

THE PLACE-NAMES  
OF  
KENT

BY

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APPELBERGS BOKTRYCKERIAKTIEBOLAG

## Introduction.

The place-names in Kent treated in the present work approach the number of 4.000. All parish-names and hundred names are here included; in so far as the names of places of lesser importance are found recorded in forms earlier than the modern ones, their origin is also inquired into. Several hundred Kentish place-names, namely those already recorded in charters dated before the Conquest, have been dealt with in *Kentish Place-Names*, my previous book on Kentish place-name matters, published in 1931.<sup>1</sup> A considerable number of these place-names are here again taken up for discussion. In order to escape further swelling the bulk of this large book I have here given only a reference to my earlier work in the case of such names that do not, in my opinion, require a renewed discussion or to which I am unable to give a better interpretation than the one already suggested.

Comparative material, intended to further the elucidation of the names discussed, is copiously given, but completeness of such material is not aimed at. Consideration of space has often acted as a restrictive force.

I am the first to admit the usefulness and deplore the omission of the lists of elements suggested by the author to form part of the names discussed. Referring to consideration of space and large printing costs, I beg the reader to excuse me from the publication of these extensive comprehensive lists, the absence of which I hope will not be too strongly felt.

The arrangement of the material is the same as the one met with in the publications of the Place-Name Society; the hundreds are disposed in the same order as in Hasted's *History of Kent*. A number of parishes which formerly belonged to Kent, but now are incorporated into the administrative area of the county

<sup>1</sup> The reader is kindly requested also to take part of the information given in the Introduction to this book.

of London are included here. As regards the hundred names, I wish to draw attention to the circumstance that, when the hundred name still lives on as a place-name, I have not always made a strict distinction between the early forms as referring to the hundred or to the place respectively.<sup>1</sup>

I refrain here from discussing the dialectal traits that may be traceable in the early place-name forms. As a matter of fact, small information as regards the Kentish dialect may be gleaned from this source. It may perhaps be mentioned that the place-name forms throw no light upon the ME development of the OE long diphthongs *ēa* and *ēo* (*īo*), which are generally believed to have developed otherwise in Kentish than in the other English dialects during this period.

The local nomenclature of Kent is of a decidedly unmixed native type. Apart from the names of a small number of rivers, the names of Keltic origin may almost be counted on the five fingers of the hand. Scandinavian influence is practically nil. The number of names of French origin is rather inconsiderable. The practically unmixed character of the early place-name material is an obvious advantage to the interpreter that tends to facilitate his work. But he is, on the other hand, owing to the fact that the more important names are as a rule among the oldest of the English place-names and often contain elements of an obscure, archæic character, personal names or topographical designations, frequently confronted with very considerable difficulties. When he suggests his interpretations, he must therefore sometimes have recourse to unsafe explanations, not seldom also leave the choice open between two or more alternative possibilities.

Names that from various points of view are of great interest abound in Kent. I cannot here pick a choice of the best »plums»; a selection among them would be more or less arbitrary. May the interested reader make a tour of inspection of his own through the pages of the book, and he will discover a good number.

<sup>1</sup> I include here some forms (*Langebrige* 1086 DB; c. 1100 Dom Mon; *Langebrug'*, *-bregg'* 1226 Ass; *Langebr'*, *-brigge* 1240 Ass; *Langebregge* 1253-4 FeesKn, etc.) of the hundred name of Longbridge, the meeting-place presumably being at Longbridge Bridge in Willesborough, v. pp. 403, 421. By oversight these forms were left out in the Material part. — Self-explanatory.

A general problem to the interpreter is the question as to whether the first element of the name is in certain opposition to the second. There is a too facile inclination to regard the names as OE pers. nan. This is the very copious assumption which chiefly of a monothematic names that has hitherto been held by scholars, has of late gained expression in two papers. The first who thinks that it may be established that pers. n. is a part in the formation of the name is generally believed. Zachrisson's number of monothematic names and their use is much less than that of dithematic names. His conclusion is expected that about the same number of pers. names may also be found which presumably is a result of a comprehensive study of the material brought to light only a small number of pers. names that are not dithematic. From this he concludes that names that are not evident as a part of place-names, but that a great majority of place-names are generally been interpreted as monothematic names of the monothematic type otherwise, mostly as topographical designations. No doubt the assumption of large heaps of names is sound. But it is not clear that Zachrisson has not been able to find a negation of the possibility by the side of the actual fact. A considerable and even larger number of the same type, names that all

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A general problem that again and again confronts the inter-  
 preter is the question as to what extent we are entitled to inter-  
 pret the first element of a place-name as a personal name. A  
 certain opposition has from time to time been voiced against a  
 too facile inclination to explain the first parts of English place-  
 names as OE pers. names, v. Redin p. III. This reaction against  
 the very copious assumption of unauthenticated pers. names,  
 chiefly of a monothematic character, as the first el. of place-  
 names that has hitherto been made by most English place-name  
 scholars, has of late gained force strongly and especially found  
 expression in two papers in StNPh V and VI by Prof. Zachrisson  
 who thinks that it may be systematically and fundamentally  
 established that pers. names have played a much more modest  
 part in the formation of place-names than has so far been ge-  
 nerally believed. Zachrisson strongly stresses the fact that the  
 number of monothematic personal names recorded in independ-  
 ent use is much less than the number of similarly authenticated  
 dithematic names. His conclusion is that it may be reasonably  
 expected that about the same proportion of the two types of  
 pers. names may also prevail in place-names the first el. of  
 which presumably is a pers. name. He points out that a com-  
 prehensive study of the accessible place-name material has  
 brought to light only a comparatively small number of dithema-  
 tic pers. names that are not also evidenced in independent use.  
 From this he concludes that the number of monothematic pers.  
 names that are not evidenced in independent use, but only as  
 a part of place-names, must be proportionally insignificant. The  
 great majority of place-names the first els of which hitherto have  
 generally been interpreted as, very often unauthenticated, pers.  
 names of the monothematic type he therefore prefers to explain  
 otherwise, mostly as toponymics, the first els being topographi-  
 cal designations. No doubt this reaction against the excessive pre-  
 sumption of large heaps of pers. names evidenced only in place-  
 names is sound. But it may, however, be questioned whether  
 Zachrisson has not been too radical in his underrating and even  
 negation of the possibility that in OE there may have existed,  
 by the side of the actually recorded monothematic names, a  
 considerable and even large number of unrecorded names of the  
 same type, names that also may form part of place-names. The



dithematic names are from the beginning personal names proper. They are names of a conventional and official type. It is natural that names of this character are very numerous in the lists of signatories in the OE charters which are the official documents of the period and the chief sources from which we draw our knowledge of OE personal names. The monothematic names on the other hand, at least the majority of them, are probably not originally personal names proper, but pet- or nicknames. Many of these names became in course of time personal names proper. But it does not seem too bold to assume that a great number of these names did not rise to the status of recognized and established personal names proper, but remained nickname designations. We have no records of OE nicknames, only sporadic and occasional mentionings of such names. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that even at a very early date great numbers of such names may have existed, even though it is impossible to give the recorded and definite proof for this. The incompleteness and one-sidedness of the OE sources of designations for human beings denies us the right to doubt the possibility that numerous names of this type may once have existed in OE. Place-names may very well contain such designations for human beings.

