Map 4. Place-names derived from *byden-wella* and *byden-*funta*

Some Ghost Entries in Smith's
English Place-Name Elements

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A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* was published in 1956, at a time when only twenty-four volumes of the English Place-Name Survey had appeared.[1] The Survey is now at a much more advanced stage, having reached its sixty-sixth volume in 1993, and a new edition of *PNElements* is currently in preparation as part of a major research project funded by the Leverhulme Foundation.[2] The information given under individual headword entries is being updated in the light of recent research, with many new elements being added from post-1956 volumes of the Survey. Conversely, some existing headwords will be deleted, as their occurrence in place-names can no longer be substantiated. The purpose of this article is to examine the criteria for deleting headword entries, and to discuss a few selected examples. It will not be concerned with headwords which were challenged in reviews of the 1956 edition of *PNElements* and were subsequently cancelled in the Addenda and Corrigenda published in the first volume of the *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*,[3] but rather with those entries which have not stood the test of time.

Smith's edition of *Elements* includes a number of headwords which are of only doubtful occurrence, having been proposed as tentative etymologies for problematic place-names. These had a role to play in 1956, alerting future county editors to a range of alternative

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[1] A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, English Place-Name Society [= EPNS], 25–26 (Cambridge, 1956) [henceforth *PNElements*]. Other county surveys of the EPNS are cited as '*PN*' + abbreviated county-name.
[2] The project is known as 'A Survey of the Language of English Place-Names', and is taking place at the Centre for English Name Studies, University of Nottingham.
[3] Examples include -*ce* (*JEPNS*, 1 (1968–69), 14: 'doubtful both in form and meaning and should be deleted'), **hvass* (ibid., p. 26: 'the el. should be deleted'), *micge* (ibid., p. 32: 'This el. should be deleted'), and **sanden* (ibid., p. 34: 'the el. could well be deleted').

possibilities. Comprehensiveness was one of the main strengths of Smith's work; and in some instances, later volumes of the English Place-Name Survey have identified more definite occurrences of the same element. The Old English adjective *bēanen* 'of or growing with beans' is attested just once in the literary corpus[4] and is represented in the 1956 edition of *PNElements* only by Benhall in Suffolk, a county for which no authoritative survey is available. Ekwall notes that the first element of this name interchanges between *bēan* and *bēanen*;[5] and since the latter is formally indistinguishable from a weak plural form of OE *bēan*,[6] this single citation could not be regarded as conclusive evidence for an adjective *bēanen* in place-names. More recently, though, further occurrences of the adjective have come to light in Bendons, Gloucestershire,[7] and in two lost Cheshire field-names, *Bancroft*[8] and *Bannemore*.[9] The headword will therefore have an expanded entry in the new edition. So too OE *freht* 'augury, divination', included in the 1956 edition of *PNElements* on the strength of an uncertain occurrence in Fritwell, Oxfordshire, has also been identified in two West Yorkshire field-names, Fraight Lane and Fretwell Close;[10] and the name of the goddess *Frīg*, for which there were no firm citations in 1956, is now known to constitute the first element of the Derbyshire place-name Friden.[11] However, many other headwords remain unsupported by any real evidence; and these must now be considered for deletion.

An example is OE *bærs* 'perch (the fish)'. Smith includes this headword on the basis of one possible occurrence: Baswick in the East Riding of Yorkshire. A glance at the appropriate county volume suggests that this is in fact the least likely etymology, the preferred alternative being an Old Scandinavian personal name. Smith himself, in his capacity as county editor, had commented:

> '*Bersi*'s dairy-farm,' *v.* **wic**. . . . Alternatively, as Baswick is on the river Hull, the first element might possibly be OE *bærs* 'perch' and the name signify 'farm near which perch were caught.' A parallel in that case could be found in Fishwick (PN La 146) and Fishleigh (PN D 143).'[12]

