

The Scandinavian vocabulary of north-west England's microtoponymy

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Considering the Middle English ‘afterlife’ of some Scandinavian place-name Elements

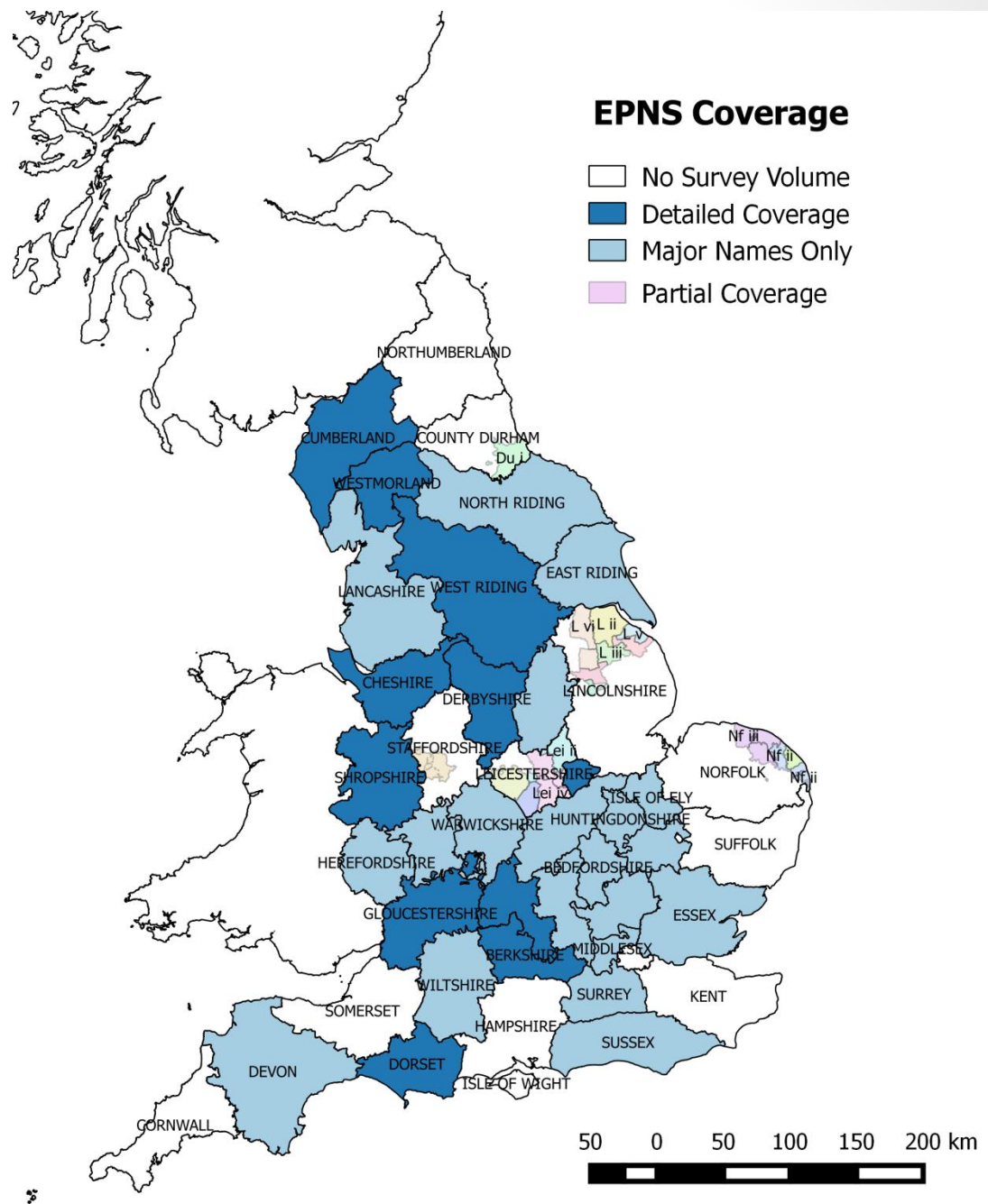
Method:

- Collection of names using elements in question from volumes of the Survey of English Place-Names (mostly searched electronically) and Ekwall’s *Place-Names of Lancashire*.
- Names recorded by century in which the element is first recorded in a name.
- All forms recorded by 1500 collected (and in some cases names recorded later collected too).

