



**University of
Nottingham**

UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA



Volume 15: 2022-23

ISSN: 2041-6776

A linguistic analysis of the river-names of two English counties

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English Dissertation: Full Year

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Introduction

River-names provide invaluable evidence of past landscapes, languages, and settlers. They cover a vast temporal span; in England as in Western Europe, the oldest river-names provide 'the most important evidence of an early linguistic European community' (Strandberg 2016: 104). In English river-names, this earliest stratum is an ancient, possibly pre-Celtic language. But it is not only the access to this language which renders river-names of such significant value. They contain linguistic information for the languages present in England from that earliest time up to the most recent modern names (of, for example, manmade drains). Many English hydronyms have names which were given in medieval and pre-medieval Britain, providing a crucial insight into the languages and perceptions of landscape which existed at this time.

This aim of this dissertation is to explore and linguistically analyse the river-names of two historic counties of northern England - Cumberland (Cu), and the North Riding of Yorkshire (NRY). Although at a point in Upper Teesdale these two counties are only around 12 miles apart, they have significant differences which make them suitable for comparison. Firstly, they are of vast contrast topographically; most of Cumberland is mountainous, close in landscape to the 'typical...mountain limestone district' of the Pennines (PNNRY: XIV). The North Riding is itself a varied county, covering both this upland, mountainous area in the west but also the flat, fertile Vales of Mowbray, York, and Pickering in the east.

The differing topography of the two counties renders them ideal for comparison, as does their contrasting respective settlement histories. At the time of settlement by Germanic populations in the 5th century, both counties were inhabited by a British-speaking population. In the North Riding, there is 'little evidence' that this culture survived after this date (PNNRY: XV). However, it has been argued that after the downfall of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, Cumberland became 'British territory' once more (SCNW: 2). So, not only does a British population exist in Cumberland at a later date than other parts of the country, but it was also more persistent, perhaps suggesting that there would be a higher level of influence from the Brittonic languages on the county's toponomasticon.

The names which constitute the corpus being analysed (see appendix) were primarily gathered from Eilert Ekwall's 1928 *English River-Names* (ERN). Where the names gathered from ERN feature in the *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (CDEPN) from 2004, the entries were updated. This process produced a corpus of 105 river-names.

It is worth noting some limitations in this process. Firstly, it is not exhaustive. Ekwall's work includes 66 names from Cumberland - contrastingly, the English Place-Name Society (EPNS) volumes for the county include over 250 (279 to be exact). Also, there are 39 names in ERN from the North Riding, despite it being a larger county than Cumberland geographically. Additionally, there is a noticeable absence of names in particular areas. In NRY, the wapentakes of Pickering, Bulmer, and Langbargh East and West are sparse, and the southernmost area of the Allerdale above Derwent ward in Cumberland is markedly empty. Ekwall recognises that 'considerations of space forbid the inclusion of all the names', and that the focus is on 'names of more general interest and importance' (ERN: XXXV). Furthermore, at the current time of writing his work is nearing 100 years of age, and huge progress has been made in place-name studies in that time. However, despite these limitations, it remains 'one of the classics of English place-name scholarship' (Kitson 1996:

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73) and is generally still well-received as the 'standard authority on the subject' (Padel 2013: 2).

Before proceeding with the analysis of these names, some explanations of terminology are needed. Across the reference works consulted for this volume, there is much variation in the terms used when discussing specific languages, especially the Celtic languages. CDEPN, for example, uses the term 'Old Brittonic', which has not been encountered elsewhere (2004: XXI). Ekwall uses both 'British' and 'Old British' and does not explain the motivation behind the use of these (ERN: XXXI). 'Old British' makes little sense due to the implication that there could be a 'Middle' or 'Modern' British, as these terms are so commonly used when describing stages of languages (as with Old English, Middle English, etc.) (LHEB: 4). For this work, 'British' is used to refer to the Brittonic language before the set of sound changes which are argued to have taken place around the 5th century (LHEB: 561, also Sims-Williams 1990: 248). 'Brittonic' refers to the languages after this date, which began to differentiate and gradually became Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. This term is also used on a wider scale to refer to the group of languages sometimes called 'P-Celtic', contrasting the 'Q-Celtic' (Goidelic) languages based on the evolution of the Indo-European labialised consonant /k'/ (LHEB: 4).

'Old English' is used in the usual sense, to refer to the West Germanic language spoken by the Germanic population who came to Britain in the mid-5th century. 'Old Norse' refers to the North Germanic language spoken across the Viking diaspora. Some reference works also use 'Old Scandinavian' (ERN: XXXII) and differentiate between 'East' and 'West' groups of this wider language (CDEPN: XXI). Additionally, both 'Old Danish' and 'Old Swedish' are found in the etymologies given in the appendix. These very specific linguistic terms are avoided in this work - they are all covered by the term 'Old Norse'.

The framework outlined above does not apply to the entries which constitute the appendix, as these are entries taken from other works. As such, a wide variety of terms are found there. For ease of categorisation, in the main discussion of this work, these specific classifications are generalised with the system above.

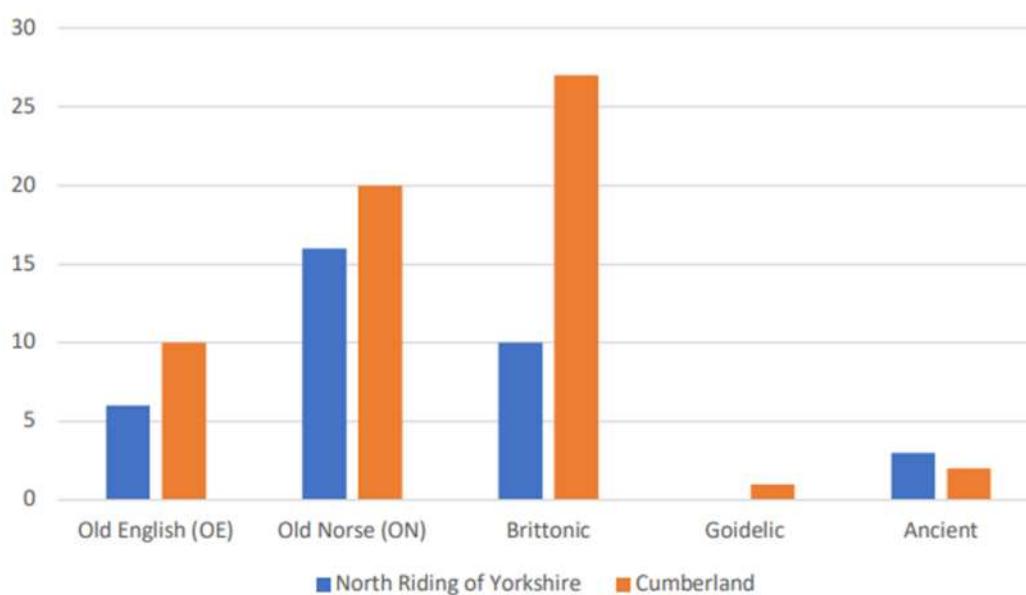
After an introduction, the linguistic analysis begins with a focus on the earliest language evident in these river-names, and before moving through the other languages in a broadly chronological manner. All abbreviations are expanded at the end.

Linguistic Analysis

This corpus consists of 105 river-names. 66 of these are from the historic county of Cumberland (Cu), and the remaining 39 are from the North Riding of Yorkshire (NRY). There are 6 names which are obscure, and 12 of uncertain etymology. 9 are hybrids containing elements from more than one language.

Of the group of names for which certain etymologies can be given, the most common language of origin is Brittonic, with 39% of the names containing an element from a Brittonic language. Old Norse (ON) is the next most common – 38% contain an ON element. Old English (OE) elements are found in 16 names (17%), and there is a single Goidelic name. 5 names are classified as Ancient, belonging to pre-English and perhaps also pre-Celtic roots. The languages of origin in the river-names of Cumberland follow this overall trend, with most names (45%) being Brittonic. The same cannot be said for YN, where almost half (45%) are of ON origin and 28% are Brittonic.

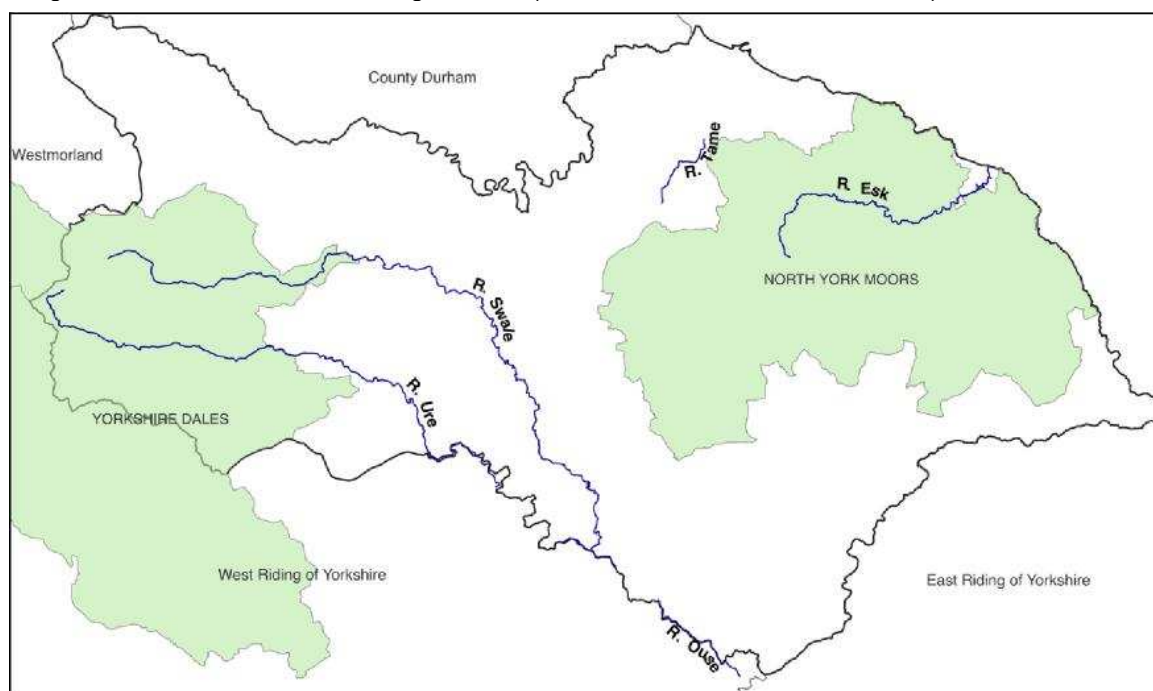
Figure 1: The linguistic origin of the river-names



Ancient

The earliest linguistic stratum evident in the river-names of this corpus is an ancient language (or languages) spoken before the arrival of Celts to Britain in the first millennium BC. This group of the oldest detectable language has traditionally been classified as Old European (OEur), a term originally used by Hans Krahe specifically in relation to hydronymy (Krahe: 1964). Unlike other applications of this term (such as Gimbutas: 1989), Krahe's Old European refers not to pre-Indo-European but to a 'kind of western Indo-European not yet

Figure 2: River-names of ancient origin in NRY (all GIS data is referenced at the end.)



