



English Place-names

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Introduction: the area of the study

This paper discusses the place-names of Furness district, historically part of the county of Lancashire, nowadays part of Cumbria. Included is the whole of Lonsdale North of the Sands except for Cartmel parish; the area is thus bordered by the Leven and Windermere to the East, the Brathay and Wrynose Pass to the North, the Duddon to the West, and the Irish Sea to the South. My intention is to examine what place-names reveal of the area's history, especially linguistic history, as well as its landscape.

Furness can be roughly divided into two different landscapes: Low Furness, the southern part of the area that forms a peninsula, is characterized by low hills, while High Furness, the inland part of the district, has much higher elevations (Ekwall, 1922: 201). Earlier research has claimed that Norse names of North-West England are more frequently found in upland areas (Mills, 1976: 28); I expect the findings of the place-name analysis to reflect the geographical division of the area.

Overview of the results

As can be seen from Map 5 (see Appendices), Scandinavian influence in the place-names of the region is very profound. Of the 50 names in the corpus more than half are ON or show ON influence. The Northern part of the area is in fact almost completely Scandinavian in its place-names, which gives credibility to the suggestion, presented by Ekwall (1922: 215), that a small Norse kingdom may once have existed around Coniston (whence its name would derive).

Low Furness, on the other hand, shows a mixture of OE and ON names as well as some possibly Celtic names. The western coast of the peninsula seems to have had markedly more Scandinavian influence than the east coast, although Broughton in Furness makes an interesting exception to this pattern. Except for some clearly Scandinavian ones inland, names of water systems are rather obscure, which points to possibly Celtic or pre-Celtic origins.

French and medieval Latin seem to have had no impact on the place-names of the region. Since the place-names of the region are predominantly Scandinavian in origin, I consider it best to discuss the history and languages of the region in two sections: before and after the arrival of Scandinavians. All early spellings are from A.D. Mills unless otherwise stated.

Pre-Scandinavian settlement

There is not much certain knowledge about the region before the time of Domesday Book (Mills, 1976: 34). As it is the earliest source for place-name records, there are not many place-names that can with certainty be said to pre-date the time of the Scandinavian settlement. It is probable that the area did not have many inhabitants in early times (Mills, 1976: 22).

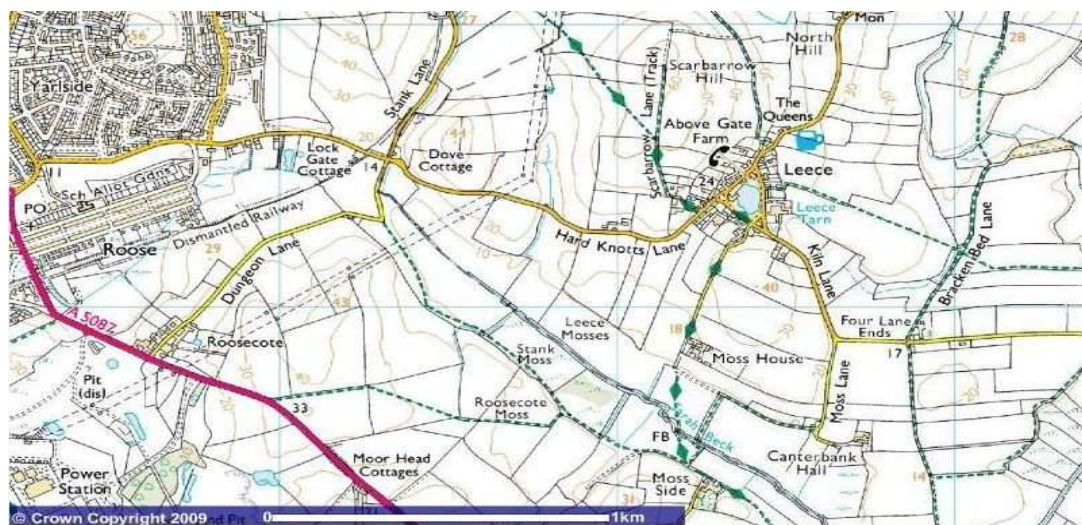
The distribution of the nine names that appear in Domesday Book (see Map 6 in

Appendices) strongly suggests that Low Furness was populated before High Furness. Old English names dominate the group; the most important settlements of the time seem to have been the ones that existed before the Scandinavian settlement, although they are not necessarily very much older. Besides a handful of Celtic names, which are likely to be the oldest of the region, there are two Old English names that could be quite early. Aldingham is the only *-ingham* name in the corpus, and likely to be among the earliest OE names (Cameron, 1996: 70). Urswick may also be old; if its generic is OE *wīc* 'dwelling or (dairy) farm', ultimately derived from Latin *vicus*, Urswick may possibly even date back to the Roman era (Gelling, 1988: 67). But probably the name is Old English, as the corpus contains no other names pointing to Roman presence. However, in my opinion Scandinavian etymology for Urswick is also possible; I will present this hypothesis below.

Place-names with possibly Celtic elements form approximately one fifth of the corpus. Half of them are river-names; for them it is reasonable to assume a Celtic origin since it is generally accepted that river-names are the most likely type of names to have retained Celtic or pre-Celtic elements (Gelling, 1988: 90). Of the settlement names Hall Dunnerdale and Colton are presumably derived from Celtic river-names Duddon and Cole, respectively, but since they have ON and OE generics, the settlements themselves might not be Celtic in origin.

The river-related names aside, there are only three other possibly Celtic names. Their distribution, however, is quite interesting. All three are situated near each other in what is nowadays the most densely populated part of the region, the area around Barrow-in-Furness. Of these the Celtic-Norse compound Barrow itself and Roose are the strongest candidates, while for Leece (*Lies* 1086, *Lees* 1269) a Celtic etymology is also possible (and all the more significant since it is a habitation name). If the first spelling is to be trusted, Celtic **liss* 'hall, court' seems a more convincing etymology than Old English *lēah* 'woodland clearing' in plural – the vicinity of Barrow and Roose also tempts one to accept the former explanation as Celtic names often appear in clusters (Gelling, 1988: 90).

