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Anglo-Scandinavian Problems in Cumbria,  
 with Particular Reference to the Derwentwater Area

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**A. Early history: a mantle of silence**

'A mantle of silence, like the veil of Isis, hangs over [the county of Cumberland] till the close of the eleventh century.'<sup>1</sup> This eloquent sigh provides a useful reminder that the most fundamental problem in studying early Cumbria<sup>2</sup> is the dearth of early documentation, which enhances the importance of place-name evidence at the same time as it impedes the interpretation of the names.

Such documentary evidence as exists from before the twelfth century is either sketchy or confined to the lowland fringes of Cumbria; usually both. There are Romano-British names in sources such as the Antonine Itinerary and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and, as the names Cumberland and Cumbria suggest, there is a relatively late survival of British population in this region, but there is very little documentary evidence for that phase or for the period of assumed Northumbrian dominance in northern Cumbria c.650-900.<sup>3</sup> Only a few Cumbrian names feature in Bede's eighth-century *Historia*

This is a version of a paper given to the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland at its annual conference in Durham, April 1995, and I am most grateful to all who showed an interest in it on that occasion.

<sup>1</sup> *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Cumberland*, edited by J. Wilson, 3 vols (London, 1901-05), I, 296.

<sup>2</sup> The name Cumbria, recorded from c.1230, was given to the 1974 amalgamation of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands: for the name, see *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, edited by A. M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and B. Dickins, English Place-Name Society (EPNS), 20-22 (Cambridge, 1950-52), p. 1 (henceforth *PN Cumb.*). Unless otherwise stated, all early forms for Cumberland names are cited from this source.

<sup>3</sup> For these dates and a general survey of the period, see, e.g., N. Higham, 'The Scandinavians in North Cumbria: raids and settlement in the later ninth to mid tenth centuries', in *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, edited by

*Ecclesiastica*, and early charter evidence for north-west England is almost non-existent,<sup>4</sup> while in the various versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *Cumbra land* appears late, refers chiefly to Strathclyde, and like *Westmoringa land* figures mainly as a target for ravaging.<sup>5</sup>

The mantle of silence still shrouds the early tenth century, a time which saw some southward expansion into northern Cumbria by the Britons of Strathclyde as well as the famous influx of Scandinavians from Ireland, Man, Galloway and the Western Isles. There may indeed have been cooperation between the Strathclyde Britons and the Scandinavian military aristocracy (marked by their ill-fated defiance of the English at *Brunanburh* in 937), which permitted controlled Scandinavian settlement along the Cumbrian coast and in the upper Eden valley.<sup>6</sup> A similar or slightly earlier period also sees the movement of predominantly Danish settlers from eastern England into the Eden valley and from there into Dumfriesshire and the Cumbrian coastal plain.<sup>7</sup>

The Scandinavian influx has left its mark on the material culture of the region in the form of hogbacks and circle-headed crosses,<sup>8</sup> but not in documentary records. Gospatric's Writ, a thirteenth-century copy of a mid-eleventh century document, offers early forms for Allerdale, Cumdivock and various river-names, and it admirably reflects the blending of Celtic, English and Scandinavian influences in north Cumbria, yet it is a precious rarity.<sup>9</sup> Domesday Book offers no more than a scatter of forms relevant to lowland Cumbria within the coverage of Yorkshire.

It is, therefore, not until Pipe Rolls, Assize Rolls, Inquisitions Post Mortem and the like come on stream from the twelfth century

J. R. Baldwin and I. D. Whyte (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 37–51.

<sup>4</sup> See G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985), p. 334.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., the annals for 945, 966 (E version) and 1000 (E version) in *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, edited by C. Plummer and J. Earle, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892–99).

<sup>6</sup> Higham, 'Scandinavians in North Cumbria', pp. 42–43.

<sup>7</sup> See Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, especially p. 411.

<sup>8</sup> See R. N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London, 1980), especially chapters 5 and 8.

<sup>9</sup> Gospatric's Writ is printed and discussed in *PN Cumb.*, III, xxvii–xxx, and in *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, edited by F. E. Harmer (Oxford, 1952), pp. 412–24.

onwards that most of Cumbria comes into documentary view. Three of the famous lakes, for example—Windermere, Thurstonwater (now Coniston Water) and Elterwater—all make their first appearance in a charter of 1157–63.<sup>10</sup> The major local producers of records, are, of course, the great monastic houses which sprang up around lowland Cumbria, from Carlisle to Furness, in the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup>

There is, then, a severe shortage of early documentary evidence, which compounds any other problems one might choose to look at in connection with Cumbrian place-names. The two Anglo-Scandinavian problems—long recognised, but worth further airing—that will be addressed below are: (i) the difficulty, in many cases, of establishing whether place-name elements should be regarded as linguistically English or Scandinavian; and (ii) the difficulty of determining whether linguistically Scandinavian names belong to the period of Scandinavian settlement or to a later stage. I begin with Brigsteer, in the south-east corner of Cumbria, which is a particularly good example of the kinds of complexities that exist, but should first note a point of terminology. The term 'Scandinavian' is used throughout to refer to the people and, where possible, their language, since the alternative, (Old) Norse or 'ON', is used variously to refer to Scandinavian in general or to Norwegian. However, since 'Norse' and ON—normally used in the broader sense—are so prevalent in the older scholarly literature, their use in this paper is unavoidable; and in fact 'Norse' in either sense is not inappropriate to the Derwentwater area, where such indications as there are point to Norwegian, not Danish, influence.<sup>12</sup>

### B. Brigsteer: an Anglo-Scandinavian bridge

Brigsteer lies three miles south-west of Kendal, below a steep limestone scarp and beside a marshy plain which is now criss-crossed by drainage ditches as well as bisected by the Gilpin, tributary of the

<sup>10</sup> E. Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (Manchester, 1922), pp. 192–93.

<sup>11</sup> R. Millward and A. Robinson, *The Lake District* (London, 1970), pp. 156–57.

<sup>12</sup> For a critical survey of the traditional criteria see G. Fellows-Jensen, 'To divide the Danes from the Norwegians: on Scandinavian settlement in the British Isles', *Nomina*, 11 (1987), 35–60, and 'Scandinavian settlement in Cumbria and Dumfriesshire: the place-name evidence', in *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, pp. 65–82.

