



‘NAMES AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT’
PROCEEDINGS OF THE 25TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF ONOMASTIC SCIENCES
GLASGOW, 25-29 AUGUST 2014

VOLUME 1: KEYNOTE LECTURES. TOPONOMASTICS I.

Edited by
Carole Hough
Daria Izdebska



University
of Glasgow

‘Names and Their Environment’
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Volume 1
Keynote Lectures
Toponomastics I

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Preface

It was a great pleasure to welcome 249 members of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences to Glasgow for the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences from 25-29 August 2014. Delegates attended from a total of 43 countries, testifying to the vigorous state of name studies throughout the world. The programme included 182 presentations on the congress theme of 'Names and their Environment', comprising 3 keynote lectures, 170 session papers and 9 posters. Of these, 145 were in English, 22 in German and 12 in French. We are delighted that 115 have been written up for publication in the congress proceedings, while a further 59 are represented in the form of abstracts.

The proceedings comprise 5 volumes, organised according to the themed sections of the congress itself. Papers by keynote speakers appear at the beginning of Volume 1. Volumes 1 and 2 then cover Toponomastics; Volume 3 covers Anthroponomastics; Volume 4 covers Theory and Methodology as well as Socio-onomastics; and Volume 5 covers Literary Onomastics, Other Names and Commercial Names. The complete volumes are available as a series of 5 pdfs, but all submitted papers can also be accessed individually via the ICOS 2014 website.

The organisation of any major event is a team effort, and although the lead was taken by ourselves – Carole and Daria – the congress could not have taken place without the generous help and involvement of many other people. It is a pleasure to record our thanks to the following (with apologies to anyone who may inadvertently have been omitted):

- the ICOS Board members, who advised and steered the process throughout;
- the members of the local organising team / UK Scientific Committee, comprising Ellen Bramwell, Thomas Clancy, Richard Coates, Alison Grant, Guy Puzey, Margaret Scott and Simon Taylor;
- the members of the International Scientific Committee, comprising Terhi Ainiala, Elwys de Stefani, Kaisa Rautio Helander, Adrian Koopman, Laura Kostanski, Julia Kuhn, André Lapierre, Katharina Leibring and Staffan Nyström;
- the abstract reviewers, who helped to ensure the high academic standard of the congress;
- the Scottish Place-Name Society, which sponsored the opening reception in the Hunterian Art Gallery;
- the City of Glasgow, which provided the civic reception at Glasgow City Chambers;
- the staff of the University of Glasgow Conference and Visitor Services Office, who handled the online registration and accommodation bookings with great efficiency and good humour;
- the staff of the Hunterian Art Gallery, who provided such a great welcome at the opening reception;
- the staff of Glasgow University Union, who welcomed us to this historic building for the congress dinner;
- Brian Aitken, the website consultant;
- Simon Taylor, who organised all the excursions;

- the excursion leaders Thomas Clancy, Alice Crook, Stephen Driscoll, Peter Drummond, Leonie Dunlop, Sofia Evemalm, Peter McNiven, Simon Taylor, Alasdair Whyte and Eila Williamson
- the keynote speakers Richard Coates, Peder Gammeltoft and Simon Taylor;
- the chairs, speakers and poster presenters;
- the congress helpers Ellen Bramwell, Alison Burns, James Butler, Alice Crook, Rachael Hamilton, Francesca Mackay and Emma Osborne.

We wish every success to the organisers of the 26th congress in Debrecen from 27 August to 1 September 2017, and hope that they encounter such a wonderful group of delegates as we did.

Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska
June 2016

Keynote Lectures

Charting a Course Through the Scottish Namescape

Simon Taylor
United Kingdom

Abstract

It is something of a commonplace, at least in Britain and Ireland, to say that Scotland has one of the most complex linguistic histories in Europe, a complexity reflected in its unusually variegated toponymy. Despite the fact that the Commonwealth Games will have been held in Glasgow just a few weeks before ICOS 25, I will resist the temptation to award gold, silver or bronze medals for toponymic complexity for two reasons: one is that, as a Scottish toponymist working almost exclusively in and on Scotland I do not have the necessary knowledge of other European toponymies to judge such a competition; the other is that there are of course many different ways to define ‘complexity’. Rather what I will attempt in this paper is a historical chorography of the Scottish namescape, introducing to an international audience of name-scholars the languages and history of Scotland through its names, primarily its place names, though also to a lesser degree its personal names. I will do this as concisely as its six main languages and nine different toponymic zones will allow. There is no doubt that the Scottish namescape presents particular challenges to anyone wanting to study and engage with it, and another theme of my paper will be to look at how these challenges have been met in the past, how they are being met in the present, and how they might be met in the future.

* * *

Welcome to Glasgow. Fàilte a Ghlaschu, Weelcome tae Glesgae. It is both a great honour and a great responsibility to be the first speaker of this conference, charged with the task of introducing you to the onomasticon of Scotland, your chosen venue for the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences.

Scotland is a relatively small country – a population of about 5 million, half of whom live in and around Glasgow. The longest distance on the Scottish mainland is about 440 kilometres – from the Mull of Galloway in the south-west to John o’ Groats in the north-east.

A favourite unit of measurement in the British media is ‘the size of Wales’. Wales is 20,000 square kilometres, and expressed in those terms Scotland is almost exactly 4 Waleses. While Scotland constitutes almost exactly a third of the landmass of Great Britain, that is England, Wales and Scotland put together, it contains only about 10 per cent of the total population. This is because much of its surface is uninhabitable upland, a large part of which is known as the Scottish Highlands with a capital *h*. This is not just any old high land, but the high land north of the Highland Boundary Fault, which you can see here on this map.

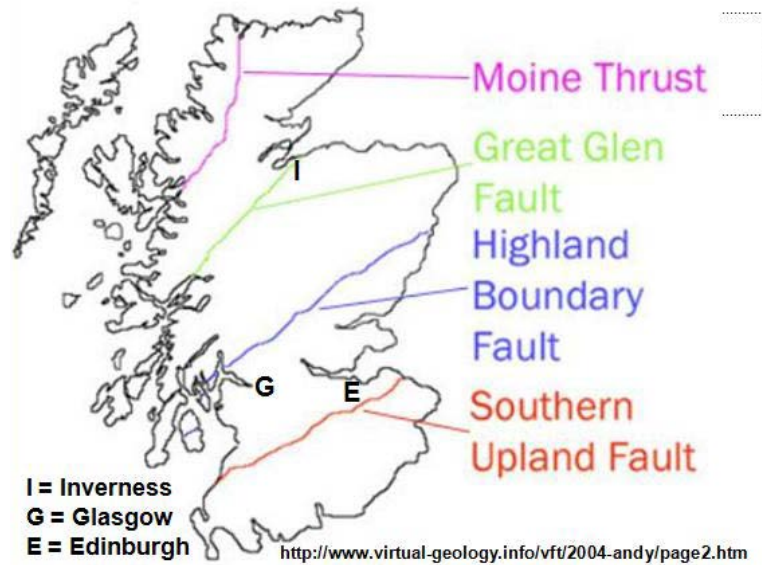


Fig. 1. Scotland showing the Highland Boundary Fault and other major geological faults.

This is the most important of several geological faults that run through Scotland. The west end of the Highland Boundary Fault is actually south of Glasgow, with two of the Congress excursions, that to Loch Lomond and that to the Trossachs, crossing it.

The highest point in the Highlands, as well as in the British and Irish Isles, is Ben Nevis, a mere 1,344 metres high, but rising from sea level. Also at this latitude, which is roughly that of Moscow, we are talking about subarctic conditions on all land above about 1000 metres, of which there is a lot.



Fig. 2. Typical Highland landscape, part of what was termed in the early medieval period ‘the spine of Britain’ (*Dorsum Britannie*), in Gaelic *Druim Albann*. Picture taken looking south from Beinn Achaladair by Achallader, on the boundary between Argyll and Perthshire. (Photo by the author)

The geology of Scotland is rich and varied, but from a human point of view it can be termed divisive, and goes some way to explaining the patchwork of settlement and languages which characterises the Scottish namescape. The Highland Boundary Fault, for example, was for many centuries also a cultural and linguistic boundary, with Gaelic to the north and Scots to the south. There are in fact 5 languages which have been spoken in various parts of Scotland over the past 1,500 years and which are significantly represented in Scottish toponymy. However, not every one of these languages was spoken everywhere within the boundaries of modern Scotland, and at least 9 different zones can be identified, each zone with its own languages and sequence of languages.¹

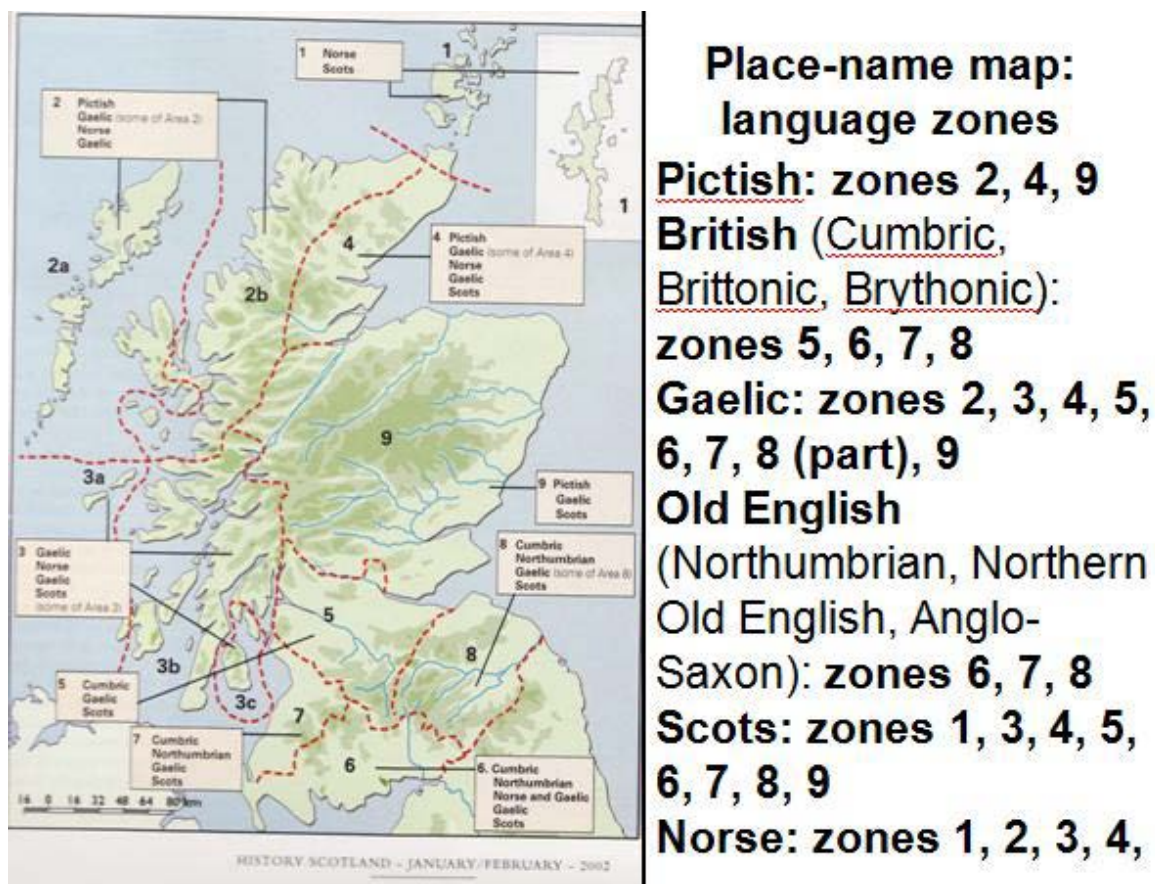


Fig. 3. Map showing place names zones in Scotland (Taylor 2002)

¹ See Taylor (2001) for more details of the different languages of Scotland and their realisation in regional toponymy.

Pictish	Aberdeen, Arbroath, Cupar, Perth
British (Cumbric, Brittonic, Brythonic)	Blantyre, Dollar, Lanark, Linlithgow, Glasgow, Partick, Govan [we are now in Partick, in the parish of Govan]
Gaelic	Balmullo, Dallas, Dumbarton, Inverness, Pitlochry
Old English (Old Northumbrian, Northern Old English)	Berwick, Edinburgh, Haddington
Scots	Burntisland, Houston, Livingston, Scotstoun
Norse	Kirkwall, Stornoway/Steòrnabhagh, Ullapool
+	
French	Beaully, Beaufort, Mountflourie

Table 1. Examples of Scottish place names from the main languages + French

I have attempted to map this very roughly onto Scotland, using its modern boundaries.² Do not be alarmed by the complexity of this map, with, for many of you, its unfamiliar language labels. As the title of my talk promises, I will attempt to guide you through this labyrinth without getting ourselves too lost.

Not only does Scotland have a toponymy made up of this bewildering array of languages, it is also one of the least surveyed of any northern European country. These two facts may well be connected, with Scotland's complexity and linguistic fragmentation working against a clearly focussed national effort.

Scotland has only three counties out of its 33 which have been subjected to relatively full toponymic survey, and two of these are based on PhDs from the 1930s and 1940s.

² The southern boundary with England was established finally in 1237; the western isles were transferred from the Norwegian to the Scottish Crown in 1265; and the northern isles of Orkney and Shetland were transferred from the Danish to the Scottish Crown in the later 15th century.

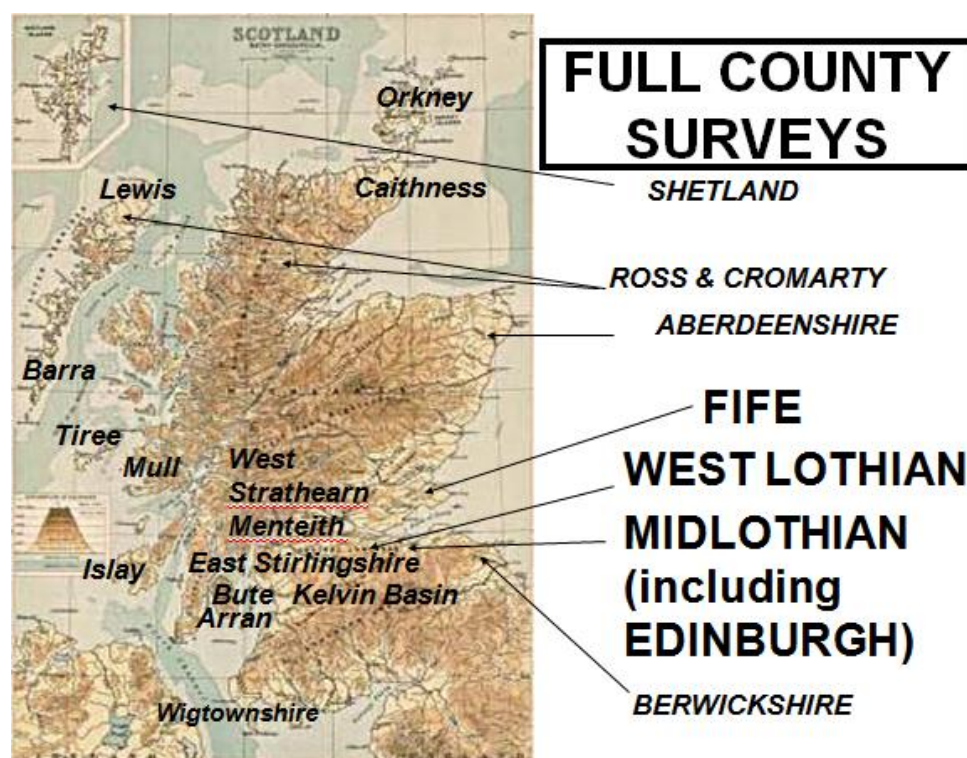


Fig. 4. Map of place name studies in Scotland. Key to typefaces: **WEST LOTHIAN: full county place name survey set out alphabetically by parish.** SHETLAND: county survey, but not as detailed as preceding; **Islay**: detailed survey of a part of a county or island. Note that all administrative units are pre-1975.

Here I have tried to map toponymic coverage of Scotland. Only the counties in bold upper case – Fife, Midlothian and West Lothian – have full surveys.³ All the county and area-names in lower-case indicate either (a) that in-depth studies exist for one or more parishes within that county or area, chiefly PhDs, several of which are unpublished. Or (b) that a county-wide study exists, but to standards which fall below that expected of a modern study.

However, by saying this I do not want to minimise the value and scholarship of works such as W.J. Watson's *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (1904), Alexander's *Place-Names of Aberdeenshire* (1952) and Stewart's *Shetland's Place-Names*. But what it does mean is that in many parts of Scotland anyone who wants to work with place names at a local level has to start almost from scratch, and this will remain the case for a long time to come. This also means that scholars undertaking national surveys, be they of individual elements or types of elements, such as Peadar Morgan's PhD on ethnonymic specifics in Scottish place names (University of St Andrews 2013), must start with generating enormous amounts of primary data, which makes such a task positively gargantuan.

This rather thread-bare map conceals as much as it reveals. Good firm foundations have been laid for Scottish toponymics, above all by the endeavours over the last century of two scholars: W.J. Watson and W.F.H. Nicolaisen.

³ To this list of full county surveys will shortly be added Kinross-shire and Clackmannanshire in east central Scotland. See below for more details.

William J. Watson (1865-1948), was a native Gaelic-speaker from Easter Ross, north of Inverness, and became professor of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh. His *History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (published 1926) remains the single most important work on Scottish toponyms derived from the Celtic languages, and it will continue to feed and stimulate scholarship on the subject for many generations to come.

Wilhelm F.H. Nicolaisen, better known as Bill Nicolaisen, dominated Scottish onomastics in the second half of last century, as Watson did in the first half. He was head of the Scottish Place-Name Survey at the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, from 1956 to 1969, when he moved to New York State University in the US to become professor of English and Folklore. From there he continued to make important contributions to both Scottish and international onomastics, above all with his ground-breaking book *Scottish Place-Names*, first published in 1976. He was president of ICOS from 1990 to 1996, presiding over the last Scottish ICOS, the 19th, held in Aberdeen in 1996.

Nicolaisen's successor at the Scottish Place-Name Survey in Edinburgh was Ian Fraser, a native Gaelic-speaker from Wester Ross in north-west Scotland. Over several decades Fraser oversaw the collection of a vitally important oral toponymic resource, above all from the diminishing Gaelic-speaking communities of western Scotland, as well as keeping the flame of toponymics alive through teaching and public outreach. Since Fraser's retirement in 2000 there has unfortunately been no dedicated onomastic lectureship at the University of Edinburgh.

