### Slaughden: a Dutch name on the Suffolk coast?

#### **Keith Briggs**

The origin of the name Slaughden in Aldeburgh in Suffolk has never been properly studied. This note proposes that it is of Low German or Dutch origin, and refers to timber or brushwood reinforcements of the banks of the River Alde.

\*

Slaughden is the name of the narrow strip of land, in places barely wide enough to carry a road, which separates the mouth of the River Alde from the ocean (Figure 1). This part of the Suffolk coast has been subject to much natural change in recent centuries; 13km to the north, the former port of Dunwich has been completely eroded away, and 8km to the south, the port of Orford has lost its access to the sea by the growth of Orford Ness, which starts at Slaughden (de Boer and Carr 1969, Bailey et al. 2021). In the late medieval period, the economy of Aldeburgh depended on fishing, and the river behind Slaughden formed an important sheltered harbour; without this option boats had to beach on the shingle foreshore. The importance of Slaughden to Aldeburgh is clear from the surviving documents, which frequently report maintenance work (Hele 1890: 33; Macray 1895, 279–312; Winn 1925).

The origin of the name Slaughden has apparently never been studied; it is absent from the standard reference works, even those focussed on Suffolk (Mills 2014, Dict Sf). In the list of recorded forms below, SA stands for Suffolk Archives (which holds all EE documents in the Ipswich branch), CA stands for the Chamberlain's Accounts (EE1/I2/1), and OB for the Order Book, published by Winn (1925) but now lost. These documents are products of the former Aldeburgh borough council, which was abolished in 1832.

Slawtinge 1556 OB, 1569 et freq to 1625 CA Slaughtinge t. Henry VIII (1587) Macray (1895, 281), c.1560 OB, 1572 et freq to 1583 CA Slaughtynge 1568 CA, 1572 CA

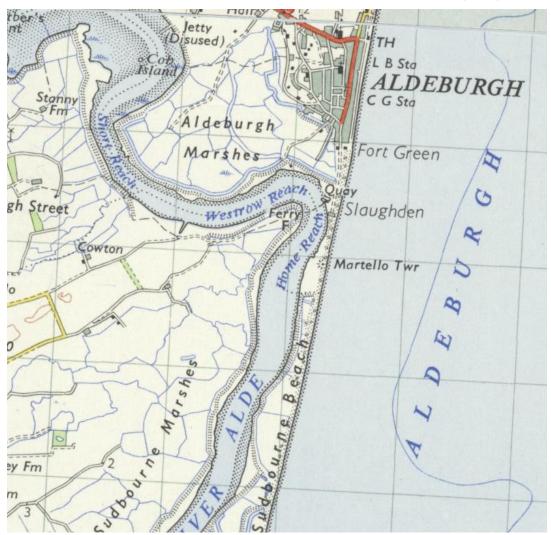


Figure 3: Aldeburgh and Slaughden on the 1960 OS 1" map. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Slautinge 1568 CA, 1570 CA, 1589 CA, 1625 CA

Slawtynge 1569 CA

Slawtyne 1570 CA

Slaughden Inn and Quay 1577 map by J. Gear (EE1/10055)

Slaughting 1577 EE1/E1/1, 1583 CA, 1648 CA

Slawten c.1570–80 map Norden (1966: Plate 4)

Slawghtinge c.1582 OB 22

Slatinge houses 1588 map Norden (1966: Plate 5), 1594 Darby's map (EE1/1/16/1)

Slatinge 1625 CA

Slaughton 1626 et freq to 1647 CA

*Slaughden* 1635 EE1/P1/3/3, 1736 Kirby map, 1783 Hodskinson's map, 1790 map of Aldeburgh EE1/1/16/3, 1905 OS 6" map

