

Scandinavian Place Names in England. I.

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Cranberrymoss

THE LOST NAME CRANBERRYMOSS in Sheriff Hutton parish, Bulmer wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, has been recorded only twice, viz. *mora de Cranberimos* 1159–89 and *Tranberimose* 1235. In *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 32, A. H. Smith gives the following interpretation: "The first element is probably Engl. *cranberry*, 'peat bog where cranberries abound.' The form *Tran-* arises from interchange of OE *cran* and ON *trani*."

As this interpretation is phrased, it does not give an accurate picture of the relationship between the two forms. In the first place, the regular word for 'crane' in OScand. is *trana*, f., not *trani*, m. The latter word did exist but as far as we know only in Old Icelandic poetry in kennings and as a nomen proprium of a snake, a sword, a ship, and a legendary warrior.¹ It is also known once as a by-name of a real person called *Borkell trani*.² The same erroneous information that the ON word for 'crane' is *trani*, m., occurs regularly in English place-name publications covering parts of the Danelaw.³ Only when the first element could be a personal name is there any reason for including the masc. form *trani*.

¹ See S. Egilsson and F. Jónsson, *Lexicon poeticum* (København, 1931), p. 571; Leiv Heggstad, *Gamalnorsk ordbok med nynorsk tyding* (Oslo, 1930), p. 704.

² E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1920–21), col. 386.

³ See, for instance, John Sephton, *A handbook of Lancashire place-names* (Liverpool, 1913), p. 9 (unsatisfactory discussion); Allen Mawer, *The chief elements used in English place-names* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 60f.; Allen Mawer, *The place-names of Northumberland and Durham* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 199; *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 178, 196; Vol. 14, p. 216; Vol. 17, p. 109; A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 2, p. 185. E. Ekwall, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 8 (Lund, 1920), p. 94ff., deals with several English names containing *Tran-* (in modern form partly *Tarn-*, *Tren-*) and assumes quite correctly their origin to be Scand. *trana*, f., but gives an improbable explanation of the vowel -e- in *Tren-*. Two years later, *The place-names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), p. 161, he identifies the first element in *Tarnacre* (*Tranaker* c. 1210) as "ON *trani* (*trana*) 'crane'," thus giving preference to the poetic form,

It is not made clear in the explanation of the two forms *Cranberimos* and *Tranberimose* that a widely distributed Scandinavian denotation of 'cranberry (*Vaccinium oxycoccus* L)' is *tranbær*. It exists in most parts of Scandinavia, excepting Iceland.⁴ It is true that it appears rather late in written sources: early Mod. Dan. *tran(e)bær*,⁵ early Mod. Swed. (1555) *tranebär*,⁶ ONorw. (1404) *ifwer Tranbera myre* ('across Cranberry bog'), a place-name in south-east Norway.⁷ But the wide distribution makes it quite certain that this plant-name has old traditions and that it existed already in the Proto-Norse period when the Scandinavians settled in the British Isles.

Besides the Norwegian place-name just mentioned, *tranbær* appears in a couple of significant West-Swedish names which are identical with the unique English *Tranberimose*, viz. *Tranbärsmossen* in Bohuslän,⁸ and probably in *Tranbergsmossen* (also habitation) in Västergötland.⁹ In the latter case, *Tranbärs-* and *Tranbergs-* (gen. of **Tran(e)berg-* 'cranes' hill') would give the same pronunciation *tranbärs-*, and since cranes do not normally live on hills, the official form *Tranbergs-* is most likely due to a misinterpretation. Furthermore, it seems more than possible that some of the frequently occurring Scandinavian names *Tranemosse(n)*, *Tranemyr(en)*, *Tranekärr(et)*, all meaning 'Cranes' bog', were given not because of presence of cranes but of abundance of cranberries, and consequently are reductions of **Tran(e)bär(s)mosse(n)*, *-myr(en)*, *-kärr(et)*. This possibility ought to be considered also in such English names as *Tranamose* (1603) and *Tranemyre* (1260) in Cumberland,¹⁰

and 1940, *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (in the following abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*), p. 457, he mentions for three pertinent names ON *trani*, m., used as an appellative or a personal name; no change in the 3rd ed., 1947, 1951.

⁴ See Aug. Lyttkens, *Svenska växtnamn* (Stockholm, 1912-15), pp. 421 f., where an exhaustive account of the Scandinavian forms is given.

⁵ *Ordbog over det danske sprog*, Vol. 24, p. 359.

⁶ Elof Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (Lund, 1939), p. 1214.

⁷ *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* 7, p. 345.

⁸ *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, Vol. 10 (Göteborg 1942), p. 114.