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itself differentiated into separate languages but containing the seeds for...Germanic, Celtic' (Nicolaisen 1982: 37). Out of the many different types of names, it is perhaps in river-names that remnants of these earliest languages are most likely to be found (Gelling 1988: 19). In this corpus, there are 5 names which are ancient: 2 from Cumberland, 3 from the North Riding of Yorkshire (NRY).

Both counties have a river named Esk. In each case, the name was formed by an extension of an Indo-European (IE) root **is-/*eis-* with a k-suffix, producing **eis-kā* 'moving swiftly, strongly', which became *Iscā* in British (CDEPN: 218). The name Ure was formed from the same root without extension. Aldborough is on the course of the Ure, and the name of the Roman site there – *Isurion* (ERN: 428) or *Isurium Brigantum* (Rivet and Smith: 380) – seems to preserve the river-name *Isurā*. So, the IE root **is-/*eis-* became *Isurā* in British, then later OE *Eor* and ME *Yār* (ERN: 428). Jackson explains the loss of /s/ between vowels as a Brittonic sound change (LHEB:

Figure 3: River-names of ancient origin in Cumberland



523). Then, there is the Tame from the IE root **tā* 'to flow', which became British **Tamā* (CDEPN: 599), and the Tyne from a root **tei-/*ti-* meaning 'to melt, to flow' (CDEPN: 633).

The root of the names Esk and Ure gave parallel river-names on the Continent – for example the Isar (Germany), Isarn (France), and Iserna (Switzerland). Nicolaisen suggests that, as no names of the same root as Tame have been identified on the Continent, the name reflects a British dialect of OEur (1982). However, Ekwall argues that the name Thames is related to the Skr *Tamasā*, which gave the name Tamsa, a tributary of the Ganges in India (ERN: 405). He is uncertain as to whether Tame belongs to the same root, but if it does then its classification as reflecting a British dialect of OEur is thrown into question (ERN: 405).

The Swale could also belong to this group of OEur names, from the PIE root **swel* 'burn', which has recently been compared to a Lithuanian river of the same name (Mallory and Adams 2006: 124). This is not certain, though; the name is usually attributed to an OE **swalwe* 'a spring, a gush of water' (CDEPN: 593). Additionally, it has been suggested that the Derwent in both counties originates from the IE root **dreu* meaning 'to run' and became British **derua* 'oak tree' through popular etymology (CDEPN: 185). Mallory and Adams (2006) reconstruct a PIE **drewentih* which it could be related to; they argue further that this root is seen in names as geographically wide-ranging as France (the Durance, previously *Druentia* c.1stC) and India (Dravanti) (127).

In each of these examples, the provided etymology describes the river in somewhat generic terms, i.e. 'to flow', 'moving swiftly'. The fact that the earliest forms of these names pre-date many documentary sources obscures more nuanced meanings that they may have once had, and working with them in reconstructed forms is a methodological difficulty. Coles (1994) argues that this vagueness in etymologies is 'frustrating even when one recognizes the problems of establishing the etymology of river ' (295). Additionally, although these names are generally recognised as the earliest linguistic strata, 'the likelihood of there being very old secondary name formations...makes chronological assessment of names and suffixes more difficult' (Strandberg 2016: 108).

Celtic

39 of the river-names in this corpus are of wholly Celtic origin or contain at least one Celtic element. This is more so the case in Cumberland, where the high number of Celtic place-names suggests the survival of a Brittonic-speaking population comparatively later than in other parts of the country (SCNW: 116). However, it is not just to this that the county owes the higher proportion of Brittonic names; it has also been argued that when the Kingdom of Northumbria fell Cumberland became British territory again, forming part of the British kingdom of Strathclyde' (SCNW: 2). In both counties, the Celtic population has been identified as the Brigantes (Morris 1982: 25; PNCu.III: XV), seen in the name *Isurium Brigantium*, the Roman city at Aldborough (WRY).

There are 11 names containing Celtic elements in NRY, and 28 in Cumberland. All of these are of Brittonic origin except *Gelt*, which derives from the Goidelic *geilt* meaning 'madman, wild man' (ERN: 170). This could refer to the speed of the whole river, or a particularly rapid part of its course; it is a 'swift mountain stream', so such a name would be apt (PNCu.I: 14). This is perhaps the only river-name of Goidelic origin in England (ERN: XLIX).

In the introduction to the EPNS volume for NRY, Smith states that 'the materials which are collected in this volume give little evidence of the survival of a British population in the region' (PNNRY: XV). He further argues that this is not necessarily due to a scarce original British population but is instead indicative of 'how thorough were the later Anglian and Scandinavian settlements' (PNNRY: XV). By way of comparison, in the neighbouring county of Du there are a higher number of Celtic names surviving, but this is likely because 'Viking infiltration...seems to have been confined to an arc of land in the middle Tees valley' (Watts 2002: XVII). So, in the case of NRY it seems that the comparatively lower number of Celtic river-names is due not to an original deficit, but the depth and efficiency of subsequent settlements.

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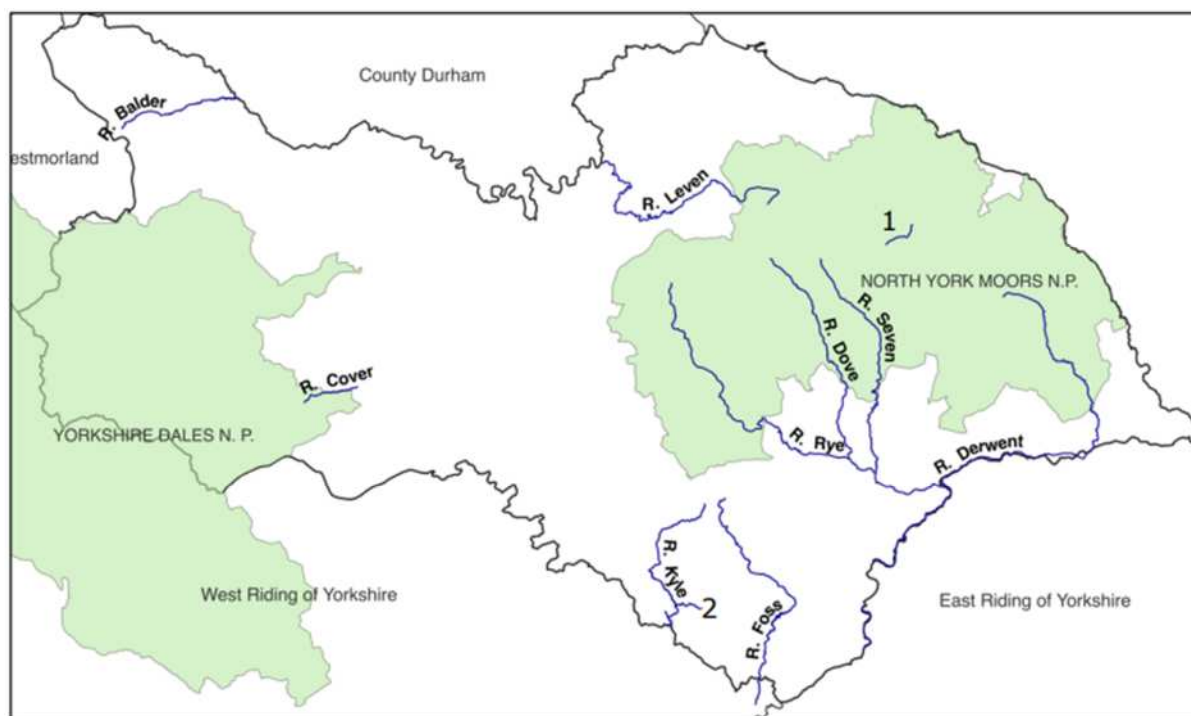


Figure 4: Names containing Celtic elements in NRY. (1) Glaisdale Beck, (2) River Irthing.