Valley of Slaugh c.1755 map by Bowen

The earliest apparent mention, from the time of Henry VIII, is in fact an inspeximus of 1587, and we cannot be certain that the cited spelling Slaughtinge occurred in the now-lost original. The lack of records earlier than the mid-sixteenth century suggests a name of late-medieval origin, but the fluctuating second syllable makes the etymology difficult. The first syllable is also obscure. The consistent -au- and -aw- spellings rule out OED **slough** *n*. in the sense of 'soft, miry, or muddy ground'; OED records no -a- spellings, and nor have I seen anything but -o- in numerous Suffolk minor place-name examples. The spellings with -gh- or -w- indicate a consonant developed from a ME voiceless velar fricative [χ], but the spelling Slatinge (1588 and later) shows that this earlier sound was already silent for some speakers. For topographic reasons, Slaughden is very unlikely to contain ME dene 'valley', even though the Bowen map very curiously marks Valley of Slaugh along the whole length of Orford Ness, which is in fact a bank of shingle and sand. The etymology 'Anglo-Saxon slog-dene, a muddy river' given by Clodd (1959: 50) as if certain, is therefore wrong in both elements, as well as wrong in the age of the name. The word dene 'dune' found elsewhere on the Suffolk coast might be considered (Briggs 2020). However, the spellings before 1635 nearly all end with -ting rather than with -den, strongly suggesting that -den is a later development.

In 2021 I visited Bremen, and noted the name Die Schlachte for the bank of the Weser adjacent to the old town. A plaque at the site states that the name was recorded as *slait* in 1250, and claims that this is a reference to eingeschlagenen Pfählen 'driven-in piles'. A more correct form of this well-recorded Middle Low German (MLG) word (slait has perhaps been misread from slact) is slacht, for which the dictionary of Schiller and Lübben (1875–1881: iv. 222) gives the meaning Pfahlwerk, Uferbefestigung 'pile-work, river-bank strengthening'. The gloss Slachbom phala (for medieval Latin fala 'faggot', -bom is 'tree') in the MLG vocabulary in Damme (2011: iii. 724) is also relevant. This item suggests that the element slach-, literally meaning 'beat', could refer to the beating down of sticks or reeds to make bundles, and not necessarily the beating of hard wooden piles into the banks. The use of bundles of willow twigs for reinforcing embankments, especially for protection against scouring by tides and floods, has continued in the Netherlands until recent times; the process is described and illustrated in van Veen (n.d.: 34).

A cognate element *schlachte* is found also in Netherlandish placenames with the meaning of dyke or dam (Moerman 1956: 210). Moerman reports examples from the northern provinces of the Netherlands, with attestations in Friesland and Groningen. The languages of this region in the

medieval period are MLG and Old Frisian, rather than Middle Dutch. Moerman cites the text slachte sive damme 'slachte or dam' from a Groningen document of 1364, which confirms the meaning. The Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek (Verwijs et al. 1885–1941) under slacht lists the meaning paalwerk of eene andere bevestiging der rivierovers 'pilework or other strengthening of river-banks', and records the compound slachtdijk. Despite this being a dictionary of Middle Dutch, the attestations in question come from a linguistically MLG-speaking region. A derivative Upslachte in Kommerzijl near Groningen is discussed by de Vries (1946: 98). Beetstra (1987: 170) lists places called De Slachte and Slachtedijk in the region of Baard in Fryslân, and gives the meaning in Frisian as binnendyk 'inner dyke', a meaning also considered by Moerman. It appears likely that slacht in the senses 'dam, river-bank reinforcement' was of MLG origin, and there is evidence for borrowing into Frisian and possibly Middle Dutch too. Importantly for the theory to follow, the -ch- in these words represents the same (or a very similar) sound as does ME -gh-. It should be noted that the linguistic situation in what is now the Netherlands was complex in the medieval period, with Frisian much more widely spoken than today, and Low German used as a first language in some parts, but also as a lingua franca for trading purposes. Thus the term *slacht* in the sense of a river-bank strengthening, though likely to have been of MLG origin, was apparently also used by speakers of Dutch and Frisian.