⁹ The form quoted is given without interpretation in *Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län*, vol. 13 (Stockholm, 1908), p. 87.

¹⁰ There are two occurrences of each name, and *EPNS* 22, p. 495, counts them as four names. But since the two instances of each name in both cases are found in neighboring parishes, they no doubt refer to the same place. Thus, there is only one *Tranamose* and one *Tranemyre*.

Tranker in Nottinghamshire, *Trencar* in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and *Tranmoor* in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Cf., for instance, *EPNS*, Vol. 20, p. 207: *Appletrethwayte* 1540, *Appletwhaite* 1541.

Judging from the two forms *Cranberimos* and *Tranberimose*, referring to the same place, it may seem as though Scand. *Tran-* was substituted for the native *Cran-*. But actually the difference between the two recorded forms is that one contains Engl. *cranberry*, the other Scand. *tran(e)bær*.

Furthermore, it is not all certain that the English name *Cranberimos* is older than the Scandinavian *Tranberimose*. The two instances are only half a century apart. The place-nomenclature of the North Riding of Yorkshire shows an enormous number of Scandinavian names, which is due to an exceptionally thorough Scandinavian settlement and penetration in the ninth and the following centuries. A cursory survey of the names included in *EPNS*, Vol. 5, seems to indicate that about 30% of all names are of Scandinavian origin. According to map No. 10 attached to A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements* there are no less than ca. 165 parish names consisting of Scandinavian word formations.

In the light of these facts and circumstances it seems somewhat unjustified to make a definite decision about the priority of the two forms in favor of the one that happens to be the first on record. It is quite possible that the bog was first named by Scandinavians in their own language. Perhaps the first adjacent habitation was also founded by them, and the name of the bog was then transferred to the houses and the farm. In that case, the form *Tranberimose* is the older name which later, probably almost immediately, was anglicized by the native population, although the latter form happens to be the oldest of the forms preserved. Thus, it seems likely that both forms existed simultaneously, one being used by the native Northumbrians, the other by the new settlers, the Scandinavians. If the name had continued to be used for a longer period of time there is hardly any doubt that the English form would have won in the struggle for survival.

At any rate, the form *Tranberimose* is of significance to Scandinavian lexicography, since it provides an instance of the plant-name *tran(e)bær* which is about two centuries earlier than the oldest occurrence known from native Scandinavian sources.

Wrelton

In the parish of Middleton, Pickering Lythe wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, is a farm named *Wrelton*. The following medieval forms are on record: *Wereltun* 1086 Domesday Book (hereafter abbreviated DB), *Wrelton* 1282 and 1285 (*passim*), *Wrelleton* 1301, 1303 and 1416, *Wherlton* 1316.

In *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 81, this name is considered difficult. Ekwall suggests that it consists of three elements, the first two of which he believes to be identical with the name *Wreighill* in Northumberland, which according to a theory advanced by Mawer (see below) is OE *wearg-hyll* 'felon-hill, gallows-hill.' The whole name would then mean 'farm by or on the hill where felons are hanged.' The same suggestion is repeated by Ekwall, *Dict.*,³ p. 513.

This interpretation is not convincing. In the first place, it is uncertain whether **Wearg-hyll-tūn* would result in *Wereltun* as early as the time of the Domesday Book. The medieval forms of *Wreighill* are, although later, much less reduced than the form *Werel-* recorded in the Domesday Book. Allen Mawer, *The place-names of Northumberland and Durham* (1920), p. 220, who suggested the interpretation of *Wreighill*,¹¹ gives the pronunciation of *Wreighill* as *ri:hil* and he cites the following 13th century forms: *Werghill*, *Werihill*, *Werhil*, *Vuerhil*, *Vuarchil*. It seems evident that the origin of this name is OE *wearg-hyll* 'gallows-hill where felons are hanged'; cf. OE *wearg-rōd*, *wearg-trēow*, both words meaning 'gallows'. But even if this formation were reduced when a third element (e. g. *tūn*) was added, and conceivably could have developed into the strongly reduced form *Werelton* as early as the time of Domesday Book, and even if we consider the fact that compounded place-names containing three elements sometimes were formed quite early, I still think that a more probable interpretation than the one suggested by Ekwall may be found.

I suggest that *Wrelton* is a dithematic name, as most names ending in *-tūn* are, and that the first element is the ON personal name *Veraldr*, known twice from the western part of medieval Norway, viz. *Ormor Weraldszson* (1390) from Hardanger, and *Bryniolf*

¹¹ This interpretation was later adopted by E. Ekwall, *op. cit.*, and A. H. Smith, *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 81, and *English place-name elements*, Vol. 2, p. 247.

