

OLD ENGLISH *ēa* IN MIDDLE KENTISH PLACE-NAMES

MARÍA AUXILIADORA MARTÍN DÍAZ

University of La Laguna, Spain

ABSTRACT

This research paper intends to contribute to the study of Medieval English dialectology by focusing on Kentish, traditionally regarded as a Middle English dialect in which sounds and linguistic changes behave differently. This contribution will be done through the formal analysis of Old English <ēa>, a relevant dialectal variable, in Middle Kentish place-names. It is common knowledge name-forms provide real (and sometimes unique) information about the behaviour of certain phonological distinctions. Accordingly, we will concentrate on the analysis of this onomastic material and compare our conclusions, firstly, with other place-name studies, and secondly, with other more traditional phonological distributions attained by authors who have based their analyses on individual literary works reflecting this regional variety of the English Middle Ages.

1. Medieval English dialectology and place-names

Middle English is a period in the history of the English language characterised, among other things, by its great dialectal diversity, never witnessed in England before or after. Within this, Kentish or the south-eastern variety, has been regarded, by those who have traditionally studied the so-called anchor texts in search of the regional features reflected in them, as a peculiar dialect of Middle English where sound changes behave differently.

Complementary to these traditional textual analyses is the onomastic approach developed within the field of medieval dialectology during the 20th century. In it, names are regarded as true informants of phonological change. Kristensson claims, in this sense, “the material which has so far proved most profitable for the investigation of OE and ME dialects consists of place-names” (1967: XII). Apart from their inherent condition as accurate locators of dialectal variants, their real importance for a dialectal investigation lies, on certain occasions, in providing the only evidence of specific sound developments.

Serjeantson (1922, 1924, 1927a, 1927b), Ekwall (1931), Smith (1956), Ek (1972, 1975) are all works in which English medieval dialects have been studied from an onomastic standpoint. This perspective yet receives a further boost in the 1950s when Kristensson decides to embark on a survey of the Middle English dialects. So far, this project has produced a volume corresponding to the six Northern counties and Lincolnshire (1967); another one devoted to the West Midland counties (1987); the one that studies the East Midland counties (1995); and finally, the recently published Kristensson (2001), on vowels (except diphthongs) in the Southern counties. This research project, still in process, aims to study Middle English dialects through the analysis of name-forms (place-names and surnames) from c. 1290-1350 and takes as a primary source the Lay Subsidy Rolls, the official documents that, unanimously, seem to reflect more faithfully the local uses.

In the present dialectal research, we intend to participate in this onomastic perspective by doing a formal analysis of OE *ēa* in medieval place-names of Kent. It is our intention to analyse the development of this dialectally relevant Middle Kentish diphthong (in either the first (unique) or second constituent of a compound noun), by checking our early Middle English material (i.e., the 12th century) against the data assembled for late Middle English (i.e., the 14th century).

Our analysis cannot hence be limited to consult solely the above mentioned subsidy rolls. On the one hand, because these rolls date back, in their earlier stages to the second half of the 12th century, a period when these had not been yet regularly established. On the other, because there are authors who consider other documents to be equally important as medieval dialectal sources, for example Arngart, for whom the Assize Rolls “may claim a nearly equal right with the Subsidy Rolls of being described as local documents” (1949: 26-27).

Consequently, we will take, as a main source for our data-gathering, Wallenberg’s *The place-names of Kent* (PNK, 1934).¹ In this compilation the author, after scrutinising the most relevant documents of the time, shows us the written records of every single medieval farm, town, parish or hundred in Kent. These records, besides their corresponding source references, include an etymological definition that has served as a base to gather the present material. Up to now, this is the most important compilation, despite some justified objections about the archaic and obscure origin of our forms, for a research on the medieval place-names of Kent.

Another aim of this research paper is to take the *Linguistic atlas of late mediaeval English* (LALME, 1986) as a frame with which to compare our 14th

¹ Ek (1975) also uses, as a base for his Kentish data Wallenberg’s *Place names of Kent*. Apart from this primary source, we have also used Anderson (1934-1939), Cameron (1961), Reany (1964), Copley (1968) and Ekwall (1980).

century data. This linguistic atlas represents the most up to date and complete work of reference within dialectal studies. With a geographical perspective, but still adopting a new methodology, the authors of this *Atlas* give us a more approximate picture of the late medieval English variation. By applying systematically a strict questionnaire of linguistic items to a heterogeneous selection of texts or documents from c. 1350-1450, they got to generate in Kent a total of 14 Linguistic Profiles. These will be, as far as OE *ēa* is concerned, thoroughly examined here.

2. Middle English distribution of Old English *ēa*

As in Old English, the study of the phonetic evolution of diphthongs in the Middle English period is quite complex, given the inaccuracy of its corresponding spelling representations (already in Old English, the digraphs <ea> and <eo> were used to express certain single vocalic sounds). This lack of precision is enhanced by the monophthongisation process, regarded as characteristic of the transitional period between Old and Middle English. This process, in which old diphthongs tend to be smoothed out, occurs in the middle of the 11th century, precisely when scribes are trying to adequate orthography to the new phonological values. This coincidence causes the fact that even after *ea* and *eo* were reduced, they kept on being used to represent single sounds (i.e., <ea> can represent [ɛ:] even when this sound has not developed out of an Old English diphthong *ea*).