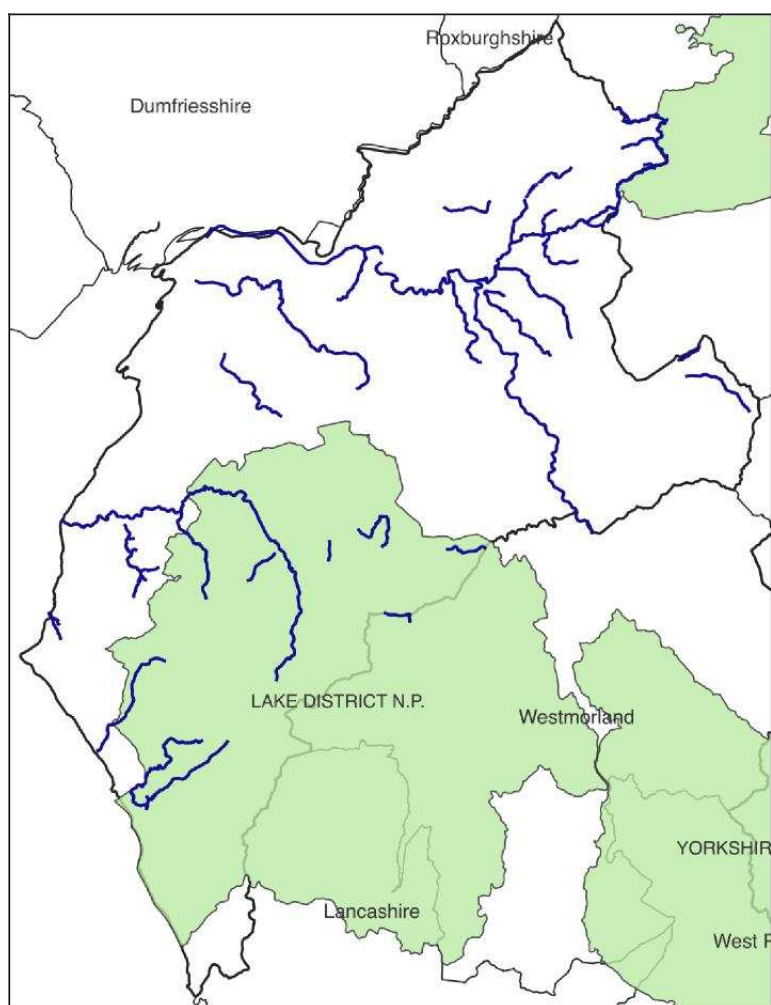


Figure 5: The distribution of river-names containing Celtic elements in Cumberland.

Of the 38 names that are of Brittonic origin or contain a Brittonic element, 16 are simplex. For example, Cairn is a form of British *camn* 'a heap of stones' (BLITON: 62), and the Kyle derives from a British **cūil* 'narrow' (BLITON: 100). Many of these simplex names are quite generic, with a meaning like 'water' (as in Eden) or 'the streams' (as in Nent). This suggests that at a time, these rivers were a principal resource in their area – 'it was natural to call the chief river of a neighbourhood "the river"' (ERN: L). Most of the simplex names refer to a physical characteristic of the river itself. References to colour or quality are common, as in Dove 'black, dark' and Irt 'green', and also to the course of the river, as in Cocker 'crooked' and Foss 'ditch'.

The remaining portion of Brittonic names are compound. 3 names have a Welsh personal name as their specific – these will be discussed further on. The generic from a British **duβr* is common, occurring in names such as Calder, Calter, and Glenderaterra. British **ced* ‘wood’ (BLITON: 66) also occurs more than once, in Cleskett Beck and Glencoyne Beck. British **dūβ* (BLITON: 117) ‘black’ occurs in Balder and Hodder. There are no generics of this linguistic origin which refer to any kind of man-made settlement or structure.

Many of the names of Brittonic origin reflect a ‘wider discourse’ of ‘defining areas associated with specific natural resources’ (Yeates 2006: 79). In this corpus, for example, there is Chalk Beck and Derwent, which could refer to elders and oaks in their names. There is also Seknent, referring to a water source as ‘dry’ (ERN: 355). Arguably references to landscape features in resource terms is due to ‘the need for hunter-gatherers and farmers to make practical sense of their environment’ (Yeates 2006: 79).

Some of these names reflect a feature found still in Modern Welsh where the defining element comes after the generic. It is likely that these ‘name-phrases’ developed at a later period than the earliest names, contrasting with ‘true compounds’, which as in the Germanic languages have the specific element first (Padel 2013: 12). There are no names of what CDEPN classifies as Primitive Cumbric (PrCumb) origin which are not name-phrases, reflecting the fact that PrCumb was not one of the earlier British languages, instead Brittonic and thus post-dating the sound changes which distinguish the two. There are 5 names which contain the PrCumb *poll* ‘a pool, a pit’, 4 of which have the specific as the second element. The specifics include a personal name (Powmaughan Beck) and a place-name (Powburgh Beck); the etymology of Powterneth Beck is uncertain after its first element, although ‘British origin is obvious’ (ERN: 331). It could be related to a lost place near Falstone (Nb) recorded as *Poltrerneth* 1326.

The river-name Foss is worth mentioning here as the only name in the corpus for which a Latin origin has been suggested. Ekwall argues that the immediate source for the name at the time it was given must have been British, as equivalents are found in every Brittonic language (Welsh *ffos*, Bret *fos*, Co *fos*). However, the original source is likely to have been Latin *fossa* ‘ditch, trench’ (ERN: 162). Foss is a common element in place-names around York and in ERY, the location of the Foss, where it reflects the flat landscape and the presence of drains and ditches to manage flooding. In place-names such as Fangfoss and Wilberfoss the element probably passed into OE from British (PNERY: 4).

In comparing various historical forms of these names with the elements from which they are most likely derived, there is evidence for multiple sound changes, especially those which occurred over the period when British began to develop and differentiate into Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. The most common sound change evident in this corpus of Brittonic names is lenition; that is, ‘a mutation of consonants which normally originated in a reduction of the energy employed in their articulation’ (Martinet 1952: 192). More simply, this could be called a ‘softening’ of consonants, and usually happens to those in intervocalic position. For example, the name Eden had the form **Ituna* in British and **Idon* in early Welsh. In this case, /t/ has lenited to /d/. In Knorren Beck, recorded as *Knævren* in 1195, /b/ in the second element *bryn* has lenited to /v/. Both changes are well-documented, according to Jackson (1953) who discussed this process in detail. Less common is the lenition of /m/ to /v/, seen

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in the name Seven which derives from a British **sumina* (ERN: 358). In Powmaughan Beck, the <ch> of the Irish personal name Merchiaun has become <gh> - perhaps this is also an example of lenition. Jackson dates this process to the second half of the fifth century (LHEB: 561), although since his assessment of the matter it has been argued that this dating 'could be at least half a century too late' (Sims-Williams 1990: 248).

Another Brittonic sound change evident in this corpus is what Ekwall describes as *ā*-mutation (ERN: LXX) and Jackson as *ā*-affection (LHEB: 573). In this process, an /i/ or /u/ in the penultimate syllable of a word became /e/ or /o/ if the final syllable contained /ā/. This is seen in, for example, the name Esk, which probably derived from **iscā*. It is also evident in the discussed **Itunā*, **Idon* forms of Eden. Similarly, the second element of Glenderamackin and Glenderaterra – *dwfr* – has lost /f/ over time and does not appear in the earliest form of these names. The same process occurs in Calder and Calter, which both have *dwfr* as their second element. It has been argued that these sound changes can be dated to the early sixth century, suggesting that British had developed into Brittonic around this time (Sims-Williams 1990: 260).

As well as having a higher percentage of Celtic river-names, the names from Cumberland demonstrate a wider array of Celtic languages. Alongside elements of British and later Brittonic origin, CDEPN would suggest that there is evidence for PrCumb in the names which contain *poll*. This is a difficult element, though, and has been the subject of much debate. Barrow (1998) Brittonic *pol*, Goidelic *poll*, and OE *pōl* are semantically similar, meaning 'pool', 'hole', 'cavity' etc (59). In this region, however, it is likely to be a British word meaning 'stream', 'flowing water'. There is some debate around whether Cumbric was its own language or simply a dialect of Welsh; Jackson defines it as the language spoken in the British kingdom of Rheged in Northwest England and Southwest Scotland (LHEB: 9). There is also the Goidelic name Gelt, and the Irish personal name Kamban. So, the Celtic names in Cumberland show the presence at various times of British and later Brittonic, including a local Cumbric language or dialect, and Goidelic (specifically Irish). As would be expected in a more eastern county like NRY, a lower proportion of Celtic names survive, there are no Goidelic river-names, and there is no reflection of a local British dialect.

The 3 Brittonic personal names are Meriaun, Merchiaun, and **Machān*, found in the river-names Marron, Powmaughan Beck, and Glenderamackin. These are notably similar in form. Meriaun is perhaps a form of the name Meirion, which is a borrowing from the Latin name *Marianus* (Cane 2003: 171). The early forms of Mockerkin Tarn, which is very close to the river, suggest a derivation from an inversion-compound such as *Tiorn Meriaun* (PNCu.I: 21); Ekwall suggests an equivalent form something like *Poll Merion* for the river-name (ERN: 280). Merchiaun is also borrowed from Latin, a form of *Marcianus* (Cane 2003: 213). The same personal name is found in Maughonby (PNCu.I: 194), and in Treveryan (Co). **Machān* could be of the same origin as Merchiaun, or alternatively a form of the name Marchan which derives from *W march* 'horse' (Cane 2003: 168). It has also been suggested that the final element is related to *W mochyn* 'pig', but phonologically this etymology is unlikely (ERN: 179). Gilcambon Beck contains the Goidelic personal name Cambán, which derives from *cambo-* 'crooked', which gave the *W* and Irish *cam*. This element also appears in the river name Crummock Beck. The personal name is found as a byname in Iceland at an early date, probably having been adopted by Norse settlers from Ireland, the same process perhaps having led to its presence in Cumberland. (PNCu.I: 197).

Old English

River-names of Old English origin, or those which contain an OE element, constitute the smallest linguistic group in this corpus. There are 15 in total; 10 in Cumberland, 5 in NRY. 6 of these names are hybrids, most commonly compounded with ON generic elements such as *bekkr* and *gil*. These hybrid names are discussed in the later section.