Wæralsson (1534) from Voss.¹² It is also contained in a couple of Norwegian place-names, viz. *Væraldsrud* (*Weraldsrud* 1723) in Buskerud, and *Varaldsøy* (*Varalldzsey* 1337; the first *-a-* due to retrogressive vowel assimilation) in Hordaland.¹³ In my opinion, the personal name *Veraldr* is also the first element in *Varaldset*, name of a summer farm in Buskerud located by a tarn called *Varaldsevattnet* or *Varaldskjernet* (*Varalldkj.* 1856).¹⁴

It is true that in Domesday Book dithematic personal names as the first element in place-names normally have the gen. *-s* when it is expected, although it regularly disappears in records later than 1150. But it is by no means an infrequent occurrence that the gen. *-s* is lacking as early as the Domesday Book. There are more than a dozen instances in the same county as *Wrelton*, e. g. *Osbaldwick* (*Osboldeuic* DB; from OE *Ösbald*), *Wombleton* (*Winbelton*, *Wilbel* DB; from OE *Wynnbeald* or *Winebeald*), *Aislaby* (*Aslache(s)by* DB; from ON *Áslákr*), *Aislaby* (*Asulue(s)bi* DB; from ON *Ásulfr*), *Allerton* (*Aluretune*, *Aluertun(e)*, *Alverton(e)* DB; from OE *Ælfhere*), *Exelby* (*Aschilebi* DB; from East-Scand. *Eskil*).¹⁵

It is, however, possible that there existed a weak by-form **Veraldi*, although it has not been recorded; cf. such double forms as ON *Þóraldr*: *Þóraldi*, *Ávaldr*: *Ávaldi*, *Sigvaldr*: *Sigvaldi*, *Eindrídr*: *Eindrídi*, *Ámundr*: *Ámundi*, etc. In that case there should, of course, be no gen. *-s*.

Compounded place-names ending in *-tūn* have frequently a Scandinavian personal name as the first element; cf., for instance,

¹² E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden* (1920–21), col. 1082.

¹³ See *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 5, p. 443; Vol. 11, p. 1; Magnus Olsen, *Stednavnestudier* (Kristiania 1901), pp. 13f.; O. Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stedsnavne* (Kristiania 1901), p. 278; A. Janzén, *Namn och byggd*, Vol. 26 (1938), p. 2.

¹⁴ Hj. Falk, *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 5, p. 163, considers the name of the lake primary and identical with the old name *Varalden* (*i Verald*, *Norges gamle Love*, Vol. 2, p. 191) of a fairly large lake in the south-eastern corner of Norway. This interpretation was accepted by Gustav Indrebö, *Norske innsjönamn*, Vol. 2 (Oslo, 1933), p. 207. *Varalden* is evidently an old and primary lake name, the etymology of which is disputed; see G. Indrebö, *Maal og Minne* 1938 (Oslo), pp. 37ff.), but *Varaldsevattnet* is the name of a small tarn in the woods which can hardly have an old tradition. Both the tarn and the adjacent summer farm are most likely named for a person with the name of *Veraldr*.

¹⁵ *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 10, 67, 77f., 119, 204, 210, 226.

from the same county as *Wrelton*, such names as *Fryton* (ODan. *Frithi*), *Sneaton* (ODan. *Snjö*, OIcel. *Snær*), *Oulston* (ODan. *Ulf*, ON *Ulf*), *Scruton* (ON *Skurfa*), *Garriston* (ODan. *Gerth*, ON *Gerðr*).¹⁶

Ragarth

In Cumberland county there are five place-names that seem to contain *Ragarth*, partly as the first element of compounds.

In Cumrew parish, Eskdale ward, occurs a lost name *Ragarth*, the earlier existence of which is established by five recorded instances, viz. *Ragarth(e)* 1276 and 1285, *Ragarch* 1296, *Raygarth* 1540, *Ragarth* 1541. In *EPNS*, Vol. 20, p. 77, the name is given the following interpretation: "The medieval forms are all derived from personal names, and it is impossible to tell from what place the family originally came." — It is difficult indeed to see any reason for the assumption that this place-name necessarily is derived from a personal name.

In Staffield parish, Leath ward, is a name *Ragarthfield* (*Regarthfeild* 1647, *Racotfeld* 1694), which in *EPNS*, Vol. 20, p. 251, is listed without interpretation. Obviously, this name is a compound of *ragarth* and *feld* 'open country'.

EPNS, Vol. 20, p. 90, adduces from Hayton parish, Eskdale ward, a field-name written *Riggarthnooke* 1603. No interpretation is given. The first element must originally have been *Ragarth*-.

