

Scandinavian Place Names in England. IV.

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LEGBARROW POINT, LEGBURTHWAITE

At the confluence of two rivers, the Crake and the Leven, in Colton parish, Lonsdale hundred, Lancashire, stands a prominent, although not very high, wood-clad point named *Legbarrow Point*. The only older form recorded is *Legbarrow* 1577. E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Lancashire*), p. 217, gives the second element as ME *bergh* "a hill" and suggests that the name may be identical with the first element of *Legburthwaite* in Cumberland, "which is of doubtful origin."¹

Legburthwaite is the name of a farm in St. John's, Castlerigg and Wythburn parish, Allerdale below Derwent ward, Cumberland. Older forms are: *Legberthwait* 1303, *Lekburnthuayte* 1487, *Legburgthwayte* 1530, *Leybarthwaite* 1552, *Legbo(u)rthwat* 1563, *Legberthwayte* 1573, *Leigburthwaite* 1602, *Legburgthwate* 1695.

The last element of this name is ON *þveit*, f. "a clearing, a meadow," frequently found in place-names in northwestern England. But the interpretation of the first element *Legbur(g)*, *Legber-*, etc., presents considerable difficulties. R. Ferguson, *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland* (1856), p. 83, identified it with ON *lögberg*, n. "a law-mount". Later, H. Lindkvist in his doctoral dissertation *Middle-English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin* (1912), p. 116, note 5, considered the first member *Legbur(g)-*, etc., a now lost place-name, the original form of which he was "unable to trace", and he added that Ferguson's derivation "is quite unsupported by any evidence."

A different interpretation was given by W. J. Sedgefield, *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1915), p. 74. He suggested, without adducing older forms, that we compare the name

¹ The name *Legbarrow*, being of topographical character, is not included in the material treated by H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* and J. Sephton, *A Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names*.

Legbourne in Lincolnshire, and he added that the first element seems to be a personal name not recorded, perhaps terminating in *-beorn*.

EPNS, vol. 21, p. 313, from which most of the older forms were quoted, had this to say about *Legburthwaite*: "This is probably 'þveit at Leggr's be(o)rg,' a personal name found in *Leggsby*, L[incolnshire]. The absence of the genitival inflexion in northern England is not unusual. The disappearance by 1303 of the middle of the three consonants is quite explicable." — This interpretation was adopted by A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* (hereafter abbreviated Smith, *Elem.*), vol. 2, p. 220.

In my opinion, none of the suggested etymologies of *Legbarrow Point* and *Legburthwaite* is satisfactory. However, Ekwall was no doubt right when he held that *Legbarrow* and *Legbur-* may be of the same origin. It is certain that *-barrow* represents (the dative form) of OE *beorg* (Angl. *berg*), n. "a hill, a mount." As Smith, *Elem.*, vol. 1, p. 29, points out, in the Danelaw it is impossible to distinguish between OE *be(o)rg* and ON *berg* on a purely phonetic ground. On the other hand, *berg*, of either origin, easily became *-burg* as the second element in compounds, e.g. *Longburgh* (*Langeberg* 1279).² In the middle of a cluster of three consonants *g* quite naturally disappeared.

Thus, we have established that *Legbarrow* and *Legbur-* have an identical second element, viz. OE or ON *berg*. But what is *Leg-*?

Ferguson's interpretation of *Legbur-* as ON *lǫgberg* "a law-mountain" is unacceptable not so much because of Lindkvist's remark that it is unsupported by any evidence — this is often the case — but definitely on phonetical grounds. ME *e* cannot reflect ON *ǫ*, which instead corresponds with *a* or *o* in Scandinavian loan words in England, the former vocalism normally in old loan words, the latter in words that entered the English language comparatively late. But ON *ō*, derived from an *i*-umlauted *o*, did appear as ME *e*. Ferguson probably failed to see the difference between OIcel. *ō* as a later development of *ǫ*, i.e. *u*-umlauted *a*, and as an *i*-umlauted *o*.

Not much better is Sedgefield's guess that we have to do with an unrecorded personal name possibly ending on *-beorn*. Obviously, he regarded *Legbur-* as a native English element. His reference to *Legbourne* in Lincolnshire has, of course, no value, since he gives no

² *EPNS*, 20. 128.

interpretation of the latter name. We shall, however, later return briefly to this name.

Phonetically and morphologically possible is the interpretation as "Leggr's hill" suggested in *EPNS*, vol. 21. The genitival *-s* did disappear quite frequently, in some regions normally, in North-English names, and this took place already ca. 1150.³ There is no doubt that the Scandinavian (by)name *Leggr* is the first element of the place-name *Legsby* in Lincolnshire (*Lagesbi* 1086 Domesday Book [hereafter abbreviated DB], *Leggesbi* 1202 and 1212).⁴ But *Leggr* was a very rare name in Scandinavia. It is known once as a byname in *Landnámabók*,⁵ and three persons from the same family, two of whom were father and son, had *Leggr* as a given name.⁶ It is not evidenced from Sweden or Denmark. It does not appear in Domesday Book, and the only instance found in the Danelaw occurs in the just mentioned place-name *Legsby*. It would indeed be odd if this name should occur in three or four place-names in northern Danelaw, twice combined with *-berg*. As final element in compounded place-names, *-berg* is usually preceded by descriptive adjectives or nouns, words for vegetation, etc., but rarely by personal names.⁷

As a basis for the interpretation of the two names here discussed it should be noted that they both appear in the northwestern part of England where in the beginning of the 10th century the Norwegian invaders most thoroughly penetrated into the native population and where innumerable place-names are of Scandinavian origin. Since *Legbarrow* and *Legbur-* cannot be given an acceptable interpretation by means of Anglian or Celtic vocabulary, there is reason for searching for an explanation based on Scandinavian material, and since *Legburthwaite* as the last element has the Scandinavian word *þveit*, the rest of the name is most likely of the same origin.

³ See *EPNS*, 22. xliii; A. Janzén in *Namn och bygd*, 42 (1954), 15f., 18ff., and in *Names*, 5. 197.

⁴ E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1951; hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*), p. 281.

⁵ E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (hereafter abbreviated Lind, *Binamn*), col. 241.

⁶ E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden* (hereafter abbreviated Lind, *Dopnamn*), col. 731.

⁷ Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 29f.