As shown by Redin, p. 184 ff., the frequency of monothematic pers. names was greater in the earlier than in the later periods of OE. This is probably an indication of the possibility that in pre-literary times, that is in the period when the greater part of the place-names discussed were formed, the popularity of this type of pers. names was even greater. Owing to this tendency of comparative impopularity of this type of names lots of monothematic pers. names may therefore later have been irretrievably lost as independent names. But we may well expect such names to be conserved and couched in place-names formed in the pre-literary period of OE.

Redin has also pointed out that there are indications of a social distinction between the names of the dithematic and the monothematic type, the former quite likely being more popular among the higher classes of society, the latter among the common people. Of course place-names may contain the names of persons belonging to the higher social strata. But it does not

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All these considerations seem to tend in the direction that a place-name student is entitled and even compelled to reckon to a considerable degree with the possibility that monothematic personal names, also such as are not evidenced in independent use, may enter place-names in a proportion more favourable than the one that prevails between the two types of personal names as recorded independently.

Uncompounded and compounded place-names in *-ing* are very numerous in Kent. Their total number is ca. 300. Of the numerous *-ingtun* group some names must contain a pers. name; all the names of this group *may* be derivatives of pers. names. The same is also true of the large group of *-ingdenn* names. The bases of the names belonging to more sparingly represented groups of compounded *-ing* names may also be designations of human beings. I have frequently suggested other alternatives also. But the alternative that the base of the first el. may be a designation for a human being (or human beings) seems often, perhaps mostly, preferable. — It is a well-known fact that place-names in *-ingas* and *-ingaham* are very seldom derived from bases containing a dithematic pers. name. These names contain a plural element denoting a group of men. It is of course possible that from a pers. name of the type of *Wulfstan*, a meaningless name that cannot have had a bearing on the characteristic traits of the individual so named, a plural *Wulfstanningas*, denoting the sons or people of *Wulfstan*, may be formed. Obviously such formations were, however, not common. If, on the other hand, the base was a common noun denoting a person or a nickname, the meaning of which was still unobscured at the time of the *-ing* formation presumed, it seems quite natural to form from this base a formally similar collective name, denoting a group of men jointly characterized by the meaning of the common noun or nickname.

It is quite possible that names of the *Leana-*, *Meapa-*, *Mersa-*, *Wuldaham* type are best explained in a similar way.

The investigation of the names one by one seems to me to indicate that an interpretation on these lines gives, as a rule,

more plausible solutions for the difficult names than an explanation that tries to account for the names as toponymics. In my attempts at an interpretation of the Kentish place-names I have tried both ways to unveil the origin of the names, but I do not hesitate to pronounce in most cases in favour of the former alternative.

No doubt the topographical scrutiny is indispensable. But pitfalls lurk here at the investigator's every step, and his triumphant cry of »Eureka» may be ejaculated on insufficient grounds. He is in danger of finding too easily what he is on the look-out for, for he may trip over the anticipated topographical feature almost anywhere. He may, e. g., look for a hill or a hole in the ground; his search will no doubt be successful almost everywhere. The country is very seldom flat as a pancake, but is generally intersected with hills and valleys or hollows, swellings and depressions of the ground being not far between. This is at least the normal type of the Kentish landscape. It is therefore very often difficult, even impossible to establish whether the place-names discussed may have a bearing on the topographical features of the places and their surroundings or not.

It seems to me highly doubtful whether the attempt at a wholesale slaughter of the personal names not evidenced in independent use has definitely done away with them; they are probably like the cat that is said to have nine lives. It is also easier to account for the non-appearance in later times of personal names or nicknames of a more or less ephemeral character. It seems more difficult to explain the non-appearance in independent use of a rich multitude of common nouns used as topographical designations. They must have been intimate ingredients of the living vocabulary of the language and as such expected to be comparatively tenacious of life.

I am no enthusiastic defender of the once existence of a host of conjectured personal names and designations. At the same time I cannot see that much is gained by the raising of a levy of unauthenticated or badly evidenced topographical designations to take the place of the other host. Formally it is much of a muchness of hypothesizing. General considerations coupled with the weighing of the *pros* and *cons* in the individual cases have by and by led me towards the admission that the human ele-

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ment was probably greater and stronger in the formation of place-names than I once believed. The attacks on the traditional views upheld by most place-name scholars are no doubt sound when they set in on an often too free and easy way of argumentation or on a taking-for-granted attitude and have also attained many valuable results, but the criticism proffered has also, to my present thinking, been too sweeping and dogmatic and seems therefore often to have missed its mark. In my interpretations of the Kentish place-name material I have therefore often reckoned with the possibility that the base of first el. of the names discussed may be a human designation, keeping the eye open at the same time for the eventuality of other, especially topographical, alternatives.

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<sup>1</sup> The greater part of my book was written before the publication of this

from the same stem as MHG *wimelen*, ModG *wimmeln*, Swed *vimla*, Du *wemelen* "to swarm, crowd", Norw *vimla* "to tumble", Engl dial. *wimble* "active, nimble". There is no stream here. We may perhaps assume that the base of this name was a common noun OE *\*wim(e)la* "the active one" or the like. Or the early inhabitants may have been nicknamed the *\*Wim(e)lingas* "the active, swarming men" or the like, Womenswold being the *weald* "forest" belonging to these men.

Denne Hill 117 H 4: *de Denne* 1226, 1240, 1254, 1278, 1313 Ass; 1327 Subs. — OE *denn* "pasture".

Finnis Wood (6"). Cf. perhaps Joh. *ffynet* 1292 Ass; *de ffynews* 1346 Subs; *de ffyneaws* 1347 Subs (all s. Wingh. hd). — A manorial name.

Nethersole Fm (6"). See KPN, p. 161.

Wollage Green, Woolwich Wood 117 H 4: *de Wuleheth'* 1254 Ass; *Enwulueth'* 1265 FF; *de Wlfethe* 1270 Ass; *Wolshethe* 1282 Peck; *Wolueche* 1292 Ass; *Wolfeth'*, *Wolueche*, *Woluech'* 1304 Ass; *de Wolfech'*, *de Wulfhecch'* 1313 Ass; *de Wolueth'* 1327 Subs; *Wolueth* (p.) 1348 Subs; *Wollwychwod* 1535 Val. — The first el. is evidently OE *wulf* "wolf". The second el. seems to be OE *hæcc* "hatch" (*hæcce* "fence of rails"). Cf. especially the 1313 form *Wulfhecch'*. The ME *th* forms are easily understood as scribal errors or misreadings for *ch*. The meaning of OE *wulfhæcc* was probably "wolf-pit, wolf-trap" or the like. As for the meaning "trap" of the latter el. cf. *hatch* in NED. — The form *Woolwich* is no doubt due to influence from the K pl-n *Woolwich supra*.