These observations strongly suggest that the name Slaughden might be of Dutch or Low German origin, and originally designated pilings or other protective works to reinforce the banks of the river Alde, at a point where the sea was threatening to break through. The introduction of the word to Suffolk might then be due to Dutch workers brought over in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries to work on protecting the banks of the Alde, or to an Englishman who had visited the Netherlands to learn such techniques. The role of the Dutch in draining the Cambridgeshire fens is well known (Darby 1956). In Aldeburgh, there is evidence for foreigners settled in the town in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but their precise origin is not recorded, and they cannot be linked specifically to embankment workings. The 1524 subsidy labels as alien (alyant) the two men Martyn Martelat and Martyn Heyman (S.H.A.H. 1910, 266-67). In the 1568 subsidy, a Hewe Dyker of Aldeburgh may be more significant; his surname very likely denotes a dyke-worker, and although he is not listed as an alien, he appears at the foot of the list of tax-payers, paying only 2d (S.H.A.H. 1909, 210). This is the normal position in these lists of an impoverished immigrant. The Aldeburgh chamberlain's accounts, which survive from 1566, mention payments for foreigners from the Low Countries only twice: 4 pence for a flemyngs supper in 1568, and 6 shillings and 8 pence for ten loads of ballist for the Fleming in 1628. These accounts, however, do have numerous records of payments to apparently local men for preparing and carrying piles and broom (as well as whins and lings, these being local words for brushwood or heather), either for the campsie (first in 1578), or to Slaughtinge (first in 1582). The word campsie appears to represent the widespread East Anglian dialect word usually appearing as caunsey or caunser, this being a local form of the more standard causey 'causeway'. This would then designate the road along the Slaughden spit. These accounts also use the rare term spile, another word of Dutch origin, meaning a splinter, chip, or narrow strip of wood (OED spile, n.², Llewellyn (1936: 205)). References to the sharpening of spiles suggest that they were pegs or dowels used for fixing timbers or faggots in place to protect the river-bank.

The development of a diphthong -au- is regular in the combination  $[a\chi]$ , and is exactly paralleled by ME slaht > slaught 'slaying, slaughter' (Jordan 1968 §122). The remaining problem with this etymology is the ending -ting, -den, or -ton observed in spellings of the name Slaughden. Assuming that -ting is original, it may come from an unrecorded Dutch or MLG derivative term \*slachting. Or, perhaps more likely, it is simply a purely English word slaughting formed on the Dutch or MLG stem, possibly with influence from the MLG infinitive slachten 'Pfahlwerk einschlagen' (Schiller and Lübben 1875–1881: v. 223). Such a construction would be parallel to words like 'embanking' and 'dyking', meaning a place where the activity specified by the concrete nominal stem is carried out (OED -ing, suffix<sup>1</sup>). In any case, the spelling variations in the records are typical of a recently adopted word, one of fluctuating pronunciation and unfamiliar to the scribes. A curiosity is that Aldeburgh is spelt Aldebowrght in the 1524 Subsidy Roll (S.H.A.H. 1910: 266); such a paragogic or excrescent -t is typical of the Dutch language in certain contexts (it survives in modern burcht 'fort, castle'), but is very unusual in English.

There is another place-name in Suffolk quite likely identical to Slaughden, though it is very poorly documented. This is Sleighton Hill in Trimley St Martin; it has a form *Slawtinge* recorded in 1608 (Arnott 1946, 38). Sleighton Hill is directly on the banks of the River Orwell at a bend where erosion would be a risk (TM257373). The existence of this second name indirectly supports the theory proposed here.

As a footnote we should note that MLG *slacht* may have merged in Dutch with cognate native words of divergent senses, namely Middle Dutch and MLG *slaghe*, *slacht*, which have the recorded meanings of 'pathway, road', and 'peat-extraction area'. A word for a path is unlikely to

be borrowed into English, which already had numerous terms for this concept. The sense 'peat-extraction area' is a theoretical possibility for Slaughden, but I argue that the spit of land and its protection was a far more significant feature in the topography of Aldeburgh. There is no mention of peat-working in the surviving documents.

