

Scandinavian Place Names in England. II.

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Hipswell

A VILLAGE IN CATTERICK PARISH Hang East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, bears the name of *Hipswell*, of which several medieval instances are known: *Hiplewelle* 1086 Domesday Book (hereafter abbreviated DB), *Hippleswell* 12th century, *Hippeswell(e)* 1184–1561 (*passim*), *Hippeleswell(e)* 1260 and 1300, *Hipleswelle* ca. 1270, *Hippliswell* 1301, *Hipsewell* 1545.

EPNS, Vol. 5, p. 244, refers to OE *w(i)ella* “a well, a spring, a stream” as the second element. But for the first element no satisfactory personal name can be suggested. It is considered possible that it may be a lost *hȳpels* (Angl. *hēpels*), a derivative of OE *hēap* “heap”, here used of a hill as in *Heape* (*de Hep* 1226) in Lancashire.¹ If this is correct there must have been a very early shortening of *ē* to *ĕ* and subsequent raising to *ĭ*. As a parallel to the alleged development is given *Redmire* in the same wapentake (*op. cit.*, p. 257), which has been recorded as *Rid(e)mare* 1086 DB and 1173, *Ridemere* 1166–1403 (*passim*), *Redmera* 1167, *Redmar* 1243, *Redmire* 1665. This name may, according to Ekwall, *loc. cit.*, have the first element OE *hreed* “reed,” an interpretation that is not irrefutable.² *Hipswell* would, then, mean “hill stream or spring.” This suggestion is found to be supported by topographical facts, since there is an isolated hill on the west side of the village which might well have been called **hȳpels*.

The factors in this interpretation are too uncertain to make it acceptable. It seems desirable to look for a more convincing etymology of the first element. E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 230, suggests that it is an OE plural form **hyppels* “stepping-stones,” a derivative of **hyppan* “to hop,” from which is formed dial. *hippings* “stepping-

¹ Cf. E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 61.

² E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*), p. 366, gives no indication of other possible interpretations.

stones." The meaning of *Hipswell* would be "the stream with stepping-stones."

The stream referred to is a small brook, about five miles long, which in its upper course is called *Risedale Beck*, already ca. 1200 *Risedalbec*, and in its lower course *Colburn Beck*. There is a farm with the name of *Colburn* (*Colebrun(n)* 12th century), which by *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 243, is interpreted as an original river-name. The last element is OE *burna* "a spring, a stream." About the first element it is said: "The first element is probably OE *col* 'cool' or OE *col*, ON *kol* 'coal,' the latter being an allusion to the dark colour of the water, as in the Norw river-name *Kola*. Colburn, therefore, means either 'cool stream' or 'coal-black stream.'" Judging from the map, there seems to be no reason why the water of this little brook should be cooler than that of others. Therefore the latter alternative seems more likely.

Ekwall's suggestion is hesitatively adopted by A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 276.

This interpretation implies that the first element is a plural form ending in *-s*, which is rather unlikely in a compound that was formed already in the OE period. The first elements of *Risedale* and *Colburn* may be either Old English or Old Norse. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. XXVIII, states that the Norwegian colonization in this area was very strong. "In Hang East, south of Catterick, there was a large [Norwegian] settlement, as is indicated by such names as *Scalerig* in Hudswell and *Scaleflath* in Colburn (containing *skáli*), *Leveragille* near *Miregrim*, *Thieves Gill*, *Helegile* and *Wythegile* (containing *gil*), all near *Hipswell*." In view of this fact it seems very probable that the first elements of *Risedale* and *Colburn* are Scandinavian. In my opinion, *Hipswell* also contains a Scandinavian word.

Among the many islands in the archipelago off the city of Gothenburg on the Swedish west-coast one is named *Hyppeln*, def. sing. (*Hyppel* ca. 1528). Further north another little island has the same name (no old forms). This name has by E. Abrahamson, *Minneskrift utgiven av Filologiska Samfundet i Göteborg*, 1925, been convincingly identified with West-Swed. dial. *hyppel*, m. 'a bump, a hump, a swelling,'³ developed through the mainly West-Scandinavian assimilation *mp* > *pp* from the same formation as East-Swed.