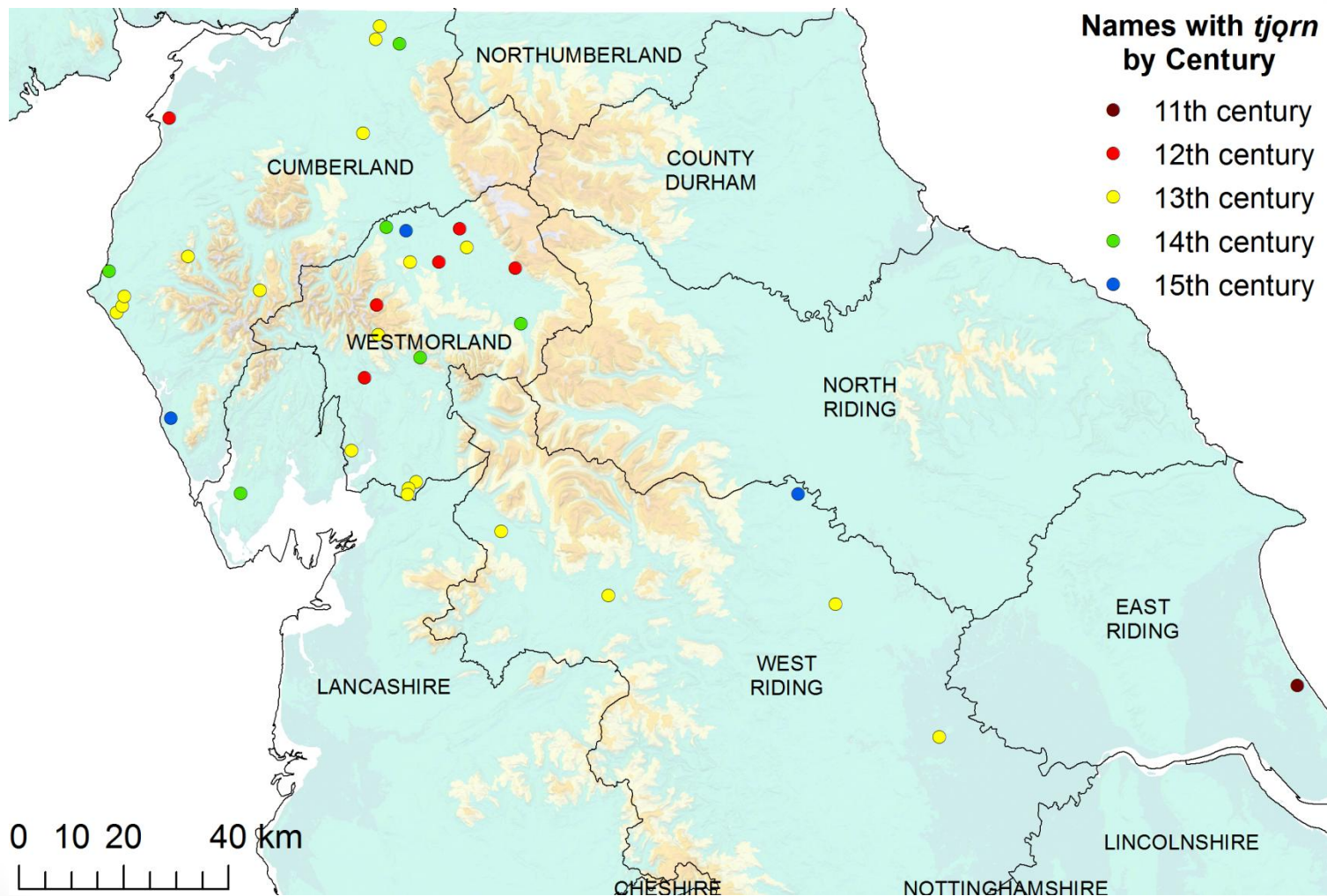
Possible Sources of Error:

- Human error (names missed).
- Purported dates of texts used (possibility names altered in copies).
- Forms from bynames and surnames included (these may not always derive from the names suggested by *Survey* volumes).

English Place- Name Survey: Coverage



ON *tjorn*, ME *terne* ‘a lake, a pool’



MED, s.v. *terne*, n.1:

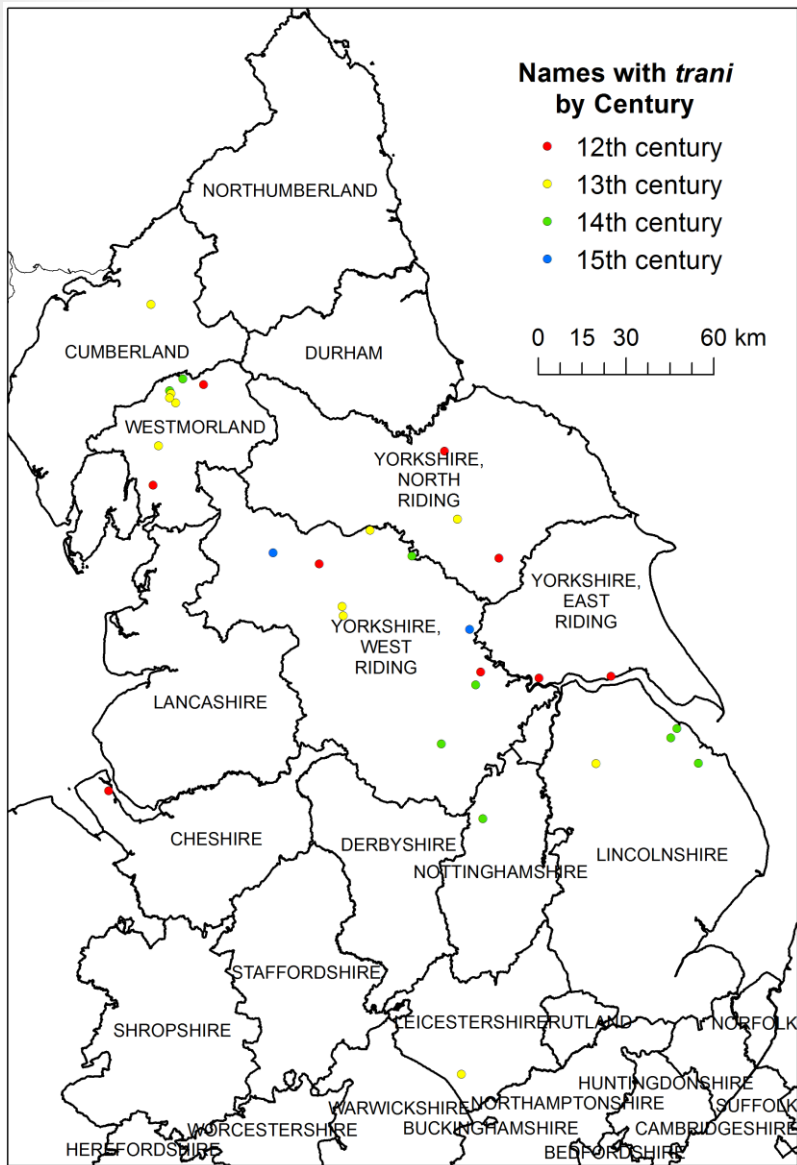
c1400(?c1380) *Cleanness (Nero A.10)* 1041: Þer ar tres by þat terne of traytores, And þay borgounez and beres blomez ful fayre. [Cheshire]

c1450(?a1400) *Wars Alex.(Ashm 44)* 3860: Þan come he streke on a staunke..He gert tild vp his tentis be þat terne syde. [Co. Durham]