Kent. The earliest forms of the name are: *Brig(ge)-*, *Brige-*, *Bryg(ge)stere* 1227–37; and similar spellings, alternating with *-ster* forms, continue until the sixteenth century. A variant in *-steer(e)* or *-stear(e)* appears from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.<sup>13</sup>

Both elements of the name could be either Old English (OE) or ON or result from a blending of influences. The first element is clearly the word 'bridge',<sup>14</sup> and if we have to choose between labelling it as OE or ON, OE *brycg* might seem the likeliest etymon, since ON *bryggja* normally designates a jetty or gangway,<sup>15</sup> while the usual word for a bridge, attested, for instance, on numerous Swedish rune-stones, is *bro* or *brú*.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the non-palatal, non-assibilated [g] implied by the medieval spellings and modern pronunciation probably reflects Scandinavian origins or influence.<sup>17</sup> *Brig-* may well, therefore, be a case of a Scandinavian word for which a meaning originally rare within Scandinavia had been adopted by Scandinavian speakers in England. The compounding, in other Scandinavian-speaking areas, of 'bridge' with ON *fjol* 'plank' supports this idea.

As to the second element, the spellings perhaps favour OE *stēor* 'steer, young bullock', or a nickname or personal name derived from it. The main alternative, of a Scandinavian personal name *Styrr*,<sup>18</sup> is,

<sup>13</sup> For forms and discussion, see A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, EPNS, 42–43 (Cambridge, 1966–67), I, 109; henceforth *PN Westm.*

<sup>14</sup> It is probably safe to disregard Sedgefield's solution: 'prob. the pers. n. *Beorhtere*'. He compares *Bricht-* and *Brixt-* spellings for other names in *Beorht-*: W. J. Sedgefield, *The Place-Names of Cumberland and Westmorland* (Manchester, 1915), p. 138.

<sup>15</sup> This is the sense required for Brig Stones on the Cumbrian coast: *PN Cumb.*, II, 413.

<sup>16</sup> L. Petersen, *Svenskt Runordsregister* (Uppsala, 1989), pp. 6–8. In the rare cases where ON *bryggja* means 'bridge' it normally either refers to a bridge spanning a minor watercourse (a *lækr* 'stream' or *dík(i)* 'ditch, dike') or occurs in a context where English influence is likely. However, a *bryggja* over a 'great river' (*á mikil*) is recorded in a manuscript of c.1350 (*Maríu saga*, edited by C. R. Unger (Oslo, 1871), p. 76). I am grateful to the staff of the Arnamagnæan Dictionary of Old Norse Prose, Copenhagen, for access to their data on *brú* and *bryggja*, and to David Parsons for his thoughts on *bryggja*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §438; R. M. Hogg, *A Grammar of Old English*, I: *Phonology* (Oxford, 1992), p. 275.

<sup>18</sup> *Styrr* often takes the form *Ster* in England: E. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and*

however, favoured by the fact that Brigsteer belongs to the Gaelic-Scandinavian morphological type in which generic precedes specific, for which I would favour the term 'generic-first compound', although 'inversion compound'<sup>19</sup> and 'Celtic-type compound'<sup>20</sup> are more familiar. In such compounds, Scandinavian or Celtic personal names are particularly common as specifics;<sup>21</sup> the lost *Briggethorfin* would be a close parallel.<sup>22</sup>

The linguistic status of Brigsteer is therefore highly ambivalent, and indeed, three out of the four main options have been supported by one or more of the standard authorities,<sup>23</sup> and the fourth—OE first element with ON second element—cannot be entirely ruled out. Meanwhile, the place-names of the surrounding area give no help in arbitrating between the options, since they contain such a mix of Anglian and Scandinavian elements.<sup>24</sup> In fact, whichever way one jumps in respect of the individual elements, the compound Brigsteer probably reflects both English and Scandinavian input: English in the semantics of the word 'bridge', and (Gaelic-) Scandinavian in the order of the elements in the compound. This might surely be a name that one could with good conscience assign to a category called 'Anglo-Scandinavian'.

*Celts in North-West England* (Lund, 1918), p. 37; O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala, 1937), p. 377.

<sup>19</sup> Used by Ekwall in his discussion of these compounds—the first of any substance—in *Scandinavians and Celts*, chapter 1.

<sup>20</sup> Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, *passim*. For true Celtic place-names, O. J. Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, EPNS, 56/57 (Nottingham, 1985), pp. xv–xvi, uses the term 'name-phrase'.

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts*, p. 48, and Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, p. 96.

<sup>22</sup> Discussed in *PN Cumb.*, II, 360.

<sup>23</sup> Ekwall (*Scandinavians and Celts*, pp. 36–37) took both elements as ON; Smith (*PN Westm.*, I, 109) saw the first element as OE and the second as probably so; Fellows-Jensen (*Scandinavian Settlement Names*, p. 219) and A. D. Mills (*A Dictionary of English Place-Names* (Oxford, 1991), p. 52) take the first element as ON and the second as Old or Middle English.

<sup>24</sup> See Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, map on p. 353 and discussion on pp. 352–57.

### C. The Problem of Cognates

Much of the difficulty in accounting for Brigsteer and similar names arises from the existence of a great many pairs of Old English and Old Norse or Scandinavian cognates; and given the close familial relations between the two languages and the extensive Scandinavian impact on the British Isles, this is naturally a widespread and well-recognised problem. At a practical level, it is the problem of assigning the labels 'OE' and 'ON' or 'OScand' to items in a dictionary or survey.

The editors of *The Place-Names of Cumberland* and *The Place-Names of Westmorland* confront the problem of cognate pairs in their treatment of many individual names, and in the lists of elements in the final volumes of the two surveys. After citing names containing OE *be(o)rg* 'hill' and ON *berg* 'hill', for instance, the editors of *The Place-Names of Cumberland* note that 'in some names in the above lists it is impossible to be certain whether the element was originally OE or ON',<sup>25</sup> while Smith wholly avoids, for example, disentangling OE *dæl* from ON *dalr*.<sup>26</sup> Over sixty pairs of Old English and Old Norse cognates appear in both the Cumberland and Westmorland lists. The majority are topographical elements mainly used as generics, terms for plants and animals, or descriptive adjectives, e.g. *æcer* and *aker* 'cultivated piece of land', *æsc* and *asker* or *eski* 'ash tree(s)', *wulf* and *ulfr* 'wolf' and *lang* and *langr* 'long', all of which are relevant to the corpus of names discussed below. Some of the most characteristic Cumbrian elements have this ambivalent status, e.g. 'birk' (OE *bi(e)rce* or *beorc*, ON *birki*), and 'rigg' (OE *hrycg*, ON *hryggr*). A further fifty or so cognate pairs are represented in one but not both lists, as when *PN Westmorland* has OE *swīn* and ON *svín* 'swine', but *PN Cumberland* *swīn* only. In about a dozen more cases, both lists omit mention of ON cognates, offering, e.g., OE *sīde* 'hill-slope' and *col* 'charcoal', but not ON *sīða* or *kol*.

On the other hand, the picture is not entirely confused. There are many familiar Lakeland elements whose Scandinavian origins are virtually beyond dispute, including 'beck' (*bekker*), 'fell' (*fell* or *fiell*), 'force' (*fors* 'waterfall'), 'gill' or 'ghyll' (*gil* 'ravine'), 'raise' (*breysi*

<sup>25</sup> *PN Cumb.*, III, 461.