³ This interpretation is adopted by *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län* (hereafter abbreviated *OGB*), Vol. 4, p. 64.

hympil, *hymppyl*, m. "a hill,"⁴ *hympel*, m. "a boy,"⁵ Mod. Low German *hümpel*, m. "a heap,"⁶ MLG *humpel*, m. "a heap."⁷ The radical word is to be found in Norw. dial. *hump*, m. "a knob of rock, a rocky hill,"⁸ Engl. *hump* "a protuberance on the back or other part of the body; a rounded boss of earth, rock etc.; a hummock."⁹

This interpretation implies that *hyppel* once denoted the isolated hill on the west side of the village *Hipswell*, in principle the same as the one suggested by *EPNS*. Cf. the already mentioned *Heap* in Lancashire; *Humbleton* (*Humeltone* 1086 DB) in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which according to *EPNS*, Vol. 14, pp. 54f., may contain Norw. dial. *humul*, m. "a round rock," Swed. dial. *hummel*, m. "a protuberance, a hillock," Scots dial. *humble* "hornless;"¹⁰ OE *swell*, f. "a swelling" with topographical application in names of hills;¹¹ *Tjörn* (*Þjornar*, gen. 12th century), the name of an island off the west-coast of Sweden, which is an *n*-derivation of an ON counterpart to OE *þēor* (gender uncertain) "a boil, a swelling;"¹² and many other hill-names with the same original meaning of "a swelling, a bump, a hump."

It is interesting to note that the rather small stream here concerned seems to have three names already during the Middle Ages. It is, however, probable that each name referred only to a certain part of the course. But it ought to be explored whether *Hipswell*

⁴ H. Vendell, *Ordbok öfver de östsvenska dialekterna* (Helsingfors, 1904-07), p. 373.

⁵ J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon* (Lund, 1867), p. 267. For the meaning "a boy" cf. Swed. (dial.) *knaatte*, m. "a little boy" and "a rock hill."

⁶ *Bremisch-niedersächsisches Wörterbuch* (Bremen, 1767), Vol. 2, p. 669.

⁷ Lübben-Walther, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, p. 153.

⁸ I. Aasen, *Norsk Ordbok*, p. 306.

⁹ *NED*, Vol. 5, p. 454. Other related words are adduced by Abrahamson, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ It is said, *loc. cit.*, that the meaning "rounded hillock" is suitable because there are many low, glacial mounds in the neighborhood, and "*hummel* might well be used of one of them." Why cannot the first element be a gen. plur. ON **Hum(b)la*-denoting several such mounds? Several names containing OE **hamol*, **humol*, are adduced by Allen Mawer, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 9, pp. 56ff.; cf. A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 268.

¹¹ E. Ekwall, *Studies on English place-names* (Stockholm, 1936), pp. 151ff.; cf. A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 171.

¹² Hj. Lindroth, *Minnesskrift utgiven av Filologiska Samfundet i Göteborg*, 1920, pp. 15ff., where several Scandinavian place-names containing *þjör-*, *þjūr-* with *n*-suffix are adduced.

may not be the name of a spring in the neighborhood of the isolated hill called **Hyppel*.

Hybrid names in which the first element is a Scandinavian and the second an English word are not rare in this region; cf., for instance, from the North Riding, *Loft Marishes* (*Loctemersc* 1086 DB) containing ON *lopt* and OE *mersc* (*EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 95).

J. B. Johnston, *The place-names of England and Wales* (1915), p. 305, came pretty close to the same interpretation as the one here offered. He says: "There is no [personal] name [as the first element] at all likely here, so this must be 'well at the *hipple*,' or 'little heap,' first recorded in *Oxf. Dict.* in 1382 as *hypil*, *heepil*, and derived fr. OE **hiepel*, *hýpel*, cf. Ger. *häufel*."

Joseph Wright, *The Engl. Dial. Dict.* Vol. 3 (1902), p. 172, the *Oxford Engl. Dict.*, Vol. 5 (1933), p. 296, *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 244, and others interpret the Engl. dial. *hipple* as a diminutive of *heap*. The late appearance of the word (1382), its purely dialectal existence, restricted to Yorkshire,¹³ as well as its phonetic forms indicate, however, to me that it is a Scandinavian loan-word, identical with West-Swed. dial *hyppel*, m. "a bump, a hump, a swelling."

Lackenby

In the township of Wilton, Ormesby parish, Langbargh West wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, is a farm named *Lackenby*. Several medieval forms are known, e. g. *Lache(ne)bi* 1086 DB, *Lacnebi*, -by 12th century and 1308, *Lachenbi*, -by 12th century and 1202, *Lacke(ne)by* 1208, *Lacceneby* 1218–33, *Lachaneby* 1231, etc.

J. B. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 334, interprets the first element as the personal name *Lacen*, which is "still found as *Laking*." — A. H. Smith, *Revue Celtique*, Vol. 44, p. 49, translates the name "Lachan's farm" and holds the first element probably to be the OIr. personal name *Lochan*, a diminutive in -*an* from OIr. *loch* "black" (cf. Welsh *lluig* "livid"). As to the treatment of the vowel in the first syllable of the place-name he states (p. 40) that OIr. *o* may occur as *a*, for instance in the place-name *Stainpapan* (Yorkshire, West Riding) recorded as *Stainpapan* in the 13th century. This name is an example of an inverted compound containing ON *steinn* "a stone" and, according to Ekwall,¹⁴ probably an OIr. personal name **Popan*,

¹³ Joseph Wright, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ E. Ekwall, *Scandinavian and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 47.

based on OIr. *popa* "a teacher." He also compares such Old Icelandic forms as *Kalman*, *Kamban*, from OIr. *Colmán*, **Combán*.

