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# Examine the value of place-names as evidence for the history, landscape and, especially, language(s) of your chosen area

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#### Introduction

The corpus analysed in this essay consists of 40 place-names (see Appendix) from the central area of the historic county of Cumberland. The following analysis will first examine the range of the languages present in the corpus, including Celtic, Old English, Old Norse, Norman French, Middle English, and Medieval Latin. Then it will discuss how these place-names provide valuable insight into the evolution of the landscape and human history of the selected area.

## Languages

#### Celtic:

Celtic is a general term for pre-English languages spoken by Celtic tribes who invaded and populated Britain during the Iron Age. The following analysis will use the term 'Celtic' to refer to both Brittonic and Gaelic elements in this corpus for general discussions, while differentiating between these two varieties of Celtic languages when necessary.

In total, nearly 1/5 (9 out of 40) place-names in this corpus contain Celtic elements. As Cumberland locates in far northwest England, this considerable proportion of Celtic place-names supports Gelling (2010)'s argument that surviving Celtic names are more likely to be found in 'further north and west' areas (92).

The majority of Celtic elements refer to landscape features, including hills, rivers and streams. This is unsurprising considering these topographical features' more stable nature compared to man-made settlements. The most frequently preserved Celtic elements in the corpus are river-names, such as River Dacre (Dacre), River Cocker (Cockermouth), and River Eden (as an affix in Kirkandrews on Eden). Indeed, in Jackson's (1953) map of Celtic river-names, Cumberland belongs to Area III, in which Celtic river-names are 'especially common' (222). This dense distribution is attributed to the relatively late Anglo-Saxon conquest of the area in the middle 7<sup>th</sup> century (Jackson 1953). Greystoke, on the other hand, is an ambiguous name. According to Ekwall (1960), it contains another Celtic river-name Cray comparable to River Cray in Kent (205). However, Armstrong, Mawer, Stenton and Dickens (1950) argue that the first element is more likely to be Old Welsh (a variety of Brittonic) creic 'hill' (194). This interpretation can be supported by some early attestations such as Creistoch 1167 and Creistok 1359. Other Celtic elements referring to hills include \*penn in Torpenhow and \*mel in Watermillock. As noted by Gelling (2010), such survival of Celtic elements indicates 'a period of co-existence' between Celtic and OE speakers after the Anglo-Saxon conquest (90). This language contact is further attested by hybrid Celtic and OE place-names, such as Cockermouth (OE generic mutha) and Greystoke (OE generic stoc).

The Celtic influence also extends to the place-names' structural features, namely the presence of inversion compounds, in which the generic element precedes the specific element, rather than the reverse order in most OE and ON place-names (Grant, 2002). This is exemplified by Kirkbride and Kirkandrews on the Eden, in which the ON generic element **kirkja** 'church' precedes the qualifiers of saints' names, *Bride* and *Andrew*. Ekwall (1918) suggests that inversion compounds were coined by early Scandinavian settlers who formally lived in Celtic-speaking areas and adopted the Celtic naming practice (51). To be more specific, the presence of the Irish saint's name *Bride* in Kirkbride and the ON place-name Ireby ('farmstead or village of the Irishmen') in the corpus suggests an Irish influence in the selected area. Thus, it is possible that these Celtic-ON inversion compounds were coined by Scandinavian settlers who migrated from Gaelic-speaking areas such as Ireland.

#### Old English (OE)

OE is a West-Germanic language spoken by Anglo-Saxon settlers who invaded and settled in England from the mid-fifth century onwards. The corpus only contains 6 wholly OE names. In total, 17 names contain OE elements, compromising less than half of the entire corpus. This deviates from the general pattern of place-names in England, in which OE place-names usually are the great majority (Gelling, 2010: 24). This relatively small proportion of OE names can be attributed to historical reasons discussed above, namely the comparatively late Anglo-Saxon settlement in the county.

The majority of OE place-names are habitative. The most common generic element is OE **tūn**, 'farmstead', as in Bolton, Dalston and Wigton. Indeed, Gelling (2010) notes that it is the commonest term denoting settlements in OE place-names (124). Another habitative OE element, **hām** 'homestead', only occurs in one place-name, Sebergham. This supports Gelling's (2010) observation that **hām** is less common in north-west England (117).

A few OE topographic names can be identified. Buttermere contains the OE generic mere 'lake'. Another interesting example is Raughtonhead. Its earliest attested form *Ragton* 1182 (OE ragu + OE tūn) is a typical habitative name, 'homestead where moss or lichen grows'. However, later another generic element OE hēafod 'headland, hill' was added to the name, transforming it into a topographical place-name denoting a stretch of hill pasture used by the people of Ragton. Lastly, although Cameron (1996:187) argues that the topographic OE element torr is 'almost entirely restricted' to south-west England, an exception is found in this corpus of Cumberland (an extreme northwestern county), namely the hybrid OE and Celtic place-name Torpenhow with torr as the first element.