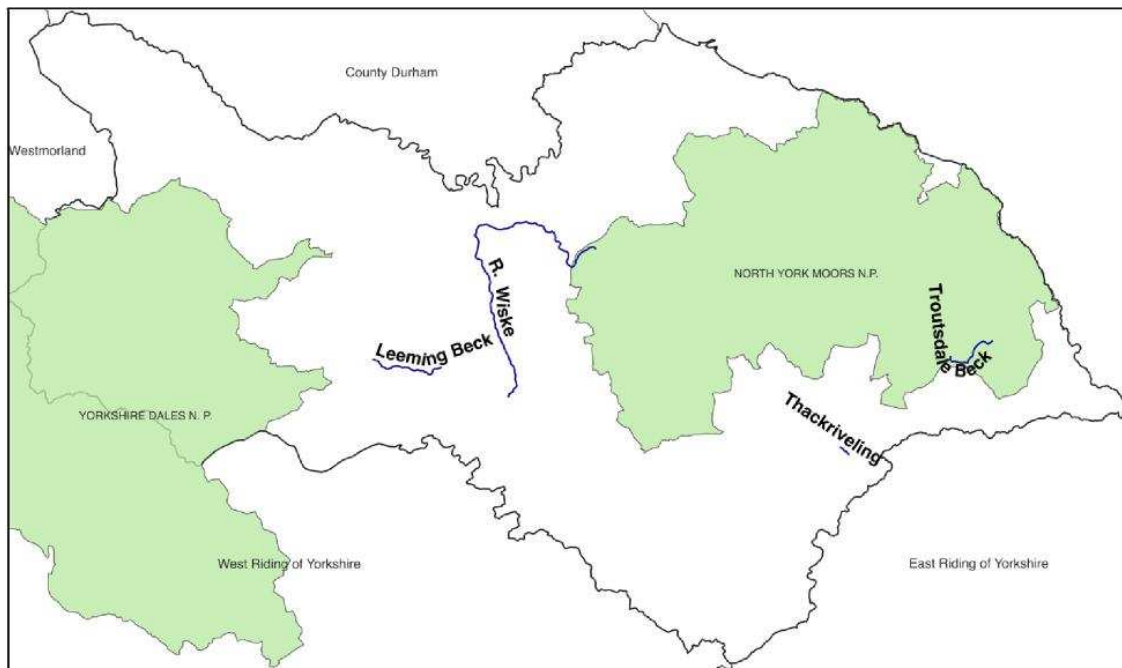


Figure 6: Names containing an OE element in NRY. The Iburn is not included, as this is a lost name.



Figure 7: The River Wiske in flood in 2019, near Newby Wiske.

Of the 9 names of wholly OE origin, 3 are simplex: these are the Iwe, Waver, and Wiske. The Iwe perhaps means 'impetuous one', referring to the speed or rapidity of the river (CDEPN: 335). Similarly, the Waver describes a 'wandering river' from OE *wæfre*, again in reference to its course, speed, or rate of flow (CDEPN: 656).

The Wiske is a 'marshy stream' from OE *wisce*, with the modern dialect *wish* having the meaning 'river-land

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liable to floods' (CDEPN: 689). As can be seen from the map below, these are both rather accurate descriptions; the Wiske still floods a great deal and is liable to do so.

3 of the compound names contain the generic which is either OE *burna* or ON *brunnr*. According to Ekwall, early forms with *burna* will present as Bourne or Burne (ERN: 43). This is the case in the earliest spellings of Black Burn and Hartley Burn, which are *Mikleblackburne* (1170) (ERN: 35) and *Hertingburn* (1169) (ERN: 191) respectively. Perhaps determining the first element of this spelling as OE *micel* or ON *mikill* would help suggesting the linguistic origin of <burn> (EPNE.II:40). The Iburn is *Ybrun* in its earliest spelling from 1177 (13thC) (ERN: 207). In this case, OE *burna* has undergone metathesis, a process which is 'by no means rare in the Midlands and the North' (ERN 43).

The name Thackriving contains OE *bæc* 'roof', in the sense 'reeds for thatching' (ERN: 402). The final element is unclear, but perhaps related to OE *hrife* 'fierce, rapacious', related to a Germanic root **rib_*, **hrib_* found in other OE words and in ON as well (ERN: 343). Perhaps the meaning is something like 'a tearing stream where reeds are found', the reeds being used as a resource. Croglin Water has been suggested in CDEPN to derive from OE **croc* + *hlynn* (CDEPN: 169), but elsewhere ON *krókr* 'bend' has been suggested as the specific element (PNCu.I: 183, also see DLDPN: 85).

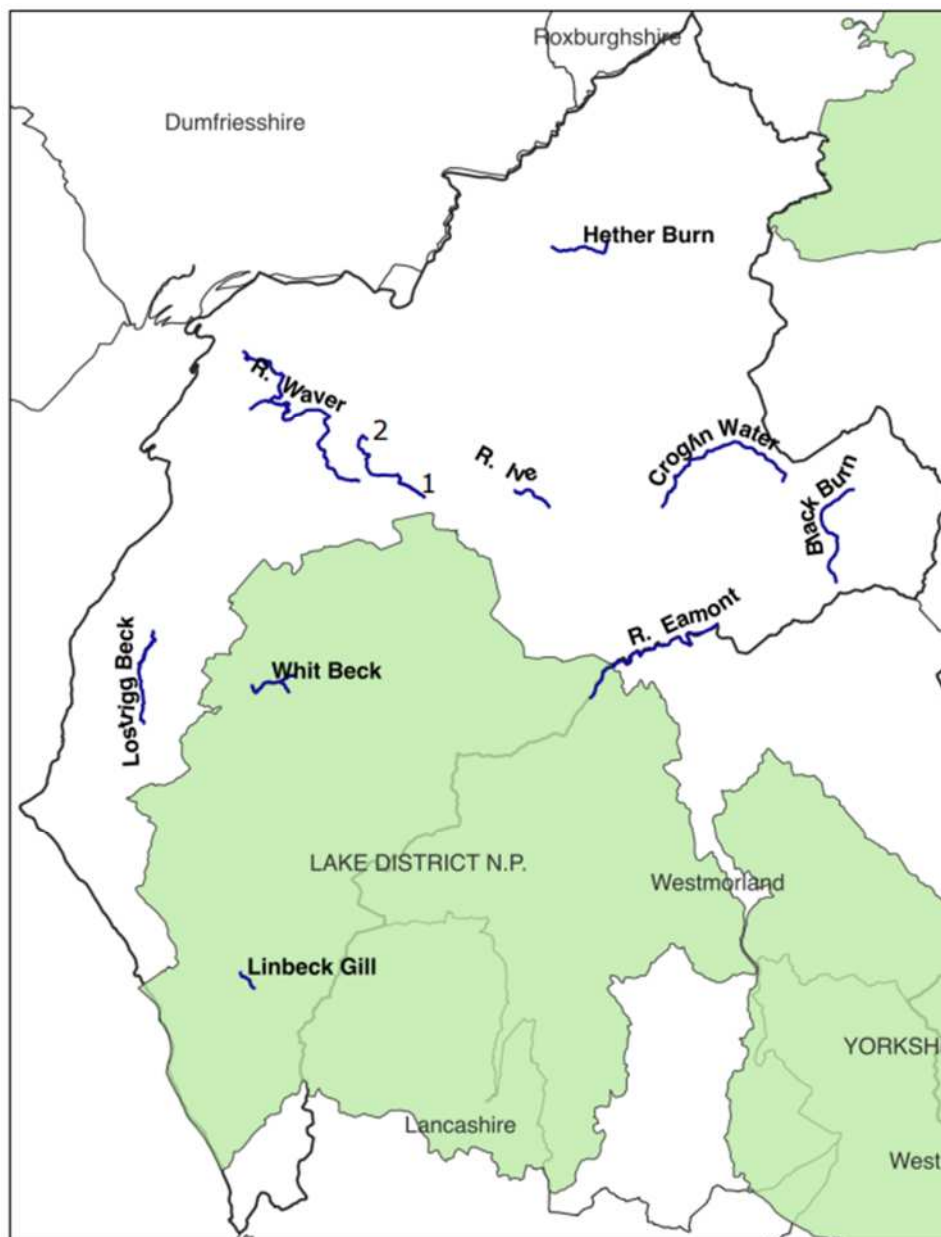
Eamont is a notable name. Derived from OE *ēa(ge)mōt* and meaning 'junction of streams', it is likely a back-formation from a place somewhere near the confluence of the Eamont and the Dacre at Barton (ERN: 139). Ekwall draws a distinction between genuine 'unconscious' back-formations, and those which arise as a result of a 'conscious' act, perhaps by an antiquarian reflecting on names (ERN: xli). Eamont likely belongs to this first category, with the back-forming process having taken place 'remarkably early' (ERN: XLV). Early spellings of Eamont with <A-> are due to influence from ON *ā* 'river', and *-mont* spellings from OFr *mont* 'hill' (DLDPN: 105).

Ekwall suggests that the difficult name Hartley Burn is also a back-formation, from a place-name Hartley which is now lost (ERN: 191). However, he also suggests that it contains a personal name *Heortla*, and more recent scholarship has posed that the name consists of OE *heorot* + *lēah* + *burna*, meaning 'stream by the hart clearing' (PNCu.I: 16).

There are 2 other names which could contain an OE personal name. The first of these is Cod Beck, the specific element of which may be the OE monothematic name *Cotta*, meaning 'round, plump' (Fellows Jensen 1968: 181). This name is found elsewhere across Yorkshire in Cottingley (PNWRY.IV: 162), Cottingham (PNERY: 205), and Cottingwith (PNERY: 237). The river-name Duddon could contain OE *Dudd*, possibly a hypocoristic form of a longer name (von Feilitzen 1937: 225).

An 11th-century spelling of Ure, *Earp*, is worth mentioning in this section. If it is not a mistake, as suggested in ERN (428), then it is a Northumbrian form, indicated by the ONb <ea> which would otherwise be <eo> (CDEPN: 639). Smith (PNWRY.VII) argues that the final letter of this spelling - <p> - is possibly an error for the OE letter **p** (*wynn*), standing for *wæter* (141).