Generally, the element to be lost in this smoothing proceeding is the second one, since diphthongs were mostly falling at that time. We witness cases, however, where a shift of accent, probably dialectally motivated, breaks the general tendency and changes the diphthong into a rising entity where the second element is the stronger unit, and the first one the weaker, and therefore subject to being lost in this monophthongisation of Middle English.

In all Middle English dialects, except Kentish, the Old English diphthong *ēa* (<WGerm *āu*) ended up, via [æ:], as [ɛ:].² This sound rhymed either with the /ɛ:/ to which some Middle English dialects evolved OE *ǣ*₁ and *ǣ*₂, or with the /ɛ:/ produced as a consequence of the process of lengthening of OE /ɛ/ <e> in open syllable.³ It was usually represented in spelling as <ea>, <æ> or <e>, but, more and more, the digraph <ea> came to be accepted as its normal representation.

² We have taken out of the present corpus data, first of all, those cases in which short *ea* followed by a homorganic consonant cluster (i.e., -nd, -ld, -rd, -rn) underwent, at the end of the Old English period, a lengthening process and became *ēa*; and secondly, those cases in which this diphthong could have undergone a process of *i*-umlaut. Such a decision is motivated by the different evolution these cases might have had when compared with the original OE *ēa* (see Jordan 1974: §§ 59-62, 81-83).

³ Phenomenon known as Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening.

On the one hand, because <æ> had fallen gradually in disuse and, on the other, for <e> being already quite ambiguous (Luick 1914: §356; Wyld 1927: §164 (1); Jordan 1974: §§18, 19; Mossé 1952: §30).

In Kentish texts, this diphthong, apart from retaining sometimes its old spelling <ea>, is frequently represented as <ya, ia, ye, yea>, etc. Campbell explains these representations with initial <i/y> by simply saying that “e and y were equivalent graphs in late Kt.” (1959: 126), and leaving aside a possible fronting of the first element of the diphthong. Mossé, on his part, points out the possibility that “[i]n Kt by displacement of accent, OE *ea* becomes *y'a*.” (1952: §30, V). Although these digraphs, for these and other authors (Heuser 1895;⁴ Wyld 1927: §166; Jordan 1974: §82), indicate at first sight that, as opposed to other dialects, Middle Kentish preserved a diphthongal pronunciation, this is difficult to check.⁵ It is possible that they were simply used to represent a single [ɛ:] (Luick 1914: §359; Taylor 1924: 2-3; Wyld 1927: §164 (3)).

Besides, the above mentioned process of monophthongisation could be altered later in the Middle English period by diverse processes in which new diphthongs are created. Internal mechanisms such as the vocalization of /g/ or the development of a glide before /h/ can affect previously monophthongised vowels that will, in turn, constitute in this way a new Middle English diphthong. This could be the case of nouns (names or place-names) compounded by *-ēag*, *-ēah* whose treatment in Middle English is that of “an important dialect test, when taken in conjunction with other features” (Wyld 1927: 127). Serjeantson thinks that, in this respect, “the diphthongization of *ē* before *ɜ* and *h* does not seem to be confined to the dialects of any specific area” (1927b: 198). For her, according to Oakden, “the diphthonging of *ēah*, *ēag* to *eiɜ* is not dialectal in M.E., but the raising to *iɜ*” (1930: 26-27).

In Serjeantson’s opinion, *ei/ey* or *e* seem to be the most frequent developments of these compounded nouns in all dialects, Kentish included.⁶ Towards

⁴ According to Taylor (1924: 2), Heuser also observes this possibility at least in the spelling of the *Ayenbite*.

⁵ Wyld, on the one hand, claims that the probability these spellings would indicate that Kentish preserved some kind of a diphthong is by no means certain: “It is possible that the spellings indicate no more than [jɛ] or even merely [ɛ]” (1927: §164). On the other hand, he admits the possibility that in Kentish “the OE diphthongs survived in some forms as diphthongs into the ME period, OE. *ea* probably becoming a ‘rising diphthong’ and passing through [eá] to [já] or [jæ, jɛ]” (1927: §166).

⁶ “We have, therefore, in EME, 1) *eiɜ* from OE *ēag*; 2) *eih* or 3) *ēh* from OE *ēah*; 4) *ē* from OE *ēa* in inflected cases, e.g. *hēa*, *lēa*, in which the *-h-* was lost between vowels. [...] The 4th type is rare in ME texts [...] probably because the word *lēah*, which so often appears in Place-Names as *le(e)* (from OE dat. *lēa*), is of rare occurrence in prose or verse compositions. The word *hēah*, which had an inflected form *hēa* in OE, is sometimes found as *he*, both in Place-Names and literary texts [...] though usually as *hegh*, *hey*, etc.” (Serjeantson 1927b: 199). But Serjeantson admits the difficulty in reaching “any definite conclusions as to the precise geographical distribution of the ME forms *ei*, *ēh*, *ē*” and points

the middle of the 13th century, newly monophthongised forms with *i-/y-* start appearing, although circumstantially, in the documents of some counties, and it is precisely this change to *i* what she considers dialectal. According to her onomastic studies on forms compounded by *-ēag*, or *-ēah*, Kent is one of the counties in which “no *i*-forms seem to occur” and in which “the *ei*-type” seems to have been preserved “until the 15th century” (Serjeantson 1927b: 203, 216-17; Wyld 1927: §172 (2)).⁷ Also for Jordan (1974: §97 (2)), Kent is outside the area enclosed by the isogloss which marks this change to *i-* in the map.⁸

3. Distribution of OE *ēa* in 12th-century Kent

3.1. First element

17 Kentish localities from the 12th century, with OE *ēa* in the first or unique element were registered. Out of them, 13 showed *e*-forms (see Table 1):⁹ 9 in an exclusive way, 1 predominantly and 3 with a mixed development *e/ea*. According to this, the *e*-reflex is the most important variant here.