### Old Norse (ON)

ON is a North Germanic language spoken by the groups of Scandinavian invaders who settled in the northern part of England during the mid-9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. In Cumberland, the ON influence on place-names is connected to the Norwegian invasions dated to as early as the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Cameron 1996: 77). Therefore, it is unsurprising that the corpus shows a predominate ON influence, with 12 wholly ON names (twice as many as wholly OE names) and in total 21 names containing ON elements. It is also worth noting that OE and ON cognates can cause some ambiguity in the categorizing process. For instance, Bowness can either be OE **boga + næss**, or ON **bogi + nes**, both meaning 'rounded headland'.

The majority of wholly ON names are topographical names. The two most common topographical generic ON elements are **dalr** 'valley' (Borrowdale, Matterdale, Uldale) and **thveit** 'woodland' (Crosthewaite, Thornthwaite). Both elements are widely found in the northern part of England, with the element **thveit** frequently occurring in north-west England, particularly in Cumberland (Gelling and Cole, 2014: 97). Gelling and Cole (2014) further argue that place-names containing **thveit** are likely to be coined by ON speakers during the early stage of Scandinavian settlement (250). Nevertheless, the ME post-conquest surname *Bastun* in Bassenthwaite suggests that the element **thveit** continued to be used as a borrowed appellative by ME speakers.

Three examples of habitative wholly ON names can be found in the corpus: Thursby, Ireby, and Sowerby. All of them contain the generic element **bý** 'farmstead, village', the commonest Scandinavian element in English place-names (Cameron, 1996). Gelling (2010) argues that such settlements with ON names tend to have 'less desirable sites', which can be supported by the reference to the undesirable soil quality in Sowerby 'farmstead on sour ground' (237). Cameron (1996) further suggests that in Cumberland, **bý** often denotes individual farms rather than large villages, which is characteristic of the Norwegian dialectical usage (81). However, due to a lack of relevant archaeological evidence, it is difficult to determine if this argument applies to this corpus.

The corpus also contains several hybrid OE and ON place-names, including Aikton, Grinsdale, Kirkbampton, and Orton, indicating the language contact between OE and ON speakers in the selected area. Orton is a Grimston Hybrid, a compound in which an ON personal name (in this case *Orri*) is followed by OE generic **tūn**. Such compounds are generally interpreted as resulting from Scandinavian settlers' taking over and renaming preexisting English villages (Townend, 2013). This language contact between ON and OE speakers is further attested by the ON influence on OE names' pronunciation. The earliest attestation of Skelton (OE **scelf** + **tūn**) is *Sheltone* c.1160, with the initial consonant pronounced as /sh/. Later, the sound is substituted by the consonant cluster /sk/ due to ON phonological influence, resulting in the modern form (Cameron 1996: 83).

Notably, some of the ON names exhibit West Norse dialectical features. For instance, the specific element **kross** 'cross' in Crosthwaite is an ON loanword from Old Irish (a variety of Gaelic), which is characteristic of West Norse vocabulary (Cameron 1996). Another distinctive north-west feature is the inversion compounds influenced by Celtic naming practices, namely Kirkbride and Kirkandrew on Eden, as discussed above. As noted by Cameron (1996), the Scandinavian inhabitants in Cumberland were mainly made of Norwegian stock, whose ancestors settled in Gaelic-speaking areas (77). This accounts for the ON place-names' Norwegian dialectic features that are not found in Danelaw, an area populated by Danish settlers.

#### Norman French, Middle English (ME) and Medieval Latin

The corpus also shows some linguistic influence of Norman French, the language of the Norman conquerors who became the ruling class of England after 1066. Nevertheless, the French influence is quite limited in this corpus, with only three place-names containing French elements. As noted by Gelling (2010), the French settlers were made of 'a foreign aristocracy unaccompanied by a body of peasant settlers', thus they were generally not involved in the coinage of place-names (238). Furthermore, among the limited number of

names coined by the French settlers, many of them tend to be the so-called 'artificial place-names' (Gelling 2010: 239). A prime example in the corpus is Beaumont 'beautiful hill', OFr **beau** or **bel + mont**. As the name does not reflect any local landscape features, it is unlikely to arise from spontaneous local speech.

