

Scandinavian Place Names in England. III.

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Bagthorpe

IN THE DANELAW are two habitations with the name of *Bagthorpe*.

1. A hamlet in Selston parish, North Division of Broxtow wapentake, Nottinghamshire. The name is recorded *Bagthorp(e)* 1490–1599, *passim*, *Bagthorpe moore* 1609.

2. A parish in Docking district, Norfolk county. The name is recorded as *Bachestorp* 1086 DB, *Baggetorp* 1206, *Bakethorp* 1254, *Baggethorp* 1291.

The former name is in *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 131, given the following brief interpretation: "Possibly 'Baggi's þorp or outlying village'." Reference is made to the farm name *Bagletts* in Harthill wapentake, East Riding of Yorkshire (*Baggeflet(e)* 12th century, twice, *Bagflete* 1371–1466, *passim*), the second element of which in *EPNS*, Vol. 14, p. 233, is given as OE *fleot* "an inlet." The following interpretation is suggested: "Bagletts is less than a mile from the Humber and *fleot* may refer to an inlet of which traces are still visible at low tide or to one of the two streams, Crabley Beck and Mill Beck. There is nothing in the topography to suggest that the first element is not the OE pers. name *Bacga* or OS cand. *Baggi*." The last statement is rather confusing. How could something in the topography indicate whether or not the first element is a personal name? We shall come back to this name later.

Walter Rye, *Scandinavian names in Norfolk* (1920), p. 11, lists *Bagthorpe* in Norfolk as a Scandinavian name, but gives no interpretation. E. Ekwall, *The concise Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*), p. 22, suggests that the first element of this name is a personal name, either ODan. *Bakki* or perhaps OE *Bacca*. A. H. Smith, *English place-name elements* (hereafter abbreviated Smith, *Elem.*), Vol. 2, p. 212, mentions only the first alternative, which no doubt is justified. The element *-thorpe* indicates a Scandinavian settlement, at least

in the Danelaw, and it is, then, more likely that the first element also is a Scandinavian word, even if instances of hybrid *þorp* names do exist.¹

The interpretation of the first element of the second *Bagthorpe* as the personal name *Bakki* is not convincing. In Denmark this name is not known before 1406 and recorded only from Slesvig in southern Jutland. It seems, then, quite certain that this name just barely crossed the Danish border from the German territory; cf. OGerm. *Bacco*, Frisian *Backe*.² E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden* (hereafter abbreviated Lind, *Dopnamn*), does not know the name from Norway or Iceland, nor do M. Lundgren—E. Brate—E. H. Lind, *Svenska personnamn från medeltiden*³ (hereafter abbreviated Lundgren-Brate-Lind, *Sv. personnamn*) from Sweden. Thus, it is quite safe to assume that no native given name *Bakki* existed in medieval Scandinavia.

Let us also explore the possible existence of *Bakki* as a by-name. *DGP*, II. *Tilnavne*, col. 31, adduces six persons with this name, but the oldest instance is as late as ca. 1370, and the others are from the 15th and 16th centuries. From Norway we know of one person by-named *Bakki* from 1369.⁴ Lind assumes, no doubt for excellent reasons, that the by-name *Bakki* in reality is a place-name in underived form used as a by-name, a frequently occurring phenomenon in medieval Scandinavia. To my knowledge, no by-name *Bakke* has been recorded from Sweden.

This investigation yielded the information that no Scandinavian is known to have borne the by-name *Bakki* earlier than 1369. Those

¹ About the distinction between the cognate OE *þorp* and the OS cand. *þorp* in English place-names see, for instance, Ekwall, *op. cit.*, pp. 446f., Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 205ff.

² *Danmarks gamle Personnavne* (hereafter abbreviated *DGP*), I. *Fornavne*, col. 91.

³ *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen ock svenskt folkliv*, Vol. 10: 6—7.

⁴ E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (hereafter abbreviated Lind, *Binamn*), col. 13, lists two other possible instances: 1. A person whose name in *Flateyjarbók* is written *Eiríkr backi*, but in the same manuscript also *E. baaga* (gen.) and in *Codex Frisianus*, *E. baggi*. Thus, the correct form is uncertain, most likely *Baggi*. 2. A man named *Björn* who lived in the first half of the 13th century and whose by-name in *Eirispennill* occurs as *bakci*, but in *Flateyjarbók* as *þacki*, in *Jöfraskinna* as *þaski*, and in *Codex Frisianus* as *barki*. Whatever the real name was, it was hardly *Bakki*.

few persons from the late Medieval Ages who did have it were probably named after the places from which they came. But this means of distinction did not develop until rather late, succeeding an older type in which a preposition preceded the place-name, e.g. *Ulv i Bakka*.⁵

Thus, it would be extremely difficult to justify or defend the assumption that a by-name *Bakki* existed in the 9th century when the Scandinavians invaded the land of the Angles in England. Furthermore, there is, as I pointed out above, only a scant possibility that Ekwall's suggestion to interpret the first element of the name *Bagthorpe* in Norfolk as the OE personal name *Bacca* is correct, even if a small number of hybrid *þorp* names do exist in the Danelaw.⁶ Consequently, since the vast majority of these *þorp* names belongs to Danish rather than Norwegian and Swedish settlements, it appears advisable to seek as the first element a word which without any doubt existed in Denmark in the 9th century.