It is also worth mentioning here the exclusive character of the *a*-variant in HADLOW (*Haslo c. 1100 Dom Mon*; *Aslo 1154-89 BM I.*, from OE *hēafod* ‘head’); the *i*-variant in SHIPBOURNE (*Siburne 11 DM*; *Scipbourne 1198 FF*, from OE *scēap* ‘sheep’); and the *ea*-variant in LENHAM (*Leaham 11 DM*, from OE *Lēana*, personal name). We also have a mixed development *a/ea* in TRIMWORTH, Ma. (*Dreamwurthe, Dranword c. 1100 Dom Mon*, from OE **Drēama*, personal name).

As a primary conclusion we can say for this first element there are not in 12th century Kent forms in *ia/ya*, supposedly characteristic of this county. The predominance belongs, as in the rest of the country, to *e* (see Table 1), together with some sporadic *ea* and *a*-forms (the explanation to the latter is probably due to a monophthongisation process in which the diphthong is dialectally regarded as rising).

out that “the *e*-type (*le*, *lee*, etc. [...] appears most frequently in Pl-Ns from [...] the south-eastern part of the country” (1927b: 201).

⁷ It is convenient to mention here the confusion in Middle English to which Serjeantson makes reference when talking about OE *ēag* and *ēah*. With respect to the compounded forms with *ēah*, she says: “nouns and adjectives in *-ēah* in the nominative sometimes have inflected cases in *ēage*, [...] for instance OE *lēah* has dat. *lēa* or *lēage*, OE *hēah*, dat. *hēam*, *hēagum*, etc. We find, therefore, double forms of these words in ME, with *-eih* from the uninflected and *-eie* from the inflected type. The two are often confused, so that *-e(i)he* is used for the inflected cases, and *-ei* for the uninflected. The *e(i)h* type appears even in words which always had a vowel-ending in OE, e.g., OE *ēage*, ‘eye,’ ME *eie*, *ei*, *ehe*, etc.” (Serjeantson 1927b: 199).

⁸ For a more accurate view of the area where this closing and raising is produced, see the map adapted by Oakden in Jordan (1974: 121).

⁹ All the tables are included in the appendix at the end of the paper.

As for *hēah* 'high' and *lēah* 'lea, clearing', two of the most frequent lexical terms with OE *-ēah* within our medieval Kentish name-forms, the *e*-variant is also dominant in both of them¹⁰ (see Table 1).

3.2. Second element

There are also 17 Kentish localities with OE *ēa* in the second element during the 12th century 14 of them have an *e*-variant: 7 exclusively; 5 predominantly; 1 in a mixed development *e/ea*; and another one in a non-predominant distribution. Once again *e* is the predominant development here (see Table 2).

This fact contradicts the dialectal tradition of medieval Kent. However, some minor variants of the type expected do appear: *i* (see HAWLEY in Table 2); \emptyset (see BOXLEY in Table 2); *eia* (see BOXLEY and TWINNEY CREEK in Table 2); *ea* (see BARCLAY, THROWLEY, and PLUCKLEY in Table 2; see also the forms *Middlelea* (< OE *lēah* 'lea') for MIDLEY and *Grauenea* and *Rumenea* (< OE *ēa* 'river') for GRAVENEY and ROMNEY, respectively. In the first two cases *ea* is exclusive, in the third one we also have *Rumenei* and therefore a mixed development *ea/ei*); *ae* (see HASTINGLEIGH in Table 2); and *ai* (see PLUCKLEY in Table 2).

No place-names with OE *hēah* in the second constituent were found in 12th-century Kent. However, we registered 13 localities with OE *lēah* (see 12 of them in Table 2, the other one is the above mentioned MIDLEY). Most of them with a predominant *e* because, according to Serjeantson, the *ei* or *eie*-forms in HARTLEY, HAWLEY and BOXLEY can be regarded as subsequent evolutions after the smoothing of OE *ēa* to [ɛ:].¹¹ On this occasion, OE *lēah* also displays an infrequent, from the traditional point of view, diversity of minor sporadic developments (see Table 2).

4. Distribution of OE *ēa* in 14th century Kent

4.1. First element

40 Kentish localities from the 14th century show a first or unique element with OE *ēa*. 36 out of them present an *e*-development that is exclusive or predomi-

¹⁰ *Legesdun* and *Lega* seem to derive from *lēage*, and *Leesdona* and *Leesdon'* do it from *lēa* (a contraction of *lēaha*) "in which the *-h-* was lost between vowels" and out of which we expect an *ē* in Middle English (Serjeantson 1927b: 199).

¹¹ Do not forget the variants <ei(g), ei(h) eie, e(h), e(h)e, e(g)a>, etc., may derive from contractions, oblique forms, etc., but these are not, according to Serjeantson dialectal features but, in our opinion, the result of simple mechanisms such as vocalizations and developments of epenthetic vowels or glides.

nant in 32 localities, mixed in 2, and non-predominant in other 2 cases (see Table 3).