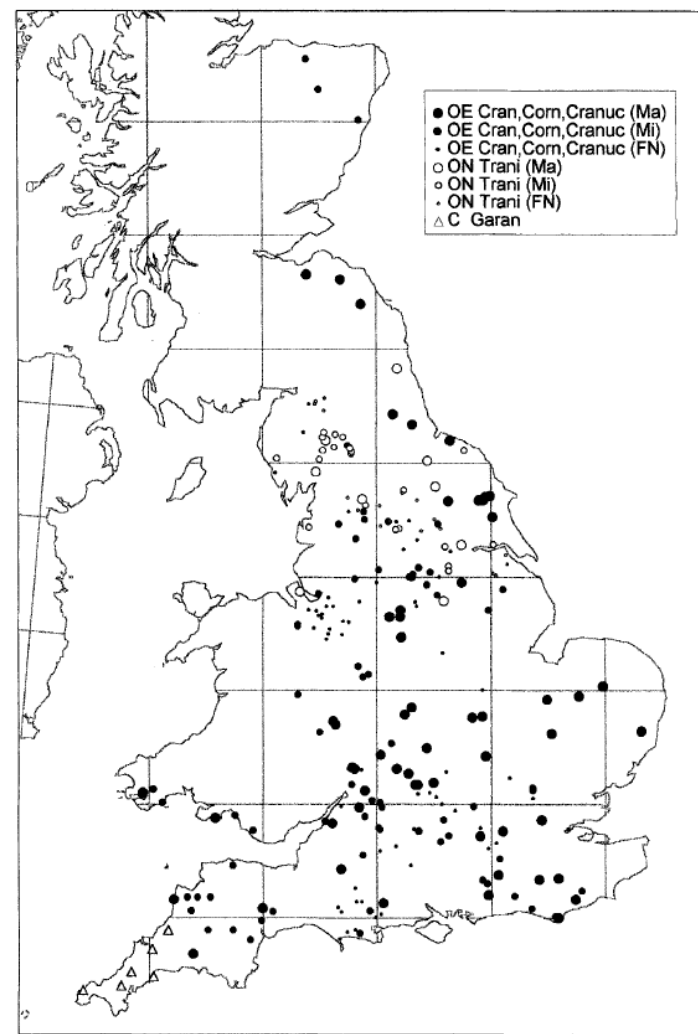
c1475(?c1425) *Avow.Arth.(Tay 9)* 151: Gauan, with [?read: withoutun] any more, To þe tarne con he fore, To wake hit to day.[Lancashire]

c1475(?c1425) *Avow.Arth.(Tay 9)* 349: Þus þay turnout to þe terne Wyth þe thriuand therne. [Lancashire]

c1540(?a1400) *Destr.Troy (Htrn 388)* 11187: Þan the gret of the grekes agreit hom all, The corse for to cast in a clere terne..& synke hit þerin. [Lancashire]