Tentative as this suggestion is, it may still be overstating the case, since neither Fishwick nor Fishleigh provides an actual parallel to the interpretation proposed. The county editors for Devon commented that Fishleigh 'seems to be a compound of OE *fisc*, "fish," and **leah**, but the reason for such a name is obscure';[13] whilst the Lancashire place-name Fishwick is taken to mean 'place (village) were fish is sold' in preference to the alternative 'village where fish is caught'.[14] It is difficult to believe that a village would be noted for the sale of one particular species of fish, and I have been unable to trace any recorded place-names in which the element *wīc* is combined with such a word.[15]

It is therefore unlikely that *bærs* is the first element of Baswick, and subsequent volumes of the English Place-Name Survey have failed to uncover a single occurrence of the word in other counties. Indeed, it may be doubted whether the term was ever in common use in Old English. The Toronto *Dictionary of Old English* identifies only ten occurrences in the extant literature, 'mainly in glosses',[16] and this suggests a limited range of use, perhaps confined to scholarly contexts.

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[4] A. C. Amos and A. di P. Healey, *Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, 1986–).

[5] E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960), p. 37.

[6] Amos and Healey, *Dictionary of Old English*, identify a weak as well as a strong plural of *bēan*.

[7] *PNGlos.*, I, 50.

[8] *PNCheshire*, II, 190.

[9] *PNCheshire*, III, 25.

[10] *PNYorksWR*, VII, 189.

[11] The editor of the county survey for Derbyshire raised the possibility of a derivation from *Frīg* (*PNDerbys.*, II, 369), and this was confirmed by the discovery in 1983 of a seventeenth-century copy of a charter dating from 963, in which the spelling *frigedene* appears. The discovery is reported in N. Brooks and others, 'A New Charter of King Edgar', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13 (1984), 137–55.

[12] *PNYorksER*, pp. 72–73. As against the interpretation 'Bersi's dairy-farm', however, it would be unusual for a Scandinavian personal name to be compounded with OE *wīc*. I am grateful to Professor Barrie Cox for pointing this out to me.

[13] *PNDevon*, I, 143.

[14] E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), p. 146.

[15] Formally, Pickwick in Wiltshire is a possibility; but on topographical grounds, the first element *pīc* is much more likely to refer to a spur of land than to a type of fish (*PNWilts.*, p. 97).

[16] Amos and Healey, *Dictionary of Old English*, s.v.

Unless new evidence comes to light, OE *bærs* will not be included in the new edition of *English Place-Name Elements*.

Also very uncertain is OE *beadu* 'battle', according to Smith 'probably used of "the site of a battle"'. His only place-name citation of the element is Baddow in Essex,[17] an old name of the River Chelmer, and the etymology of this is highly problematic. The county editor explores several alternatives, including the possibility of a Celtic origin, without reaching a definite conclusion.[18] Ekwall too is dubious:

> The name looks like a derivative of OE *beadu*, gen *beadwe* 'battle', i.e. an OE *Beadwe* fem 'the battle river'. Such a name might have been given in commemoration of a battle fought on the banks of the river. Formally this is all right, but such a name would be absolutely without English parallels, and I hesitate to accept it.[19]

Many years later, and despite the much more detailed coverage of English place-names available at the present time, the name still remains unparalleled. This doubtful etymology cannot be accepted as the sole basis for a headword entry in the new edition of *PNElements*. Again, the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English* throws some light on patterns of use. Out of fifteen attested occurrences of *beadu* as a simplex word in the literature, all are in poetry. Its use in compounds is equally striking. OE *beadu* forms the first element of twenty-four different compounds, many surviving as *hapax legomena*, and again, every single occurrence is in poetry. As with *bærs*, the implication is that the word had a specialised range of use, rather than functioning as part of the everyday vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxons. This is not the stuff of which place-names are made.