If we follow Ekwall and assume that the intervocalic consonant in the first element was an original *k*, it is possible that the Norfolk name contains the OS cand. appellative *bakki*, m. "a slope, a ridge, a hill" etc., if the topographical conditions justify this interpretation. The first element in *þorp* names is not infrequently a word describing topographical conditions, e.g. *Burythorpe* (*berg* "a hill"), *Layrthorpe* (*leirr* "clay, a clay bottom"), etc., both names in Yorkshire.⁷

There is, however, reason to call in question Ekwall's unqualified interpretation of the first element, accepted by A. H. Smith. In the first place it seems to be rather unexpected that a voiceless long *k* developed into a voiced *g* before the voiceless consonant *þ*, unless attraction from another word or some kind of folk etymology caused the substitution of *g* for *k*. It is hard to find any well-founded reason for either alternative in this particular case.

But conversely, it would be phonologically and phonetically quite natural that a *g* before *þ* could lose its voiced quality to the extent that it would be taken for a *k* by the Norman scribe who recorded it in *Domesday Book*. Another possible, perhaps more plausible, explanation of the *ch* in *Domesday Book* is that it is due

⁵ See Sven Ekbo, *Nordiska personbinamn under vikinga- och medeltid* (*Nordisk Kultur*, Vol. 7), pp. 276f.

⁶ See Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 212.

⁷ See Smith, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 211.

to a local variation in the pronunciation caused by Anglo-Norman influence, as is probably the case in such forms as *Rachenhild* (< ON *Ragnhildr*), *Echebrand*, *Æche-* (< OGerm. *Egbrand*), *Eche-frid* (< OE *Ecfrid*); cf. also the appearance of *c* and *k* for *g* in the same source, e. g. *Alcot* (< ODan. *Algot*), *Hakena*, *Hakene* (< ODan. *Haghni*), *Wicolf* (< ON *Wigulfr*), *Eculf* (< OE *Ecgwulf*), etc.⁸ A good parallel is also the place-name *Skegby* in Thurgarton wapentake, Nottinghamshire, containing the OScand. personal name *Skeggi*, which in *Domesday Book* appears as *Scachebi*.⁹ Also in younger sources *k* appears for *g*, e. g. in the identical *Skegby* in Broxtow wapentake, Nottinghamshire, written *Skekeby* 1199.¹⁰

The forms adduced by Ekwall are too few for a safe judgement whether the first element in *Bagthorpe* in Norfolk originally contained a *g* rather than a *k*. We have *Bache-* in DB and *Bake-* 1254, but *Bagge-* 1206 and 1291. Since it would be difficult to understand a change of *k* into *g* before *þ*, and since an original *g* is sometimes in DB represented by *ch* and in later sources by *k*, it seems to me to be a natural conclusion that the form *Bachestorp* in DB represents an actual form **Bagget(h)orp* and shows an inorganic genitive-*s* as is not infrequently the case in this source; cf. *Tovetune* and *Tolve-stone* (ON *Tófi*), *Udesburg* and *Udeburg* (OE *wudu*, m. "wood," a *u*-stem), *Wilesforde* (probably OE *Willa*) in Nottinghamshire.¹¹

In my opinion, there is good reason to believe that the two now homonymous names *Bagthorpe* in Nottinghamshire and Norfolk were originally identical, and that the first element is OScand. *Bagga-*. But the interpretation of the element given in *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 131, as the gen. of the personal name *Baggi* is not complete.

It is true that *Baggi* is a well evidenced given name in Denmark and Sweden, but it is unknown in Iceland and the territory of present-day Norway. *DGP*, col. 90, knows from Denmark three, possibly four, medieval men by this name. Lind, *Dopnamn*, col. 118, adduces three persons so named from the province of Bohuslän, today belonging to Sweden but in medieval time to Norway. The oldest form is dated 1334. From Sweden are, according to Lundgren-Brate-Lind, *Sv. personnamn*, p. 21, known three persons named *Bagge*, the first one recorded from 1292.

⁸ See Olof von Feilitzen, *The pre-conquest personal names of Domesday Book*, pp. 113, 119.

⁹ *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 190.

¹⁰ *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 133.

¹¹ *EPNS*, Vol. 17, pp. 152, 180, 251.

Much more often was *Baggi* used as a by-name or nick-name, and in this function it was also more widely distributed. *DGP*, Vol. 2, *Tilnavne*, col. 26 ff., lists no less than ca. 80 persons bearing this by-name, the oldest one from 1304. Lind, *Binamn*, col. 12, knows 15 instances from Norway before 1500, the oldest from 1328, and one from Iceland, recorded in 1392. Some of the Norwegians hailed from provinces that today belong to Sweden. Also in Sweden was *Baggi* frequently used as a by-name, evidenced the first time as *bage* in a diploma from 1293.¹² The wide geographical distribution as well as some place-names show that the by-name *Baggi* existed much earlier than is indicated by its occurrence in written sources. There is no doubt that it was well established during the Viking Age. Gradually it also came to be used as a given name, but to a lesser extent, due to its somewhat derogatory flavor in some areas. The meaning of Old West-Scand. *baggi*, m., was "a bag, a bundle." In modern Scand. dialects it denotes either a cocky, overbearing person or various lumpy or lumbering animals (calves, sheep, rams, small horses, certain insects) and persons. It seems quite clear that either a stuck-up behavior or the physical frame or structure originally gave occasion to nick-naming a person *Baggi*, but that the dyslogistic sense faded and the name could be used as a given name.¹³ — Walter Rye, *op. cit.*, p. 2, gives the interesting information that *Bagge* is still to be found in Norfolk as a personal name.