EPNS, Vol. 5 (written by A. H. Smith), pp. 159f., considers it probable that the first element is a personal name and suggests in the first place an ON by-name **Lækni*, a weak by-form to *Læknir*. But from the persistence of *-ene* and *-ane* as endings in the first element this etymology is "extremely doubtful." Therefore, as a more likely derivation is given Smith's suggestion, just quoted, that it is OIr. *Lochán*. The vowel *a* for Ir. *o* is explained as being due to the influence of Scandinavians who introduced the name. Smith goes on to say: "Normally in Ir. pers. names introduced by the Norwegians into Yorkshire place-names no trace of the OIr. gen. *-ain* is preserved, but Ekwall (*op. cit.* 54, note) cites one or two examples which might well be from this form. The early forms of *Lackenby* with *-ene* should probably, therefore, be regarded as survivals of the OIr. gen. ending *-ain*."

E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 270, holds the interpretation of the first element as OIr. *Lochán* as possible. A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 71, adduces *Lackenby* among names that contain Old Irish personal names.

Lackenby is situated in a region where the Scandinavian and particularly the Norwegian colonization was extremely dense. Cf. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. XXVII: "In Langbargh East and Langbargh West, where Danish influence was not extensive, there are indications of a thorough settlement by Norwegians, especially round Guisborough and the district to the west." *Lackenby* is about three miles north-west of Guisborough. There do exist, in the neighborhood, some place-names in which the first element is an Irish personal name, but they are few. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 333, gives only four cases in the whole North Riding.

On the other hand, almost all place-names ending in *-by* in Langbargh West wapentake contain typically Old Scandinavian personal names, e. g. *Ormesby* (*Ormr*), *Tollesby* (*Toltr*), *Maltby* (*Malti*), *Thornaby* (*Þormóðr*), *Stainsby* (*Steinn*), *Thoraldby* (*Þóraldr*), etc.¹⁵

¹⁵ The only name in *-by* in this wapentake that may not contain an entirely native Scandinavian personal name is *Dromonby* (*Tromundesbi* ca. 1150, *Dromundby* ca. 1190, *Dromundebi*, *-by* 1190–1310, *passim*), which, however, was *Drægmalebi* 1086 DB. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 168f., finds it evident that this farm originally was in the possession of one *Drægmel* (recorded 1052; cf. ON *drægmáll*, adj. "talking slowly

Therefore it seems more probable that *Lackenby*, too, was named after a Scandinavian settler.

I suggest that it is an ON by-name **Lakkandi*, a present participle of the same verb as Norw. dial. *lakka* "to trip along; to run; to hop on one foot;"¹⁶ Mod. Dan. *lakke* "to walk slowly in a quiet, even motion;"¹⁷ Dan. dial. (Jutland) *lakke* "to walk evenly and slowly;"¹⁸ Early Mod. Swed. (17th and 18th centuries) *lacka* "to trudge, to jog-trot;"¹⁹ Swed. dial. *lacka* "to run."²⁰

Thus, the postulated by-name **Lakkandi* had reference to the gait of the pertinent person as being slow, tripping, running or the like. It is possible that the Old Danish by-name *Lakki* has the same implication²¹. It is not difficult to find both semantic and morphological parallels to the assumed **Lakkandi*. A perfect counterpart is the ON by-name and first name *Stígandi*, as first name more often in the strong form *Stígandr*,²² which is well known also in England.²³ It is the pres. part. of ON *stíga* "to step, to stride."²⁴ Reference to

and draggingly") before it passed to *Dromundr*. This by-name seems to be identical with ON *drómundr*, m. "a war-ship", which is a scandinavianized form of Old French *dromon*, *dromont*, *dromunz* "a swift sailer", from Lat. *dromō* (gen. *dromōnis*) "a swift ship", Greek δρόμων, m. "a runner; a light vessel," see Hj. Falk, *Alt-nordisches Seewesen (Wörter und Sachen, Vol. 4)*, pp. 87f.; F. Jónsson, *Tilnavne i den islandske oldlitteratur*, p. 280; E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, col. 65; A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 974; E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 145. Leiv Heggstad, *Gamalnorsk ordbok*, p. 103, seems to think of native origin by referring to Norw. *droma* "to loiter". At any rate, both settlers named *Dragmel* and *Drómundr* were no doubt Scandinavians.