Wick Lane, Wood (6"): *Wike* 1210-12 RBE; *Vike* 1282 Peck; *de Wyk'* 1293 FF; *de Wyke* 1318 FF; *de Wike* 1319 Pat. — OE *wic* "dwelling-place".

### Parish of Bokesbourne<sup>1</sup>

Bokesbourne 117 F 3: *Burnes* 1086 DB; 1087 (13<sup>th</sup> c.) Inq Aug; c. 1100 Dom Mon; 1198 Fees; 1200, 1201 Cur; *Livigeburn'*, *Livingeborn'* 1201 Cur; *Limingburne* 1201 Abbr; *Limingeburn'* 1202 Abbr; *Liuingelburn(e)* 1203 FF; *Livinge-*, *Litthingeburn'*

<sup>1</sup> The parish is now in Bridge hd. NEVER WAS IN WINGHAM

THIS IS DUE TO AN EDITING MISTAKE BETWEEN  
HASTED 1<sup>ST</sup> ED AND 2<sup>ND</sup> ED.

1203 Cur; *Liivin*  
*Liuingeb'ne* 1226  
Pap; *Lithinge-*, 1  
1245 FF; *Burne*  
*Burn'* 1254 Ass;  
*Lyvingburn'* 1270  
*ingesburn'* 1278 A  
*yngeburn'* 1292

more usual, but t  
instance found is  
contains the name  
place. The moder  
*Willelmus de Bec*  
forms of this na  
second el. is OE

Cobham Court ( of the eminent  
place from the be  
III, 716).

Howletts 117 F  
v. Hasted, I, LXXX  
manorial name.

### Brid

This hundred w  
ing-places of whic

Bridge 117 G 3  
Aug; *Brygge* c. 1  
Fees; *Brugg'*, *Bre*  
1240 Ass, etc. —  
the Nail Bourne c  
*Baracer* (lost):  
*Beracre* 1270 Ass;

!G *wimmeln*, Swed  
*vimla* "to tumble",  
is no stream here.  
me was a common  
ike. Or the early  
\**Wim(e)lingas* "the  
old being the *weald*

1254, 1278, 1313

92 Ass; *de ffynews*  
gh. hd). — A man-

*de Wuleheth'* 1254  
ss; *Wolshethe* 1282  
*Woluech'* 1304 Ass;  
*lueth'* 1327 Subs;  
l. — The first el.  
l. seems to be OE  
specially the 1313  
iderstood as scribal

OE *wulfhæcc* was  
s for the meaning  
he form *Woolwich*  
Woolwich *supra*.  
*Vike* 1282 Peck;  
1319 Pat. — OE

1203 Cur; *Liuinge(s)burn* 1206 FF; *Leuingesburn* 1211-2 FF;  
*Liuingeb'ne* 1226 Ass; *Lyuingeburn'* 1227 FF; *Livingeburn* 1238  
Pap; *Lithinge-*, *Lyuinge-*, *Liuyngeburn'* 1240 Ass; *Lyuingeburne*  
1245 FF; *Burne* 1250 Fees; *Lyning(e)bourne* 1253-4 FeesKn;  
*Burn'* 1254 Ass; *Lyuingesbur'* 1258 FF; *Bekesburn'* 1270 Ass;  
*Lyvingburn'* 1270 Ass; *Limiges-*, *Liuiiges-*, *Leuing-*, *Lymig-*, *Li-*  
*ingesburn'* 1278 Ass; *Bekesbourn'* 1292 Ass; *Lungesbourn'*, *Lyth-*  
*yngeburn'* 1292 Ass, etc. In later times *Bekesbourne* becomes  
more usual, but the older name is retained for a long time (latest  
instance found is *Lyvyngisbourn* 1541 BM I). The older form  
contains the name of *Levine* (OE *Lēofwine*), tenant TRE of this  
place. The modern form commemorates the fact that from 1198  
Willelmus *de Beche* (v. 1198 Fees, p. 13) held this manor. Other  
forms of this name are *de(l) Bec*, *de Becco*, *de Bek(e)*. — The  
second el. is OE *burna* "stream".

**Cobham Court (6'')**: *Borne Cobham* 1385-6 BM I. — Members  
of the eminent family of *Cobham*, of Cobham, possessed this  
place from the beginning of the reign of Edward III (v. Hasted,  
III, 716).

**Howletts** 117 F 3: John Isaac, of *Howlets* in B., sheriff 1461,  
v. Hasted, I, LXXXVIII; *Howlets* 1690 Ind Vill. — No doubt a  
manorial name.

## Bridge and Petham Hundred

This hundred was originally two separate hundreds, the meet-  
ing-places of which were Bridge and Petham respectively, v. *infra*.

### Bridge

**Bridge** 117 G 3: *Brige* 1086 DB; *Brugges* 1087 (13<sup>th</sup> c.) Inq  
Aug; *Brygge* c. 1100 Dom Mon; *Bruge* 1187-8 P; *Brugg'* 1219  
Fees; *Brugg'*, *Bregge* 1226 Ass; *Brigge* 1235 Cl; *Brug(g)e*, *Bregg'*  
1240 Ass, etc. — OE *brycg* "bridge". — Bridge is situated where  
the Nail Bourne crosses Watling Street.

**Baracer** (lost): *Berekere* 1253-4 FeesKn; 1292, 1304 Ass; *de*  
*Beracre* 1270 Ass; 1317 Cl; *Berakere* 1291 FF; *Bercacre* 1293 Inq;

087 (13<sup>th</sup> c.) Inq  
Cur; *Livingeburn'*,  
obr; *Limingeburn'*  
ge-, *Litthingeburn'*

( IN WINGHAM  
AKF BETWEEN

*de Beracro* 1313-4 Seld 24; *Beracre* 1346 FA, etc. — OE *bere* "barley" + *æcer* "cultivated piece of land".

**Blackmansbury** (lost), al. **Bridge**: *Blakemannesbyrie* 1253-4 FeesKn; *Blakemannesbery* 1266 BM I; *Blakemannesbir'* 1271 FF; *Blakemannesber'* 1275 RH; *Blakemansbir'* 1278 Ass; *Blakeman(n)esbur'*, *Blakemannesbury* 1292 Ass, etc. — OE *Blæcman*, pers. n. + *burh* "borough". — Blackinborough in Preston is a doublet of this name, v. *supra*.

**Kenewesborne** (lost): *Borne* 1086 DB; *Burna* c. 1100 Dom Mon; *Kenewisborne* 1249-50 BlackBk; *Kenewygbourne* 1253-4 FeesKn; *de Kenewysburn'* 1261 FF; *Kenewesburn'*, *de Kenewynburne in Bisopeburne*, *de Kenewynburn'* 1270 Ass; *Kynesburn'* 1271 FF; *Keniwychesburn'*, *de Kenewyesburn'* 1278 Ass; *Kenewis-*, *Kenes-*, *Kine-*, *Kinnesburne* 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk, etc. Possibly the place was, at least partly, in the adjacent parish of Bishopsbourne. — OE *Cynewig*, pers. n. + *burna*. Like the adjacent Bishopsbourne, Patixbourne and Bekesbourne, the name is no doubt an early ME formation.