<sup>26</sup> *PN Westm.*, II, 245. Fellows-Jensen argues against OE *dæl* as a source of English 'dale' names in *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, pp. 83–85.

'cairn, heap of stones'), 'thwaite' (*þveit* 'clearing') and 'tarn' (*tjǫrn* 'small lake').

### D. The Problem of Chronology

There is no question about the profound and lasting impact of Scandinavian settlers on the fells and valleys of the Cumbrian dome. Genetic influence is still strongly in evidence among the current population,<sup>27</sup> and the modern dialect also shows Scandinavian influence.<sup>28</sup> However, since most Cumbrian place-names are not recorded until the twelfth or thirteenth centuries at the earliest, even those names that are demonstrably Scandinavian in etymology may have been given at a stage when generics such as 'holm', 'tarn', 'howe', 'side' and 'thwaite' had become absorbed into the local dialect. The compounding of originally Scandinavian elements with post-Conquest personal names or appellatives (common nouns) is a clear sign of the continuing vigour of these generics. Examples include Lawrenceholm (Cumb.: *insulam Sancti Laurentii* 1189), Martin Tarn (Cumb.: *Martinterne* 1254), *Wodewardehowe* (Westm.; 1256),<sup>29</sup> or *Rogerside* (Cumb.: *Rogersat(e)*, *Rogersesete* 1278).<sup>30</sup> In the case of *Laithwaite* in Cockermouth parish (*Leycheld* c.1300), 'thwaite' may have displaced the reflex of OE *helde* 'slope' as late as c.1700.<sup>31</sup>

Like the 'cognate' problem, this one has long been recognised,<sup>32</sup> and it too has a practical, terminological side. 'ON' or 'OScand' in a

<sup>27</sup> D. F. Roberts and others, 'Genetic variation in Cumbria', *Annals of Human Biology*, 8 (1981), 135–44, and 'Genetic structure in Cumbria', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 13 (1981), 317–36.

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., Thomas Ellwood, *Lakeland and Iceland: being a Glossary of Words in the Dialect of Cumbria, Westmorland and North Lancashire which seem allied to or identical with the Icelandic or Norse* (London, 1895); Stanley Ellis, 'Scandinavian influences on Cumbrian dialect', in *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, pp. 61–67.

<sup>29</sup> For *Wodewardehowe*, see *PN Westm.*, II, 300 (not in index).

<sup>30</sup> *Rogerside* is counted as lost by the editors of *PN Cumb.*, II, 371; while A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 40, takes it as a term for the Newlands valley.

<sup>31</sup> *PN Cumb.*, II, 362.

<sup>32</sup> See, e.g., W. G. Collingwood, 'Mountain names', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, n.s., 18 (1918), 93–104, especially p. 103; John Insley, 'Toponymy and settlement in

survey or dictionary of place-names means 'etymologically Old Norse' or 'Old Scandinavian', but it says nothing about the genesis of the name—whether it was given by Viking-Age settlers, or by speakers of a Middle English or later dialect who used the elements as part of their everyday lexicon, or at least as part of the local onomasticon. Attempts to refine the descriptions are somewhat intermittent. In their list of Cumberland place-name elements, for instance, the editors of *PN Cumberland* have 'bȳ, late OE from ON *býr*, *bær*, Swed, Dan *by*, "village, hamlet"' (III, 464), where *PN Westmorland* has 'bȳ ON "farmstead, village"' (II, 239); and *PN Cumberland* does not regard 'thwaite' as anything other than 'þveit ON' (III, 494).<sup>33</sup>

I turn now to a body of onomastic material from the northern Lake District in order to explore the problems of etymology and chronology within a specific locality (see the map, p. 113).<sup>34</sup>

### E. Introduction to the Derwentwater area

As elsewhere in upland Cumbria, documentary deficiencies are matched by a paucity of archaeological remains, though there is evidence of a long history of human involvement. A Neolithic workshop was unearthed north of Derwentwater in 1901;<sup>35</sup> and there are believed to have been ancient hillforts at locations now signalled as 'castle': Castle Head by Keswick, Reecastle above Lodore, and Castle Crag, the most prominent of the 'Jaws of Borrowdale' and presumably the *borg* which gave its name to the dale.<sup>36</sup> A Roman road (Margary 753) came east over the Whinlatter pass to Braithwaite, and traces of its continuation have been discovered north-east of Braithwaite.<sup>37</sup>

the North-West: a review of Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, *Nomina*, 10 (1986), 169–76, especially pp. 170–73; and G. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian influence on the place-names of England', in *Language Contact in the British Isles*, edited by P. Sture Ureland and G. Broderick (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 337–54, especially p. 351.

<sup>33</sup> Differentiation between Old East Norse and Old West Norse is equally intermittent, though understandably so.

<sup>34</sup> I am most grateful to Ann Rooke for the production of the map.

<sup>35</sup> W. G. Collingwood, *The Lake Counties*, 2nd edn (London, 1932), p. 138.

<sup>36</sup> Finds have included lead vessels, an iron pot, freestone, two wells and a halberd of 1684 (*VCH Cumberland*, I, 285).

<sup>37</sup> I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 2 vols (London, 1955–57), II, 130; R. L. Bellhouse, 'The Roman road from Old Penrith to Keswick, and

Otherwise, material remains are virtually lacking until we reach the twelfth-century founding of a stone church at Crosthwaite, the fourteenth-century cult of St Herbert, and the mining activities of the sixteenth century.<sup>38</sup>

In more recent times, the forbidding and agriculturally unpromising aspect of the Derwentwater area has been viewed in quite another light. The quintessence of the picturesque and sublime to Romantic sensibilities, a mecca for Victorian and twentieth-century trippers, and a cradle of the National Trust,<sup>39</sup> it has also become redolent with literary associations,<sup>40</sup> some with onomastic ramifications. St Herbert's Isle, largest of the Derwentwater islands, already mentioned if not quite named by Bede, was onomastically re-incarnated as Owl Island in Beatrix Potter's *Tale of Squirrel Nutkin*. Coleridge used to watch the moonlight on the Greta from his study in Greta Hall, and accepted a romantic etymology for its name. In a passage explaining that his infant son Derwent was named from the river and would have been Greta had he been female, he glosses Greta, 'or rather Grieta', as 'the loud Lamerter', adding, 'to Griet in the Cumbrian Dialect signifying to roar aloud for grief or pain—: and it does roar with a vengeance!'<sup>41</sup> Wordsworth also alludes to 'the Mourner' in his 1833 Sonnet, 'To the river Greta, near Keswick', but nevertheless almost happens upon the correct etymology:

Greta, what fearful listening! when huge stones  
Rumble along thy bed, block after block.

Greta is ON *grjót* 'stone, rock' plus ON *á* 'river'; the river is rocky upstream from Keswick.