Many Scandinavian place-names, including more than 20 Swedish names ending in *torp*, include OSwed. *Bagga-* as the first element. In most cases it undoubtedly refers to persons (nick-)named *Baggi*. However, in Denmark and Sweden the appellative *baggi* was also used as a derogatory and facetious denotation of Norwegians.

¹² See *Svenskt Diplomatarium*, utgifvet af Joh. Gust. Liljegren, Vol. 2 (1834), p. 155; E. Hellquist, *Xenia Lideniana* (1912), p. 97; S. O. Nordberg, *Fornsvenskan i våra latinska originaldiplom före 1300* (Uppsala, 1926), p. 35; A. Janzén, *De fornsvenska personnamnen (= Nordisk Kultur, Vol. 7)*, p. 254.

¹³ On the etymology and meanings of the word *baggi* see F. Kluge, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, Vol. 10, pp. 441 ff.; Otto von Friesen, *Om de germanska medtageminatorna* (1897), pp. 97 ff., and *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 18 (1902), p. 56; Erik Brate, *ibid.*, Vol. 19, p. 231; Fredrik Tamm, *Etymologisk svensk ordbok* (1890–1905), pp. 20 f.; B. Kahle, *Die altwestnordischen Beinamen bis etwa zum Jahre 1400* (*Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 26), p. 202; Finnur Jónsson, *Tilnavne i den islandske oldlitteratur* (*Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1907), p. 292; Elof Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 46; *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* (hereafter abbreviated *SAOB*), B, col. 70 ff.

SAOB, B, col. 74, points out that this meaning of the word must be very old, since in *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 326, it is told that the Swedish ruler Birger Jarl in 1225 ordered those in his entourage to be civil and respectful to the Norwegian king Hákon and his courtiers that visited the Swedish court, forbidding them on penalty of death to call the guests "*bagga eða öðrum hæðyrðum.*" In Sweden, this use of the word is especially common in dialects close to the Norwegian border. Even the inhabitants of the province of Bohuslän, which is now Swedish but belonged to Norway until 1658, are still nick-named *baggar*, pl., by their neighbors in the province of Västergötland.

In the Swedish border districts towards Norway there is an obvious concentration of place-names containing the first element *Bagge-*. Even if some of these names may contain the personal (by-)name *Bagge* or denote some kind of animal it is evident that most of them contain the gen. sing. or plur., OSwed. *bagga*, of the appellative *bagge* "a Norwegian." Therefore I hold that, for instance, the name *Baggetorp* in the province of Dalsland, not very far from the Norwegian border, more likely contains the appellative than the personal name.¹⁴ I have the same opinion about the place-name *Baggetorp* in the border province of Värmland.¹⁵

In the Danelaw during the early Middle Ages the situation was somewhat similar to that in Scandinavia. There were Danes, Swedes and Norwegians living in neighboring settlements. It is, then, quite natural that a Norwegian habitation by Danes or Swedes was called *Bagga-þorp*, signifying the people or the man who lived there by the facetious appellative. Therefore, the interpretations of the twice occurring English place-name *Bagthorpe* and the earlier mentioned *Bagletts* should include both alternatives, viz. the (by-)name *Bagge* or the facetious appellative *bagge*, in the singular or plural genitive. This applies also to *Bag Dale* (*Bagdalesclose* 1407) and *Bagby* (*Bag(h)ebi* 1086 DB, *Baggaby* 1158–66) in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which in *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 145, 189, are interpreted as containing the personal name *Baggi*, and possibly some other names in the Danelaw that contain *Bag(g)-* as the first syllable.

¹⁴ *Sveriges ortnamn, Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län*, Vol. 18, pp. 2ff., mentions only the personal name.

¹⁵ *Sveriges ortnamn, Ortnamnen i Värmlands län*, Vol. 5, p. 20, refers only to the personal name.

Tidkinhow

A farm in Stanghow township, Skelton parish, Langbargh East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, bears the name *Tidkinhow*, pronounced *tiŋkinəu* and recorded as *Tidkinhowe* 1575. According to *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 148, the last element of this name is ON *haugr* "a hill, a mound" and the first "a late pet-form of some such personal name as OE *Tydi*, *Tidi*."

This interpretation is no doubt possible, but it operates with considerable difficulties and improbabilities of which the major ones seem to be the following.

1. The last element is a Scandinavian word, and therefore the first element normally would be a word of the same origin. However, hybrid names do occur.

2. The proposed personal name **Tyd(i)kin*, **Tid(i)kin* has not been evidenced.

3. No other personal name derived by the original Low German diminutive ending *-kin* can be established in the place-nomenclature of the North Riding of Yorkshire, not even if field names and other minor names are taken into consideration. If formations in *-kin* existed at all in this area, they must have been of extremely rare occurrence.

4. The assumed bases for the proposed *kin*-formation, OE *Tydi*, *Tidi*, are of uncertain provenance. It is possible that *Tidi*, at least partly, came from Scandinavia, where an OSwed. name *Tipe* existed,¹⁶ but *Tydi* is hard to trace. It is possible that both *Tidi* and *Tydi*, like many other OE names in *-i*, *-e*, were hypocoristic or diminutive formations.¹⁷ If that is true, there was hardly any need for another, foreign, suffix with the same function.

When these and other circumstances are considered, a ME name **Tyd(e)kin*, **Tid(e)kin* appears somewhat strange and rather unlikely, particularly in the North Riding of Yorkshire, the heart of Scandinavian England. I like to advance another suggestion which, I think, is at least as worthy of attention as the one given in *EPNS*.

The first element is undoubtedly a personal name, which is in conformity with the observation that *haugr* according to *EPNS*,

¹⁶ Lundgren-Brate-Lind, *Sv. personnamn*, p. 279.