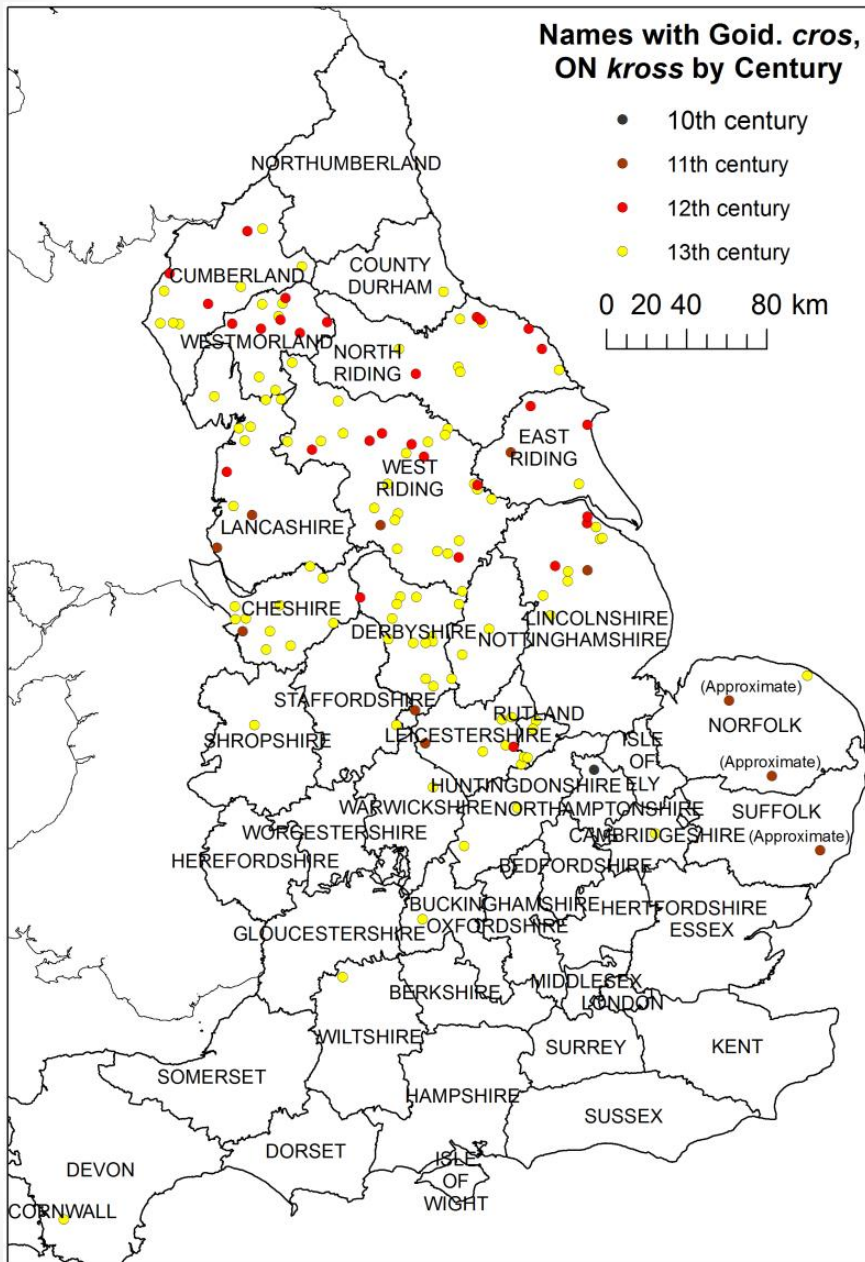


Not mapped: Northamptonshire names *Thranedale* (14th c.) and *Tranwelle* (15th c.) [no location given in Survey volume] (*PNNth*: 262 and 272)



**Boisseau and Yalden (1998: 484):
Distribution of place names invoking the Crane
in Britain.**

[Ma = Major place names; Mi = minor place names and FN = field-names]



Some Competing Elements

- *Carleton crosse* 1467 × 84, a standing cross on a hill at the parish boundary with Carlton Curlieu adjacent to *holy roode ley(e)s* 1601; *PNLei* iv: 24–25).
- Waltham Cross, Hertfordshire (*Waltham Crouche* 1360, *Walthamcros* 1365, *-crosse* 1424, *-crouche* 1434, *Waltham Crosstreete* 1538 (...); *PNHrt*: 222).
- ME *crouche* common in Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Sussex and Wiltshire; sole element used in found in Surrey (before 1500)
- ME *cros* common in Gloucestershire.

MED, s.v. *croſ*, n. (selected examples):

(Examples in *The Dictionary of Old English* all place-names.)

c1230(?a1200) *Ancr.(Corp-C 402) 12b: Þe clað in ham [windows] beo twafald: Blac þet clað, þe croſ hwit wið innen & wið uten.

(a1382) WBible(1) (Dc 369(1)) Esth.5.15: He comaundide to be maad redi an heiz croſ [vr. croſ, that is, a jebet; L crucem].

(a1387) Trev. Higd.(StJ-C H.1) 1.181: Þere Seint Eleyne brouzte þe holy crosse þat oure Lorde Crist deied on.

a1450-1509 Rich.(Brunner) 393: That betokeneth Goddes dede With his ennemyes for to fyght, To wynne the crosse yf that he myght.

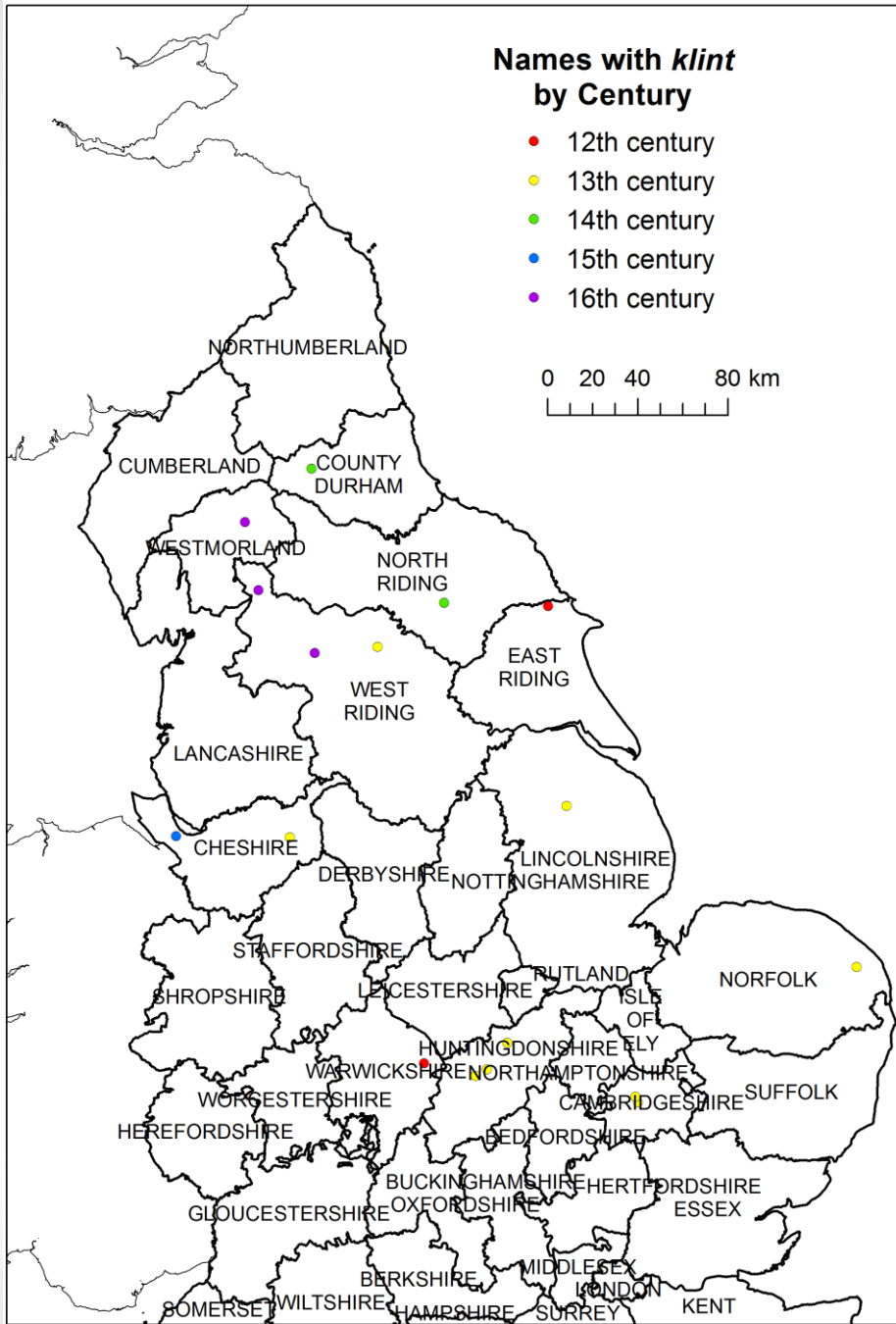
(c1390) Chaucer CT.Rv.(Manly-Rickert) A.4286: Help, holy croſ of Brom holm!