The corpus also contains some French personal names. Newtown Reigny contains the Norman family name *Regny* as a manorial affix. The name's earliest attestation is *Niweton'* 1185, 'the new farmstead' (OE **nīwe + tūn**). The first recorded affixed form is *Neutonrey(g)ny(e)* in 1275-6. However, the land's connection to the Reigny family can be traced back to 1185, when it was held by William de Reigni (Armstrong et al 1950: 228). This supports Jones' (2012) argument that it is common to have 'a brief time lapse' between when a place was owned by some families or individuals and when this ownership was reflected in place-names (261). French personal names can also be found in Bassenthwaite, which contains a ME surname originating from OFr nickname *Bastun*, 'stick' (Hanks, Coates, and McClure, 2016). Thus, the place-name records the Norman French influence on the post-conquest name stock.

Finally, the corpus also shows some linguistic influence of ME and Medieval Latin. Westward is a ME place-name, meaning 'Western division (of a forest)', ME **west** + **warde**. Its early attestation *Le Westwarde* 1354 demonstrates a French influence on spelling (with the French article *Ie*). Great Orton was documented as *Magna Orton* in 1485, with the affix documented in Medieval Latin. This reflects Medieval Latin's status as an administrative language during the later medieval period.

### Landscape

#### Water

The landscape of the selected area of Cumberland contains various water features, including lakes, rivers, and streams, which provided essential natural resources for the settlements. Buttermere contains the OE generic element **mere** 'lake', denoting its proximity to a large natural lake with the same name (Figure 1). The first element OE **butere** 'pasture' describes the lake's vegetation, indicating that the lake's surrounding area was used for

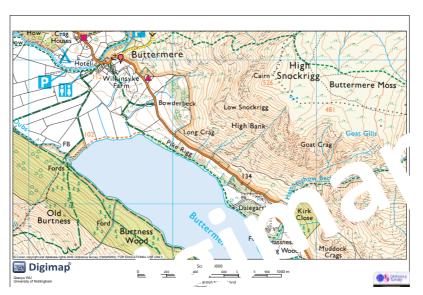


Figure 1: The lake Buttermere in relation to the settlement Buttermere

grazing. Similarly, Caldbeck is also named after a nearby water body, a stream called Cald Beck (Fig. 2). Its generic element ON **bekkr** 'stream, beck' is the commonest term for a stream in the area of Cumberland (Gelling and Cole 2014: 6). The specific element **kaldr** 'cold' provides information about the water temperature, which indicates the local settlers' familiarity with the stream and probably their frequent usage of the water resource.

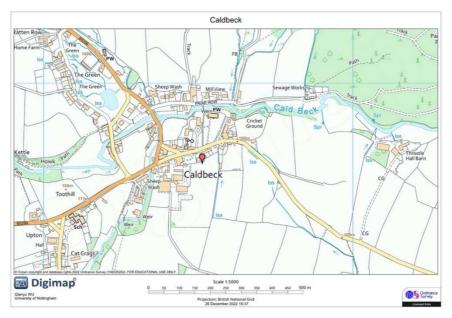


Figure 2: The stream Cald Beck near Caldbeck

Place-names can also be descriptive of the settlement's location in relation to the water bodies. The OE generic element **mūtha** 'mouth' in Cockermouth suggests that the settlement was located near the mouth of a river. As can be seen on the map (fig. 3), the settlement sits at the confluence where River Cocker flows into River Derwent. This location probably provided convenient waterway transport for the settlers.

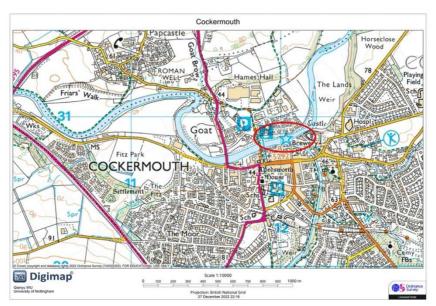


Figure 3: Confluence of River Cocker and River Derwent in Cockermouth (marked with the red circle)

From travelers' perspective, river-crossings are significant features of the local environment. The Celtic element \*rid in Penrith means 'ford'. According to Gelling and Cole (2014), it refers to the river crossing located a mile south-east of the modern town, where the Roman road from Brougham to Carlisle crossed the river Eamount, as shown in Fig 4 (91). The significance of the ford is further enhanced by the fact that River Eamont formed the boundary between the historic counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. Thus, the river-crossing was likely of great importance for local inhabitants to travel between the two counties.