¹⁷ See R. Müller, *Über die Namen des nordhumbrischen Liber Vitæ (= Palæstra*, Vol. 9), pp. 68f.; Mats Redin, *Studies on un-compounded personal names in Old English* (Uppsala, 1919), pp. 124, 128, and the literature quoted.

Vol. 5, p. 149 (cf. p. 327), in the area here concerned "seems to be most frequently coupled with a pers. name." I suggest as the first element the well known OSwed. name *Tiþkumi*.¹⁸ This assumption needs, however, a few explanatory and supporting comments.

Phonologically and phonetically, the actual form *Tidkinhow* represents the result of a natural development from early OSwed. **Tiþkuma-haugR*.¹⁹ The change of post-vocalic *m* to *n* is well evidenced in OE. Already in *Domesday Book* there are several instances, e.g. *Arnegrin* < ON *Arngrimr*, *Vlgrin* < ON **Ulþgrimr*, *Offran* < OE *Ōsfram*, etc.²⁰ — The unstressed *u* was, at least in the late OE or early ME period, reduced to *e*.²¹ The further change to *i* was either due to assimilation into identity with the vowel in the first syllable (progressive vowel assimilation) or possibly to association with the ending *-kin*, or both.

In the form *Tiþkin-* the consonant combination *-þk-* was bound to change in one way or another. The actual development into *-ŋk-* was caused by a tendency to give both consonants the same basis of articulation and make them homorganic, in which case the phonetically weaker fricative *þ* had to yield to the stronger explosive *k*.

The OSwed. personal name *Tiþkume* seems to have been used in a very small area in central Sweden west of the present capital of Stockholm, viz. in Södermanland and the southern part of Uppland. It is known only from runic inscriptions from the middle of the 11th century. Obviously, it became extinct during the first half of the Middle Ages, probably already in the late 11th century. Six men by name of *Tiþkume* are known, one of whom was a runecarver who signed eight inscriptions known today.²²

The northern part of Yorkshire was invaded by the Danes in 875, and during the following years many of them settled down as

¹⁸ OSwed. *þ* is here equivalent to ON *ð*.

¹⁹ In central Sweden, monophthongization of the Proto-Norse diphthongs did not take place until after 1050; see E. Wessén, *Svensk språkhistoria* (1951), Vol. 1, pp. 20f.

²⁰ See Olof von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 84f.

²¹ K. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (1921), p. 489; O. von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²² See *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Vol. 3, pp. 56, 160, 267; Vol. 6, pp. 117f.; 146f.; Vol. 8:1, pp. 269f. — About the etymology of the name see Erik Brate and Sophus Bugge, *Runverser* (*Antikvarisk tidskrift för Sverige*, Vol. 10, 1891), p. 337; Erik Brate, *Svenska runristare*, p. 61, and the modification in *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Vol. 8, p. 270.

farmers. Early in the next century a new invasion began, this time of Norwegians from Ireland and other Norwegian settlements in the British Isles. It is true that in the particular region here concerned, where Tidkinhow is situated, the place-nomenclature shows a more thorough penetration of Norwegians than of Danes. But the Danish element was by no means inconsiderable. In Langbargh East wapentake at least *Danby* (twice; *Daneby* 1086 DB) and probably some others of the names ending in *-by* as well as a few names containing *-thorp*, e.g. *Thorp* (*Torp* 1086 DB; now *Pinchinthorpe*), *Ugthorpe* (*Ug(h)ethorp* 1086 DB), *Roskelthorpe* (*Roschel torp* 1086 DB) give evidence of Danish settlements. According to a tradition related in *Whitby Cartulary* (manuscript from the 15th century) two Danish chieftains destroyed in 870 the monastery of *Streonæshalch* in Whitby Strand, which is only ca. 15 miles from Tidkinkow. We also know that Scandinavian emigration to the Danelaw, including northern Yorkshire, continued into the 11th century until the days of the Conquest.²³

But is there, then, much probability that an immigrant, *Tiþkume*, from central Sweden settled down as a landowner or tenant in northern Yorkshire? Yes, indeed there is. Many warriors from the southern and central parts of Sweden took part especially in the Danish expeditions to England and many stayed there for good.

About twenty runic inscriptions in Sweden bear witness of Swedish men, several from the same district where the name *Tiþkume* was used, who sailed to England in peaceful or warlike errands. The by-name *Ænglandsfari*, meaning "a traveler to England," occurs on a stone from Gamla Uppsala in Uppland. On another stone from Bårresta in the same province is mentioned a certain man *Ulver* who took part in three viking expeditions to England, where he collected the Danegeld. Other inscriptions from Uppland tell about several other men who went to England.

Of great interest for the problem here discussed is a rune stone found at Husby-Lyhundra church in Uppland. The inscription on this stone says that four brother erected the stone in memory of a

²³ About the invasions of Scandinavians in Yorkshire and their effects on the place-nomenclature see Johannes Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, Vol. 2 and 3 (1878, 1882); Alexander Bugge, *Vikingene*, Vol. 2 (1906), pp. 237 ff.; Harald Lindkvist, *Middle-English place-names of Scandinavian origin* (1912), pp. XLIV ff.; *EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. xx ff.; etc.

fifth brother, named Sven, and continues: "He died in Jutland [in Denmark]. He was traveling to England." Sven B. F. Jansson, who gives the now quoted information about these inscriptions,²⁴ comments on this stone:²⁵ "It is also valuable to get the information that Sven was on his way to England. It makes us believe that he, like many other 'svear' [i. e. men from central Sweden] had sailed to join the fleet which under Knut's command prepared itself for the attack which in 1016 resulted in Knut's becoming king of England."

