullen 1997: 378. According to Kristensson (2001: 34), in Kent OE *æsc* should develop to a ME vowel written <a>. Thus a plain *æsc* as an etymology will not do for Ash; we rather have the collective **esce*. This explanation has the further advantage that the special pleading of Kristensson (2001: 34) to explain away spellings such as *Eshe* as representing *æsc* is not needed. I suggest that the Kentish Each and Ash go together as a pair meaning something like ‘oak district’ and ‘ash district’. Campsey Ash in Suffolk is an interesting example, as many early spellings of the first component take forms such as *Campesia* or *Campesse*, suggesting a simple compound *camp-*esce* rather than the genitival *campes-ēg* conventionally given as the etymology (we ignore the problem of what *camp* means). If this is right, the extra *Ashe* is a pleonastic later addition. Ashbocking in Suffolk (once a simplex, now with a manorial affix Bocking) has numerous spelling such as *Esse* and *Eisse*. The later *aish* spellings or similar for Ashbocking are explained by Kristensson (1995: 17, 19, 20) and Jordan (1968: §32 Anm.3, §102) as a special phonetic change of *æ* before /ʃ/, but perhaps instead represents a development of OE *e* from unlauded *æ*. Ashe in Hampshire is similarly *Esse* DB, *Esshe* 1258

(Coates 1989: 25). Hogg (1992: 95, 128) says that *æ* in *æsc* is not unlauded in the dative *æsce*; this seems not to be the case for the collective **esce*. Parsons, Styles, and Hough (VEPN 1 32) also admit the likelihood of the existence of ME **eshe*, but only cite the northern instances of Esh in County Durham (Mawer 1920: 77), and Esholt and Eshton in Yorkshire (PN WRY 7 77). Here Scandinavian influence from the vowel of *esk* is harder to exclude than in the Kent and Suffolk examples. A parallel in the Netherlands is Es, said in Künzel, Blok, and Verhoeff (1988: 134) to be “wrsch. uit wgm. **eski* ‘essenbos’ [probably from West Germanic **eski* ‘ash wood’]”.⁴

***(ge)fyrhðe* ‘frith’**

The OED entry, not revised since 1898, says that ‘the Old Germanic type **(ga)furhipjom* would appear to be a collective < **furfâ* fir n.; but there is no trace in English of the etymological sense “fir-wood”’. This remains an uncertain case.

****mysse* ‘moss’**

This term, appearing in the names of the River Misbourne and Missenden in Buckinghamshire, has been considered to be the name of a water-plant (EPNE 2 47; Dodgson and Khaliq 1969–70: 27). However, Cole (2018: 73) suggested instead that ‘**mysse* does not refer to a particular plant species—certainly not water arum or buckbean—but to the marshy state of the ground’. If this is the case, derivation of **mysse* as a collective from OE *mos* is still possible; OED under *moss*, n.¹ considers the senses ‘a bog, swamp; a fen, morass’ and ‘a plant of the class Musci’ to be the same word.

***pyrige* ‘pear’**

The origin is uncertain, with OED (revised 2005) preferring a derivation from a post-classical Latin adjective **pireus*, whilst Kluge (1926: §82) adds a *-jōn* suffix to Latin *pirus*.

****rysce* ‘rush’**

OED has a long essay (revised in 2011) on the vowel variations observed in the word “rush”. OE **rusc* is not found (instead most often *risc*), but must be presumed to have existed because the later collective **rysce* is so common. The existence of **rysce* in Suffolk is certain from the two places called Rushmere, both of which have spellings in *resche*- dominating the

⁴ My translation from the Dutch.

medieval records.⁵ The same is true of Rushbrooke (Dict Sf 117), and *Rischemer*’ 1368 in Bradfield in Norfolk is another East Anglian example (PN Nf 2 147).