Other headwords can be deleted with even greater confidence. ON *marr²* 'a horse', another word recorded only in poetry, is included by Smith as the first element of a single place-name, Marrick in the North Riding of Yorkshire.[20] This is the etymology given in the EPNS county volume, which was completed at a very early stage of the Survey.[21] Again no further occurrences have come to light in subsequent volumes, and in this instance the supposed etymology has

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[17] Incorrectly cited by Smith as 'Beddow'.
[18] *PNEssex*, pp. 233–34.
[19] E. Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1928), p. 23.
[20] Incorrectly printed in *PNElements* as **márr²**, and corrected in *JEPNS*, 1, 32.
[21] *PNYorksNR*, p. 294.

been firmly rejected by later scholars. Ekwall explains Marrick as 'a Scandinavianized form of OE *(ge)mǣr-hrycg* "boundary ridge"',[22] an interpretation which accords fully with the early spellings and is followed without discussion by Gelling[23] and Mills.[24] There is thus no justification for retaining *marr²* as a headword.

Sometimes the re-interpretation of a single place-name can result in the deletion of more than one headword entry. Coates's proposal of a Celtic etymology for Leatherhead, Surrey, disposes at a stroke of the evidence for both OE *lēode* 'folk, people' and OE **ride* 'riding, a place suitable for riding' in place-names,[25] whilst Kristensson's analysis of Disley, Cheshire, ensures that OE *dÿstig* 'dusty' can no longer be accepted as a headword entry.[26] So too ODanish *bunde* 'a peasant landowner' must be omitted. The only instance cited by Smith is the lost place-name *Boumgarth* in Lincolnshire. This has now been discussed (as *Boungarth*) in the first volume of the Lincolnshire county survey, where it is attributed to ON *baun* 'bean'.[27] No genuine occurrences of *bunde* have come to light.

Even headwords with more than one apparent citation may on investigation prove to be unfounded. OE *alh* 'a heathen temple' occurs, according to Smith, in a stream-name recorded in charter material as *Alhfleot*, *Ealhfleot*, and in combination with *hām* 'village' in the place-name Alkham, Kent. These etymologies are no longer accepted by place-name scholars. In a recent re-appraisal of pagan place-names, Gelling demonstrates that the first element of both names is more likely to be a topographical term meaning 'a sheltered place'.[28]

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[22] Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 316.
[23] M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984), p. 169.
[24] A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place Names* (Oxford, 1991), p. 224.
[25] R. Coates, 'Methodological Reflexions on Leatherhead', *JEPNS*, 12 (1979–80), 70–74.
[26] G. Kristensson, 'The Place-Name Disley', *JEPNS*, 7 (1974–75), 7–10. No further occurrences of *lēode* or of *dÿstig* have been identified in later volumes of the English Place-Name Survey. OE **ride* is purported to occur in a lost field-name *Ridegate* in the West Riding of Yorkshire (*PNYorksWR*, VII, 236), but as this is not recorded until 1662, it cannot be regarded as evidence for an Old English form of the word.
[27] *PNLincs.*, I, 17.
[28] M. Gelling, 'Further Thoughts on Pagan Place-Names', in *Otium et Negotium: Studies in Onomatology and Library Science Presented to Olof von*

This is certainly preferable in the case of Alkham since no other pagan name contains a habitative element, and it is also supported by the topography. Just as these names have been deleted from the corpus of place-names referring to Anglo-Saxon paganism, so the headword must be deleted from the new edition of *English Place-Name Elements*.

Another problem arises from the convention within the English Place-Name Survey of giving etymologies in terms of the Old English forms of words, even for place-names which may not have been coined until the Middle English period or later. Unfortunately this can lead to headword entries for Old English words which are not actually evidenced in place-names. OE *bōcere* 'a scribe, a writer' is immediately suspect, occurring only as a post-Conquest manorial affix in Buckhorn Weston, Dorset. This place-name is recorded in Domesday Book and later sources as *Weston(e)*, with the affix first appearing in the late thirteenth century. Even if a derivation from *bōcere* were to be accepted, it must be attributed to a Middle English rather than an Old English form of the word.