a1425(a1400) PConsc.(Glb E.9 & Hrl 4196) 5275,5283: Þat taken of þe croſe all men ſal ſe..þis taken of þe croſ in heven ſal ſeme When our loverd ſal com to deme.

Names with *klint* by Century

- 12th century
- 13th century
- 14th century
- 15th century
- 16th century

0 20 40 80 km

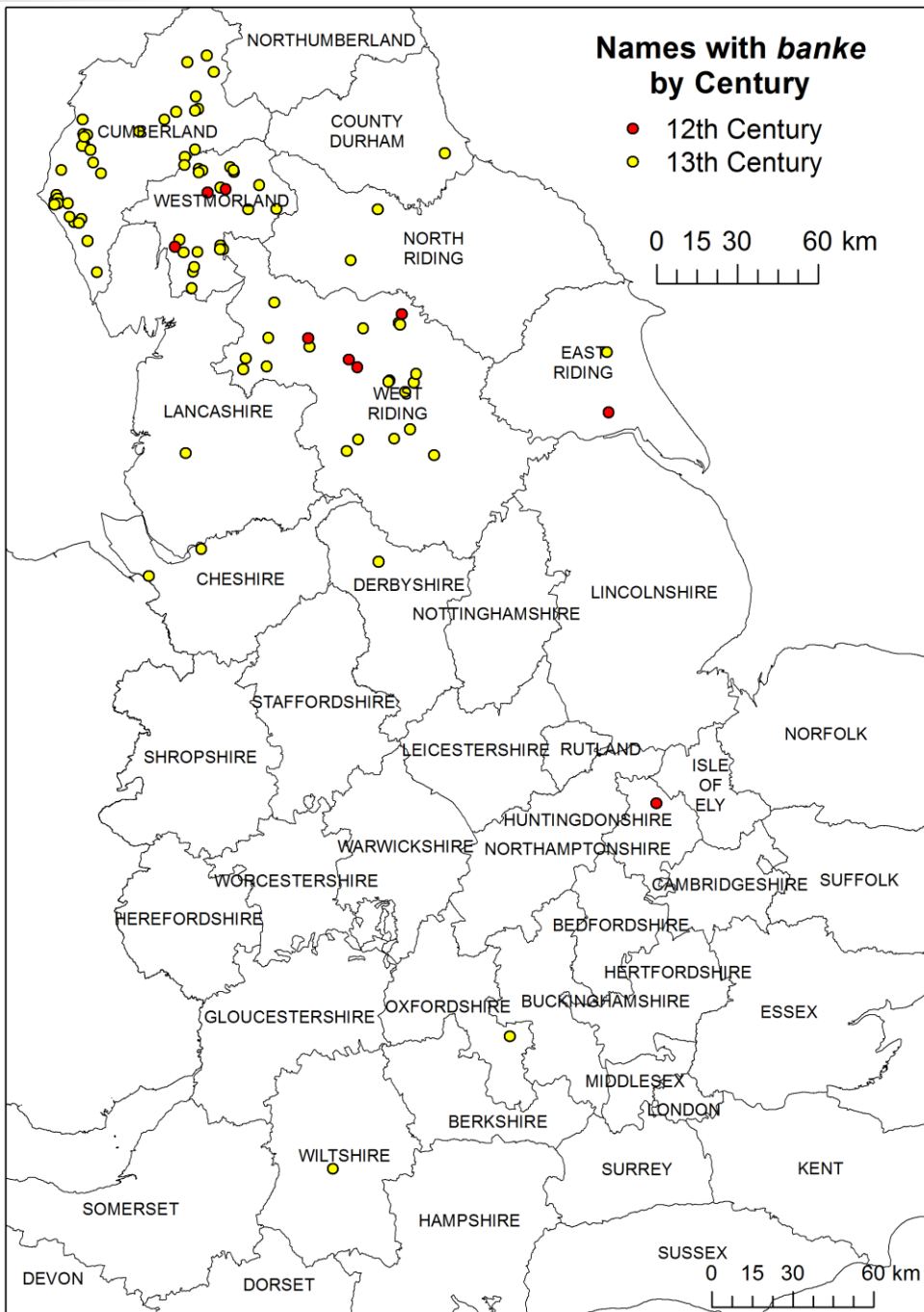


Old East Scandinavian **klint* (cf. ON *klettr* ‘a rocky cliff’)