In the following sections I review the chief names of the Derwentwater area, attempting to identify the main chronological

beyond', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, n.s., 54 (1955), 17–27.

<sup>38</sup> Documented in W. G. Collingwood, *Elizabethan Keswick* (Kendal, 1912).

<sup>39</sup> Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley, co-founder of the Trust, was vicar of Crosthwaite.

<sup>40</sup> The eponymous Rogue Herries, for instance, lived at Rosthwaite in Borrowdale, and his creator Hugh Walpole on the edge of Derwentwater at Brackenburn.

<sup>41</sup> *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, edited by E. L. Griggs, 6 vols (Oxford, 1956–71), I, 632.

layers—including pre-Scandinavian and post-Scandinavian—at the same time as examining arguments for or against Scandinavian linguistic origins; in several cases the two problems of cognates and chronology are intertwined.

#### F. Pre-Scandinavian names in the Derwentwater area<sup>42</sup>

The oldest traceable layer, the Celtic, is represented only by the river-name Derwent (*Derwentionis fluvii* c.750), of whose origins, in British \**derwā* ‘oak’,<sup>43</sup> the oaks which nowadays line the river in lower Borrowdale are an attractive reminder. Although it appears that this stretch of the river bore the Scandinavian name *Borgará* (*Borghra*),<sup>44</sup> the ‘Derwent’ name prevailed, being extended to the lake through which it flows (*Derwentwatre* temp. John).

Of place-names assignable to the Anglian period there are also few definite traces. The nearest *-hām* name, for instance, is a dozen miles away at Brigham near Cockermouth. However, Keswick (*Kesewic* c.1240, *Chesewyk* 1285), despite its Scandinavian-style initial consonant, is certainly Anglian. No Scandinavian cognate exists to the OE *c(ȝ)ese* ‘cheese’ (ultimately from Latin *cāseus*), and Keswick may well have been dairy farm (OE *wīc*) to the well-situated and ancient Christian centre of Crosthwaite. Another clearly English element is the *hop* ‘valley’ in Greenup, a point on the ridge west of Grange which appears in a Furness charter of 1209–10 as (*Parva*) *Grenehope*,<sup>45</sup> but the dating of this name is impossible.

As already mentioned, St Herbert’s Isle is almost named by Bede, who relates that Hereberct, spiritual friend of St Cuthbert, lived a solitary life *in insula stagni illius pergrandis, de quo Deruentionis fluvii primordia erumpunt*, ‘on an island of that large mere from which spring the sources of the river Derwent’.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Fellows-Jensen counts 320 pre-Viking settlement names in Cumberland as a whole (*Scandinavian Settlement Names*, p. 284).

<sup>43</sup> E. Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 122–23.

<sup>44</sup> *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, edited by W. T. Lancaster, 2 vols (Leeds, 1915), I, 61; henceforth *Fountains Chartulary*.

<sup>45</sup> *Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, vol. II, edited by J. Brownbill, 3 parts, Chetham Society, n.s., 74, 76 and 78 (Manchester, 1915–19), ii, 570; henceforth *Furness Coucher*.

<sup>46</sup> *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, edited and translated by

#### G. Possible hybrids

A possible instance of an Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid is Lodore, the gorge between Gowder Crag and Shepherd’s Crag and site of the famous Falls, which appears as *Laghedure* (alongside *Heghedure*) in a Fountains charter dated 1209–10.<sup>47</sup> The form appears to combine ON *lágr* ‘low’ with the English ‘door’, *duru* at the OE stage, although remodelling, under English influence, of an original ON *dyrr* and of ON *há* ‘high’ in *Heghedure* cannot be ruled out.

In Portinscale (*Porqeneschal* c.1160, *Portewinscales* c.1265) the generic is clearly ON *skáli* ‘shieling, hut’, but the specific is either OE *portcwēn(e)* ‘town-woman, prostitute’ or the cognate ON *portkona*. The fact that the English word went out of use after the Conquest (to judge from its absence from the *Middle English Dictionary*)<sup>48</sup> might favour wholly Scandinavian origins for this name; but the possibility of mixed ancestry cannot be rejected, and indeed might suit this particular facility, conveniently stationed between the Scandinavian Braithwaite and the originally English Keswick.

Another ‘-scale’ name, Gutherscale (*Goderyscales* 1293, *Goderikeschales* 1318), appears to contain the personal name Godric, which is well attested in OE and still enormously common in Domesday Book.<sup>49</sup> A further possible hybrid, Applethwaite, is discussed in section J below.

#### H. Linguistically Scandinavian names

Of the etymologically Scandinavian names which predominate in this area, some contain features normally associated with the phase of actual Scandinavian colonisation from the west and north-west of the British Isles. The diagnostically Scandinavian genitive singular *-ar*, for instance, is usually considered to be an early feature. Using that criterion, Borrowdale and Burthwaite may be taken as truly Scandinavian formations rather than products of a Scandinavianised Middle English dialect. Some early spellings of Borrowdale, including *Borgordale* c.1170 and *Borcheredale* (c.1209 etc.), preserve the genitive singular *borgar* ‘of or with a fortress’, which, as mentioned above, is

B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), IV, 29 (pp. 440–41).

<sup>47</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, I, 61.

<sup>48</sup> Edited by H. Kurath and S. M. Kuhn (Ann Arbor, 1952–).

<sup>49</sup> Von Feilitzen, *Pre-Conquest Personal Names*, pp. 266–69.

presumed to commemorate a fort on Castle Crag. Burthwaite (Bridge) is *Butherthwait* alongside *Burthwayt* in 1211,<sup>50</sup> and hence also has as its specific the genitive singular of a feminine noun, in this case *búðar* 'of or with a hut, shieling'. As Collingwood remarked of Borrowdale, the *-ar* 'is a good proof that not only Norse, but grammatical Norse, was talked by the people who finally settled there'.<sup>51</sup>

One of the most spectacular contributions of Scandinavian speakers to the onomastic profile of Cumbria is the generic-first or inversion compound already encountered in Brigsteer which, like the *-ar* inflexion, seems likely to date from a period when Scandinavian speech flourished. There are two probable cases in the Derwentwater area: Seatoller and Glaramara. In Seatoller (*Settaller* 1563) the first element can fairly safely be taken as ON *sætr* 'shieling', a likely generic. The normal assumption that the second element is OE *alor* 'alder'<sup>52</sup> is reassuringly supported by the presence of alders in this part of Borrowdale. However, given that generic-first compounds in *sætr* most often have a personal name as their specific,<sup>53</sup> Collingwood's comment that 'in former times' the last part of the name was '*-haller*, possibly for Halldor, a Norse name' should perhaps not be too lightly dismissed, even if his preceding etymology, of Seathwaite, is disproved by the early spellings.<sup>54</sup> The mountain-name Glaramara (*Hoved-gleuermerhe* 1209–10) is still more difficult. *PN Cumberland*, II, 350 takes this as the ON dative plural *gliúfrum* 'ravines' plus originally Gaelic *erg* 'shieling'. ON *hǫfuð* 'head, summit' would then refer to the mountain—it is a point on the boundary between the lands of Fountains and Furness. There are, however, drawbacks with this solution: *-um* formations rarely take on second elements (*PN Cumberland* cites only Carhampton (Somerset), from (*æt*) *Carrum* + *tun*, in support), and names formed with *erg* normally occur in lower

<sup>50</sup> Compare *Butherhals*, which lies above Burthwaite (*Fountains Chartulary*, I, 61).