This down-scaling of onomastics at Edinburgh has been matched by increased activity in Scotland in general. A key player in this has been the Scottish Place-Name Society, a voluntary body and registered charity founded in 1995. It now has a membership of about 350, hosts two conferences a year in different parts of Scotland, produces two newsletters a year, and manages a wide-ranging website.⁴ It has supported several important projects, such as Alan James's BLITON (British Language in the Old North), the digitisation of two unpublished PhDs from the 1940s (Williamson 1942 and Dixon 1947) as well as hosting the English translation of Berit Sandnes's 2003 PhD 'Fra Starafjall til Starling Hill', a study of toponymy and language interaction in Orkney. The SPNS has also recently taken under its wing the nascent Survey of Scottish Place-Names, to which I will return later.

The other significant development in Scottish onomastics this century is the flowering of the discipline here at the University of Glasgow. In 2009 the University in what was then the Department of English Language created Scotland's first professor of onomastics, in the person of ICOS's very own Carole Hough, while Thomas Clancy, professor of Celtic & Gaelic, initiated, supported and led a series of important onomastic research projects. In them, not only does Glasgow have two eminent name-scholars *per se*, it also has a pillar of strength in each of the two main language-groups, Germanic and Celtic, which in almost equal measure make up the toponymy of Scotland. Interdisciplinarity is of course paramount in name-studies, and the active interest and support of, above all, Dauvit Broun professor of Scottish History and Stephen Driscoll, professor of Archaeology, has helped create the intellectual environment here in Glasgow in which onomastics flourishes. I must also pay tribute to the excellent post-graduate and post-doctoral community here, made up of scholars

⁴ www.spns.org.uk

working across the whole spectrum of onomastics, from field-names in the North-East (Alison Burns) to personal naming practices in Scotland in immigrant and indigenous communities (Ellen Bramwell). There are regular onomastic lunch-time discussion groups, and an inspirational website, *Onomastics.co.uk*, established by two Glasgow postgraduates Alice Crook and Leonie Dunlop.

The University of Glasgow, while at the epicentre of Scottish name-studies at the moment, does not of course have any monopoly in the studying or teaching of the subject. I will be talking later about the contribution of Edinburgh University in the field of Scandinavian name-studies, actively promoted by Arne Kruse and Alan Macniven; while at the University of the Highlands and Islands are Andrew Jennings in Shetland and Richard Cox in Skye.

Richard Cox was also responsible for launching *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies*, Scotland's first peer-reviewed journal dedicated to onomastics. The first issue of this annual journal appeared in 2007, up until 2011 in hard copy (*JSNS* 1-5), and since 2012 as a freely-available e-journal. I was the editor for the first three issues, and now Cox and I edit it jointly.⁵

Let us now turn to the place names themselves. I promised to guide you through the labyrinth of languages in Scotland. I will begin the journey with the earliest languages we have any real knowledge of, **Pictish** and **British**. Both are P-Celtic, and are very closely related, best seen as part of a dialect continuum running from what is now southern England to northern Scotland. This means that the nearest modern relative of both Pictish and British is Welsh. That the great 8th-century Northumbrian scholar, Bede, listed Pictish and British as separate languages (*lingu*<*a*> *Pictorum* and *lingu*<*a*> *Brettonum*) is probably best seen as reflecting a political rather than a linguistic reality, as well as being informed by Bede's religious, typological agenda. The scholars most actively engaged in research in this area today are Alan James and Guto Rhys, Rhys having just completed a PhD here at the University of Glasgow entitled 'Approaching the Pictish language: Historiography, Early Evidence and the Question of Pritenic'.

The matter is further complicated by the different labels which have been, and still are, attached to both these languages. The Scottish place name scholar William J. Watson, who I have already mentioned, called them both simply British, while other scholars use Cumbric, Brittonic and Brythonic for the more southerly one. And more recently the historian Alex Woolf has coined Pictish British for Pictish.

One of the great problems with both of these languages is that the main evidence for them comes from place names and personal names only. Pictish seems to have died out before c.1000 AD, followed shortly thereafter by the demise of British, both succumbing to the rapid spread of our next language in the list, **Gaelic**.

Gaelic is a Q-Celtic language, closely related to Irish and Manx Gaelic (that is the Gaelic of the Isle of Man). It has been spoken in parts of western Scotland for at least 1,500 years, probably longer, and is still spoken today by about 60,000 people, many of them in the Hebrides.

⁵ www.clanntuirc.co.uk/JSNS.html

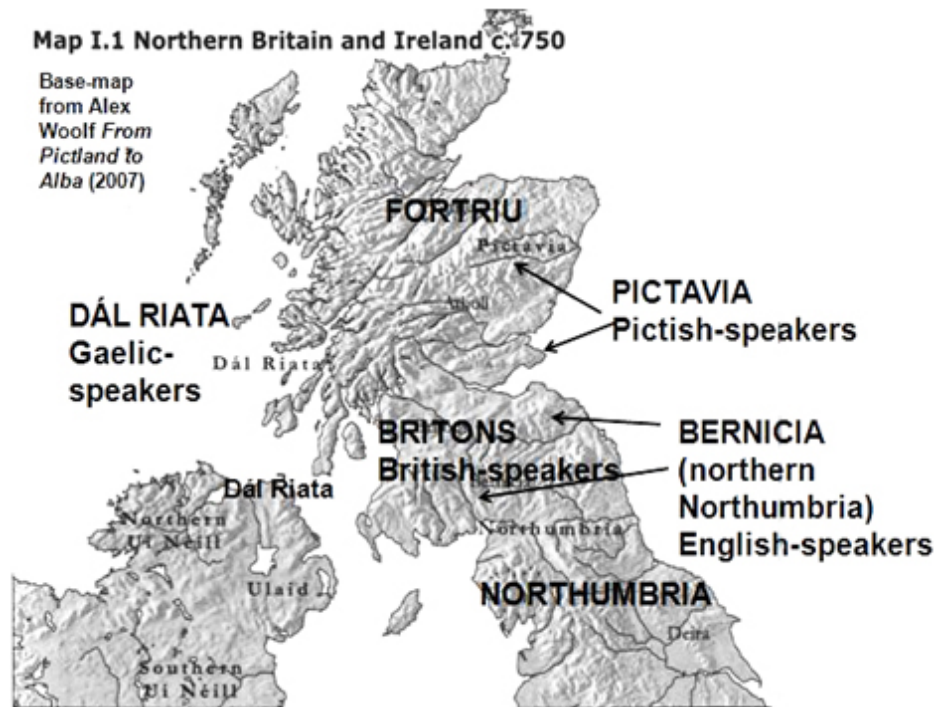


Fig. 5. Map of northern Britain c.750 based on Woolf 2007, with additions

Its earliest focus was the kingdom of Dál Riata, meaning ‘portion or share of Reuta’, a male personal name qualifying Old Gaelic *dál* (n.) ‘a part, a share; land inhabited by a tribe or people’. As you can see from this map of Scotland c.750 A.D., it was the name of a territory on both sides of the narrow sea separating Scotland and Ireland, only about 20 kilometres across at its narrowest part. By the 12th century the coastal mainland from Dál Riata northwards was referred to as **Argyll**, a name of Gaelic origin meaning ‘coast or shore of the Gael’ i.e. of Gaelic-speakers.

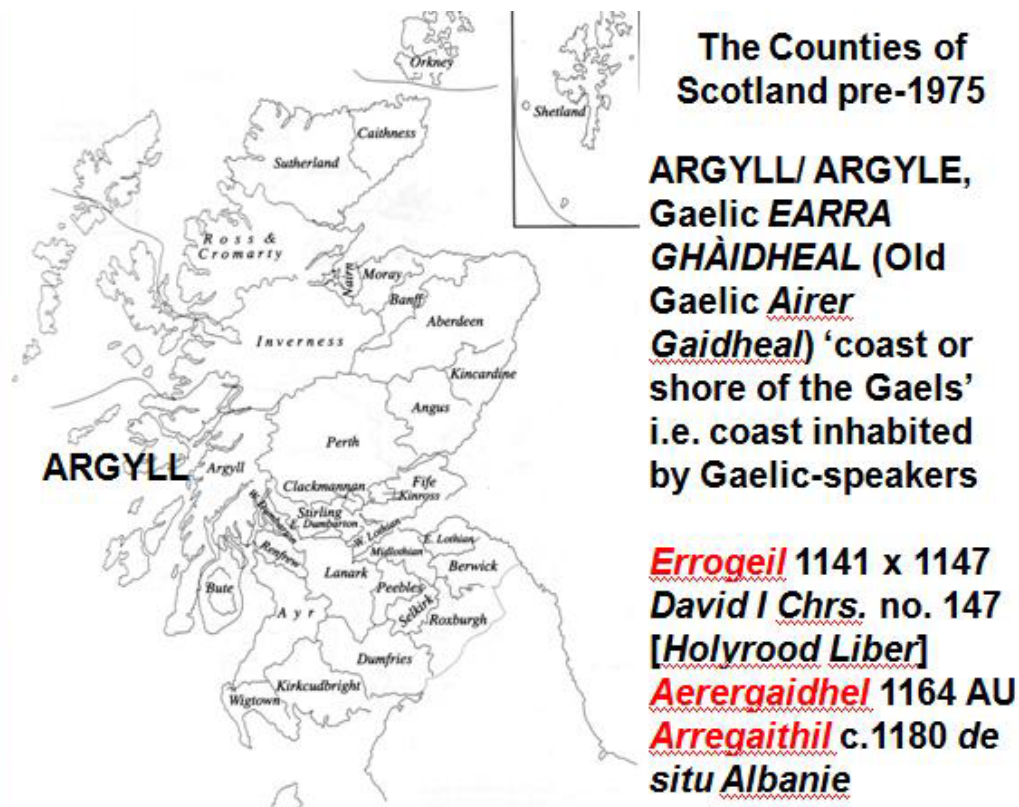


Fig. 6. Argyll and early occurrences of the name. Pre-1975 county map of Scotland.

Gaelic was at its most widespread in Scotland in the 11th and early 12th centuries, spoken in almost every part of the mainland, so why should this particular coast be referred to specifically as the coast of the Gael?

In order to answer this we have to look at another of the major historical languages of Scotland, Old Norse, which I am using to cover both Old West and Old East Scandinavian. The Norse were settling in the northern and western isles of Scotland from the second half of the 8th century onwards. By the later 9th century they were having a huge impact on all the kingdoms of Britain and Ireland, settling and naming large swathes of territory, especially in northern and middle England, and in northern and western Scotland. While their expansion can in some places be followed in sources such as chronicles and sagas, these records are both geographically very unevenly distributed and, in the case of the sagas, historiographically problematic. For western Scotland one of the most consistent and reliable guides to the density and intensity of Norse settlement is toponymy. However, as we have seen, the work on Norse, or any, place names in this whole area has been very patchy.

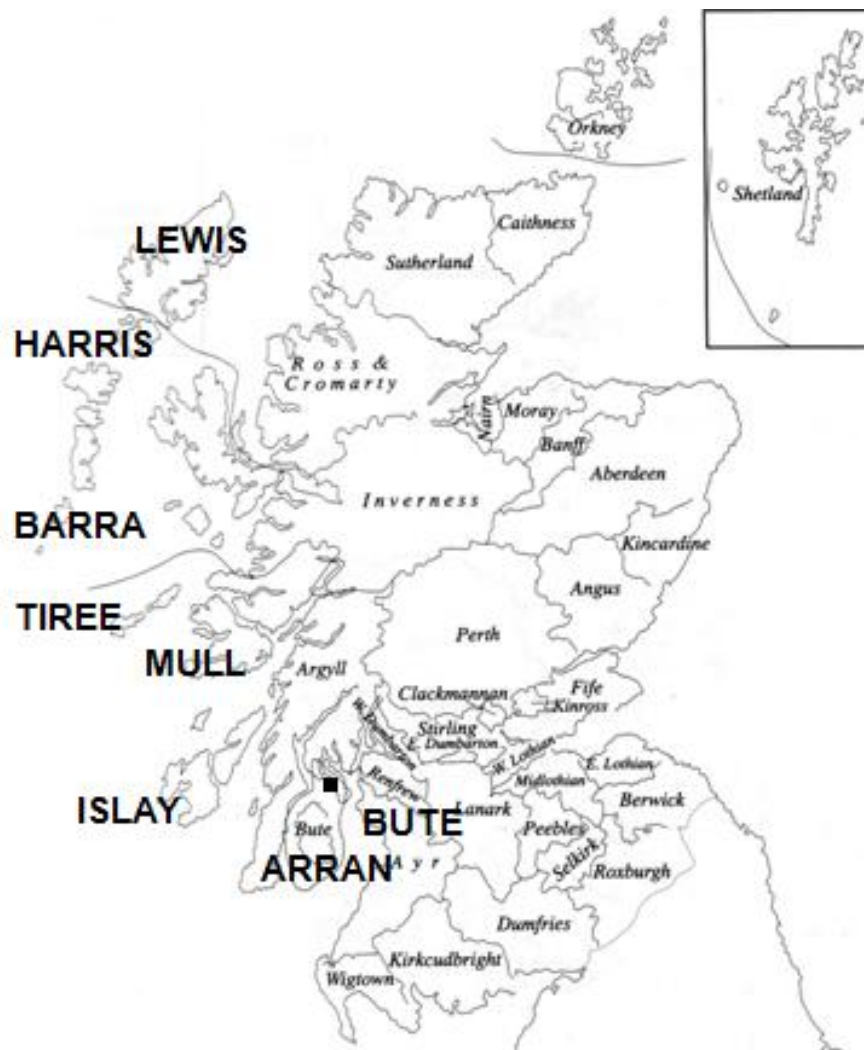


Fig. 7. Scotland showing pre-1975 counties with Hebridean and Firth of Clyde islands whose place names have been studied in depth

One such study is Alan Macniven's thesis 'The Norse on Islay' (Edinburgh 2006). He concludes from the place name evidence that Islay was at one time almost completely Norse-speaking, the result of thoroughgoing political and cultural domination (Macniven 2013: 14).

Moving a little northward to Mull, Alasdair Whyte, a PhD student here at Glasgow, is conducting a study of settlement names in the large Mull parish of Torosay.



Fig. 8. The parish of Torosay, Isle of Mull, Argyll, with place names, mainly settlement names, of Norse origin so far identified (Alasdair Whyte and Google Maps)

As with Islay, the number of place names of Norse origin is striking, and the more detailed the survey, the more Norse names are revealed.

Apart from area-studies in this Norse settlement zone, there are also important element-studies, above all Peder Gammeltoft’s PhD and 2001 book on the ON element *bólstaðr* ‘a farm’, wherever it occurs, from Sweden to Iceland, with Scotland, including Orkney and Shetland, weighing in at around 240 *bólstaðr*-names. And at the University of Edinburgh PhD student Ryan Foster is investigating the ON elements *erg* and *sætr* (plural), both words referring to shieling- or transhumance activity.



Fig. 9. Same map as in Fig. 7, with addition of Kintyre, as well as examples of topographical and habitative Norse names

As is clear from this map alone, much of the research has been concentrated on the islands. One notable exception to this is Andrew Jennings's 1994 Edinburgh PhD 'An Historical Study of the Gael and Norse in Western Scotland from c.795 to c.1000', and he has also published on Norse names in Kintyre.

Even a quick glance at names along the western mainland reveals significant Norse toponymy. The big difference is that on the mainland there is a marked lack of names with habitative generic elements such as *bólstaðr* or *staðir*. Almost all of the mainland names contain topographical generics, such as *dalr* 'valley', *vík*, 'bay' and *nes* 'ness or promontory'. Such names were once regarded as relatively trivial, indicative of seasonal settlement – in Bill Nicolaisen's memorable phrase 'onomastic graffiti'.⁶ However, in recent years our perception of their status has undergone a complete volte-face, and they are now held to be the names of the earliest settlements, with names containing habitative elements such as *bólstaðr* being applied to later, secondary settlement.

While the exact process remains obscure, it is fair to assume, with Jennings and Kruse, that by the time secondary settlement by Norse-speakers was taking place on at least some of the western islands, generating names with elements such as *bólstaðr*, the settlers on the mainland had adopted the dominant language of the kingdom of Scotland, Gaelic. This could have been as late as the 10th or early 11th century. This language situation is reflected in political history, with the islands of Scotland being formally recognised as subject to the Norwegian king by around 1100. It was not in fact until the Treaty of Perth in 1266 that the western isles were formally ceded to the Scottish Crown.

This has been a very long answer to the question I posed earlier – why was the western mainland referred to as *Earra Ghàidheal* (Argyle) 'the shore or coastland of the Gael'?⁷ It was, I think, a term coined to contrast the Gaelic-speaking mainland with the Norse-speaking islands at a very particular moment in their linguistic and political history. This contrast is eloquently expressed in the name *Innse Gall* 'the islands of the foreigners' i.e. the Norse. This term, first used in an annal of 989 AD, to refer to all the Hebridean islands under Norse control, became so embedded in Gaelic usage that it has survived to this day as the Gaelic term for the Outer Hebrides or Western Isles, used without irony, as only a name can be, for that part of Scotland now considered to be the most quintessentially Gaelic.

⁶ For a recent critique of this term in a west of Scotland context, see Rixson (2010).

⁷ We find the Old Gaelic expression *airer* 'shore, coastland' + ethnonym was used to designate coastlines of larger population groups from as early as the 9th or early 10th century, in terms such as *i n-airiur Saxan 7 Bretan* 'in the coastland of the Saxons and of the Britons', probably referring to south-west Scotland. For full details, and other examples, see Clancy (2008: 43-44).

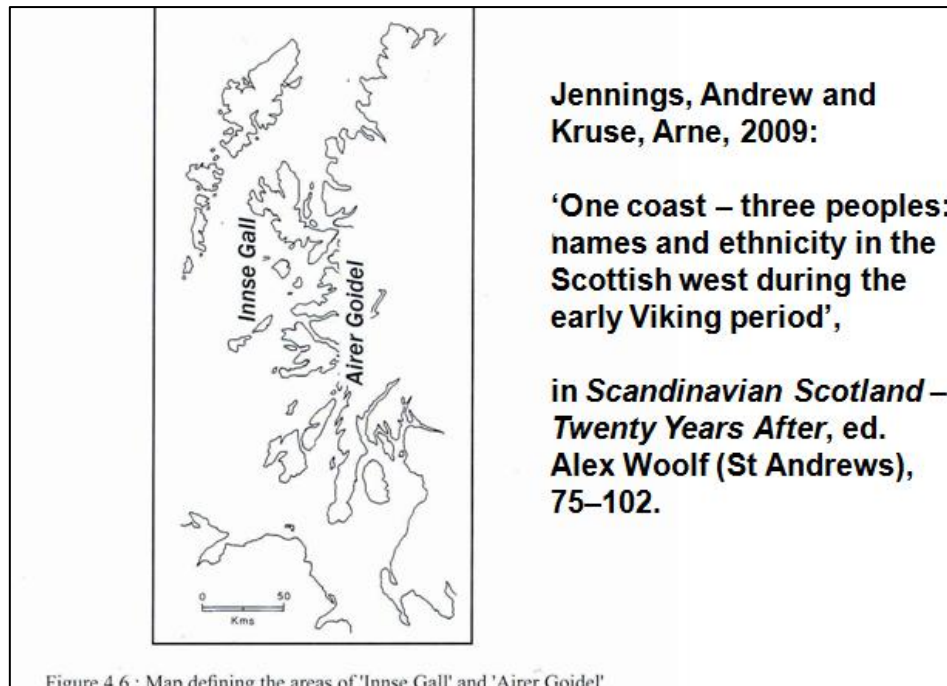


Fig. 10.