Figure 8: River-names containing OE elements in Cumberland. (1) Silver Beck, (2) Trout Beck



Old Norse

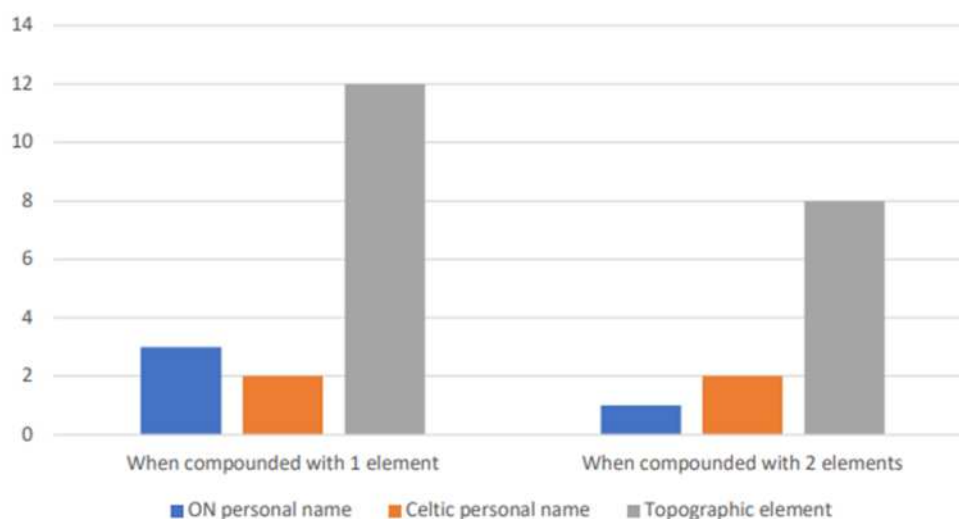
There are 37 names in this corpus which are of Old Norse (ON) origin or contain an ON element. This accounts for 38% of the total corpus, but the proportions differ in the two counties. In Cumberland, only 23% of the river-names have this linguistic origin, compared to 45% in NRY. In this section all elements are ON unless otherwise specified.

35 of these names are compound, with only 3 being simplex. These are the names Bain, Bleng, and Seph. Bain derives from *beinn* and means the 'helpful, useful river', and is the only simplex ON name to describe the river in this abstract sense (CDEPN: 32). The 2 remaining names in this group refer to a physical characteristic of the watercourse. Bleng derives from *blæingr*, meaning 'the dark stream', this also occurring in the specific element

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of Blean Beck (CDEPN: 65). The name Seph possibly means 'calm, slow', deriving from a Scandinavian word related to *søever* which is attested in Old Swedish (CDEPN: 537).

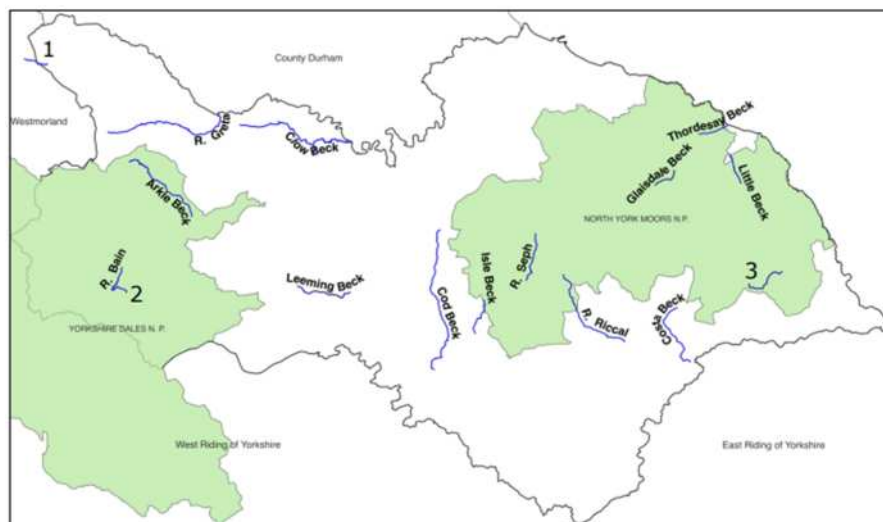
Figure 9: The structure of compounds containing ON *bekkr*



In the 35 compound names, the most common generic element is *bekkr*, occurring in 29 names. The element means 'stream' and is very common across the Danelaw where it takes the place of OE *brōc* and *burna* (EPNE.I: 26). Here, it is most frequently compounded with one other element. As can be seen from the chart below, regardless of whether it is compounded with one element or two, in most instances it is used as a generic alongside a specific which refers to a topographic element. Many of the names which contain *beck* in their modern spellings do not in their earliest spellings. *Costa Beck*, for example, is *Costa* c.1157 (CDEPN: 159), and *Thordesay Beck* is *Thordisa* c.1190 (13th) (ERN:406). This suggests that the element, as a generic, was not necessarily thought necessary in identifying a watercourse, and that it continued to be used after the initial period of naming by Scandinavian speakers.

The second most common generic element in the ON names is *ƒ*, meaning 'a river, a stream' (EPNE.I: 1). It occurs alongside the Scandinavian woman's name *þórdís* in *Thordesay Beck* (ERN: 406), and in 6 other instances with specifics which refer to a

Figure 10: Names containing ON elements in NRY. (1) *Force Beck*, (2) *Blean Beck*. (3) *Troutsdale Beck*.



topographical feature. For example, in *Keekle Beck* it describes a 'winding' stream (ON **kikall + ƒ*), and in *Aira Beck* a 'gravel-bank' stream (ON *eyrr + ā*). *Gil* 'a ravine, a deep narrow valley with a stream' also occurs more than once, in *Gilcambon Beck*, *Hell Gill Beck*, and *Linbeck Gill*.

According to Smith (1987), it is a West Scandinavian element, indicative of 'Norwegian Vikings' in the North West and Yorkshire Pennines (EPNE.I: 200).

Across all the ON compound names, references to the visual quality of the watercourse are common in the specific elements. For example, Blean Beck, Whit Beck, and the Liza describe dark (*blæingr*), white (*hvítr*, but perhaps OE *hwīt*), and bright (*ljóss*) rivers respectively. Descriptions of a feature of the river's course occur frequently too. The first element of Keekle Beck, **kikall*, describes a 'winding' stream, which is certainly apt for the modern course of the river.

The specific element of Clow Beck, *klauf*, refers to a 'cloven hoof', perhaps in the sense of a narrow ravine or a river-fork (ERN: 81). There is nowhere along the modern course of the river that could be described as a 'cloven hoof', but in its upper courses the beck does run through a fairly narrow ravine, so perhaps this sense is more accurate. The first element of Roe Beck is ON *rá* 'boundary' (ERN: 346). Around this beck are a number of names which seem to contain the same element, such as Roe House and Raughtonhead Hill. Ekwall argues that this is a fitting meaning for the river-name, as it and the related names 'are all mentioned in boundaries' (ERN: 346). Which boundaries exactly he does not specify.

Riccal is a notable name. It is the only ON river-name in this corpus that contains the name of an earlier attested river - in this case, the Rye. The second element is ON *kalf* 'calf', the name meaning 'the calf of the Rye' (ERN: 342). The Riccal and Rye run parallel for around 6 miles, with the latter being longer, faster, and having an earlier attested name. According to Ekwall, there are no other instances of 'calf' being used in this diminutive sense in England, but he notes that in Scandinavia it is common for a small island by the side of a larger one to be referred to as its calf (ERN: 342). A similar sense has been suggested for Caw Fell (Cu), which may have been described as a 'calf' in relation to its higher neighbour Haycock (DLDPN: 73).

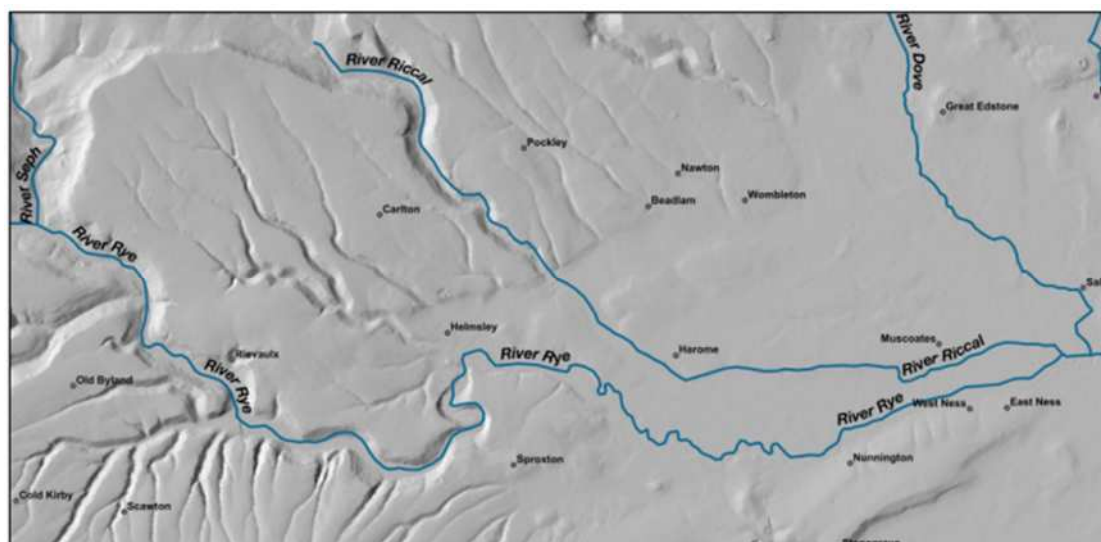


Figure 11: The course of the rivers Rye and Riccal (NRY).

As previously discussed, the river Bain refers to a river which is 'helpful, useful'. This is one of two names here which refer to a river as a resource, the other being Costa Beck (containing ON *kostr* and meaning 'the choice stream' (CDEPN: 159). Wrathmell (2021) has

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argued that Costa Beck was 'good quality' in the sense that it was used to power a mill in the nearby township of Aislaby (6).