The name *Reygarths* 1546 is *EPNS*, Vol. 21, p. 287, interpreted only by reference to *garðr*, which in Vol. 22, p. 474, is translated 'enclosure'.

The earliest instance of the element here discussed is *Ragarhheued* ca. 1200, from Keswick parish, Allerdale below Derwent ward. It is *EPNS*, Vol. 21, p. 303, said to contain either ON (*v*)*r*á, f. 'corner, nook' or Engl. *roe* 'roe(-buck)' and ON *garðr* 'enclosure'. The last element is OE *hēafod* 'the end of a ridge, a headland, a promontory', etc.

E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 253, lists from Lonsdale hundred, South of the Sands, the name *Ragarthout* (1267–67). As to the interpretation he only refers to ON *hofuð*. It seems quite certain that the first element is the same *ragarth*.

¹⁶ *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 50, 118, 192, 238, 269.

A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 195, lists under the main-entry *garðr* a name *Raygarth* in Cumberland. He is probably referring to the first name mentioned above. He suggests that it consists of ON *rá* 'a roe(-buck)' and *garðr* 'enclosure', thus meaning 'roe-paddock'.

At first sight, this interpretation may seem rather convincing, especially since there are good parallels, such as *Calfgarth*, *Calgarth* (*calf*), *Hargarth* (ON *hjørtr* 'a hart, a stag, a male deer'), *Sturgate* (ON *stēor* 'a steer, a young bulluck').

Now, if it should happen that *Ragarth* had the etymology here suggested, it should be noted that *garðr* in compounds in which the first element denotes wild animals may refer not only to 'an enclosure for keeping animals', but also to 'a trap for catching animals'; cf., for instance, ON *dýr(a)garðr* 'enclosure for wild animals; trap for catching animals'; OSwed. *diura gardher* 'enclosure for wild animals'; OSwed. *varghagardher* 'wolf-trap'.¹⁷

There is however, no evidence whatsoever of a Scand. **rā-garðr* 'roe-enclosure', neither in the old or modern written languages, nor in the dialects. Actually, there is little plausibility for its existence since there did exist a homonymous Old East-Scand. word *rāgardher*, m. 'boundary-fence, fence serving as a boundary-line'. It is true that this seems to be an exclusively East-Scand. word and that it has been recorded in independent use from the Middle Ages only from western Finland, viz. in manuscripts from 1347 and ca. 1455,¹⁸ but it is known from quite a few Swedish and Danish place-names, some of which may date from the Viking Age. I have also found it in the modern dialect of the province of Halland on the south-western coast of Sweden in the transferred sense of 'a lunar halo'.¹⁹

From the south-western Swedish province of Bohuslän, earlier belonging to Norway and with a partly West-Scand. dialect, the following place-names are to be found in published parish surveys: *Rågården* (twice; no old forms), *Rågårdarna* (no old forms), *Rågårdsdal* (*j Rag(g)ardale* 1391), *Rågårdsgrind* (*Rågjord(t)sgrind*

¹⁷ J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, Vol. 1, pp. 278f.; K. F. Söderwall, *Ordbok öfver svenska medeltids-språket*, Vol. 1, pp. 189, 750; Vol. 2, p. 932; *Supplement*, p. 115; C. J. Schlyter, *Ordbok till Samlingen af Sweriges Gamla Lagar*, p. 691.

¹⁸ K. F. Söderwall, *op. cit.*, *Supplement*, p. 638.

¹⁹ P. N. Peterson, *Ordbok över Valldamålet* (Lund, 1935-46), p. 979.

1791; *grind* 'a gate'), *Rågårdsgärdet*, *-klåvan*, *-slätten* (all three places locally connected; *gårde* 'a field'; *klåva* 'a cleft'; *slätt* 'a plain'), *Rågårdskärr* (no old forms; *kärr* 'a swamp'), *Rågårdsmosse* (*Rågälls måsen* 1713; *mosse* 'a bog'), *Rågårdnäs* (*Regårdsnäs* 1758; *näs* 'a headland'), *Rågårdsvik* (*Rogaards Vig* 1576; *vik* 'a bay').²⁰ — There are no doubt more such names in those parts of Bohuslän that have not yet been covered by parish surveys.

In the south-western part of the province of Västergötland, just a few miles from Bohuslän, there is a farm named *Rågården* (*Rågard* 1546).²¹

Furthermore, there exist three names of Swedish habitations, of which I know no older forms, but which quite certainly contain *rågård* 'boundary-fence', viz. *Rågård* in Skåne, southern Sweden, *Rågårda* in Östergötland, south-west of Stockholm, *Rågårdskärret* in Närke, west of Stockholm.²²

There is no doubt that *rågård* is contained in a considerable number of significant names of minor habitations that have not yet been brought to light.