¹⁶ Ivar Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 419; H. Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 463.

¹⁷ *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, Vol. 12, col. 220.

¹⁸ H. F. Feilberg, *Bidrag til en ordbog over jyske almuesmål*, Vol. 2, p. 368.

¹⁹ *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*, Vol. 15, L, col. 20.

²⁰ J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, p. 390. — Cf. also A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 361; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 554.

²¹ *Danmarks gamle Personnavne. II. Tilnavne*, col. 648.

²² E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, col. 361; *Norsk isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden*, col. 963.

²³ Erik Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen*, p. 131; *Zur Englischen Namenkunde (Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Vol. 47)*, p. 80; O. von Feilitzen, *The pre-conquest personal names of Domesday Book*, pp. 374f.

²⁴ A certain *frádr stígandi* i Eyrbyggja Saga is said to have been "manna fót-hvatastr", i.e. an extremely fast runner. Therefore E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn*, col. 361, assumes the meaning of the by-name to be "running fast", which hardly is correct. F. Jónsson, *op. cit.*, p. 222, gives the meaning as "walking with long steps." B. Kahle, *Die altwestnordischen Beinamen bis etwa zum Jahre 1400*

gait and locomotion is also evident in the following ON by-names: *Vakkandi* (ON *vakka* "to walk about"), *Hlaupandr*, *Hlaupari* (ON *hlaupa* "to run"), *Rúsari* (ON *rúsa* "to rush"), *Vaggaðr* (ON *vagga* "to rock").²⁵

It would be tempting to assume that *Lackandi* was a pres. part. of the widely distributed Scandinavian verb *lakka*, *lacka* "to drip, to trickle" used as a name of a brook or a race, but there is, as far as I can see on maps available to me, not the smallest stream in the neighborhood of Lackenby.

For the development of *-anda-* > *-en-* cf., for instance, the stream names *Routen Beck* (*Rutenbec* 1195) and *Routin Beck* in Cumberland and Yorkshire respectively, both derived from ON **Rūtandabekkr* (**Rjötanda-*?, **Hrjötanda-*?, *Rautanda-*?).²⁶

Musley Bank

The present farm-name *Musley Bank* in Huttons Ambo parish, Bulmer wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, was earlier *Musecliue*, *-clyve* 13th and 14th centuries, *Musecleue* 13th century.

EPNS, Vol. 5, pp. 41 f. (cf. pp. 311, 323), interprets the name as "Musi's bank", containing the Scandinavian personal by-name *Músi* and OE *clif* "a cliff, a bank." This explanation suggests a hybrid formation, which is possible, but I see no reason for not assuming the second element to be ON *klif*, n. which frequently occurs in Scandinavian place-names in the Danelaw; see, for instance, A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, pp. 98f. The translation of the last element as "a bank" is too wide. In this case we are able to determine quite definitely the meaning thanks to the topographical information given, namely that there is a steep declivity at the place. In Scandinavian place-names *klif*, n., extremely often refers to just such localities; cf., for instance, the translation given in *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, Vol. 14, *K*, col. 1197 of Mod. Swed. *klev*, "a crevice or ravine in a steep hillside (through which one can ascend the hill); steep road or path up a

(*Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 26), p. 174, suggests alternatively the meaning "roving". Since the verb *stlga* means "to stride", there is no doubt that the by-name originally indicated a striding gait. Used as a first name it probably lost its meaning.

²⁵ See the just cited works on Old Norse by-names (Lind, Jónsson, Kahle), *passim*.

²⁶ E. Ekwall, *English River-names*, pp. 348ff.; not quite satisfactorily.

hill; gorge, crevice;”²⁷ as well as O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne, Indledning*, pp. 60f., A. Janzén, *Names*, Vol. 1957, p. 106.

It seems as though the first element *Mus(e)-*, which occurs quite frequently in Scandinavian place-names in the Danelaw, in *EPNS* is interpreted either as the nickname *Mūsi* or as characterizing the place as being infested with mice.²⁸ Judging from *ENPS*, the name *Mūsi* should have been a rather common name in Scandinavian England. It is recorded in Lincolnshire in 1207 (*EPNS, loc. cit.*), but not in *Domesday Book*. It does not occur in the material included in E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England*. Thus, the lack of instances of the name in independent use indicates that *Mūsi* was not a name of common use in England. Nor was it in Scandinavia. E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, p. 263, adduces three rather late instances. He also refers to four Norwegian place-names *Muserud* and one *Mustvet*, in which, however, the first element may equally well be gen. plur. of the appellative *mūs*, f. In Denmark a name *Muse* is not on record in independent use, neither as a given name nor as a nickname.²⁹ Nor have I found any certain instance from Sweden.