## **Keith Briggs**

k.briggs73@btinternet.com

# Acknowledgements

I thank John Insley for helpful discussions on the MLG word *slacht*, and Alex Kerkhof of the Fryske Academy in Leeuwarden for advice on the medieval linguistic situation in the northern provinces of the Netherlands.

# Appendix: an unlikely alternative

A fifteenth-century English rutter (a document giving sailing directions) has the following description of the Dee estuary: ... and take your slawhte on the maynelonde of Walis, Rotlonde [i.e. Rhuddlan] and the Red Banke in Chester Water northe and southe (Lester 1994, 353). The editor takes slawhte here to be a form of 'sloth' and to mean 'rest, relaxation' (399). If this were correct, we might imagine \*slawhting as a sailor's term for a place of rest. However, the recorded meanings of this word (OED sloth, n.¹) are 'physical or mental inactivity; disinclination to action, exertion, or labour; sluggishness, idleness, indolence, laziness; slowness; tardiness'. These negative meanings seem inappropriate, and moreover the spellings nearly always indicate a final fricative rather than a stop. In fact, another manuscript copy of this text has saught in this position (Waters 1967, 194), which means that the word is more plausibly OED †saught n. 'an agreement, covenant'. The rutter text take your saught therefore means 'conclude your business', and slawhte is a miscopying.

#### References

- Arnott, W. G. (1946), *The Place-Names of the Deben Valley Parishes* (Ipswich: Norman Adlard)
- Bailey, Mark, Peter Wain, and David Sear (2021), 'The transformation of the Suffolk coast c.1200 to c.1600: from Orford Ness to Goseford', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 45.1, 86–114
- Beetstra, W. T. (1987), *Toponimen en Toponimyske Eleminten yn Fryslân: in analytyske bibliografy ca. 1835–1980* (Ljouwert/Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy)
- de Boer, G. and A. P. Carr (1969), 'Early maps as historical evidence for coastal change', *The Geographical Journal* 135, 17–39

- Bowen, Emmanuel (1st edn probably 1753; various undated later editions to c.1785), An Accurate Map of the County of Suffolk Divided into its Hundreds ..., at Two Miles to the Inch
- Briggs, Keith (2020), 'Two coastal terms of continental origin: "shingle" and "dene", *Notes & Queries* 67.3, 323–26
- Clodd, H. P. (1959), Aldeburgh: the history of an ancient borough (Ipswich: Adlard)
- Damme, Robert (2011), Vocabularius Theutonicus. Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Edition des Mittelniederdeutsch-Lateinischen Schulwörterbuchs (Köln: Böhlau)
- Darby, H. C. (1956), The Draining of the Fens, 2nd edn (Cambridge: CUP)
- Dymond, David, ed. (1972), The County of Suffolk Surveyed by Joseph Hodskinson of Arundel St, Strand (Suffolk Records Society 15)
- Hele, N. F. (1890), Notes or Jottings about Aldeburgh, Suffolk (Ipswich: King)
- Jordan, Richard (1968), Handbuch der Mittelenglischen Grammatik: Lautlehre, 3rd edn (Heidelberg: Carl Winter)
- Kirby, John (1736), printed map of Suffolk (copy in the Suffolk Archives)
- Lester, Geoffrey A. (1994), 'The earliest English sailing directions', in Lister A. Matheson, ed., *Popular and Practical Science in Medieval England* (East Lansing: Colleagues Press)
- Llewellyn, E. C. (1936), *The Influence of Low Dutch on the English Vocabulary*, Publications of the Philological Society 12 (London: Humphrey Milford for the OUP)
- Macray, W. D. (1895), Records of the Corporation of Aldeburgh in the County of Suffolk, Reports on manuscripts in various collections 4 (Dublin: Historical Manuscripts Commission; Her Majesty's Stationery Office)
- Mills, A. D. (2014), *Suffolk Place-Names: their origins and meanings* (Lavenham: The Lavenham Press)
- Moerman, H. J. (1956), Nederlandse Plaatsnamen: een overzicht (Leiden: E. J. Brill)
- Norden, John (1966), Orford Ness: a selection of maps mainly by John Norden, presented to J. A. Steers (Cambridge: Heffer)
- Schiller, Karl and August Lübben (1875–1881), Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch (Bremen: J. Kühtmann)
- S.H.A.H. ed. (1909), *Suffolk in 1568: being the return for a subsidy granted in 1526*, Suffolk Green Books XII (Bury St Edmunds: Paul & Mathew)
- S.H.A.H. ed. (1910), Suffolk in 1524: being the return for a subsidy granted in 1523, Suffolk Green Books X (Woodbridge: G. Booth)
- Verwijs, E., J. Verdam, and F. A. Stoett (1885–1941), *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff)
- van Veen, Johan (n.d., 4th edn, c.1955), Dredge Drain Reclaim: the art of a nation (The Hague: Trio Printers)
- de Vries, Wobbe (1946), Groninger Plaatsnamen (Groningen: J. B. Wolters)
- Waters, D. W. (1967), *The Rutters of the Sea: the sailing directions of Pierre Garcie* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press)
- Winn, Arthur T., ed. (1925), Records of the Borough of Aldeburgh: the order book 1549–1631 (Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons)