This contrast is well expressed in the map from Jennings and Kruse's 2009 article (Fig. 10). The Norse-speaking era in this whole zone has left not only many hundreds of place names: regions, islands, settlements, hills, rivers and lochs, both inland and coastal, it has also bequeathed many loan-words into Gaelic, above all loan-words relating to the coastal environment, words such as *G sgeir* from ON *sker* 'skerry, rock (usually in sea)'; *G ùidh* or *aidh* 'ford; isthmus', from ON *eið* 'isthmus, neck of land'; *G tòb* (or *òb*) 'bay' from ON *hóp* 'bay, inlet'. This last, with the addition of the Gaelic diminutive suffix *-an*, *òban* 'little bay', is the origin of the name of the largest modern town in Argyll, Oban.

I cannot leave the Hebrides without mentioning Richard Cox's important work on the interface between Norse and Gaelic, as manifested chiefly through the close analysis of Scottish place names, following in the footsteps of the Norwegian scholar Magne Oftedal (1954), in particular his exhaustive study of the place names in and around Carloway in north-west Lewis (2002).

Galloway

Remaining on the west coast, but moving to Scotland's south-western corner, we start to become aware of an even more complex interaction between Gaelic and Norse, and one that is again inscribed on the namescape. This is the area called Galloway. We have seen that in the names **Argyll** and **Innse Gall** the Gael and the Gall (the Norse) face each other, and to some extent define themselves against each other. However, in the area-name Galloway the two become fused, culturally, linguistically and toponymically, because Galloway derives from the Gaelic ethnonym or people-name *Gall-Gàidheil*, literally 'the foreign Gaels', and again the word *gall* here means specifically 'Norse'.

The latest thinking on this area-name, which once applied to the whole of the south-west of Scotland almost as far north as Glasgow, is to be found in Thomas Clancy's 2008 article. In it he defines the Gall-Ghàidheil as 'foreign (i.e. Norse or Norsified) Gaels; foreign-seeming Gaels, scandinavianised Gaelic speakers, foreigners who speak Gaelic'.

The language of this people, whether originating in Ireland or the Hebrides or both, can be assumed to be Gaelic, but they were perceived as Gaels who had taken on many characteristics of the Norse, probably including some aspects of Norse language such as loan-words.

Galloway is especially complex, with its many toponymic strata: British, Old English, Gaelic with a hint of Norse, Norse, Gaelic and Scots (see also Fig. 3, above). Only in-depth surveys of the various counties in this area will help us unravel this tangled skein. This is not to say there are not some fine studies of the Gallovidonian onomasticon, above all work by Herbert Maxwell, John MacQueen, Daphne Brook, Alistair Livingston and Thomas Clancy himself, but no one has yet undertaken a systematic, Galloway-wide survey, county by county. And when you consider the linguistic complexities, and the overall lack of early sources, you can understand why.

Gaelic in Scotland

I would like to say a little more about Gaelic in Scotland. From its original core in Dál Riata (Argyll) it spread eastwards, becoming the main language of the Kingdom of Alba, which replaced the kingdom of the Picts around 900 A.D., and which developed into the later medieval kingdom of the Scots (*regnum Scottorum*).

Gaelic can be said to be the most productive of all the languages in Scottish place-nomenclature, especially as regards names of significant places such as parishes and power centres. This may well be because it was the dominant language in the kingdom at the time when serious documentation in the form of charters and other property records first came on stream in the late 11th and early 12th centuries. This I think helped to fix the names in the namescape.

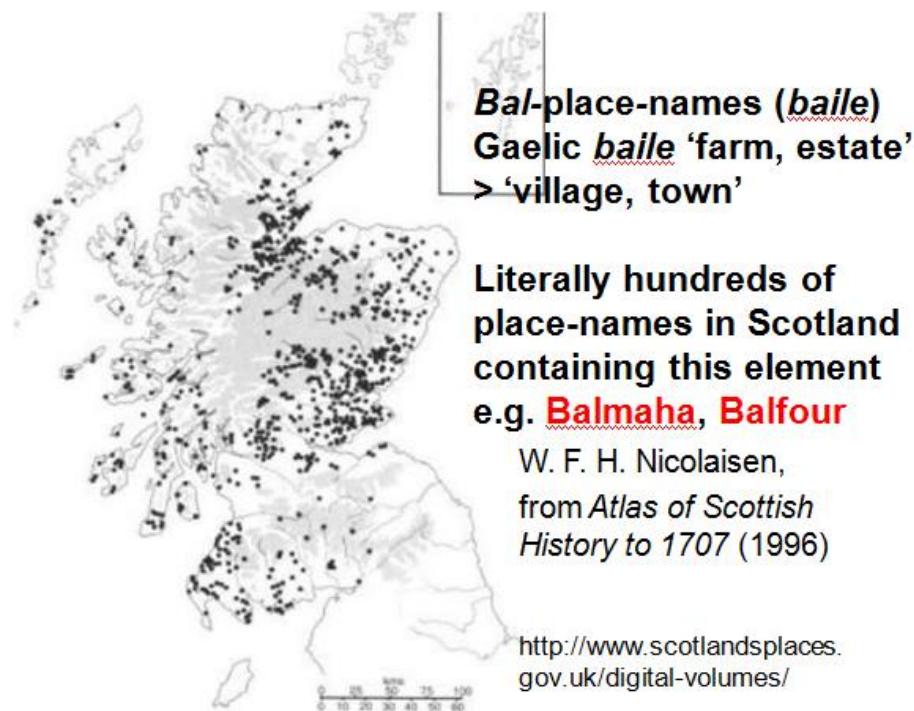


Fig. 11. Map of place names containing the important Gaelic habitative element *baile*, from *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (1996)

Just how widespread Gaelic was, is well conveyed by this distribution map made by Bill Nicolaisen of the common Gaelic habitative element *baile* 'farm, estate; later village, town'.

In some places in lowland Scotland names alone are the primary evidence for the presence of Gaelic. It was this that prompted the first major place name research project at the University of Glasgow: 'The Expansion and Contraction of Gaelic in Medieval Scotland: The Onomastic Evidence', funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The main output of this was four of the five volumes of *The Place-Names of Fife* (Taylor with Márkus 2008-2012), as well as an article by Thomas Clancy on Gaelic in Medieval Scotland (2011).

Since the high-water mark of Gaelic in the 12th century, the language has undergone a complex ebb and flow, but in the last few hundred years much more ebb than flow, to the extent that in the official Census of 2011 just over one per cent of the population, 58,000 people, aged three and over in Scotland were able to speak Gaelic.

At present Gaelic in Scotland is undergoing something of a revival, with government investment and its own TV channel, BBC Alba. However, for much of the 20th century it was in decline, and was practically invisible except in the far north-west mainland and in the Hebrides, the areas that had become the Gaelic-speaking heartlands. It was easy to visit Scotland, and even to live in Scotland, without being aware of Gaelic as a living language. However, there was one important exception to this.

The Ordnance Survey

The main mapping agency for Britain is the Ordnance Survey. Anyone using an Ordnance Survey map in almost any part of the Scottish Highlands, in the west almost as far south as Glasgow, would be aware that linguistically something different – something non-English – is going on. I am talking not about linguistic origins of names, but about orthography. Gaelic has a completely different orthographic system from English, one based on a classical Old Irish model developed in the medieval period. As soon as you cross the Highland Boundary Fault you encounter names on the map such as these: *Lochan Srath Dubh-uisge Cnap na Crice*, *Meall Meadhonach* and *Coire a'Chnoich*, all of these overlooking Loch Lomond between 20 and 30 km north-west of Glasgow. These are all on the latest OS maps.

When the first Ordnance Survey was undertaken around the middle of the 19th century Gaelic was still spoken over wide areas of the Scottish Highlands. Care was taken to record Gaelic forms of topographical names, even when the settlement names had already been anglicised. This has led to what is really a quite remarkable phenomenon, whereby the same name with different referents can appear in two quite different orthographic systems, to the extent that they are sometimes unrecognisable as the same name.

There are many examples of this, and it is a great game trying to spot them. Here is one we encountered on the Loch Lomond excursion: the small settlement of Aldochlay on the western shore of Loch Lomond, is where the burn called Allt a'Chlaidheimh (Gaelic 'burn or stream of the sword') runs into the loch. Aldochlay is an attempt to represent the pronunciation of Allt a'Chlaidheimh in English orthography.

The recording of topographic names in Gaelic orthography in areas where Gaelic was still spoken at the time of the first Ordnance Survey can be said to have freeze-framed the limits of Gaelic as they were around the middle of the 19th century, hugely increasing its visibility today. There are many Scots who say that their first awareness and interest in Gaelic came through encounters with names like these.

However, it is also the case that over the years, with different editions and series of Ordnance Survey maps, errors and variations have developed in the Gaelic forms of names. There is no official place name authority in the UK, which means that there are no authoritative forms. However, the Ordnance Survey form is generally regarded as the standard, even if it is simply authority by default. The many and varied forms of names in Gaelic orthography on different editions of their maps led the Ordnance Survey to consult a range of organisations with an interest in Gaelic and place names, which in turn led to the establishment of the Gaelic Names Liaison Committee in the year 2000. Out of this has developed this splendid organisation Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba/Gaelic Place-Names of Scotland. Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba (AÀA) is based at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig in Skye, a campus of the University of the Highlands and Islands, and employs two full-time workers, a project manager, Eilidh Scammel, and a researcher, Jacob King. King, who did his PhD at Edinburgh on Scottish hydronyms, has his office in the old Scottish Place-Name Survey room at the University of Edinburgh. Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba is a partnership of various organisations such as Ordnance Survey, the Scottish Parliament, several local councils and the Scottish Place-Name Society. Its main financial support comes from Bòrd na Gàidhlig, a government-funded body based in Inverness and charged with the support and promotion of

Gaelic in Scotland. To quote from AÀA's website (www.gaelicplacenames.org), its 'purpose is to:

- determine authoritative forms of Gaelic place-names across Scotland with reference to both research into historical forms and consolidation of current usage;
- apply consistent orthography of Gaelic in place-names;
- to encourage the adoption of these forms of Gaelic place-names.'

It maintains an extensive online database of individual names. One of its remits is to supply Gaelic forms of names on road-signs: as anyone travelling in the more northwestern roads of Scotland will be familiar with bilingual English-Gaelic road-signs. But on the railway you do not have to go so far to see bilingual station signs: here is an example from an eastern suburb of Glasgow:



Fig. 12. Scotrail bilingual sign (Photo: Alasdair MacCaluim)

Scots

I have so far mentioned Pictish, British, Norse, Gaelic and Old English. There is one other language in my original list that I have hardly mentioned so far, but which is in fact as important as Gaelic in the toponymy of Scotland. This is Scots. Examples of Scots names are Burntisland, Houston and Livingston.

Scots, before c.1700 Older Scots, is a term applied to a language which first appears as words and phrases in Latin documents in the 12th century. It is very closely related to northern Middle English, this close relationship expressed in its designation in medieval

documents produced in Scotland, where it is referred to as *Inglis*, in Latin *lingua anglica*: while *lingua Scottica* was the corresponding term for Gaelic. Scots is the direct descendant of northern Old English, with a strong admixture of Norse (both Old Danish and Old Norwegian). Norse was of course the language of much of the population of northern England (especially Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland) from the later 9th century for a century or more.

In the course of the 13th and 14th centuries Scots came to replace Gaelic almost entirely in the core of the kingdom, in provinces such as Fife, Angus, Strathearn and Gowrie. This transition from Gaelic to Scots seems to have happened relatively peaceably, and without major social upheaval or population displacement. One very important factor was the establishment of burghs in the 12th century. Burghs were small urban settlements founded with royal or aristocratic sanction and given trading rights and monopolies over large tracts of countryside. Experienced merchants and tradesmen were recruited to run these burghs, and these were found chiefly amongst those who operated up and down the east coast from bases in Lothian,⁸ Northumberland and Yorkshire, as well as in Flanders. They will have mainly spoken northern Middle English, with which Flemish would have been highly compatible. In this way from the very outset the main language of the burghs – and trade – was Scots.

Foremost amongst name-scholars working with Scots are Maggie Scott and Alison Grant. Both are of this university, Scott now working as a lecturer at the University of Salford in northern England, and Grant at the Scottish Language Dictionaries in Edinburgh.

There is a very particular kind of Scots which is spoken in the Northern Isles (Orkney and Shetland). In the late Middle Ages Scots was introduced into a society which spoke a variety of Norse called Norn, still spoken as late as the 18th century. This has created a Scots dialect rich in Norn features.

There is an especially lively toponymic community in Shetland, and since 2001, Eileen Brooke-Freeman has been employed by the Shetland Amenity Trust, funded largely by wise investment of North Sea oil revenue, on the successful Shetland Place-Names Project. A prime mover in this project was Shetlander Doreen Waugh, who completed her PhD at Edinburgh University on place names in Caithness in 1985, and who has contributed much to the renaissance of Scottish place name studies in recent years.

Other Aspects of Onomastics in Scotland

The overwhelming emphasis I have given in this paper to place names is partly because they form the focus of my own research, and partly because in Scotland more work has been done on toponyms than on other aspects of onomastics. However, last year James Butler completed a PhD at Glasgow on literary onomastics. I have already mentioned Bramwell's work on personal name-giving in immigrant and indigenous communities in Scotland. You can learn more about personal name research throughout the UK in Richard Coates's plenary session, but I would like to flag up some recent Scottish developments. In March of this year Matthew Hammond, a post-doctoral researcher here at the University of

⁸ Lothian is here used to refer to south-east Scotland south of the Firth of Forth, where a form of English had been spoken continuously since about the 7th century.

Glasgow, organised a conference entitled: ‘Personal Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland’. A book is planned from this, but the intention is to extend it into the early modern period with a chapter by Alice Crook. Crook is a PhD student at the University of Glasgow, who is working on personal naming patterns in Scotland from 1680 to 1840 through a detailed study of parochial records. Hammond himself is a medieval Scottish historian with a strong prosopographical bent, and was very involved in the evolution of the People of Medieval Scotland Database. This is the excellent resource that is the PoMS database,⁹ which contains the name of every individual who appears in Scottish documents between 1093 and 1314. Linguistic analysis of this comprehensive medieval name-stock is being undertaken by Roibeart Ó Maolalaigh, professor of Gaelic at Glasgow.

Another Glasgow PhD student, Sofia Evemalm, is deftly bringing together toponymics and anthroponymics in her study of place names containing personal names in the Western and Northern Isles: a comparative survey with reference to mainland Scotland and Scandinavia.

Another exciting Glasgow-based initiative which combines place and personal names is the Leverhulme-funded Saints in Scottish Place-Names project (2010-2013). Rachel Butter, Thomas Clancy and Gilbert Márkus have created the Database of Scottish Hagiotoponyms, or DOSH, and with the expertise of Matt Barr have developed a web-interface which allows a wide-range of searches for both saints and place names.¹⁰

Survey of Scottish Place Names

I have already mentioned how little has been done in Scotland in the way of detailed local place name survey. This year the Survey of Scottish Place-Names was officially inaugurated under the auspices of the Scottish Place-Name Society. However, unofficially, it began with the first volume of the five-volume county survey of Fife, in 2006.

In the same year as the last Fife volume appeared, 2012, so did volume 1 of the *Place-Names of Buteshire* by Gilbert Márkus, who worked with me on the *Place-Names of Fife*.

More volumes are in the pipe-line thanks to a recently completed AHRC project here at Glasgow University (2011-2014): ‘Scottish Toponymy in Transition, Progressing County Surveys of the Place-Names of Scotland’,¹¹ affectionately known as STIT (thank goodness for acronyms!). It aims to publish three more volumes of county surveys: one volume each for Kinross-shire and Clackmannanshire, and the first volume of the county-survey of Perthshire, based on Peter McNiven’s PhD on the place names of Menteith (2011). STIT was also very involved in the field of Knowledge Exchange. This is something which is of course at the heart of name-studies, and which luckily in the UK is being more and more valued by grant-giving bodies. STIT was fortunate enough to recruit Eila Williamson to the project, one of whose remits was to co-ordinate and develop this aspect of the work. One especially

⁹ <http://www.poms.ac.uk>.

¹⁰ <http://www.saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/>

¹¹ The STIT team consists of Thomas Clancy, Leonie Dunlop, Carole Hough, Peter McNiven, Eila Williamson and myself. More details can be found on <http://www.gla.ac.uk/stit>.

successful initiative was what we term ‘Place-Name Walks’. These are guided walks of about three hours in length bringing to life that essential link between topography and toponymy.



Fig. 13. Place-Name Walk June 2013, led by Simon Taylor and David Munro (Photo: Eila Williamson)

We carried out five such walks as part of STIT, building on two which had been previously devised for Fife. Leaflets were produced for all of them, containing some basic information such as early forms and interpretations. These can all be viewed and/or downloaded on the above-mentioned Onomastics website: Onomastics.co.uk/resources.

Fife 2010

Markinch Heritage Group

**'Knowing Your Place'
A Place-Name Walk
in
Markinch**

Balgonie Place East Lomond or Falkland Hill Fir Hill Markinch Parish Kirk (St Drostan's)

Fig. 1. Painting of Markinch c.1820, reproduced by permission of Markinch Parish Church.

Constructed in conjunction with the MARKINCH HERITAGE GROUP and introduced, with place-name commentary, by Dr Simon Taylor.

An exploration on foot of some places and their names in and around Markinch.
Duration: about 3 hours. Stout footwear required.

<http://onomastics.co.uk/resources/>

Fig. 14. Extracts from a place name walk leaflet for Markinch, Fife, with download address

I hope I have managed to guide you through the Scottish namescape without losing too many of you. At the same time I hope I have managed to convey something of the buzz and excitement in the Scottish onomastic community as it grapples with the many challenges posed by that namescape. I have to say that I am greatly looking forward to ICOS Glasgow, and I have no doubt that it will enrich our onomastic community here, lively and rapidly growing as it is. My greatest hope is, however, that all of you from whichever of the 48 countries here today will take something of the Scottish namescape home with you not just in your head, but also in your heart.