The second most frequent variant is, at a great distance from the first one, the *a*-variant with a total of 6 localities: exclusive in GRANDACRE FM. (*Gartaker'* 1334, 1346 Subs; *de Gartakere* 1347 Subs, from OE *grēat* 'great') and HOLBROOK (*Hallerebrok'* 1332, 1338 Subs; *de Hallerebroke* 1327 Subs; *de Hallebroke* 1332 Subs; *de Halleresbroke* 1334 Subs, from OE *hēala* 'rupture'); predominant in CHAFFORD and HANDEN (see Table 3); and non-predominant in HENDEN (see Table 3). We also have 1 case of an exclusive *ea*-variant in East End Fm. (*de Eastoune* 1327 Subs, from OE *ēast* 'east'), a mixed *e/ea* development in BAINDEN (see Table 3), and 4 localities where *ea* is non-predominant: HANDEN, EAST MT. FM., HENDEN and HENSILL (see Table 3). We also registered a mixed *eli* development in CHIPSTEAD (see Table 3) and some non-predominant or rare cases of *ya*, *ia*, *ie*, *eya*, and *o* in EAST MT. FM., †HENDEN, and HENGHURST (see Table 3).

15 Kentish localities were registered with OE *hēah* in the first element during the 14th century. Out of them, 10 show an exclusive *e*¹² and 4 a predominant *e*,¹³ in any case, the expected development for this term in Kent. On its part, HANDEN offered a predominant *a*,¹⁴ and in some others a heterogeneity of minor reflexes like *ea*, *ia*, *ya*, *ie* is also present (see Table 3).

Only 2 were the localities with OE *lēah* in the first element during the 14th century. On the one hand, LEE PRIORY, with the form *Lee* that possibly derives from the Old English dative *lēa*; and on the other, LEIGH with the forms *Leghe* from OE *lēah* (see Table 3). The scarcity does not allow us to infer anything but the obvious predominance of *e*.

4.2. Second element

45 Kentish place-names, corresponding to the 14th century, were registered for having OE *ēa* in the second constituent of the compounded noun. Out of them, 44 offer an *e*-reflex that is mostly exclusive (it is only predominant in 2 localities; in other 2, just part of a mixed development *e/ea*; and in another one it is in

¹² In these place-names with *e*, we have to distinguish between those that probably derive from OE *hēah* (i.e. forms like *Heghstaple*, *Heghelond*, *Heghrede*, for HEXTABLE, HIGHLANDS and HIGH REED respectively), which are more abundant. (Serjeantson (1927b: 201) believes that "[t]he *eh*-type is also fairly common in all the counties South of the Thames"); and those that were less frequent and that possibly derive from OE *hēah/hēage* where the subsequent internal developments could give *ey(h)*, also present in Serjeantson's registers for Kent (this is the case of *Heylond'*, *Heystede* and *Heyham* for HIGHLANDS, HIGHSTEAD FORSTAL and HIGHAM HILL respectively).

¹³ All of them derive from OE *hēan* (inflected form of OE *hēah*).

¹⁴ Also derived from OE *hēan*, whose diphthong was probably regarded as rising.

a non-predominant distribution. Once again, *e* is predominant over other alternative variants (see Table 4).

An exclusive *a*-variant also appears in the registers for OE *ēa* in the second element of 14th century Kentish place-name forms. This is the case of MACKNADE (*de Makenhauede 1315, 1317 FF.* from OE *hēafod* 'head'). No Kentish localities with OE *hēah* were registered, however, for this 14th century OE *lēah* gives us, on the other hand, 30 Kentish localities with this term as a second constituent in the 14th century. With the only exception of BOWLEY FM. (where we have the non-predominant *ye*-reflex), the remaining place-name forms present an exclusive and expected *e*-variant (see Table 4).

5. Comparative study

As far as the first or unique element is concerned, although *e* is the predominant development, especially in the 14th century, there is an occasional presence of alternative variants. In the 12th century, *a* and *ea* are more or less at a level after *e*, whereas in the 14th century the *a*-variant is clearly more frequent. On the other hand, the *i*-variant is present, occasionally, in both stages: in the 12th century it is exclusive in 1 locality (see SHIPBOURNE above), and in the 14th century is just part of a mixed development (see CHIPSTEAD in Table 3).

Likewise, the *e*-variant presents itself as clearly dominant for the second element in both the 12th and 14th centuries. In the 14th century *a* and *ea* keep on being minor alternative variants of a major *e*. In the 12th century it is only the digraph <ea> that takes this place. As for the *i*-variant is concerned, it only appears as part of a non-predominant distribution in the 12th century (see HAWLEY in Table 2), and is totally absent in the 14th century. Besides, we notice in this second element a greater heterogeneity than that observed for the first one (i.e., <∅, ae, ai, ea, ye, eia>).