#### **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 <iepns@nottingham.ac.uk>.

BCS Birch, Walter de Gray, ed. (1885–99), Cartularium saxonicum, 3 vols +

index (London: Whiting, Charles J. Clark)

Bd Bedfordshire

BL The British Library Bodl The Bodleian Library

Bosworth- Bosworth, Joseph, and T. Northcote Toller (1898), *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), available online as the *Bosworth*-

Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary [2013] (Prague: Charles University)

<a href="http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz">http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz</a>

Brk Berkshire

Bu Buckinghamshire Ca Cambridgeshire

CDEPN Watts, Victor (2004), The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names

(Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

Ch Cheshire Co Cornwall

CPNE Padel, O. J. (1985), Cornish Place-Name Elements, EPNS 56/57

(Nottingham: EPNS)

Cu Cumberland D Devon Db Derbyshire

DBPN Mills, A. D. (2011), A Dictionary of British Place-Names (Oxford: Oxford

UP)

DEPN Ekwall, Eilert (1960), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford: Clarendon) [this edn unless otherwise indicated]

Dict Du Watts, Victor (2002), *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names*, EPNS Popular Series 3 (Nottingham: EPNS)

Dict IoM Broderick, George (2006), *A Dictionary of Manx Place-Names*, EPNS Popular Series 4 (Nottingham: EPNS)

Dict LD Whaley, Diana (2006), *A Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names*, EPNS Regional Series 1 (Nottingham: EPNS)

Dict LeR Cox, Barrie (2005), A Dictionary of Leicestershire and Rutland Place-Names, EPNS Popular Series 5 (Nottingham: EPNS)

Dict Li Cameron, Kenneth (1998), *A Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*, EPNS Popular Series 1 (Nottingham: EPNS)

Dict Sf Briggs, Keith, and Kelly Kilpatrick (2016), *A Dictionary of Suffolk Place-Names*, EPNS Popular Series 6 (Nottingham: The Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History in association with the EPNS)

JOURNAL OF THE ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY 54 (2022)

Do Dorset

DOE Cameron, Angus, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey et al. (2018), *Dictionary of Old English: A to I Online* (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project) <a href="https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/">https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/</a>

DOST Craigie, William Alexander, et al. (1931–2002), A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue from the Twelfth Century to the End of the Seventeenth, 12 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP) [see also DSL]

DSL Dictionary of the Scots Language (Scottish Language Dictionaries): <www.dsl.ac.uk> [online edn of DOST and SND]

Du Durham

EDD Wright, Joseph, ed. (1898–1905), *English Dialect Dictionary*, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

EFN Field, John (1972), English Field-Names: A dictionary (Newton Abbot: David & Charles)

EPNE A. H. Smith (1956), *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, EPNS 25 and 26 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