In my opinion, the first element of *Legbarrow* and *Legbur-* may be identified with ON *leikr*, m. "a game, a play, a sport," which frequently appears in Scandinavian place-names. But before the supporting Scandinavian material is adduced I feel obliged to justify my interpretation phonetically. Is it possible that ON *Leik-* can appear as *Leg-* in northwestern England? Yes, I think it can be proved that this, under certain conditions, is a natural development. What has happened is that the ON diphthong *ei* has developed into *e*, the *k* has become *g* before *b*, and the quantity of the first syllable has changed from long vowel (diphthong) + short consonant to short vowel + long consonant. This was possible when the vowel was followed by two consonants in polysyllabic words.

When the ON diphthong *ei* was shortened, the result was \bar{e} ; cf. in the dialect of Kendal in Westmorland *kek* "to tip up (a cart)," from ON *keikja* "to bend backwards"; *rens* "to rinse," from ON *hreinsa* or the same word as Norw. dial. *reinska* "to rinse."⁸ In this dialect ON *ei* first became \bar{e} and, when shortened, *e*. In other dialects, where *ei* remained as diphthong, it developed directly into *e* when it was shortened. This happened also in Norwegian, e.g. in *Leksvold* (a *Leiksuaie* 1310), *Leknes* (i *Leiknesi* ca. 1360), etc.⁹

The weakening of *k* to *g* before *b* in the joint between two elements in a compound is far from unique. In England this change took place in, for instance, the following place-names: *Oglet* in Lancashire (*Okelot* 1321, *de Og(o)lot* 1323, containing OE *āc* "an oak-tree" or the OE personal name *Oca* or *Occa*), *Aigburth*, also in Lancashire (*Aykeberh* ca. 1200, *Aikeberh*, *Eikeberhe* ca. 1250, identical with ON *Eikiberg*),¹⁰ *Legbourne* in Lincolnshire (*Lecheburne* 1086 DB, *Leceburne* 1158; from OE *lece*, Mod. Engl. *leake* "a trickling stream, a brook" or ON *lækr*, m. "a brook" + OE *burna* "a stream"),¹¹ *Ogbourne* (*Ochebourne* 1086 DB, *Occheburna* 1133; a

⁸ See T. O. Hirst, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal* (1906), p. 23; A. Torp, *Norsk etymologisk ordbok*, pp. 265, 523.

⁹ *Norske Gaardnavne* (hereafter abbreviated *NG*), 5. 153; 12. 346.

¹⁰ Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 111.

¹¹ See G. S. Streatfield, *Lincolnshire and the Danes* (1884), p. 247; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 280; Smith, *Elem.*, 2. 23. I. Taylor, *Words and Places* (1885), p. 201, presented the unacceptable suggestion that *Legbourne* is a corruption of *Lögbourne*, which does not appear in the edition of 1911. — If both elements are native English words, which is generally believed, the name appears, as Streatfield remarked, to be an instance of tautology. Although such names do exist, it may be more probable that the name is

compound of the OE personal name *Occa* and *burna* "a spring, a stream").¹²

The change $k > g$ was accompanied or followed by shortening of the preceding stem vowel in *Digby* in Lincolnshire (*Dicbi* 1086 DB, *Diggebi* 1197, containing ON *dik(i)*, n. "a ditch"),¹³ *Ogbeare* in Cornwall (a compound of OE *āc* "an oak-tree" and *bearu* "a wood, a grove").¹⁴

It would probably be an easy task to multiply the instances here adduced, especially if one included the change of k to g before other voiced consonants than b , but the examples already given illustrate, I think, sufficiently the natural character of the postulated development.

Also in Scandinavia the change $k > g$ before b in joints between elements of compounds is well evidenced, for instance in such Swedish place-names as *Tibble* (*Thyböle*, *Thigbili*, etc. 1291; from **Pyk-böle* "the thickly populated or crowded farm"), *Tiggeby* (*Tyghby* 1382; from **Pyk-bÿ* "the crowded farm or village"), *EGgeby* (from **Ek-bÿ* "the farm or village with oak-tree or oak-trees," etc.)¹⁵ The only difference between the English and Swedish development of $-k + b-$ is that in the latter language the change continued beyond the stage $-gb-$ to complete assimilation into bb in some cases.

Also in Dutch place-names the same development occurred, e.g. *Begbergen* (*Beekbergen* 1314), *Eibergen* (< *Egbergen* < *Ekbergen*).¹⁶

Obviously, the development $k > g$ before b in the joint of a compound, partly with change of the quantitative conditions, took place in several areas of the western and northern domains of the

a hybrid formation containing ON *lækr* and OE *burna*. This would be easily understood if the original name of the stream was *Lækr*, to which the native population added *burna* in order to indicate the topographical nature of a stream.

¹² *EPNS*, 16. 303; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 332.

¹³ Cf. Streatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 282; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 138; Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 133.

¹⁴ Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 23.

¹⁵ About factors that furthered and prevented this sound change see A. Noreen in *Minnesskrift . . . tillägnad Professor Axel Erdmann* (1913), pp. 1ff.; Hj. Lindroth in *Namn och bygd*, 3 (1915), 37ff.; E. Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 1193 and *De svenska ortnamnen på -by* (1918), pp. 42f.; P. J. Åberg in *Namn och bygd*, 4 (1916), 174ff.

¹⁶ J. H. Gallé in *Nomina geographica neerlandica*, 3. 367; Hj. Lindroth, *op. cit.*, pp. 50f.

Germanic languages. But it did not happen always, only occasionally. It could easily be prevented if the first element of the compound was associated with the identical appellative. The fact that the change $k > g$ does not seem to have taken place in Norway and Iceland, at least not to the same extent as in Sweden and England, was probably partly due to such associations. In Iceland the case system did not break down at all, and in Norway it came about rather late. The association with the appellatives was therefore kept alive. Furthermore, the retention of the case endings in the first element of compounds prevented k and b from coming into immediate contact with each other.

In northern England there was in the native dialects, Celtic or Anglian, no appellative that could be associated with the first element *Leik-*. Consequently, the phonetical tendency of changing *-kb-* into the more homologous combination *-gb-* could operate unobstructed. On the other hand, it is possible that the English noun *leg* — hardly the rare Scandinavian (by)name *Leggr* — could have attracted the element *Leik-* in the course of its development into *Leg-*, but such an assumption is not at all necessary.

In the above discussion I have proved my claim that ON *Leikberg* in northwestern England quite naturally developed into *Legberg*, in which the weakly stressed second element could and did change in various ways to *barrow*, *burg*, etc.