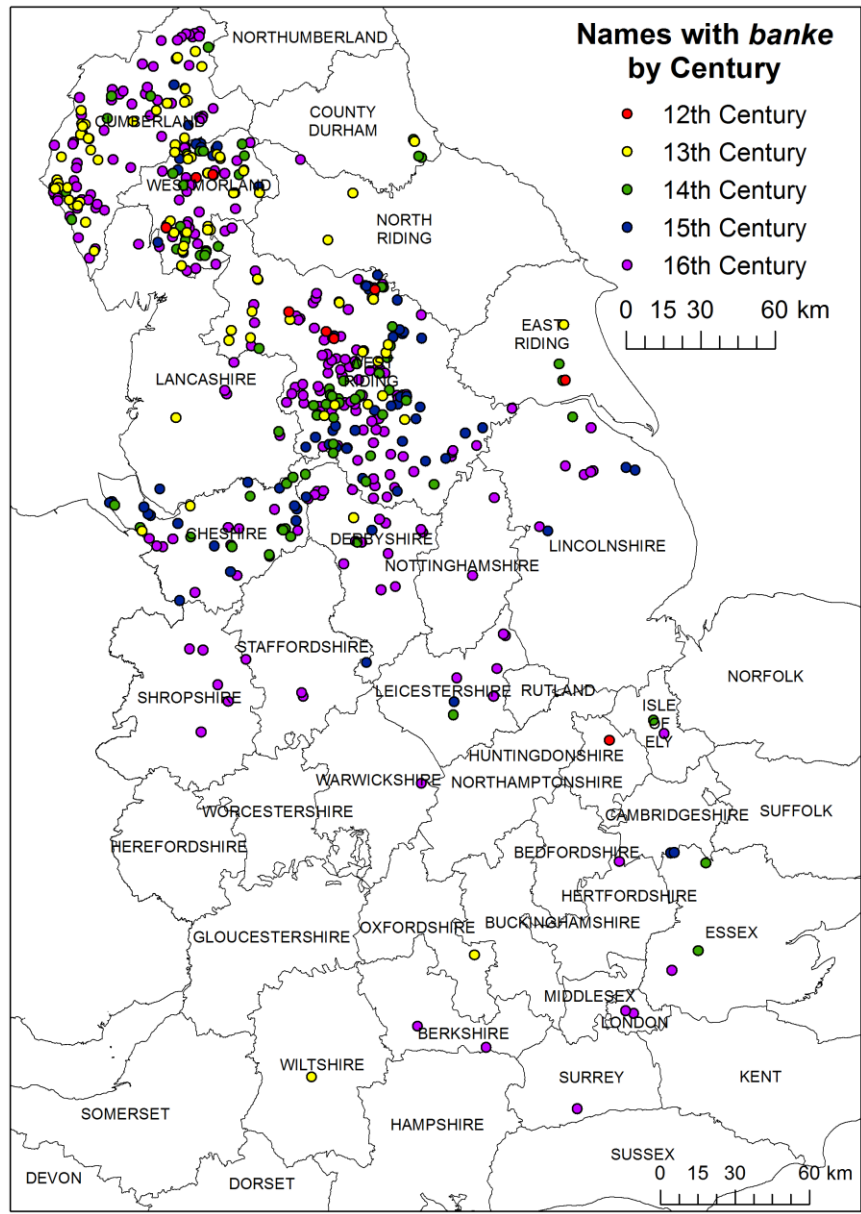
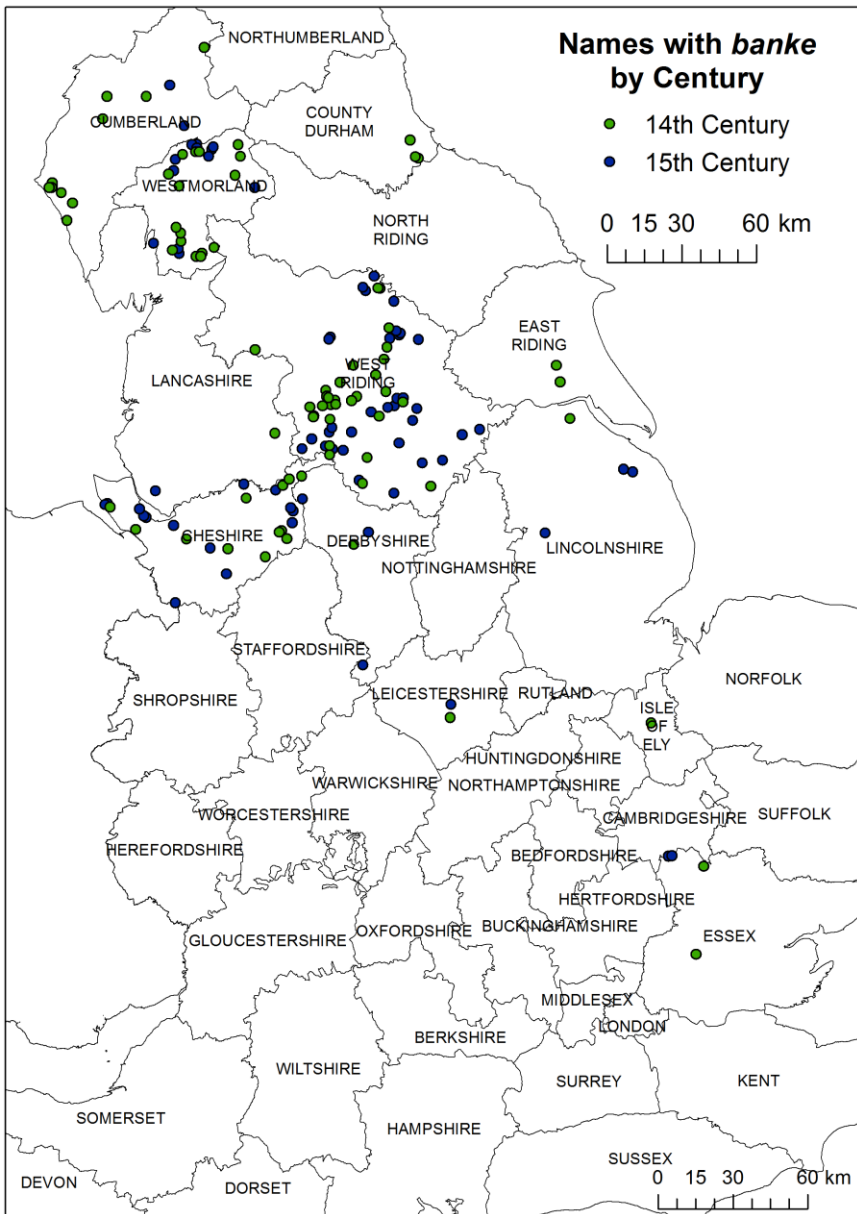
Old West Scandinavian *klettr*?