Also, the situation of Leece does not particularly favour the Old English etymology – as can be seen from Map 1, there is no woodland nearby, although of course there may have been in earlier times. But place-names in the immediate vicinity of Leece do not point to any woodlands either; instead, the names Moor Head Cottages and Roose (*Rosse* 1086, etymology Celtic **ros* 'moor') indicate open heathland while the numerous Mosses suggest boggy landscape. In the light of these facts, I am inclined to favour the Celtic etymology.



Map 1. Reproduced from Ordnance Survey map data by permission of Ordnance Survey, © Crown copyright.

For Celtic names to survive, there must have been some contact between speakers of different languages in the region. But since Celtic names seem to have survived in an area of arable, coastal lowland, surely one of the region's most attractive places for habitation, it seems that the Anglo-Saxon settlement, as well as the subsequent Scandinavian settlement, happened relatively peacefully. Ekwall has stated that, on the basis of Celtic place-names in the adjacent Cartmel, the Britons of the area were forced to give up the best land and settle into higher and more remote areas (1922: 224). The evidence from Furness is in slight conflict with this, as the only cluster of Celtic settlement names is definitely not in the periphery. D. Mills has noted that the place-names of Lancashire in general do not support the popular belief of Britons having been exterminated or driven into the upland areas by the Anglo-Saxons (1976: 36); the same holds true for Furness.

Since Anglo-Saxon settlement of the area is known to have been late, probably beginning in the seventh century (Whaley, 2006: xxi), it is possible that the area remained partly British for a long time, perhaps even until the Scandinavian settlement. There is evidence of a Celtic population surviving in the adjacent Cartmel as subjects of Anglian kings at least until the seventh century (Ekwall, 1922: 224); also, the Brittonic branch of Celtic is believed to have been spoken in Cumbria until about the 11th century (Whaley, 2006: xix). Barrow-in-Furness (*Barrai* 1190) probably derives from Celtic **barr* 'summit, headland' and ON *ey* 'island'; it points to a possible direct contact between the two languages, which could have taken place since Scandinavian settlement of the area is estimated to have taken place in the tenth century (Whaley, 2006: xx-xxi). But of course the name may first have been adopted by Anglians and then passed on to Scandinavians.

Old English names are most prominently situated along or near the eastern coast of Furness peninsula, adjacent to the Celtic cluster. The area seems to have been the centre of early settlement – Aldingham, Urswick and all the names recorded in Domesday Book are found there. Also Baycliff and Rampside, although not found in Domesday Book, are supposedly old (Ekwall, 1922: 241).

Elsewhere on the map, slightly cut off from the main group, the most notable (Old) English place-name is Broughton in Furness near the estuary of Duddon. The name has been recorded as *Brocton* in 1196: the use of OE *brōc* 'brook' instead of the corresponding ON *bekkr*, which could be expected had the name been given by Scandinavians (Gelling and Cole, 2000: 5-6), suggests that the place was inhabited by English speakers, presumably before the Scandinavian settlement. The river-name Duddon (*Dudena* 1157-63, *Duden* c.1180, both spellings from Ekwall) may also have OE *denu* 'valley' as its second element, which would also be due to Anglian presence in the area. The river runs in a narrow, steep valley for the whole of its length, so the use of *denu* would certainly be in line with the typical use of the word (Gelling and Cole, 2000: 114); however, as other early spellings (see Appendices) have different vowels in the second syllable, the etymology is uncertain. Interestingly, near Broughton is also Kirkby-in-Furness. Although the name is Scandinavian, there is a good chance that it has replaced a pre-existing name as many other Kirkbys have done so (Gelling, 1988: 234).

There are also a few other possibly Old English names in High Furness; however, in my opinion they do not necessarily prove that there was any significant Anglo-Saxon settlement in the area before the Scandinavians arrived. I will discuss these names below.

Scandinavian settlement

The great percentage of ON names combined with the fact that there are no names beginning with *Norman-* or *Dane-* and the like (which would indicate that their presence was distinctive) suggests that Scandinavians once formed the majority of the region's population.

Strong Scandinavian presence is evidenced especially by the appearance of ON genitive singular *-ar-* in five names (Mills, 1976: 42-3). Also, the early form of Sawrey, *Sourer* (1336), is in the ON plural form *saurar*. These names, which are spread all around the region, must have been given at a time when Old Norse was still spoken (Whaley, 2006: xxiii), which in the case of Furness actually lasted comparatively long, at least until the turn of the twelfth century (Ekwall, 1924: 91). The Old Norse vocabulary (the words *skáli*, *sétr*, *ærgi*) of the corpus indicates that the speakers were mostly Norwegian rather than Danish. Elements typical to Danelaw are absent: there are no *þorps* or *tofts*. (Mills, 1976: 42; Cameron, 1996: 79-80.)

Ireleth and Torver reveal Gaelic influence or presence among the Scandinavians: Ireleth (*Irlid* 1190, *Irelith* 1292) probably derives from ON *Írar* 'Irishmen' and ON *hlíð* 'hill-slope'. The generic ON *ærgi*, *erg* 'shed, shieling' in Torver (*Thoruergh* 1190-9) originates from Gaelic, and was adopted by Norwegians who mixed with Gaelic speakers of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man. However, no further Gaelic influence can be found: for example, there are no 'inversion compounds' where the generic element comes before the qualifier, a nametype that is found in Cumbria. (Whaley, 2006: xxiii.) Ireleth also rather suggests that the presence of Irishmen was rather an exception than the norm.

The words *sétr* and *ærgi* denote mountain pasture and are a testament to the importance of sheep grazing (Whaley: 2006 xxxi), while Grizebeck and Grizedale suggest that pigs were also kept. The names suggest that Scandinavians formed a part of the common rank of people, in High Furness at least; they also point to the Scandinavian area having been more pastoral than the peninsula whose *tūns* indicate stable farming.