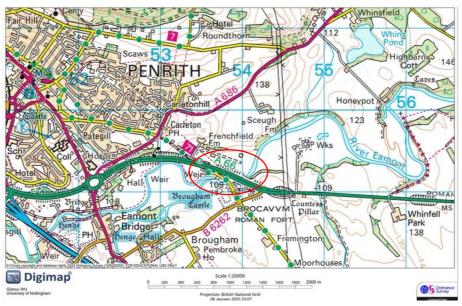


Figure 4 Penrith in relation to the river-crossing (marked with the red circle) where the Roman road crossed River Eamount

## Valleys

As noted by Gelling and Cole (2014), valleys offer desirable settlement-sites by providing 'shelters from elements' (97). The corpus contains a considerable number of references to valleys. The most frequently occurring element is ON dalr 'main valley', an element that is widely used in Northern England (Gelling and Cole 2014: 97). Examples of this include Borrowdale, Grinsdale, Matterdale, Mungrisdale, and Uldale. The specific elements in these names record landscape features of the valleys that were deemed important by the inhabitants, such as vegetation (ON mathra 'madder' in Matterdale), domestic animals (ON gríss 'young pigs' in Mungrisdale) and topographic features (OE grēne + næss 'green promontory' in Grinsdale). It is also possible that the first element of Uldale ON ulfr refers to the wolves (ON ulfr) frequenting the valley, although it could also refer to a noticeable inhabitant named Ulfr.

Another ON element referring to valleys is **botn** 'bottom', as in the name Wythburn 'Willow valley'. According to Gelling and Cole (2014), **botn** usually denotes a 'flat alluvial area' at the bottom of a valley that is 'moist and often easily flooded' (91). This can be supported by the name's specific element **vīðir** 'willow', which denotes a plant that primarily grows in the moist environment. However, as shown in figure 4, the soil type of the modern settlement is till (highlighted in blue) instead of alluvial fan deposit (highlighted in red). This abnormality can be explained by the construction of the Thirlmere dam in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, which flooded the original village that was built on a small damp fan at the bottom of the valley (Gelling and Cole 2014: 97). This example highlights the place-names' significance in preserving information on landscape features that later would be altered by human activities.

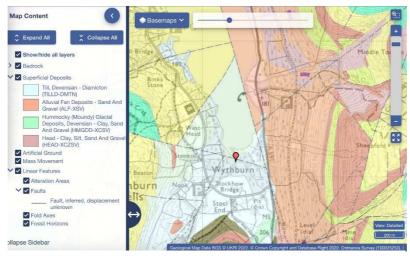


Figure 5: OS Digimap of till surrounding modern Wythburn

## Hills, Slopes and Ridges

The corpus also includes a number of topographical place-names referring to hills, slopes and ridges. These relevantly highly noticeable landscape features serve as clear visual identifiers of the location of the settlements. For instance, the extra-parochial area Skiddaw Forest is named after the mountain Skiddaw, a prominent hill that is 931 meters in height (fig. 5). The etymology of the name is disputed, as the first element could either be ON **skyti** 

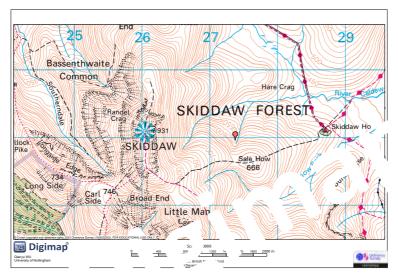


Figure 6: Mountain Skiddaw near Skiddaw Forest

'archer' or ON **skut** 'projecting crag' (Armstrong et al 1950: 320). The generic element is ON **haugr** 'tumulus, hill'.

In contrast to the prominence of the mountain Skiddaw, the place-name Watermillock emphasizes the hill's relatively small size. It contains Celtic \*mēl 'hill' with the diminutive suffix -lock, to which OE wether 'castrated male sheep' is added. Thus, the name means 'Little bare hill where wether-sheep graze', which suggests that the hill is used for sheep farming. As shown in figure 6, the settlement is built on the top of a small hill less than 200 meters in height.



Figure 7: Contour line in Watermillock

The name Castlerigg contains the ON generic **hryggr** 'ridge', referring to the broad ridge of the Castlerigg hill (fig. 7) The first element **castel** comes from French, which indicates that the name might be of post-Conquest origin. Ekwall (1960) suggests that the name refers to the ridge adjoining the Derwentwater Castle, a historical building that did not survive to the modern day (89).