The dialectological tradition says the most frequent realisation for OE *ēa* in Middle Kentish when this is not part of an *-ēag / -ēah* compound is <ya, ia, ye, yea> (Wyld 1927, Mossé 1952, Campbell 1959, Jordan 1974 and Hogg 1992). According to this, our data for the 12th and 14th centuries do not coincide with that premise since we do have a predominant *e*, expected elsewhere but in Kent. Nevertheless, even though there is still an important amount of cases for which we have no justification from a traditional point of view, we certainly have a high percentage of place-names with *-ēag / -ēah*,¹⁵ where *e* is the expected variant

¹⁵ Apart from *hēah* and *lēah*, there are also other place-names made up of OE *tēag* in which that condition is also fulfilled. All the 14th century forms compounded by this term in the second element present an exclusive *e*-variant (see the different types: *-eh* or *-eg*). As we saw in the previous section, only in TYEHURST (with OE *tēag* in the first element of the compounded form) do we have an *ey*-variant result of subsequent developments after the smoothing process.

in Kent. Besides, we also observe within our name-forms special developments that, although occasional, do coincide with the traditional analyses.¹⁶

In *LALME*, the only item with OE *ēa* is HIGH (OE *hēah*), a term which is, as we have seen, the most controversial lexical component to study the general evolution of the Old English diphthong *ēa*. In this atlas we found 9 Kentish Linguistic Profiles (LPs) where the item HIGH was registered. In 6 of them the *e*-reflex is again predominant (in the LP 5890 we have an exclusive *e*, and in 5870, 5881, 5950, 5970 and 5960 the exclusive development is *ey/ei*). On the contrary, in the remaining 3 LPs (5980, 9470 and 5990) the exclusive development belongs to *y/i* (only predominant in 5990 where it alternates with *ey*).

With this information, we can conclude the developments *ei*, *ey*, *e*, (and even *ea*) predominate over the *i*-variant that happens to be present in those linguistic profiles of western Kent (sharing border with Surrey). Although this development is absent from our place-names with *hēah* (see Table 3), it apparently coincides with the general analysis done for our Middle Kentish name-forms with Old English *ēa*. As we said earlier, this *i* happens to be present (either as an exclusive, mixed or non-predominant variant) in the localities of CHIPSTEAD, SHIPBOURNE and HAWLEY, all of them in the western half of Kent.

Both, the western linguistic profiles mentioned above and the geographical situation of our localities, seem to confirm the hypothesis of a western corridor in Kent where this *i*-development was possible. To a certain extent this idea was already pointed out by the map adapted by Oakden in Jordan (1974: 121). In this map "the line m encloses the area in which OE *ēah*, *ēaz* was raised to *īz*" (Jordan 1974: §97 (3)), and, on doing so, it goes through a narrow corridor which, at the very least, borders with the western area of Kent. As in a wave-like model, the presence of occasional *i*-forms in Western Kent could contribute to reinforce the border limits of this hypothetical isogloss in the territory of Kent.

6. Conclusion

In sum, we can infer from this onomastic research the following dialectal conclusions about Middle Kentish:

- A clear predominance of forms in *e* for OE *ēa* (a high percentage of these derive from OE *-ēag / -ēah*, though);
- Traditional digraphs like <ie, ea, ye, ia, ya, etc.> do appear, but are simply sporadic;
- Some rare *i*-reflexes were recorded for Western Kent.

¹⁶ See in the summary of dialectal features of the Kentish texts offered by Wyld, the variants presented by the item (11) OE long *ēa*: <ie, a, ia, ya, ea, yea> (1921: 131). See also Jordan's comment that "[a] special development, as is specially often with diphthongs, is shown in Kentish" for the diphthong *ēa* (1974: §82).

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APPENDIX

Table 1. 12th-century Kentish place-name forms with *e* in the first element

LEXICAL ITEM	LOCALITY	PLACE-NAME FORMS
OE <i>cēap</i> 'cheap'	CHIPSTEAD	<i>Chepsteda</i> 1191 P
OE <i>east</i> 'east'	EASTBRIDGE	<i>Estbrugie</i> c. 1140-4 HoCh (ArchC 10, 270); <i>Heastbruge</i> c. 1150 Fr.
	EASTCHURCH	<i>Eastcyrce</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon; <i>Estchirhe</i> 1194 Fr.
	EAST STOUR FM.	de <i>Estesture</i> 1195 Abbr.
	EASTWELL	<i>Estwelle</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon
OE <i>hēah</i> 'high'	HEVER	<i>Heure</i> c. 1100 Text Roff.
	HIGHSTED	de <i>Hecsted</i> 1197 FF; de <i>Hecstede</i> 1198 P.
	FORSTAL	
OE <i>lēah</i> 'lea'	LEE	<i>Le</i> c. 1100 Text Roff; <i>Leahei</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon.
	LEIGH GREEN	<i>Lega</i> c. 1100 Text Roff.
	LEYSDOWN	<i>Legesdun</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon; <i>Leesdona</i> 1174-5 P; <i>Leesdon</i> ' 1175-6 P.
OE <i>stēap</i> 'steep'	STATENBOROUGH	<i>Stepenberga</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon
OE pers. n. <i>Eadmær</i>	ADMERS WD.	<i>Edmeris</i> field 1181 Cl.
OE pers. n. <i>Eadwulf/Eadhelm</i>	EDENBRIDGE	<i>Eadelmesbrege</i> c. 1100 Text Roff.; <i>Edolues-brigg</i> 1199 Rot Cur.