From Denmark I know two place-names that belong here. One is a farm-name in north-eastern Zealand, *Rågårdshus* (*Raagaards Huus* 1662). The interpretation given in *Frederiksborgs Amts Stednavne* (København, 1929), p. 105, is not satisfactory. It is suggested that the first element is either *rå* 'a roe' or the same word as ON *rá*, f. 'pole (used as boundary-post)'. Preference is given to first alternative. The element *gård* is disregarded.

The other Danish name is *Rågårde* (*Raaegaard* 1688), which refers to a farm in western Jutland. It is listed by Aage Houken, *Håndbog i danske stednavne* (København, 1956), p. 139, under the main-entry *rå*, but no definite interpretation is given. The first element is identified with ON *rá* in the sense of 'pole or post used for various purposes, among others for marking of a boundary'. But it is added that the animal name *rå* 'roe' should be considered in some of the names listed. Nothing is said about the meaning of the second element.

²⁰ On these names see *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, Vol. 4, p. 156; Vol. 9, p. 16; Vol. 10, p. 2; Vol. 16, p. 28; Vol. 18, p. 254; Vol. 20 : 1, pp. 181, 195.

²¹ *Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län*, Vol. 13, pp. 12f. (the interpretation is not fully satisfactory).

²² These names are listed in *Svensk ortfjärteckning* (1939), p. 717.

There is no doubt that both these Danish place-names contain ODan. **rāgarth*, identical with OSwed. *rāgardher* 'boundary-fence'. I suggest that the three above mentioned names *Ragarth* and *Ragarthfield* in Cumberland and *Ragarthout* in Lancashire contain this Scand. word.

Cumberland and Lancashire were centers of the thorough Norwegian settlement that took place in the first half of the 10th century. Consequently, most place-names in these areas that are of Scandinavian origin bear a typically West-Scandinavian stamp. The above survey has established that there existed an Old East-Scand. appellative *rā-garþer* and also shown that this word was distributed over a large area, including Denmark, at least the southern part of Sweden up to the Lake District at the latitude of the present capital, and western Finland. But there is no trace of a West-Scand. **rāgarðr*. This fact may, then, seem to make the assumption that the pertinent English place-names contain this Scand. word improbable. But a closer look at conditions in the two counties involved shows that the non-existence of *rāgardher* in Norway is no obstacle to the interpretation here offered.

Even if most place-names in these counties have, as has already been stated, a definite West-Scandinavian character, there do exist some names that clearly indicate the presence of Danish settlers. As to Cumberland it seems difficult to produce irrefutable evidence of exclusively Danish or East-Scand. elements in the appellative vocabulary used in place-names. *EPNS*, Vol. 21, pp. 386, 391, interprets the first element of *Boat How* (two different places) as ODan. *bōth* 'a booth' (cf. ON *búð*), and Vol. 20, p. 140, Vol. 21, p. 376, suggests the first element of *Dian Ho* and *Dian Hall* as Dan. *dyande* 'a marsh'. These interpretations are, however, somewhat uncertain, and the names mentioned cannot be used as proof of the existence of Danish words among the appellatives.

In Lancashire, on the other hand, E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 8, 247 ff. and *passim*, finds place-names that no doubt contain ODan. *bōth* and also some instances of ODan. *hulm* 'an islet' (cf. ON *holmr*, *holmi*).

More conclusive evidence of Danish participation in the Scandinavian settlement in north-western England is given by some personal names that are Danish rather than Norwegian. The following are of interest in this respect.

a) *In Cumberland.*

Aiglegill (*Auegyle* 1260): ODan. *Ave*; Vol. 21, p. 288.

Motherby (*Motherby* 1279): ODan. *Möthir*; Vol 20, p. 198; Ekwall, *Dict.*³, p. 316; *Mothersike*, Vol. 20, p. 59.

Soulby (*Suleby* 1235): ODan. *Süle*; Vol. 20, p. 188; other interpretations possible; see Ekwall, *Dict.*³, p. 411.

Thirneby, lost (*Thirnebi* ca. 1205): ODan. *Thyrne*; possible alternative: ON *þyrnir*, m., OSwed. *thörne*, n. 'thorn bush(es)'; Vol. 21, p. 384; cf. the same name in Lancashire below.

a) *In Lancashire.*

Flixton (*Flixton* 1177): ODan. *Flik*; Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 37.