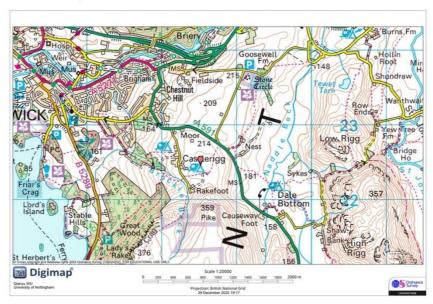


Figure 8: Ridge in Castlerigg

Torpenhow is a particularly interesting case. It is a hybrid Celtic and OE name containing three elements with overlapping references to hills: OE **torr** 'rocky peak, hill' + Celtic **\*penn** 'head, headland'+ OE **hōh** 'heel, a sharply projecting piece of land'. Thus, it can be regarded as an example of tautological place-names. According to Armstrong et al (1950), the settlement is built on a hill which is itself on the northward slope of another long hill, as can be seen in Figure 8. The tautological name probably reflected this particular landscape feature. Gelling and Cole (2014) further argue that OE **hōh** often refers to a particular type of hill with a gentle rise to the summit and a concave slope (186). However, no distinct diagnostic shape of the hill can be identified via Google Street View (Fig. 10). Perhaps fieldwork is needed for further investigation.

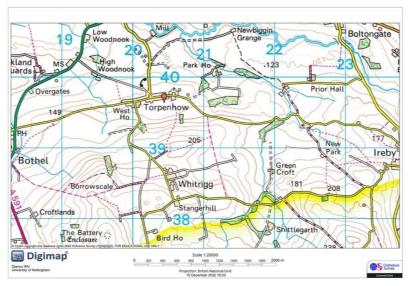


Figure 9: Contour lines in Torpenhow

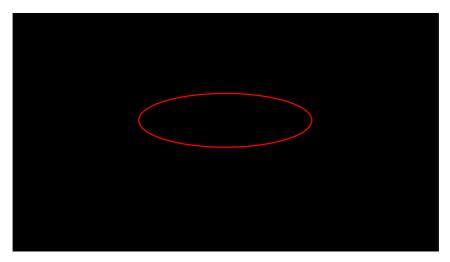


Figure 10: Google Street View of Torpenhow (in the red circle) from the viewpoint of Mealsgate

In addition to hills and ridges, the corpus also includes references to raised lands. The generic element in Bowness is OE **næss** or ON **nes**, two cognates both meaning 'projecting piece of land'. As noted by Gelling and Cole (2014), here the element refers to the 'flat, marshy, costal' promontory of Bowness-on-Solway, with the specific element OE **boga** or ON **bogi** 'rounded' referring to the headland's rounded shape, as can be seen in Figure 11 (196).



Figure 11: Headland in Bowness-on-Solway < https://www.visitcumbria.com/car/bownesson-solway/> [Accessed 29 December 2022]

While Skelton is a habitative name with OE **tūn**, its first element OE **scelf** 'shelf' also refers to the topographic feature of raised lands. According to Cameron (1996), **scelf** usually indicates 'a broad, level shelf of land' (186). This can be attested by the topographic map (Fig. 12) showing the settlement on an extensive flat area projecting from the side of a hill.

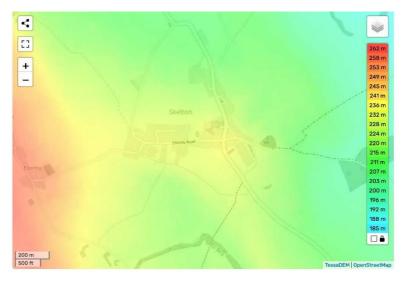


Figure 12: Topographic map of Skelton <a href="https://en-gb.topographic-map.com/map-s41zf3/Skelton/?center=54.71314%2C-2.87601&zoom=15">https://en-gb.topographic-map.com/map-s41zf3/Skelton/?center=54.71314%2C-2.87601&zoom=15</a> [Accessed 6th January 2022]

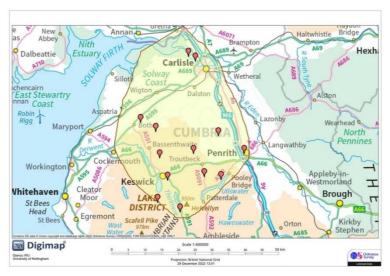


Figure 13a: Distribution of hill and valley-related place-names referring to hills and valleys in central Cumberland (highlighted in yellow)

Overall, examining these hill-related place-names in conjunction with the previous group of valley-related names, a clear distribution pattern can be found. These place-names related to hilly landscapes concentrate on the southern part of central Cumberland (Fig 13a). This distribution is clearly influenced by the topography of the central area of Cumberland, namely the hilly landscape in the south in contrast to the relatively flat northern area (see Fig. 13b).