There is reason to speculate that the Scandinavians may have been the first inhabitants of High Furness as they evidently did settle into areas that were uninhabited or very sparsely populated before their arrival (Whaley, 2006: xxii). The few OE names in High Furness do not offer any tenable proof of Anglians having settled there before them. The northernmost English name Woodland (*Kirkeby wodelands* 1544) has been recorded so late that nothing certain can be deduced from it. More significant is Coniston (*Coningeston* 1157-63, ON *konungr* 'king' + OE *tūn*) situated in the middle of a predominantly Scandinavian area. As a so called 'Carleton hybrid' it possibly points to close Anglo-Scandinavian contact (Whaley, 2006: xxii). The ON equivalent *tún* also exists, but there is little evidence of it being used in English place-names (Smith, 1956: 193). However, since the element remained in productive use even after the Norman Conquest (Whaley, 2006: 421; Smith, 1956: 191), Coniston does not necessarily pre-date the Scandinavians. The same applies to Colton (*Coleton* 1202), which is also surrounded by Scandinavian place-names.

Interestingly the lake-names Windermere and Elterwater in High Furness also have OE generic elements instead of ON ones (although as they are first recorded in the twelfth century they may have originally had ON generics). Whether this should be taken as proof of Anglians having settled into the area before Scandinavians or as an indication that Scandinavians simply loaned some words from Old English is in my view uncertain. Ekwall (1922: 213) notes that Scandinavian settlers seem to have adopted the OE *hlāw* 'hill' at least: he deduces this from the fact that the early spellings of Osmotherley (*Asemunderlawe* 1246, *Osmoundrelawe* 1332) had the word as its generic while the ON personal name *Ásmundr* is the qualifier. In my opinion the ON genitive *-ar-* in the name does favour the idea rather than *Ásmundr* having been loaned by speakers of English.

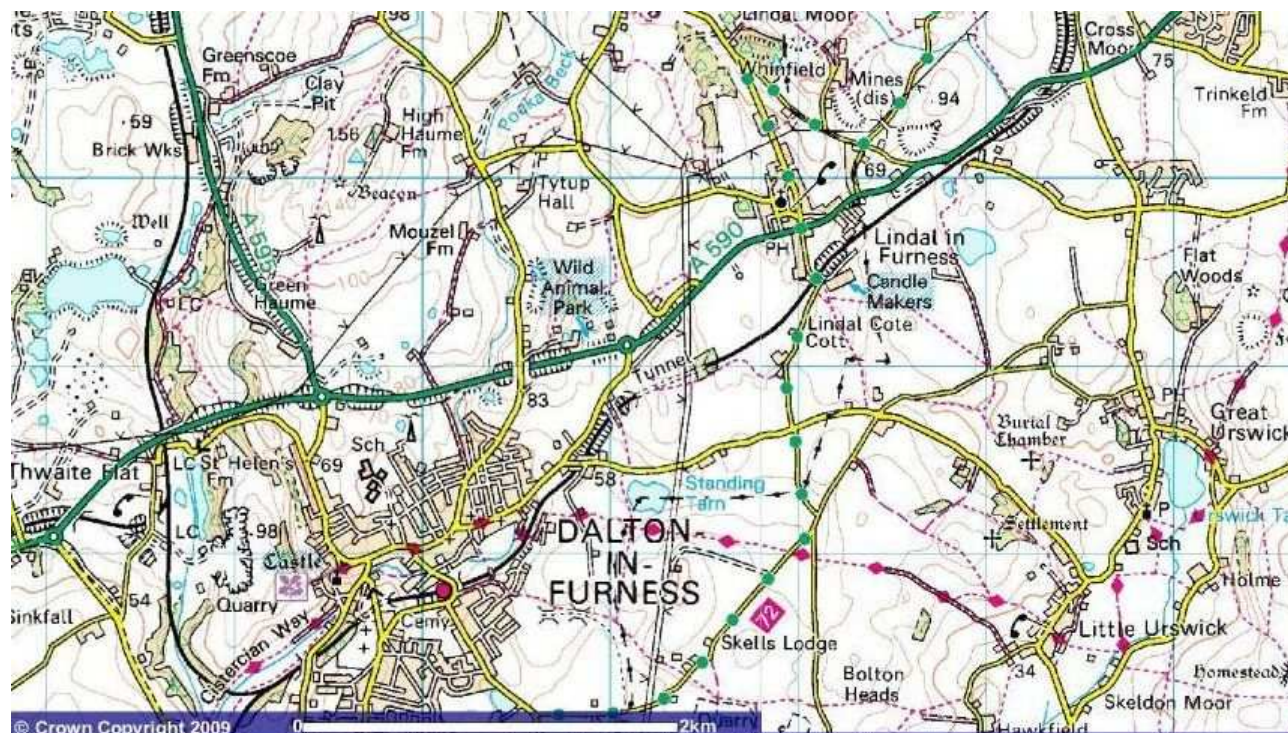
Although there are more Norse names in the less attractive upland region, Low Furness does, however, have its own share of decidedly Scandinavian names: the best example is Scales (*Scales* 1269), which is almost certainly plural of ON *skáli* in the sense 'the temporary huts or sheds'. The name is undeniable proof of Old Norse having been spoken in the South. The name Furness itself is probably also ON: according to Ekwall's commonly

accepted etymology (see Appendices) the district name was originally used of the southern headland.

However, most of the names in the South could equally well be Old English or Old Norse in origin. For some names the sources used give only one of the languages, but as Gelling (1988: 215) has noted, the similarities between vocabularies of the languages make it often very difficult to decide whether a name is wholly Scandinavian or it has originally existed in English but has been influenced by Norse pronunciation. So although Scandinavian names are certainly found in Low Furness, it is unclear whether the sites were already inhabited before their arrival.

Names where the spelling rather than the vocabulary show a Scandinavian influence fall into the aforementioned category. In Askam in Furness (*Askeham* 1535) the presence of *k* rather than *h* point to ON *askr* being the qualifier (or it may also be a simplex, the dative plural form *askum*) rather than OE *æsc*. Ulverston (*Ulurestun* 1086) is either a Toton hybrid with ON masculine personal name *Ulfarr* as its qualifier, or has OE masculine personal name *Wulfhere* from which the initial *W* has been dropped due to Scandinavian influence (Ekwall, 1922: 211). Stainton (*Steintun* 1086) is likely a compound of ON *steinn* ‘stone’ and OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’, but similarly OE *stān* could simply have been altered by Norse speakers.