A stone from Gåsinge church in the province of Södermanland gives the names of two men who had been "westwards," i. e. in England, probably taking part in King Knut's expedition. From Aspa in the central part of the same province is a stone erected in memory of a certain man Öpir, who had fought in England. Several other stones from Södermanland honor men who died in England.²⁶ Also from runic inscriptions found in the province of Östergötland, south of Södermanland, we learn about Swedes that took part in Knut's battles in England.²⁷

Thus, a surprisingly large number of runic inscriptions give information about men from central Sweden who traveled to England in the first half of the 11th century. They all joined the Danish expeditions. There is no doubt that a considerable part of the Danish hords of invaders and settlers in England came from central Sweden.

If my interpretation of the English place-name *Tidkinhow* is correct, we here have a testimony, on English soil, of a man from Södermanland or southern Uppland who in the first half of the 11th century joined the Danes that settled down as farmers in north-eastern England.

Bollam Beck

In the parish of Laxton in the South Clay division of Bassetlaw wapentake in Nottinghamshire is a stream called *Bollam Beck*. According to *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 299, this name is on record in the following forms: *Ballandebec* 1226, *Balandebec* 1232, *Bollam Beck* 1625. No interpretation of the name is given.

²⁴ Sven B. F. Jansson, *Svenska utlandsfärder i runinskrifternas ljus* (= *Svenska spår i främmande land*, Vol. 3), pp. 32 ff.; see also Otto von Friesen, *De svenska runinskrifterna* (= *Nordisk Kultur*, Vol. 6), pp. 203 ff. ²⁵ Translation by Janzén.

²⁶ About these stones from Södermanland see Otto von Friesen, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 ff.; *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Vol. 3, *passim*.

²⁷ See Otto von Friesen, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 f.; *Sveriges runinskrifter*, Vol. 2, *passim*.

Nottinghamshire is in the area that was colonized first by Danes in 870's. The place-nomenclature in this county shows a large percentage of Scandinavian names and gives the impression of an intensive Danish settlement; see *EPNS*, Vol. 17, pp. XVI ff. In the neighborhood of Bollam Beck are such obviously Scandinavian names as *Bilsthorpe* (*Bildestorp* 1086 DB; gen. of the OScand. personal name *Bildr* + *þorp* "an outlying farmstead"²⁸, *Eakring* (*Ec(he)ringhe* 1086 DB; OScand. *eik*, f. "an oak" + *hringr*, m. "a ring"), *Gamston* (*Gamelestune* 1086 DB; gen. of the OScand. personal name *Gamall* + *tūn* "an enclosure, a farm"), *Walesby* (*Walesbi* 1086 DB; gen. of the OScand. personal name *Valr* + *byr* "a farm, a village"), and many others.

In the light of the thorough Danish penetration of Nottinghamshire and the fact that the last element in *Bollam Beck* is OScand. *bekkr*, m. "a small stream," it is only natural to seek a Scandinavian word also as the first element. Such a word is not difficult to find.

I suggest the first element, in the 13th century recorded as *Bal(l)ande-*, to be the present participle of the same verb as Norw. dial. *bala* "to make noise, to roar,"²⁹ early Mod. Swed. *bala* "to yell, to bleat,"³⁰ closely related to ON *belja* "to bellow,"³¹ *belja*, f. "a cow,"³² Norw. Dial. *belja* "to low," *belje*, n. "lowing,"³³ Middle Dutch *belen* "to bark,"³⁴ and such formations on the weak ablaut grade as ON *bulja* "to resound, to roar," *bylr*, m. "a squall, a gust of wind,"³⁵ Norw. dial. *byl*, m. "lowing."³⁶ A wider distribution have derivative formations with long postvocalic stem consonant, e.g. ON *bella* "to hit with a cracking sound,"³² OHG *bellan* "to bark,"³⁷ OE *bellan* "to roar, bark, bellow,"³⁸ ON *bjalla*, f., Mod. Danish *bjelde* (*ld* orthographic for *ll*), OE *belle*, f., MLG *belle*, f., "a

²⁸ The OScand. words are given in OIcel. orthography, although the settlements in most cases were Danish.

²⁹ I. Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog* (1875), p. 40; H. Ross, *Norsk Ordbog* (1895), p. 33.

³⁰ *SAOB*, B, col. 149.

³¹ R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (1957), p. 57.

³² Erik Jonsson, *Oldnordisk Ordbog* (1863), p. 49.

³³ Aasen, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

³⁴ J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch handwoordenboek* (1911), p. 72.

³⁵ Claesby-Vigfusson, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³⁶ Aasen, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 93.

³⁷ E. G. Graff, *Althochdeutscher Sprachschätz*, Vol. 3 (1837), col. 91.

³⁸ C. W. M. Grein, *Sprachschätz der angelsächsischen Dichter* (1912), p. 42; J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Vol. 1 (1882), p. 82.

bell.”³⁹ The weak ablaut vowel occurs in Mod. Icel. *bulla* “to boil up,”⁴⁰ Norw. dial. *bulla* “to bubble like boiling water, to roar, jabber,”⁴¹ OHG *bullon* “to bellon.”⁴²

The long *l* is usually explained as due to an assimilation of *lz* or *ln* in Proto-Germanic **belz-* or *beln-*,⁴³ but it may equally well have developed through an intensifying or iterative lengthening.⁴⁴ J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 123, seems to have the same opinion when he explains the long *l*-sound as the result of “Konsonantenschärfung in der Schallwurzel.”