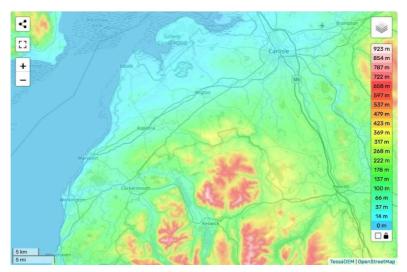


Figure 13b: Topographic map of central Cumberland <a href="https://en-gb.topographic-map.com/map-1t2z4/Cumbria/?center=54.72938%2C-2.87018&zoom=10">https://en-gb.topographic-map.com/map-1t2z4/Cumbria/?center=54.72938%2C-2.87018&zoom=10</a>

#### Woodland

There are four place-names referring to woodland in this corpus: Bassenthwaite, Crosthwaite, Thornthwaite and Skiddaw Forest. Thornthwaite ('thorn-tree clearing') records the specific type of trees in the ancient woodland, which would be important for timber resources available to the inhabitants. Crosthwaite is another interesting example, as it contains a Christian symbol ON **kross** 'cross'. Perhaps it denoted a clearing with a preaching cross, which was needed because the settlement was located far away from local churches. Some of the woodlands mentioned in these names seem to survive to the modern day, such as the extensive forests surrounding Thornthwaite (Fig. 14) and the patches of forests near Bassenthwaite (Fig. 15). The area of Skiddaw Forest, on the other hand, no longer has any visible woodland on the map (see Fig. 5 above).

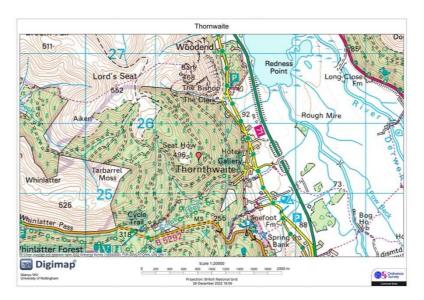


Figure 14: Surviving woodland in Thornthwaite



Figure 15: Surviving woodland in Bassenthwaite

Overall, these woodland-related place-names concentrate on the area surrounding Bassenthwaite Lake (Fig. 16). This distribution pattern suggests that there was probably an extensive ancient woodland in the surrounding area. This assumption can be further supported by some nearby **thveit** place-names that are not included in the corpus, such as Applethwaite and Braithwaite (marked with the red circles). Today, some surviving ancient woodland forms a part of the forest conservation area near Bassenthwaite Lake, known as Whinlatter forest (Forestry Commission, 2018).

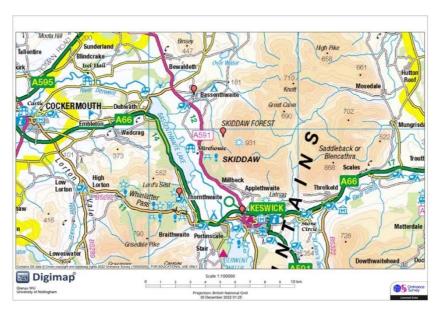


Figure 16: Distribution of thveit place-names in central Cumberland

### **Human History**

#### Personal and group names

Personal names in place-names are common indications of land ownership or associations. The oldest personal name in this corpus is \*Luguvalos', a Celtic personal name with pagan associations, meaning 'strong as the Celtic god Lugus'. (Armstrong et al 1950: 41). While the personal name is unrecognizable in the modern place-name Carlisle, it is preserved in early attestations in Roman Latin, Luguvalio (4th century) and Lugubalium (late 7th century).

The corpus only contains three place-names with OE personal names: Dalston, Sebergham and Wigton. Two of these personal names are monothematic: *Dall* (Dalston) and *Wicga* (Wigton). Both are male personal names, with the modern spelling of Dalston preserving the trace of strong masculine genitive ending -es. Sebergham, on the other hand, likely includes a dithematic female name *Sæburh*. As noted by Kitson (2002), the gender difference in dithematic OE personal names is indicated by the deuterotheme, in this case the feminine noun *burh* 'stronghold'. The early attestation *Setburgheham* 1223 also preserves the strong feminine genitive ending -e. This genitive ending links the female name with the generic habitative element **hām**, indicating this woman's impact on the local community. Therefore, as noted by Hough (2008), place-names have the potential to illustrate the 'roles of women in the historical landscape', particularly the lives of those ordinary women who otherwise would remain unknown in historical records (60-61).

The corpus also contains some ON personal names, including *Thórir* (Thursby), *Orri* (Orton) and the somehow ambiguous *Ulf* (Uldale). In addition to individuals, ON placenames also refer to social groups and communities. Ireby (ON. **Írar + bý**) 'farmstead or village of the Irishmen' can refer to a settlement populated by Irish immigrants, or Norwegian settlers who migrated from Ireland (Cameron 1996). Threlkeld 'Spring of the thralls or serfs' is another interesting example. The ON **thráll** 'thrall' indicates a group of people in slavery or serfdom, reflecting the social structure of Medieval England.