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The Family Names of the United Kingdom (FaNUK) Project: Retrospect and Prospect

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Abstract

The Family Names of the United Kingdom (FaNUK) project database was delivered to Oxford University Press in June 2014, and is scheduled to be published both online and in print in November 2016 as *The Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland* (FaNBI). Here, some reflections are offered on the process of creating a resource of this kind, including an assessment of methodological and factual advances that have been achieved and an outline of some possible directions for future research. Many questions have arisen about the reliability and utility of sources of data, and programmatic answers are offered for some whilst acknowledging the emergence of new ones and the persistence of others. Progress has been made in understanding the origin of many surnames, and some choice specimens will be fully discussed illustrating either philological or methodological novelties. Some names have continued to defy explanation, and some of the broader questions that these raise are explored.

This lecture was given on behalf of the whole FaNUK team: Patrick Hanks (lead researcher and chief editor), Paul Cullen, Simon Draper, Duncan Probert, Kate Hardcastle, Harry Parkin and Deborah Cole, and also a range of specialist onomastic and linguistic consultants, too many to name here individually – but especially Peter McClure. The lecturer takes responsibility for the contents, however, and any personal reflections (of which there are indeed some) leading to controversial ideas should not be assumed to be endorsed by the other members of the team.¹

* * *

What Can a Surname Project Do?

Anthroponomastics is a multi-faceted discipline, and accordingly there are many different types of project about surnames that can be envisaged. Surnames are first and foremost linguistic objects, and they can therefore be investigated linguistically, especially from a historical viewpoint, but also pragmatically: they are used to perform tasks in language use. They are distributed in time and space: their changing form and usage can be studied and the varying forms that result can be mapped dialectologically. They are, evidently, associated with real people, and they can (at least in principle) be investigated demographically according to the great sociological variables such as class, occupation and gender. They play a role in social practices which determine or influence their usage. Accordingly, they have an anthropological dimension which can be investigated. They are essential in most European countries as a tool in genealogical (family-historical) research. Whether they have a role to play in association with genetic studies is a moot point. Clearly there has, for some seven centuries, been some relation between the transmission of surnames and that of Y-chromosomes, but it is hazardous to think that their transmission can act as a proxy for

¹ It should be noted that some names regarded as unexplained when the lecture was delivered have now been elucidated, and that some explanations proffered here may differ in the final published outcome of the project.

genetic transmission without considerable reservations, given the prevalence and disguisability of extramarital births, paternity uncertainties, and the possibility of arbitrary surname change in some jurisdictions (notably England). Surnames also have a psychological or psychosocial dimension; it has been claimed that the alphabetical position or other aspects of one's surname can have life-affecting consequences (e.g. Einav and Yariv 2006, Kirchler 2007: 174).²

The FaNUK project is essentially a philological one, whose main goal is to establish the language of origin and the detailed etymology of surnames in the countries occupying the islands of Britain and Ireland. The *Dictionary* (FaNBI) will also include data on the frequency of surnames in Britain and Ireland in 1881 and in recent decades, and on their principal modern geographical distribution(s). We believe that it will be a repository of facts of great interest for their own sake and of potential interest to historians of the relevant languages and general onomasticians, as well as being, of course, a useful tool for family historians, though we are aware that the clustering of bearers of a surname in some place is not proof of the genealogical (and certainly not the genetic) relatedness of its bearers.

Relation to Earlier Work

The stimulus for the FaNUK project came originally from the perception that the current standard reference work, Reaney (1958; third edition by Wilson, 1991), despite certain strengths in its philological detail, was no longer fit for purpose overall, or at any rate not fit for the purpose which seems to be implied by the title *A Dictionary of British (English) Surnames*. Moreover, it is not what it apparently claims to be, namely a dictionary of British (English) surnames; or rather, that is what it is only in a restricted sense. It is a dictionary which explains the origin of some British (English) surnames, but (i) makes no pretensions to completeness, and (ii) includes many surnames which are no longer current but which were evidenced in the Middle Ages. It might more accurately have been titled *A Dictionary of Some Medieval English Surnames, Some of which Have Survived to the Present Day*. That is not to make fun of it, but to spell it out like this highlights effectively what the market was lacking, namely a comprehensive resource dealing with surnames that are actually still borne and therefore of interest to living bearers. It was therefore decided to instigate a project, originally conceived and motivated by Patrick Hanks, to fill this gap, intending that it should be an online resource (though a print edition will appear at the same time as the online one, as noted above). It goes without saying that knowledge moves on, and that some of the conclusions reached by Reaney some 60 years ago, or by Wilson about 40, are no longer tenable. FaNUK needed, therefore, to re-research those names for which Reaney's explanations no longer passed muster. Reaney's conclusions were based on a hugely impressive range of medieval and early-modern documents, but many more such documents have been published in the last half-century, and many of those are now available

² Einav and Yariv: 'Faculty with earlier surname initials are significantly more likely to receive tenure at top ten economics departments, are significantly more likely to become fellows of the Econometric Society, and, to a lesser extent, are more likely to receive the Clark Medal and the Nobel Prize.' Kirchler: 'Tax evaders in the United States were shown to be significantly more likely to be persons with surnames starting with the letters B and W ...'

in electronic form, making the searching, selection and transcribing or uploading of information into a research database much easier, and of course much faster. Amounts of accessible data which would have been unthinkable to Reaney were available to us, much of it in spreadsheet or database form and already processed by palaeographically sophisticated scholars. These included names in medieval feet of fines, 14th-century poll taxes, and early-modern probate records. Other material available included machine-searchable texts of already-published material such as the medieval royal patent rolls. Crucially, we also had access to truly vast amounts of material in spreadsheet format transcribed from parish registers, that is, material from the modern era, starting in 1538. Much of this material needed to be, and was, assessed critically, and some was discarded. However, much was also assessed as being reliable and was therefore able to provide the foundations of a robust bridge between the medieval material and the modern distributions of names derived from official statistics.

A dimension which was missing from Reaney's work was that of the geographical distribution of the surnames analysed. Little was offered, except implicitly (for example, regarding those derived from place names), about where a surname might have arisen, about where it predominates in more recent times, and about what the relation is, if any, between the earlier and the later distributional facts. FaNUK takes geographical distribution seriously, and attempts to provide a bridge between medieval distributions deducible from where names are recorded in documents which are geographically indexed, such as the 14th-century poll taxes, and distributions in the modern era, exemplified in the evidence of parish records. FaNUK has attempted, wherever possible, to tell a coherent story connecting medieval and modern documentary evidence, in the belief that that story may often serve as a research tool for those pursuing genealogical studies, a geographically oriented guide. The conclusions reached are suggestive and probabilistic in many cases, and they are not a substitute for genealogy. Perhaps, though, they are the best that can be achieved until solid genealogical evidence turns up, if it ever appears at all. A full discussion of the relation of FaNUK to earlier work, and of other matters dealt with in a summary way below, is set out in the lengthy introduction to FaNBI. It should be noted that much of this lecture deals with general issues using English names as evidence, but the issues raised apply in principle to surnames of any origin.

The Scope of the Project

FaNUK, as readers will deduce, is hugely ambitious in many respects. The scale of its ambition can be seen in its initial goal of explaining etymologically (with due regard for geography and history) the just under 46,000 names which had more than 100 bearers in Great Britain in one or both of the two reference years of 1881 or 1997. (For comparison, the third edition of Reaney's dictionary explains about 16,000.) Names with fewer bearers were placed in a reserve database with a view to extending the project into a second phase to explain at least some of them. The initial 46,000 were found, on preliminary analysis (which was refined as the project progressed) to cluster into some 19,000 groups, meaning that some

27,000 were treated as etymological variants of those 19,000-odd names which were chosen as main entries, i.e. as head-forms or lexicographical addresses for their cluster of variants.

A second ambitious decision was taken at the outset: to include recent immigrant names, defined for these purposes as those arriving in the country after the reference-year 1881. This was completely new in a work of this kind dealing with Britain and Ireland, but had been foreshadowed in Patrick Hanks' earlier *Dictionary of American Family Names* (2003; DAFN), in which the question of immigration could not only hardly be avoided, but provided the main *raison d'être* of the work. England is no longer populated only by the 'English', understood to include Norman blood (or rather genes), but has accepted an inflow of Welsh, Scottish and Irish people; Britain is no longer populated only by the traditional 'British', defined broadly, but has accepted since early-modern times an ever-expanding inflow of Dutch and Irish people, Huguenots, Jews, Italians, Indians (whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh), Chinese, Arabs, Cypriots, West Africans and many others, whose names are included in FaNBI not so much to be of interest to members of their own communities (where such exist), but increasingly to people of 'traditional British' stock who deal ever more intimately with people of these most diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, and for whom the ethnic and cultural barriers of earlier times are of diminishing relevance and importance. Our decision meant that we had to assemble expertise in the form of a battery of expert consultants for the languages and cultures represented, whether for relatively familiar western European names, indigenous names from lands settled, colonized or otherwise 'protected' by Britain (South Africa, Hong Kong, India, Cyprus...), or names representing many post-colonial and non-colonial diasporas (India, Nigeria, Ghana, Muslim countries of the Middle East, Vietnam, Poland...). Some such migrations have returned names of British origin to these islands, with the result that some may now be more characteristically West Indian or Irish (for example) than British (**Walcott**, **Brathwaite**, **Pennant**; **Buggle**, **Stapleton**), though our researches have not produced definite figures bearing on this point, and were not designed to.

The scale of immigrant contribution to the surname stock is enormous. It has also served to highlight the fact that the large number of rare traditional names is counterweighted by some extremely frequent immigrant names; indeed **Patel**, **Khan** and **Singh** are now among the 80 most frequent surnames in the UK.

The consultants we engaged have provided a massive amount of valuable information on surnames formed in many languages, but we acknowledge that we still have some way to go with certain languages or cultures, for example non-Yoruba Nigerian, Ghanaian and some categories of Hindu names.

Historical Data Sources

FaNUK has drawn on a very large range of historical data sources. Some of those are conventionally published. We were fortunate enough to get the publisher's permission, in advance of the project, to process electronically the evidence from England used by Reaney (and Wilson), without necessarily accepting their conclusions about the origin of the names in question. For the other countries of the islands, data has been manually drawn from

handbooks by Black (1946; Scotland), McLysaght (1997) and Woulfe (1923; Ireland), Kneen (1937; Isle of Man) and Morgan and Morgan (1985; Wales). Work already done for DAFN was invaluable in backing up these sources, and in preparing the ground for the processing of a large range of immigrant names. In addition to this material, FaNUK had the advantage of access to important large-scale electronic and online resources. Online resources included the medieval patent rolls, made web-accessible in pdf format and searchable by researchers at Illinois University, and the abstracts of feet of fines, a searchable database online at medievalgenealogy.org.uk. The names in the medieval poll taxes were made available to us in searchable spreadsheet form through the courtesy of their editor Carolyn Fenwick, the Canterbury probate records in the PROB-11 series by The National Archives, and the Irish Fiants of the Tudor period through the good offices of Paul Ell of Queen's University, Belfast. By far the largest single source of data is that generously made available to the project by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (the Mormons), in a form referred to in FaNBI as the International Genealogical Index (IGI). This consists of a dataset of transcribed parish records of more than sufficient volume to enable the establishment of statistically verifiable connections between surnames and geographical areas, from parish to county to region level. This vast resource required some quality control before use, since it contained material which could not be used exactly as it stood, for a range of reasons. But when its most obvious defects had been purged, it remained a resource in which we felt a further range of typical scribal or transcriptional errors could be identified with confidence, and which therefore could be used with equal confidence as a data source. Such large resources, published and unpublished, printed and online, provided the backbone of the dataset used by the project. What they had to offer was supplemented *ad hoc* by occasional use of other material, for example general web-searches revealing usable information about individual surnames from a large range of cultures, and a range of specialist records, including for example synagogue records for Jewish names.

The Analysis Proper

As previously stated, the surname evidence was grouped into sets of name-forms which are putatively related. This process was, to say the least, not entirely straightforward. There are many names which evidently have more than one etymology, which may be difficult to tease apart even in medieval sources. FaNUK's entry for **Butter**, which may be assigned to five (or six, depending on how one counts them) different origins, reads as follows:

1 Language/Culture: English

- (i) Locative name, occupational name: for someone who was in charge of provisions, the keeper of a buttery or wine store (Old French **boter*). Compare Stephanus del Butere, 1377 in Poll Tax (Hucknall Torkard, Notts).
- (ii) Occupational name: from Middle English *but(t)er*, a reduced form of Middle English *buterer* 'maker or seller of butter'.

Some early bearers may belong with (2).

Early bearers: Turchetillus Butere, 1130 in Pipe Rolls (Dorset); William Butere, 1198 in Feet of Fines (Northants); William le Buter, 1243 in Assize Rolls (Somerset); John le Buttare, 1275 in Subsidy Rolls (Worcs); William le Buttere, 14th cent. in Ancient Deeds v (Warwicks); William le Buterar', 1327 in Subsidy Rolls (Woolbeding, Sussex); Henry le Butter', Richard le Buttar', 1332 in Subsidy Rolls (Selsey, Sussex); Geoffrey Butter, 1327 in Subsidy Rolls (Worcs); John Buttere, 1327 in Subsidy Rolls (Essex); Elinore Butter, 1541 in IGI (Monk Frystone, WR Yorks); Rafe Butter, 1543 in IGI (Colyton, Devon); Jacobus Butter, 1543 in IGI (Audley, Staffs); Jonne Butter, 1551 in IGI (Fletching, Sussex); John Butter, 1561 in IGI (Baumber, Lincs); Thomas Butter, 1597 in IGI (Canterbury, Kent); John Butter, 1717 in IGI (Bolton, Lancs).

2 Language/Culture: English

Nickname: from Middle English *buter(e)* ‘butter’.

3 Language/Culture: Norman, English

Nickname: possibly a variant of *Bultitude* through a late Middle English reduction of Anglo-Norman French *Botetorte* ‘twisted boot’ to *Butter*.

Early bearers: John Butter, 1560 in IGI (Wissett, Suffolk); Henry Butter, 1589 in IGI (Norwich, Norfolk); Frances Butter, 1706 in IGI (Shouldham, Norfolk).

4 Language/Culture: English

Nickname: occasionally perhaps from Middle English *botor*, Old French *butor* ‘bittern’, noted for its boom in the breeding season and sometimes called ‘bull of the bog’. The 1332 form may alternatively belong with **Boater**.

Early bearers: Henry Butor, 1169 in Pipe Rolls (Yorks); Henry le Butor, 13th century in Curia Regis Rolls (Devon); John Botour, 1332 in Subsidy Rolls (Towsington, Devon).

5 Language/Culture: Scottish

possibly identical with (1, i) above, which may be the first element of the village name *Buttergask*, in the parish of Ardoch (Perths); see **Buttercase**.

Early bearers: Adam Butir, 1331 in Exchequer Rolls of Scotland; William Butyr and Patrick Butirr, 1360 in Exchequer Rolls of Scotland (Gowrie, Perths); James Buttir, 1511 in Dunkeld Rentale; Alexander Buttar, 1692 in IGI (Kirkmichael, Perths); Archbald Butter, 1704 in IGI (Bencochy, Perths); John Buttar, 1715 in IGI (Lundie, Angus); Thomas Buttar, 1723 in IGI (Kettins, Angus).

We have done our best to allocate bearers of the surname to particular original senses, but in many cases this can only be done probabilistically or not at all, hence such remarks as that under (1): ‘Some early bearers may belong with (2).’ For reasons of space, our reasoning

about such allocations may be left implicit, depending for example on inferences from distributions of other variants of a name (as in the case of explanation (3) of **Butter**).

The Problem of Choosing Headforms

A decision had to be taken about which form from a putatively related set should be chosen as headform. This was by no means straightforward, as conflicting criteria can easily be imagined:

- (i) *Choosing the form nearest to the etymological source, or which most clearly reveals the etymological source, where this is reasonably transparent*

Doing this would have been multiply problematic. The most transparent form may be much rarer than its relatives, and may even sometimes be extinct, even if recorded at some quite recent point in the documentary record. **Coltherd**, for example, had 98 bearers, whilst **Coulthard** had 2,247. **Bakehouse** had 54, whilst **Backhouse** had 2,874 and even the fanciful reinterpreted form **Bacchus**, with 624, was nearly 12 times more frequent than the apparently ‘etymological’ form. In any case, which is the appropriate etymological form, and what is the virtue of transparency? **Backhouse**, with a short vowel, represents the Middle English form well in this respect, whilst **Bakehouse** shows the effects of a post-medieval analogical reformation on the basis of the verb *bake* with its long vowel. The otherwise unexplained **Lipton** may be associated with the place name *Lepton* (WR Yorks), in which case compare *Johannes de Lepton*, 1377 in Poll Tax (Wortley, WR Yorks); but *Lepton* itself, whilst clearly existing quite recently (*John Lepton*, 1862 in IGI (Crewe, Cheshire)), now seems to be extinct as a surname.

- (ii) *Choosing the form nearest the current standard English form, where there is one*

Sometimes a decision would need to be made which took into account dialect differentiation. Should **Muir** or **Moor** be taken as the headform for these names which share an etymology? In this case, the difficulty was resolved by treating Scots and English as different languages and giving the names separate entries. The problem remained for e.g. **Fairhall**, a relatively uncommon form by comparison with **Verrall**, and one which seems at least in some cases to have been restored to its etymological (or standard) form by someone with appropriate historical toponomastic knowledge of a place in Sussex. It remained more acutely for e.g. mainly Kentish **Fagg** versus West Country **Vagg**, which are probably derived from a word now obsolete, for which therefore no commonly known standard form exists.

- (iii) *Choosing the form nearest to the orthography of the modern lexical form, where one was available*

This tactic, closely related to (ii) but not identical with it, would have had the effect of downplaying some of the more frequent variants that are most familiar as names, as in the case of **Sergeant**, which had 1393 bearers in 1997 whilst **Sargent** had 5954 and **Sargeant** 4280.

- (iv) *Choosing the form most frequent at the most recent date for which we had evidence*

This tactic would have resulted in a presentational order of variants which, in some cases, would have made for opacity in the narrative of historical developments.