The first element *Mus(e)-* in place-names may, however, have another allusion, which I have noted only once in *EPNS*, viz. concerning the name *Muscott* in Northamptonshire, which is given the following interpretation (Vol. 10, p. 27): “This is probably from OE *mūsa-cote*, “mice’s cottages,” . . . perhaps a nickname for some humble dwellings.” It seems possible that a similar evaluation may have caused at least some of the Norwegian names *Muserud* and *Mustvet*.³⁰ Names of abominable animals are quite often used in place-names of disparaging nature, cf. the common English name *Rattan Row*.

It seems far from impossible that a similar depreciatory attitude may have gone to produce the name *Musley* < *Mūsa-klif*. The name could designate the declivity as being so narrow or so steep that only mice could get up there.

²⁷ Mod. Swed. *klev* represents both O.Swed. *klēf* (ON *kleif*), f., and O.Swed. *klif* (ON *klif*), n. Both words denoted localities of identical or similar nature.

²⁸ See, for instance, Vol. 14, pp. III f.; 22, p. 252.

²⁹ See *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, Vol. 1, col. 972; Vol. 2, col. 750ff. The Old Danish byname *Muse* is identical with ON *mose*, m. “a bog”.

³⁰ The same may be said about the West-Swed. *Muserödt* (1586), differently interpreted by G. Sohlberg in *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, Vol. 20 : 1, p. 109.

There is in south-western Sweden, just a few miles from the Norwegian borderline, a narrow sloping glen which is called *Museklev*. This name may be identical with the English *Musley*, although it is possible that the second element is the same word as ON *kleif*, f., rather than *klif*, n. As far as the meaning is concerned, the identity of the second element is of little or no significance. Perhaps the Swedish name was given for reasons just indicated. However, G. Sohlberg, *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, Vol. 20:1, p. 135, gives another interpretation. The word *mus* denotes in the Scandinavian languages several (muscular) parts of the body of men and animals that resemble a mouse, e. g. muscle on the chest or the thigh, biceps, thenar. In vulgar language as well as in the dialects it also signifies the female genital parts. Sohlberg suggests that the Swedish name *Museklev* either indicates presence of mice or, more likely, is of obscene nature referring to the narrowness of the locality in question. If there is such a narrow crevice at *Musley* in Yorkshire it is quite possible that the often drastic principles of name-giving of the old Scandinavians were used also in their new environment. At any rate, I interpret *Musley* as a Scandinavian name and consider a derogatory or obscene meaning more plausible than the two alternatives given in *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 41 f.

Dinnand

On the 6'' map of the Ordnance Survey occurs the name *Dinnand* of a boundary stone on the hills in the north of Danby parish, Langbargh East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire. It is recorded as *le Dynant* 1273. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 132, dubitatively suggests the following interpretation: "Possibly we have here to deal with a Celtic name, for the name is not of a Germanic type. If this surmise is correct the name is no doubt from Brit. *din* 'hill, fort' (cf. Welsh *din* 'hill,' Cornish *din* 'a fort') extended by a suffix *-ant*, which also enters into the name of the old Northumbrian kingdom of *Bernicia* (Brit. **Briganticia*) and the tribal name *Brigantes*."

This is a rather strange reasoning. The morphological type represented by **Briganticia* and *Brigantes* is of a very old age and mostly present in old names; cf. Βριγάντιον 1st century, *Strabo*, the present *Bregenz* in Vorarlberg Germany, and see A. Bach,

Deutsche Namenkunde, II: 1, pp. 213ff., and the literature there quoted. This is a completely different type of derivation than the one postulated in **din-ant-*, with a noun as the first element. The suggestion given in *EPNS* is to be declined without further argumentation.

Now there are in Scandinavia a large number of stones and other (rock) formations that have names referring to roaring or rumbling sounds. Only in the comparatively small area in south-western Sweden comprising the provinces Bohuslän, Dalsland and half Västergötland we find, among others, the following names: *Glömsten* (now a small farm, originally a boundary stone), *Glåmåsen*, *Glömåsen*, *Glöm* (cf. ON *glymr*, m., *glaumir*, m. "a noise, a roar," *glymja* "to roar, to rumble, to resound");³¹ *Bummerås* (cf. Swed. dial. *bumra* "to rumble");³² *Dunk(e)hallar* (twice), *Dunkeberg* (cf. Swed. *dunk*, n. "a dull sound," *dunka* "to produce a dull sound");³³ *Gularen* (a rounded hillock; cf. Swed. dial. *gūla* "to holler, to roar");³⁴ *Dånebacken*, *Dånhallen*, *Döneliden*, *Dunnarestenen* (cf. ON *dynr*, m., OSwed. *dyn*, m. "a roaring or hollow sound," ON *dynja*, OSwed. *dynia* "to roar, to resound").³⁵ Place-names of the same nature are to be found in good numbers all over Scandinavia. The grounds of such name-giving vary, but generally the first elements refer to sounds produced on or in the stones, rocks, hills etc. Particularly concerning stones the sounds may be created by knocking on them or by rocking them (if they are in a labile position of equilibrium). Or gusts of wind may cause some kind of sound. Especially boundary stones invite to a nomenclature by which they are more or less personified. In one single parish in the province of Bohuslän in Sweden we find such names as *Grå hund* "the Gray Dog", *Hyndan* "the Bitch," *Grisen* "the Pig," *Suggan* "the Sow," *Grågåsen* "the Graylag," *Busen* "the Spook," *Häradsdomarn* "the Hundred's Ealdor," *Kallen* "the (Old) Man," *Nämndeman* "the Jurymen,"