Urmston (*Urmeston* 1212): ODan. *Urm* (cf. ON *Ormr*); Ekwall, *loc. cit.*

Thirnby (*Tiernebi* 1086 DB, *Thirneby* 1219): ODan. *Thyrne* or an appellative; Ekwall, *op. cit.*, pp. 184f., 247; cf. the same name in Cumberland above.

Hornby (*Horneby* 1086 DB): ODan. *Horni*; Ekwall, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 247; *Dict.*³, p. 239.

E. Ekwall, *The Scandinavian settlement (EPNS, Vol. 1:1, pp. 55–92)*, pp. 75f., says: "It is extremely doubtful to what extent Danes settled in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire. Here a Norwegian colonization took place, and the Danish settlements that may have been made in the districts would be merged in Norwegian ones." Already earlier, *The place-names of Lancashire*, pp. 245ff., he found that "there was once a Danish colony on the northern bank of Mersey, in the district south-west of Manchester." He also concluded that there must have existed scattered Danish settlements or habitations in some other places in Lancashire. These statements were repeated in his article in *EPNS, Vol. 1:1, pp. 75f.*

It seems impossible to establish the existence of any real Danish colonies in Cumberland. But there is clear evidence of Danish participation in the colonization of this county.

It was shown above that the word *rāgardher* must have been frequently used in the province of Bohuslän. This province was Norwegian. It is quite possible that vikings from this province were among those that settled in Ireland and Man and later invaded

north-western England. In that case, the word *rāgardher* could have belonged to the vocabulary of some of the original Norwegian settlers.

Whatever may be the truth, there is no obstacle to the assumption that Old East-Scand. *rāgardher* 'boundary-fence' is contained in the six English place-names here discussed. The first occurrence in Scandinavian sources is from 1347. The English place-names that contain this word provide us with several instances from the 13th century.

Blansby

In Pickering township and parish, Pickering Lythe wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, is a place named *Blansby*, recorded as *Blandebi*, -by 1086 DB — 1335 (*passim*), *Blaundeby*, -bi 1251, *Blandesby* 1408, *Blansby* 1577.

EPNS, Vol. 5, pp. 84f., interprets the name as 'Blanda's farm' and refers to the ON by-name *Blanda* (gen. *Blöndu*), adduced by E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, col. 28f., and before him by *Fritzner*, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1 (1886), p. 150.

For the form *Blaunde-* reference is made to *Spaunton* (p. 61), written *Spantun(e)* 1086 DB, *Spaunton(a)* 1086–89 (*passim*), from ON *spánn*²³ and *tūn*. The -au- is due to influence from the orthographie used in French loan-words; see *EPNS*, Vol. 1: 1, p. 105.

The forms *Blandes-*, *Blans-* have an inorganic gen. -s which sometimes appears, especially in late forms. As a parallel we may refer to *Baldersby* (p. 182), written *Baldrebi* 1086 DB, *Balderbi*, -by 1156–1576 (*passim*), *Baldersby* 1648 (first element OE *B(e)aldhere*).

We know of three medieval Norwegians who had the nick-name *Blanda* bestowed on them, viz. *Brynjólfr blanda* (1180), *Þorgils blanda* (1296; died before 1326) from Bergen, *Jón blanda* (1305) from Stavanger.²⁴

Fritzner already identified correctly this by-name with ON *blanda*, f., which he translates 'a drink consisting of milk and water'. This translation is too narrow. The word means 'a mixture

²³ Incorrectly given as *spann*.

²⁴ See *Fritzner*, *loc. cit.*; Lind, *loc. cit.*; Finnur Jónsson, *Tilnavne i den islandske oldlitteratur* (København, 1908), p. 129; B. Kahle, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 26 p. 200.

of two fluids, especially of (hot) sour whey or miki and water'.²⁵ The meaning of the by-name *Blanda* is by EPNS, *loc. cit.*, said to be 'one who mixes his drinks', but this interpretation can hardly, as will be shown below, be correct.

According to Kahle, *op. cit.*, p. 155, ON *blanda*, f., is a sort of verbal abstract (nomen actionis) which morphologically is an infinitive. Kahle here adopts and adheres to a suggestion advanced by A. Kock, *Skandinavisches Archiv*, Vol. 1 (Lund, 1892), p. 4, who gave this interpretation to such ON feminine nouns as *brosa* 'a smile', also a by-name (cf. *brosa* 'to smile'), and pointed out that they often were used as by-names. Kock's theory, however, had already been abandoned when Kahle wrote his treatise on ON by-names. Such feminines as *blanda*, *brosa* are to be regarded as original *ōn*-stems.