The name Borrow is the only one in this corpus which refers to some kind of building or fortification. It derives from *borgará*, 'fort', the reference being perhaps to the Roman fort at Low Borrow Bridge (CDEPN: 71). This is likely to be one of the places mentioned in Iter X of the Antonine Itinerary, but it is uncertain which (Rivet and Smith 1979: 171). The second element of Gilcambon Beck is Kamban or Cambán, an ON name of ultimately Irish origin (ERN: 171). This is an example of an inversion compound, a formation which is

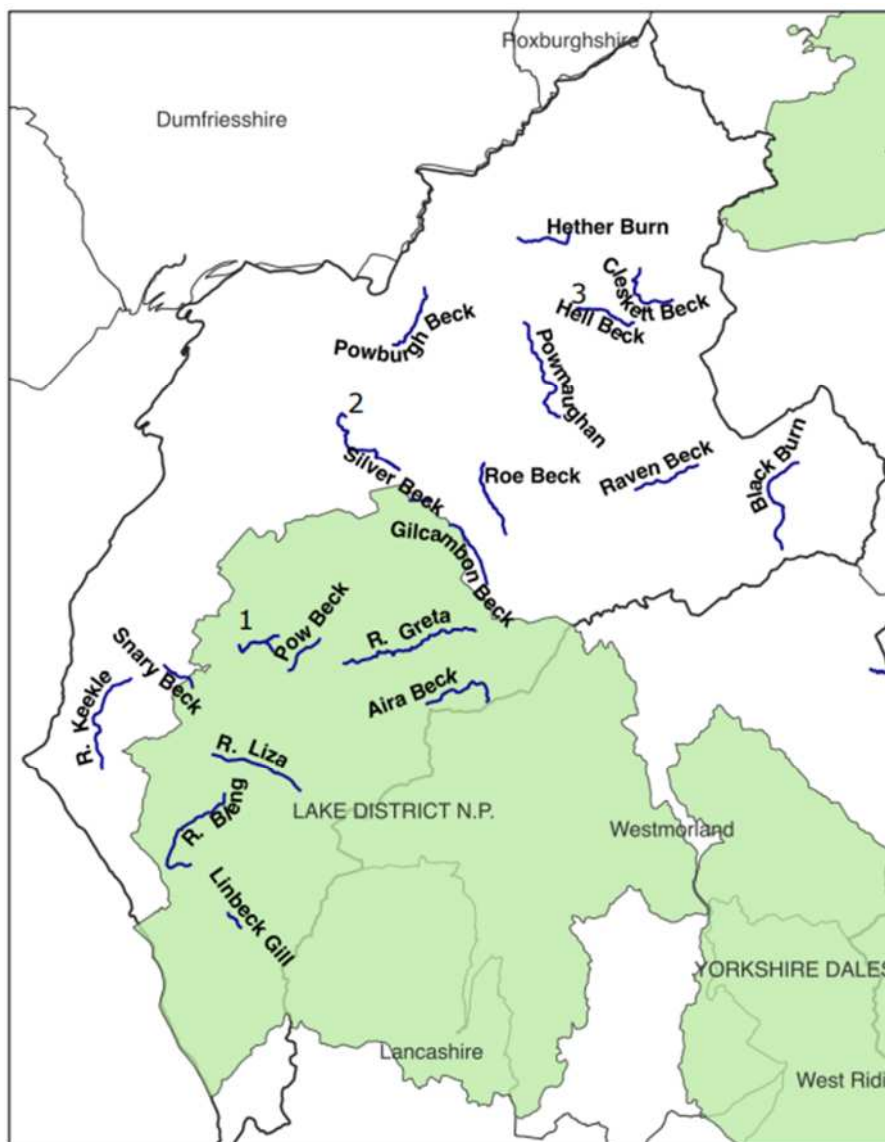


Figure 12: River-names containing ON elements in Cumberland.

very common in the North West of the country as 'the first and second element change places after the Irish fashion' (SCNW: 16).

Some of the ON names in this corpus are inverted this way in their early forms, like Snary Beck which had the form *Becsnari* in 1203 (PNCu.I: 29). Similarly, Trout Beck was recorded as *Beck Troyte* in 1060 (ERN: 418), and the Wampool was at a time *Poll Waðoen* (1060) (PNSCu.I: 29). In each of these cases, the 'normal Germanic' order of names (i.e., with the specific element first), has displaced these earlier inversions (SCNW: 65). Powmaughan Beck and Powterneth Beck have retained these inversions. There are no early forms found for Powterneth Beck, and Powmaughan Beck contains *bekkr* in its earliest spelling (PNCu.I: 24). The first part of both of these names is Celtic (Cumbr. *poll* 'a pit, a pool' + Brittonic pers. name *Merchiaun* in the latter); seemingly there would be no reason why a Norse speaker would change the order of the elements in these names, especially given the language barrier, so perhaps this is why they have retained the inversion, and wholly Norse names (such as Snary Beck and Trout Beck) have not.

Four ON river-names contain personal names. Arkle Beck contains the name Arnkell or Arnketill, which is also found in Arkengarthdale, the valley of the beck (Fellows-Jensen 1968: 14). It cannot be said with certainty which individual gave their name to this river, as it is such a common ON name. There is, however, an Arnketil recorded in Domesday Book as a landowner in Marrick, around 2 miles from where Arkle Beck joins the river Swale (Faull and Stinson 1986: 311a). There is also the name Isolf in Isle Beck, and Snarri in Snary Beck, the latter of which is related to the ON names Snari and Snerrir (PNCu.I:27). *þórdís* is a Scandinavian woman's name found in Thorsdesay Beck, which Ekwall argues is not evidenced elsewhere in England (ERN: 406). There is a *Hordisa* in the Durham Liber Vitae which Björkman has argued may be a corrupt form of the name (Björkman 1910: 69). This name is lost, and the beck is now known as East Row Beck, so it is difficult to investigate further.

Hybrid names

There are 10 names in this corpus which are hybrids, containing elements of different linguistic origin. These are evenly split between Celtic-ON compounds and OE-ON compounds. All but 2 of these names contain ON *bekkr*. Of these 8 names with this element, only half have a form of *bekkr* in their earliest spellings. Lostrigg Beck is simply *Lostric* 1227 (ERN: 261), Leeming Beck is *Liemwic* 1200 (ERN: 247), Glaisdale Beck is *Glasedale* 1200 (13thC) (ERN: 175), and Powburgh Beck is *Polleburg* (n.d.) (ERN: 331). These forms are from the 13th century (but *Polleburg* is from a document without a date). Where river-names do have *bekkr* in their earliest forms, these forms are from documents from the 14th century onwards, except in the case of Trout Beck, which is *beck Troyte* in 1060. The *Powbeck* form of Pow Beck is from the 17th century (ERN: 331), and the earliest forms of Troutdale Beck and Powmaughan Beck are from the 14th (ERN: 419, 331).

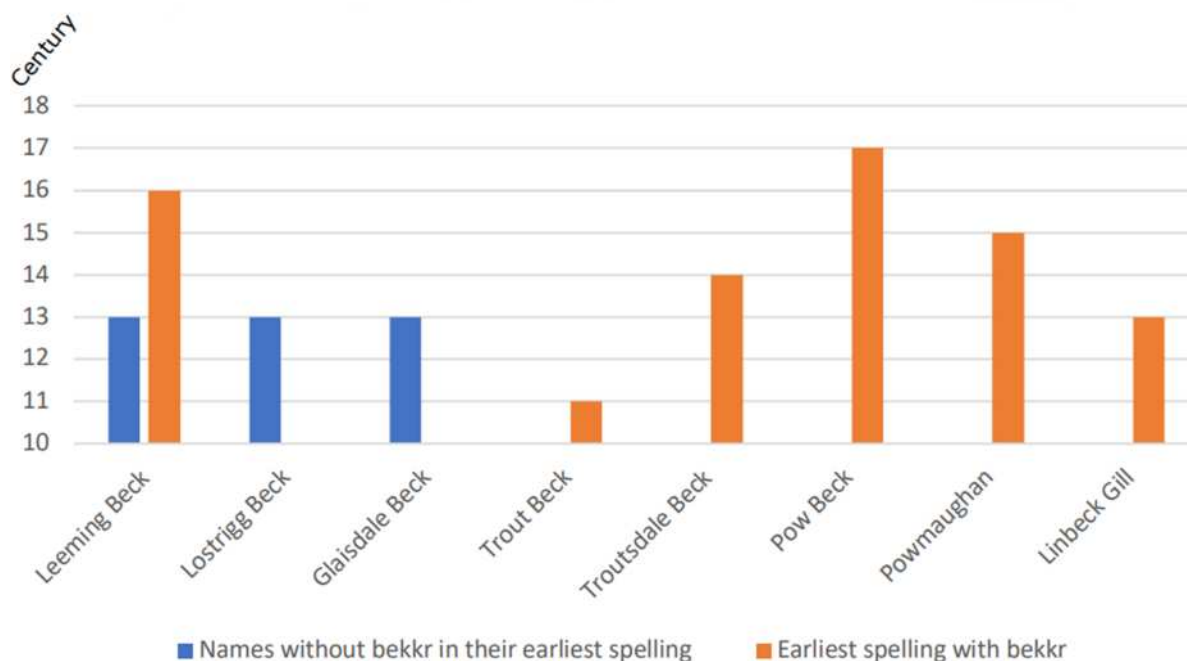


Figure 13: Dating of historical forms of hybrid names with bekk.

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The two remaining hybrid names are Linbeck Gill and Hether Burn. Hether Burn was simply *Heder* in a 13th-century spelling (ERN: 196) and does not show <burn> until the 17th (*Haderburne* PNCu.1: 17). The name Linbeck Gill might have replaced an earlier Celtic name Devoke (British **dubāco-/dubācā-* 'the black one'; DLDPN: 95), now found in Devoke Water in Eskdale (Cu). The earliest spelling of Linbeck Gill with the latter element is late, not occurring until 1867 on an Ordnance Survey map (DLDPN: 210). Across the hybrid names, many generic elements did not appear in spellings until much later. Seemingly these names were being revisited throughout the late medieval, early modern, and modern periods.