This matter was a Gordian knot, and we had to cut it for practical lexicographical reasons. Generally speaking we have chosen the most frequent modern variant as the headform, but have made *ad hoc* decisions in other cases. The choice of (semi-)transparent **Fairhall** as the headform was justified on the basis that many of its large range of variants (including the twice as frequent **Verrall**) are conspicuously dialectal and appear later. But exceptions were made for e.g. morphological reasons: if a form with final *-s* is more frequent than the corresponding form without *-s*, the simpler form was nevertheless always selected as the headform. Many surnames of the modern period appear to consist of a more basic surname + *-s*. We have taken such forms with *-s*, which generally first appear in the post-medieval period, as variants of the unsuffixed form rather than derivatives (as in the cases of **Butters**, **Johns**, **Smithers** and **Woods**). This takes account of the fact that the same name, of whatever typological category, often appears in suffixed and unsuffixed form in the same area, and may even name the same individual. We still do not know the reason for this early-modern trend in naming, but to treat the suffixed forms as derivatives, i.e. as distinct surnames, would do violence to their nature at the point of their origin. It seems unlikely that they can all be put down to the same origin (some appear to have been pluralized as the apparent etymology demands, such as **Twelvetrees** – on which see further below – for earlier forms without *-s*). We describe all such cases simply as having post-medieval genitival or excrescent *-s*.

The Problem of Obscurer Connections

What is to be done when related forms have drifted apart to the extent that they can only be linked philologically and not in a way which makes sense genealogically for current bearers? It will not be difficult for lay or expert FaNBI users to accept that **Brown** and **Browne** or **Shepherd** and **Shephard** are variants. The following sets are a different kettle of fish:

Dust, Doust
Phalp, Philip
Baffin, Boughen

Pharaoh, Farrar
Whittlestone, Whittingstall
Verrill, Verrall, Fairhall
Twelftree, Queldrick, Wheldrake, Weldrick

All of these pairs or sets can be shown, with varying degrees of confidence, to have a common origin; that is, the differences between or among them can be explained in terms of known linguistic variation and change and/or known orthographic practices. FaNUK/FaNBI is a historical enterprise. Wherever it can be achieved credibly, etymology is used to unify the name-forms of an entry. But in any individual case where a connection might reasonably be suspected but uncertainty persists, the possible variants are treated as separate headforms, as in the cases of **Banting** and **Bunting**, **Eburne** and **Hepburn**, **Thurling** and **Thorning**.

The Problem of Data Availability

The evidential landscape might in itself be viewed as a serious problem for the enterprise because of the inconsistency of data availability. Notoriously, returns for the 14th-century poll taxes are incomplete for certain counties and totally absent for the north of England; there is no comparable single data-source at all for the same period in Wales or Scotland. Data for Cornwall is deeply problematic. It presents many uncertainties even where there are no palaeographical difficulties because of the county's bilingualism in the medieval period. Clerks trained to write in Latin and English have managed to mangle many Cornish names beyond interpretability, which adds to the difficulty caused by the fact that surnames of place name origin – which in Cornwall constitute the vast majority – may be ambiguous because of the duplication of certain place names. At the other end of the spectrum is the data for Yorkshire, where an enormous amount of medieval and other source material has been collected and rigorously analysed by George Redmonds (2015). Nevertheless we are grateful for any material surviving from remote periods. It is of course indispensable for the etymological concerns of the project, even though its patchiness presents problems for any subsequent statistical analysis, especially analysis comparing the onomastic landscape in medieval and more recent times.

The Problem of the Status of the Data

Any project using collected data from a range of sources has to take a decision about the trustworthiness of the evidence. A decision might be taken anywhere on a range from taking everything provided on trust, to the elimination of obviously faulty forms, right through to the rejection of any source that contained a significant number or proportion of forms judged to be erroneous. Faults may enter the chain of transmission at a number of points: a speaker-informant might misspeak him- or herself, a clerk might mishear, accidentally miswrite or rationalize, and any copyist, from medieval legal clerks to modern genealogists, might miscopy, for a range of reasons from struggling with difficult handwriting to inattention to wishful thinking. Publicly-sourced data in general might be thought to offer

difficulties of quality control in view of the fact that many genealogical practitioners – the most frequent source of transcribed data from modern sources – learn palaeography on the job. Take the record of variants we have amassed for **Shepherd**. Many variants are credible in terms of orthographic practices at various times, and will have become fossilized in the chain of transmission, or credible in terms of known dialect variation. These include **Shephard**, **Shepherd**, **Sheppard** and **Shipperd**, ranging from frequent to rare. We can easily discard the occasional **Shephand**; it cannot reasonably be taken as a variant of any other name we have identified, the instances on record are not found in the same geographical area, and if it is taken to be for **Shepherd**, it can illustrate easily understood letter confusions. Other spellings are more problematic. Four instances of **Shepherd** are found in 1881 (all in Lancashire) and six in 1997. This might suggest a single family with an unusual deliberately chosen or retained spelling, or a single clerk in Blackburn with a quirk, but the persistence of the name in 1997 speaks in its favour as a genuine variant. On the other hand, seven **Sheeparads** turn up in Medway Poor Law Union in 1881, and are not found in later sources; suspicion turns either onto a local clerk or a later transcriber, and the form is discounted. The occasional record of **Sheephead** or **Shephead** in 1881 would not be discounted on the grounds of being etymologically implausible as it stands. We have **Sheepshanks** as a parallel, after all; it is not phonologically implausible as a variant of **Shepherd** since preconsonantal [r] is lost in many accents of England; and many other names (whether of nickname or locative origin) end in *-head*. It might on the other hand be discounted because instances of it are scattered (one **Shephead** each in Kendal and Bradford and three in the London area, although the three close together in London give one pause for thought, along with the single **Sheephead** in West Ham). Fortunately, in numerous cases of this sort, the rarity of the forms in question takes them below our threshold for inclusion, and we have not, in the first phase of the project, needed to arbitrate on whether they are likely to be erroneous.

Some Problems of Interpretation

A number of important problems remain to be addressed by name scholarship. The following notes offer some reflections on the problems as they affected FaNUK, and on how, in some cases, FaNUK has been able to arrive at, or at least suggest, solutions, guiding assumptions or ways forward.

(i) *Monogenesis*

A standing issue of great importance in modern anthroponymy is the issue of monogenesis. It is very clear, of course, that many surnames cannot have a single origin, if only because the current number of their bearers would be implausibly large if that were the case (**Johnson**, **Smith**, **Little**, **Young**, **Gray**, **Wood**), even taking into account the possibilities of differential male fertility and the statistical chances of a strong imbalance in the gender of offspring in favour of males. On the other hand, many names appear likely candidates for a unique origin. The benchmark case is that of **Sykes** ‘ditches’ (Sykes and Irven 2000); the work done on this name established that certain surnames that could be expected to emerge in more than one

place where conditions (e.g. and especially those of topography) were suitable were nevertheless probably borne originally by a single bearer who is in principle identifiable if the documentary record is rich enough. This is not an issue which we set out to solve or on which to establish a definitive position, but we took it as a guiding principle that surnames of all types may have a single origin, and this was one of the important reasons to highlight any geographical continuity between the medieval and modern evidence for a name.

(ii) *Priority of toponymic over topographical terms*

There are many surnames deriving from place names, too many in fact to need illustration; there are also surnames which we describe as topographic rather than toponymic, such as **Green**, **Field** and **Town**, which describe or categorize a place without naming it. An intermediate category is offered by names transparently featuring topographic terms but with a qualifier, such as **Longhurst**, **Northfield** or **Highmore**. It now seems likely that such names will rarely be topographic, and that the default position to take is that they are toponymic; that is, they derive from a place having the expression as its name. **Northfield**, for example, is rarely if ever to be taken as a name for someone who lived ‘by the north field’, and may in many cases be from the major and long-established Northfield in Worcestershire; however, its current prevalence in Cambridgeshire suggests that a more local Northfield, e.g. one in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire or Cambridgeshire, can also be responsible. At all events, a place name is likely to be responsible for such names.

(iii) *First early bearers out of place when compared with later data*

In some cases we have a reasonable, sometimes unassailable, philological interpretation of a surname, but surprisingly recalcitrant early bearer data. **Potton**, for example, often derives from the place of that name in Bedfordshire. But the earliest attestations we have include Hugh de Potton, 1227 in the Melrose Chronicle (Glasgow), and William de Poton, 1289 in the Patent Rolls (Rolvenden, Kent), as well as a decent and comforting spread of 14th-century bearers in Bedfordshire and Essex. Readers will inevitably note the tension between the methodological endeavour to associate a toponymic surname with a place by following a geographical trail of bearers backwards through time, and an apparently perverse early distribution. But laying on one side the question of possible alternative origins, examples like this open wider questions of mobility and migration, and their relation to lordship and trade, in medieval society, for which the datasets of FaNUK can only begin to provide some raw material. They also suggest directions for future research into the relation between linguistic variation and personal and societal mobility.

(iv) *Latin humanistic translations*

It is a familiar matter to historians of continental European surnames that they may sometimes be formed in Latin (and sometimes Greek). Among those with a humanist, classical education, it had become fashionable in the 16th and 17th centuries to adopt such forms to translate native ones; **Agricola** and **Mercator**, for example, often translate Dutch or

German surnames with the etymological meaning ‘farmer’ and ‘trader’ respectively. So when such names appear in Britain, can we be sure that humanistic translation was involved here also? The answer is: apparently not. **Faber** never appears to translate **Smith** in the way that it does **Schmidt**, for example; it is found in Britain only from 1624 and is probably always of European immigrant origin. That said, there is occasional evidence that the situation is rather more complex than this implies. **Pictor** – Latin for ‘painter’ (or indeed **Painter**) – was apparently used by clerks even in medieval times to render Middle English *peintour*. There seems to be no other way of understanding John *Pictor* in a Leicestershire document of 1245 in The National Archives, or a man of the same name, a bailiff of Bedford in 1299. But where it survives as a modern surname, the lack of evidence for continuity suggests that the name did not become established as a hereditary family name in the medieval period but may have been adopted in the 17th or 18th century, under the influence of migrants from northern Europe, as exemplified by this Wiltshire strand: Thomas Pictor, 1722 in Urchfont, Betty Picktor, 1780 in Ogbourne Saint Andrew, and John Pickter, 1803, and Emily Pictor, 1828 in Hilperton.

(v) *Notable regionalities*

Some names illustrate distributions which might not be expected on purely linguistic grounds. The case of **Thomas** is a striking example, and it could be paralleled by others deriving from given names. By the end of the 13th century *Thomas* had become one of the most frequently used given names in all classes of society, and it gave rise to many different surnames. The basic surname form **Thomas** or **Tomas** is widespread in England but it occurs most frequently in the southern counties, from Kent to Cornwall, and most notably of all in the counties bordering Wales. In Wales itself *Thomas* (often as an anglicization of Welsh *Tomos*) became exceptionally popular as a given name and therefore surname in the post-medieval period, although the surname was not generally hereditary until well into the 19th century. It was especially common in south Wales, notably Carmarthenshire, and is now one of the most frequent Welsh surnames, far outnumbering its equivalent in England.

(vi) *The emergence of late variants*

It has become axiomatic that surnames were no longer being created by 1700 or so (in most of England, at least; the latecomers to surname-creation, mainly in the far north-west, are well known). But there are some late-emerging variants of known names that are clearly not scribal errors, in the sense they are not one-offs which disappear when a clerk more literate in the emerging standard English orthography next records a family member; rather, they have the effect of standing at the fountainhead of a new name which then persists. A good example is **Hucklesby**, which is by all appearances a variant of **Huckerby**, a name originating in the North Riding of Yorkshire and now typical of Nottinghamshire. **Hucklesby** turns up borne by William Hucklesby in 1782 in Great Gaddesden, Hertfordshire; James Hucklesby, 1808 in Wheathampstead in the same county testifies to the local variability of the name in its new habitat; and its relation to the Yorkshire original is secured by Mary Huckerby, 1812 also in Wheathampstead. **Hucklesby** has gone forth and multiplied to the extent of having 168

bearers in 1997. There may be an unappreciated number of such local innovations. Family historians are invited to step in to help identify them. Sometimes the new name is sufficiently different from the presumed etymon that, if the variant had been medieval, we might well have treated it provisionally as a separate surname, as in the case of **Twelftree** mentioned above. There is much arbitrary-looking creation of new names in modern times, never systematically investigated; the nature of clerical practices in times of an expanding literate population deserves closer investigation. A favourite example of a clerical aberration is offered by William *Tortoiseshell*, 1790 in Derby, whose name is a desperate attempt (mediated by earlier efforts such as *Tortershell*) to render **Tattershall**, which originates in a Lincolnshire place name – or is the clerk indulging in a little sport at the bearer's expense? The new name, possibly viewed as more elegant and refined than its ancestor, continued to have currency during the 19th century at least, though it now appears to be extinct.

There is a deep problem in the analysis of variation. What is its relation to geographical distribution and population movement? **Ledgeway** appears as late as the early 19th century in Knaresborough (West Riding of Yorkshire). We cannot state *a priori* how a surname arose at such a late date; neither local alteration of some other name nor migration can be ruled out as a matter of principle, though the probabilities of one or the other might be attempted depending on time and place. **Ledgeway** invites comparison with Joane *Ledghey*, 1700 in Redruth, Cornwall, on the one hand, and with Willm. *Ledgear*, 1575 in Mirfield, Petrus *Ledyard*, 1639 in Almondbury, both in the West Riding, on the other. From the linguistic point of view, comparison with the Cornwall name is easier; comparison with the Yorkshire names raises greater linguistic difficulties (notably because all variants of **Ledgard** that have been established with confidence have an <r> in the second syllable, or a final consonant <d> or <t>, or both), but offers greater hope for family historians by sharing a county with **Ledgeway**, even though the earlier names appear some 25-30 miles from Knaresborough. Consideration of names such as this leads to consideration of the causes of variation in general.

A Fundamental Problem in Accounting for Variation and Its Causes

The case of **Ledgeway** highlights a major issue concerning what assumptions should be made when deciding whether to treat some surname *X* as a variant of a phonetically similar name *Y*. Where there is an overlap in their geographical distribution, the impulse to connect *X* and *Y* is driven by the assumption that variants arise *in situ*, rather like variant pronunciations in classic Neogrammarian views of phonetic change, supplemented by variationist sociolinguistics. On this assumption, variation begins 'under the radar'. This question is balanced by that of the extent to which one can or should treat *X* as a variant of a phonetically similar *Y* if they are separated in distribution. Here, the impulse to connect *X* and *Y* rests on the presumption that variation arises where a name is unfamiliar in a new locality, a process rather like mangling foreign words in the process of borrowing. In this scenario, variation begins 'on the radar' and involves clerks in a battle with an unfamiliar phenomenon, creating variants, which may or may not be accepted without demur by the intended bearer. Presumably both types of innovation occur, and that is easy enough to say; what is harder to

decide is whether the available evidence is strong enough in a particular case to support one or other of these explanatory tactics.

Variation arising *in situ*, or in any event not very far from the point of origin, is not at all hard to illustrate. **Habergham** (from a Lancashire place name) and its eleven variants are all still concentrated in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and adjacent counties, and we can confidently say that closeness to the point of origin is no barrier to the proliferation of orthographic, and also phonological, variants.

Variation probably arising as a result of migration can also be illustrated with relative ease, but can only be securely appealed to, in the longer run, when backed by evidence of relevant variability in the homeland, or better still by genealogical evidence.

Brokenshire (found from 1711 in Cornwall) appears beyond reasonable doubt to be a variant of the northern (and highly variable) **Birkinshaw** despite the disparity of distribution, supported by the Lancashire variant *Brockenshaw*.

Blackshire (found from 1764 in Essex and south-east England, also the USA) might be analysed as a variant of **Blackshaw**, a clearly northern English name. Given the late appearance and the difficulty of connecting it with any other name, does the difference of distribution in itself allow the inference that it is a variant of **Blackshaw**? Assuming a pronunciation with final schwa, there are no pressing dialectal phonetic objections. The conclusion would therefore be in favour of its variant status. This is reinforced by the appearance of a *Blackshaw* in Essex in 1726, but of course no genealogical connection is proven.

Flamson is a post-medieval name largely confined to Leicestershire in its early days (from 1566) and now. There is an earlier, medieval, name **Flamstead** (now extinct) which must be from the place of that name in Hertfordshire, but one early bearer is found in Leicestershire. It must be presumed that **Flamson** is an irregular development of **Flamstead** that arose *in situ* in Leicestershire.

Each of these examples suggests the emergence of the new form in the new habitat, either fuelled by clerical unfamiliarity with the name on its arrival, or precipitated by not fully understood changes, sometimes phonetic, sometimes analogical, but to some degree local. Post-medieval local variants of **Birkinshaw** in distant Sussex include **Beconsawe**, **Buttenshaw**, **Buttinger** and **Burtinshall**, which amply illustrate the hazards faced by local clerks in dealing with names from elsewhere.

Honeysett represents an intermediate, and perhaps undecidable, case. It appears in 1669 in Sussex with no obvious antecedents locally. However, a plausible etymon is the surname of Willelmus *Honyswet* in the 1381 poll tax in Lincolnshire, now apparently extinct. **Honeysett** may represent a local attempt to rationalize the name to some extent, or it may illustrate the very frequent loss of <w> after a consonant in many English dialects of both north and south, suggesting the (unattested) possibility of its loss in the Lincolnshire homeland before the surname died out.

‘Unexplaineds’

At the time of the delivery of this lecture, 1,324 entries in FaNUK contained the word *unexplained*. Things were not, however, as bad as a simplistic reading might imply! Sometimes it is truly the case that we have no explanation through lack of any relevant knowledge (**Allotey**, **Beschizza**, **Dhillon**, **Hua** (sense 5), **Kinchin**, **Ledgeway** (see above), **Manktelow**, **Piff**). On the other hand, many names labelled ‘unexplained’ have at least one full explanation (**Doust**, **Totten**), even if that explanation does not appear to account appropriately for all the bearers of which we are aware. For some we have a pretty good explanation but admit some (minor) aspect of it is unexplained (**Candlin**, **Hollingsworth**). Moreover, we have proceeded with a certain conservatism; many of these ‘unexplaineds’ come equipped with a full discussion and at least one defensible suggestion, even if a degree of diffidence is expressed (**Dungey**, **Gingell**, **Kibblewhite**, **Nimmo**, **Strugnell**, **Sussams**), and some of these have been cleared up in subsequent work during the second phase of the FaNUK project (**Pressdee** < **Prestidge** < **Prestwich**, **Ticktum** < **Titcombe**, **Tincknell** < **Tintinhull**). A curiosity is the small set of apparently toponymic surnames for which no place name source has been found, including **Bosomworth**, **Fingleton** and **Yallop**. For such items, the strategic direction includes: (1) keep looking, especially for deserted medieval villages – which depends on the availability of good toponymic surveys; (2) continue to assess the possibility of ‘corruption’ in transmission (especially in relation to unstressed second elements, which are notoriously volatile).