### Human activities: Agriculture, Military, and Administration

The place-names also reveal information about the settlers' exploitation and adaptation of landscapes for various purposes. Firstly, in terms of agricultural practice, there is a number of place-names refer to livestock farming, including Buttermere ('lake with good pasture'), Mungrisdale ('Valley where young pigs are kept') and Watermillock ('Little bare hill where wether-sheep graze'). The frequency of such place-names and the use of specific vocabulary (ON gríss 'young pig', OE wether 'wether sheep') suggests that sheep and other livestock farming was probably one of the dominant industries in the central part of Cumberland. In addition, place-names can also record the cultivation of plants. Particularly, Aikton 'Oak-tree farm' can refer to a farmstead characterized by the presence of an oak tree, or a farm where oak trees were cultivated.

Furthermore, the corpus also contains several place-names referring to military infrastructures, reflecting Cumberland's strategic importance as a border county. Carlisle was attested as *Luguvalio* in the 4th century, with the Celtic **cair** 'fortified town' being added after the Roman period. During the Roman period, Carlisle served as a fort town on the line of Hadrian's wall, commending the narrow entry into England from the northwest. Burgh-by-Sands contains OE **burh** 'fortified place', with the affix meaning 'on the sands'. Archaeological evidence shows that it is a site of an old Roman fort on the coast, south of Hadrian's wall (Breeze and Woolliscroft, 2009). In addition, the first element ON **borg** (with genitive *-ar*) in Borrowdale also means 'fortress'. Armstrong et al (1950) suggest that the name probably derived from a lost Roman fort that once existed near Castle Crag (349).

Some places-names also indicate administration. The ME name Westward 'the west division' contain the ME element **ward**, a term used in northern England to denote smaller administrative districts within a county (Cameron 1996: 61). According to Armstrong et al (1950), the parish name denotes the west division of the king's forest of Inglewood, a special royal hunting ground annexed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (329). Another place-name that indicates administrative effort is Kirkbampton. Its earliest attestation is *Banton* c.1185. The ON prefix **kirkja** 'church' is a later addition, first recorded in *Kyrkebampton* 1292. As noted by Mills (2011), Brampton is a fairly common place-name in England. Thus, the addition of the prefix probably indicated an increasing administrative need to differentiate the place from other settlements with the same name. In this case, the most likely source of confusion was probably the Brampton located in northern Cumberland, near Irthington.

#### Conclusion

The above examination of the nomenclature of central Cumberland place-names has shed light on the historical evolution of language and landscape in the selected area. The significant linguistic influence of Celtic and ON highlights the county's unique history of

language contact. The topographical and habitative names preserve information on landscapes, inhabitants, and human activities. Therefore, it is clear that the study of placenames provides a unique and valuable perspective towards the history of England.

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## **Appendices**

All references are taken from Mills (2011) unless otherwise stated.

#### **Abbreviations**

OE: Old English; ON: Old Norse; OFr: Old French; ME: Middle English

SEPN: Survey of English Places Names

**CODEPN:** The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names

#### The Corpus:

**Aikton** *Aictun* c.1200. 'Oak-tree farmstead'. ON **eik** + OE **tūn**.

**Bassenthwaite** *Bastunthuait* c.1175. 'Clearing or meadow of a family called Bastun'. ME surname + ON **thveit**.

**Beaumont** *Bello Monte* 1232, *Beumund* c.1240. 'beautiful hill', OFr **beau** or **bel** + **mont**. (SEPN)

**Bolton** *Boulton* 1200, 1201. 'Settlement with a special building', OE \*bōthl-tūn (SEPN).

**Borrowdale** *Borgordale* c.1170. 'Valley of the fort river'. ON. **borg** (genitive -ar) + **á** + **dalr**.

Bowness Bounes c.1225. 'Rounded headland'. OE boga + næss, or ON. bogi + nes.

**Burgh-by-Sands** *Burch* c.1180. *Burg en le Sandes* 1292. 'fortification, stronghold, fortified manor' OE **burh**. Affix means 'on the sands'. This is an old Roman fort on the coast.

Buttermere Butermere 1230. 'lake or pool with good pasture', OE butere + mere.

Caldbeck Caldebek 11th cent. 'Cold stream'. ON. kaldr + bekkr.

**Carlisle** *Luguvalio* 4th cent., *Carleol* c.1106. An old Celtic name meaning '(place) belonging to a man called *\*Luguvalos*', to which Celtic **cair** 'fortified town' was added after the Roman period.

**Castlerigg, St John** *Casterlrig* 1256. 'The ridge of or adjoining Derwentwater Castle'. OFr **castel** + ON **hryggr** (cf. CODEPN).