**Pett Fm** 117 G 2: *Pitte* 1271 FF; *de Pette* 1313-4 Seld 24, 204; *ate Pette* 1348 Subs. — Cf. perhaps also *Hondepytt* 1538 Abstract of Roll (Dugd., Mon., I, 150), mentioned together with Blackmansbury *supra*. — (OE *hund* "dog" +) *pytt* "pit".

**Well Ho.** (6"). Cf. that Sir Henry Palmer, by will in 1611, gave 10 s. to be yearly paid out of his manor of *Well-court* in this parish (v. Hasted, III, 725). — <sup>PROBABLY WELL COURT IN LITTLEBOURNE.</sup>

#### Upper Hardres<sup>1</sup>

**Upper Hardres** 117 H 2. See KPN, p. 67.

**Bossingham** 117 H 2. See KPN, p. 173. This name (*de Bossingcamp* 1226 Ass; *Bosingkomp* 1264 Pat, etc.) is probably an -ing-derivative of OE *Bōsa*, pers. n. + *camp* "campus". Cf. Bossenden Fm in Dunkirk and Bossington in Adisham, v. *supra*.

**Broxhall Fm** (6"): *de Brockyshole* 1304 Ass; *de Brokkeshole* 1338 Subs; *de Brokkishole* 1346 Subs. — OE *brocc* "badger" + *hol* "hole, hollow".

**Dane Fm** 117 H 1: *de La Dene*, *de Estdene* 1240 Ass; *de la Dane*, *Dene* 1278 Ass; *de Dene* 1295 FF; *ate dane* 1304 Ass; *atte Dane* 1313 Ass; *de la Dane* 1327, 1332 Subs. — OE *denu* "valley".

<sup>1</sup> Part of this parish is in Loningborough hd.

Lynsore Court,  
Great Palmstee

A comparison w  
and in ME sou  
*P'nestede* 1278 A  
mysterious Prins  
explained in EF  
*Perme-*, *Pernestea*

Lower Hardres  
Catt's Fm 117  
Warin. *le Cat* 13  
1332 Subs; War  
manorial name.

**Cook's Fm** 117  
1348 Subs (all s.

**Li. Eaton Fm** (— OE *ēg* "island  
**Granville** (P. H.  
FF; Joh. *de Glan*  
is perhaps named

**Greenway Cotta**  
here: *de Grenewe*  
*Grenewe* 1270-1  
"green" + *weg* "w

**Harmansole Fm**  
*de Heremodesole* 1  
*de Heremodeshole*  
1327, 1332, 1334,  
or *sol* "miry pool"

**Stockfield Wood**  
(ArchC 13, 308),

**Street End** 117  
*hende* 1327 Subs;  
*ate Strethende* 133

**Young's Fm** 117



A, etc. — OE *bere*

*annesbyrie* 1253-4  
*annesbir'* 1271 FF;  
 Ass; *Blakeman(n)es-*  
*Blæcman*, pers. n. +  
 on is a doublet of

c. 1100 Dom Mon;  
*ne* 1253-4 FeesKn;  
*e Kenewynburne in*  
*mesburn'* 1271 FF;  
 ; *Kenewis-*, *Kenes-*,  
 ibly the place was,  
 opsbourne. — OE  
 nt Bishopsbourne,  
 no doubt an early

313-4 Seld 24, 204;  
*pytt* 1538 Abstract  
 gether with Blake-  
 "pit".

, by will in 1611,  
 or of *Well-court* in

WELL COURT  
 LITTLEBOURNE.

s name (*de Bossing-*  
 ; probably an *-ing-*  
 is". Cf. *Bossenden*  
*v. supra*.

ss; *de Brokkeshole*  
 ; *brocc* "badger" +

ie 1240 Ass; *de la*  
*te dane* 1304 Ass;  
 Subs. — OE *denu*

Lynsore Court, Bottom 117 H 2. See KPN, p. 273.

Great Palmstead Fm, Little P. 117 J 2. See KPN, p. 41. —

A comparison with this name (*Perhamstede* 747 BCS 176, etc. and in ME sources *Permestede*, but also *Pernested'* 1270 Ass; *P'nestede* 1278 Ass) may give a clue to the interpretation of the mysterious Prinsted, Sx (*Pernested(e)* 1151, 1253, etc.), left unexplained in EPNS VI, 56. From OE *peru* "pear" + *hāmstede*. *Perme-*, *Pernestede* is a phonetical development of *Perhamstede*.

### Lower Hardres

Lower Hardres 117 G 2. See preceding parish name.

Catt's Fm 117 H 1. Cf. Joh. *le Kat*, *le Cat* 1278, 1292 Ass; Warin. *le Cat* 1313 Ass; Werin. *le Cat'* 1327 Subs; War. *Cat* 1332 Subs; War. *le Cat* 1346 Subs (all s. Bridge hd). — A manorial name.

Cook's Fm 117 H 2. Cf. Luc. *Cocus* 1292 Ass; Joh. *Cok'* 1327, 1348 Subs (all s. Bridge hd). — A manorial name.

Li. Eaton Fm (6''): *de Eytton'* 1327 Subs; *de Eytone* 1332 Subs. — OE *ēg* "island" + *tūn*.

Granville (P. H.) (6''). Cf. Rad. *de Glaunuyte* p. in L. H. 1235 FF; Joh. *de Glanville* ten. in L. H. 1253-4 FeesKn. — The inn is perhaps named after this family.

Greenway Cottages (6''). The following forms possibly belong here: *de Greneweie* 1240 Ass; *de Greneweie*, *-weie* 1242-3 Fees; *Greneweie* 1270-1 BM I; *de Grenewey* 1278 Ass. — OE *grēne* "green" + *weg* "way".

Harmansole Fm 117 G 1: *de Hermodeshole* 1240 Ass; 1340 FF; *de Heremodesole* 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk; *de Heremodsol'*, *de Ermodesole*, *de Heremodeshole* 1278 Ass; *de Hermodesole* 1313-4 Seld 24, 204; 1327, 1332, 1334, 1338 Subs. — OE *Heremod*, pers. n. + *hol* "hole" or *sol* "miry pool".

Stockfield Wood (6''). Cf. perhaps Henry *de Stoke* 1315 FF (ArchC 13, 308), plt. in H.; Th. *atte ffelde*, q. in L. H. 1343 FF.

Street End 117 G 1: *de Strethende*, *-hend'* 1292 Ass; *de Stret-hende* 1327 Subs; *de Streteende* 1332 Subs; *de Stretend* 1334 Subs; *ate Strethende* 1338 Subs.

Young's Fm 117 H 1. Cf. perhaps Hen. *Juuenis* in H. 1240 FF.