Conclusion: Advances Made During the Project

A summary of positive developments made during the project, as regards both methodology and outcomes, might include:

- Advance 1: FaNBI is based on masses of evidence derived from digitized or electronically searchable versions of many resources, resulting in strongly evidence-based conclusions;
- Advance 2: FaNBI is modern and up-to-date: it includes a very large number of surnames, many of relevance to present-day “consumers”, not just medieval ones, and many never explained before;
- Advance 3: FaNBI’s scope is international and inclusive;
- Advance 4: FaNBI has established, improved, or pointed to the probability of, connections between medieval names and modern names (for example **Annakin**, **Balch**, **Brabazon**, **Gaukroger**, **Goodlass**, **I’Anson**, **Nutkins**, **Stringfellow**, **Waddilove**, **Whamond**);
- Advance 5: FaNBI has achieved, or pointed to the possibility of, more precise localization of the origin of certain surnames, serving to assist in elucidating the possibility of their monogenesis;
- Advance 6: FaNBI has drawn (unsystematically for the present) on community expertise, notably that of members of the Guild of One-Name Studies.

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Toponomastics I

Naming the Bahamas Islands: History and Folk Etymology

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Abstract

The names of the individual islands of the Bahamas and place names on them reflect major currents in their history. Names from the Lucayan period are reflected in Spanish writings of the 16th century; British settlement from Bermuda and from Providence Island influence naming in the late 17th century, while British loyalists from the United States after the Revolutionary War in the late 18th century contribute further names. Even in more recent times there has been some naming and renaming. Historical facts and academic writings, however, have often been disregarded by the population and this has given rise to curious local folk etymologies.

* * *

Introduction

The Bahamas is an island nation lying in the Atlantic Ocean to the southeast of the Florida coast. The country consists of eighteen larger inhabited islands and more than seven hundred smaller islands, cays, and islets that are either unpopulated or very sparsely settled. The Bahamas belong to the Caribbean area culturally, but not geologically, as they lie further north in the Atlantic Ocean, just east and southeast of Florida. They are of limestone formation and differ in this from the Caribbean islands which are mainly of volcanic origin. The settlement history of the Bahamas also differs from that of the Caribbean region.

Settlement history is reflected in the naming of the islands and in this paper I restrict myself to the naming of the major populated islands. I will also point out some folk etymologies of island names and mistaken explanations of names of these major islands. I will also hint at some possible solutions to the derivation of several of these island names.

The islands were first settled by the Lucayan people between 600 and 800 AD. The Lucayans were a branch of the Arawaks, who settled throughout the Caribbean area, including the larger islands of Cuba, Hispaniola and Jamaica, where these people were known as Taíno. It is estimated that about 40,000 or more Lucayans inhabited the Bahamian islands around 1500. After the Spanish came to Cuba and Hispaniola around 1500, they deported the Bahamian population and used them as slave labour in their silver mines and as divers in their pearl industry based at the island of Cubaqua, located in the Caribbean Sea just north of the South American coast. By about 1550 the Bahamian islands are said to have been totally depopulated and the Lucayans had perished in Spanish captivity.¹ Records of the

¹ Historians place Lucayan depopulation as early as 1520, but a growing body of radiocarbon evidence suggests that Lucayan sites lasted into at least the first third or mid-1500s (see Berman 2011). Sinelli (2010) has suggested that some Lucayans may have survived into 1600s (Keegan, Hofman and Rodríguez Ramos 2013: 275).

Lucayan names² for various islands can be found in Spanish documents recorded mainly by Spanish clergy. Over the last fifty years linguists have been able to establish the meaning of these island names by resorting to existing languages in the northern regions of South America and Central America that are cognate to the older, no longer spoken Arawak languages.

After the demise of the Lucayans, the Bahamas were not resettled for about 150 years. In the 1640s the first English-speaking settlers arrived. These were Puritans who came via Bermuda and Providence Island, located off the coast of Nicaragua, where they had attempted a settlement twenty years earlier. The new settlements were on the islands of Eleuthera and New Providence. There were gradual further arrivals of English-speaking settlers, so that by 1670 Great Britain claimed possession of the Bahamas and Charles II granted the islands to the Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas; in 1718 the Bahamas became a British Crown Colony.

After the American Revolutionary War ended in 1783, the Bahamas saw a large influx of arrivals from the new United States of America. These were loyalists to Britain. They came at first from the New England States and New Jersey. Soon loyalist plantation owners from the southern states of Georgia and the Carolinas arrived as well, having been granted land in the Bahamas by Britain. They came with their large number of plantation slaves and tried to establish a plantation society in the Bahamas. Thus, some of the as yet very sparsely populated outer islands were settled, for instance Cat, Long, Acklins and Crooked islands, as well as the Exuma Cays. A further influx of English-speaking settlers also arrived from Florida after the area of East Florida reverted back to Spain with the Treaty of Paris in 1783.³ Also, some few settlers came from Haiti as a result of the establishment of an independent Haiti in 1806; additionally, a significant group of Black Seminoles arrived from Florida. Black Seminoles were black run-away slaves who lived and sometimes intermarried with the Seminoles, an Amerindian group. The Haitians and the Black Seminoles left their mark on family and settlement names, but not on names of islands themselves.

Early maps of the 16th and 17th centuries have a number of names attached to islands in the Bahamas.⁴ However, the islands cannot really be identified with present day islands as

² Lucayan refers to the name of the people inhabiting the Bahamas. They spoke Ciboney-Taíno, which was also spoken in Hispaniola (central and southern Haiti), all of central Cuba, Jamaica, and all Lucayan islands, but not the southern ones. In the southern Lucayan islands and the Turks and Caicos, Classic Taíno was spoken (see Granberry 2013).

³ In 1782, a Spanish fleet arrived at Nassau and Nassau surrendered to Spain without resistance. Florida had been Spanish, but became British with the Treaty of Paris (1763), thus there were English settlements there after that date. With the Treaty of Paris (1783), Britain returned Eastern Florida to Spain and the Bahamas were returned to Britain.

⁴ Maps in the 16th century were not consistent as far as capitalization. Also, some spelling of familiar modern names may appear to be spelling mistakes to us, e.g. binimi or Biminy for modern Bimini, Bahamna for modern Bahama. I have listed the names as they appear on the various maps.

Sebastian Cabot 1544: Bahama, binimi, yucayo, Beque, Ciguateo, guateo, trianguso, samana, maraguana, yubaque

Jacopo Gastelde 1546: Bahama, Lucaio, Guanaban, Cabacos, Imagua, Maiaguanao, Cayaces, Anaian

Bolognino Zalterius 1556: Bahama, Lucaio, Guanaba, Maniga, Moiagora

Gerardus Mercator 1569: Luayo, Ciguateo, Xumete, Marunque, Abrecaso

Abraham Ortelius 1570: Lucaya, Gunao, Limanana, Cuaba, Amnano

Cornelius van Wytfliet 1597: Bimiy, Bahamna, Lucaio, I. baqua, Cignateio, Jumet

mapmakers then did not have exact information and simply indicated islands with a few blobs. The same name also shifted location from one map to another. Maps from these eras show islands maintaining Lucayan names, with practically no Spanish names, even though the islands were under Spanish administration in the early 16th century. From 1650 onwards many of the islands gradually changed to an English-derived name. Previously unnamed smaller islands and cays normally started to receive English names

Below I list some of the island names, first with the original Lucayan⁵ names with an English translation. These were recorded in the early 16th century. Then I list the Spanish names for some islands which were given by Christopher Columbus on his first voyage.⁶ One cannot be sure which islands these actually referred to, but the islands indicated here with a Spanish name are the most probable choices made by scholars in the field. It is not clear whether these Spanish names were actually used officially, because Lucayan names continue to appear on maps until they are replaced with English island names.

Lucayan name	Spanish name	English name
Bahama ('large upper middle land')		Grand Bahama
Nema ('middle water')		New Providence
Ciguateo ('distant rocky land')		Eleuthera
Yuma ('middle high land')	Fernandina	Long
Curateo ('outer far distant land')		Exuma Cays
Guateo ('distant land')		Little San Salvador/ Half Moon Cay
Guanima ('middle waters land')		Cat
Habacoa ('large upper outer land')	Espiritu Santo	Andrew[s] /Andros
Lucayoneque ('the people's distant waters')		Abaco
Yabaque ('large western land')		Acklins
Jumento ('upper land of the middle distance')	Isabella	Crooked
Mayaguana ('lesser Midwestern land'); Mariguana		Mayaguana
Samana ('small middle forested land')		Samana Cay
Manigua ('mid waters land')	Santa Maria de la Concepción	Rum Cay
Inagua ('small eastern land'); Baneque ('big water land')		Inagua

Edward Wright 1599: Bahama, Ciguateo, Mayaguano, Abrecaso

Arnoldus Montanus 1671: Bahama, Lucaiomena, Ciguateo, Guanahani ó San Salvador, Triagala, Samana, Yumeta, Maiaguara, Cucos

Henry Popple 1733: Bahama, Lucayos or Abaco, Long Island, Providence, Andrew Islands, Exuma, Cat Island, Watlings Island, Crooked Island, Maguana

⁵ I have cited the Lucayan (Ciboney-Taíno) names from Granberry and Vescelius (2004).

⁶ It is interesting to note that now several islands of the Galapagos Islands bear the same names (Fernandina, Isabela, and Santa Maria). The Galapagos Islands had English names and were renamed in 1892 by Ecuador in honour of the 400th anniversary of the landing of Columbus in the Caribbean.

Utiaquia ('western Hutia land')	Islas de Arena	Ragged Islands
Bimini ('the twins')		Bimini Islands
Canimisi ('northern waters swamp')		Williams
Amaguaya ('toward the middle lands')		Plana Cays
Guanahani ('small upper waters land')		Watlings/ San Salvador

Table 1. Some island names in three languages: Lucayan, Spanish, English

Comments on the Naming of Some of the Islands

New Providence and *Eleuthera* were settled by English-speaking Puritans in the middle of the 17th century and named by them. *Eleuthera* is Greek and means 'land of freedom'. The population of both islands was heavily augmented by loyalists from the United States after 1783. *Harbour Island* just off *Eleuthera* still has a hint of a New England seaside village about it.

The Lucayan name for *Long Island* varied and the following can be found: *Saomete*, *Xumete*, *Youmeta*, *Youma*, *Yuma*, *Xuma*, *Easuma* and finally *Exuma*. In the 16th century an [x] was pronounced as [š=sh] in Spanish, the language of the documents in which all these names were recorded. The name was transferred to name the nearby *Exumas*. *Great Exuma*, *Little Exuma* and the *Exuma Cays* still bear the name.

Little San Salvador was probably named when the larger neighbouring island, *Cat Island*, still had the alternate name of *San Salvador* (late 19th and early 20th centuries) and had not been as yet legislated in 1926 to use exclusively the name of *Cat Island*.⁷ *Little San Salvador* is now *Half Moon Cay*. The Holland America Cruise Ship Line purchased the island in 1996 and renamed it. All of their ships touring the Caribbean dock there for a short stay. Similarly, in 1997, the Walt Disney Cruise Line purchased a 99-year lease from the Bahamian government for *Gorda Cay*, which lies near the southern tip of *Abaco Island*; it was renamed *Castaway Cay*. In 1990, Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd. acquired *Little Stirrup Cay*, in the Berry Islands, and promptly renamed it *Coco Cay*. Royal Caribbean and Celebrity cruise ships now dock there.⁸ Other influences of the tourist industry in renaming islands can be seen in the renaming of *Hog Island* to *Paradise Island*. It lies just north of *New Providence* and is reached by two short bridges.

⁷ A typical description of the naming of Cat Island is the one on the Bahamas Government web site: 'Originally called "San Salvador" and thought to be the gateway to the New World, Cat Island was given its present name in 1926—reportedly for the pirate Arthur Catt (a friend of Blackbeard) who used to make frequent stops here'. If one examines maps and atlases from the 18th and 19th centuries, one notes that the name *Cat Island* was used throughout these centuries. Exceptions are *the Royal Atlas of Modern Geography* (1864) which follows the name Cat Island with small script 'supposed S. Salvador', and *The Home Atlas* (1888) which has 'Cat Island or Guanahani'. In contrast, practically all atlases from the middle of the 19th century onwards give 'Watlings Island or San Salvador'. By 1918, some, like the *Doubleday Geographical Manual and New Atlas*, list only 'San Salvador' without an alternate 'Watlings Island'. Thus, the Bahamian Government legislation of 1926 can be seen as a clarification and an affirmation of what had already become the common usage.

⁸ Princess Cays are actually not separate islands but it is rather a tourist resort located on the southern end of Eleuthera Island. Since 1992, Princess Cruises dock here. Isla Catalina in the Dominican Republic is owned by Costa Cruise Lines and Great Stirrup Cay in the Berry Islands is owned by Norwegian Cruise Lines. Neither island was renamed by the respective cruise lines.

Abaco Island probably received its name by name transfer from Habacoa, earlier used for the present Andros Island.

Samana Cay, Samana meaning ‘small middle forested land’, is now uninhabited, but archaeological evidence shows that in the 16th century it was home to a large Lucayan population. Five hundred years ago, there was also a fresh water lake and forest cover on the island. English-speaking settlers lived on the island till the early 20th century. Fresh water has now all dried up, but the island still has abundant vegetation. Samana was previously also known as Atwood Cay.

The Spanish name for *Rum Cay*, Santa Maria de la Concepción, derived from Columbus’s ship *Santa Maria de la Immaculada Concepción*, gave rise by name transfer to the naming of *Conception Island* which lies not too far away from Rum Cay. The small Conception Island is now uninhabited.

Nowadays, the two islands of the *Plana Cays* are uninhabited as well, but their location may have served as an important landing stage for the Lucayans on their way to Samana Cay. Hence, the meaning of the Lucayan name *Amaguaya*, ‘toward the middle lands’.

The Lucayan name for *Ragged island*, *Utiaquia*, refers to the hutia, a local rabbit sized rodent. The Bahama hutia is the only land mammal native to the Bahamas. There is only one native colony of them still extant. It is located on East Plana Cay.

Guanahani was the name recorded by Columbus as the name of the island of his first landfall. It is still debated which island it actually was. Columbus gave the Spanish name San Salvador to the island. *Watlings Island*, named after a land holder in the 17th century who also was an occasional pirate, was renamed to *San Salvador* by a Bahamian government act in 1926, claiming that this was the official first landfall of Columbus (see this paper, fn 7). In the 19th century, Cat Island was presumed to be the first landfall and more recent scholarship has also advocated for the Plana Cays (see Pickering 1994) and Samana Cay (see Judge 1986 and Valdés 1994).

Large portions of the western coast of *Andros Island* are a mangrove swamp and although I have not seen the small uninhabited *Williams Island* off the western coast of Andros Island, I have no doubt that the Lucayan name *Canimisi*, ‘northern waters swamp’, is quite appropriate, or at least it was appropriate five hundred years ago..

Bimini Islands means ‘The Twins’ in the Lucayan original name for the islands. There are indeed two larger islands in the Bimini Islands group—North and South Bimini.

Jumento, meaning ‘upper land of the middle distance’, is the Lucayan name for *Crooked Island*. The name is still found in the Jumentos Cays located in the Ragged Island Range.

Some Problems and Questions Regarding the Island Names

Bahamas. Tourist guides and tourist literature will usually tell people that *Bahamas* is derived from the Spanish *Baja/Baha Mar* ('shallow sea').⁹ This is a folk etymology that has somehow arisen over the years. There is even a large tourist development in Nassau, funded and built by Chinese developers, that is called *Baha Mar*. *Baja Mar* is reasonable only if it is an unusual or notable feature, or a warning; in any case, everyone knows that sea farers after a long voyage would notice the island and not the sea. The name *Bahama* for the present Grand Bahama Island meant 'large upper middle island' in the language of the Lucayans. However, it seems hard to convince people in the tourist industry that the name is not of Spanish origin and to correct their view basing on scholarly literature.

Andros. It seems to be generally accepted that Andros Island is named after Sir Edmund Andros, a 17th-century military leader in Barbados, later governor of Virginia and prior to that governor of other American colonies. The problem with this is that Sir Edmund had no connection with the Bahamas. Also, maps from the 18th century called the island *Andrews Island or Islands*, or *San Andreas Islands*. A much more logical explanation is that it was named in the late 17th century after San Andres Island, earlier Andrews Island, which lies to the southwest of Providencia Island (Old Providence Island). This has been rejected because there is no evidence that people from San Andres Island settled on the new island, but it does not take settlement for an island to be named or for there to be a transfer naming; certainly the people settling on New Providence coming from (Old) Providence Island would have known of Andrews Island and also the large island lying to the southwest of New Providence. It is unclear when the name changed to Andros in the 19th century or who changed it. It probably was just a variant pronunciation that found its way into script.

Cat Island. For the naming history of Cat Island vs San Salvador see this paper, note 7. The origin of the name *Cat Island* is less clear. It certainly was not from numerous cats which were reputed to have lived on the island. The most widely circulated derivation is from Arthur Catt, apparently a pirate in the 18th century. He is reputed to have been a contemporary of Edward Teach, Blackbeard. However, in the early 1700s, pirates had completely taken over the Bahamas. In 1718 however, Woodes Rogers,¹⁰ the British governor of Nassau, New Providence, pardoned or expelled most of these pirates, others he hanged or had flogged. After this event, it is hard to imagine why an island would be named after a pirate—particularly, a pirate who had no connection with this island and who is not readily found in contemporary records, despite Bahamian tourist literature claiming that Catt toured these waters. Could this naming interpretation be merely an invention of the 19th-century Romantic imagination?¹¹ I would like to suggest that the Lucayan name *Guateo*

⁹ The Bahamas government web site (www.bahamas.com/history) even has Columbus as the originator of *Baja Mar*. There is of course no documentary evidence for this. 'Inspired by the surrounding shallow sea, he [Columbus] described them as islands of the "baja mar" (shallow sea), which has become The Islands of the Bahamas'.

¹⁰ Woodes Rogers was the captain of the ship that rescued the marooned Alexander Selkirk from Juan Fernandez Island, off the western coast of South America. Alexander Selkirk served as the model for Robinson Crusoe, the hero of a novel by Daniel Defoe; this author also happens to have been a friend of Woodes Rogers.

¹¹ Websites seem to pick the most widely known pirates of the 17th and 18th centuries and name Arthur Catt as a contemporary. Caribtourism.net/bahamas states 'Cat Island. Named after Arthur Catt a British pirate who was in league with Henry Morgan and Edward Teach (Blackbeard)'. Morgan's dates were 1635-1688, and Teach's

for the present Half Moon Cay (Little San Salvador), an island very close to Cat Island, was transferred to Cat Island during the Spanish rule. It is not a wide stretch to see *Guateo* becoming *gato* and then to be translated into English *cat*.