In fact, neither is likely to be correct. Buckhorn Weston is one of a number of place-names cited by Smith from counties which had not at that time been covered by the English Place-Name Survey, and for which revised etymologies are now available. The county editor for Dorset discusses the affix at length, concluding that a derivation from *bōcere* is unlikely and suggesting a more plausible solution:

> *Boukeres-*, etc should rather be associated with the ME occupational term *bouker* 'a buck-washer, a bleacher' . . . *Bouker* may then have been a byname of one of the early lords of the manor of Weston, or it may have reference to a specific feudal service . . . [29]

No genuine occurrences of OE *bōcere* have come to light in place-names, and so this headword too will be omitted from the new edition of *PNElements*.

Another allegedly Old English element which is recorded only from the Middle English period is *frēo-mann* 'a free-man, a free-born man'. The sole example in toponyms is the first element of the lost place-name 'Freemancott' in Devon,[30] first recorded in 1242.[31] Smith

Feilitzen, edited by F. Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), pp. 109–28; reprinted in *Place-Name Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Invasion and Scandinavian Settlements*, edited by K. Cameron (Nottingham, 1975), pp. 99–114.
[29] *PNDorset*, III, 85.

assigns it an Old English provenance, and this is a reasonable assumption, since *frēo-mann* appears as a compound word in standard dictionaries of Old English.[32] More recently, however, it has been demonstrated that such a compound is not evidenced in the extant literature until the later Middle Ages.[33] This suggests that a Middle English provenance may be more likely for 'Freemancott', especially as the second element is known to have continued in use as a place-name-forming generic into the Middle English period.[34] The headword should at least be asterisked as an unattested form, and may possibly be replaced by ME *frē-man* in the new edition of *PNElements*.

OE *bæcestre* must also be regarded with caution. Although several further citations can now be added to the two provided by Smith in 1956, all are street-names recorded from the late twelfth century onwards, which almost certainly contain the Middle English form of the word.[35] Baxterley, Warwickshire, recorded from *c.* 1170, remains the only occurrence likely to date back to the Anglo-Saxon period. Smith notes that the headword is 'also used as a ME surname which may be the immediate source in p.ns.', and the new entry will include the Middle English forms *bakestre* and *baxter* in addition to OE *bæcestre*.[36]

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[30] Smith cites this as 'Freemanscott', but 'Freemancott' is itself a hypothetical modernization based on forms such as *Freman(e)cote* 1303, etc.
[31] *PNDevon*, II, 398.
[32] J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898), 335; J. R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th edn (Cambridge, 1960), p. 139.
[33] C. A. Hough, '*Freo man*: A Note on Word Division', *Neophilologus*, 75 (1991), 641–43.
[34] For instance, it is compounded with ME *lumber* 'lumber, odds and ends' in Lumbercote, East Riding of Yorkshire, recorded from 1150–60 (*PNYorksER*, p. 45). Smith comments that *cot* 'would appear to belong to the late OE period' (*PNElements*, I, 109), although it should be noted that Gelling argues for an earlier date ('On Looking into Smith's Elements', *Nomina*, 5 (1981), 39–45, at p. 42). The analysis of Cheshire place-name elements includes the modern dialectal forms *cote*, *coat* under the headword entry for *cot* (*PNCheshire*, V (I:i), 143), perhaps suggesting that the term has continued in toponymic usage to the present day.
[35] *Baker Street*, Worcs. (1302), *Baxtergate*, Lincs. (1191), Baxter Gate, Yorks. (ER) (1401), Baxter Gate, Yorks. (WR) (late 13th cent.), *Baxter Row*, Cheshire (1293), Baxter's Row, Cumb. (1380).