***sælge ‘sallow’**

Seal in Kent and Seale in Surrey are normally explained as either *sele* ‘hall’, or the dative of *sealh* ‘sallow’. If it is the tree-name, then again the collective is more likely than the dative. Kristensson (2002: 154) lists **sele*, **sæle*, **siele* ‘willow copse’, but gives only the locative surname examples *ate Selehamme* (Selham in Sussex (PN Sx 1 28), for which **sælge* might still be a good option) and *atte Sele* (probably ‘hall’). Gover, Mawer, and Stenton (PN W 182) treat Zeals in Wiltshire as OE *sealh* ‘willow, sally’, in the dative *sēale* (sic) or plural *sēalas* (sic). Perhaps **sælge* occurs in Syleham in Suffolk, for which typical early spellings have *Sil-*, *Seil-*, *Sele-*. Syleham is on the River Waveney fens, and is otherwise explained as containing OE *sylu* ‘mud’. Sale in Staffordshire (Horovitz 2005: 472), and Selby in Yorkshire (PN WRY 4 31–32) are further possible examples of this word. OED ‘seal, n.’⁴ gives the sense ‘a plantation of willow trees’, but the only example given is written *sale*. Compare also ‘sally, sb.2’ and ‘seal, sb.3’ in EDD, both glossed as ‘a generic name for the willow or sallow’.

scrybb ‘scrub’

There is a good discussion of **scrob*, *scrybb* in PN Sa 4 xvi. The unique OE occurrence of *scrybb* is in a boundary description in the Suffolk charter S 1486 of c.1000 (the will of Ælflæd): *ofþare stanstræte 7lang scrybbe þæt hit cymð to Acantune* (‘from the stone street along the scrubland as far as Acton’). Here *scrybbe* must be a feminine genitive; a grammatical problem here is that a form **scrybbe* is expected in the nominative if this is a collective.

syrfe ‘service-tree’

On the service-tree, OED (not revised since 1912) says ‘Old English *syrfe* weak feminine < prehistoric **surbjōn-*, < popular Latin **sorbea*, < *sorbus* service n.’². This is a clear example of *-jōn*-suffixation and a case of a collective becoming a new singular, followed exceptionally by a later plural *serves* becoming a yet further new singular. See further Coates 1999: 5.

⁵ These are Rushmere St Andrew, and Rushmere near Mutford. There is also Rushmere Lodge Farm in Friston (TM427592), which was *Riscemara* DB 316b.

***thyrne* ‘thorn’**

A field-name *Therne* 1366 is found in Peasenhall in Suffolk (Brown 1987: 89), and a *Thernegrene* was in Wickham Skeith 1373–1445 (Suffolk Record Office HD1538/424/36, HD1538/7/150, HD1538/424/44). A ME spelling with *-e-* is regular in Suffolk for the vowel descending from OE *y*. Thurne in Norfolk is derived in PN Nf 2 42 from ‘OE **þyrne** “thorn-bush” or ON **þyrnir**, with the same meaning’. Kitson (forthcoming: 22–23) has the following comments: ‘patterns of compounding give a clue to the origin of *þyrne* [...] which suggests it began as a composition-form for specific compounds’. Neither author comments on a possible collective sense; I argue that it is more likely. Thurning in Norfolk is derived from *thyrne* by Ekwall (1962: 200), making it a kind of double collective.

What happened to the collectives? The direct origin in a suffix causing umlaut disappeared early, and the collective sense was eventually lost. But there is very weak evidence allowing us to conjecture that once the pattern was established, it was occasionally generalized, with the vowel change not necessarily following completely regular phonological processes. In other words, simply fronting or raising the vowel and adding *-e* was felt to signal the collective sense. This may explain *hylte*, an apparently redundant collective as the base *holt* ‘wood’ already has a collective sense (Holthausen 1963: s.v.). In the historic period, suffixes such as *-iht* and *-et* became the preferred way to form collective tree-names, especially in words meaning ‘copse’.