About river-names containing onomatopoeic words as well as formations in *-ande* denoting waterfalls and rapids see Janzén, *Names*, Vol. 6, pp. 17, 21.

Ruswarp

Ruswarp, pronounced *ruzəp*, is the name of a township in Whitby parish, Whitby Strand wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire. The following older forms are known: *Risewarp(e)*, *Ryse-* 1145 to 1351, *passim*, *Riswarp* 1316, *Ruswarp Carr* 1623, *Ruswarpe* 1665.

In interpreting this name A. H. Smith, *EPNS*, Vol. 5, p. 125, lays stress upon the fact that *Ruswarp* is on the north bank of the river Esk, which leads him to the identification of the last element with a Yorkshire dialect word *warp* “the sediment deposited by a river, an accumulation of mud checking the flow of a river” (North Riding), also occurring as the first element in *warp-land* “land

³⁹ Cleasby-Vigfusson, *op. cit.*, p. 64 (*bjalla* incorrectly considered an English loan-word in Iceland; so also *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. 1 (1933), p. 784); *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, Vol. 2, col. 729; Bosworth-Toller, *loc. cit.*; K. Schiller and A. Lübben, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1 (1875), p. 226.

⁴⁰ Cleasby-Vigfusson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁴¹ Aasen, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁴² Graff, *op. cit.*, col. 92.

⁴³ See, for instance, F. Tamm, *Etymologisk svensk ordbok* (1890–1905), p. 39; H. F. Falk and A. Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 1 (1910), p. 76; A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 26; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 75; F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1957), p. 64; A. Johannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 629; Jan de Vries, *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1957), p. 32.

⁴⁴ A. Torp, *op. cit.*, p. 15, and Johannesson, *loc. cit.*, hold that such words as Mod. Icel., Norw. dial. *bala* “to drudge, to live in toil and toil,” Faroese *balast* “to walk along drudgingly” belong to the same root as the words quoted above. This assumption must be wrong because of the striking difference in meaning; cf. E. Hellquist, *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, Vol. 14 (1898), pp. 5f.

formed by the silt of a river" (East Riding)⁴⁵. Smith goes on to say that this meaning is required by the geographical situation of Ruswarp, and furthermore he states that this word *warp* is "identical in form with" ON *varp*, n., *varpa*, f., found in the Norwegian place-name *Varpet* (O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 1, p. 218, etc.⁴⁶) Barely acceptable is his statement that "the root idea of the whole series is 'something cast up' from *varpa* 'to throw, cast'," since it should be noted that the ON verb *varpa* is a secondary *ön*-formation derived from the primary verbal root in ON *verpa* (*varp*, *orpinn*), Goth. *wairpan*, OSax. *werpan*, OHG *werfan*, OE *weorpan* "to throw." In referring to the "root idea" it would be more appropriate to refer to the root verb just adduced.

Smith asserts, rightly enough, that the first element in *Ruswarp* is ON *hrís*, n. "shrub, brushwood." He gives the meaning of the place-name as "silt-land overgrown with brushwood." Thus, he assumes that the name is a hybrid formation, the first element being Scandinavian, the second, Anglo-Saxon. — In principle, I have no objection to this assumption, since hybrid names do occur in small numbers, in areas that were thoroughly penetrated by Scandinavian settlers, but it reduces the probability of his interpretation.

The change of *Ris(e)-* to *Rus-* is according to Smith, *loc. cit.*, "probably due to the influence of *w* especially in the neighbourhood of *r*." As parallels are adduced the following names from the North Riding: *Ruddings* (p. 85; *le Ridding* 1262; not a good parallel, since the environment of the stem vowel, whatever its origin is, is different from that of *Ruswarp*); *Runneswick* (p. 139; *Reneswike* 1273, *Rinneswyk* 1293; the stem vowel of the first element is here uncertain, but definitely not identical with that in *Ruswarp*, and the phonetic environment is partly different); *Russwick* (p. 241; pronounced *ruzik*; *Risenwic(k)* 1086 DB; this is a perfect parallel).

A. H. Smith, *Elem.*, Vol. 1, p. 265, Vol. 2, p. 229, repeats his interpretation of *Ruswarp* as *hrís-varp*, but Vol. 2, p. 248, he gives as an alternative identification of the second element OE *wearp(e)*, meaning either "an osier or twig" or "silted land."

E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 379, identifies the second element with OE *geweorp* "throwing" etc., Engl. dial. *warp* "silt, silt land."

⁴⁵ J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, Vol. 6 (1905), pp. 387 f.

⁴⁶ See O. Rygh, *Norske Gaardnavne*, Vol. 19, *Fællesregister* (1936), p. 319.

I consider any of these suggestions possible, but hardly probable. I am inclined to regard another interpretation as being more likely. Ruswarp is situated in Whitby Strand wapentake, where the Scandinavian settlement was so thorough that the place-names of native English origin comprise a small minority in comparison with the Scandinavian names. From the same parish as *Ruswarp EPNS*, Vol. 5, pp. 119ff., adduces, besides *Ruswarp*, 27 definitely Scandinavian habitational names and 8 Anglo-Saxon ones. Four names could have either origin. Thus, there are more than three Scandinavian names to a native name. None of them seem to be hybrid compounds. In the light of this distribution it is methodically preferable in the first place to seek a Scandinavian origin of *Ruswarp*, especially since there is a very simple one.