All over Scandinavia there are numerous place-names, partly of considerable age, containing the first element Norw. *Leik-*, Swed. *Lek-*, and denoting places where games, races and other sports activities were held. The ON appellative *leikvöllr*, m., signifies such a play-ground and appears as place-name a few times in Norway and Sweden. More frequent are the synonymous place-names Norw. *Leikvang*, Swed. in *Lekwanga* 1388 (now lost), ON *Leikvangr*, plur. *-vangir*; Norw. *Leikve(n)*, *Løken*, Swed. *Lekene*, ON *Leikvín(i)*; Swed. *Lekslätt*, etc. Also more or less elevated places, hills, ridges, etc., were used as play-grounds, e.g. Norw. *Leikhammer* (ON *hamarr*, m. "a crag"), *Leikaas(en)*, Swed. *Lekås(en)*, *Lekåsa* (ON *áss*, m. "a rocky ridge"), Swed. *Lekberget*, *Lekberg(a)* (ON *berg*, n. "a hill"), and many others. In Heimskringla is mentioned a place called *Leikberg* in the now Swedish province of Bohuslän,

where king Eysteinn Haraldsson in 1147 conquered an army of native farmers.¹⁷

In Seascale parish, Allerdale above Derwent ward, Cumberland, is a place named *Laking How*. According to *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 433, the name contains the present participle of North-English dial. *lake* "to play," borrowed from ON *leika*, v., and ON *haugr*, m. "a hill." The anglicized form corresponds to ON **Leikandi-haugr* "the hill where one plays," with the participle in gerundival function.¹⁸

We can well imagine that the Scandinavian invaders of England brought with them many of the usages and customs of their native country, including the habit of holding games, tournaments, races, etc. Of course, the indigenous English population also practised sports of similar nature. I think such activities were once held at *Legbarrow*, *Legburthwaite* and *Laking How*.

The name *Leikethwaites* (*Leikethaites* ca. 1180, *Leikeththeit*, *Leikeththeit* ca. 1200) of a place in the township of Forton in Cockerham parish, Amounderness hundred, Lancashire, may according to Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, p. 117, contain either the Old West-Scandinavian man's name *Leikr* or the appellative *leikr*, m. "game, sport, play," indicating a play-ground intended for athletics of various kinds. The second element is ON *þveit*, f. (or possibly *þveiti*, n.) "a clearing, a paddock, a meadow," which in North-English dialects from the end of the 12th century onwards appeared in local records without *-w-* (*theit*, *thait*, etc.), depending on a spontaneous dialectal development.¹⁹ E. Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 252, adduces the name without interpretation. In my opinion, the name most likely refers to sports activities.

It is not impossible that the name *Laconby*, pronounced *leikanbi* (*Lakynbye*, *Lakenby* 1548), in Gosforth parish, Allerdale above Derwent ward, Cumberland, ought to be considered in connection with the names here discussed. *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 396, says that, although the recorded forms are late, the name may well be an ancient formation in *-by*, and that it may be identical with *Lackenby*

¹⁷ About Scandinavian place-names containing *Leik-* see, for instance, J. Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* (hereafter abbreviated Fritzner, *Ordbog*), 2. 274; *NG Indledning*, pp. 64f.; E. Wessén in *Namn och bygd*, 9 (1921), 103ff.

¹⁸ About the present participle in gerundival function see E. Wessén, *Svensk språkhistoria*, 3. 152f., and under the name *Dancing Gate* below.

¹⁹ H. Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

in the North Riding of Yorkshire, "in which the first element seems to be OIr *Lochán*." In *Names*, vol. 6, pp. 14ff., I have given the name *Lackenby* another interpretation but apart from that, the pronunciation *leikən-* of *Laconby* seems to prevent the assumption that it is identical with *Lackenby*, which has a short stem vowel in the first element. Perhaps *Laconby* reflects an older form **Lakingby* "the farm where games are held", an anglicized form of ON **Leikandibýr* of the same nature as *Laking How* above and *Dancing Gate* below, earlier written *Danson Yeate*, *Wampool* below, etc. But I cannot support this suggestion with other names in *-by* with the same or similar semantic relation between the elements. It would be theoretically possible to assume that the first element was an original genitive **Leikanda-* of a personal (by)name **Leikandi*, but no such name seems to have been recorded.

WODECASTMIRE, CAST RIGG

The field-name *Wodecastmire*, now lost, in Thursby parish, Cumberland ward, Cumberland, is recorded only once, viz. in an ancient deed from 1290. It is included in *EPNS*, vol. 20, p. 157, but only the last element *-mire* is interpreted. It is ON *mýrr*, f. "swampy ground, a bog," which frequently occurs in Cumberland field-names. But what is *Wodecast-*?

The part of Cumberland where this name belonged is swarming with Scandinavian place-names. The name of the parish is Scandinavian: *Thursby* (*Thoresby* ca. 1165) is ON *Þórisbýr*.²⁰ Since the last element *-mire* is a Scandinavian word, it is likely that also the rest of the name is of the same origin. I think *Wodecast-* should be seen in the light of the following Scandinavian words:

1. ON *við(ar)kǫstr*, m., OSwed. *viþ(a)kaster*, m., ODan. *withækast*, *uiþ-*, *weþ-*, m. "a pile of wood." In modern Swedish dialects the word *vedkast*, m., also denotes "a place where wood is piled," and it is possible that this meaning is old.²¹

2. Swed. (dial.) *vedkast*, *timmerkast*, n. "a precipice where wood or timber is thrown for further haulage, a lumber shoot." The sim-

²⁰ The man's name is by *EPNS*, 20. 154, somewhat inappropriately given as *Þóri* or *Þúri* for *Þórir* or *Þúrir*.

²¹ About the words quoted see Fritzner, *Ordbog*, 3. 929, 932; C. J. Schlyter, *Ordbok till Samlingen af Sveriges Gamla Lagar*, p. 718; K. F. Söderwall, *Ordbok*

plex *kast* is in Swedish and Norwegian place-names often used in the same meaning. *Timmerkastet* (def. sing.) is a place-name in the West-Swedish province of Bohuslän.²²

It appears probable that the element *Wodecast*- represents either ON *við(ar)køstr*, m. "a woodpile," or **viðkast*, n. "a precipice where wood is thrown down" and that ON *Við(ar)*- was early replaced by the synonymous and originally identical native word, ME *wood*, OE *wudu*. The gender of the last element in *Wodecast* is unknown, and consequently no linguistic criterion can be used for the identification of the word with one or the other of the two Scandinavian words. Of course, if there is no steep hill or ridge, the second alternative is automatically eliminated. I do not know whether the name now can be exactly localized. If not, no choice between the two possible interpretations is possible.