- Cleator, Cumberland
(*Cletertha* c.1185, *PNCu*: 357).
- Cleatlam, Co. Durham
(*Cletlinga* c. 1050, Mawer
1920: 47–48).
- Cleatop, Settle, West Yorkshire
(*Clithopriding* e. 13th c., *PNYW*
vi: 151).

However, Cleatop and Cleatlam
have since been suggested to
contain OE *clæte* ‘burdock’ (Watts
2004: s.vv. Cleator and Cleatlam;
VEPN: s.v. *clæte*).



OEN **banke*, 'a bank'
 (cf. ON *bakki*)



MED (s.v. bank (e n.1): earliest forms

1.

(a) A natural ridge; (b) a height, hill, mountain; (c) a slope, a hill-side; (d) the crest of a wave.

(a) [?c1200 *Orm.*\(Jun 1\)](#) 9210: Whærse iss all unnsmeþe get þurh bannkess & þurh græfess..Pær shulenn beon ridinngess nu, & effne & smeþe we33ess. **[Earliest]**

[c1400\(c1378\) *PPI.B \(LdMisc 581\)*](#) 5.521: A thousand of men..blustreden forth as bestes ouer bankes [A: valeyes; C: baches] and hilles.

(b) [\(a1393\) *Gower CA \(Frf 3\)*](#) 2.176: Part of the banke he schof doun riht.

[c1400\(?c1380\) *Cleanness \(Nero*](#)

[A.10\)](#) 379: Uuche..bowed to þe hyz bonk þer brentest hit wern, And heterly to þe hyze hyllez þay aled on faste.

(c) [c1390 *Bi west \(Vrn\)*](#) 175: Hit is heor kynde on Bank and bouh A quik Brid to hauen and holde.

[\(a1393\) *Gower CA \(Frf 3\)*](#) 4.2726: He dremeth..hou he clymbeth up the banckes And falleth into Slades depe.

(d) [c1400\(?c1380\) *Cleanness \(Nero A.10\)*](#) 363: Þen bolned þe abyme and bonkez con ryse, Waltes out uch walle heved in ful wode stremez; Watz no brymme þat

abod unbrosten bylyve.

2.

A natural height, slope, or margin bordering water; coast of the sea, shore of a lake, bank of a river; ~ **side**, **se** ~, **water** ~; *fig.* **the** ~ **of deth**, the brink of death.

[a1375 *WPal.*\(KC 13\)](#) 2717: Þe riche cite..vpon þe see bonke.

[\(c1384\) *WBible\(1\) \(Dc 369\(2\)\)*](#) Deeds 27.39: Thei biheelden sum hauene hauynge a water banke.

3.

An artificial earthwork or embankment; also *fig.*

[\(a1387\) *Trev. Higd.*\(StJ-C H.1\)](#) 2.27: Þat welle is..nouzt depe bot to þe kne, i-closed wiþ hize bankes in eueriche side.

[\(a1393\) *Gower CA \(Frf 3\)*](#) prol.508: Fulofte a litel Skar Upon a Banke, er men be war, Let in the Strem.

ON *kví* or ON *kvíga*?

- ON *kví* 'an enclosure':
 - North Yorkshire: Whaw, Arkengarthdale (*Kiwawe* 1280, *le Kuawe* 1285, generic (OE/)ON (*haga*/)*hagi* 'enclosure'; *PNYN*: 296).
 - Cumberland: Wheyrigg, Dundraw (*Quirig* 1285, generic OE/ON *hrycg/hryggr*; *PNCu*: 140).
 - Lincolnshire: Que Close (1817; *PNL* iii: 34).
 - Cheshire: ?Queastybirch (*Quisty* 1216–72, generic ON *stía* 'a sty, a kennel' or OE *stigu* 'a sty, a pen'; *PNCh* ii: 150).
- ON *kvíga* 'a heifer':
 - Cheshire: ?Queastybirch (*Quisty* 1216–72; *PNCh* ii: 150)
 - Westmorland *Quiopot* (*PNWe* i: 53); Wye garth Gill (1859; *PNWe* ii: 38); *Quypotte* (1279; *PNWe* ii: 181).
 - West Yorkshire: Wye Furlong (1770, 1774; *PNYW* i: 170); Quiby Lane (cf. *Quiby Close* 1841; *PNYW* i: 273); Qaymires Close (1792; *PNYW* iv: 42) ; Quey Crag (1840; *PNYW* v: 217); Quey Syke (1840; *PNYW* v: 217); Whybutts (1842; *PNYW* vi: 7); Wye Gill (1668, *Weygill* 17th c.; *PNYW* vi: 136).

MED s.v. quīe, n.:

A young cow, heifer; ~ **calf** [cp. ONorw. **kvīgu-kalfr**], a heifer calf; ~ **herde**, a herdsman of heifers.