## Nackington

Nackington 117 G 2. See KPN, p. 348. This name (*Natin(c)g*, *Natyngdune* 993 Lib. de Hyda, etc.) Karlström, p. 104, suggests may be a toponymic and derives it either from OE \**næt* "wet", corresponding to OHG *naz*, OS *nat* or from a word that is a cognate of OHG *nazza* "nettle". Of these two alternatives the former seems the more likely one. But the problem may be still more complicated. There is no stream here; even if the Nackington district may once have been wet, no conclusions as to this can be drawn from its present condition. In a discussion of pl-ns that may be related, v. EPNS IV, 188, s. Nafford, Wo, Mawer and Stenton have suggested the existence of a pers. n. OE \**Nata*, a cognate of OHG *Nat(o)*, *Nazo*. They suggest that these names may be formed from the same stem as OE *nett* "net" (\**nät*-). Possibly Nackington may be explained on similar lines. It may also be suggested that a common noun OE \**nata* "a person who is wet, perhaps one who wets his bed (? a child)", a word formed from the base OE \**næt* "wet", may once have existed and perhaps also have been used as a nickname. It may accordingly be alternatively suggested that the name of Nackington may contain an *-ing*-derivative of a nickname OE \**Nata*. The fact that this is a name in *-dūn* "down" does not exclude the possibility of the first el. being a derivation of a pers. name. Cf. Harbledown in the close vicinity, v. *supra*.

Heppington Ho. 117 G 1: *Hebbinton*' 1181-2, 1183-4 P; *Hebinton*' 1182-3 P; *Ebynton*' 1242-3 Fees; *de Hebindon*', *-ton*' 1270 Ass; *Hebynton* 1346 FA; *Hepyngton* 1407 Pat; *Hepynton* 1431 FA; *Heppynden* 1484 Pat. — Judging by the early forms the original form of this name was OE \**Heb(b)ingtūn*, the first el. perhaps being a pers. n. A pers. n. OE \**Hebba* is not evidenced, but it is a likely formation, perhaps originally a common noun and a nickname, from the same base as OE *hebban* "to heave, raise; rise". Cf. OE *Hebeca*, pers. n. (v. Redin, p. 157). The possibility that a toponymic, the name of a hillock or the like, may be formed from the same stem should of course not be denied. Heppington Ho. is on the slope of a hillock reaching the rather considerable height of 351 feet. — Cf. also discussion of *Hebbinge* (lost) in Boughton Aluph.

Sextries Fm 1  
1572 BM I. —  
Augustine, Cant  
whence it acq  
"sacristy; the r  
Staplegate (los  
gate 1343-4 Ass  
1399 (1388) Ch;  
Probably OE *sta*  
*estable* "stable")  
*staple* and *stable*

Patricxbourne  
Inq Aug; *Burn*  
*burn* 1207 FineR  
*Pat'kesb'ne* 1226  
Cl; *Patrickesburn*  
1253-4 FeesKn;  
FF, etc. — Pat  
name of Patric  
William *Patrici*  
John *de Pratelli*  
bourne in the e  
do with the *nam*  
Bifrons 117 F  
called from its  
built ca. 1600.

Higham 117 E  
Fees; 1253-4 F  
206, etc. — OE

Hode Fm 117  
*Atte Hode* 1278  
OE \**hāp* "heath"

Renville 117  
1327 Subs; *de T*  
1334, 1347 Subs  
topographical w  
"something cut c

**Sextries Fm 117 G 2:** *Sextrey* 1507, 1541, 1564 BM I; *Sextrye* 1572 BM I. — This manor belonged to the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury and was allotted to the use of their *sacristie*, whence it acquired its name (v. Hasted, III, 726). Cf. *sextry* "sacristy; the residence of a sacristan" (NED).

**Staplegate (lost):** *de Stable-*, *de Staplegate* 1270 Ass; *de Staplegate* 1343-4 Ass; *de Stablegate* 1348 Subs; 1351 FF; *Stablegate* 1399 (1388) Ch; *Staplegate* 1790 Hasted, III, 649, map; *ib.*, 727. — Probably OE *stapol* "post, pillar, staple" (less likely ME *stable* < OF *estable* "stable") + *geat*, *gate* "gate". — On the interchange of *staple* and *stable* see s. *Whitstable supra*.

#### Patricbourne

**Patricbourne 117 F 3:** *Borne* 1086 DB; *Burne* 1087 (13<sup>th</sup> c.) Inq Aug; *Burna* 1172-3, 1174-5 P (tra Willi *Patricii*); *Pat'keburn'* 1207 FineR; *Patricburn'* 1215 ClR; *Badrichesburn'* 1219 Fees; *Pat'kes'ne* 1226 Ass; *Patrikeburn'* 1227 FF; *Patrickeburn* 1228 Cl; *Patrickesburne*, *Patrichesburn'* 1242-3 Fees; *Patrik(k)esbourne* 1253-4 FeesKn; *Patrichesburn'* 1254 FF; *Paterykesburn'* 1256 FF, etc. — Patricbourne is on the Nail Bourne. The modern name of Patricbourne no doubt commemorates the name of William *Patricius*, a 12<sup>th</sup> c. owner of the manor (see above). John *de Pratellis* or *de Pratis*, an owner of the manor of Patricbourne in the early 13<sup>th</sup> c. (v. Hasted, III, 720) has nothing to do with the name of Patricbourne.

**Bifrons 117 F 2:** *Bifrons* 1690 Ind Vill. — This seat was so called from its double front (v. Hasted, III, 721, b). It was built ca. 1600.

**Higham 117 E 3:** *de Hecham* 1240, 1254 Ass; *Hegham* 1242-3 Fees; 1253-4 FeesKn; 1346 FA; *de Hegham* 1324 ArchC 21, 206, etc. — OE *hēah* "high" + *hām*. See also KPN, p. 51.

**Hode Fm 117 F 2:** *La Hothe* 1276-7, 1315 BM I; *Atte hothe*, *Atte Hode* 1278 Ass; *la hotthe* 1313 Ass; *atte Hothe* 1348 Subs. — OE *\*hāp* "heath".

**Renville 117 G 2:** *de Trimfeld'* 1240 Ass; *de Trenfeld*, *-feld'* 1327 Subs; *de Thremfelde* 1332, 1338, 1348 Subs; *de Thremfeld'* 1334, 1347 Subs; *Renfelde* 1535 Val. — The first el. may be a topographical word OE *\*þrym-*, formed from the base *\*þrum-* "something cut off" (found in OE *tungeþrum* "tongue-ligament").

Compare discussions of Rumsted Court in Hucking and Tramhatch in Charing, v. *supra*. — The second el. is OE *feld* "open land".

Shepherd's Close 117 G 3. Cf. perhaps Will. *Schep' de* 1348 Subs; Ric. *Shepherde* 1357 Subs (both s. Bridge hd).

### Petham

Petham 117 H 1. See KPN, p. 288.

Broadwaygreen Fm 117 H 1: *de Bradewey* 1240 Ass; *de Brade-weye* 1254 Ass; (*de*) *Bradeweye* 1292 Ass; *Broadway* 1690 Ind Vill. — OE *brād* "broad" + *weg* "way".

Buckholt Fm 126 A 14. See KPN, p. 34.

Cotterell (lost): *bo. de Cotmaneborgh'* 1254 Ass; *bo. Cotarior'*, *bo. de Cotariis*, *Cotereresborgh'* 1292 Ass; *bo. of Cotterell* 1790 Hasted, III, 735. — OE *cotmanna*, Med. L *cotariorum*, gen. pl. "cottagers". The modern form represents Med. L *coterellus*, OF *coterel* "cottager".