Collectives with the suffixes *-jā* or *-jōn* are not restricted to plants; other likely examples are *bece* ‘stream’, a derivative of *bæc* hard to distinguish from the tree-name ‘beech’ (Ekwall 1963, 1965; VEPN 1 57; Kitson 1990: 199; LPN 3); **celce* < *cealc* ‘chalk’ in Chelsea (Ekwall 1944: 26) and probably Chelsbourne Farm in Wye in Kent (TR073449, Cullen 1997: 39); **selte* < *salt* ‘salt’ in Salt in Staffordshire (Horovitz 2005: 472); **stāne* < *stān* ‘stone’, giving rise to the names Steine or Steyne of various places in Sussex, Steane in Northamptonshire, and the River Stene in Yorkshire (PN Sx 292; PN Nth 57; ERN 377); and from *dung* is derived *dyncge* ‘manured land’, with likely place-name examples in Kent and Sussex (EPNE 1 141). As a final provocation, I suggest that the common place-name element ‘green’ is the Scandinavian collective *greni* ‘a green place’, giving ME *grene*, and not the English adjective used substantively (Table 3). The word is first found in the DB *Manegrene* for Mangreen in Swardeston in Norfolk (TG215029; Brown 1984: f.188a).

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Abbreviations

Please note: all abbreviations are given in Roman type, regardless of publication status. Suggestions for additions to the list of abbreviations may be sent to the editor at <jepns@nottingham.ac.uk>.

BCS	Birch, Walter de Gray, ed. (1885–99), <i>Cartularium saxonicum</i> , 3 vols + index (London: Whiting, Charles J. Clark)
Bd	Bedfordshire
BL	The British Library
Bodl	The Bodleian Library
Bosworth-Toller	Bosworth, Joseph, and T. Northcote Toller (1898), <i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press), available online as the <i>Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> [2013] (Prague: Charles University) < http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz >
Brk	Berkshire
Bu	Buckinghamshire
Ca	Cambridgeshire
CDEPN	Watts, Victor (2004), <i>The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
Ch	Cheshire
Co	Cornwall
CPNE	Padel, O. J. (1985), <i>Cornish Place-Name Elements</i> , EPNS 56/57 (Nottingham: EPNS)
Cu	Cumberland
D	Devon
Db	Derbyshire
DBPN	Mills, A. D. (2011), <i>A Dictionary of British Place-Names</i> (Oxford: Oxford UP)
DEPN	Ekwall, Eilert (1960), <i>The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names</i> , 4th edn (Oxford: Clarendon) [this edn unless otherwise indicated]
Dict Du	Watts, Victor (2002), <i>A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names</i> , EPNS Popular Series 3 (Nottingham: EPNS)
Dict IoM	Broderick, George (2006), <i>A Dictionary of Manx Place-Names</i> , EPNS Popular Series 4 (Nottingham: EPNS)
Dict LD	Whaley, Diana (2006), <i>A Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names</i> , EPNS Regional Series 1 (Nottingham: EPNS)
Dict LeR	Cox, Barrie (2005), <i>A Dictionary of Leicestershire and Rutland Place-Names</i> , EPNS Popular Series 5 (Nottingham: EPNS)