If the name now discussed should happen to denote a lumber shoot, it should be judged in conjunction with the name *Cast Rigg* of a place in Underskiddaw parish, Allerdale below Derwent ward, Cumberland. Earlier forms are: *Castrig'* 1279, *Castaryg* 1563, *Cas-taryk* 1564, *the Howe of Casteriggé* 1574, *Castrigge fell* 1601.

EPNS, vol. 21, p. 324, interprets the last element as either OE *hrycg* or ON *hryggr*, m. "an oblong hill, a ridge," both words frequently occurring in Cumberland field-names and often indistinguishable. About the first element it is said that it may be Old Anglian *cæster* "an ancient fort," although there is no trace of Roman or other ancient earthworks.

The interpretation is hardly convincing, even if it is phonetically defensible. But since the area here concerned is one where Scandinavian place-names are extremely common, I find reason to operate on the assumption that the name *Cast Rigg* is Scandinavian. In fact, I think it reflects an ON **Kast-hryggr*, in which the first element theoretically could be either *køstr*, m., or *kast*, n. (see above), or perhaps the verbal stem in *kasta* "to throw." Not without interest is the form *Castrigge fell* of 1601, in which the suffixed element is ME *fell*, borrowed from ON *fjall*, *fell*, n. "a hill, a mountain." This word

öfver svenska medeltidsspråket (hereafter abbreviated *Söderwall, Ordbok*), 2. 949, 964; J. E. Rietz, *Svenskt dialekt-lexikon*, p. 805; *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 26. 774f.

²² See *NG Indledning*, p. 59; *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län* (hereafter abbreviated *OGB*), 3. 184; 11. 85; 20: 1. 220.

usually denotes rather high and steep hills or ridges in North-English place-names, which to some extent speaks in favor of the interpretation as "the ridge with a lumber shoot." Semantic parallels would be such West-Scandinavian place-names as *Kastebergen*, *-berget*, *-haugen*.²³ Perhaps also the name *Scoat Fell* (*Le Scote* 1338, *Leescote* 1578) in Nether Wasdale parish, Allerdale above Derwent ward, Cumberland, is another semantic parallel, if E. Ekwall in *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 441, is right in his derivation of the name from ON *skot*, n. "a projecting piece of land, a rising hill," also "a place where timber is shot down a hill," which is well evidenced in Norway and western Sweden; cf., for instance, the Norwegian place-name *Skot* and numerous *Skottet* (def. sing.) and compounds with the first element *Skott(s)-* in the West-Swedish province of Bohuslän.²⁴ Smith, *Elem.* vol. 2, p. 126, concurs in this interpretation without comment.

It is possible that the first member of the name *Cotescue Park* (*Scotescogh*, *-skew* 14th century and 1610) in the North Riding of Yorkshire refers either to a lumber shoot or a self-triggered trap for hunting animals; cf. *Gaskow* below and *EPNS*, vol. 5, p. 255, where different interpretations are advanced.

In spite of what seems to give preference to the interpretation of *Cast Rigg* as a timber shoot, the possibility that the name refers to a hill on or by which wood was piled must not be ignored. Thus, again we have to stop at a *non licet*. Only familiarity with the places concerned or a thorough inspection of them can make a definite choice between the two linguistically equivalent alternatives possible.

DANCING GATE

In the same parish as *Cast Rigg* above is a place-name which on the 6" *Ordnance Survey Map* appears as *Dancing Gate*. Earlier forms are *Danson Yeate* 1571, *Dansinyeat* 1576, *Dansingyeat* 1592.

EPNS, vol. 21, p. 323, refers to the name *Danson Place*, *Dansinge Place* 1574 of an adjacent (or identical?) locality and assumes that it may contain the personal name *Danson*.

The second element is ME *gate* "a road," borrowed from ON *gata*, f. In local records from the 16th and 17th centuries this word was

²³ See *OGB*, 11. 81; 16. 157; *NG*, 1. 98.

²⁴ *NG*, 5. 288; 13. 135; *OGB*, *passim*.

regularly written *-yeat*, *-y(e)ate* and the like. *EPNS* considers the name a hybrid formation, but since the second element is a Scandinavian word and the place in question is located in area where Scandinavian place-names are as common as English ones, I feel inclined to interpret the name on the basis of Scandinavian place nomenclature.

There is in western Scandinavia a great number of field-names that contain the first elements *Dansar(e)-*, *Danser-*, *Danse-*, e.g. in Norway: *Danseraasen* (*aas*, m. "a ridge"), *-bakken*, *-bakkane* (*bakke*), m. "a hill, a slope"), *-fjeld* (*fjeld*, n. "a hill"), *-haugen* (*haug*, m. "a hill"), *Dansarberget*, *Dansefjeld*; in the West-Swedish province of Bohuslän, which in the Medieval Ages belonged to Norway: *Dansarebacken*, *-backarna* (*backe*, m. "a slope, a flat ground"), *-hällan* (*hälla*, f. "a flat rock"), *-kullen* (*kulle*, m. "a hill"); *-marken* (*mark*, f. "a ground, a field"), *Danseberget*, *-bergen*, *-kulle*; in the West-Swedish province of Västergötland: *Dansar-mossen* (*mosse*, m. "a bog"), etc. All these names, most of which denote eminences or hills, but in some cases flat pieces of land, indicate dancing in one form or another. Sometimes it appears that old ritual dances were executed, or the names refer to fairy dances, Midsummer Eve dances or folkdances. In a few cases, local informants refer to dancing by shepherd-boys, and occasionally the names are attached to some old tradition, e.g. about bridal couples that danced to death in the places concerned.²⁵

The nature of the second element in *Dancing Gate* does not indicate any other form of dancing than for pleasure. Before the existence of dancing floors out in the country the young farm people in Scandinavia, and no doubt in England also, used to gather on Saturday evenings at crossroads or in other suitable places along the roads, dancing and playing. The name *Dancing Gate* turns the thoughts of a Scandinavian spontaneously upon the opening lines of a well known song by the marvellous Swedish poet Gustav Fröding:

Det var dans borti vägen på lördagsnatten,
över nejden gick låten av spelet och skratten,

²⁵ About the various interpretations of the names mentioned see *NG*, 3. 10; *OGB*, 3.188; 5. 175; 9. 126; 10. 88; 11. 13, 79; 16. 154; 18. 194; 20. 41; 20. 187, 262; O. Lundberg in *Namn och bygd*, 8.48, and in the various places quoted literature.

in translation by Ch. W. Stork, which lacks a good deal of the original flavor:²⁶

They danced by the roadside on Saturday night,
and the laughter resounded to left and to right.

I suggest that *Dancing Gate* signifies such a place as described by Fröding. The names *Dancing Gate* and *Dancing Place* must refer to two adjacent localities or perhaps the same place. If the former alternative is the right one, it cannot be determined which one of the two names is the primary one, but this has no significance for the interpretation of the names.

Formally, the first element in Scandinavian names ending in *-are-*, *-ar-*, weakened *-er-*, as well as the form *Danse-*, are of verbal nature, and *-ar(e)-*, *-er-* is of the same gerundival nature as Scandinavian *-ande-* and as the English *-ing*; see the discussion at the end of the article *Legbarrow Point* above, and *Wampool* below. For English *-ing* substituting Scand. *-ande* cf. *Routing Gill* < ON **Rau-tanda gil* (*EPNS*, vol. 20, p. 25).

Thus, Scandinavian *Dansareberget* means "the hill where people (or other creatures or phenomena) dance;" *Dancing Gate (Place)* means "the road(side) (the place) where people dance."

GASKOW

In Irton with Santon parish, Allerdale above Derwent ward, Cumberland, is a field-name written *Garscogh* 1399, *Garscoue* 1614, *Gaskow* 1717, now lost. *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 404, gives the following laconic interpretation: "Possibly OE *gār*, 'spear,' or *gāra*, and *skógr*." This is hardly a real interpretation, since no meaning of the whole name is suggested.

The last element is evidently ON *skógr*, m. "a wood, a forest." Since OE *gār* means "a spear" and OE *gāra* signifies "a triangular piece of land," we are invited to choose between meanings like "the spear wood" and "the triangular wood." The last alternative makes sense, but forests were hardly named for the shape of their outlines. "The spear wood" is an interesting meaning but it needs further explanation.

²⁶ *Anthology of Swedish lyrics from 1750 to 1925 (Scandinavian Classics, vol. 9)*, p. 194.

In Ulverston parish, Lonsdale hundred, Lancashire, is another *Gascow*, pronounced *gaskə* and earlier written [*Gars*]chownab ca. 1180, *Garthsco(h)lac* ca. 1230, *Gartschou* ca. 1275. Here the recorded forms indicate that the first element is ON *garðr*, m., but in what sense? H. C. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (1911), p. 132, thought that the first element is the ON personal name *Garðr*, a rather common name in medieval Norway. This interpretation is possible, since compounded place-names ending in *-skógr* sometimes do have a personal name as the first member, e.g. *Skelderskew* (*Scheldersco(h)* 1119) in the North Riding of Yorkshire, *Scalderscew* (*Scalderscogh* 1243) in Cumberland, probably containing the ON personal name *Skjöldr* (gen. *Skjaldar*),²⁷ *Tarlscough* (*Tharlescogh* ca. 1190) in Lancashire, containing ON *Paraldr*, a side-form of *Boraldr*, developed through regressive vowel assimilation.²⁸

J. Sephton, *A Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names* (1913), p. 102, interpreted the first element in *Gascow* as the ON appellative *garðr*, m. "a farm" and gave the translation of the name as "farm-wood," which does not convey much meaning. If the first element is the appellative *garðr*, it no doubt is in the sense of "a fence, an enclosure," as was suggested by Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 212, with concurrence by Smith, *Elem.*, vol. 1, p. 195, and the meaning would be "the fenced-in wood" or "the wood with an enclosure."

Since place-names ending in *-skógr* usually have a significant word as the first element, this interpretation is to be preferred to the one that operates with a personal name. Moreover, since *ð* in **Garðskógr* according to the old records could disappear before 1200, it is quite possible that also the name *Gaskow* in Cumberland should be interpreted as being identical with *Gascow* in Lancashire. However, the suggestion in *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 404, that the first member could be OE *gār* "a spear" is worth consideration. It is possible that the name is a hybrid formation, but it is perhaps more likely that it is an anglicization of an ON **Geir-skógr*, in which the first element would be ON *geirr*, m. "a spear." In either case it is tempting to assume that the first element refers to trap spears for hunting wild

²⁷ *EPNS*, 5.149; 21. 339; Smith, *Elem.*, 2. 126. It is, however, possible that *skjöldr* here is an appellative denoting some formation in the terrain, which is often the case in Scandinavian place-names; see, for instance, *NG*, 10. 443; 11. 75; 12. 11. An impossible interpretation was given by R. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²⁸ Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 124; Smith, *Elem.*, 2. 126.

animals, especially beasts of prey. Several Swedish place-names, e.g. *Spjuthult* (containing OSwed. *spiüt*, n. "a spear" and *hult*, n. "a wood, a grove"), *Björnspjutet* ("the bear spear") denote such traps;²⁹ cf. also OSwed. *bassaspiüt*, ODan. *basjud*, OSwed. *biornspiüt*, *älgh(ia)spiüt* "a trap spear for hunting boars, bears, and moose, respectively."³⁰ I am quite convinced that several Norwegian names containing *Spjot(a)-*, *Spjut-*, which have been given other interpretations, actually refer to self-triggered hunting spears.³¹ I also think that such English names as *Sparsholt*, *Holtspar*, *Sparhanger*, in which *Spar(s)-*, *-spar* has been identified as ME *sperre* 'a spar, a shaft' or OE *spere* "a spear," should be reconsidered for a possible reference to trap spears.

Many Scandinavian place-names contain OSwed. *stokker*, m. "a pole trapped for hunting animals;"³² cf. also OSwed. *älgh-stokker*, m. "a pole trapped for hunting moose."³³

The name *Garstang* in Lancashire (*Cherestanc* 1086 DB, *Geirstang*, *Gairstang* ca. 1195–1247, *Gay(e)rstang* 1246) is in my opinion probably a memory of an old spear trap: ON *geirr* "a spear" and *stong*, f. "a pole."³⁴ I also think that *Gargrave* (*Geregrave* 1086 DB, *Geirgrave* 1226–1335, *Geyrgrave* 1231–1303) in the West Riding of Yorkshire, denotes a pit with spear(s) in which animals were killed.³⁵

The name *Gartre* occurs twice in the Danelaw. It is a hundred name in Leicestershire (*Ger(e)trev* 1086 DB) and the name of a wapentake in Lincolnshire (*Cheiretre* ca. 1115, *Gertrie* 1167, *Geretre* 1186). O. S. Anderson (Arngarth), *The English Hundred-Names* (1934), pp. 45f., 53, assumes that the two names "may have had

²⁹ See *Sveriges ortnamn, Älvsborgs län*, 4. 72; 12. 116f.; J. Sahlgren, *Skagershults sockens naturnamn*, p. 58, and in *Namn och bygd*, 8 (1920), 161, 172.

³⁰ Söderwall, *Ordbok*, 1. 11, 112; 13. 1092.

³¹ See, for instance, *NG*, 1. 56, 105, 285; 16. 394.

³² See Sahlgren in *Namn och bygd*, 8 (1920), 161.

³³ Söderwall, *Ordbok*, 3. 1097.

³⁴ Other interpretations by H. G. Wyld and T. O. Hirst, *op. cit.*, pp. 131f.; J. B. Johnston, *The Place-Names of England and Wales*, pp. 271f.; Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 47f.; Sephton, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Ekwall, *Lancashire*, p. 163, and *Dict.*, p. 184; Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 199; 2. 157.

³⁵ Differently interpreted by F. W. Moorman, *The Placenames of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 1910; Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 183; Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 194. About such pitfalls with spears in Scandinavia see *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, 3. 397 ff.

some technical sense, now lost ” I think he is right and suggest that the technical sense has to do with hunting with trap spears or poles. I feel quite sure that *Gartre* in both cases is a Scandinavian name representing an ON **geir-tré*, n., in the same meaning as **geir-stǫng* above.³⁶

The thought that *Gaskow* in Cumberland contains OE *gār*, perhaps originally ON *geirr*, alluding to selftriggered hunting spears, is encouraged when one in the same parish finds such field-names as *Wluehou* 1260 (ON **Ulvahaugr* “wolves’ hill”), *Gillermire* 1717, which in *EPNS*, vol. 21, p. 404, is adduced uninterpreted but no doubt is ON **Gildru-mýrr* (or **Gildri-*), containing *gildra*, f., or *gildri*, n. “a trap, a snare” and *mýrr*, f. “a bog.”³⁷

WAMPOOL

Wampool is the name of a ca. 15 miles long river which runs through the heart of Cumberland in northwesterly direction to the Moricambe Bay at the Solway. On the river, in Aikton parish, ca. two miles from its effluence into the sea, is a farm with the same name.

The river-name was written: *poll Wadæn* Gospatric’s Writ, ca. 1050 (copy from 12th century), *Wathepol’* 1189, *Wathenpoll* 1190, *Wathepol* 1201, *Wathelpol* 1201–1292 (frequently), *Wadhepol* 1230, *Uathinpol* 1279, *Waunpol* 1285, *Wathenpol(e)* 1291–1540 (frequently), *Watenpol* 1292, *Wadenpole* 1540, *Wathenpoole*, *Wampool* 1578, *Warnpoole* 1671, *Wample* 1675, *Wampool* 1777.

The farm-name was written: *Wathepol* ca. 1223–1279 (five times), *Wadhepol*, *Wade-* 1230, *Wathelpol* 1235, *Wathepol’* 1240, *Wathelpole* ca. 1275, *Wathinpol* 1292, *Wampoll*, *-pol(e)*, *-pool(e)* etc. 1332 *et passim*, *Wathenpole* 1399.

An interpretation of the name given by R. Ferguson, *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1856), p. 115, has now a mere curiosity interest. He considered *Wampool* a “corruption” of *Wathpool*, which he derived from *wath* “a ford,” of either Anglo-

³⁶ Other interpretations were given by H. Lindkvist, *op.cit.*, p. 49; Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 199; 2. 186.

³⁷ Cf. ME *gildire*, *gilder* ‘snare,’ a Scandinavian loanword; see E. Björkman in *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, 7. 154.

Saxon or Scandinavian origin. Equally impossible is an interpretation by J. M. Kemble, *The Saxons in England* (1876), p. 344.

A. Bugge, *Vikingerne*, vol. 2 (1906), p. 277, considering only the form in Gospatric's Writ, did conceive *poll Wadæn* correctly as an inversion compound in Irish fashion, but he misinterpreted the name as an original form **Vatn-pollr*, containing ON *vatn*, n. "water" and ON *pollr*, m. "a small rounded bay (with a narrow entrance)."

J. B. Johnston, *The Place-Names of England and Wales* (1915), p. 493, identified the last element with the words Welsh *pwl*, Gaelic *poll*, Engl. *pool*, which "tend to mean 'a stream'." His thought that the first element may be related to Welsh *gwydden*, Cornish *gweden* "a tree" is impossible.

W. J. Sedgefield, *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1915), p. 120, held that ON *vaðr* [sic!] "shallow water, a ford"³⁸ "would not account for the *n* in the early forms" and thought that the first element may be Celtic. He assumed that the second member is either OE *pōl* "a pool" or ON *poll* (wrong for *pollr*) "a pool or cave with narrow entrance."

E. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* (1918), pp. 30f., considered the etymology of the name obscure. Since the earliest forms point to an original form ending in *-en* rather than *-el*, he found it possible that the first element could be a lost name of the river or perhaps identical with the common Norwegian place-name *Vøien*, etc., from ON **Vøð-vin* "the farm at the ford," which "may have been transferred by Norse settlers from their Norwegian home." Ekwall's interpretation was adopted by E. A. Philippon, *Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen*, p. 160.

Later, Ekwall gave up this thought and changed his opinion of the precedence of the forms in *-en* and *-el*. In his majestic work *English River-Names*, pp. 431f., he said: "The two forms with *n* and with *l* have about the same claims to be the original one. The *n*-form is found earlier, though not in an original source, and it is well evidenced in early original sources. In its favour tell two further facts: it yields a good etymology and a change of *l* to *n* is easily explained as due to dissimilation." Ekwall went on to say that in the

³⁸ Sedgefield confused ON *vað*, n. 'a ford' and *vaðr*, m. 'a string, a fishing-line.'

form *poll Wadæn*, although it is to be looked upon as a British name, the element *Wadæn* "may be a Scandinavian name of the place on the Wampool or of the stream itself." He found it impossible to separate the element from ON *vað*, n. "a ford" and gave his new interpretation a positive wording: "I suggest definitely that it is ON *vaðill* 'a ford,' but the meaning may quite well be that of 'a shallow water-course or creek that may be waded at low tide,' a sense found in Norw. dialects. . . . The name would then have belonged to the Wampool, for which it would be accurate." Ekwall did not find any reason for paying any particular attention to the strange spelling *æ* in *poll Wadæn*. As to the dissimilatory change from *l* to *n* he remarked that "it may partly at least have taken place in the language of the Britons or be due to inexact rendering by Britons of a Germanic name."