Conclusions

There are a few other stories related to place names and pirates. Part of Elizabeth Harbour (named after Elizabeth II) on Great Exuma Island is called *Kidd's Cove*, after the first harbour master on the island, who was named Kidd and was alive in the late 18th century. The popular imagination has the famous pirate William Kidd become the harbour master and the person after whom the harbour cove name is derived.¹² However, the pirate William Kidd was hanged in 1701, well before Great Exuma Island was settled after 1783.

Morgan's Bluff on Andros Island is said to be named after Henry Morgan, a pirate and British privateer (1635-1688), whose exploits included the sacking of Panama City (1671) and the capture of Providence Island (1661). He was active in the Western Caribbean and resided mostly in Jamaica. There is no evidence of his presence in the Bahamas and Andros was very sparsely inhabited during his lifetime.

Here is one last example of how a place name in the Bahamas can evolve through local interpretation and spelling errors. A sign in Great Exuma near the village of Baraterre¹³ says Annis Track. On various maps this is actually Anne's Track, or Anne's Tract. Names after a woman's first name are rare in the Bahamas. This area is a coastal stretch and if one takes Baraterre as an indicator of some French speaking settlers, probably from Haiti or perhaps Louisiana in the 19th century, one can easily deduce that Anne's is actually *Anse*, the French word for a cove.

Names in the Bahamas tell of a varied and colourful history which sometimes is embellished by local imagination. The names and settlement history tell of Bahamian existence from Lucayan times starting from around 600 AD through modern times when huge cruise ships disgorge their passengers onto its shores and Cruise Ship lines invent new names for islands—names that are supposed to be more appealing to the tourist crowd, but have no relation to Bahamian tradition and history.

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1680-1718. Morgan was most active in the 1660s and early 1670s and Teach in the 1710s. Time wise, it is a stretch to see Catt in league with both of them.

¹² A tourism map issued by the Bahamas Ministry of Tourism, *Great Exuma, Little Exuma, Exuma Cays. Maps & Island Guide*, states 'Kidd's Cove got its name from the infamous captain Kidd who was once the Harbor Master and frequented the island during the time when piracy was popular in The Bahamas'.

¹³ Baraterre occurs with various spellings on maps and road signs: Barraterre, Barreterre and Barataria Settlement. Barataria was the stronghold off the coast of New Orleans, Louisiana by Jean Lafitte (1780-1823), the French-American pirate/buccaneer. Today, there is still a Barataria Bay and a Barataria Preserve off the southern coast of Louisiana. There is also a Barataria in Trinidad. Some readers may also recall the fictional kingdom of Barataria mentioned in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Gondoliers*. The name Barataria stems from a mythical island granted as a joke to Sancho Panza in Cervantes's *Don Quixote*.

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Norwegian Farm and Family Names and Their Danish Linguistic Environment

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Abstract

For over 400 years Norway was in union with Denmark, from the late 1300s until 1814 when Norway entered a union with Sweden, which lasted until 1905. Right up to 1905 the Danish written language dominated in Norway, even though the written language had been changing from the mid-1800s, which eventually broke the Danish written language hegemony. The Danish language in Norway took up more and more norvagisms, which led to the written norm *bokmål*. Parallel was a new Norwegian written standard established that built on the Norwegian dialects which led to the written norm *nynorsk*. But it was the Danish written language that dominated in Norway from the late 1300s until around 1905.

The dominance of the Danish written language has had long-term consequences for the written forms of farm names in Norway. From the 1400s and 1500s Danish farm name forms took over for the older Norse forms, and new Norwegian farm names were also written Danish forms. From then, the Danish written forms has had a significant influence on the spelling of Norwegian farm names, although the Norwegian Name Act states that a farm name should be normalized according to traditional pronunciation and to the current modern written norm. Because Norwegians from the 1800s often have a farm name as a family name (surname), we have had an intense discussion of standardization of farm names versus standardization of family names. Family names can be normalized relatively easily, but the same name as a farm name should in principle be normed according to traditional pronunciation and current Norwegian written standard. The family name variant is therefore often written according to older Danish written language forms, while the farm name variant of the same name often is given a more modern and standardized form.

The Norwegian Name Act is now being revised, and in the revision proposal it is argued that the norms of the farm name should be liberalized so the local farmers can adopt older Danish written language forms.

In my paper I will highlight the Danish linguistic environment for Norwegian farm and family names, discuss their written forms, and point out consequences of a possible liberalization of the spelling of Norwegian farm names.

The Changes in Place Names on the Northern Coast of Estonia

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Abstract

This paper is focused on how and to what extent the rural place names on one peninsula – the Vergi Peninsula on the northern coast of Estonia – have changed between the 20th century and the present day. Although the place names have been preserved and lost equally (41%), differences occur in the types of names. If settlement and nature names (especially the names of waters) have survived very well, then practically no names related to cultivation have survived. The reason is the changes that have occurred in lifestyles. The need for agriculture has disappeared and the names related to domiciles and relaxing by the seaside have survived.

* * *

Introduction

The object of paper is the toponymy of the Vergi Peninsula in the Haljala rural municipality on the northern coast of Estonia. More precisely, the article focuses on the socio-onomastic aspect of changes in place names. The socio-onomastic approach takes the social and situational field where the names are used into consideration and studies name use and variations (Ainiala *et al.* 2012: 56). The need for place names depends on people's need to communicate and to differentiate places from each other. Only those names with references that are still important to people remain in use; when a place is destroyed or differentiating it is no longer important, the name disappears.

My study provides a survey of how place names have survived and disappeared, mostly during the last 50 years, in one coastal rural area. Work on the changes in place names can only be conducted if collections of place names from various time periods exist. The historical material from the 20th century comes from the collection of place names in the Institute of the Estonian Language and I collected the current material myself in the course of fieldwork.

Characterisation of the Place

The Vergi Peninsula is on the coast of Northern Estonia and is located about 90 km from Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. The coastline is quite subdivided, and there are many shallows; the beaches are mostly rocky and the land is flat. The settlement is concentrated on the coast, where small coastal villages with farms are situated in close proximity. The interior of the peninsula is covered by forests and there is little arable land. The size of this area is about 20 km².

The settlement has been permanent, with the villages mentioned for the first time starting in the late 14th century to the early 16th century (cf. Tarvel 1983: 73-77). Historically, the activities in the area have included fishing, seafaring, boatbuilding, and

maritime trade, which ceased with the Soviet occupation after World War II. The coast, as the western border of the Soviet Union, became a closed border zone, where movement was restricted and the beaches were patrolled by border guards. The local residents were prohibited from owning boats, freely going to sea or catching fish. One needed a permit to go out to sea and this was monitored by a guard in the harbour. Today, the peninsula is more of a summer resort area, where the permanent residents are mostly older people and the population is dramatically increased by seasonal holidaymakers. If in 1959 the official statistics show that 324 people lived in these seven coastal villages, then by 2014, the number of registered residents had been halved to 162 (Katus *et al.* 1996; Vihula Rural Municipality website). The stability of the permanent residents was affected by deportations to Siberia and escapes to the West, as well as by the general urbanisation and the gradual marginalisation of the rural areas. However, uninterrupted name usage is a very important precondition for the preservation of place names.

Material

Places are named so that they can be identified and distinguished from other places (Ainiala 2010: 297). Only those places are named that need to be differentiated, and only the names with enduring references and a continued need for differentiation by the residents survive. The material includes all types of the place names in the Vergi Peninsulas' villages, i.e. the names of the dwellings, cultivated areas (fields, meadows, pastures), artefacts and natural features (water and terrain features).

In the area under examination, there are a total of 548 named objects from four different time periods, which, in turn, have 346 parallel names. A total of 910 names have been recorded on the Vergi Peninsula. The 20th-century material comes from the collection of the Institute of the Estonian Language. The material from the 1930s is limited and comprises mostly farm names, and the collection is laconic (121 names). The material from 1967 is very thorough (463 names), but few names of artefacts have been recorded. The collections from 1985 and 1994 (446 names) were compiled by the same collector and are characterised by a large percentage of parallel farm names and the lack of agricultural names. I collected the current material (427 names) myself in the course of fieldwork, while also checking whether the informants knew about any earlier material. The current collection is most comparable to the 1967 collection, where the percentage of settlement names and nature names is equally high. A comparison of the quantitative percentage of the toponymy collected in 1967 and 2013 indicates that agricultural names were more significant in 1967. This is connected to the lifestyles at the time, when animals were kept. There are more artefact names now, which probably results from the differences in the reasons for collecting. All the collections have more names of nature features than agricultural features, which is both naturally and culturally characteristic of this area.

The following chart provides a survey of which features on the Vergi Peninsula have been named during various time periods. It includes all the names in the various collections, also the features that have been destroyed or the names fallen out of use, although they are still remembered.

Fig. 1. The relative importance of the given objects during different time periods

The collection of place names in the Institute of the Estonian Language includes an overview of the place names that were used by the older generation in everyday situations and also the names that were only in user's memories. Unfortunately, the knowledge of names by the various generations and people living different lifestyles is not reflected in the collections. No collection of place names can be a uniform whole that includes a collection of all the names in use in a specific area. A role is also played by the collector's focus, what he/she considers to be important to record and what he/she even considers to be a name. For example, artefacts are represented very unevenly in the various collections. Often artefacts are designated by terminological names – *Kivisild* ('Stone Bridge'), *Muul* ('Jetty'), *Pritsukuur* ('Firefighting equipment shed') – which, it may seem, do not need to be recorded because of their transparent meanings. Toponymy, like other language, changes in time and the need to speak of places does not remain unchanged from decade to decade (Ainiala 2010: 297). For instance, this is demonstrated by the disappearance of agricultural features, and the fact that, in reality, the recorded names of these places exist only in people's memory, and are not used everyday, because these places no longer exist. Collections of names reflect which places have been important enough for people to name, not what places actually exist in the landscape. For example, more farm names could be included in the contemporary material since many dwellings and summer houses have been built, however, names that are generally used and known have not become attached to them.

The Preservation, Disappearance and Emergence of Place Names

Place names have been primarily divided into two main groups: culture names and nature names. Culture names refer to settlements, agricultural features and artefacts – names that refer to cultural places that entirely or partly result from man's work or activities. Nature names refer to natural features – places that are associated with bodies of water and the landscape (see also Ainiala 2002: 181, Kallasmaa 2005: 136, Alas 2009: 78-79).

Settlement Names (Oikonyms)

The settlement names (names of the villages, part of villages and farms) constitute the most significant part of the material. The village names have remained the same since the settlements developed, although the names of the *Jorika* and *Neebuka* villages, which lost their status as villages in 1940, are currently still used to designate parts of villages, but the knowledge of these names is declining. The names of homes and places that are important to people are comparatively enduring, and 72% of the main farm names have survived in various collections until the present day. The importance of the farms is also demonstrated by the fact that a large number of disappeared farms' names can be found in all the collections of place names, which the people still remember and wish to hand down. For example, *Paadi*, the name of a large farm appears in all the collections although the farm was abandoned after World War II and divided in four. Other names of destroyed farms are recorded in secondary names – the seaside is called *Nuudialune* ('Below Nuudi') after the destroyed Nuudi farm. The military campus built instead of the *Koltsi* farm is called the *Koltsi raketibaas* ('Koltsi Missile Base') and the hill that is located on the road that replaced the *Kase* farm is called *Kasemägi* ('Kase Hill').

The farm names are characterised by a large number of parallel names; and many names of owners are used in addition to the official names. This was also acknowledged by the informants themselves who said that currently more owners' names were being used than farm names. For instance, if previously a farm was given the official name of *Kuusiku*, now it was called *Palmari* after the owner's family name. In the 1967 materials, owners' family names dominated as parallel names; however in 2013, first names also occur in addition to family names. For example, the farm's official name *Koitmetsa* exists in both the 1967 and 2013 materials; in 1967 the owner's family name *Kaukiüla* was also used; however in 2013, the first name was used, i.e. *Krista maja* ('Krista's house'). The parallel names of the farms are less permanent and are affected by changes of ownership.

Quite a large number of small new dwellings have been built in the area, which are given names in the official register. However, these official names are not generally known and other unofficial names that are known to everyone also do not develop. The main reason is the limited dealings that the residents have with each other and, with this lack of communication, all the (seasonal) households do not need names that most of the villagers would know.

Agricultural Names (Agronyms)

Agriculture has always been a marginal activity on the Vergi Peninsula. There is little arable land and livelihoods have basically been connected to the sea. Since the fields and meadows were usually named after the farms they belonged to, there are very few agricultural names in the archives. They are totally lacking in the 1985/1994 collection. The meadows were often wooded meadows, which are now overgrown. Every farm tilled its fields and meadows itself and a general place name, or one that pertained to more people was not necessary. The meadows were also located away from the villages, and are outside the current movement trajectories.

In the name collections there are a total of 68 agricultural names, of which 16 are still remembered today, but can be considered lost, because the objects no longer exist as such in the landscape. Although people can still recall the destroyed places, the names are no longer used actively, since the places themselves no longer exist and in daily communication, one can not talk about these places (Ainiala 2000: 365).

The names of two meadows have changed and the type of one place has also changed. The meadow that belonged to the Oja farm has become a forest, which is named after the large boulder located there: *Oja heinamaa* ('Oja meadow') > *Ojakivi mets* ('Oja rock forest'). The former *Kappala heinamaa* ('Kappala meadow') > *Kotka lagendik* ('Eagle clearing'), since an eagle nesting area is located there and activities are restricted.

Artefact Names

The category artefact or artificial object names is a group comprising culture names not connected to dwellings or agriculture. Artefacts are not a homogeneous group and their names have been recorded very unevenly, depending on the collector. A total of 64 artefacts have been named; in the 1967 collection only 16 names and in the 1985/1994 collection 27 names. Today, there are 50 artefact names, of which 27 only occur in this latest collection, although there is only one new object – the *Vergi maja* guesthouse was built in 2012.

Of the artefact names, the largest groups comprise of the names of the division lines in the forests and the roads. Of the 11 division lines, almost all have survived until the present day, because the division lines in the forest are important as objects and permanent in nature. Of the 11 road names, only six exist in earlier materials, of which one has not survived until the present because the road was destroyed. The name of one road has changed from *Leedepera tee* ('Leedepera Road') in the 1930s to *Sadamatee* ('Harbour Road'). Although the road also led to the harbour at that time, the road was named after the Leedepera Bay, on the edge of which the road was located. The disappearance of the Leedepera Road is probably caused by the fact that the *Leedepera laht* ('Leedepera Bay') is now usually called the *Vergi laht* ('Vergi Bay') after the village of Vergi. The Leedepera Bay name is known less and less and therefore the secondary road name – Leedepera Road – has also disappeared.

The northern coast is characterised by the so-called 'military pollution', which was left behind by the Soviet military, and life in the border zone is reflected in names like *Raketibaas* ('Missile Base'), *Prožektoriplats* ('Searchlight Grounds') and *Prožektorialus* ('Searchlight Base'). These names occur for the first time in the 2013 collection, but one can assume that they were already in use before.

It is difficult to generalise about the artefacts, because the group is so diverse. Basing on the available material, it turns out that relatively few of these names have disappeared. Of the 16 artefact names in the 1967 collection, five have now disappeared; of the 27 names in the 1985/1994 materials, six names have now disappeared. The reason is that the objects have been destroyed. In summary, one can say that 22% of the artefact names have now disappeared.

Nature Names

On the Vergi Peninsula, the other most significant object type under examination, along with settlement names, is the category of nature names. Nature names can be divided into names of waters and terrain names.

Hydronyms

Due to both natural conditions and historical lifestyles determined thereby, the names of waters predominate in nature names. Of the 280 nature names in the materials, 208 are hydronyms. These names include ones that define the objects connected with water (bays, rivers, lakes, seas, underwater reefs, shallows, depths, fishing spots, etc.) and those located on the boundary between the water and the land (islets, peninsulas, seacoasts, beaches, etc.).

Although with the arrival of the Soviet era, access to the sea was prohibited in most places, and today there is a considerable problem with the shore becoming overgrown with bulrushes, almost all the bay names have survived. The bays are visible from land, and can be used as landmarks even when access to the sea is restricted. The survival of the seaside names and names of the capes depends more on human activity. From 1967 to 2013, 57% of the names defining the border between the water and the land survived. The survival of the seaside and cape names is more dependent on human activity. Of the names of objects designating the boundary between the water and the land, 57% of the names recorded in 1967 still existed in 2013. An impact was made by the restrictions on the use of the seaside resulting from the border zone, the abandonment of the use of the shoreline as pastures, as well as the growth of bulrushes that have resulted from the latter. People do not need to use the seaside the way they did before and therefore, it is the names of the public beaches and larger capes that are generally known (e.g. the *Neeme lõugas* ‘Cape Backwater’ and *Lobi neem* ‘Lobi Cape’ which are used for swimming).

The names of rocks are included with the names of waters, since of the 51 rock names only 9 designate rocks that are not in or by the sea. Although this rock-rich coastal area would provide enormous opportunities for naming, only the rocks that are somehow useful to people have been named. For example the *Piprakott* (‘Pepper Bag’), *Äia kivi* and *Ämma kivi* (‘Father-in-Law Rock’ and ‘Mother-in-Law Rock’) have been important when sailing in shallow waters. Rocks are by nature very permanent and wholly 75% of the rock names have survived. Much of the location-related folklore is also connected to rocks, which helps the names to survive. New names for seaside rocks have also developed due to the increased importance of the vacation area, e.g. *Diivan* (‘Sofa’), *Vahvlikivi* (‘Wafer Rock’) or *Kurruline kivi* (‘Pleated Rock’). Today most of the rock names with references that are now inaccessible due to the growth of seaside bulrushes have disappeared or are being forgotten, as are the ones that are further from the shore and have lost their importance due to the disappearance of fishing.

Hydronyms are very enduring, because the named objects in nature are permanent and less dependent on humans. In this area, 72% of the names in various collections have survived to the present day; there are few new names and these designate objects related to swimming areas.

Terrain Names

Of the 72 terrain names on the Vergi Peninsula, the majority comprised forest and hill names. Most of the peninsula is covered by forests and a total of 36 forest names exist in the name collections. Of these, 18 have survived. Half the forest names have disappeared, and all the secondary names have survived (e.g. *Pedassaare mets* ('Pedassaare forest') in the village of Pedassaare and *Neeme mets* ('Cape forest') on the Natturi neem ('Natturi cape')). The names of the smaller sections of forest and those located far from the villages have disappeared. The reason is the change in lifestyle, because most people no longer do their own logging and the utilisation of wooded meadows has also totally disappeared. Additionally, the majority of the forests growing on the peninsula are maintained by the state.