In modern Scandinavian dialects the word *varp* (in some Norwegian dialects *verp*), n., means among other things "a heap of something thrown up or together, especially stones and twigs." Such cairns and twig heaps were thrown up along roads, especially at crossroads, in places where someone had died by misadventure or homicide. This was done as a protective measure against revenants or for some other reason. The heaps would sometimes grow into considerable proportions, and many still exist today. The word *warp* in this sense often occurs in Scandinavian place-names, some of which are of medieval origin. Obviously, the practice of throwing stones or twigs together in heaps is very old.⁴⁷

In my opinion, the most probable origin of the English place-name *Ruswarp* is ON **hrísvarp*, n. "a heap of twigs thrown up (for some reason)." This interpretation has a strong support in the fact that the place in question is situated at a crossroad. Cf. *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1956, p. 632: "Formerly, in England, suicides were buried in such places, i. e. crossroads, with a stake driven through the body." This could perhaps be the reason for the name *Ruswarp*.

⁴⁷ About the meaning of the word see Aasen, *op. cit.*, p. 925; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 889; J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, p. 831; *Norsk riksmålsordbok*, Vol. 2, col. 3822; *Ordbog over det danske sprog*, Vol. 26, col. 643.— On folklore attached to the heaps, see A. F. Schmidt, *Danske Studier*, Vol. 26 (1929), pp. 40 off.; S. Erixon, *Fataburen*, 1929, pp. 117 ff.; K. Frankman, *Skånes hembygdsförenings årsbok*, 1932; Olaf Hansen, *Maal og minne*, 1938, pp. 113 ff.; C. M. Bergstrand, *Västergötlands Fornminnesförenings tidskrift*, 1936, *Hembygden* (Göteborg, 1936), pp. 83 ff., *Folkminnen och Folk-tankar*, Vol. 23 (1936), pp. 71 ff., Vol. 25 (1938), pp. 16 ff., *Vår bygd*, 1937, pp. 53 ff.

Already in 1912, Harald Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, p. LXII, disregarded by A. H. Smith and E. Ekwall, came very close to the same interpretation. He identified the first element with ON *hris*, n. "shrubs, brushwood" and the second with *varp*, n., in the sense of "something thrown together, amassed," but he thought that the name would signify "a piled-up heap of brushwood." In my opinion, the name has the more specific meaning indicated above.

Silverdale

In Warton parish, Lonsdale hundred, South of the Sands, Lancashire, is a village named *Silverdale*, located on Morecambe Bay. It is known in the following older forms: *Selredal* 1199 and 1246, *de Selledal* 1246, *Selledal* 1341, *Celverdale* 1292, *Siluerdale* 1320—46, *Silverdale* 1382 and 1507.

H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *The place-names of Lancashire* (1911), p. 232, confuse old forms of this name with those of another name and suggest the explanation "the dale of Sigeweald, or Sigwarð." — John Sephton, *A handbook of Lancashire place-names* (1913), p. 38, who did not know all the older forms, reconstructed the name as **Selefrithdale* and assumed the first element to be an OE personal name. Neither of these suggestions is worthy of attention.

E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire* (1922), pp. 189f., gives the following interpretation: "Silverdale proper is no doubt the valley in which the church stands. The name simply means 'silver valley'. It refers to the silver-grey rocks that form a prominent characteristic of the place. Such lime-stone rocks are found especially in the high ridge N. of the church (called Silverdale Nab by West, *Guide to the Lakes*, 1778), at the cove near the sea where Cove Hall is, and in the hill E. of the church. No doubt these cliffs were formerly to be seen in more places than they are now."

In his place-name dictionary (*Dict.*, p. 403), Ekwall repeats this interpretation. A. H. Smith, *Elem.*, Vol. 2, p. 119, accepts Ekwall's explanation, and since he gives the second element as OE *dæl* he obviously regards the name as a native English **Seolfor-dæl*.

It is, however, as Ekwall points out in his survey of the Lancashire place-names (pp. 9f.), "impossible to decide with certainty" to what extent *dale* in this area is English or Scandinavian. It is reasonable to assume that *dale* names in which the first element is

a native word contain *dæl*, while such names that have a Scandinavian first element — there are many of them — also have the Scandinavian word *dalr* as the second element. Ekwall adduces such obviously Scandinavian compounds as *Skelmerdale* (ON **Skjaldmarr*, a personal name), *Birkdale* (ON *birki*, n. “a birch-copse”), *Kirkdale* (On *kirkja*, f. “a church”), *Ulvesdale* (ON *Ulfr*, a personal name), *Bleasdale* (On *Blesi*, a personal name or Norw. dial. *blesa*, f. “a bare spot on a hill-side,” Swed. dial. *bläsa*, f. “an opening between hills”), *Grizedale* (twice; ON *gríss*, m. “a pig,” possibly in the function of a personal (by-)name), *Ewe Dale* (probably ON *ulfr*, m. “a wolf”). Ekwall also gives the information that the first element of names in *-dale* frequently is a river-name.