Dalton-in-Furness (*Daltune* 1086) and Lindal (*Lindale* c.1220) are also tricky. Gelling and Cole (2000: 110-3) have tentatively proposed that the original sense of OE *dæl* was ‘pit, hollow’ and that it began to be used in the general sense ‘valley’ only after influence from ON *dalr* ‘valley’; my reading of the landscape (see Map 2) does not rule out either sense. Although difficult to discern from the map, Dalton seems to lie in a vaguely round-shaped valley, while the small valley whence Lindal probably takes its name could perhaps be construed as a hollow. However, *dæl* is not known to occur in place-names of North England, so ON *dalr* is perhaps more likely (*ibid.*).



Finally, I think that the name Urswick (*Ursewica* c.1150) is open to reinterpretation. Although all the sources give an OE etymology ‘dwelling or (dairy) farm by the bison lake’, constituted of *ūr* ‘bison’, *sæ* ‘lake’ and *wīc*, I suggest that an etymology where the last word is ON *vík* ‘bay’ is not altogether impossible. *Vík* is found in the region in Lowick (*Lofwík* 1202, ON *lauf* ‘leaf, foliage’ + ON *vík* in the sense ‘river-bend’) and is used of bays in the lakes of High Furness (Smith, 1956: 231). The first two elements have almost identical Scandinavian equivalents (Ekwall, 1922: 210). However, the pond at Urswick (see Map 2) is so small that it is perhaps unconvincing that people would have distinguished a bay in it. But according to Smith (1956: 231), *vík* was also used in the sense ‘nook, hollow’; thus it could describe the bit of land between Urswick Tarn and the two hills north of it.

However, ON *tjorn* ‘tarn, lake’ seems to have been the Scandinavians’ term of choice for small lakes and ponds (Mills, 1976: 30). Although no names with *tjorn* are included in the corpus, they do appear in the region in significant numbers, and could perhaps be expected instead of ON *sér* ‘lake’ as the second element (had the name been given by Scandinavians). According to Smith (1956: 93), *sér* seems to be very rare in English place-names; however, as it possibly appears in the corpus in Seathwaite (*Seathwhot* 1592), in my opinion the case of Urswick remains open.

If any conclusion can be drawn from all the names that are either OE or ON, perhaps the fact that the western Low Furness so clearly shows ambiguity between OE and ON whereas High Furness largely does not should be taken as an indication of the peninsula’s sites mostly having been settled by Anglians, before the arrival of Scandinavians. However, the markedly Scandinavian character of High Furness is partly due to the vocabulary that relates to its different landscape from the peninsula; the words that denote mountain pasture are unsurprisingly not found in lower landscape. ON *skáli* does appear in Low Furness, but although it apparently could denote a shieling, its use was not restricted to that sense (Whaley, 2006: 418).

Landscape and settlement

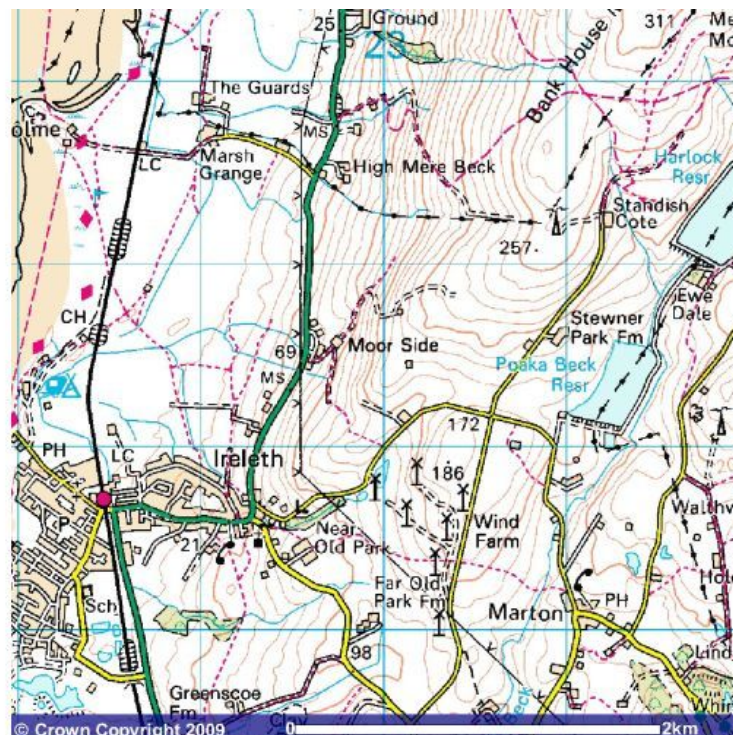
The frequency of names with ON *Þveit* ‘clearing’ in the inland supports the view that the region was mostly uninhabited woodland when Scandinavians settled there. The forested landscape is further evidenced by the names Lowick, Blawith, Greenodd and Woodland. In Low Furness the element *Þveit* is not found, and no names with the very common place-name element OE *lēah* ‘woodland clearing’ appear either. The ending *-ley* in Osmotherley seems to have replaced an earlier OE *hlāw* ‘hill’, while the already-discussed Leece cannot be said to derive from *lēah* with certainty. The landscape of Low Furness seems to have been devoid of significant woodland when most of its surviving place-names were given. Askam and Lindal are the peninsula’s only names that make reference to trees growing in the wild; notably they are on the western side and not in the Anglian settlement centre of the east coast.

According to Whaley (2006: 420), places with *Þveit* are usually ‘relatively low-lying or on a slope, and near water’: this is true of all the four occurrences in the corpus. Somewhat contradictorily Satterthwaite (*Saterthwayt* 1336) also denotes a high mountain pasture, but as can be seen from Map 3, it is low-lying compared to its surroundings, and also by a brook. That low-lying places were favoured as settlement sites is also proved by the fact that four names have the element *dalr* or *dæl*.



Map 3. Reproduced from Ordnance Survey map data by permission of Ordnance Survey, © Crown copyright.