Another doubtful headword is OE *tæfl(e)*, *tefle* 'a chess-board', possibly used in a topographical or figurative sense to refer to flat land, or to land in dispute. This was included in the 1956 edition of *PNElements* on the strength of Ekwall's suggestion that it might be the first element of the names Tablehurst in Sussex, Tellisford in Somerset, Thelsford in Warwickshire, and Tealby in Lincolnshire.[37] None of these etymologies has proved to be secure. The county editors for Sussex say of Tablehurst that 'no certainty is possible'.[38] Somerset has not yet been covered by a county survey; but the entry for Tellisford in the most recent and authoritative place-name dictionary gives a personal name as an alternative possibility.[39] The entry for Tealby[40] in the county survey for Lincolnshire not only presents a more plausible etymology for Tealby itself in the shape of an East Germanic tribal name, the *Taifali* (OE **Táflas* or *Tǽflas*), but also demonstrates that the first element of Thelsford in Warwickshire is in all probability an Old English personal name *Þéoful* or *Þéofol* (not *Theabul*, the personal name mentioned as a possible source of confusion by both Ekwall and Smith).[41]

On the other hand, post-1956 volumes of the EPNS survey offer additional place-name citations. Another occurrence of *tæfl(e)* has now been identified in a Cheshire field-name recorded in 1497 as *les tauels*.[42] The significance of this is not wholly clear. As the recorded spelling is so late, it is doubtful whether it provides evidence of a topographical use of *tæfl(e)* in Old English. Two further possibilities which have come to light are Tailbert, Westmorland, and a field-name Tailber, also in Westmorland. The former is recorded from *c.* 1200, and although its origin is obscure, the county editor notes:

> The two earliest forms, which it is difficult to be certain about, could formally represent an OE **tæfl-bord* . . . or ON *tafl-borð* 'table-board, dice- or chess-board'.[43]

[36] As does the entry in the analysis of Cheshire place-name elements, *PNCheshire*, V (I:i), 94.

[37] Ekwall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 462.

[38] *PNSussex*, II, 329.

[39] Mills, *Dictionary of English Place Names*, p. 323.

[40] Tealby is not cited by Smith in the entry for *tæfl(e)*.

[41] *PNLincs.*, III, 131–36.

[42] *PNCheshire*, III, 267.

[43] *PNWestm.*, II, 171.

The field-name is even less conclusive. This is not recorded until 1688, when it appears in its present spelling, but Smith, in *PNWestm.*, suggests that it is 'possibly of the same origin as Tailbert'.[44] There is no certainty in either case, and the topographical usage of OE *tæfl(e)* cannot be regarded as proven. A final decision on whether or not to incude this headword in the new edition of *PNElements* has for the time being been deferred.[45]

Up to this point, discussion has centred on words which are independently attested in literary sources, although their occurrence in place-names may be uncertain. Words which are recorded only in place-names must be scrutinized yet more rigorously, since toponymic usage represents the only evidence for the existence of the term in the language. Smith's edition of *PNElements* includes a large number of such forms, identified by means of an asterisk, and these make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of early vocabulary. Inevitably, some are less secure than others, and it is important to distinguish between otherwise unattested words which are firmly evidenced in place-name spellings and hypothetical forms which have merely been postulated as possible solutions to difficult place-names.

OE **cistelett* 'a chestnut copse'[46] and ON **mysni* 'a water-plant' belong in the latter category. No occurrences of **cistelett* have been identified by the English Place-Name Survey to date, and the only citation given by Smith is Chislett in Kent, a county for which no authoritative survey has yet been produced. Other interpretations of Chislett are possible. Wallenberg discussed several in 1931, including a derivation from a river-name or from OE *cistel* '(stone-)heap, pile', and his suggestion that the name could be from OE *cistel* 'chestnut-tree' with the collective suffix *-et* was not advanced with any confidence: 'The absence of chestnut at Chislet [*sic*] nowadays makes, however, the suggested interpretation a merely theoretical one.'[47] Three years later, Wallenberg retracted the suggestion altogether, preferring a derivation

[44] *PNWestm.*, I, 48.