Dict Li	Cameron, Kenneth (1998), <i>A Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names</i> , EPNS Popular Series 1 (Nottingham: EPNS)
Dict Sf	Briggs, Keith, and Kelly Kilpatrick (2016), <i>A Dictionary of Suffolk Place-Names</i> , EPNS Popular Series 6 (Nottingham: The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History in association with the EPNS)
Do	Dorset
DOE	Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (2018), <i>Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online</i> (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project) < https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/ >
DOST	Craigie, William Alexander, et al. (1931–2002), <i>A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue from the Twelfth Century to the End of the Seventeenth</i> , 12 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP) [see also DSL]
DSL	<i>Dictionary of the Scots Language</i> (Scottish Language Dictionaries): < www.dsl.ac.uk > [online edn of DOST and SND]
Du	Durham
EFN	Field, John (1972), <i>English Field-Names: A dictionary</i> (Newton Abbot: David & Charles)
EPNE	<i>English Place-Name Elements</i>
EPNS	English Place-Name Society/English Place-Name Survey
ERN	Ekwall, Eilert (1928), <i>English River-Names</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
ERY	East Riding of Yorkshire
Ess	Essex
FaNBI	Hanks, Patrick, Richard Coates and Peter McClure, eds (2016), <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland</i> , 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP)
Gl	Gloucestershire
GPC	Thomas, R. J. (1950–2002), <i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i> (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
Hrt	Hertfordshire
Hu	Huntingdonshire
IE	Indo-European
JEPNS	<i>Journal of the English Place-Name Society</i>
K	Kent
KCD	Kemble, J. M., ed. (1839–48; repr. 2011), <i>Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici</i> , 6 vols (London: Sumptibus Societatis; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
La	Lancashire
Le	Leicestershire
Li	Lincolnshire
LPN	Gelling, Margaret, and Ann Cole (2014), <i>The Landscape of Place-Names</i> , new edn (Donington: Shaun Tyas)
ME	Middle English
MED	McSparran, Frances, ed. (2013), <i>Middle English Dictionary</i> (University of Michigan): < https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/ >
ModE	Modern English
Mx	Middlesex

Nb	Northumberland
NDEFN	Cavill, Paul (2018), <i>A New Dictionary of English Field-Names</i> (Nottingham: EPNS)
Nf	Norfolk
NRY	North Riding of Yorkshire
Nt	Nottinghamshire
Nth	Northamptonshire
O	Oxfordshire
ODan	Old Danish
OE	Old English
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , online edition: < http://www.oed.com >
OIr	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
OS	Ordnance Survey
OScand	Old Scandinavian
pers.n.	personal name
p.n.	place-name
PN BdHu	Mawer, Allen, and F. M. Stenton (1926), <i>The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire</i> , EPNS 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
PN Brk	Gelling, Margaret (1973–76), <i>The Place-Names of Berkshire</i> , EPNS 49–51 (Nottingham: EPNS)
PN Bu	Mawer, Allen, and F. M. Stenton (1925), <i>The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire</i> , EPNS 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
PN Ca	Reaney, P. H. (1943), <i>The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely</i> , EPNS 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
PN Ch	Dodgson, John McNeal (1970–81), <i>The Place-Names of Cheshire</i> , parts 1–5(1:ii), EPNS 44–48 and 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP and Nottingham: EPNS); Dodgson, John McNeal, and Alexander R. Rumble (1998), <i>The Place-Names of Cheshire</i> , part 5(2), EPNS 74 (Nottingham: EPNS)
PN Cu	Armstrong, A. M., A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and Bruce Dickins (1950–52), <i>The Place-Names of Cumberland</i> , EPNS 20–22 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
PN D	Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (1931–32), <i>The Place-Names of Devon</i> , 2 vols, EPNS 8–9 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
PN Db	Cameron, Kenneth (1959), <i>The Place-Names of Derbyshire</i> , EPNS 27–29 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
PN Do	Mills, A. D. (1977–2010), <i>The Place-Names of Dorset</i> , EPNS 53–54, 59/60 and 86/87 (Nottingham: EPNS)
PN Du	Watts, Victor (2007), <i>The Place-Names of County Durham</i> , EPNS 83 (Nottingham: EPNS)
PN Ess	Reaney, P. H. (1935), <i>The Place-Names of Essex</i> , EPNS 12 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
PN ERY	Smith, A. H. (1937), <i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York</i> , EPNS 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
PN Gl	Smith, A. H. (1964–65), <i>The Place-Names of Gloucestershire</i> , 4 vols, EPNS 38–41 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