Debden Court 117 G 1: *Depedane* 1403 Pat; *Depdane* 1535 Val. — OE *dēop* "deep" + *denu* "valley".

Denge Wood 116 J 13. See KPN, pp. 56, 280, and discussion of Dengemarsh in Lydd, v. *supra*.

Garlinge Green 116 J 14. See KPN, p. 259.

Hault Fm 126 A 14: *de Haute* 1278, 1343-4 Ass; 1327, 1332, 1334, 1338, 1346, 1348 Subs; *Hauts Place* 1790 Hasted, III, 736. — *Ivo de Haut* (ca. 1180) was the earliest of the family of *Haut* known as owners of this estate (v. Hasted, III, 736). A manorial name.

Kenfield Hall 117 G 1: *boscū de Kenegefeld*, *Kenegefeld* 1223 FF; *de Kenefeud* 1270 FF; *Kenefeud'* 1275 FF; *de Kenefeld'*, *de Kenefeud* 1278 Ass; *de Kenefeld* 1286 Cl; 1313-4 Seld 24, 204; 1328 Ipm; 1332 Subs; *de Kenefeld'*, *-feud'*, *de Kemfeld'* 1292 Ass; *de Kenefeld'* 1327, 1334 Subs, etc. — The 1223 forms suggest derivation of the name from OE *cyni(n)gafeld* "the kings' open field, the royal open field".

Red Wood Lees (6"). See KPN, p. 106.

Sappington Court 116 J 14: *Sapindon'* 1218 FF; 1254 Ass; *de Sepindon'* 1240 Ass; *Sapindon* 1242 Pat; 1301 BM I; *Sapyndon'* 1292 Ass; 1292 FF; *de Sapindone* 1304 Ass; 1338 Subs; *de Sapyndone* 1332 Subs; *de Sapindon'* 1334, 1346, 1347 Subs;

*Sependon* 1481 F La (*Sapeden* c. Hu (*Sappele* 12 suggested to be *sappinus*. Cf. a PNSf, 105, who The fact that th is considered to pl-ns with the l word, rather pr them with the b Mod Engl *sappi*, Engl *sapling* "a name was perha pington, nor is denote that the with this sense also be a nickna *sap* "a fool, a As for K pl-ns Nackington, Sep. v. *supra*.

Stone Street ( Ass; *Stonstrete* 1 *stān* "stone" + *st*

Swarling Fm 1 of this name (*Su the elements OE The simplest int be an indication early days. — F are found in t I am not quite c possible that the a -ling derivativ originally being swordsmen, the are in agreemen that a name of*

*Sependon* 1431 FA; *Savington* 1690 Ind Vill. — Compare *Sabden*, La (*Sapeden* c. 1140, etc.), v. Ekwall, PNL<sub>a</sub>, 80, and *Sapley*, Hu (*Sappele* 1227, etc.), v. EPNS III, 208, the first el. being suggested to be OE *sæppe* “spruce fir”, a loan-word from L *sappinus*. Cf. also *Sapiston*, Sf (*Sapestuna* DB, etc.), v. Skeat, PNSf, 105, who suggests derivation from a pers. n. OE \**Sæp*. The fact that the introduction of the fir in the English woodland is considered to be comparatively late, makes connection of early pl-ns with the badly evidenced *sæppe*, which besides is a loan-word, rather problematic. It seems more inviting to connect them with the base of OE *sæp* “sap, juice”, *sæpig* “sappy, juicy”, Mod Engl *sappy* “full of moisture, wet, sodden”. Cf. also Mod Engl *sapling* “a young (forest-)tree”. — The base of the K name was perhaps OE \**Sæpingdūn*. There is no stream at *Sappington*, nor is the ground wet here. May the name perhaps denote that the down was covered with saplings? An OE \**sæping* with this sense seems conceivable. But the base may perhaps also be a nickname formed from the same base. Cf. Mod Engl *sap* “a fool, a simpleton”, *sappy* “sodden; fat, plump; foolish”. As for K pl-ns that open up similar problems, cf. discussion of *Nackington*, *Sephām* in *Shoreham*, and *Sydenham* in *Lewisham*, v. *supra*.

*Stone Street* (lost): *de Stanstrete* 1240 Ass; *de Stonstrete* 1278 Ass; *Stonstrete* 1292, 1313 Ass; *Stonestreet* 1690 Ind Vill. — OE *stān* “stone” + *stræt* “high-road”.

*Swarling Fm* 117 G 1. See KPN, p. 102. The earliest forms of this name (*Sueordhlinca*s 805 BCS 321, etc.) no doubt contain the elements OE *sweord* “sword” and *hlinc* “linch, rising ground”. The simplest interpretation of the name seems to be that it may be an indication of finds of swords having been made here in early days. — But in spite of the fact that the forms in *hlinc* are found in two early 9<sup>th</sup> c. original charters (BCS 321, 341) I am not quite convinced that these forms are original. It seems possible that the original form may have been OE \**Sweordlingas*, a *-ling* derivative of OE *sweord* “sword”, the name perhaps originally being a nickname of the early settlers meaning “the swordsmen, the warriors” or the like. The ME *-linge(s)* forms are in agreement with such an OE base. It seems conceivable that a name of the supposed form \**Sweordlingas* may even at

icking and Tram-  
is OE *feld* “open

ll. *Scheph'de* 1348  
re hd).

40 Ass; *de Brade-*  
*oadway* 1690 Ind

Ass; *bo. Cotarior'*,  
of *Cotterell* 1790  
*tariorum*, gen. pl.  
l. L *coterellus*, OF

t; *Depdane* 1535

80, and discussion

Ass; 1327, 1332,  
1790 Hasted, III,  
st of the family of  
ted, III, 736). A

, *Kenegefeld* 1223  
FF; *de Kenefeld'*,  
; 1313-4 Seld 24,  
*de Kemfeld'* 1292  
The 1223 forms  
*gafeld* “the kings’

3 FF; 1254 Ass;  
BM I; *Sapyndon'*  
ss; 1338 Subs; *de*  
1346, 1347 Subs;

o assume that the  
nickname. — But  
corruptions of the  
o, connection with  
' may be possible.  
e base was "misty,  
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of these meanings.  
y. in Headcorn, v.  
ymic. More early  
mysterious name.  
) 1313 Ass; Rob.,

p. 86.  
C 25, 286. — OE

69; 1593(?) ArchC  
ade Ken 1662 ib.,  
place was named  
ace until the reign  
probably originally  
e maid", evidenced  
ne in Rob. Maide-  
ubs (s. Axton hd).  
; de Huthelmeston'  
270 Ass; Vthelmes-  
Ass; Outtelmeston  
. — I suggest the  
This name is not  
perhaps also Huc-  
V, 130. From OE  
ame? — This pl-n  
inal -ton (OE *tūn*)  
the middle part of  
and the name was  
a. 6 miles distant.  
d as *out* "without,  
ruption of *Boscum*

*de Roxpoll(e)* 1444-5 Kent Rec. 7; *Boscum de Coxpole* (s. Denton),  
*Roxpole* 1475-6 ib.; *Rockspole Wood* 1589 ArchC 25; *Greate Rox-*  
*poll Wood, Little Roxpoll* (in B.) 1662 ib.? — From OE *hrōc*  
"rook" + *pōl* "pool"? Cf. also Roxborough Wood (6") in the  
adjacent parish of Denton.