[45] I am grateful to Dr Mary Higham for pointing out to me that since Smith was editor both of the county survey for Westmorland and of *PNElements*, the citations of Tailbert and Tailber do not represent independent opinions to be taken in support of the entry.

[46] *JEPNS*, 1, 15 emends the headword to **cistelet*.

[47] J. K. Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1931), pp. 6–8.

from OE *cistgelæt 'the water-conduit from a cistern'.[48] Modern scholarship remains undecided. Mills comments:

> Possibly OE *cistelet 'a chestnut copse'. Alternatively the name may be a compound of OE *cist 'chestnut tree' or cist, cyst 'chest, container' with (ge)læt 'water-conduit'.[49]

This level of uncertainty does not justify the reconstruction of a wholly unattested Old English word. So too ON *mysni is a hypothetical form, 'possible in (b) Misson Nt 87' according to Smith, but for which no firm evidence or further citations can be offered. The etymology of Misson is problematic, the county editors commenting that 'no certainty is possible',[50] and the attribution to an unattested form *mysni is little more than a shot in the dark.[51] It is doubtful whether the inclusion of either of these headwords can serve a useful purpose in the new edition of PNElements.

Also very uncertain is OE *weoh[2] 'holy'. It is nowhere attested in this form, but an oblique case *weon is cited by Smith as the first element of three place-names: a charter spelling æt Weonfelda, a form Weondune given by Symeon of Durham as the site of the Battle of Brunanburh, and Wembury, Devon. None of these is at all conclusive. The first has now been identified with Wokefield, Berkshire, and is attributed to a personal name *Weohha.[52] The second remains uncertain, but the possible identification of Brunanburh with Bromborough, Cheshire,[53] reduces the likelihood of a derivation from *weon. Gelling comments:

> If the location really was at Bromborough, a heathen interpretation of Weondune becomes less likely, as this class of place-names has no representative in that county, the place-name material for which has now been examined in minute detail.[54]

[48] J. K. Wallenberg, The Place-Names of Kent (Uppsala, 1934), pp. 503–05.
[49] Mills, Dictionary of English Place Names, p. 79.
[50] PNNotts., p. 87.
[51] In citing Misson within category (b), Smith implies that it is a simplex name, but it is more likely to be a compound, with ON á 'river' as the second element, as suggested by the county editors.
[52] PNBerks., I, 227–28.
[53] PNCheshire, IV, 237–40.
[54] Gelling, 'Further Thoughts', p. 102.

As regards Wembury, Devon, several alternative etymologies have been put forward. The county editors suggest *Wægen, the genitive singular of a personal name *Wæga,[55] whilst Gelling prefers OE wenn, wænn 'a wen, a tumour'.[56] The possibility that any or all of these three names contain an unattested adjective *weoh cannot be entirely ruled out, but neither can it be substantiated. Hence Gelling concludes: 'The evidence for an adjective *weoh 'holy' in English place-names is not sufficiently strong for it to be regarded as established.'[57] It may therefore be time for the entry to be deleted.

As the EPNS survey progresses, support for other headwords is diminishing. Examples could be multiplied, but one final instance will be given here. ON *full-nautr 'one who has a full share' is included as an asterisked form in Smith's edition of PNElements, with three possible occurrences in the place-names Fonaby, Fulletby and Fulnetby. All are in Lincolnshire, a county which had not yet been surveyed in 1956. Now that the county survey for Lincolnshire is in progress, with three volumes so far published under the editorship of Kenneth Cameron, it appears unlikely that any of these place-names actually derives from *full-nautr. Fonaby has been covered in the second volume of the Lincolnshire survey, where this etymology is rejected. Cameron comments:

> The preponderance of -m- seems to indicate that this is original, and so Ekwall's tentative suggestion . . . that the first el. is OScand *full-nautr 'one who has a full share' can hardly be correct.[58]

The etymology is little more secure for Fulletby or Fulnetby;[59] and so, as no further occurrences of *full-nautr have come to light in volumes of the English Place-Name Survey published since 1956, the supposed element can confidently be omitted from the new edition.