- PN Hrt Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (1938), *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire*, EPNS 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN Le Cox, Barrie (1998–2019), *The Place-Names of Leicestershire*, 8 vols, EPNS 75, 78, 81, 84, 88, 90–91 and 93 (Nottingham: EPNS)
- PN Li Cameron, Kenneth (1985–91), *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, parts 1–2, EPNS 58 and 64/65 (Nottingham: EPNS); Cameron, Kenneth, with John Field and John Insley, *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, parts 3–6, EPNS 66, 71, 73 and 77 (Nottingham: EPNS); Cameron, Kenneth, and John Insley with Jean Cameron (2010), *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire*, part 7 (Nottingham: EPNS)
- PN Mx Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, with the collaboration of S. J. Madge (1942), *The Place-Names of Middlesex*, EPNS 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN Nf Sandred, Karl Inge, and Bengt Lindström (1989), *The Place-Names of Norfolk*, part 1, EPNS 61 (Nottingham: EPNS); Sandred, Karl Inge, with B. Cornford, B. Lindström, and P. Rutledge (1996), *The Place-Names of Norfolk*, part 2, EPNS 62 (Nottingham: EPNS); Sandred, Karl Inge (2002), *The Place-Names of Norfolk*, part 3 (Nottingham: EPNS)
- PN NRY Smith, A. H. (1928), *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, EPNS 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN Nt Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (1940), *The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, EPNS 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN Nth Gover, J. E. B., and F. M. Stenton (1933), *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, EPNS 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN O Gelling, Margaret (1953–54), *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire*, 2 vols, EPNS 23–24 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN R Cox, Barrie (1994), *The Place-Names of Rutland*, EPNS 47–49 (Nottingham: EPNS)
- PN Sa Gelling, Margaret, in collaboration with H. D. G. Foxall (1990–2012), *The Place-Names of Shropshire*, 6 vols, EPNS 62/63, 70, 76, 80, 82 and 89 (Nottingham: EPNS); Baker, John, with Sarah Beach (2018), *The Place-Names of Shropshire*, vol. 7, EPNS 92 (Nottingham: EPNS)
- PN Sr Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, in collaboration with A. Bonner (1934), *The Place-Names of Surrey*, EPNS 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN St Oakden, J. P. (1984), *The Place-Names of Staffordshire*, EPNS 55 (Nottingham: EPNS)
- PN Sx Mawer, A., and F. M. Stenton with J. E. B. Gover (1929–30), *The Place-Names of Sussex*, 2 vols, EPNS 6–7 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN W Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (1939), *The Place-Names of Wiltshire*, EPNS 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN Wa Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, in collaboration with F. T. S. Houghton (1936), *The Place-Names of Warwickshire*, EPNS 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN We Smith, A. H. (1967), *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, 2 vols, EPNS 42–43 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

- PN Wo Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, in collaboration with F. T. S. Houghton (1927), *The Place-Names of Worcestershire*, EPNS 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- PN WRY Smith, A. H. (1961–63, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 8 vols, EPNS 30–37 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)
- R Rutland
- S Sawyer, P. H. (1968), *Anglo-Saxon Charters. An annotated list and bibliography*. Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society) [The Electronic Sawyer: <<http://www.esawyer.org.uk>> (2016)]
- Sa Shropshire
- Sf Suffolk
- SND Grant, William, et al., eds (1931–76), *The Scottish National Dictionary* (Edinburgh: The Scottish National Dictionary Association) [see also DSL]
- So Somerset
- Sr Surrey
- St Staffordshire
- Su Sussex
- TNA The National Archives
- UP University Press
- VEPN **1** Parsons, David, and Tania Styles with Carole Hough (1997), *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (Á–Box)* (Nottingham: Centre for English Name-Studies); **2** Parsons, David N. and Tania Styles (2000), *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (Brace–Cæster)* (Nottingham: Centre for English Name-Studies); **3** Parsons, David N. (2004), *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (Ceafor–Cock-pit)* (Nottingham: EPNS)
- W Wiltshire
- Wa Warwickshire
- We Westmorland
- Wo Worcestershire
- WRY West Riding of Yorkshire
- Wt Isle of Wight
- Y Yorkshire