(1301) in Thuresson ME Occup.Terms 60: Will.Quihird [**Yorkshire**]

(1332) in Thuresson ME Occup.Terms 60: Ric.Whihird [**Cumberland**]

(1368-9) Doc.Finchale in Sur.Soc.6 p.lxxxiv: In iij bobus, xvij stottis, et quies duorum annorum.[**Co. Durham**]

(1374) Halmote R.Dur.in Sur.Soc.82 124: De Waltero Bischopp quia permisit Willelmo Fuler ammoveere xij stots et qwyis et omnia bona et catalla. .[**Co. Durham**]

(1397) Will York in Sur.Soc.4 219: Lego eidem Matildi x vaccas & x de bovettis juvencis & styrkys & qwise. [**York**]

a1425 Roy.17.C.17 Nominale (Roy 17.C.17) 637/29: Hec jumenta: que. [**Lincs**]

a1425 Roy.17.C.17 Nominale (Roy 17.C.17) 669/10: Hec juuena: quee. [**Lincs**]

(1451) Lin.DDoc. 51/27: I will Ilkon of my hynes of mannes Age haf a quye or a strike. [**Lincoln**]

(1454) Will York in Sur.Soc.30 180: Lego..j blake qwy et j almory. [**York**]

(1462) Will York in Sur.Soc.30 261: It is my will yat my sister have ij kye, j qwye. [**York**]

(1472) Will York in Sur.Soc.45 204: Raufe Dikonson a why and j kalfe. [**York**]

?c1475 *Cath.Angl.(Add 15562) 138b: A Why: bucula, juuena, juuencula. [**?Yorks**]

a1500 Mayer Nominale (Mayer) 698/13,15: Hec juvenca: a qwye..Hec vitula: qwye calffe.[**?Lincs**]

Sc. quoy (< ON *kvi*)

OED s.v. *quoy*, n.:

Sc. (*Orkney and Shetland*). An area of former wasteland or common pasture enclosed for cultivation or raising livestock. (Freq. in place names.)

- 1490 in J. S. Clouston *Rec. Earldom of Orkney* (1914) 200 For ane half penny land..and a qui called Fewqui in the parochin of Stromnes.
- 1563 in *Orkney & Shetland Rec.* (1907) I. 136 Sex denariatas terrarum, continentes tot lie quoyes, viz. Vsquoye, Mekilquoye.
- 1627 in A. Peterkin *Rentals Earldom & Bishoprick of Orkney* (1820) III. 36 That thair is twa quoyis and ane piece of land quhilk is ane part of St. Katherens stouck.
- 1688 T. BROWN *Diary* (1898) 52 The building of the dyks of the quoy appoynttit for a park.
- 1757 *State of Process Earl of Galloway against Earl of Morton* 232 His Father never rented any Land, but a Quoy.
- 1804 *Session Papers* in *Sc. National Dict.* (1968) VII. (at cited word), What is called a quoy in Orkney, is a piece of ground taken in from a common, and enclosed with a wall or other fence.
- 1825 J. JAMIESON *Etymol. Dict. Sc. Lang. Suppl.* (at cited word), He has no right to hill-pasturage in common with his neighbours, as not paying Scatt for his quoy.
- 1939 *Orcadian* 15 June Awa' wae gaed, a' makan for the centre spot, the quay, an' drivan the sheep in front o' hiz.
- 1956 C. M. COSTIE *Benjie's Bodle* 203 The ferm o' Little Dyke..hid been a quoy o' land aaf o' wir ferm eence.
- 1988 G. LAMB *Orkney Wordbk.* *Quoy, Why*, a piece of common pasture enclosed and cultivated, frequent in placenames.

ON *kví* in Place-Names

- Occurs once in *Norske Gaardnavne* (Norwegian farm-names):
 - Hollekve, Sogn og Fjordane (*Hyllequi* 1666; *NG* xii: 93).
- A few examples in Danish place-names:
 - Hønske (*Heinskye* 1321; *DS* xxvi: 239)
 - Kvium (*Qvimb* 1638; *DS* xvii: 178) [generic ODan *hēm*]
 - Køng (*Køyng* no date [1327], *Køng* 1347 [1476]; *DS* xvi: 174) [-*ungi* derivative]
- Very frequently used in Orkney place-names ,for instance (Sandnes 2010: 138–40):
 - Quatquoy (*Quhytquoy* 1502) [specific ON *hvítr* (adj.)]
 - Queena [twice] (*Queena* 1848) and (*Quinni* 1882) [simplex with suffixed def. art.]
 - Queenamidda (*Quinnimidda* 1882) [?specific ON *miðja* ‘middle one’ (n.)]
 - Queenamuckle (*Quyna-mekle* 1492) [specific ON *mikill* (adj.)]
 - Quoyblackie (*Quoyblacke in Tingwell* 1722) [specific family n. *Black*]
 - Quoyfree (*Quoyfree* 1882) [specific *free* (of rent)]
 - Quoyhenry (*Quoyhendrie* 1733) [specific Scots family or personal name]
 - Quoys [twice] (*Quyis* 1492) and (*Quoys* 1841)

ON *kví* in Place-Names

- Occurs only once in *Norske Gaardnavne* (Norwegian farm-names):
 - **Hollekve**, Sogn og Fjordane (*Hyllequi* 1666; *NG* xii: 93).
- A few examples in Danish place-names:
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 - Kvium (*Qvimb* 1638; *DS* xvii: 178) [generic ODan *hēm*]
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Summary

- Elements considered here are all more or less uncontroversial borrowings from Scandinavian.
- Considering Middle English reflexes of these elements informative.
- Word-geography:
 - Areas in which ON *trani* and ON *tjörn* (ME *terne*) were used have not noticeably expanded during the Middle English period.
 - Marked expansion in areas of usage of ON *kross* (ME *cross*) and OEN **banke* (ME *bank(e)*).
 - (These examples highlight the limits of inferences that can be made about Scandinavian place-name element usage in the Middle English period in relation to earlier settlement history.)
- Middle English lexical evidence gives reason to prefer ON *kvíga* to ON *kví* in a small group of place-names recorded in the Middle English period and later.