Ekwall evidently assumes that *v* facultatively disappeared in interconsonantal position, as for instance in OE *Elricus*, *Alricus* < *Ælfric(us)*, *Vlricus* < *Wulfric(us)*.⁴⁸ It is, however, conspicuous that the three *oldest* forms have no *v*. There is, then, a possibility that the name originally had no *v*, but that later association with *silver*, for which there in this case was good reason, caused the transformation. That has happened in other names, e.g. *Silverdale* in West Derby hundred, Lancashire (*Syfrethelegh* 1202, *Siuerdeleg* 1241),⁴⁹ *Silverton* in Devonshire (*Sulfretone* 1086 DB),⁵⁰ *Silverstone* in Northamptonshire (*Silvestone* 1086 DB; *Siulf* < *Sigewulf*).⁵¹

In my opinion it is plausible that the name *Silverdale* in Lonsdale hundred of Lancashire is a Scandinavian name, viz. ON **Sillrudalr*, the first element being the gen. of a name of a stream **Sillra*. This word would be the same as Norw. and West-Swed. dial. *sil(d)ra* (*d* is an insertion), f. “a very small book, a rill, a rivulet,”⁵² closely related to Norw. dial. *silder*, n., Swed. dial. *siller*, n. “a small smooth-flowing brook or rill.”⁵³ These nouns are derived from the verb Norw. and West-Swed. dial. *sil(d)ra* “to trickle, to flow in gentle stream.”⁵⁴ *Sildra* as a name of small streams is known twice

⁴⁸ O. von Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 180, 424.

⁴⁹ John Septhon, *loc. cit.*, E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 189, n. 3.

⁵⁰ Ekwall, *Dict.* p. 403.

⁵¹ *EPNS*, Vol. 10, pp. 43f.; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 403.

⁵² Aasen, *op. cit.*, p. 650; *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, Vol. 18, p. 14; J. H. Rietz, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

⁵³ Rietz, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ See, besides the works just quoted, Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 643; A. Torp, *Nymorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 579; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 899.

from Norway⁵⁵ and at least once from western Sweden, in the def. form *Sillran*.⁵⁶

I have not been able to find a stream on the maps available to me, but such a small stream as indicated by the name is not likely to appear on any map.

I consider it possible that the name *Silver Beck* in Cumberland (*Siluerbeck* 1285 and 1292, *Silver Beck* 1794), which by Ekwall, *English river-names*, p. 366, *EPNS*, Vol. 20, p. 29, and A. H. Smith, *Elem.*, Vol. 2, p. 119, is interpreted as "presumably" derived from *silver* and referring to clear water, is an original ON **Sillru-beckr*, although no form without *v* is known.

Galtrebusk

Galtrebusk in a manuscript from 1240 is the only form known of a field name in Nottinghamshire. According to *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 277, the meaning of this name may be "gallows-tree bush." Since *busk* evidently is the same word as ON *buskr*, m. "a bush, brush-wood," it is likely that the first element also is Scandinavian, i.e. ON *galg(a)-tre*, n. "a tree used as a gallows."⁵⁷ Should it be native, we would have OE *gealg-trēow*.⁵⁸ The -g- would undoubtedly disappear in the middle of the three-consonantal cluster; cf. *Gawber* in the south-western part of Yorkshire, written *Galghbergh* 1304, *Galberg* 1379.⁵⁹

Thus, the interpretation given is quite possible, but nonetheless I am inclined to prefer another explanation which is simpler and therefore perhaps more plausible. I suggest that the name is OScand. **Galtar-buskr*, containing the gen. sing. of the personal name ON *Goltr*, m., ODan. *Galt*, m., the same word as the appellative ON *goltr*, m., ODan. *galt*, m. "a hog, a boar."

Galt has been recorded only once as a given name, viz. from the province of Skåne in southernmost Sweden,⁶⁰ earlier belonging to Denmark, but as a by-name it seems to have been frequently

⁵⁵ O. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne* (1904), p. 211.

⁵⁶ *Sveriges ortnamn, Ortnamnen i Älvsborgs län*, Vol. I: 2, p. 14, Vol. 18, p. 119.

⁵⁷ Johan Fritzner, *op. cit.*, pp. 540f.

⁵⁸ C. W. M. Grein, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁵⁹ A. Goodall, *Place-names of south-west Yorkshire*, p. 144; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 185.

⁶⁰ *DGP*, I. *Fornavne*, col. 336.

used at least in Denmark⁶¹ and is known also from western Scandinavia, where the weak *by*-form *Galti* is more common both as a given name and a *by*-name.⁶² Furthermore, and more important, it existed as a *by*-name in the Danelaw, from where a certain *Gilbert galt* from the 13th century is mentioned in the Hundred Rolls.⁶³

There is nothing strange in the fact that a compound place-name ending in *-busk* has a personal name as the first element. *EPNS*, Vol. 17, p. 277, adduces from the same county two parallels, viz. *Alberdesbuske* and *Hastolfsbuskes*, both recorded in fourteenth century sources.

It is normal that the OScand. gen. sing. ending *-ar* in compounds appears as *-re* (besides *-er*) in medieval English sources, e.g. *Aismunderby* in Yorkshire: *Asmundrebi* 1086 DB, *Asmondreby*, 1311 (< OScand. *Āsmundar-*); *Amotherby* in Yorkshire: *Aimundrebi*, *Edmundrebia* 1086 DB, *Aymondreby* 1303 (< OScand. *Eymundar-*); *Londonthorpe* in Lincolnshire: *Lundrethorp* 1200–01 (< OScand. *Lundar-*); and many others.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *DGP*, II, *Tilnavne*, col. 320, lists 16 persons *by*-named *Galt*.

⁶² Lind, *Binamn*, col. 98, 128; O. Rygh, *Gamle Personnavne i norske Stedsnavne*, pp. 78f.

⁶³ *Rotuli Hundredorum, tempore Henr. III et Edw. I, Record. Comm.* (London, 1812–18), Vol. 1, p. 440; Ch. W. Bardsley, *A dictionary of English and Welsh surnames* (1901), p. 306; Erik Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittelenglischer Zeit* (= *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, Vol. 37), p. 45.

⁶⁴ The names here listed were taken from H. Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff.