

Scandinavian Place-Names in England: VI

ASSAR JANZÉN

RICANDEWATH

*R*ICANDEWATH 1246 is the only known spelling of a lost field name in Clifford township, Bramham parish, Barkston Ash wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire. In *EPNS* 33.87 A. H. Smith interprets the first element as a probably corrupt form of the personal name *Ricard*. The second element is undoubtedly ON *vað*, n. 'a ford.' Smith's emendation is slight, but since *vað* is a Scandinavian word, it is from the point of view of principle advisable to seek a word of the same origin as the first member, especially if the emendation can thereby be avoided. Actually, such interpretation, based on Scandinavian vocabulary, presents itself quite readily. The area here concerned abounds in purely Scandinavian place-names.

I am quite convinced that the whole name is Scandinavian and suggest that the first element is pres. part. ON *rjúkandi*, OSwed. *rjåkande*, of the verb *rjúka*, *rjka*, respectively 'to reek, emit smoke, steam.' The word was often used for the spray of water in the ocean and in falls.¹

In Scandinavian place-names present participles were commonly used as names of races, rapids, and falls, and they are not uncommon in England.² The 'steaming one' is a most appropriate name for races or falls with spraying water. In Norway *Rjåkande* occurs in several places as the name for waterfalls.³

The compound name *Ricandewath* indicates that the stream in question could be crossed by wading below, or perhaps above, the race or cataract.

A perfect parallel to the compound name is *Rutandeswat* 12th century, *le Rutandeforth* 13th century, also in the West Riding, which is convincingly interpreted by A. H. Smith in *EPNS* 34.68

¹ R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (1957), p. 501.

² See, for instance, O. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne, passim*, especially pp. 281f; *EPNS*, 35.211; Janzén in *Names*, 6.21.

³ Rygh, *op.cit.*, p. 194.

as a compound of OE *hrūtande*, pres. part. of *hrūtan* 'to make a din, to roar,' used as a stream name meaning 'the roaring one,' and ON *vað* 'a ford.' To this explanation I should like to add just two small remarks. First, it may safely be assumed that the name, at least in the beginning, pertained not to the stream, but to a race or a fall. Secondly, since the last element in this case is also the Scandinavian word *vað*, it is not impossible that the whole name originally was Scandinavian, i. e., ON *Hrjótande-vað*, O. East-Scand. *Rýtande-vaþ*, in which first the initial element was replaced by the English corresponding word, and later the second element by an English synonym. The result was ME *Rūtandeford*.

DINANDEKELDE

In Addington township and parish, East Stancliffe wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire, a lost field name has been recorded as *Dinande-*, *Dynandkeld(e)* in two sources from the thirteenth century. A. H. Smith in *EPNS* 35.36 interprets the name briefly in the following way: 'resounding noisy spring,' from ONb [i. e., Old Northumbrian] *dynnande*, pres. part. of OE *dynnan* 'resound, din, roar,' and *kelda*. *Kelda* is an ON word meaning 'a spring, a well,' frequently occurring in field names in the Danelaw.

According to Smith's explanation the name is a hybrid. However, since the second element is Scandinavian, it is, as I stated under the previous name, in principle preferable to regard the whole name as purely Scandinavian, if no phonetic obstacles arise. In the present case the first element may very well be ON *dynjandi*, pres. part. of *dynja*, OSwed. *dynia*, etymologically identical and semantically synonymous with OE *dynnan*.

In Danby parish, Langbargh East wapentake, North Riding of Yorkshire, occurs *Dinnand*, recorded as *le Dynant* 1273, as the name of a boundary stone. In *Names* 6.19ff. I declined an interpretation of the name as being Celtic, hesitatingly advanced in *EPNS* 5.132, and suggested that the name is an ON pres. part. *Dynjandi* 'the roarer.' In Scandinavia, large rocks and boulders, especially erratic blocks, which may be moved by a light touch, have names with the same and similar meaning. The region in which this name occurs was also thoroughly penetrated by Scandinavian settlers in the ninth and the following centuries.

GARGRAVE

Gargrave is the name of a township and parish in East Staincliffe wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire. It is well recorded in earlier sources. The following spellings are adduced in *EPNS*, 35.53: *G(h)eregrau* 1086 DB, *Geregrave* 1251, 1254, 1264, and 1276, *Gair-*, *Gaygrave*, *-grava*, *-grau* c. 1160 *et passim* to 1466, *Geir-*, *Geyrgrave*, *-grau* 1226 *et frequenter* to 1317, *Gaire-*, *Geyre-*, *Gayregrave*, *-grau* 1182 *et frequenter* to 1462, *Gergrave* 1236 *et frequenter* to 1428, *Gargrave* c. 1182 *et passim* to 1638. The name is pronounced ['gɑ:grɪv].

According to F. W. Moorman,⁴ who knew only a few older spellings, two interpretations are possible: 1. The forms *Geyr-*, *Gayr-* may point to a personal name compounded with *Geir-*, e.g., *Geirmundr*, *Geirlaug*. The second member is probably OE *grǣf* 'a grave, trench, pit.' Thus, the meaning of the name may be 'the trench or grave of the Scandinavian *Geirmunder*, *Geirlaug*, etc. 2. The first element may be ON *geiri* or OE *gāra* 'a triangular strip (of land), a gore'; cf. ON *grasegeirar* 'strips of grass among rocks.' Thus interpreted, *Gargrave* means 'the three-cornered trench.'

Moorman's first alternative seems to suggest a kind of elliptic formation, in which the termination of a compound personal name has been dropped. This is not possible. But, following his line of thinking, one could argue that the first element perhaps is the ON man's name *Geiri*, OSwed. *Gēre*, ODan. *Gēri*, or possibly ON *Geirr*, OSwed. *Gēr*, probably also in ODan.,⁵ which dropped the genitive-*s*. For the loss of the *-s* cf., for instance, *Flasby* (*Flatebi* 1086 DB, *Flatteby* 12th century, but *Flatesby* c. 1160, *Flasceby*, *-bi* 1155 *et frequenter* to 1400), in which the first element is the ON personal name *Flatr*,⁶ in the parish of Gargrave, *Scosthorp* (*Scotorp* 1086 DB, *Scothorp(e)* 1190 *et frequenter* to 1524, but *Scozthorp(p)* 11th century, 1240 *et frequenter* to 1524, etc.) containing the ON byname *Skottr*,⁷ in Kirkby Malham parish, West Staincliffe wapentake, not far from Gargrave. With this modification Moorman's two alternatives are

⁴ F. W. Moorman, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (The Publications of the Thoresby Society, 1910) 18.77.

⁵ E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden*, cols. 313, 317 ff.; M. Lundgren and E. Brate, *Svenska personnamn från medeltiden*, p. 62; *Danmarks gamle personnavne* 1, cols. 343, 351.

⁶ *EPNS* 35.48.

⁷ *EPNS* 35.142f.

phonetically possible, and in both cases the alleged meanings make sense, but cf. Johnston's interpretation just below.

Quite a few old spellings were known to H. Lindkvist,⁸ who presented a rather thoroughly motivated interpretation of the name. In his opinion the first member of *Gargrave* is ON *geiri*, OSwed. *gēre*, m., in the sense of 'a triangular, wedge-shaped strip of land,' as in the compound *land-geiri*, and the terminal probably ON *grǫf*, f. (gen. *grafar*) 'a pit, a hole dug,' related to OE, ME *grāfe* 'trench, quarry,' and OE *grǣf*,⁹ ME *grafe* 'grave, sepulcrum.' Identical with ON *geiri* is OE *gāra*, m. 'an angular point, a promontory,' ME *gore* 'a wedge-shaped strip of land on the side of an irregular field.' By way of information Lindkvist notes that ON *geiri* survives in North-Engl. dialects (Northumbria, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire) as *gair*, *geir* (the latter only in Yorkshire), which signifies 'a triangular piece of land in the corner of a field, which cannot be plowed with the rest; a strip or spot of verdure or grass on a hillside or upland.'

Thus, according to Lindkvist, *Gargrave* is a purely Scandinavian name, meaning 'the hole or pit in a triangular field' or something of that nature, a quite possible solution.

J. B. Johnston¹⁰ gave the two elements as a personal name *Gær* or *Geir* and OE *grǣf* 'a grave.' This interpretation implies that the name pertains to the grave of a man. This is a rather unlikely allusion to a major habitational name, and I doubt that a semantic parallel can be found among English parish names.

E. Ekwall¹¹ expressed himself cautiously: "Probably OE *gāran-grāf* 'grove in a gore,' later partly Scandinavianized, ON *geiri* having replaced the synonymous OE *gāra*." Ekwall regards the terminal as OE *grāf* 'a grove,' but either of the weak nouns OE *grāfa* and *grāfe* would also be possible. This explanation, according to which the name is genuinely English, cannot be criticized on phonetic or semantic grounds.

In his work on the elements of English place-names A. H. Smith¹² considered two interpretations. As one alternative he accepted Ek-

⁸ Harald Lindkvist, *Middle-English Place-Names of Scandinavian origin* (1912), pp. 46f. ⁹ The vowel of OE *grǣf*, n. 'a grave' was short.

¹⁰ James B. Johnston, *The Place-Names of England and Wales* (1915), p. 271.

¹¹ Eilert Ekwall, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1947), p. 183, and (1960), p. 192. (The last edition hereafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*)

¹² A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements* (hereafter abbreviated Smith, *Elem.*), Vol. 1 (*EPNS*, Vol. 25), p. 194.

wall's identification of both members, but since the first element may be confused with OE *gār* 'a spear,' he held that *Gargrave* could equally well mean 'wood from which spear-shafts were got.'

Later, A. H. Smith¹³ deleted the latter alternative and gave the meaning of the name as 'copse in a triangular plot of ground,' in agreement with Ekwall assuming that OE *gāra* was replaced by ON *geiri*.

In *Names* 8.161 ff. I discussed the name *Gaskow* (*Garscogh* 1399) in Cumberland. I found it tempting to assume that it is an originally Scandinavian name **Geir-skógr*, denoting a forest in which spears were trapped for killing wild animals. In line with this thought I suggested that *Geirstang* in Lancaster reflects an ON **Geir-stong* 'a spear-pole' and perhaps is a memory of an old spear trap, and also that *Gartre* in Leicestershire (*Ger(e)trev* 1086 DB) and the same name in Lincolnshire (*Cheiretre* c. 1115, *Geirtrie* 1167, *Geretre* c. 1186) contain ON *geirr* 'a spear' and *tré* 'a tree,' thus referring to trap spears of some sort. Furthermore, I considered, in passing, it possible that *Gargrave* "denotes a pit with spear(s) in which animals were killed."¹⁴

Thus, *Gargrave* has been interpreted in quite different ways, as purely English, purely Scandinavian, and as a hybrid formation. It is, of course, possible that the first element originally was OE *gāra* (or perhaps *gāra* or *gār*), which later was Scandinavianized. If so, the terminal most likely was also an OE word. But if we assume that it was *grāf* 'a grove,' the meaning of the name, 'the grove in a gore' (Ekwall) or 'copse in a triangular plot of ground' (Smith), is at least not strikingly convincing. The meaning suggested by Lindkvist, 'a pit or trench in a triangular piece of land,' etc., is hardly any better. Nothing much more positive can be said about the interpretations now quoted except that they are possible.

In Gargrave parish we find many place-names which indisputably or in all probability are Scandinavian, e.g., *Grise Gills* 1843 (ON *gríss* 'a pig' and *gil* 'a ravine'), *Toftemires* 1632 (ON *topt* 'a building site' and *mýrr* 'a mire, a bog'), *Sethaues* c. 1220, now *Seat Ho* (ON *sætr* 'a shieling, a summer farm' and *haugr* 'a hill'), *Flasby* (ON

¹³ *EPNS*, 35.53.

¹⁴ About traps and pitfalls with spears in Scandinavia see J. Sahlgrén, *Skagershults sockens naturnamn*, p. 58, and in *Namn och bygd* 8.161, 172; A. Janzén in *Names* 8.163; *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid* 3.397 ff.

personal name *Flatr* and *býr* 'a farmstead'), *Hestholm* 1705 (ON *hestr* 'a horse' and *holmr* 'a water-meadow'), *Crakekelde* c. 1200 (ON *kráka* 'a crow' or perhaps *kraki* 'a pale, a stake, a branched stem'¹⁵ and *kelda* 'a spring, a well'), *Howploghelandes* 1329 (ON *haugr* 'a hill' and *plóys-land* 'a piece of land that can be plowed in one day'), and many others.¹⁶ Obviously, the population was here to a large extent Scandinavian. Thus, if *Gargrave* should happen to be a purely Scandinavian name, it is perfectly normal in the area where it is situated. As a matter of fact, I am inclined to give preference to this alternative, because in my interpretation a more pregnant and therefore perhaps more attractive meaning is attached to the name.

I suggest that the second member may be ON *grof*, OSwed. and ODan. *graf* 'a hole dug, a pit' and the first one ON *geirr*, O. East-Scand. **gēr* 'a spear,' in the genitive plur. or the stem form. Thus interpreted, the whole name may signify a pit with spear(s) trapped for killing animals, most probably wolves, but perhaps also bears, boars, elk, etc. Gargrave is situated in the inner hilly and woody part of the West Riding. The existence of wolf pits in this area during the Middle Ages is well evidenced. In the discussion of *Woolley* in Royston parish, Staincross wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire, Smith mentions¹⁷ two instances of trapping wolves in pits in the thirteenth century quoted in Hunter's description of South Yorkshire.¹⁸ More evidence is found in some place-names, e. g., *Wolf(e)-pitt(e)s* 1608, in Marr parish, Lower Strafforth wapentake, *Le Wolfepitt* 1341, in Thorpe Salvin parish, Upper Strafforth wapentake, *Wlfpitherf* 13th century, distorted form, *Ulfpit clif* early 14th century, in Aston cum Aughton parish, Upper Strafforth wapentake, *Wulfpittedale* 12th century, in Darrington parish, Osgold Cross wapentake.¹⁹

HAUKERAYTHEKER

Haukeraytheke 13th century, is the only known evidence of a lost name in Stainburn township, Kirkby Overblow parish, Upper Claro wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire. A. H. Smith²⁰ assumes that

¹⁵ The latter alternative is not mentioned by Smith in *EPNS* 35.52.

¹⁶ See *EPNS* 35.45 ff.

¹⁷ *EPNS* 30.86 f.

¹⁸ J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire* (1831) 2.383.

¹⁹ *EPNS* 30.76, 160; 31.65.

²⁰ *EPNS* 34.50.

the name possibly contains an ON byname *Hauk-reiði* 'ready as a hawk' or the like. The last element is clearly ON *kjarr* 'brushwood,' etc., which occurs, usually as *ker*, *carr*, etc., in hundreds of place-names in the Danelaw. The compound byname suggested by Smith is a construction and has, for at least a couple of reasons, quite certainly never existed.

There cannot be any doubt that *Haukeraytheker* is a Scandinavian name all through. In my opinion the first member is a compound noun corresponding to an ON *hauk-reiðr* 'a hawk's nest,' which incidentally has not been recorded.

The word for 'a bird's nest' appears in several variant forms in the Old and Modern Scandinavian dialects, e.g., ON *hreidr* (gen. *hreíðrs*), n., OSwed. *rēdher*, m. and n., *rēdhe*, n., *rēdhre*, m., ODan. *ræthe*.²¹ Most likely *hreidr* here occurs in the gen. plur., referring to several nests. But it is not possible to determine which one of the Scandinavian variants is present in the place-name. The Scandinavian names from the same area show both West and East Scandinavian characteristics.

The species of hawk that gave name to the bog is quite certainly the marsh hawk or harrier (*Circus cyaneus*). These birds are nesting on the ground in places of the nature that is indicated by their English name.

BRUNT SIKE

The name of *Brunt Sike* in Sedbergh township and parish, Ew-cross wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire, is attested by the following older spellings: (*le*) *Brendesike* 1220–1260 (twice), *Burntsyke* 1612, *Brunt Sike* 1776.

At first sight this name appears to be self-explanatory, but a closer look at it reveals difficulties. A. H. Smith²² identifies *Sike* with OE *sīc* 'a stream' and continues: "The first el. appears to be ME *brende* 'burnt,' but the sense in the compound with *sīc* would be unusual (unless *brende* is here a contracted form of ON *brennandi* 'burning' as in *Brennand* 211 *supra*). It is probably therefore OE *brende* in the sense 'place cleared by burning' and the name describes a stream in such a place."

²¹ Fritzner, *Ordbog over Det gamle norske Sprog* 2.51; Söderwall, *Ordbok öfver det svenska medeltids-språket* 2.246, 248; *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* 17.526; Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939) 821.

²² EPNS 35.264.

The form *Brennand* referred to by Smith occurs as *Brenand(e)* 1325, 1343, 1423, and 1636 and was originally a name for a waterfall or (a stretch of) a river.

Of course it is possible that a stream was flowing through a clearing made by burning, but one would expect the stream to have been named before the place was cleared. As Smith himself points out, the phonetically justified assumption that the first element is the pret. part. ME *brende* and the second one OE *sīc* does not give an acceptable meaning to the name. The possibility that *brende* is a contracted form of the pres. part. *brennandi* already in the thirteenth century seems extremely small in the area here concerned. Pres. participles in *-ande* entering into West Riding place-names do not show any weakening of the ending. Cf. *Brennand* just above and the thirteenth century spellings adduced under the articles *Ricandewath* and *Dinandekelde* above.

In the material presented in *EPNS* 35 from the same parish as *Brunt Sike* there are at least seventy purely Scandinavian place-names (even the name of the parish itself, *Sedbergh*, is Scandinavian, viz., ON *set-berg* 'a seat-formed or saddle-formed rock,' used as a place-name also in Iceland and Norway) and I think that an interpretation on this basis ought to be considered.

I consider at least as plausible as Smith's suggestion my proposal that *Brunt Sike* is an Old Scand. *Brenda sīk*. It is true that in Old West-Scand. the word *sīk*, n., means 'a ditch or trench with water,' but in Danish and Swedish place-names the word *sīk*, f., extremely common in field names, denotes low-lying ground, which during wet weather becomes damp or marshy, and where a pool or runnel may form. After a long period of drought such a place may dry out, and the vegetation growing there may very well burn.

The lost field name *Stubbi Sike* 12th century, Thurnscoe township and parish, Lower Strafforth wapentake, perhaps contains Scand. *sīk*, f., rather than OE *sīc*. A. H. Smith²³ identifies the two elements with OE *stubb* 'a tree-stump' and *sīc* 'a stream.' The compound would then refer to a stream on the banks of which tree-stumps were standing or something like that. However, streams are rarely named for such easily changing characteristics as tree-stumps.

Smith's explanation of *Stubbi Sike* is far from impossible, but the name may equally well reflect an OScand. *Stubba-sīk*, containing

²³ In *EPNS* 30.93.

ON *stubbi*, OSwed. *stubbe* 'a tree-stump' and the above-mentioned *sīk*, f. The meaning of the name would then be 'the low-lying wet ground with tree-stumps,' which is quite natural; cf. the extremely common Scand. *Stubbemyr(en)* 'the stump bog.'

WITEGRES

In a manuscript from the thirteenth century occurs the spelling *le Witegres*, the name for a place in Thorpe Salvin township and parish, Upper Strafforth wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire. According to A. H. Smith²⁴ the name is a compound of OE *hwit* 'white' and OE *grese* 'stairs.' This interpretation is hardly convincing. What would "the white stairs" refer to? Ledges or shelves in a (rocky) hill? No information on the nature of the locality is given.

As a possible alternative I should like to suggest that the name is Scandinavian, containing ON *hvitr*, OSwed. *hvīter* 'white' and OSwed., ODan. *græs* 'grass' and referring to (a place growing with) some sort of whitish grass. Of course, the last member may also be OE *græs*, *gres*, *gærs* 'grass,' and the whole name English.

ALGARR-WROO, AUGER-WROO

Algarr-, *Auger-Wroo* 1540, are two spellings of a field name in Owston township and parish, Osgoldcross wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire. A. H. Smith²⁵ identifies the second member with ON *vrá* 'a nook of land' but refrains from suggesting an interpretation of the first element.

The Scand. word *vrá* is rather frequent in ME field names in the northern parts of the Danelaw. In compounds it usually occurs with significant words,²⁶ but it is not a rare incident that the first element is a personal name. H. Lindkvist²⁷ adduces some place-names containing *vrá* and personal names, viz., *Howkeswra* 12th century, Lincolnshire (ON *Haukr*), *Osmundwra* 14th century, Yorkshire (OE *Osmund*), *Pilatewra* 13th century, Lancashire (ME surname **Pilat*), and there are some more.

²⁴ In *EPNS* 30.153.

²⁵ In *EPNS* 31.33.

²⁶ A. H. Smith, *Elem.* 2.232f.

²⁷ H. Lindkvist, *op.cit.*, pp. 197ff.

In the light of this exemplification it seems natural to assume that the first element of the name here concerned is either OE *Ælfgār*, *Algār*, well attested in Domesday Book,²⁸ or ODan. *Alger*, ONorw. and OIcel. *Alfgeirr*, Runic Swed. *alkair*, *alfkiR*,²⁹ which according to Lindkvist enters into some North-English place-names, among others *Alfgeridding* 12th century, Yorkshire.³⁰

Due to Anglo-Norman influence *āl* before a consonant is from the fifteenth century frequently written *au*.³¹

THORLOWE BANKE

The spelling *Thorlowe banke* 1492 is the only evidence of a field name in Kirkburton township and parish, Agbrigg wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire.

A. H. Smith³² assumes that *Thorlow* probably contains OE *þorn* 'a thorn-tree, the hawthorn' and *hlāw* 'a mound, a hill.' The last element is ME *bank(e)*, a loan-word from ODan. *banke* 'a bank, the slope of a hill or ridge.'³³ Thus, Smith interprets the name as meaning 'the slope of the thorn hill,' which phonologically and semantically is quite plausible.

Among lost names in the same township as *Thorlowe banke* listed in a manuscript from c. 1205 are *Durildewelle(ker)* and *Vlfkelerode*, in which the first elements according to Smith are the Scandinavian personal names ON *Dórhildir*, fem., and *Ulfkell*, respectively. Thus, Scandinavians lived in this area, a fact that brought to my mind a possible alternative interpretation of *Thorlowe* as a Scandinavian personal name. This name could be ON *Dorlaugr* (*Dollogr*), OSwed. *Thorløggh* (*Thorlogher*) or the feminine ON *Dorlaug* (*Dorluog*, *Thorloghe*), OSwed. *Thorløggh* (*Thorloghe*, *Tholloghe*, dative), evidenced in

²⁸ Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, pp. 144ff., 172f.

²⁹ E. H. Lind, *Dopnamn*, cols. 12f.; *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, Vol. 1, col. 30, and the literature there quoted.

³⁰ H. Lindkvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 20f. The name is said to refer to a plot of land in the neighborhood of Drax or Airmin, but I have been unable to find the name in *EPNS*, Vols. 31 and 33, where the names of these areas are treated.

³¹ A. H. Smith in *EPNS* 14.xxix.

³² In *EPNS* 31.247.

³³ A. H. Smith, *Elem.*, p. 19, points out that ME *bank(e)* does not appear to have developed from OE *banca*, which does not seem to be used topographically.

Domesday Book as *Turloga* from Yorkshire, or possibly, but less probably, ON *Dorleifr*, OSwed. *Thorlef*, ODan. *Thorlav* (*Thorloff* *Torloff*, *Torlow*, *Thorlof*, etc.) or the feminine ON *Dorleif* (*Dollof*, *Thollof*), OSwed. *Thorlaf* (*Torlaff*), ODan. *Thorlof*.³⁴

WILDEHAUERFLAT, WILDHAVERDALE

A lost field name in Bramham township and parish, Barkston Ash wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire, is evidenced as *Wildehauerflat*, *-hafert-* from the thirteenth century. A. H. Smith³⁵ identifies the second element with OE *hæfer* 'a he-goat' and translates the name as 'wild goat meadow.'

Another lost name in Linton township, Spofforth parish, Upper Claro wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire, appears in a manuscript from the thirteenth century as *Wildhaverdale*. Also in this name Smith³⁶ sees OE *wilde* 'wild' and *hæfer* 'a he-goat,' adding that the compound *Wildehæfer* perhaps is a byname.

If these interpretations are correct, the two names would indicate either the existence of wild goats in England in the late Middle Ages or of a byname meaning 'wild goat.' I doubt that either alternative is possible.

I am inclined to consider both names Scandinavian, containing the widely distributed Scand. word *vildhavre* 'wild oats (*Avena fatua*).'³⁷ Although the single word ON *hafri* 'oats' is difficult to distinguish from OE *hæfer* 'a he-goat' and *hæfera* 'oats,' it seems quite certain that it enters into some place-names in the Danelaw.³⁸ Then it is not strange that *vildhavre* is also contained in a few names – the word *flat* 'a piece of flat level ground,' in Yorkshire dialects 'a division of the common field,' very common in ME place-names, is originally Scandinavian.³⁹ The element *-dale* is Scand. *dalr* 'a valley.'

I feel that the interpretation here suggested gives to the names discussed a more natural and probable meaning than the one proposed by Smith.

³⁴ E. H. Lind, *op.cit.*, cols. 1190 ff.; Lundgren and Brate, *op.cit.*, p. 271; *Danmarks gamle Personnavne*, cols. 1395 ff.; Feilitzen, *op.cit.*, p. 395.

³⁵ In *EPNS* 34.30.

³⁶ In *EPNS* 34.30.

³⁷ Aug. Lyttkens, *Svenska växtnamn*, p. 1496.

³⁸ See A. H. Smith, *Elem.* 1.220, and cf., for instance, such names as *Haverlose*, *-croft* in the West Riding (*EPNS* 34.4, 21, 30).

³⁹ Smith, *Elem.* 1.175.

COCKLAIKE, COCK LAKES, COCKLICK END

The following three place-names from the West Riding of Yorkshire are here to be considered:

Cocklaike 1598, a lost field name in Thornton in Lonsdale township and parish, Ewecross wapentake.

Cock Lakes, a still existing name for a minor habitation in Garsdale township, Sedbergh parish, Ewecross wapentake.

Cocklick End and *Ho* 1858, also names for smaller habitations in Easington township, Slaidburn parish, West Staincliffe wapentake. Two older forms, *Cocklackhouse*, *-house*, are recorded from 1651.

For the interpretation of the first two names A. H. Smith refers to OE *cocc* and ON *leik* 'play,' for the third one alternatively also to OE *lāc* 'play,' giving the translation 'place where cocks played.'⁴⁰

The meaning of these names as suggested by Smith is not immediately convincing. Cocks do not play; they fight. Since ON *leikr*, OSwed. *lēker*, as well as OE *lāc*, allude to fighting and battle,⁴¹ the names could possibly refer to cock-fighting arranged for entertainment. But did cock-fighting take place in medieval England?

In the Modern Scandinavian languages the words corresponding to ON *leikr* often signify the mating and spawning (pantomime) of forest birds, fish, and frogs; cf., for instance, Mod. Swed. *fisk-*, *fågel-*, *gädd-*, *orr-*, *tjäder-lek* 'the mating (spawning) of fish, birds, pike, black cock, grouse, respectively.'⁴² The Swedish noun *lek* meaning 'the act of mating' and the verb *leka* 'to mate' have not been recorded before 1600, but there is no doubt that this usage of the words is rather old. One of the two place-names *Orr(e)leken* mentioned just below is attested from 1454. Such Swedish place-names as *Orr(e)leken* 'the mating of the black cock' (twice), *Mörteleken* 'the spawning of the roach' show that *lek* could be used also as a name for places where the pairing took place.⁴³

As Smith points out,⁴⁴ OE *cocc* did not only denote 'a cock' but "probably often a wild bird such as the woodcock." Cf. also, for instance, *Cockshutts Part* in the same township as *Cocklick End* (nr.

⁴⁰ In *EPNS* 35.201 f., 252, 261. The ON *leik* is inaccurate for *leikr*.

⁴¹ Fritzner, *op. cit.*, 2.473; Söderwall, *op. cit.*, 1.749.

⁴² *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* 15, col. 4921.

⁴³ *Sveriges ortnamn. Älvsborgs län*, 9:1, p. 106; *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län* (hereafter abbreviated *OGB*) 10.64, 18.219 f.

⁴⁴ Smith, *Elem.* 1.104.

3 above), which according to Smith's evidently correct interpretation represents OE *cocc-sciēte* 'a glade where woodcock were netted.'

I feel that the most likely interpretation of the three West Riding place-names here concerned implies that they are Scandinavian and refer to places where forest birds (woodcock, etc.) mated. The medial element in *Cocklackhouse* is due either to a normal development or Anglicization of *-leik-*.

In compounds with names for bigger animals ON *leikr* no doubt denotes 'places where the animals play' e.g., *Ullock* (<**Ulfa-leikr*) in Cumberland (three times), *Herteleyekes* c. 1240 (<**Hjarta-leikar*).⁴⁵

ARDESTAINE

The spelling *Ardestaine* occurs in a manuscript from the thirteenth century as a lost name for a place in Long Marston township and parish, Ainsty wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire. A. H. Smith⁴⁶ interprets the last element as ON *steinn* 'stone' but gives no indication as to the identification of the first element *Arde-*.

As the name is written, it seems to defy a satisfactory explanation. However, due to Norman influence the initial *h* before vowels is quite often lost in ME spellings, e.g., from the West Riding, *Eseldene* c. 1206, now *Hesleden* (OE *hæsel* 'hazel'), *Illegrim* 13th century, in another source from the same century *Hillegrime* (OE *hyll* 'a hill' or ON *hilla* 'a ledge in a cliff,' etc.), *Awardecroft* 13th century (the ON personal name *Hávarðr*), etc.⁴⁷ Assuming that the spelling *Ardestaine* is Norman for *Hardestaine* we may give to the name a natural and simple interpretation. Then it represents ON *hardsteinn* 'a whetstone.' Cf. OE *hwet-stān* used in English place-names, according to A. H. Smith⁴⁸ "probably referring to places where rock suitable for whetstones was found." A lost name *Whetstone Bank* 1696, probably identical with *Whettyngstan* 1307 (ME *whettinge* 'whetting'), appears in Ewcross wapentake of the West Riding. Smith⁴⁹ gives

⁴⁵ See *EPNS* 21.315, 367 f., 373; E. Ekwall in *Namn och bygd* 8.89.

⁴⁶ In *EPNS* 33.255.

⁴⁷ *EPNS* 35.122, 151 f., 191; about *Hillegrime* see A. Janzén in *Namn och bygd*, 48.58 f., 63 ff.; see also Feilitzen, *op. cit.*, p. 119, and the literature there quoted.

⁴⁸ Smith, *Elem.* 1.272.

⁴⁹ In *EPNS* 35.220.

the information that good whetstones could be found even late at the place in question.

The word *hardsteinn* enters into quite a few West-Swedish place-names, and so does another word with the same meaning, viz., *hein*, f.⁵⁰ Such names have reference to the rock as being suitable for whetstones, or they are due to comparison between the shape of a whetstone and a boulder or a smooth, slightly rounded rock surface. The latter grounds for name-giving ought to be considered for *Ardestaine*. (There are several other names of Scandinavian origin in the same township.)

CUNIGGESETE, JARLESETE

In Malham Moor township, Kirkby Malham parish, West Staincliffe wapentake, West Riding of Yorkshire, are two interesting lost names, *Cuniggesete* and *Jarlesete*,* which in *EPNS* 35.142 strangely enough are listed among field names. I do not know the date of these forms, since the manuscript in which they occur is not cited. The two places concerned were situated on opposite sides of a lake, Malham Tarn or Water (*Malgewater* c. 1190).

A. H. Smith, *loc.cit.*, translates *Cuniggesete* as 'king's seat or rocky hill-top,' *Jarlesete* as 'the earl's rocky hill-top.' He refers to *kunung*, *jarl* and *sæte*. Furthermore, he gives the information that the element *-flask* probably is the habitational name *Flask* (*Flashes* 1251) in the same township, and the *-loge* is ME *log(g)e*, from OFr. *loge* 'a hut, a (small) house.'