According to Gelling and Cole (2000: 182-6), OE *hlið* was used to denote a concave hillside, while the ON *hlið* may have had a more general meaning. In the case of Ireleth the generic may have been used in the more specific sense as there is a slight concavity in the slope east from the village (see Map 4). However, the reference to Irishmen points to Gaelic-Norse origin. Also, considering that Kirkby-in-Furness (about five kilometres north from Ireleth) has been recorded as *Kirkebi Irlid* in 1190, the name seems to have been used of the whole long hillside that extends north from Ireleth; this use of denoting a larger area is chiefly Scandinavian. (Ibid.).



Map 4. Reproduced from Ordnance Survey map data by permission of Ordnance Survey, © Crown copyright.

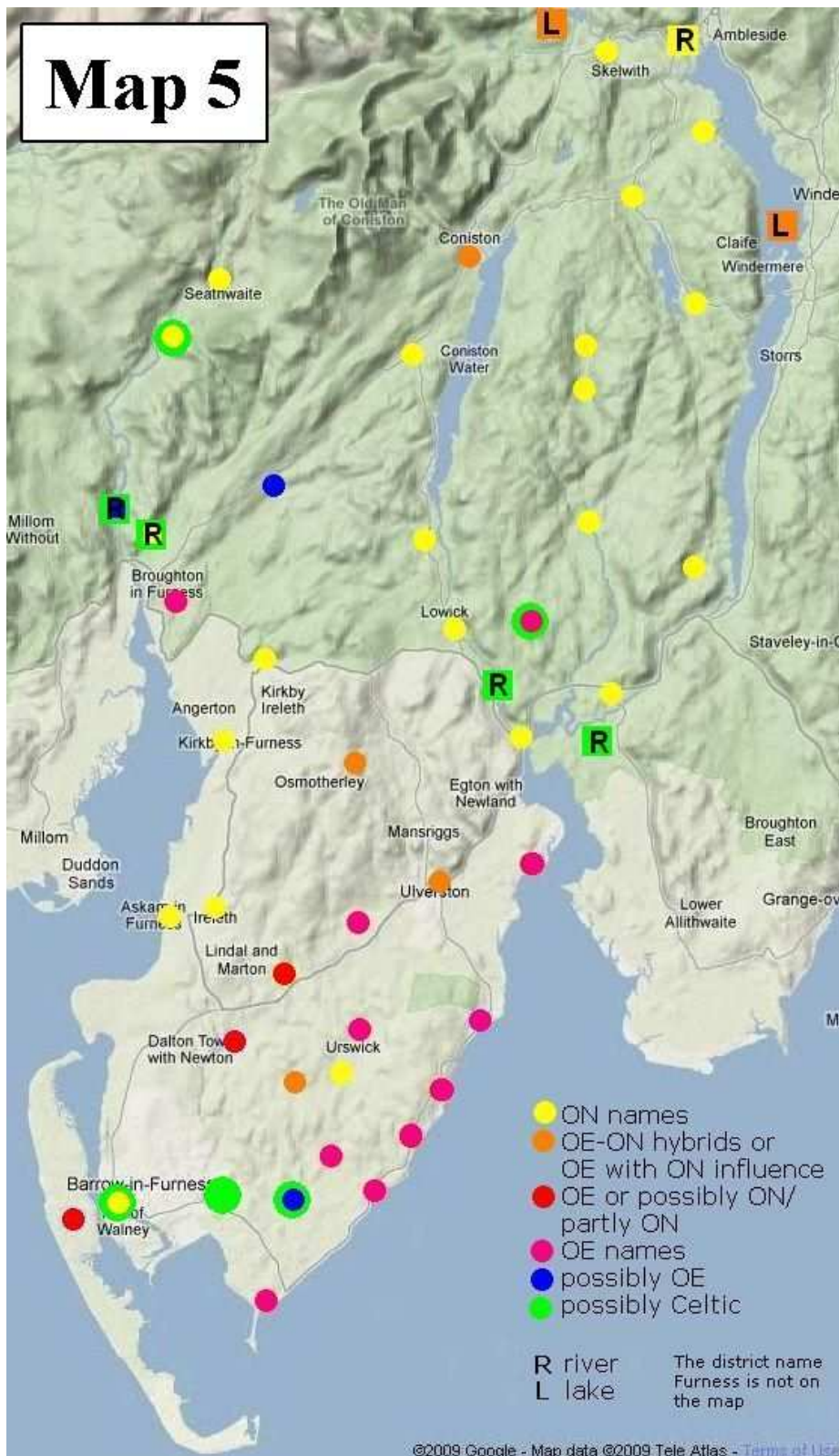
Interestingly the common OE place-name element *ford* does not appear in the corpus. It seems that river-crossing sites have not been of the highest importance to the area's inhabitants, which is understandable *within* the area (as there are no major rivers) but not so

much along the more significant border rivers Duddon and Leven. But as the location of Furness is somewhat isolated from the rest of Lancashire and other areas of major settlement, perhaps travelling by land was not common; the concentration of major place-names (the ones that appear in Domesday Book) on the coast rather suggests that travel to and from Furness was done by sea. However, Brathay (*Braiza*, *Braitha* c.1160, etymology ON *breiðr* ‘broad’ + ON *á* ‘river’) seems to be significantly broad indeed, as the adjacent Skelwith has ON *vað* ‘ford’.

Conclusion

Although little certain can be said about the early history of Furness, the earliest human settlement seems to have taken place in the south-eastern part of the peninsula. Place-names of the peninsula form a mix of Celtic, Old English and Old Norse elements. All waves of settlement seem to have, quite naturally, touched the coastal area of the region. While Low Furness has roughly equal amounts of Old English and Old Norse names, High Furness is almost wholly Scandinavian in its nomenclature; the absence of Celtic and Old English names strongly suggests that the area had very little inhabitants before the Scandinavian settlement. In Low Furness the Scandinavians seem to have mixed with the earlier inhabitants, but it appears that they also settled much land that was previously uninhabited, especially in High Furness.