EPNS English Place-Name Society/English Place-Name Survey

ERN Ekwall, Eilert (1928), English River-Names (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

ERY East Riding of Yorkshire

Ess Essex

FaNBI Hanks, Patrick, Richard Coates and Peter McClure, eds (2016), *The Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland*, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP)

Gl Gloucestershire

GPC Thomas, R. J. (1950–2002), Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)

Ha Hampshire
He Herefordshire
Hrt Hertfordshire
Hu Huntingdonshire
IE Indo-European

JEPNS Journal of the English Place-Name Society

K Kent

KCD Kemble, J. M., ed. (1839–48; repr. 2011), *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols (London: Sumptibus Societatis; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

La Lancashire Le Leicestershire

LHEB Jackson, Kenneth (1953), Language and History in Early Britain (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP)

Li Lincolnshire

LPN Gelling, Margaret, and Ann Cole (2014), *The Landscape of Place-Names*, new edn (Donington: Shaun Tyas)

ME Middle English

MED McSparran, Frances, ed. (2013), *Middle English Dictionary* (University of Michigan): <a href="https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/">https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/</a>

ModE Modern English

Mx Middlesex

Nb Northumberland

Cavill, Paul (2018), A New Dictionary of English Field-Names **NDEFN** 

(Nottingham: EPNS)

Nf Norfolk

NRY North Riding of Yorkshire

Nottinghamshire Nt Nth Northamptonshire O Oxfordshire **ODan** Old Danish OE Old English

Oxford English Dictionary, online edition: <a href="http://www.oed.com">http://www.oed.com</a> OED

OIr Old Irish ON Old Norse

OS **Ordnance Survey OScand** Old Scandinavian personal name pers.n. place-name p.n.

Mawer, Allen, and F. M. Stenton (1926), The Place-Names of PN BdHu Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire, EPNS 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

PN Brk Gelling, Margaret (1973–76), The Place-Names of Berkshire, EPNS 49– 51 (Nottingham: EPNS)

PN Bu Mawer, Allen, and F. M. Stenton (1925), The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire, EPNS 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

PN Ca Reaney, P. H. (1943), The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, EPNS 19 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

Dodgson, John McNeal (1970-81), The Place-Names of Cheshire, parts PN Ch 1-5(1:ii), EPNS 44-48 and 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP and Nottingham: EPNS); Dodgson, John McNeal, and Alexander R. Rumble (1998), The Place-Names of Cheshire, part 5(2), EPNS 74 (Nottingham: EPNS)

PN Cu Armstrong, A. M., A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and Bruce Dickins (1950– 52), The Place-Names of Cumberland, EPNS 20-22 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

PN D Gover, J. E. B., A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton (1931–32), The Place-Names of Devon, 2 vols, EPNS 8–9 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

PN Db Cameron, Kenneth (1959), The Place-Names of Derbyshire, EPNS 27–29 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

Mills, A. D. (1977–2010), The Place-Names of Dorset, 5 vols, EPNS 53– PN Do 54, 59/60, 86/87 and 94 (Nottingham: EPNS)

Watts, Victor (2007), The Place-Names of County Durham, EPNS 83 PN Du (Nottingham: EPNS)

Reaney, P. H. (1935), The Place-Names of Essex, EPNS 12 (Cambridge: PN Ess Cambridge UP)

Smith, A. H. (1937), The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and PN ERY York, EPNS 14 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP)

PN Gl Smith, A. H. (1964-65), The Place-Names of Gloucestershire, 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*, part 7, EPNS 92 (Nottingham: EPNS); Baker, John and Jayne Carroll, with Sarah Beech and Helen Watt (2020), *The Place-Names of Shropshire*, part 8, EPNS 95 (Nottingham: EPNS); Cavill, Paul, with Sarah Beech (2020), *The Place-Names of Shropshire*, part 9, EPNS 96 (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

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: <a href="http://www.esawyer.org.uk">http://www.esawyer.org.uk</a>> (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

VCH Victoria County Histories published by the Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, University of London

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