As is well known, there are two fundamentally different types of (*an*- and) *ōn*-stems, viz. denominatives, derived from nouns and adjectives, and deverbatives, derived from verbal stems. The latter formations are, in turn, also of two different kinds, viz. abstract and concrete nouns. The abstracts are so-called nomina actionis, denoting an action, e. g. Goth, *winnō*, f. '(the act of) suffering': *winnan* 'to suffer'; ON *sviða*, f. 'a smarting pain': *sviða* 'to smart'. The concrete nouns are, again, of two different types, viz. 1) so-called nomina agentis and instrumentalis, denoting an agent or an instrument, e. g. OE *belle*, f. 'a bell' (cf. *bellan* 'to bark, to bellow'); OHG *sīha*, f. 'a sieve' (cf. *sīhan* 'to sift'); ON *ausa*, f. 'a scoop' (cf. *ausa* 'to scoop'), and 2) so-called nomina acti, substantial words denoting the object or result of an action, e. g. ON *bora*, f. 'a hole' (cf. *bora* 'to bore').²⁶

²⁵ See Erik Jonsson, *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (København, 1863), p. 59; R. Cleasby and G. Vigfússon, *Icelandic-English dictionary* (1874), p. 67; Leiv Heggstad, *Gamalnorsk ordbok* (Oslo, 1930), p. 60; G. Zoega, *A concise dictionary of Old Icelandic*, p. 57; for the meaning in Mod. Icel. see Sigfús Blöndal, *Ísländsk-dansk Ordbog* (Reykjavík, 1920-24), p. 84 (with detailed information of the geographical distribution of the various meanings); G. Leijström-Jón Magnusson-Sven B. F. Jansson, *Ísländsk-svensk ordbok* (Stockholm, 1955); for the meaning in Mod. Norw. dialects see Ivar Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog* p. 60; H. Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 47. p. 47.

²⁶ On these formations see, for instance, E. Hellquist, *Xenia Lideniana*, pp. 180 ff.; *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 7, pp. 41 ff.; Emil Olson, *De appellativa substantivens bildning i fornsvenskan* (Lund, 1916), *passim*, and the literature there cited.

EPNS, loc. cit., regarded the ON by-name *Blanda* as a nomen agentis meaning 'a mixer', whereas it is known only as a resultativum meaning 'a mixture'.

It is not impossible to find *n*-stems that are, in principle, both nomina agentis and nomina acti, although they are rare, e.g. OSwed. *biti*, m. 'one who bites, a tusk': *biti*, m. 'something bitten off, a piece', derived from *bīta* 'to bite'. It is possible that such formations as ON *brosa*, f., (by-name): *brosa*, f. 'a smile' (from *brosa* 'to smile') and *slefa*, f. (by-name) 'a slobberer': *slefa*, f., 'slime or slobber trickling from the mouth' (from *slefa* 'to slobber') are to be judged in the same way. But it is equally possible, if not probable, that the nomina acti are directly used as by-names, assuming an active meaning in their new function; cf. for *brosa* such abstracts used as by-names as ON *bitra*, f. 'bitterhet', *andvaka*, f. 'insomnia'; for *slefa* cf. the by-names *smiór*, n. 'butter', *skurfa*, f. 'a scab'.

It should be noted that no *blanda*, f., 'a mixer', has been recorded. Furthermore, such a word would probably be too pale and wanting in expressiveness to be used as a by-name of the type here discussed. It is characteristic of the Old as well as Mod. Scand. by-names consisting of feminine words ending in *-a* that they are normally more or less derogatory, a quality that is enhanced by the feminine gender used for a masculine person, e. g. *smedra*, f. 'a fawner', *skuma*, f. 'a squinter', *sála*, f. 'a dullard', *krafla*, f. 'a scratcher'.

It is not difficult to understand that *blanda*, f. 'a mixture of sour whey or milk and water' could be used as a personal nick-name. The liquid in question has at least two qualities that could easily be applied to people. In the first place, its color is a sort of pale, slightly grayish white, which could be compared with the bloodless, sickly complexion that goes with some diseases. Of this nature are such by-names as ON *Bleiki*, *Bleikr* 'the pale one', *Hvítaleðr* 'one with light, leathery skin'. On the other hand, the mixture denoted by the word *blanda* is a diluted, sapless product inferior to regular milk. A flimsy, important person without vigor and strength could most appropriately be called a "*blanda*". I think the latter of the two aspects, which gives the name a striking pregnancy, was the basis for the use of *blanda* as a by-name, which has several ON semantic parallels, e. g. *skreyja*, f., *skrjúpr*, m. 'a weakling', *veili*, m. 'a sickly, seedy person'. Exactly the same basis of naming that underlies *blanda* seems to have given birth to a by-name recorded

as *flekidrykkr*, which probably is developed (through dissimilation or scribal error) from **frekidrykkr* 'a drink with a bitter taste or smell', which seems to be contained in the lost West-Norwegian farm-name *af Fregadrigxnesi* ca. 1435.²⁷ A by-name *Vatli* 'whey' is perhaps the first element of two place-names, viz. *Vaslestad* (*Vatlastad* 1396) in south-eastern Norway, and *Vatlestad* (*Wattlestad* 1603) in the western part of the country.²⁸