<sup>51</sup> *The Lake Counties*, p. 141. For further examples of this and other diagnostic Scandinavian inflexions, see *PN Cumb.*, III, xxv, and Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, pp. 325–27. Fellows-Jensen raises the possibility that some names, including Borrowdale, incorporate *árdalr* 'river valley' as generic, with fossilised *-(a)r-*, but ultimately favours *dalr* (p. 325).

<sup>52</sup> e.g. *PN Cumb.*, II, 351.

<sup>53</sup> *PN Cumb.*, III, xxiii and 503.

<sup>54</sup> *The Lake Counties*, p. 141.

and more promising terrain.<sup>55</sup> The use of *hǫfuð* is not common, but a contemporary parallel is recorded from the other side of Borrowdale: *Hovedscaldale* (c.1210–12), later High Scawdale.<sup>56</sup>

A number of characteristic vowels and consonants can assist the identification of Scandinavian names,<sup>57</sup> above all the *sk*, *k* and *g* which reflect the absence of the palatisation and assibilation by which OE [sk] became [ʃ], normally spelt *sc* in all environments, while [k] and [g] became [tʃ] and [j] respectively in certain palatal environments. However, since, as the case of Keswick shows, Scandinavianisation of earlier names is always a theoretical possibility, the phonological criteria are best used in conjunction with lexical evidence. An example is Skelgill or Skelghyll (*Scalegayl* 1260 etc., *Scalgeyl* 1278) on the Newlands side of Catbells. The first element is clearly ON *skáli* 'hut, shieling', and the second originally ON *geil* 'ravine, lane', replaced by ON *gil* 'ravine'. (There is no marked cleft at Skelgill: one wonders if the *geil* was a track running along the contour.) Deeper into the Newlands valley, we find Keskadale, whose 1268 spelling *Ketelschaledal* clearly identifies it as the distinctively Scandinavian personal name *Ketil(l)*, plus ON *skáli* 'hut, shieling', with ON *dalr* 'valley'.<sup>58</sup> Again, the lexical evidence stamps the name as pure Scandinavian.

A famous mountain-name whose phonological and lexical features render it—despite the elusiveness of its first element—safely Scandinavian is Skiddaw, recorded as (forest of) *Skithoc* 1230, *Skythou* 1260, *Skydehow* 1247, *Schydehow* 1260. The second element is fairly definitely *-haugr* 'height, hill'. The first element could be (i) *\*skýti*, an *i*-mutated relative of Norwegian *skut*, *skuta* 'projecting crag' which

<sup>55</sup> See, e.g., M. C. Higham, 'The "erg" place-names of northern England', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*, 10 (1977–78), 7–17, especially p. 9; G. Fellows-Jensen, 'A Gaelic–Scandinavian loan-word in English place-names', *ibid.*, pp. 18–25, especially p. 25. Collingwood ('Mountain names', p. 99) suggests ON *glæfra-merki* 'the boundary-mark of the chasms', which obviates both drawbacks, though *merki* and its development would be problematic. Another complication in the name is the ambiguity of the spellings in the *Fountains Chartulary* (I, 61), which could be read as *Glen-* or *Gleu-*.

<sup>56</sup> *PN Cumb.*, II, 351.

<sup>57</sup> A comprehensive survey is H. Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin*, I (Uppsala, 1912).

<sup>58</sup> The 1260 spelling *Keskeldale* is less revealing but does not undermine the etymology.

would probably refer to Skiddaw Little (or Low) Man, the main projection on this mainly smooth-flanked hill; (ii) *skyti* 'archer', or a related word (though it is difficult to see what such a specific would refer to); (iii) a personal name, akin perhaps to the *Scet* and variants recorded in Domesday Book for Norfolk, or to the rare *Skúta* or *Skíði*<sup>59</sup> (though names in *-haugr* normally have descriptive words as their specifics rather than personal names);<sup>60</sup> or, last but not necessarily least plausibly, (iv) ON *skit*, *skitr* 'filth, dung', *pace* the editors of *PN Cumberland*, who consider that 'ON *skit* is obviously inadmissible in the name of this great hill'.<sup>61</sup>

Ullock 'may be *Uloke* 1564 . . . Cf. *Ullaikmire* 1304';<sup>62</sup> and *Hulueleyc*, which occurs as a surname (undated) in the *Fountains Charters* (I, 47), may well refer to this Ullock. The name exemplifies another Scandinavian phonological phenomenon—loss of bilabial [w] before a rounded vowel, producing ON *ulfr* as distinct from OE *wulf*—coupled with the lexical evidence of the ON element *leikr*, hence plausibly 'place where wolves play' (see further section J below).

As with many onomastic problems, comparative data can add weight, in this case to arguments for Scandinavian origins. The occurrence of Gryta 'rocky river' in Norway and Grjótá in Iceland<sup>63</sup> would, for example, suggest that the Cumbrian Greta is a compound of ON *grjót* 'stones' and *á* 'river' rather than OE *grēot* 'gravel' (which is anyway less apt in the situation) and *ēa* 'river'. Similarly, if the presence of ON *vatn* 'lake' and *endi* 'end' in the name Watendlath, hamlet and tarn, were in doubt, the Norwegian Vassenden (several examples) would provide confirmation, whatever the explanation of the frustratingly variable final syllable.<sup>64</sup>

To move from more secure to more problematic cases: three places at the lower, northern end of the Newlands valley bear names both of whose elements could be either English or Scandinavian.

<sup>59</sup> Listed by A. Janzén, *Personnavne*, Nordisk Kultur, 7 (Stockholm, etc., 1947), p. 54.

<sup>60</sup> See the list in *PN Cumb.*, III, 477.

<sup>61</sup> *PN Cumb.*, II, 320.

<sup>62</sup> *PN Cumb.*, II, 373; cf. Ullock Coppice (St John's), *magna Ulleyke in Castilrig* 1292 (*PN Cumb.*, II, 315), and Ullock (Dean), *Uluelaykes* c.1265 (*PN Cumb.*, II, 367–68).

<sup>63</sup> Ekwall, *English River-Names*, p. 185.

<sup>64</sup> See *PN Cumb.*, II, 352 for forms.