None of these comments is intended to imply any criticism of Smith's magisterial English Place-Name Elements, which has contributed perhaps more than any other work published within the last half-century to the advancement of place-name studies and other branches of philological research. But time has moved on. The very

[55] PNDevon, I, 260.
[56] Gelling, 'Further Thoughts', p. 102.
[57] ibid.
[58] PNLincs., II, 89.
[59] Kenneth Cameron, personal communication.

advances made possible by Smith's work have overtaken and outdated it, so that a thorough re-appraisal of all headword entries is necessary for the new edition. Another factor to be taken into consideration is the compilation of a computerised database of place-name material at the Centre for English Name Studies, University of Nottingham. This is taking place alongside work on the new edition of *PNElements*, and as part of the same research project. Time permitting, the database will aim to provide comprehensive coverage of English place-names, giving alternative derivations for each name in cases of uncertainty. Doubtful headwords will be included here rather than in the new edition of *PNElements*, and the latter will thus constitute a less comprehensive but more reliable dictionary of words whose occurrence is securely evidenced in place-names. Some of Smith's entries can no longer be considered appropriate, but none will lightly be set aside. A list of deleted headwords, with a brief explanation of the reasons for rejection, will be essential as an appendix to the new edition of *English Place-Name Elements*.[60]

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[60] I am grateful to Professor Barrie Cox for reading this article through and advising me on various matters.

The Mountain Names of County Down

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Of all the place-names which have been subjected to the attention of scholars in the last 100 years it seems to me that those of physical features have been the most neglected. This is certainly true of Ireland and had, up to the 1960s at least, also been true of Scotland.[1] In this paper I am concerned, in particular, with the names of hills, mountains and other upland features in that part of County Down popularly known as 'the Mourne Mountains'.[2] We might expect this area to be fruitful for two reasons. Firstly the preliminary groundwork has recently been completed.[3] Furthermore, of all the mountainous areas in Ireland the Mourne area deserves special attention, particularly as de hÓir has stated that more names of this sort were collected here than in any other part of Ireland.[4] The mountain names fall into two classes: (i) the great majority of names which are not administrative units and are rarely documented in the early sources; (ii) those administrative names, i.e. townlands, which derive from physical features. This latter group forms about a quarter of the total. It may also be worth

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[1] 'The reason for this apparent lack of interest in mountain-nomenclature ... must surely lie in the comparative lateness and derivativeness of that nomenclature, which in turn is to be explained by the fairly recent interest taken in mountains as such by climbers, scientists, cartographers, *etc.*', W. F. H. Nicolaisen, 'Scottish Place-Names 32: Gaelic *tulach* and *barr*', *Scottish Studies*, 13 (1969), 159–66 (at p. 159).

[2] This range does not fall wholly within the boundaries of the barony of Mourne, which is coterminous with the parish of Kilkeel (47,887 statute acres); in fact it straddles those boundaries and extends into the neighbouring parishes of Kilcoo (18,206 acres), Kilbroney (13,208), Clonallan (11,560) and Clonduff (21,227 acres).

[3] Gregory Toner and Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, *Place-Names of Northern Ireland*, 1, *County Down*, I, *Newry and South-West Down* (Belfast, 1992); Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, *Place-Names of Northern Ireland*, 3, *County Down*, III, *The Mournes* (Belfast, 1993).

[4] Éamonn de hÓir, 'Roinnt nótaí ar *sliabh*, *binn*, *cruach* in ainmneacha cnoc', *Dinnseanchas*, 4 (1970–71), 1–6 (at p. 3).