**Cockermouth** Cokyrmoth c.1150. 'Mouth of the River Cocker'. Celtic river-name (with a meaning 'crooked') + OE **mūtha**.

Crosthwaite Crosthwait 12th cent. 'Clearing with a cross'. ON. kross + thveit.

**Dacre** *Dacor* c.1125. Named from the stream called Dacre Beck, a Celtic river-name meaning 'the trickling one'.

**Dalston** Daleston 1187. Probably 'farmstead of a man called \*Dall'. OE pers. name + tūn.

**Grinsdale** *Grennesdale* c.1180. Probably 'valley by the green promontory'. OE **grēne** + **næss** + ON. **dalr**.

**Greystoke** *Creistoc* 1167. Probably 'secondary settlement by a river once called Cray'. Lost Celtic river-name (meaning 'rough, turbulent') + OE **stoc**. SEPN suggests that the first element can be Old Welsh **creic** 'hill'.

Ireby Irebi c.1160. 'farmstead or village of the Irishmen', ON. Írar + bý.

**Kirkandrews on Eden** *Kirkandres* c.1200. 'Church of St Andrew'. ON. **kirkja**, named from the dedication of the church. Eden is a Celtic river-name.

**Kirkbampton** Banton c.1185, *Kyrkebampton* 1292. 'Farmstead made of beams or by a tree'. OE **bēam** + **tūn**. Later affix is ON. **kirkja** 'church'.

Kirkbride Chirchebrid 1163. 'Church of St Bride or Brigid'. ON. kirkja + Irish saint's name.

**Matterdale** *Mayerdale* [sic] c.1250, *Matherdal* 1323. 'Valley where madder grows'. ON. mathra + dalr.

**Mungrisdale** *Grisedale* 1285, *Mounge Grieesdell* 1600. 'Valley where young pigs are kept'. ON. **gríss + dalr**, with the later addition of the saint's name *Mungo* from the dedication of the church.

**Newtown Reigny** *Niweton'* 1185, *Newton Reynye* 1316. 'the new farmstead, estate, or village of Reigny family', OE **nīwe** + **tūn** + Norman family name *Regny* (cf. SEPN).

**Orton, Great** *Orreton* 1210. *Magna Orton* 1485. 'Farmstead of a man called Orri'. ON. pers. name + OE tūn.

**Penrith** 1100. 'Headland by the ford'. Celtic \*penn + \*rïd.

**Raughtonhead** *Ragton* 1182, *Raughtonheved* 1367. Probably 'farmstead where moss or lichen grows'. OE **ragu** + OE **tūn**, with the later addition of **hēafod** 'headland, hill'.

**Sebergham** Saburgham 1223. Probably 'homestead of a woman called *Sæburh*'. OE pers. name + hām.

**Skelton** Sheltone c.1160. 'farmstead on a shelf or ledge', OE **scelf** (with Scand. sk-) +OE **tūn**.

**Skiddaw Forest** *Skithoc* 1230, *Skiddehawe* 1256. 'archer's hill or projecting crag hill'. ON. **skyti** or **skut** + **haugr** (cf. CODEPN).

**Sowerby, Castle** *Sourebi* 1185, *Castelsoureby* 1305. 'farmstead on sour ground', ON. **saurr** 'mud, dirty'+ **bý** (cf. SEPN).

**Thornthwaite** *Thornthwayt* 1254. 'thorn-tree clearing', ON. **thorn** + **thveit**.

**Thursby** *Thoresby* c.1165. 'Farmstead or village of a man called *Thórir'*. ON. pers. name + **bý**.

Threlkeld Trellekell 1197. 'Spring of the thralls or serfs'. ON. thræll + kelda.

**Torpenhow** *Torpennoc* 1163. 'Ridge of the hill with a rocky peak'. OE **torr** 'rocky peak, hill' + Celtic \***penn** + OE **hōh** 'heel, a sharply projecting piece of land'.

**Uldale** *Ulvesdal* 1216. 'Valley of a man called *Ulfr*, or one frequented by wolves'. ON. pers. name or **ulfr** + **dalr**.

**Watermillock** *Wethermeloc* early 13th cent. 'Little bare hill where wether-sheep graze'. Celtic \*mēl with diminutive suffix, to which OE wether has been added.

Westward Le Westwarde 1354. 'Western division (of a forest)'. ME west + warde.

Wigton Wiggeton 1163. 'Farmstead or village of a man called Wicga'. OE pers. name + tūn.

**Wythburn** *Withebotine* c.1280, *Wythebocten* 1303. 'Willow valley,' ON. **vīðir** + **botn** (cf. CODEPN).