Uzzicar (*Husaker*, *Huseker* c.1160) is set on raised ground west of an enduringly boggy tract of the Newlands valley. Its name suggests a cultivated area with a building either isolated or notable by local standards, and it was secondarily applied to the surrounding valley (*Usakredale*, 1369). There seems no realistic way of determining whether the elements are OE *hūs* 'house' + *æcer* 'field' (as assumed in *PN Cumberland*, II, 372) or ON *hús* + *akr*.

Nearby Swinside (*le Swynesyde* 1507) could contain a specific from OE *swīn* or ON *svín* 'swine' and a generic from ON *sætr* 'shieling'. (OE *sīde* 'slope, hill-side' or its rare cognate ON *síða* do not match the land-forms well.)<sup>65</sup> In terms of date anything between the tenth and sixteenth centuries is possible. But probably the site, beneath a wooded hill and close to the lake, was in use long before the sixteenth century, when pannage had been in decline in Cumbria for some three centuries,<sup>66</sup> so that a Scandinavian origin for the name seems more likely than a later one. That the use and naming of this part of the valley goes back still further into the Anglian phase is perhaps unlikely given its late appearance in the records.

Coledale (*Coldale* 1260, *Colledale* 1339), valley and beck, is a not dissimilar case, in which the first element could be the word 'coal, charcoal' in either language—OE *col* or ON *kol*—or else a Scandinavian personal name *Kolr*, *Koli* or *Kolli*. Totally uninhabited in recent times, and a minor satellite of Braithwaite in medieval times, it too seems unlikely to have been established before the Scandinavian-speaking period.

## J. The chronology of linguistically Scandinavian names

Some chronological anchors can be tentatively established using linguistic criteria in conjunction with clues in the topography and the probable history of land clearance and use. It was mentioned in section H above that place-names containing *-ar* genitives (Borrowdale, Burthwaite) and the generic-first or inversion compounds (Seatoller and possibly Glaramara) are likely to have been given by actual Scandinavian speakers. If this is true of the relatively insignificant

<sup>65</sup> OE *sīde* is used of 'long hill-slopes': M. Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984), p. 187.

<sup>66</sup> So Winchester (*Landscape and Society*, pp. 100–02), who inclines to put place-names referring to swine in the tenth to twelfth centuries.



Burthwaite and the shieling-site Seatoller, there is no particular obstacle to suspecting the same of other 'thwaite' names recorded from Borrowdale in a similar period, namely Stonethwaite (*Staynethwayt temp.* Richard I), which was the site of a vaccary of the monks of Fountains from before 1302,<sup>67</sup> and Seathwaite (*Seuethwayt* 1292), or even of those recorded considerably later, namely Rosthwaite (*Rasethuate* 1503) and Longthwaite (*Longtwhayte temp.* Henry VIII).<sup>68</sup>

As for the notable cluster of 'thwaites' at the north end of Derwentwater, none occurs in documents before the mid-twelfth century, and there is always a general possibility that 'thwaites' may be quite young, yet the probability seems to be that most of these arose in the Scandinavian-speaking period, and some could be re-namings of pre-existing settlements.<sup>69</sup> Crosthwaite (*Crostweit c.*1150) is the clearest example of this. From early times the centre of a vast parish, situated by an ancient routeway, it was previously named 'Crosfeld, id est Crucis Novalē', according to Jocelyn of Furness, c.1200, who relates that the sixth-century St Kentigern (St Mungo) raised a cross there and that a church dedicated to the saint has been built recently.<sup>70</sup> A little to the north, Ormathwaite (*Nordmanthait c.*1160) appears to proclaim its origin in the Scandinavian-speaking period, being, as Gillian Fellows-Jensen has pointed out, 'the only major name in the North-West which may contain the term *Norðmenn*'.<sup>71</sup> The English-

<sup>67</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, I, 62.

<sup>68</sup> The names of Borrowdale are briefly discussed in Millward and Robinson, *The Lake District*, p. 145.

<sup>69</sup> That this is a realistic possibility is suggested by the (albeit unusual) case of Waberthwaite. Here, although neither the assumed specific *veidi-búð* 'fishing-hut' nor the generic *þveit* 'clearing' points to a substantial or ancient settlement, the presence of Anglian sculpture suggests exactly that (see Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, p. 403).

<sup>70</sup> *Vita Kentegerni*, chapter 23, in *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*, edited and translated by A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland*, 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 74 and 200. The claim that Crosfeld was a genuinely ancient name is somewhat dubious in the light of the probability that the form *cros* or *kros*, though ultimately derived from Latin *crux* and cognate with the late OE form *crūc*, entered north-west England as a Gaelic adoption in Scandinavian: A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols, EPNS, 25–26 (Cambridge, 1956), I, 114.

<sup>71</sup> *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, p. 308; she does not rule out a Scandinavian personal name *Norðmaðr* (p. 151), of which von Feilitzen (*Pre-Conquest*

seeming specific of nearby Applethwaite (*Apelthwayt c.*1220) could signal an early hybrid, or a post-Viking formation or adaptation. Its favourable position (Wordsworth called it 'this sunny Dell')<sup>72</sup> and proximity to other 'thwaites' that are probably from the Scandinavian period suggest that it may be older rather than younger, perhaps even a modification of some pre-existing English name. Braithwaite occupies a good, relatively flat site at the foot of the Whinlatter Pass, and clear of the swampy ground between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite Lake—a 'broad clearing' indeed, with additional grazing on Braithwaite How. By c.1300 it was a flourishing 'entire vill' (*villa integra*);<sup>73</sup> much later it was to be graced by a railway station. Again, though not recorded before c.1160 (*Braithait*) this land seems likely to have been cleared during the Scandinavian-speaking phase at the latest.

A little further into the Newlands valley is Ullock, discussed in section H above. The Scandinavian elements and phonology of this name, the linguistic erosion it had already undergone by 1304, and its situation at the mouth of the Newlands valley all suggest that the name may well go back to the Scandinavian-speaking period, and although the demise of the wolf in Britain is notoriously difficult to trace,<sup>74</sup> its probable dating would fit this theory.

We are left with a residue of names which, though certainly Scandinavian in terms of linguistic origin, are difficult to date. In the case of Keskadale (now a valley and farmstead), the incorporation of a Scandinavian personal name may indicate an origin in an early phase of settlement, but by no means guarantees it, and its remote situation, at a point where stunted, possibly relict, oaks cower against the fell-side to a height of 1,500 feet, confirms the signal sent by the

*Personal Names*, p. 332) notes two occurrences, from 1190 and 1422. The further possibility of an OE personal name *Norðmann* is suggested by Insley, 'Toponymy and Settlement', p. 174. The identification of the early spellings with Ormathwaite is problematic since the only early document to suggest a location (*Fountains Chartulary*, I, 49) seems to indicate close proximity to Portinscale.