Shelvin 117 J 4. See KPN, p. 266.

Walderchain Wood 117 J 3: *Waterchine* 1263 Ipm; *Walt'chyne*  
1270 FF; *Walterchine* 1278-9 BM I; *Waldirchene* 1327-77 BM II;  
*Walderchyn* 1463 ArchC 25, 262; *Waldercheyne Wood* 1662 ib.,  
286. — The second el. is no doubt OE *cine, cinu* "chink, fissure,  
cavern". The first el. is OE *wealdwara*, gen. pl. "the forest-  
dwellers". The forms with *t* are due to association with the  
pers. n. *Walter* or perhaps with OE *wealt-* in *Waltham supra*.  
Cf. also *Walderslade* in Chatham, v. *supra*. — The name is per-  
haps identical in meaning with *Waldershare*, v. *infra*.

### Bishopsbourne

Bishopsbourne 117 G 3. See KPN, p. 85. The manor of Bourne  
al. Bishopsbourne belonged from an early date to the Archbishop  
of Canterbury (v. Hasted, III, 744).

Benhill Wood (6"): *de Ben(n)ehelde* 1304 Ass. — The first el.  
may be OE *Beonna*, pers. n. or OE *bi(o)ynnān* "within". The  
second el. is OE *h(i)elde* "slope".

Bourne-Place (= Bourne Park 117 G 3?), al. *Hautsbourne*, al.  
*Shelvingbourne* or *Shelvington*. These are manorial names. Joh.  
*de Sheluyng*, probably from the adjacent Shelvin 117 J 4, possessed  
this manor in 1309 (see 1309 FF, ArchC 12, 303). Later in the  
14<sup>th</sup> c. the manor passed into the hands of the family *de Haut*  
in Petham (see Hasted, III, 745). Note also the name *Upper-*  
*bourne* 1444 BM I, probably a translation of *Haut* "high".

Great Burstede Fm 117 H 2: *de Burstede, de Burstowe* 1270 Ass;  
*de Borstede* 1284 FF; *de Burstede* 1292 Ass; 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk;  
1327, 1332, 1334, 1338 Subs; *de Bor-, de Burstede* 1313 Ass;  
etc. According to Hasted, III, 746, the name was in ancient  
deeds written *Burghsted*. Cf. further *Beristede* 1216-72 BM II  
which the editors hesitatingly identify with Burstede. The collected  
evidence of this name favours derivation from OE *burh, byrig*  
"fortified place" + *stede*. There is no stream (OE *burna*) here. —  
The same early loss of medial *h* (*g*) is found in *Burstead*, Ess.

Charlton Fm 117 H 3: *de Cherlton'* 1240 Ass; *de Cherleton'* 1254, 1292, 1313 Ass; *de Cherton'* 1334 Subs; *de Cherlton'* 1338 Subs. — OE *ceorlatūn* "peasants' farm".

Gorsley Wood 117 H 2: *Gosley* 1541 BM I. — OE *gōs* "goose" + *lēah* "clearing".

Langhampark Lodge 117 H 2: *de Lang(e)ham* 1313 Ass; *de Langhamme* 1327, 1332, 1334 Subs, etc. — OE *lang* "long" + *hamm*.

Oswalds (6"). Cf. Roger *Oswold* 1477 ArchC ex. v. II, 23.

Pennycrych (lost): *Penycrek*, or *Penecrek* in B. 1502 Ipm; *Pennycrych bosc'* 1574 Ipm. — This is no doubt an instance of a name identical with Penkridge, St, Pentridge, Do, and Pentrich, Db (Romano-British *Pennocrucium* "top of the hill"); cf. Zachrisson, RKS, p. 49 ff. We accordingly find the Keltic elements *crouk-a* "hill" and *pen* "head, top" combined no less than four times. Perhaps the name came to be used as synonymous to "tumulus or collection of tumuli or ancient remains". There are tumuli, they are of Roman date, v. VCH III, 146, in Gorsley Wood in Bishopsbourne. Note perhaps also Crows Camp (6") near Gorsley Wood. Close to Pentridge there are several tumuli, a camp and an earthwork and the site of a British village. There is a Roman Camp just north of the village of Pentrich. The map offers no information about the existence of barrows at Penkridge, but traces of a mound may easily have disappeared at this comparatively important place. The survival of this Keltic name in districts settled by Anglo-Saxons seems to me easier to understand if it referred to an artificial hill or barrow rather than if it had the meaning of the top of a hill. The country at Penkridge is rather flat, no hills of any appreciable height being found there. Pentridge is, it is true, at the foot of a considerable hill called Pentridge Knoll. Pentrich is in undulating country. The district of Bishopsbourne is undulating, but there are no hills there. No hill-names are found in this parish. Holder interprets Keltic *pennō-crūcīō-n* as "kegel-förmiger haufe", that is a tumulus or a barrow.

#### Denton

Denton 117 J 4. See KPN, pp. 88, 293. For other cases of ME excrescent, unetymological medial *-(i)n-* cf. Wootton Ho, Sx, v.

EPNS VII, 412 v. EPNS X, 159 as *Wodyntone* 124 1279 Peck; 1291 the influence fr group which has etc. There is a *ningtūn* by the

Gatteridge Fm 1348 Subs; (*le S* East Kent Rec. 285. — OE *gāt* decide whether - of this el.

Lodgelees Fm 1658 ArchC 25, "pasture".

Tappington Fm (*Tapinton'* 1242-3 pers. name, origi \**Tap(p)a* or the l the presumed p spigot" (cf. WP the former alter also Tapners (*Tej* we may also hesi an inclination in

Kingston 117 I

Ileden 117 G derives this name 790; *de Ildinges* compares OE *G* doubtful whether formation of per be formed from tribute; worship, sacrifice to". It i



240 Ass; *de Cherleton*  
Subs; *de Cherlton* 1338

M I. — OE *gōs* "goose"

*ng(e)ham* 1313 Ass; *de*  
... — OE *lang* "long" +

ArchC ex. v. II, 23.

*k* in B. 1502 Ipm; *Pen-*  
doubt an instance of a  
ridge, Do, and Pentrich,  
of the hill"); cf. Zach-  
ind the Keltic elements  
bined no less than four  
used as synonymous to  
icient remains". There  
VCH III, 146, in Gorsley  
s also Crows Camp (6")  
ge there are several tu-  
site of a British village.  
the village of Pentrich.  
he existence of barrows  
may easily have disap-  
ace. The survival of this  
glo-Saxons seems to me  
artificial hill or barrow  
the top of a hill. The  
hills of any appreciable  
s, it is true, at the foot  
e Knoll. Pentrich is in  
ishopsbourne is undulat-  
hill-names are found in  
*vennō-crūciō-n* as "kegel-  
barrow.

193. For other cases of  
n- cf. Wootton Ho, Sx, v.

EPNS VII, 412, and Farming Woods, Nth, Templeton, Berks,  
v. EPNS X, 159. Compare also for Wootton *infra* such forms  
as *Wodyntone* 1253-4 FeesKn; *de Wodinton*' 1278 Ass; *Wodynton*  
1279 Peck; 1291 TE (OE *wudu* "wood" + *tūn*). It is of course  
the influence from the numerous *-in(g)ton* (OE *-ingtūn*) name  
group which has called forth analogical forms such as *Denin(g)ton*,  
etc. There is no need whatever to assume a variant OE *\*De-*  
*ningtūn* by the side of the evidenced *Dene tūn* "valley farm".

Gatteridge Fm (6"): *de Gatherste* in D. 1304 Ass; *de Gath'st*  
1348 Subs; (*le Sowth, le North*) *Gateherst, le Northgatherst* 1444-5  
East Kent Rec. (KRS 7); *Gatehurst Fm* in D. 1655 ArchC 25,  
285. — OE *gāt* "goat" + *hyrst* "wood". — It is impossible to  
decide whether *-ridge* is a substitution for *-hyrst* or a corruption  
of this el.

Lodgelees Fm 117 J 3: message called *Lodge Lease-House*  
1658 ArchC 25, 285. — The second el. is probably OE *lās*  
"pasture".

Tappington Fm 117 J 3. See KPN, pp. 78, 275. This name  
(*Tapinton*' 1242-3 Fees, etc.) may equally well be derived from a  
pers. name, originally a nickname or common noun, OE *\*Tap(p)a*,  
*\*Tap(p)a* or the like or from a topographical word derived, like  
the presumed pers. n., from the same stem as OE *teppa* "tap,  
spigot" (cf. WP 1, 765). As the name is an *-ington* formation,  
the former alternative is perhaps here the preferable one. Cf.  
also Tapners (*Teppanhyse* 765-91 BCS 260, etc.) in Leigh, where  
we may also hesitate between the two alternatives, perhaps with  
an inclination in favour of the former.

### Kingston

Kingston 117 H 3. See KPN, p. 315.

Ileden 117 G 3. See KPN, p. 160. Ekwall, PN *-ing*, p. 7,  
derives this name (*Gilding* 873 BCS 536; *Gildinge* 1038-50 KCD  
790; *de Ildinges* 1168-9 P, etc.) from OE *\*Gilda*, pers. n., and  
compares OE *Gelda*, *Gelde-*, *Gildewine*, pers. ns. As it seems  
doubtful whether the stem *Geld-*, *Gild-* was used in OE for the  
formation of pers. ns I suggested that the pl-n discussed may  
be formed from the stem of OE *gi(e)ld*, *geld* "yield, payment,  
tribute; worship, sacrifice", *gi(e)ldan* "to yield, pay; worship,  
sacrifice to". It is perhaps possible that the name was originally

Eastbridge (lost): *Estbrig'*, *-brigg'* 1254 Ass; *Estbregg'* 1270 Ass; *Estbregge* 1289 Peck; *Est Brige* 1314 Pat, etc. — Self-explanatory.

Gutteridge Gate (6''): *Godricheswude* 1268 Inq; *Gwodrycheswode* 1372 Perambulation, Hasted, IV, 399; *Goodrish field* 1497 Peramb., ib., 400; *Goodrich Wood* 1555, 1584 BM I; *Godrick*, al. *Gutteridge field* 1728 Peramb., Hasted, IV, 402; *Gutteridge-field* 1791 Peramb., ib., 402. — Gutteridge is no doubt a corruption of the genitive of the OE pers. n. *Godric*.

Hoath Fm 117 F 2: *Hothe* 1317, 1335, 1347 BM I; *Hoche* 1264 Inq. — OE \**hāþ* "heath".

Langport (lost): *Lanport* 1086 DB; *Langeport* 1226 Ass; 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk; 1278 QW; 1291 TE; *Lang(e)port* 1275 RH, etc. — OE *lang* "long, tall" + *port* "gate, door, entrance". Cf. Longport Street in Canterbury.

Lodderslane (lost): *Loddres-*, *Lodderslane* 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk; *Lodderestane* 1268(?) ib. — OE *loddere* "beggar" + *lanu* "lane".

Merton Fm 117 G 1. See KPN, p. 349.

Newingate (lost): *Newingate* 1275 RH; *Newengate*, *de Neuwingate* 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk. — OE (*æt þām*) *nēowan gate* "(at the) new gate". — Cf. Hasted, IV, 414.

Northgate: *Norgate* 1087 (13<sup>th</sup> c.) Inq Aug; 1254 Ass; *Nortgat'* 1231 Cl; *Nort(h)gate* 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk; *Norhtgate* 1275 RH, etc. — OE *norþ* "north" + *geat*, *gate* "gate".

Oaten Hill (still a street-name): *de Othull* 1327 Subs; *Otehell* 1381 ArchC 3, 74. — Here was, according to Hasted, IV, 424, formerly a market for the sale of oats.

Queningate. See KPN, p. 46.

Reed Pond (6''): *Reed Pond* 1728 Perambulation, Hasted, IV, 401. — OE *hrēod* "reed".

Ridinggate: *Reada gata* 1038-50 BM II; *de Radegate* 1240 Ass; *Radingate* 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk; *Redingat'* 1275 RH; *de Redingate* 1282, 1289 Peck; *Redegate* 1282 Ipm; *de Radyngate* 1292 Ass; *Redingate* 1307 FF, etc. — OE (*æt þām*) *rēadan gate* "(at the) red gate".

Ridlands Fm 117 F 2: Cf. *Atte Ride* 1278 Ass; *Atte Rede Sonde* 1292 Ass (both s. Westgate hd). — OE *hryd-* in OE *hryding* "clearing"? The meaning was probably "at the cleared land".

Ruttington Lane. See KPN, p. 4. This name (*Drutingstræt*, *Drutingestræte*, *Drutinge* 605-BCS 4; *Trutinton* 1227 FF; *Dru-*

*ditton*, *Drutin-*, *Drudin-* 13<sup>th</sup> c. BlackBk) I sug- formed from the same -u "throat". One may StNPh V, 80, of a hill or a protuberance Lane in the immediate after all, the base of t or the like, originally as OE *þrūtian* "to sv person. What is the (v. Förstemann, p. 146 a name in -tūn is at base of the first el. m

Scotland Hills 117 E 3; (s. Elbridge 117 E 3).

Shetyngcrosse (lost).

Stauerlinge (lost): *Stau* 1188 BlackBk; *Stauer Steuerling'* 1268(?) ib.

The first el. is obvious like, discussed by Rüt Wa. The second el. is form of OE *hlinc* "linc haps have been a plac used perhaps as a bou also be connected with about aimlessly or in origin is doubtful. N of *stagger*, after *dave* with OE \**stæfer* "stake originally "a man w The name discussed of persons wandering Compare the numerous

Stuppington Fm 11 *de Stubbe-*, *de Stobind de Stupindon*, *de Stu de Stupin-*, *de Stopisd*