Now back to the place-name *Blansby* in Yorkshire. I do not deny the possibility that the first element in this name may be the Scandinavian by-name, as is suggested in *EPNS*, *loc. cit.*, although in another meaning than there is assumed. The fact that the by-name *Blanda* has not been found in Denmark²⁹ is no obstacle, although the North Riding is an area with typically Danish settlement, because according to *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. XXV there are in Pickering Lythe "very definite examples of Norwegian influence."

Nevertheless, I think that another interpretation is perhaps more likely. *Blansby* is situated on a not inconsiderable river flowing through densely populated farmland. This watercourse is now called *Pickering Beck* after the main habitational area through which it flows. It seems reasonably certain that this river once had an original name.

I suggest that the old name of this stream was *Blanda*, a well known river-name in Scandinavia. A glacier stream in Iceland is called *Blanda* because the color and consistency of the ice water reminds one of a mixture of milk and water.³⁰

A small stream in the Swedish province of Bohuslän, bordering on the south-east corner of Norway, is called *Blandebäcken* because the water of the stream, which flows through clayey soil, at high

²⁷ The reading somewhat uncertain; see *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 15, p. 150; E. H. Lind, *op. cit.*, col. 83.

²⁸ Suggested by E. H. Lind, *op. cit.*, col. 398; without any definite interpretation *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 2, p. 38; Vol. 12, pp. 97f.

²⁹ Of a quite different nature (professional names) are *Blandare* and *Blender*, nomina agentis to *blande*, *blende* 'to mix'. These two by-names appear very late, *Blandare* only once 1378 (probably a Swede), *Blender* four persons from the 15th century; see *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, col. 84, 87.

³⁰ K. Kålund, *Bidrag til en historisk topografisk Beskrivelse af Island* (København, 1877-82), Vol. 2, pp. 48f.; F. Jónsson, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 2, pp. 18f.; K. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne*, p. 18.

water becomes muddy and gets a milky color.³¹ It is impossible to say whether this name from the beginning was compounded or if it was preceded by the simple name *Blanda*. This question is, however, in principle, irrelevant.

In south-east Norway is a farm named *Blandhol* (a *Blonduholum* 1401). The first element of this name is *Blanda*, f., which has been interpreted both as a personal by-name and a river-name.³² However, the last element is ON *hóll*, m. 'a rounded hill', which is more likely to be compounded with a field name than a personal name.

E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 45, suggests, with some hesitation, that *Bland* (*Bland* 1226) in the West Riding of Yorkshire originally was a stream-name, from *Blanda*, an interpretation well worth considering.

Grayish white or milky color of the water is also the reason for the Icelandic river-names *Mjólka*, the Norwegian *Mjølka*, and the Swedish *Molkå*, as well as such Norwegian names as *Melkedøla*, *Melkebekken*, *Mjølkebekken*, *Mjølkelven*.³³

There are several Scandinavian river-names in the North Riding, some of which are uncompounded, e. g. *Greta* (also elsewhere in the Danelaw; cf. Scand. *Grjōta*, *Grjta* 'the stony stream') and *Seph* (*Sef* 1170; cf. OSwed. *Sæua* 1321; 'the slow one').³⁴ Place-names ending in *-by* are in Scandinavia quite often compounded with names of lakes and rivers.³⁵

Examination of maps of this region yield the information that clayey soil is common there; it is therefore not impossible that a stream flowing there may sometimes have, or have had, "milky water."

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³¹ A. Janzén, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 23, pp. 2f., where pertinent literature on *Blanda* is cited.

³² It is considered a by-name by Fritzner, *loc. cit.*; E. H. Lind, *loc. cit.*; a river-name or possibly a by-name by K. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne*, p. 18; O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 1, p. 38; A. Janzén, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 23, pp. 2f.

³³ A. Janzén, *loc. cit.* and the literature there cited.

³⁴ *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 2ff.; E. Ekwall, *English river-names*, p. IX, and under the separate names.

³⁵ See, for instance, E. Hellquist, *De svenska ortnamnen på -by* (Göteborg, 1918), pp. 43ff.