<sup>72</sup> In the sonnet 'At Applethwaite, near Keswick'.

<sup>73</sup> Winchester, *Landscape and Society*, pp. 33 and 69–70.

<sup>74</sup> See, e.g., Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside* (London, 1986), pp. 34–36, who inclines to think that the wolf was extinct throughout most of England by the end of the thirteenth century, surviving a century longer on the North York Moors and still longer in Scotland.

element *skáli* 'shieling', that this is very much a secondary settlement.<sup>75</sup> When this and the nearby Birkrigg became fully established farmsteads is difficult to guess. A shieling at Keskadale is still on record c.1270, held by a tenant at *Fal* (Fawe Park),<sup>76</sup> and it is probable that only modest expansion took place at sites like these before the local drainage and general demographic increase in the thirteenth century. Certainly the Newlands valley appears to have been quite a populous place in the later thirteenth century, its inhabitants including, for instance, eleven landless cottagers at Gutherscale c.1270.<sup>77</sup> Rising rents suggest extensive cultivation of former wasteland, and the fishing potential of Derwentwater was exploited;<sup>78</sup> mineral resources may also have been excavated.<sup>79</sup>

#### K. Post-Scandinavian (English and French)

This phase is clearly represented in the nomenclature of the region. Causey Pike, one of several mountain-names not recorded before the eighteenth century (*Cawsey-Pike* 1784), appears to go back to Norman French *caucie*, and presumably takes its name from *Le Cauce/Chauche/Caucey*, the paved road or causeway mentioned in thirteenth-century documents which traversed the marsh between Derwentwater and Bassenthwaite, aided by a stone bridge.<sup>80</sup> The Pike is a prominent landmark from Crosthwaite and the north end of Derwentwater. Bassenthwaite itself is recorded as a settlement name from c.1160 (*Bistunthweit*, *Bastunthwait*, in personal names) and from c.1220 as a lake-name (*Bastunwater*). The specific is assumed to be a by-name

<sup>75</sup> A date somewhat after the first Scandinavian influx for places like Keskadale would fit with Ian Whyte's suggestion that the element *skáli* tends to designate shielings in higher and less favourable situations than *erg* or *sætr*, and that the *erg*, *sætr* and *skáli* names represent approximate chronological layers: 'Shielings and the upland pastoral economy of the Lake District in medieval and early modern times', in *The Scandinavians in Cumbria*, pp. 103–117.

<sup>76</sup> Winchester, *Landscape and Society*, p. 95.

<sup>77</sup> Winchester, *Landscape and Society*, p. 63.

<sup>78</sup> Winchester, *Landscape and Society*, pp. 40 and 111.

<sup>79</sup> Collingwood (*Elizabethan Keswick*, p. 10) claims that the Newlands 'is said to have been the site of a mine in the thirteenth century', but I have not so far been able to substantiate this.

<sup>80</sup> e.g. *Fountains Chartulary*, I, 50.

derived from Old French *bastun* 'stick, baton'.<sup>81</sup> A common French-derived appellative features in Grange-in-Borrowdale (*Grangia nostra de Boroudale*, 1396), a northerly counterpart to Grange-over-Sands, and another grange of Furness Abbey. The settlement, at an important bridging point, is doubtless older than the name, and may be the *Bredinebrigge* of the *Furness Coucher* in c.1209–10.<sup>82</sup>

The definitely Middle English name Newlands is first recorded in 1318, and the drainage which extended the usable part of the valley is, from the evidence of increased rents, placed in the thirteenth century.<sup>83</sup> Other presumably post-Scandinavian names coined from English elements include Little Town, whose first recorded spelling, *Littleton* 1578, perhaps suggests that the name had existed long enough for its generic to be pronounced with a shortened vowel. Certainly, this was in 1578 a well-established hamlet of eight landholdings, five sharing a central tract of land called *Thwate* which Winchester suggests may indicate the original clearing at the site.<sup>84</sup> Still in the Newlands valley, the unenticing, English, name and exposed situation of Stoneycroft (*Stanycroft* 1505) are suggestive of post-Scandinavian origins, as is the general tendency for '-croft' names to appear in the Middle English rather than the Old English period.<sup>85</sup> The settlement at Stair (*Stayre* 1565, *Stare* 1566), situated less than half a mile from Stoneycroft, might belong to a similar phase, and if the original site is continued in the present hamlet, its proximity to the Newlands Beck would suggest that the land would have been uninhabitable before drainage took place in the valley. This would support the view of the name as English and self-explanatory, 'presumably so called from the rise in the road here'.<sup>86</sup> The element 'stair' is rare in major names, but not in minor names,<sup>87</sup>

<sup>81</sup> *PN Cumb.*, I, 32 and II, 263.

<sup>82</sup> II.ii, 570.

<sup>83</sup> Winchester, *Landscape and Society*, p. 40.

<sup>84</sup> Winchester, *Landscape and Society*, pp. 70–71.

<sup>85</sup> Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, I, 113.

<sup>86</sup> *PN Cumb.*, II, 373.

<sup>87</sup> Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, II, 141, cites only Steer's Common, Sussex, and Broadstairs, Kent; but minor names are recorded from various counties. See, e.g., A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, EPNS, 30–37 (Cambridge, 1961–62), VII, 249, and J. McN. Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, EPNS, 44–48 and 54 (Cambridge and Nottingham, 1970–81), V, part 1:ii, 349.

so that, although it is somewhat unexpected at this spot, where the gradient is unspectacular, it is the most likely etymon. An alternative is ME *star* or ON *storr* 'sedge', found in such Cumbrian names as Stare Beck and Stareholm. However, the unlikelihood of this appearing as a simplex name, together with the evidence of the 1565 spelling *Stayre* and the modern Stair, reduce the possibility of this.

A reminder that fresh naming continues well beyond the medieval period is Goldscope, a remodelling of German *Gottesgab* 'gift of God', which celebrated the copper resources of the Newlands valley exploited by the Augsburg miners from 1566.<sup>88</sup> Copperheap Hill and Bay on the west shore of Derwentwater speak for themselves.

#### L. Anglicisation

Alongside the formation of names from English elements in the Middle English period, we have various signs of English-language influence on names etymologically Scandinavian. Phonological adaptation under the influence of English cognates is visible, for example, in *Bradthueit* for Braithwaite c.1220,<sup>89</sup> or—to give examples surviving to the present day—in Ashness (*Eschenesbec* 1209–10; *Esk(e)nese* 1211) and Stonethwaite (*Staynethwayt* temp. Richard I). Longthwaite already has an English-looking first element at its first appearance in the sixteenth century: *Longthwayte* temp. Henry VIII. The tendency to Anglicise the sequence [sk] appears in spellings such as *Schydehow* 1260 (Skiddaw) or the common late medieval renderings of ON *skáli* 'hut, shieling' as *-schale(s)*. Brigham (Keswick) in its modern form has an English look about it, yet the ON generic *holm* 'island', or 'land partially enclosed by water' is secured by the earliest spellings (*Brigholm* c.1240 etc.), and aptly describes its sloping site above a bend in the River Greta.<sup>90</sup>

The English plural inflexion *-s* appears on etymologically Scandinavian names throughout Cumbria from the twelfth century, e.g. Ternis.<sup>91</sup> Examples near Derwentwater are *Portewinscales* c.1265

<sup>88</sup> Collingwood, *Elizabethan Keswick*, p. 10.