Appendices



Names (24)

Askam in Furness
Barrow-in-Furness
Blawith
Brathay
Finsthwaite
Furness
Greenodd
Grizebeck
Grizedale
Hall Dunnerdale
Haverthwaite Hawkshead
Ireleth
Kirkby-in-Furness Lickle
Lowick
Rusland
Satterthwaite
Sawrey
Scales
Seathwaite
Skelwith
Torver
Wray

OE-ON hybrids and OE names with ON influence

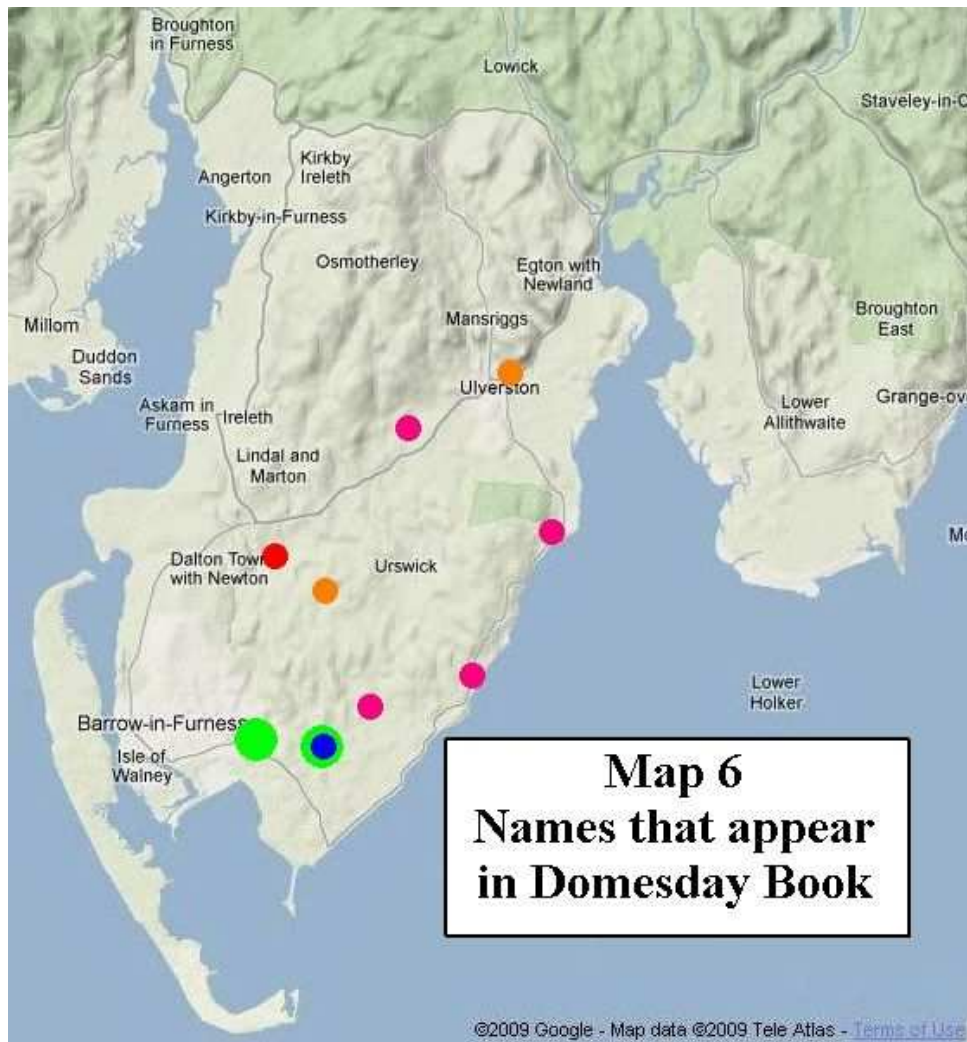
(6)
Coniston
Elterwater
Osmotherley
Stainton
Ulverston
Windermere

OE or ON / partly ON

(3)
Dalton-in-Furness
Lindal in Furness
Walney

Possibly OE / partly OE

(3)
Leece
Duddon
Woodland

**OE names (11)**

Aldingham
 Bardsea
 Baycliff
 Broughton in Furness
 Colton
 Gleaston
 Newbiggin
 Pennington
 Plumpton
 Rampside
 Urswick

Names with possibly Celtic elements (9)

Barrow-in-Furness
 Colton
 Crake
 Duddon
 Hall Dunnerdale
 Leece
 Leven
 Lickle
 Roose

Corpus

The primary sources used for the names are *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* by A.D. Mills and Ekwall's *The Place-Names of Lancashire*. To a lesser extent, I have also used *The Place-Names of Lancashire* by D. Mills (not to be confused with A.D. Mills) as a third source.

Modern spellings are given as they appear in the most recent Ordnance Survey map of the area. For the earlier spellings, A.D. Mills has been used as the primary source.

Included are all the place-names of the area that can be found in A.D. Mills, except for Penny Bridge, which he considers a recent coinage from a family name and does not provide with any early spellings. In the case of some of the names included, A.D. Mills has entries on them but does not cite these particular instances as examples. These names are: Kirkby(-in-Furness), Newbiggin, Osmotherley, Plumpton, and Stainton. Obviously early spellings for these names come only from Ekwall and D. Mills.

River-names are marked with [R] and lake-names with [L]. As A.D. Mills does not include very many river-names (and those that can be found tend to not have their own entries), I have decided to include all the river-names that can be found both in Ekwall and D. Mills. However, river- and lake-names that have virtually the same name as a nearby place that is also listed (e.g. Coniston Water, Rusland Pool, Seathwaite Tarn) are not listed separately. Ekwall's *English River-Names* has been used as the primary source for early spellings and etymologies for rivers, with A.D. Mills and D. Mills being considered where their suggestions differ from Ekwall's.

ALDINGHAM (*Aldingham* 1086) OE masc. pers. name *Alda* + *-inga-* ‘followers of’ + *hām* ‘homestead’.

ASKAM IN FURNESS (*Askeham* 1535) ON *askr* in a dative plural form *askum* ‘(place) at the ash-trees’. However, A.D. Mills, Ekwall, and D. Mills all note that there are other possibilities; both Ekwall and D. Mills suggest ON *holmr* ‘island’ as an alternative to the inflectional ending, and D. Mills also gives OE *hām* ‘homestead’ and *hamm* ‘river-meadow’ as possible second elements. All alternatives seem plausible, considering that the only recorded early spelling for the name has the letter *h*; unfortunately study of the landscape does not offer further hints.