Obscure names

Six of the river-names in this corpus are obscure, and any etymology suggested cannot be certain. In the case of the Ribble and the Ouse, this is largely due to their age – Rivet and Smith identify both of these with names in Ptolemy's *Geography* c.150. They suggest that the Ouse is possibly OEur in origin, and identify it with Ptolemy's *Abus*, which also covers the Humber Estuary (1979: 240). An IE root something like **wed-r-* has been suggested, becoming **usso* in British and then *Os* in Brittonic, although this is 'guesswork' (BLITON: 291). The Ribble is another difficult name. It has been argued that it is *Belisama* in Ptolemy, and that this is the name of a goddess worshipped in Gaul (Rivet and Smith 1979: 267). The first element could be **bel-* 'shining', which although not found in later Celtic languages is commonly found in the names of deities (BLITON: 26). Alternatively, Ekwall suggests that the name is cognate with OE *riþel* 'to reap', from the Germanic root **rip-* which gives *rīpa* in Norwegian (ERN: 340). The Ehen could be another name from the British **Ituna* root from which the Eden likely derives. It could be the *Itunocelum* in the Ravenna Cosmography (c.700), with the <t> becoming <h> due to Norman influence (Rivet and Smith 1979: 381). Alternatively, the early form *Egre* 1200 (15th) might suggest that it is a back-formation from Egremont (Rivet and Smith 1979: 381).

No etymology is suggested for King Water in CDEPN (349), or in the EPNS volumes for Cumberland (PNCu.I: 19). Ekwall suggests a back-formation from an OE *Cyningesēa*, arguing that 'in Cumberland with its mixture of races and languages such a back-formation would be more liable to take place' (ERN: 231). He is uncertain, though, and also suggests the possibility of it being a British name, related to OIr *cingim* 'to march' and W *rhygyngu* 'to amble', with the *K-* being preserved due to Scandinavian influence (ERN: 231).

Chalk Beck is a difficult name. While the second element is undoubtedly ON *bekkr*, Celtic and Germanic suggestions have been made for the first. It could be from OE **scafoc*, or Welsh *ysgaw*, the latter meaning 'elder stream' (ERN: 74).

Ekwall argues that for the obscure name Petteril, the 1285 form *Peyterel* suggests that the first element might have ended with <kt>, perhaps something like **pekt-* which gave *paith* in Welsh and *cecht* in Irish. This would mean something like 'vigour' or 'wilderness' (ERN: 323). However, more recent scholarship has suggested that the first element is British **petwaro* 'four' (W *pedwar*) (BLITON: 232). This is attested elsewhere, as in *Petuaría*, the Brittonic name for the site of what is now Brough-on-Humber (ERY) (Rivet and Smith 1979: 437). The river Sark, which forms part of the western border between England and Scotland, is probably also pre-English. It could be from the root **ser-* which is also suggested for the river Soar (rises in Wa). This base is perhaps found in the Latin *serum*, with the root originally meaning something like 'to flow' (ERN: 374).

Ekwall identifies a stream name *Sarke* c.1340 (GI) which seems to be the same (ERN: 353).

Conclusion

It is clear from building the corpus for this work and the subsequent analysis that the river-names of these two Northern English counties reflect rich and complex histories. In both counties there are examples of hydronyms of a remarkable age, indicating the presence of what is likely to be a pre-Celtic population. The number of Celtic names in Cumberland - of both Brittonic and Goidelic origin - shows the influence of this group throughout the county's history; contrastingly in NRY names of this linguistic origin were not given by such a consistent and lasting population. The arrival of Old English speakers is in this corpus the smallest influence, with these names often being given for smaller, minor watercourses. In both Cumberland and NRY there is a large proportion of Old Norse names, and in the former the presence of these settlers has led to interesting name formations which are ultimately of ON origin but show striking influence from the Celtic languages. Hybrid names which feature ON elements seem not uncommon, showing the reach and impact of this language on much of northern England.

It is not just at the point of origin that these river-names are of such interest and content, though. The ability to trace these names through documentary history is incredibly valuable for finding evidence of sound changes and the symbiotic relationship between all of these languages. The inversion compounds of the north-west, for example, show the mutual influence of Old Norse and the Celtic languages, even if the inversion only exists in the earliest historical forms. Additionally, such early sources as Ptolemy's *Geography* provide a vital contribution to the understanding of England's earliest British and pre-British names which were encountered by the Romans.

In consulting the multiple reference works for this dissertation, it has become clear that variation in terminology and classification is a difficulty when working in this area, especially with very old names. Certainly, Ekwall's *English River-Names* (1928) is somewhat archaic in some of its language, but for a work of its age it remains of provenance and use and covers the most major and well-known English rivers. The modern scholarship provided in CDEPN is a helpful update to Ekwall's work, and shows how important it is that older definitions be revisited and reconsidered as new thought develops and interest advances.

What I believe this work has been demonstrative of is the sheer value of the study of names, hydronymic or otherwise, for wider linguistics and history. They are of such use for understanding the perception of landscape throughout time by the general population, rather than from a purely administrative or bureaucratic standpoint. Lastly; these names and the information they provide remain not just relevant but crucial in the modern world as a part of the relationship between people and landscape, and as this relationship becomes increasingly important in the decades to come, the necessity of place-names within environmental discourse will undoubtedly be shown.

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GIS data

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Appendices

Unless otherwise stated, entries are taken from Ekwall's *English River-Names* (1968). All abbreviations are expanded at the end. To avoid repetition across entries, etymological information for the element *beck* is not included; in every case, this is the ON generic *bekkr* 'a stream' (EPNE I.26).

Aira Beck Cu. *Ayrau(c)hebeke* c.1250. 'Gravel-bank stream'. ON *eyrr* + *ā* (CDEPN).

Arkle Beck YN. *Arkell* 1226. 'Arnkeill/Arnketill's stream'. ON pers. name Arnkeill/Arnketill.

Ayle Burn Cu. *Alne* 1347. 'Holy, mighty' from the British stem *Alaun-* + OE *burna*.

Bain YN. *Bain, Baine* 1218. 'The helpful, useful river'. ON *beinn*. (CDEPN).

Balder YN. *Balder* 13th. 'Hill stream'. W *bal* 'a peak, mountain' + British *dubro* 'water, river'.

Black Burn Cu. *Mikleblackburne* 1170. 'Black, dark; muddy' from ON *blæc* + OE *burna*.

Blean Beck YN. *Blainbec* 1218. 'The dark stream'. ON *blæingr* < *blár* 'blue, dark'.

Bleng Cu. *Bleng* 1576. 'The dark stream'. ON *blæingr* < *blár* 'blue, dark'. (CDEPN).

Borrow Cu. *Borghra* 1211 (1412). 'The stream of the fort'. ON *borgará*.

Burn YN. *Brunne* 12th (15th). 'A stream, a brook'. OE *burna* or ON *brunnr*.

Burth Cu. *Burth* 1169. 'A farmyard, a fold'. W *buarth*.

Cairn Cu. *Karn* 1214 (14th). 'The rocky river'. W *carn* 'a heap of stones'.

Cald Beck Cu. *Caldebek* 1060 (13th). 'The cold brook'. ON *kaldr* (CDEPN).

Calder. Cu. *Kalder* 1200 (1318). 'Violent, rapid stream'. W *caled* + W *dwfr*. (CDEPN).

Caldew Cu. *Caldeu* 1189 (14th). Perhaps of the same etymology as Calder; alternatively OE *caldēa* meaning 'the cold brook'.

Calter Cu. *Kaltre* 1280. 'Violent, rapid stream'. W *caled* + W *dwfr* (CDEPN).

Cam Beck Cu. *Camboc* 1169. 'Crooked stream'. British **cambāco*.

Chalk Beck Cu. *Chauk* 1060 (13th). Obscure. Perhaps OE **scafoc*, or alternatively W *ysgaw* meaning 'elder stream'.

Cleskett Beck Cu. *Cleskett* 1589. 'Green/blue wood' from W *glas* + W *coed*.

Clow Beck YN. *Cloubek* 1293. 'A narrow ravine, a river fork'. ON *klauf* 'a cloven hoof'.

Cocker Cu. *Coker* 1230 (15th). 'Winding river'. British **kūkra* 'crooked'. (CDEPN).

Cod Beck YN. *Cotesbec* 13th. 'Kotti's stream'. ODan pers. name Kotti (CDEPN).

Costa Beck YN. *Costa* 1157. 'The choice stream'. ON *kostr* + *ā*. (CDEPN).

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Cover YN. *Couer* 1279. 'The stream in the hollow'. PrW **gober*. (CDEPN).

Croglin Water Cu. *Croglyng* 1341. 'Crooked torrent'. OE **crōc* + *hlynn*. (CDEPN).

Crummock Beck Cu. *Crumboc* 1201 (1307). 'Crooked stream'. British **cambāco*. (CDEPN).

Dacre Cu. *Dacore* 730 (8th). 'The trickling stream'. PrCumb **dagr*. (CDEPN).

Derwent Cu. *Deruuontionem* 730 (8th). 'Oak river, river where oaks grow abundantly'. British *deruā* (CDEPN).

Derwent. YN. Same as Cu Derwent (above).

Dove YN. *Duve* 1100. 'Black, dark'. PrW **duſ*. (CDEPN).

Duddon Cu. *Duddon* 1140. Uncertain. Either OE pers. name Dudd, or British **dubro* 'black'. (CDEPN).

Eamont Cu. *Amoth* 12thC (14th). 'Junction of streams'. OE *ea(ge)mat*. (CDEPN).

Eden Cu. *IroOva* c.150. 'Water'. British **Ituna* (CDEPN).

Ehen Cu. *Egre* 1200 (15th). Obscure. (CDEPN).

Esk YN. *Esch* 1109 (13th). Ancient. An Old European name meaning 'moving swiftly, strongly' from the IE root **is-/eis-*. (CDEPN).

Esk Cu. *Eskes* 13th. Same as YN Esk. (CDEPN).

Force Beck YN. 'Waterfall'. ON *fors*, dial. *force*.