<sup>89</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, I, 55.

<sup>90</sup> On the semantics of *holmr*, see G. Fellows-Jensen, 'On *dalr* and *holmr* in the place-names of Britain', *Norna-Rapporter*, 28 (1985), 9–25, especially pp. 15–21.

<sup>91</sup> *PN Cumb.*, II, 296.

and Gutherscales. As suggested in section G above, the name Portinscale—whether a hybrid or not—seems likely to have arisen in the Scandinavian-speaking phase, and Gutherscale quite likely came into being as a shieling during that phase; but dating is difficult, and some 'scales', 'thwaites' and 'tarns' may be of Middle English origin. The various processes of Anglicisation would doubtless repay closer study.

#### M. Conclusion

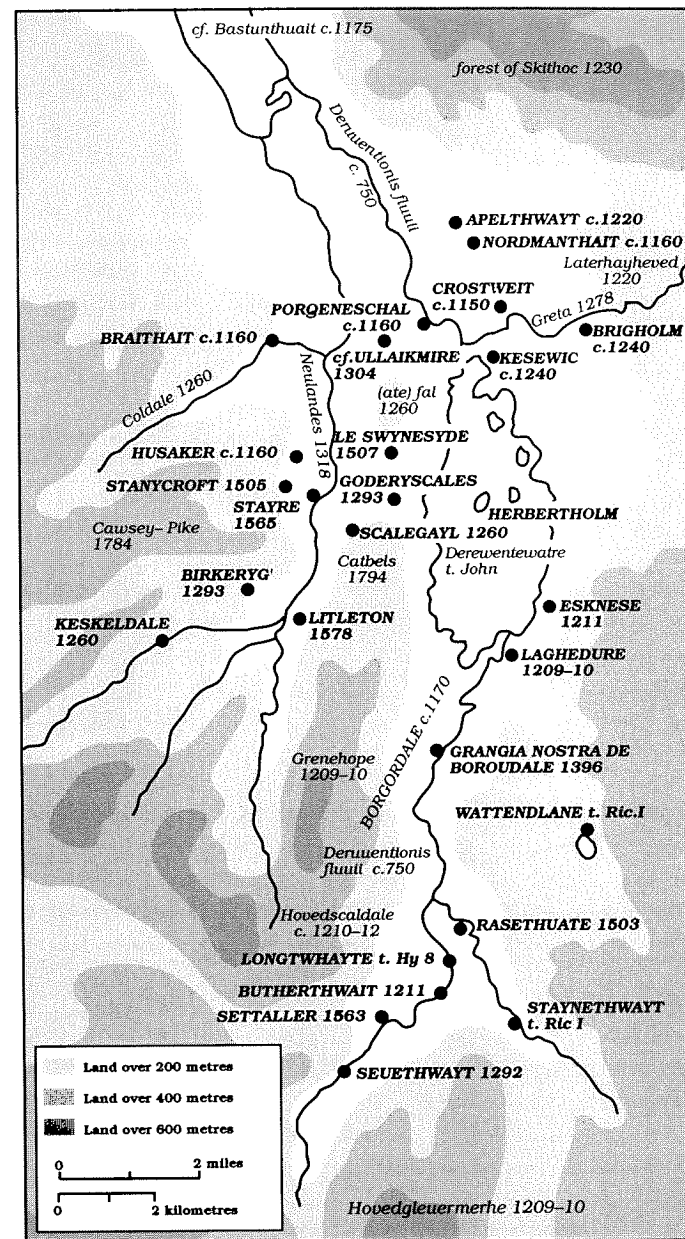
The names of the Derwentwater area, while predominantly Scandinavian, also incorporate elements of Celtic, Anglian, Middle English and French origin. The few possible cases of hybrids and Scandinavian re-namings of Anglian settlements may suggest some continuity of an Anglian-speaking population close to Derwentwater; such forms are all but non-existent in the Borrowdale and Newlands valleys. There is not, to my knowledge, any evidence of penetration into this area by the Strathclyde Britons in the tenth century. Of the linguistically Scandinavian names some, even well into Borrowdale, appear to have been given in the early, Scandinavian-speaking, phase, even if the places in question were only minor shielings. The Newlands valley probably exemplifies the classic progression of settlement from valley mouth to inner dale, and, in the remoter spots, from shielings to permanent farmsteads and hamlets. Drainage in the thirteenth century then greatly enhances its potential.

Several names resist linguistic and/or chronological classification, and to designate these as 'Anglo-Scandinavian' is a tempting way out. The main drawback to this would be that the term would signify a multiplicity of phenomena, some reflecting the nature of the names (hybrids, names such as Brigsteer resulting from complex linguistic interaction, or names that have been Anglicised or Scandinavianised by succeeding generations) and others reflecting our enforced ignorance about their origins. Nevertheless, use of the term 'Anglo-Scandinavian' might be less misleading than making rather arbitrary decisions between the labels of 'OE' and 'ON'; and certainly, if those labels are to be used, declarations of doubt should perhaps be made still more frequently than is sometimes the practice. It would also be less misleading than applying 'ON' to names suspected of having been given in the Middle English period.

That new names continued to be made using elements originally Scandinavian but now part of a heavily Scandinavianised dialect of Middle English seems likely, and has been a major theme of the present study, but compelling reasons to assume this in the particular names discussed here are surprisingly hard to find, and indeed, when the veil of silence lifts from the Derwentwater area c.1200 the scene is one of a mixed pastoral economy closely managed by Cistercian monks, or by influential landholders based in the Crosthwaite area. Scandinavian personal names barely survive, at least among those important enough to receive documentary mention,<sup>92</sup> and the favourite element in the naming of new clearances appears to be the English *ryddinges*.<sup>93</sup> The farmers scratching an existence in upper Borrowdale or the inner part of the Newlands valley may have been of Scandinavian descent, but they cannot have lacked contact with a wider, non-Scandinavian speaking world, and may indeed have merged with it more or less completely.

<sup>92</sup> See Allerdale charters in *Fountains Chartulary*, I, 45–64, and W. G. Collingwood, 'Thirteenth-century Keswick', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, n.s., 11 (1921), 159–73.

<sup>93</sup> e.g. *Fountains Chartulary*, I, 48.



Place-Names of the Derwentwater area:  
Earliest forms (following P-N Cumberland, 1950–52)