BARDSEA (*Berretseige* 1086, *Berdesey* 1246) OE masc. pers. name *Beornræd* + OE *ēg* ‘island’. The village is not on an island, but Ekwall notes that part of the coast may have formerly been under water, separating a small island from the mainland. A.D. Mills gives ON *ey* ‘island’ as an alternative second element. However, the first element points to OE rather than ON, and the entry for *ēg* in Gelling and Cole (2000) clearly shows that the development into *-ey* is common all over England, not just in areas of Scandinavian influence.

BARROW-IN-FURNESS (*Barrai* 1190) Celtic **barr* ‘summit, headland’ + ON *ey* ‘island’. Although nowadays the town is mostly on the mainland, Ekwall notes that the name originally referred to an island adjacent to the town, now joined to the mainland.

BAYCLIFF (*Belleclive* 1212, *Beelclyff* 1418, *Beacliff* 1585) the first element is rather problematic; the favoured explanation is OE *bēl* ‘fire’ + OE *clif* ‘slope, cliff’, which could have meant ‘a cliff where a signal-fire is lit’. But there are numerous other possibilities: A.D. Mills also suggests OE *belle* ‘a bell’, used as a hill-name, and OE **bel* ‘a glade’; Ekwall notes that OE name *Bella* is also possible. D. Mills notes that Old French *bel*, *beau* ‘fair, beautiful’ may have affected the spelling.

BLAWITH (*Blawit* 1276) ON *blár* ‘dark’ + *viðr* ‘wood’. Ekwall notes that Blawith used to be a forest district.

BRATHAY [R] (*Braiza*, *Braitha* c.1160) ON *breiðr* ‘broad’ + ON *á* ‘river’. According to Ekwall, the name aptly describes the lower part of the river.

BROUGHTON IN FURNESS (*Brocton* 1196) OE *brōc* ‘brook’ + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead’.

COLTON (*Coleton* 1202) Celtic river-name *Cole* (now called Colton Beck) + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’. A.D. Mills is uncertain about the meaning of the river name, while Ekwall and D. Mills give Welsh *coll* ‘hazels’; ‘the hazel brook’ (recorded in 1247 as *Cole*).

CONISTON (*Coningeston* 1157-63) ON *konungr* ‘king’ + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’; ‘the king’s manor, the royal estate’. The adjacent Coniston Water takes its name from the place.

CRAKE [R] (*Crayke*, *Crec* c.1160) probably Celtic **creig* ‘rock’; ‘the rocky stream’.

DALTON-IN-FURNESS (*Daltune* 1086, *Dalton in Fournais* 1332) OE *dæl* or ON *dalr* ‘valley’ + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’.

DUDDON [R] (*Dudun* 1140, *Dudena* 1157-63, *Duden* c.1180) etymology uncertain. Ekwall suggests a compound of Celtic **dubo-* ‘black’ and possibly OE *denu* ‘valley’ as the second element but notes that the first form is problematic. The vowel in the second syllable has evidently been very unstable: spellings from the 13th and 14th centuries show it appearing as *e*, *y*, *i* and *u* before finally becoming *o*.

ELTERWATER [L] (*Heltewatra* c.1160) ON *elptr* ‘swan’ + OE *wæter* ‘lake’.

FINSTHWAITE (*Fynnesthwayt* 1336) ON masc. pers. name *Finn* + ON *Þveit* ‘clearing’.

FURNESS (*FuthBernessa* c.1150) for the district name both A.D. Mills and Ekwall give the meaning ‘headland by the rump-shaped island’ from ON *fuð* + genitive *-ar* + ON *nes*. Ekwall suggests quite plausibly that the island in question is the modern Piel Island, previously known as Foulgray. The appropriately-shaped islet lies south from the most southern point of the Furness peninsula, and Ekwall suggests that the island’s possible original name *fuð* may have given its name to the adjacent headland, which was then extended to the whole district.

GLEASTON (*Glassertun* 1086, *Gleseton* 1269) probably OE **g^læss* ‘bright’ + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead or village’. The first element *g^læss* seems quite plausible because there is a number of possibilities to which it could refer to: a stream-name ‘the bright one’, a beacon fire on the nearby Beacon Hill, or the hamlet’s sunny position with hills to all sides except south.

GREENODD (*Green Odd* 1774) green + ON *oddi* ‘point or tongue of land’. Greenodd is situated at the confluence of rivers Crake, Leven and Colton Beck.

GRIZEBECK (*Grisebek* 13th cent.) ON *gríss* ‘pig’ + ON *bekkr* ‘brook’. Ekwall offers ON masc. pers. name *Gríss* as a less likely alternative.

GRIZEDALE (*Grysdale* 1336) ON *gríss* ‘pig’ + ON *dalr* ‘valley’. Ekwall offers ON masc. pers. name *Gríss* as a less likely alternative. The name is also found in the name of Grizedale Forest, the woodland surrounding the hamlet.

HALL DUNNERDALE (*Dunerdale* 1293) river-name *Duddon* in an ON genitive form *Duðnar* + ON *dalr* ‘valley’. The first element seems plausible since A.D. Mills notes that there is also a place called Dunnerholme, also situated by the river Duddon (or more precisely, its estuary); if correct, the ON genitive rules out OE *dæl* ‘valley’. The later-added affix is probably OE *hall* ‘manor-house’.

HAVERTHWAITE (*Haverthwayt* 1336) ON *hafri* ‘oats’ + ON *þveit* ‘clearing’.

HAWKSHEAD (*Hovkesete* c. 1200, *Haukesheved* 1336) ON masc. pers. name *Haukr* + ON *sætr* ‘shieling, mountain pasture’.

IRELETH (*Irlid* 1190, *Irelith* 1292) ON *Írar* ‘Irishmen’ (with ON genitive *-ar*) + ON *hlið* ‘hill-slope’. Ekwall offers ON (probably) pers. name *Ire* as an alternative, and also notes the possibility that both elements may also be OE in origin.

KIRKBY-IN-FURNESS (*Kirkebi* 1195, *Kirkebi Irlid* 1190) ON *kirkju* ‘church’ + ON *by* ‘village’.