In his *Dict.*, p. 472, Ekwall held to his interpretation, although he phrased his opinion about the first element less firmly than before, saying that it "seems to be" ON *vaðill* "a ford." The second element he identified with Welsh *poll*, Cornish *pol* "a stream."

EPNS, 22. 21 f. and 487, gives the second element as ME *poll*, related to Welsh *pwll*, Cornish *poll* "a stream, a pool," but regards the first member as uncertain. Furthermore it is maintained that Ekwall's suggestion that it is ON *vaðill* "a ford" hardly can be sustained "in the face of the long run of early forms with *-n-*, and in particular the *Wadæn* of Gospatric's charter."

Smith, *Elem.*, 1. 69, accepts the identification of the last element with the Celtic word *poll* "a hole, a pit, a pond," but gives no suggestion as to the etymology of the first element.

Of the earlier interpretations only Ekwall's deserves serious consideration. Like Smith, I cannot agree with Ekwall's statement that either of the two forms with *-n-* and *-l-* may be the original one. There are four forms without *-l-* before the first *l*-form appears. It is true that two of them have neither *l* nor *n*, but it is evident that the *l*-forms are later than those with and without *n*. As will be shown below, the *n*-less forms can easily be explained on the basis of *n*-forms. The pronunciation has developed from *n*-forms. Ekwall explains the *n* as a result of dissimilation $l-l > n-l$, and he would probably regard the forms without both *l* and *n* in the first element as the extreme result of the same tendency, leading to the disappearance of the first *l*. From a phonetic point of view this argu-

mentation is unchallengeable. But his claim that the *l*-forms are favored by the fact that they yield a good etymology loses its value if an equally good or better etymology based on the *n*-forms can be found. This I hope to be able to show.

Ekwall lays some stress upon the fact that the oldest form does not occur in an original source. I think the name can be interpreted even without consideration of the earliest form, but if it can be proved to be reliable, Ekwall's interpretation cannot be upheld. Thus, the oldest form deserves an attempt at evaluation.

There is no doubt about the authenticity of Gospatric's Writ. It was issued between 1041 and 1055. The existing text is a copy (of a copy?) from the 13th century, made by a scribe who failed to understand at least part of the original and was unfamiliar with some Old English paleographical symbols. Therefore the copy contains some strange spellings and forms. The word that interests us here, viz. the one that represents the name *Wampool*, has been transcribed as

1. *polle Wadæen*, by F. Liebermann and A. Brandl;³⁹
2. *poll Wadæen*, by F. W. Ragg;⁴⁰
3. *poll Wadæen*, by J. Wilson,⁴¹ F. E. Harmer,⁴² and *EPNS*;⁴³
4. *poll Wathoen*, by C. Greenwell;⁴⁴
5. *poll' Wadoen*, by E. Ekwall;⁴⁵
6. *poll Wadoen*, by E. Ekwall.⁴⁶

What has been transcribed as *æ*, *œ*, *oe*, *ee* is a ligature. It is true that it looks like *œ*, but it is quite possible that *æ* was intended. In the former case the ligature in the prototype was misread by the copyist, in the latter case he did read it correctly but wrote it a little carelessly. The ligature *œ* was probably unknown to him. Wrong is Ragg's transcription *ee*. For several reasons, the original cannot have

³⁹ *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 3 (1903), 18ff. The *-e* in *polle* seems to have no justification. The original is said to have *poll'*, but there is hardly any sign of an abbreviation mark.

⁴⁰ *The Ancestor*, 7 (October, 1903), 244.

⁴¹ *The Scottish Historical Review*, 1 (1903), 62ff.

⁴² F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (1952; the most thorough investigation of the document made), p. 423.

⁴³ Vol. 22 (1952), pp. xxviii, 29, with facsimile of the writ.

⁴⁴ J. C. Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland*, 7 (1904), 24ff.

⁴⁵ *English River-Names* (1928), p. 431. About the apostrophe after *poll* see note 39.

⁴⁶ *Dict.* (1947, 1951), pp. 472.

had *æ*. Most likely it was *æ*, but judging from peculiarities in the paleography of the copy one could also defend an assumption that the original had *a*. Most important for the interpretation of the name *Wampool* is the fact that the scribe never confused *n* and *l*. Whether the original had the vowel *æ* or *a* is of little consequence for the etymology of the name, but of the greatest importance is the safe establishment of the final *-n*.

The river *Wampool* runs through a region which shows an unusually strong Scandinavian settlement. In the immediate vicinity Scandinavian names exceed greatly native ones in number. The *Wampool* is a small river. In Cumberland, streams of similar dimensions frequently have Scandinavian names. Therefore it would be perfectly natural if *Wampool* also should turn out to be of Scandinavian origin. This, I believe, is the case.

I suggest that *Wampool* reflects an original Scandinavian **Va-dandi-pollr*, meaning "the pool that can be forded." The present participle of ON *vada* "to wade, to ford" has the same gerundival function as was illustrated under the articles *Legbarrow Point* and *Dancing Gate* above. The English word *wading pool* is a perfect parallel.

The *Wampool* flows through lowlands of less than 30 feet elevation. It gave name to a settlement located a short distance up the river. A little further down and on the opposite side is a minor habitation called *Powhill*, so named in 1718, which according to *EPNS*, vol. 20, p. 144, contains as the first element the same word as the second member in *Wampool*. Furthermore, a tributary to the *Wampool*, emerging into it at the farm of *Wampool*, is on the 6'' *Ordnance Survey Map* named *Pow Beck*. It was *Watter of Powe* 1589, *becke called Powe* 1605. *Pow* is a regular development of *poll*. Obviously, *Wampool* and *Powhill* were once situated by a "*pollr*," which later has dried up or has been laid dry.

The identification of the second element is extremely difficult. Theoretically, the following words must be taken into consideration:

1. OE *pōl* "a pond, a pool in a river, a stream," German *Pfuhl*.
2. OE *pull* "a pond, a stream," probably a British loan-word; cf. Welsh *pwll*, Irish, Gaelic *poll*, Breton *poll*.