³¹ *Sveriges ortnamn. Älvsborgs län* (hereafter abbreviated *SOÄ*), Vol. 2, p. 80; Vol. 17, p. 126 (in both cases with wrong interpretations); *OGB*, Vol. 18, pp. 201f. The last elements are *sten*, m. "a stone", *ås*, m. "a ridge."

³² *OGB*, Vol. 9, p. 125.

³³ *SOÄ*, Vol. 9: 1, pp. 267f.; *OGB*, Vol. 2, p. 149. The second elements are *hall*, m. (plur. *hallar*) "a slab of stone or rock" and *berg*, n. "a rocky hill."

³⁴ *OGB*, Vol. 18, p. 203. The name means "the roaring one."

³⁵ *SOÄ*, Vol. 1: 2, p. 20; *OGB*, Vol. 10, p. 33; Vol. 4, p. 108; Vol. 16, pp. 166. The second elements not yet translated are *backe*, m. "a slope," *lid*, f. "a slope."

Tjocken "Fatty."³⁶ Of the same nature is the earlier mentioned *Gularen* "the roarer."

In the light of this type of nomenclature it seems natural to interpret *Dinnand* as an ON present participle *Dynjandi* "the roarer," whatever the specific reason for this particular name may be.

As to the phonetic form we may compare such river-names as *Skinnand* (*Schinende* 1086 DB, *Scinand*, *Skynant* in Hundred Rolls from the time of Henry III and Edward I) in Lincolnshire, and *Brennand* (*Brenand* 1324–5) in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which according to A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 11, and E. Ekwall, *English River-names*, p. 51, respectively, contain present participles.³⁷

Clitherbeck

In Danby parish, Langbargh East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, is the name *Clitherbeck* (*Clitherbec* 1273).

For the interpretation of this name *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 131, refers to *Clitheroe*, Whalley parish, Blackburn hundred, Lancashire, recorded as *Cliderhou* 1102–1332 (*passim*).

John Sephton, *A handbook of Lancashire place-names* (1913), pp. 92f., gave two alternative etymologies of the first element in *Clitheroe*, viz. some unknown dithematic personal name with *-here* as the second element or the Welsh word *clydwr* "a shelter." Neither suggestion is acceptable. — A. Goodall, *Place-names of south-west Yorkshire* (1914) assumed the last element *-oe* to be ON *haugr* in the meaning of "burial mound," but gives no explanation of the first element. — J. B. Johnston, *The place-names of England and Wales* (1915), p. 207, suggested that the first element is early Engl. dial. *clithers*, mod. dial. *clider*, for *clivers*, "goose-grass" and the second component OE *hōh* "a height."

E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire* (1922), p. 78, found the second element to be ON *haugr*, m. "a hill," but held that a definite etymology of the first element cannot be given. He continued: "Possibly we may compare dial. *clitter* 'a pile of loose stones or granite débris ...' Such an etymology would suit the case perfectly.

³⁶ *OGB*, Vol. 11, pp. 88, 90, 91, 92, 95, 98, 99.

³⁷ G. S. Streatfield, *Lincolnshire and the Danes* (London, 1884), p. 288, gives the impossible interpretation of *Skinnand* as a personal name.

The way on which the castle stands consists of loose limestone, which crumbles off to a great extent." He suggests that the same element possibly exists in *Clitherbeck*, since according to an information in *Yorkshire Inquisitions* there was in the 13th century a quarry at this place, and added: "The word *clitter* perhaps belongs to a root of onomatopoeic origin meaning "noise" or the like. If so it is probably cognate with OE *clidrenn* "a clatter, a noise," which agrees nearly in form with the first el. of *clitheroe*."