Table 2. 12th century Kentish place-name forms with *e* in the second element

LEXICAL ITEM	LOCALITY	PLACE-NAME FORMS
OE <i>ēa</i> 'river'	TWINNEY CREEK	<i>Twineneia</i> 1166-7 P; <i>Tuinenea</i> 1190 P; <i>Tuinega</i> 1191, 1192 P; <i>Tuinga</i> 1194 P.
OE <i>hēafod</i> 'head'	MACKNADE	<i>Macheuet</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon.
OE <i>lēah</i> 'lea'	BARCLAY HD.	<i>Badeslega</i> 1175-6 P; <i>Badekelea</i> 1178-9 P.
	BOWLEY FM.	<i>Boclege</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon; <i>Bugele</i> 1174-84 Reg Roff; <i>Buggele</i> 1177, 1184-90 ib.; <i>Buggelle</i> 1199 ib.
	BOXLEY	<i>Boxlea</i> , <i>Boxelei</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon; <i>Boxle</i> 1100-35, 1154-89 Reg Roff; <i>Boxlee</i> 1100-07 ib.; <i>Boxlega</i> 1154-5, 1156-7 RBE; <i>Boxel'</i> 1158-9, 1159-60 P; <i>Boxlega</i> , <i>Boxelea</i> 1162-3 P; <i>Boxelega</i> 1165-6 P; <i>Boxele</i> (1176-7) BM II; <i>Boxel'</i> , <i>Boxleia</i> 1194 Cur; <i>Boxel'</i> 1196 FF; <i>Boxle</i> , <i>Buxlee</i> 1197 FF.
	BRENCHLEY	<i>Braencesle</i> c. 1100 Text Roff; <i>Brencheslega</i> 1185 P.
	BROCKLEY	<i>Brocele</i> 1182-4 Reg Roff.
	HARTLEY	<i>Ercleie</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon; <i>Herclei</i> c. 1100 Text Roff.
	HASTINGLEIGH	<i>Haestingelege</i> , <i>Hastingeleg</i> , <i>Hestingelaege</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon.
	HAWLEY	<i>Hageli</i> , <i>Hageleg</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon; <i>Halgelei</i> c. 1100 Text Roff; <i>Halgele</i> 1199 Cur.
	MARLEY COURT	<i>Merile</i> 1177, 1184-90, 1199 Reg Roff.
	PLUCKLEY	<i>Plucele(a)</i> , <i>Plukele</i> , <i>Plukelai</i> c. 1100 Dom Mon.
	RIDLEY	<i>Redlege</i> 11 DM; <i>Riddelee</i> 1198 FF.

THROWLEY T(h)rulege c. 1100 Dom Mon; Trullada, Trullega c. 1153 ArchC 4, 206-7; Trulega c. 1160 ib., 280; Thrulege, Trullega 1162-5 ib., 210; Trulea, Trullega c. 1165 ib., 209; de Trulega 1190 P.

Table 3. 14th century Kentish place-name forms with *e* in the first element

LEXICAL ITEM	LOCALITY	PLACE-NAME FORMS
OE <i>cēap</i> 'cheap'	CHAFFORD	de <i>Chefforde</i> 1327 Subs; <i>Chafford</i> 1365, 1379, 1381, 1384 Cl
	CHESTED	de <i>Chestede</i> 1301 Subs; <i>Chepstede</i> 1313 Ass; de <i>Chested</i> ' 1348 Subs; de <i>Chested</i> 1361 Cl.
	CHIPSTEAD	de <i>Chip-</i> , de <i>Chepstede</i> 1313 Ass.
OE <i>cwēad</i> 'dung'	QUARRINGTON	<i>Codrington</i> 1304 Ass; de <i>Quedrinton</i> ' 1313 Ass; de <i>Quetheryntone</i> 1337 FF; <i>Gwede-ryngton</i> 1381 ArchC 3, 84.
OE <i>ēast</i> 'east'	†EASTBRIDGE (Canterbury)	<i>Est</i> Brige 1314 Pat, etc.
	EAST HALL (Murston)	<i>Esthalle</i> 1314 Inq aqd; 1354, 1378 Cl; 1359 Fine; 1379 Pat; <i>Esthall</i> 1355 Cl; 1359 Ipm.
	EAST HALL (Orpington)	<i>Esthalle</i> 1313 FF.
	EASTLEIGH CT.	<i>Estlegh</i> 1361 Cl; <i>Estleghe</i> 1382 Cl.
	EAST MT., FM.	de <i>Estmonton</i> ', <i>Eyastmunton</i> , <i>E(a)stmuntun</i> ', <i>Estmunton</i> ', <i>Hestmuntun</i> ', de <i>Estmonton</i> ' 1313 Ass; de <i>Eastmanton</i> ' 1348 Subs.
OE <i>hēah</i> 'high'	EAST STOUR FM.	<i>Est(t)ure</i> 1313 Ass.
	AYCLIFF	Cf. phps. <i>Juliana Hekhelyues</i> 1348 Subs (s. Bewsborough Hd.).
	HANDEN	de <i>Handenn</i> ' 1327, 1332, 1347 Subs; de <i>Hendenne</i> 1334 Subs; de <i>Hamdenne</i> 1338 Subs; de <i>Heandenn</i> ' 1346 Subs.