3. ME *poll* "a stream," perhaps also a British loan-word or related to the following word.

4. ON *pollr*, m. "a pool, a rounded bay with a narrow entrance."

The oldest forms of *Wampool* make it quite clear that the original word was *poll*, with short *ō*, not long *ō* or *u*, and furthermore that the modern form *-pool* is due to a later association with Mod. Engl. *pool* < OE *pōl*. But there are still three possible origins left, viz. nos. 2–4 above. The relationship of these words to one another is obscure. The picture is blurred and most confused, and there is no doubt that loans from Celtic to Germanic languages have taken place. It also seems likely that ON *pollr* is an Irish loan. In classical Icelandic it occurs only in the *Laxdøla Saga*, but it is a current word in Mod. Icel. and in West-Norwegian dialects. It does not belong to East-Norwegian, nor to Danish or Swedish dialects. Thus, the geographical distribution definitely indicates loan. The several words here concerned have not yet been satisfactorily treated. It is possible that a thorough study of the dialect-geographical conditions may throw light upon the intricate problems involved.⁴⁷

It seems quite certain that the last element in *Wampool* is originally an Irish word. But even if ON *pollr* is an Irish loan, it is not necessary to classify the place-name **Vaðandi-pollr* as a hybrid formation, since it is quite possible that Irish *poll* had been incorporated into the language of the Norwegian vikings during their stay in Ireland and thus belonged to their language when they invaded northern England.

Smith, *Elem.*, vol 2, p 69, says about ON *pollr* that it might enter into some place-names in northwestern England but also remarks that "there is no other evidence for its use in England." If my interpretation of *Wampool* is correct, this name more likely contains *pollr* than a British word, since hybrid formations occur only rarely in comparison with normal homogeneous compounds.

If the last element in *Wampool* is ON *pollr*, it most certainly refers to the earlier *pool*, an expansion of the river *Wampool*, by

⁴⁷ About different opinions on the etymology of the pertinent words see, for instance, Hj. Falk and A. Torp, *Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 856; A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 496; E. Ekwall, *English River-Names*, pp. 329f.; F. Fischer, *Die Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen (Palaestra, vol. 85)*, p. 23; A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 587, 1120; Smith, *Elem.*, 2. 68f. and 74; *New English Dictionary*, 7. 1112.

which the habitations Wampool and Powhill were situated. The name later came to denote the whole river. If the element is British, and the name a hybrid formation, it may have the meaning "a stream" and thus from the beginning have signified the whole river.

The old forms *Wadææn*, *Wathen-*, etc., of the first element show reduction of the two unstressed syllables in *Vaðandi-*, oblique form *Vaðanda-*. The last syllable has disappeared, probably to some extent due to a dissimilatory influence from the preceding *-ða-*. But the same development would have taken place without any dissimilatory influence, which is clear from other names such as *Crackenthorpe* (*Crakintorp* 1202) in Westmorland (probably from ON **Krakanda-þorp*⁴⁸), *Crackenflatt* (*Craconflat* 1338) in Cumberland (probably from ON **Krakanda-flot*⁴⁹), *Routenbeck* (*Rutenbec* 1195) in Cumberland (from ON **Rautandi-bekkr*⁵⁰), etc.

In Gospatric's Writ occur at least two present participles, viz. *leofanð* (for *leofand*) and *byðann* (for *bydann*), which show the northern ME form in *-and*; cf. from Cumberland *le Rutandpull* 1287 < **Rautandi-pull* or *-poll(r)*.⁵¹ It is only to be expected that the syllable *-and-* was reduced earlier than in appellatives in such a name as **Vaðan(di)-pollr*. The just mentioned form *Rutandpull* is somewhat surprising at such a late time, but it may be due to (the scribe's?) association with regular independent participles. As was said above, it is possible that the original of Gospatric's Writ had *Wadan*. If the form was *Wadææn*, the *-æ-* may reflect a reduced vowel which had not yet reached the later stage of *-ə-*.

On the basis of an original form **Vaðandi-pollr* the early forms *Wathe-* and *Wathel-* are easy to understand. The former are due to association with the verbal stem in ON *vada* "to wade" and possibly to *vad*, n "a ford." Such forms as *Wathel-* could either be the result of assimilation of *n* to the *l* in the last element or of association with ON *vadill*, m. "a ford."

Finally a word about the form *Poll Wadææn* in Gospatric's Writ, which shows inversion of the two elements of the compound. There

⁴⁸ E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 122.

⁴⁹ *EPNS*, 21. 382.

⁵⁰ *EPNS*, 20. 25.

⁵¹ *EPNS*, 21. 421; see also 22. xliii.

⁵² See Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, *passim*.

is in Cumberland a large number of such names.⁵² Normally, the chief element in such compounds is a personal name, e.g. *Becsnari* ca. 1203, "Snarri's brook," *Bek Troyte* ca. 1050 in Gospatric's Writ, "Troyte's brook."⁵³ In some cases a place-name is the main element, e.g. *Holmcultran* 1153, "the island or elevation belonging to or carrying the farm Cultram."⁵⁴ According to Ekwall, *Scand. and Celts*, pp. 16, 48, there are no certain examples of inverted compounds in which the chief element consists of an earlier name of the place itself, which seems to be a slight exaggeration. He mentions as possible instances *Poll Wadoen* and two other names, both of which may contain personal names. But Ekwall's remark brings up the question whether *Wadæn* could be a personal name. If so, the only possibility seems to be an ON **Vaðandi* "the wader," of the same type as *Stígandi* "the strider," *Vakkandi* "the loafer."⁵⁵ But there is no evidence of a byname **Vaðandi*, and the meaning of such a name would be less pregnant than that of other bynames ending in *-andi*. It is therefore likely that the form in Gospatric's Writ is due to association (by the scribe?) with other names consisting of inversion compounds which contain *poll*. Such names are far from unfrequent in Cumberland, e.g. *Polgauer*, *Polneuton*, *Powburgh*.⁵⁶ *Wadæn* (-æn) probably was associated with the Goidelic personal names ending in *-án*, some of which occur in inversion place-names, e.g. *Brandán* in *Stanbranan*, *Cambán* in *Gillcambon*, etc.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ekwall, *Scand. and Celts*, p. 18.

⁵⁴ Ekwall, *Scand. and Celts*, p. 26.

⁵⁵ Lind, *Binamn*, col. 361, 396.

⁵⁶ See *EPNS*, 22. 487.

⁵⁷ See *EPNS*, 22. 507.

Addendum: An excellent parallel, both formally and semantically, to *Wampool*, as I interpret it, is the Swedish place-name *Vanda* in Finland. According to T. E. Karsten in *Namn och bygd* 1933, p. 39, this name reflects an OSw. **Vadhande-ā*, meaning "the stream that may be forded."

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