All these interpretations of the first element *Clither-* must, for various, mostly phonological, reasons, be declined. However, Ekwall changed opinion. Already in *Addenda et Corrigenda*, p. xlv, to *EPNS*, Vol. 5, it reads: "Professor Ekwall would prefer now to associate these names with Swed. dial. *klädra*, *klera*, "song-thrush," going back to earlier **kliðra*." Later, *Dict.*³, p. 107, and *Meijerbergs arkiv för svensk ordforskning* 3 (1941), pp. 48f., he suggested that the first element also of *Clitheroe* is the same OS cand. **kliðra*.

A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements*, Vol. 1, p. 101, postulates an OE **clýder*, **clider* "loose stones, debris," "which may be related to OE *clidren* 'a clatter, a noise' in the same way as *clater* is to the verb *clatter*, but it may equally well be a derivation of *clūd*; it survives as D[evon] dial. *clider*, *clither* 'a pile of loose stones or granite debris'." He concludes by stating that there is no doubt about this meaning in *Clitheroe* and *Clitherbeck*, especially since there was a quarry at the place named by the latter name.

There is, in my opinion, hardly any doubt that the first element in *Clitherbeck* is the Scandinavian bird-name Swed. dial. *klädra*, *kledra*, *klera* etc., f. "a song-thrush" (also denoting other birds of the thrush-family);³⁸ Mod. Dan. *klire* "a thrash" (also some other birds);³⁹ North-Frisian *kleer*, f. "the redshank,"⁴⁰ *klēr*, m. "idem."⁴¹

³⁸ J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, p. 331; Ernst Wigforss, *Södra Hallands folkmål*, p. 12; *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, Vol. 14, K. col. 1478.

³⁹ Falk-Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1910), p. 534; *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, Vol. 10, col. 612.

⁴⁰ Chrs. Johansen, *Die nordfriesische Sprache* (Kiel, 1862), p. 104; J. Schmidt-Petersen, *Wörterbuch und Sprachlehre der nordfriesischen Sprache* (Bredstedt, 1912), p. 71.

⁴¹ P. Jensen, *Wörterbuch der nordfriesischen Sprache der Wiedingkarde* (Neumünster, 1927), col. 273. *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, loc. cit., adduces a North-Frisian variant *kliir*, which I have not been able to trace in the literature available to me.

The Scandinavian formes are consistent with derivation from OSwed. **klidhra*, f., ODan. **klithær*, f. This, like so many other names of birds, is an onomatopoeic word closely cognate with ON *klidr*, m. "twittering, shriek (of birds); noise of voices,"⁴² Mod. Icel. *klidur*, m. "chirping, song; noise of voices."⁴³ Probably related are also the Shetl. words *klir* and *kliri*, which are partly nicknames, partly taboo-names, sea-terms for "the cock."⁴⁴ The wide distribution of this onomatopoeic stem **klidr*- must have a very old tradition in the Scandinavian languages, and it is, therefore, fully justified to assume that the bird-name **klidra*, f., is old enough to have belonged to the vocabulary of those Vikings that emigrated to the British isles.⁴⁵

In south-western Sweden, the borderline between the two provinces Västergötland and Småland follows a river that flows into the south end of Lake Vättern. The river is now called *Dummeån* (OSwed. *Dumn*, f. "the deep one"⁴⁶), but it had earlier another name attached to a part of its course. Within a small area we find the two farms *Klerhult* (*Clerholt* 1546) and *Klerbo*, a wool mill *Klerfors*, and a mill *Klidhruqväern* 1351, which is now lost but probably

⁴² J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, Vol. 2, p. 297; Leiv Heggstad, *Gamalnorsk ordbok med nynorsk tyding* (Oslo, 1930), p. 371.

⁴³ S. Blöndal, *Islandsk-dansk Ordbok*, p. 435.

⁴⁴ J. Jakobsen, *Det norrøne sprog på Shetland* (København, 1897), p. 88, and *An etymological dictionary of the Norn language in Shetland* (London, 1928), p. 432. In the former place *kliri* is considered a derivation from ON *klidr*, m., but in the latter place it is alternatively suggested that *klir(i)* is a metathesized form of Shetl. *kriel* (cf. Mod. Icel. *kria*, f. "a tern"). Most likely the two words belong to two different onomatopoeic stems, but if they are related it seems equally plausible that *kriel* developed through metathesis from *klir(i)*. It is true that *ð* before *r* normally remains as *d(d)* in Mod. Shetlandish; cf. *flider*, *flidder* "to laugh foolishly; to talk sweetly" < **fiðra*, Norw. dial. *fiðra*; *hwider* "a sudden squall, a whirlwind," related to Mod. Icel. *hvíðra* "to set in quick motion," Norw. dial. *kviðra* "to hurry to and fro" (Jakobsen, *Dict.*, pp. 182, 359, *Det norrøne sprog*, p. 133). But we have here to do with words that imitate sounds and, furthermore, are used as taboo-words. Such words do often not follow the regular phonetic laws.