HENDEN (Sundridge)	de <i>Handenne</i> 1332 Subs (s. Somerden hd); <i>Hendenne</i> 1344 Ch; <i>Heandenn</i> 1355 Ipm; <i>Henden</i> 1365 Cl; 1396 Pat; 1398 Ipm.
†HENDEN (Woodchurch)	de <i>H(i)endeñe</i> 1327 Subs; de <i>Hyanden'</i> , de <i>Hianden'</i> 1334 Subs; de <i>He(a)nden'</i> 1338 Subs; de <i>Hendenne</i> 1346, 1347, 1348 Subs; <i>Heandon</i> 1391 Ipm.
HENGHURST	de <i>Henherst</i> 1313 Ass; 1327, 1338, 1340 Subs; de <i>Hyanh'st</i> 1334 Subs.
HENSILL	de <i>Henselle</i> 1327, 1334, 1348 Subs; de <i>Heansell'</i> 1338 Subs; de <i>Heneshelle</i> 1340 Subs; de <i>Heneshell'</i> 1346 Subs; de <i>Heneswell'</i> 1347 Subs.
HEXTABLE	de <i>Heghstaple</i> 1327 Subs; ate <i>Heghestaple</i> 1347 Subs.
HIGHAM (Hadlow)	de <i>Hegham</i> 1327, 1332, 1334, 1338 Subs; de <i>Heggham</i> 1332 Subs (s. Tonbr. Hd).
HIGHAM (Patixbourne)	<i>Hegham</i> 1346 FA; de <i>Hegham</i> 1324 ArchC 21, 206.
HIGHAM FM.	de <i>Hegham</i> 1313-4 Seld 24, 203; 1327 Subs.
HIGHAM HILL	de <i>Heyham</i> 1327 Subs; de <i>Hegham</i> 1332, 1334, 1346, 1347 Subs.
HIGHLANDS	atte <i>Hethelond'</i> 1327 Subs; ate <i>Heghelond</i> 1332 Subs; ate <i>Heylond'</i> 1334, 1338 Subs; ate <i>Heghelond'</i> 1347 Subs; <i>Heghelond</i> 1358 Ipm; <i>Heylond</i> latter p. 14 th c. ArchC 9, 303.
HIGH REED	<i>Heghrede</i> 1381 Cl.
HIGHSTEAD	<i>Heghsted</i> 1314 Pat.
HIGHSTED	de <i>Heystede</i> 1313 Ass; etc.
FORSTAL	

OE <i>lēac</i> 'leek'	LECKET GREEN	<i>Lekede</i> 1313-4 Seld 24, 206; <i>Lekede</i> 1322 Inq; ate <i>Lekede</i> 1327, 1332, 1334 Subs.
OE <i>lēactūn</i> 'orchard'	LACTON HALL	<i>Leketon'</i> 1313 Ass; 1327 Subs; <i>Leketone</i> , de <i>Lecton</i> 1307-27 ArchC 15, 361.
	LEIGHTON MA.	de <i>Lecton</i> 1320 Ch.
OE <i>lēah</i> 'lea'	LEE PRIORY	Atte <i>Lee</i> 1332, 1334 Subs, etc.
	LEIGH	Ate <i>Leghe</i> 1327 Subs; ate <i>Lee</i> 1352 AD, 5
OE <i>rēad</i> 'red'	RIDINGGATE	<i>Redingate</i> 1307 FF, etc.
OE <i>stēap</i> 'steep'	†STEPHURST	<i>Steph'st</i> 1327 Subs.
OE <i>tēag</i> 'enclosure'	TYEHURST	de <i>Tegherst</i> 1301, 1327, 1332, 1338 Subs; de <i>Teyhurst</i> 1362 FF; <i>Tegheherst</i> 1398 Ipm.
OE pers. n. <i>Bēaga</i>	BAINDEN	de <i>Beghyndenne</i> 1313 Ass; de <i>Beagynden'</i> 1338 Subs.
OE pers. n. <i>Ēadgar</i>	GT. EGGERTON	<i>Egarynton</i> 1312 AD, v. 3; <i>Edgarinton'</i> 1313 FF.
OE pers. n. <i>Ēad</i>	ITTINGEE FM.	De <i>Edyng'</i> , <i>Edes</i> 1327 Subs; de <i>Edyngg'</i> , <i>Edys</i> 1332 Subs; de <i>Edyng'</i> 1334, 1340, 1347, 1357 Subs; de <i>Edynge</i> , <i>Edys</i> 1338 Subs; <i>Edynge</i> 1346, 1348 Subs.