Foss YN. *Fosse* 1230 (14th). 'Ditch, trench' originally from Latin *fossa*, but the immediate source is British as this is found in all the British languages (W *ffos*, Bret *fos*, Co *fos*).

Gelt Cu. *Gelt* 1200. 'Madman, wild man'. OIr *geilt*. (CDEPN).

Gilcambon Beck Cu. *Gylecamban* 1292. 'Narrow valley of Kamban'. ON *gil* + Irish pers. name Kamban.

Gillerbeck Cu. *Gylderbek* 1324. 'A brook in which traps were set for otters, beavers etc'. ON *gildra*.

Glaisdale Beck YN. *Glasedale* 1200. 'Blue, green, grey stream'. PrW **glas* + ON *dalr*. (CDEPN).

Glangles Cu. *Glangles* 13th. 'Pure stream'. W *glan* + *glais*.

Glencoyne Beck Cu. *Glenkquin* 1577. W *glyn* 'valley' + 'wood' from a Celtic base **kaino* which gave W *coed*.

Glenderamackin Cu. *Glenermakin* 1278. W *glyn* 'valley' + *dwfr* 'river', final element uncertain. Perhaps an OW pers. name **Machān*.

Glenderaterra. Cu. *Glenderterray* 1729. W *glyn* 'valley' + *dwfr* 'river', final element uncertain.

- Greta** Cu. *Greta* 1279. 'Stones, stoney river'. ON *grjót* + *ā*. (CDEPN).
- Greta** YN. *Gretaheved* 1109. Same as above.
- Hartley Burn** Cu. *Hertingburn* 1169. OE pers. name **Heortla* + *-ing-* + *burna*.
- Hell Beck** Cu. *Hellebek'* 1169. 'Stream that flows from a cave-like recess or dark ravine'. ON *hellir* 'cave'. (CDEPN).
- Hell Gill Beck**. YN. *Helbecke* 1577. 'A cave' from ON *hellir*, or 'a flat stone or cliff' from ON *hella*.
- Hether Burn**. Cu. *Heder* 13th. 'Strong, vigorous, bold'. W *hyfdr* + OE *burna* or ON *brunnr*.
- Hodder** YN. *Hodder* 930 (14th). 'Pleasant stream'. W *hawdd* + British *dubro*. (CDEPN).
- Iburn** YN. *Ybrun* 1177 (13th). 'Yew brook'. OE *īw-burna*.
- Irt** Cu. *Irt* 1279. 'Green, fresh'. British **Iret*.
- Irthing** Cu. *Irthin* 1169. 'Green, fresh' of uncertain etymology probably related to Irt. (CDEPN).
- Isle Beck** YN. *Yserbec* 1200. 'Isolfr's beck'. ON pers. name *Isolfr*.
- Ive** Cu. *Yue* 1285. 'Impetuous one' from a root which gave OE *āfor* 'bitter, sharp'. (CDEPN).
- Keekle Beck** Cu. *Chechel* 1120 (15th). 'Winding stream'. ON **kikall* + *ā*.
- King Water** Cu. *King* 1169 (14th). Uncertain. (CDEPN).
- Knorren Beck** Cu. *Knavren* 1195 (13th). Uncertain. Perhaps W *cnau* 'nuts' + W *bryn* 'hill'.
- Kyle**. YN. *Kijl* 1220. 'Narrow, lean'. British *cūlio*.
- Leeming Beck** YN. *Liemwic* 1200. 'Radiant, shining, ray of light'. OE *lēoma*.
- Leven** YN. *Leuene* 1268. Uncertain, but probably British. (CDEPN).
- Liddel** Cu. *Lidel* 1216. Uncertain. Perhaps OE **hlyde* + OE *dæł*.
- Linbeck Gill** Cu. *Lindebec* 1200. 'Lime-tree brook'. OE *lind* + ON *bekkr* + *gil*.
- Little Beck** YN. *Lithebech* 1109 (13th). 'Slope/hill beck'. ON *hlið*.
- Liza** Cu. *Lesagh* 1294. 'Light or bright river' from ON *ljóss* + *ā*. (CDEPN).
- Lostrigg Beck** Cu. *Lostric* 1227. OE *hlōse* 'pigsty' + a form of the Germanic root **rik-*.
- Lune** YN *Loon* 1201. 'The health-giving river'. PrW **lon* 'flood-tide, flowing'. (CDEPN).
- Lyne** Cu. *Leuen* 1292. Uncertain. (CDEPN).
- Marron** Cu. *Meran* 1282. W pers. name *Meirion* (OW *Meriuān*).
- Mite** Cu. *Mighet* 1209. A British name on the root **meigh-* 'to urinate'. (CDEPN).
- Nent** Cu. *Nent* 1314. 'A glen, a brook' from PrW **nant*. (CDEPN).

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- Ouse** YN. *Usan* 959. Obscure. Possibly Old European. (CDEPN).
- Petteril** Cu. *Peteral* 1268. Obscure. (CDEPN).
- Pow** Cu. *Pow* 1161. 'A pit, a pool, a mire'. PrCumb *poll*. (CDEPN).
- Pow Beck** Cu. *Powbeck* 1610. PrCumb *poll*.
- Powburgh Beck**. Cu *Polleburg* n.d. Same as Pow Beck (above) but including the place name Burgh.
- Powmaughan Beck** Cu. *Polmeryhowbeck* 1400. PrCumb *poll* + OW pers. name *Merchiaun*.
- Powterneth Beck** Cu. No early forms found. Uncertain after first element (PrCumb *poll*).
- Raven Beck** Cu. *Raven* 12thC. Probably a back-formation containing ON *hrafn*.
- Ribble** YN. *Rippel* 715 (11thC). Obscure. (CDEPN).
- Riccal** YN. *Rycaluegy* 1251. 'Calf of the (river) Rye'. River name *Rye* + ON *kalf*. (CDEPN).
- Roe Beck** Cu. *Ranhe* 1272. 'Boundary river'. ON *rá* 'boundary' + *á* 'river'.
- Rye** YN. *Ria* 1132. British, either from **Rīua* 'to flow' or **Reg-ā* 'water, wet'. (CDEPN).
- Sark** Cu. *Serke* 1200. Obscure.
- Seknent** Cu. *Sechenent* 1169. 'Dry stream, dry valley'. *W sych* + *W nant*.
- Seph** YN. *Sef* 1170 (13th). Uncertain. Probably a Scandinavian name, relating to OSwed *sæver* 'calm, slow'. (CDEPN).
- Seven** YN. *Sivena* 1100. Possibly a British **suminā* of unknown meaning which is the source of the Welsh river Syfynwy. (CDEPN).
- Silver Beck** Cu. *Siluerbeck* 1285. 'Silver beck'.
- Snary Beck** Cu. *Becsnari* 1203. 'Snarri's beck'. ON pers. name *Snarri*.
- Swale** YN. *Suala* 730 (8th). Uncertain. Possibly related to IE **swel* 'burn', and if so Old European. (CDEPN).
- Tame** YN. *Tame* 12th (13th). Ancient. An Old European name on the IE root **tā* 'to flow'. (CDEPN).
- Thackriving** YN. *Tacriving* 1158 (13th). First element is OE *þæc* 'roof' in the sense 'reeds, reeds for thatching'. The second element is the r.n. Rivelin, from OE *rife* 'fierce, rapacious'. A meaning such as 'a torrent where reeds grow' would suit.
- Thordesay Beck** YN. *Thordisa* 1190 (13th). 'Stream of *þórdís*'. ON woman's name + *þ*.
- Trout Beck** Cu. *Beck Troyte* 1060. 'Trout stream' from OE *truht* (CDEPN).
- Troutdale Beck** YN. *Troucedalebek* 1335. 'Trout pool' from OE *truht-stall*.
- Tyne** Cu. *Tiva* c.150. Ancient. An Old European name from the root **tei-/*ti-* 'to melt, to flow'. (CDEPN).

Ure YN. *Earp* 1025. Ancient. An Old European name meaning 'the strong or swift river' from the IE root **is-/*eis-*. (CDEPN).

Wampool Cu. *Poll Wa6oen* 1060 (13thC). Uncertain. PrCumb *poll* 'a pit, a pool, a mire' + an uncertain first element. (CDEPN).

Waver Cu. *Wayfr* 1060 (13th). 'Wandering river' from OE *wæfre*. (CDEPN).

Wheat Beck YN. *Witebec* 12th. Uncertain. Perhaps the pers. name *Hwīta*.

Whit Beck Cu. *Withebeck* 1221. 'White stream'. ON *hvítr* or OE *hwit*. (CDEPN).

Wiske YN. *Wisca* 1100 (1540). 'Marshy stream, river-land liable to floods'. OE *wisce*, dial. *wishe*. (CDEPN).

Abbreviations*Languages*

Breton	Bret
Cornish	Co
Indo-European	IE
Old Danish	ODan
Old English	OE
Old European	OEur
Old Irish	OIr
Old Norse	ON
Old Northumbrian	ONb
Old Swedish	OSwed
Primitive Cumbric	PrCumb
Primitive Welsh	PrW
Proto-Indo-European	PIE
Sanskrit	Skr
Welsh	W
dialect	dial.

Counties

Cornwall	Co
Cumberland	Cu
County Durham	Du
East Riding of Yorkshire	ERY
Gloucestershire	Gl
North Riding of Yorkshire	NRy
Warwickshire	Wa
West Riding of Yorkshire	WRy

Reference Works

Full references are found in the bibliography.

BLITON	<i>The Brittonic Language in the Old North</i>
CDEPN	<i>The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names</i>
DLDPN	<i>A Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names</i>

Kathryn Hardy

ERN	<i>English River-Names</i>
LHEB	<i>Language and History in Early Britain</i>
PNCu	<i>The Place-Names of Cumberland (3 vols.)</i>
PNERY	<i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire</i>
PNNRY	<i>The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire</i>
PNWRY	<i>The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire</i>
SCNW	<i>Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England.</i>