⁴⁵ Further on the words here discussed and their etymology see E. Hellquist, *Om namn och tillar, slagord och svordomar* (Lund, 1918), pp. 102f.; Falk-Torp, *loc. cit.*; A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 285 (incorrectly giving the Old Norse forms as *klidr* etc. with long vowel); A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 298; E. Wigforss, *Södra Hallands folkhäl*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ I. Lundahl, *Namn och byggd*, Vol. 38 (1950), pp. 39ff. and the literature there cited.

was situated at the same place as the present *Klerfors*. According to *Sveriges Ortnamn, Älvsborgs län*, Vol. 7: 1, p. 117, the first element in *Klerhult* is the bird-name OSwed. **klidhra*, f., Swed. dial. *klera* etc. E. Hellquist, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 11 (1923), pp. 34f., drew attention to the other locally and etymologically connected names just mentioned and maintained that the waterfall once had the name **Klidhra*, which, then, could easily be used of the stream on both sides of the waterfall. *Klidhra* denotes a shrill sort of sound, twittering or chirping or the like.⁴⁷ Hellquist held that this name was given because of the sound of the waterfall and referred to several river-names with the same signification, e. g. OSwed. **Hiæla* (cf. ON *hjala* "to talk, to prate"), OE *Twiteling* (cf. Engl. dial. *twittle* "to prate") and such Norwegian river-names as *Brumma*, *Garpa*, *Skratla*, *Skrika*, *Skvaldra*, *Sladra*, etc., which all have reference to the sound of the water.⁴⁸

Named particularly after birds are such Norwegian river-names as *Elfta* (cf. ON *elptr*, f. "a swan"), *Fugla* (cf. ON *fugl*, m. "a bird"), *Gaasa* (cf. ON *gás*, f. "a goose"), *Igda* (cf. ON *igða*, f. "a sort of titmouse"), *Kraaka* (cf. ON *kráka*, f. "a crow"), *Svana* (cf. ON *svanr*, m. "a swan"), *Ugla* (cf. ON *ugla*, f. "an owl"), etc. Some of the place-names containing these words as the first element that are adduced under these bird-names by O. Rygh, *op. cit. (passim)*, may refer to presence of the pertinent birds or contain personal nick-names identical with names of birds, but there are many irrefutable examples of rivers and waterfalls named after the sounds produced by these birds.

Clitherbeck is the name of one of the comparatively small rivers that flow from a high moor northwards into the river Esk. There is a drop of elevation from ca. 1400 to 400 feet within a distance of ca. four miles. *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 131, gives the information that it is a fast-flowing stream with a rocky bed. This is exactly the type of stream in which the water produces chirping, twittering sounds.

⁴⁷ E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok, loc. cit.*, holds that the bird-name implies the existence of an onomatopoeic verb **klidhra*. In my opinion, this assumption is unnecessary. The bird-name may be a derivation directly from the imitative stem *klidr-* without a corresponding verb.

⁴⁸ On these and other onomatopoeic river-names see, for instance, E. Hellquist, *Studier öfver de svenska sjönamnen*, Vol. 3, pp. 72f.; *De svenska ortnamnen på -by* (Göteborg, 1918), p. 47; O. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne, passim*; A. Janzén, *Namn och bygd*, Vol. 23 (1935), pp. 5f., 17f., 36ff.

Clitheroe stands on a slope on both sides of a stream that flows from Pendle hill down to the river Ribble. There is within a distance of about three miles a drop in elevation from ca. 1830 feet to ca. 200 feet. It is, however, doubtful whether the stream once had a name containing the bird-name or if the place-name *Clitheroe* indicates presence of thrushes. The last element is ON *haugr*, m. "a hill," which makes it natural to compare the Swedish farm-name *Klereskull* (*Klereskuldt* 1603) in the province of Halland in the southernmost part of the country, containing the dial. *klera*, f. "a thrush" and *kull*, m. "a hill."⁴⁹ *Klereskull* stands also on a small stream, and thus it is uncertain whether the stream may have had a name containing the birdname or if the hill was named for the existence of the birds.

What definitely speaks in favor of the interpretation here given of the two English place-names *Clitherbeck* and *Clitheroe* is that both of them most certainly are originally Scandinavian names, corresponding to ON **Kliðrubekkr* and **Kliðruhaugr* respectively, and consequently should be interpreted with reference to Scandinavian, not English, vocabulary.

⁴⁹ E. Wigforss, *loc. cit.*; *Sveriges ortnamn, Hallands län*, Vol. 1, p. 78.