Table 4. 14th century Kentish place-name forms with *e* in the second element

LEXICAL ITEM	LOCALITY	PLACE-NAME FORMS
OE <i>bēam</i> 'beam'	BLADBEAN	Blodbeme 1313 Ass; Blodebeame 1327 Subs.
	CHERRY TREE SHAW	Cf. phps. Chersebenfeld 1377 Reg Roff (s. Cudham).
	HOLBEAM	de Holebeme 1313 Ass; de Holbeam 1327 Subs; atte Olebiame 1334 Subs; de Holbeame 1346, 1347, 1348 Subs, etc.
	SNOAD WD.	Cf. phps. Will. Snodbeme 1327 Subs.
	†SNODBEAM	de Snodbeam 1313-4 Seld 24, 200; de Snodbeme 1327, 1338 Subs; de Snodbeame 1334 Subs; Sodbemme 1344 FF.
OE <i>cēap</i> 'cheap'	GOODCHEAP FM.	Godchep (p.) 1313 Ass; 1340 Subs.
OE <i>ēa</i> 'river'	BINNEY FM.	De Bynne 1334, 1347 Subs.
	BINNY COTTAGES	De Bynneye 1313-4 Seld 24, 209; de Bynne 1334, 1346 Subs; Bynne(e) 1361, 1364, 1373 Pat.
	†NORTHENE	Northene 1327 Subs; 1341, 1342 FF; Northeney 1313-4 Seld 24.
OE <i>lēah</i> 'lea'	ASHLEY	Essehele 1313 Ass; 1313 FF; de Essele 1332 Subs.
	BARCLAY HD.	Bardekeleghe 1316 FA; Badkelegh' 1327 Subs; Badekele 1346 FA, etc.
	BENCHILL FM.	Cf. phps. Will. De Benteleye 1301 FF.
	BEVERLEEY FM.	de Baluerle 1327 Subs; de Balu'le 1338 Subs; 1342-3 Ass; Baluerle 1378, 1388 Pat; Baluerlee 1380 Pat; Balverle 1384, 1385, 1386, 1391 Cl; Baluerle 1392 Pat.
	BIRCHLEY	de Berkelegh' 1327 Subs (2x); de Barkelegh' 1334 Subs.
	BLETCHINGLEY	Bleccesle 1327 Subs; Blecchelegh' 1334 Subs; Blechelegh' 1338 Subs; Blechingleghe 1347 Subs.
	BOWLEY FM.	de Boggele 1327 Subs; Boggelye 1331 Ch; de Boghele 1332 Subs; de Boghele 1334 Subs; Bugele 1346 FA.
	BRENLEY HO.	de Brenle 1304 Ass; 1315, 1317 FF; 1321, 1322 ArchC 14, 192, 195; de Brenlee, -lege 1302 Pat; de Bren(d)le 1327, 1332 Subs.
	BROCKLEY	Brockele 1328 Ch
	BROMLEY GREEN	de Bromlegh' 1327; 1332, 1334 Subs, etc.
	BURLEIGH	Burle 1310 Peck; Burlegh 1327, 1332, 1346 Subs; Berlee 1348 Cl; Burleghe 1377 FF.
	†EDGELEY	de Edesle 1313 Ass; 1304 FF; Eadesle 1327 Subs; de Edisle 1332 Subs.
	†EVERSLEY	De Eueresle 1306 FF.
	FRIDHILL WD.	de ffridle 1332, 1334, 1347, 1348 Subs; de ffredele 1338 Subs; de ffry(n)del 1346 Subs.
	GOAT LEES	(de) Gotele 1313 Ass; de Gotele 1327 Subs; de Got(e)le 1332, 1334, 1338, 1346 Subs.
	HAWLEY	De Halghele, Halwele 1303 Ipm; Halghle 1325 Inq aqd; 1373 Cl; Halghwelee, Halwele-dene latter p. 14 th c. ArchC 9, 303.
	HENLEY ST.	Henle 1323 Ipm.
	HOCKLEY	Cf. phps. Ric. Hockele 1322 ArchC 14, 195; Ric. Hockele 1324 ib., 197.
	LILLEY FM.	de Linleghe 1327 Subs; de Lyn-, de Linlegh' 1332, 1334, 1346, 1347 Subs; Lyndlegh' (p.) 1348 Subs.

MARLEY	Merile 1334, 1338 Subs; Meryle (p.) 1332 Subs; Mer'le 1348 Subs; Merile (p.) 1357 Subs.	OE pers. n. Ælfhēah	ELPHICKS	Cf. Henr. <i>Elphegh'</i> 1313 Ass; Hen. <i>Elphegh</i> 1327 Subs; Will. <i>Elpheg'</i> 1334 Subs; Joh. <i>Elphegh'</i> 1334, 1338 Subs (Marden hd); Joh. <i>Elpheg'</i> (Goudhurst) 1344 FF; Joh. <i>Elfeg</i> 1346 Subs (Marden hd); Ric. <i>Elpheg'</i> 1347 Subs.
MARLEY COURT OCKLEY	De Marleye 1316 Cl. de Occle 1334, 1338 Subs; de Ocle 1327, 1338, 1347 Subs; de Oklee 1340 Subs.			
PETLEY'S, LOWER P.	ate Pitle, de Petlee 1301 Subs; atte Putle 1327 Subs; de Petlee 1332 Subs; de Petle 1366 FF.			
ROWLEY HILL SHELLEYS	de Raule 1313 Ass. Th. de Schelvelegh 1323 AD; Th. Shelleghe 1365 FF; Th. Shenle at le Nokelte 1374 Cl.			
SISELEY	de Sesselee 1313 Ass; de Sessele 1316 Pat; de Sesele, de Cetsele, de Cesele 1327 Subs; de Cesele 1334, 1338, 1346 Subs; 1343-4 Ass; de Seselle 1338 Subs.			
SWANLEY	de Swangle 1327 Subs; de Swanle 1334, 1347, 1348 Subs.			
SWANLEY	Swanle 1396 Pat.			
TRENLEY	de Trindle 1334, 1347 Subs; de T'ndele 1338 Subs.			
ULLEY FM.	Ullee 1369 Cl; Ulle 1389 Pat; 1390 Ipm.			
OE <i>tēag</i> 'enclosure'	CLAVERTYE WD. Clavertegh 1341 Pat.			
GRAFTY GREEN	de la Grauetegh' 1327 Subs; de Grasteghe 1332 Subs.			
OLANTIGH PARK	Holmthege, de Holitege 1272-1307 Cust Battle Abbey; de Olentegh' 1313 Ass.			
WILTIE GDNS.	de Wilteghe 1334 Subs.			