LEECE (*Lies* 1086, *Lees* 1269) either the plural of OE *lēah* ‘woodland clearings’ or Celtic **liss* ‘a hall, a court, the chief house in a district’. A.D. Mills gives the latter, while both Ekwall and D. Mills only give the former.

LEVEN [R] (*Leuena* c.1160, *Leven* 1196) etymology uncertain. Ekwall suggests identical origin with other similarly named rivers in Britain whose names are derived from Celtic **leib-* ‘to drip’, either in the sense ‘the slow moving river’ or ‘the easily-flowing (i.e. swift) river’, noting that both appropriately describe parts of the river.

LICKLE [R] (*Licul* 1140, *Likyl* 1246) etymology uncertain. Ekwall proposes ON *lykkia* ‘loop’ or OE *lice* ‘leech’ + ON *hyllr* ‘pool’, noting that the river makes many wide bends in its lower course; his another suggestion is Celtic **liw* ‘bright’ + Celtic **cyl* ‘narrow’.

LINDAL IN FURNESS (*Lindale* c.1220) ON or OE *lind* ‘lime-tree’ + ON *dalr* or OE *dæl* ‘valley’.

LOWICK (*Lofwik* 1202) ON *lauf* ‘leaf, foliage’ + ON *vík* ‘river-bend’.

NEWBIGGIN (*Newebigginge* 1269) OE *nīwe* ‘new’ + ME *bigging* ‘building, house’.

OSMOTHERLEY (*Asemunderlawe* 1246, *Osmoundrelawe* 1332, *Osmunderley* 1539) ON masc. pers. name *Ásmundr* + genitive *-ar* + OE *hlāw* ‘hill’. D. Mills suggests that OE *lēah* ‘woodland clearing’ has eventually replaced *hlāw*; the recorded spellings certainly support substitution or remodelling. The meaning ‘artificial (burial) mound’ for *hlāw* does not seem likely as the hills around Osmotherley are not very small; furthermore, according to Gelling and Cole (2000) the term is used of natural hills in the North.

PENNINGTON (*Pennigetun* 1086) OE *pening* ‘penny’ + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’; ‘farmstead paying a penny rent’.

PLUMPTON (*Plumbtun*, *Plumton* 1180-4) OE *plūme* ‘plum-tree’ + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’.

RAMPSIDE (*Rameshede* 1292, *Ramesheved* 1336, *Ramsyde* 1539) OE *ramm* ‘ram’ + OE *hēafod* ‘head(land)’; ‘headland in the shape of a ram’s head’. Ekwall offers the pers. name

Ram as an alternative.

ROOSE (*Rosse* 1086) Celtic **ros* ‘moor, heath, promontory’.

RUSLAND (*Rolesland* 1336) ON masc. pers. name *Hrólfr* or *Hróaldr* + ON *land*. The stream Rusland Pool is named after the place.

SATTERTHWAITE (*Saterthwayt* 1336) ON *sátr* ‘shieling, mountain pasture’ + ON *Þveit* ‘clearing’.

SAWREY (*Sourer* 1336) ON *saurr* ‘mud, dirt’ in a plural form *saurar*; ‘the sour or muddy grounds’.

SCALES (*Scales* 1269) plural of ON *skáli* ‘the temporary huts or sheds’.

SEATHWAITE (*Seathwhot* 1592) ON *sær* ‘lake’ + ON *Þveit* ‘clearing’. The place is not by a lake but Ekwall points out that the lake in question is very likely the nearby Seathwaite Tarn, where the village could have originally been situated.

SKELWITH (BRIDGE) (*Schelwath* 1246) ON *skjallr* ‘resounding’ + ON *vað* ‘ford’; ‘Ford by the waterfall’. The waterfall referred to is nearby Skelwith Force on the River Brathay. A.D. Mills states that the addition Bridge is found from the 17th century onwards.

STANTON (*Steintun* 1086) ON *steinn* ‘stone’ + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’. The ON *steinn* might have replaced an earlier OE *stān*.

TORVER (*Thoruergh* 1190-9) ON *torf* ‘turf, peat’ or ON masc. pers. name **Thorfi* + ON *ærgi*, *erg* ‘shed, shieling’.

ULVERSTON (*Ulurestun* 1086) OE masc. pers. name *Wulfhere* or ON masc. pers. name *Ulfarr* + OE *tūn* ‘farmstead, village’.

URSWICK, GREAT (*Ursewica* c.1150) OE *ūr* ‘bison’ + OE *sæ* ‘lake’ + OE *wīc* ‘dwelling or (dairy) farm’.

WALNEY (*Wagneia* 1127, *Walney* 1577) either ON *vogn* ‘killer whale’ + ON *ey* ‘island’, or OE **wagen* ‘quicksands’ + OE *ēg* ‘island’. D. Mills prefers quicksands, while A.D. Mills considers killer-whale island more probable. Ekwall only gives the first alternative. Both seem possible; Ekwall notes that killer-whales are sometimes seen in the waters, and on the other hand quicksands are found at least around the nearby Morecambe Bay.

WINDERMERE [L] (*Winandermere* 12th cent.) ON masc. pers. name *Vinandr* + genitive -*ar* + OE *mere* ‘lake’.

WOODLAND (*Kirkeby wodelands* 1544) OE *wudu* ‘wood’ + OE *land*. However, the name might not date back to OE period.

WRAY, HIGH (*Wraye* c.1535) ON *vrá* ‘secluded nook or corner of land’.

General observations about the corpus

The most common place-name element in the corpus is OE *tūn*, which appears in nine names: Broughton in Furness, Colton, Coniston, Dalton-in-Furness, Gleaston, Pennington, Plumpton, Stainton and Ulverston. Apart from Colton and Coniston, these are in Low Furness.

The second place is shared between ON *Þveit* and ON *dalr* / OE *dæl*. Both appear in four names. Finsthwaite, Haverthwaite, Satterthwaite and Seathwaite are all in High Furness. Dalton-in-Furness and Lindal in Furness are in the peninsula while Grizedale and Hall Dunnerdale are inland.

The ON genitive singular or ON plural -*ar* appears (not necessarily in the modern form) in six names: Furness, Hall Dunnerdale, Ireleth, Osmotherley, Sawrey and Windermere.

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