Under the entry of ON *sæti*, late OE *sæte*, ME *sete* 'a seat, a residence' Smith⁵¹ states that "the word is also used of 'a lofty place,' as in Arthur's Seat (Edinburgh), Kingsett." This *Kingsett*, situated in Lifton hundred, Devon, is recorded as *Kyngsete* 1417, *Kyngesset* 1478, and is treated by the authors of *EPNS* 8 in the following way (p. 201): "This name is found again in Widdecombe and Walkhampton *infra* 529 [*Kyngessette* 1333, now *Kingshead*], 245 [*Kyngessete* 1333, now *Kingse(a)t*]. All three places are situated on or below prominent hills and it is likely that they were originally

⁵⁰ About *hardsteinn* in place-names see, for instance, *OGB* 9.116, 11.101, 105, 16. 16.56, 18.207, 361, 20:2.13; about *hein*, *Norske Gaardnavne* 2.302, 9.186, 12.127; O. Rygh, *Norske Elvenavne*, p. 97; *OGB* 4.64f.; *Sveriges ortnamn. Ålvsborgs län*, 4.64f.

⁵¹ Smith, *Elem.* 2. p. 5.

* Read, "*Jarlesete(flasc)*, *Yarlesseteloge*, . . ." [Ed.].

hill-names, 'king's seat' signifying perhaps a lofty spot. Cf. Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh, Kingsettle Hill in Brewham (So[merset]), *Kingesettle* 1251 Ch, Kingsettle F[ar]m in Gillingham (Do[rset]), *Kyngeßettle* 1327 SR (p)." The last element in the latter names is OE *setl* 'a seat, an abode, a dwelling.' About this word Smith⁵² says: "In a few cases the meaning is 'seat,' probably used to indicate a lofty situation, as in Warshill, etc." This *Warshill* is OE *weard-setl* 'a guard house, a watch house,' "often in lofty situations."⁵³

A. Fägersten⁵⁴ adopted the suggestion in *EPNS* 8.201 about *Kingsett* in Devon and interpreted *Kingsettle* in Dorset as literally meaning 'king's seat,' whereafter he adds that "place-names of this type may originally have been hill-names, 'king's seat' signifying perhaps a lofty spot. Kingsettle F[ar]m is on the slope of a prominent hill."

E. Ekwall⁵⁵ explains the hill name *Kingsettle* in Somerset as OE *cyninges setl* 'the king's seat,' but does not suggest that the name signifies a lofty spot. He gives the information that there is a monument with a statue of King Alfred on the hill.

I am quite sure that the appellatives OE *setl* and *sæte* never denoted lofty places and am almost as certain that this statement applies also to the compounds *cyninges-setl* and *weard-setl*. The fact that watch towers or houses quite naturally were situated high up on hilltops does not allow us to draw the conclusion that *setl* or *weard-setl* meant 'hilltop.' It is equally natural that the residences of kings and chieftains also were built in strategically important places on hills with a commanding view of the surrounding area, but this fact does not imply that ME *kings-sete*, *jarls-sete* ever meant 'hilltop.'

However, whether my opinion on this matter is right or wrong is of no significance for the interpretation of *Cuniggesete* and *Jarlesete*, because these two names are Scandinavian, and there is not the slightest evidence that OScand. *sæti*, n., 'a residence' or any compound with this word indicated a lofty situation. I identify the two names with ON *konungs-sæti* (or **konunga-*, gen plur.) and *jarls-sæti* (or **jarla-*, gen. plur.). The two words *konungs-atseta*, f., and *konungs-setr*, n., synonymous with *konungs-sæti*, hardly deserve con-

⁵² *Ibid.*, 2.121.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 2.247.

⁵⁴ A. Fägersten, *The place-names of Dorset* (1933), p. 29.

⁵⁵ E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 277.

sideration in this case. OSwed. has the following corresponding compounds: *konunga-sæte*, *konung(s)-sæte*, n.; ODan. has *konungæ sæde* and (late ODan.) *kungsæte*.⁵⁶ Compounds of *jarl* and *sæte* have not been found in OSwed. or ODan. sources, but that is purely accidental. There is no doubt that the compound existed.

The two names now discussed give us the interesting information that Scandinavian kings and earls once resided in the region around Malham, which incidentally is also a Scandinavian name; see just below.*

University of California, Berkeley

⁵⁶ See Fritzner, *op.cit.*, 1.327, 329; Söderwall, *op.cit.*, 1.679, 681f.; *Ordbog over det danske Sprog*, 10.231. For the variant form *kunungr* see E. Ekwall in *Namn och bygd* 8.91f.

* Next installment.