Although the ground is flat on the Vergi Peninsula, a total of 22 hill names exist. Of these, 14 hill names have survived to the present day; half of them designate small rises on roads and are used by many people and therefore more likely to survive. Like the forest names, many of the hill names are based on the names of larger objects, for example, the *Pihlaspea mägi* ('Pihlaspea hill') in the village of Pihlaspea, and the *Süsinõmme mägi* ('Süsinõmme hill') in the Süsinõmme forest. In total, 53% of the terrain names have survived. Of the nature names generally, 67% have survived.

Summary

Figure 2 provides a survey of the types of analysed names, a comparison of the data from 1967 and 2013, since these two collections are most comparable and the time gap between them is the greatest. Those names that are still remembered but no longer used have been left out, since the references have been destroyed or fallen into disuse. As we can see from the chart, the greatest number of names designates people's dwellings or is related to bodies of water and these two groups of names have survived the best. Conversely, the agriculture names on the Vergi Peninsula are the least stable and we can say that all the names have disappeared. Relatively few new names have been added, a total of 8%. Although many new dwellings have been built, the need for new names has not developed.

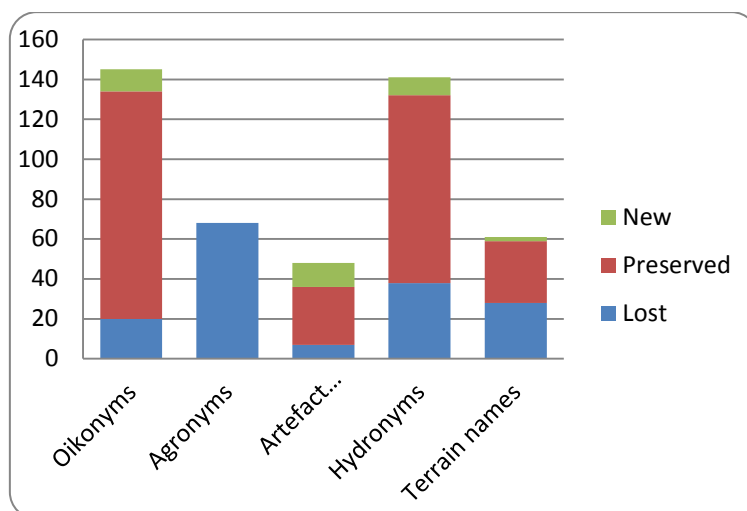


Fig. 2. The disappearance, survival and emergence of new names between 1967 and 2013

Place names have disappeared and survived equally – 41%. The difference is in the types of names. Based on the character of the places, agriculture names are much more likely to disappear than the names of nature objects. Only 30% of culture names and artefact names have survived and 59% of nature names. Of the names of natural features, terrain names have disappeared more frequently than hydronyms – of the latter only 27% have disappeared, while 46% of terrain names have been lost. Generally, culture names have disappeared because the objects have been destroyed. However, natural features are less dependent on human activity and these names disappear when the need to identify them decreases.

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Langobard and Anglo-Saxon Place Names: A Comparison

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Abstract

It is already well known that the Langobards left almost sixty types of place names which are widespread in many regions of the Italian peninsula, e.g. *Aldio*, *Aramo*, *Braida*, *Cafaggio/Gaggio*, *Fara*, *Gagno*, *Péscia*, *Stodigarda*, *Sala*, etc. These names are obviously of Germanic origin. All these place names belong to a very old layer of the Germanic common language and give an important contribution to our knowledge of Langobard culture. The Langobards arrived in Italy in the 6th century and left no written document in their language; we have an idea of the Langobard language only through many Italian place names, a number of family names and many words of Langobard origin, which are well preserved in Italian dialects and in standard Italian. Comparison with other documented Old Germanic languages, such as Anglo-Saxon dialects and particularly with place names of Anglo-Saxon origin, helps to improve the information about the significance and motivation of Langobard place names, which have been well documented in Italy since the 8th century.

* * *

I would like to begin by defining my terms of reference: I shall use throughout the English noun *Langobards* and its corresponding adjective *Langobard*, since *Lombards* and *lombard* are normally used to translate the ethnics *Lombardi* and *lombardo*, terms which nowadays refer to the modern inhabitants of *Lombardia* (Pellegrini *et al.* 1990: 359), the wealthy northern region of Italy which has as its capital the city of Milan. The term *Langobards*, instead, indicates the agglomerate of tribes that descended upon Italy in the 6th century, occupying in time the whole peninsula, which indeed became known as *Langobardia*.

Modern day *Lombards* can no longer be identified with the medieval Germanic population from which they take their name, because they occupy only a small part of what was originally *Langobardia*. What is more, a thousand years have passed, during which existing Langobard elements have been assimilated and metabolized by pre-existing populations and their cultures, leading to considerable changes.

It will be more useful, therefore, to use a terminology that separates the *Langobards* of the Middle Ages from today's *Lombards*, even though, for reasons which this is neither the time or place to go into, they still preserve the ethnic.

Let me just add for good measure that in the late Middle Ages the English *Lombard* signified 'banker', as in the name of *Lombard Street* in the City of London (Room 1992: 103).

The Langobards arrived in Italy in the year 568, together with splinter groups from other ethnic populations. Little by little they spread throughout the whole peninsula, starting in Friuli, then turning south-west and occupying the whole of Northern Italy as far as Turin, Bologna and Genoa. Their occupation of the rest of Italy took two different routes: one along the Adriatic coast, in the course of which they gave rise to the Duchy of Spoleto and the

larger Duchy of Benevento; the other route was along the western, Tyrrhenian coast, and led to the conquest of the whole of Tuscia (the name of the mediaeval Tuscany) almost as far as Rome. Rome itself, and Naples, along with Ravenna, at least for some time, Sicily and Sardinia were untouched by the invading tribes; it is still uncertain whether or not the Langobards ever reached Corsica (Jarnut 1995, Menis 1990, Pohl-Erhard 2005, Ausenda *et al.* 2009).

As far as we know, the Langobards came from western Germany, and belonged to the mix of ethnic groups that occupied central and western Europe, and from which were born the languages and cultures of the English, the Germans, Dutch, Frisian and so on.

According to some experts, the Langobards originated in Scandinavia. What is certain is that around the 1st century AD, they were settled on the banks of the river Elbe, and therefore in proximity to the Angles and the Saxons. They later migrated south, through what is today eastern Germany, Hungary, Austria, sticking close to the so-called southern Germans, in particular the Baiuvari, but bringing with them groups of Saxons and eastern Germans. Eventually they settled in Italy (Jarnut 1982).

Apart from a few words in legal documents drawn up in Latin, the Langobards have left no written records of their language. All the same, they have left significant linguistic and cultural traces, for example, in the language and culture of Italy. Through these, and with cross-reference to other Germanic languages, we are able to reconstruct, at least in part, the Langobard language and culture (Bruckner 1895, Gamillscheg 1935, Sabatini 1963-1964, Arcamone 1994, Morlicchio *et al.* 2000-).

Langobard elements in Italian are found both in the language of everyday speech and in place names. In standard Italian vocabulary there are many words of Langobard origin: the examples that follow have a corresponding form in Modern or Old English: *panca* (G. *Bank*, E. *bench*); *arrostire* (G. *rosten*, E. *roast*), *tana* (G. *Tenne*, E. *den*), *sala* ‘hall, room’ (G. *Saal*, OE *Sele*, Swed. *Sal*), *strisciare* ‘to drag’ (G. *streichen*, E. *to strike*), *palco* ‘stage’ (G. *Balken*, OE *balca*), *aizzare* ‘to instigate’ (G. *hetzen*, *hassen*, OE *hettan*), *lista* ‘strip, list’ (G. *Leiste*, E. *list*), *biacca* ‘ceruse, white lead’ (G. *bleich*, E. *black*, *bleak*), *gualcare* ‘to fill’ (G. *walken*, E. *walk*), etc. (Arcamone 1994, Arcamone 2014: 39-40).

In personal onomastics too, that is, in Italian anthroponymics, a great number of Langobard anthroponyms are found in documents belonging to the Langobard period. Many of these have corresponding forms in the personal names of other Germanic tribes: for example, Lang. *Adelpert* = OE *Æþelþeorht*; Lang. *Arigis* = OE *Heregis*; Lang. *Ansitruda* = OE *Osþryþ*, etc. Many still survive in Italy today as surnames, as in *Aliperti*, *Galderisi*, *Romualdi*, *Rossomandi*, etc. (Arcamone 1985, Arcamone 1985-1986, Arcamone 2014: 40).

The study of Italian place names of Langobard origin can greatly enhance our understanding of not only the language of that population, but also of their cultural, military and political history. A comparison with English toponyms will help us to contextualize and further clarify the linguistic and semantic aspects of these place names, and thus contribute to the scant knowledge of the Langobard language we have already referred to.

Before we proceed to examine the different groups of Italian place names of Langobard origin, let us not forget that in the Langobard language the so-called second sound

shift of both voiced and unvoiced occlusives had taken place, and that there are already traces of the palatal umlaut, as will be seen in some of the following examples.

I shall present groups of Italian place names and compare them with their English equivalents, dividing them along the lines suggested by Margaret Gelling: first into Topographical and Habitative (Gelling 1984: 1) and then into five semantic sub-groups, using the Germanic forms as headwords, arranged alphabetically in each group. The place names are either simple or complex. For my comparisons I am greatly indebted to the two volumes of *English Place-Name Elements* by A.H. Smith (1956), Margaret Gelling's *Place-Names in the Landscape* (1984) and the *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* by Victor Watts (2004): the abbreviations of counties and geographical regions in the following examples are drawn from these works.

Topographical: Watercourses, Rivers

1. **agwjō* 'island, holm, holme, well-watered land': It. *Augia, Olgia, Olgiate* (North Italy; Gamillscheg 1935: 63; Pellegrini 1990: 273; Arcamone 2006: 23), G. *Aue* (Bach 1954 II,1: 293; EWDS 1989: 47); = OE *ēg, īeg*, E. *Eye* Herts, Suff, (*Whitn*)*ey-on-Wye* H&W (Smith 1956 I: 147; Gelling 1984: 34-40; Mills 1993: 125; Watts 2004: 222, 675); (see also 2. **agwjō*-+-**haima*-);
2. **baki*- 'stream': It. *Péscia* and many other similar river names (in Tuscany and Umbria, also *Stam-péscia, Pésciola*, etc. (Arcamone 2006: 23; 2014: 53-54), G. *Bach* (Bach 1954 II,1: 96, 277; EWDS 1989: 47), = OE *bece, bæce* 'a stream, a valley' (frequent in the Midlands), E. *Bache* Ch, He, Shrops, *Badge* Wo, *Bach Camp* H&H, *Betch(ton)* Che, (*Sand*)*bach* Che (< OE *Sanbece* a. 1086, Mills 1993: 284) and many more (Smith 1956 I: 23-24; Gelling 1984: 12-13; Watts 2004: 30, 526); (see also 4. **staina*-+-**baki*-);
3. **ga-mundia*- 'a confluence of rivers': It. *Gamògna* (Tuscany, in the Appenines near Marradi), *Gamondio* (now *Castellazzo Bormida*, Alessandria, Piedmont) (Arcamone 2006: 24), G. *Gemünd* (Bach 1954 II,1: 288) = OE (*ge*)*mūðe* 'the mouth of a river where it runs into another', E. *Meeth(e)* D, *The Mythe* Gl, *Mythan* Db, *Mid(ford)* So, *Mit(ford)* Nb, *Mit(ton)* La, Wo, Ye, YW, *My(ton)* YE, YN, *Myt(ton)* Sa (*tūn*) (Smith 1956 II: 47; Gelling 1984: 11; Mills 1993: 237; Watts 2004: 417, 427);
4. **staina*-+-**baki*- : It. *Stampéscia* (near *Péscia* (see 1.), Tuscany; Arcamone 2006: 23), G. *Steinbach* (Bach 1954 II,1: 298) = OE *stān* 'stone'; *Stan(ford)* Beds, Kent, H&W, etc., *Ston(ea)* 'stone island' CAM (Smith 1956 II: 143-144; Mills 1993: 306, 311; Gelling 1984: 39, 44, 179, 180, etc.; Watts 2004: 580); (see also 2. **baki*-).

Topographical: Environment, Geomorphology

5. **banki-* ‘shelf, bank’: It. *Panca, Pàncole, Panche* (Gamillscheg 1935: 131; Arcamone 2006: 23; 2014: 53), G. *Bank* (Bach 1954 II,1: 303; EWDS 1989: 58) = OE *benc* “‘a bench’” in a topographical sense (not attested in OE, possibly taken over from *banke*), as a field name element in *Bench(acre)*, (*Grete*)*benche* W’ (Smith 1956 I: 28);

6. **braidō-* ‘broad open field’: It. dial. *braidā* ‘holding, big kitchen garden, big field’, *Braidā, Brera, Breda, Bra*, etc. (Gamillscheg 1935: 64; Pellegrini 1990: 274; Pellegrini *et al.* 1990: 97; Arcamone 2006: 23), G. *Breite* (Bach 1954 II,1: 260) = OE *brādu/brēdu, brede, brade, brode* “‘breadth, width’”, developed in ME a concrete sense of “‘broad stretch of land, a broad strip of land, a broad cultivated strip in common field’” (see LG *Breede*)’ (Smith 1956 I: 46), E. *Brede* Sussex (< *Brade* a. 1161 Mills 1993: 49), *Bredfield* Suff, often confused with OE *brād* ‘large, spacious, open’, OE *Brādan* > E *Bredon* ‘forest near Malmesbury’, Wiltshire, OE *Brādanford* > E. *Bradford* Wilts, *Brede* ESusx, etc. (Gelling 1984: 67, 68; Watts: 77, 82);

7. **ga-danja-* ‘beaten earth, dean, valley’: It. *Tana, Ca-tano, Ca-tallo* (< **Catanulo*), *Tenno* (Arcamone 2006: 24; 2014: 48-49), G. *Tenne* (EWDS 1989: 726) = OE *denu* ‘a valley; a deep wooded vale of a rivulet’, E. *dean, Denton* YW, *Denham* Bk, Sf, very often, *Deanham* Nb, *Denhold* YW; *Denholme* WYorks ‘the water meadow in the valley’; *Debden* Essex ‘the deep valley’ (< OE *Deppedana* a. 1086, Mills 1993: 103), *Dibden* Hants, K, *Dipton* Nb, *Grendon* He, *Meriden* Wa, *Standen* Brk, etc. (Smith 1956 I: 130; Gelling 1984: 97-99; Watts 2004: 181, 186, 262, 409, 568-569);

8. **haldjō-* ‘a slope, a declivity’: It. *Aldio* (Pisa, Lucca, Tuscany; Arcamone 2006: 24), G. *Halde* (Bach 1954 II,1: 261; EWDS 1989: 288) = OE *helde* (Angl. Kt), *hiede* (WSaxon); *Hilton* DOR (< OE *Eltone* a. 1086, Mills 1993: 172), *Ak-eld* (*āc-*) Nb, *Stockeld* YOW (Smith 1956 I: 242; Gelling 1984: 162; Watts 2004: 5, 305);

9. **wangjō-* ‘open ground’: It. *Gagno*, OIt. (Guari)*ganghi* (Arcamone 2006: 25), G. *Wang* (Bach 1954 II,1: 96) = OE *wang* “‘open field, a piece of meadowland’”, rare, and in the Danelaw cannot be distinguished from *vangr*’ (Smith 1956 II: 245), E. *Wang(field)* Ha (a field), *Wang(ford)* (Southwold) Sf (ford), (Smith 1956 II: 245; Gelling 1984: 72; Watts 2004: 649) (see also 10. **warō-+-*wangjō-*);

10. **warō-+-*wangjō-* ‘lands whose use is regulated by a treaty’: It. *Guari(ganghi)* (Pisa, Tuscany; Arcamone 2006: 25) = OE (WSaxon) *wær* ‘an agreement, a compact, a treaty’, *War(land)* WYorks, perhaps (*War*)*ley* (Essex, Smith 1956 II: 237; Watts 2004: 652).

Habitative: Settlement

11. **haima-* ‘village’: found only in compounds *-amo*: see *Ar-amo, Gu-amo* (Arcamone 2006: 24), G. *Heim* (Bach 1954 II: *passim*; EWDS 1989: 301) = OE *hām* ‘not used as a simple place name; belongs to the earlier period of the English settlement’ (Smith 1956 I

227): (*East*)ham Ch, Wo, (*Dal*)ham K; (*Shore*)ham K, (*Stud*)ham Bd; ecc. (Smith 1956 I: 228-229); (see also 12. *agwjō--*haima-, 14. *sali--*haima and 16. *harja--*haima-);

12. *agwjō--*haima- ‘village partly surrounded by water’: It. *Guamo* (< *Ag-uamo; Lucca, Tuscany) (Arcamone 1994a; 2006: 24), G. *Auheim* (Hessen) = OE *ēg(tūn)*, *Ey(ton)* Shrops, H&W (Gelling 1984: 36, 37; Mills 1993: 126; Watts 2004: 222); (see also 1. *agwjō- and 11. *haima-);

13. *sali- ‘a house, a hall’: It. *Sala* (many Italian place names: Gamillscheg 1935: 67; Sabatini 1963-64: 153-159; Pellegrini 1990: 272; Pellegrini *et al.* 1990: 362; Arcamone 2006: 25; 2014: 54-56), G. *Saal* (Bach 1954 II: 97; EWDS 1989: 612) = OE *sele* ‘chiefly found in OE poetry, *Seldon* D, *Selhurst* Sx, *Silbury* W, *Seal(e)* K, Sr, *Sele* Sx, *South Zeal* D’ (Smith 1956 II: 117; Mills 1993: 289, 378 *La Sela*, *Lasele*); Gelling 1984: 221 ‘some modern names as *Seal* KNT, *Seale* SUR, *South Zeal* DEV may be from OE *sele* “hall”’ (Watts 2004: 533 “SEAL Kent ‘The hall’”); (see also 14. *sali--*haima-);

14. *sali--*haima- in OIt. *Salisciamo* > It. *Salissimo* (Lucca, Tuscany: Arcamone 2006: 25) = E. *Sel(ham)* WSusx has been explained as ‘The sallow copse homestead’ (Smith 1956 II: 117, etc); (see also 11. *haima- and 13. *sali-);

15. *stapala- ‘post’: It. *Stàffoli* (everywhere in Langobard Italy; Gamillscheg 1935: 67; Sabatini 1963-64: 187-195; Pellegrini 1990: 275-76; Pellegrini *et al.* 1990: 367; Arcamone 2006: 25), G. *Stapel* (Bach 1954 II,1: 413; EWDS 1989: 695) = OE *stapol*, E. *Staple* Kent, *Staple(ford)* (many), *Staple(ton)* (many), etc. (Smith 1956 II: 146; Gelling 1984: 69; Mills 1993: 307-308; Watts 2004: 571-572).

Habitative: Military Organization

16. *harja--*haima- ‘camp’: *Aramo* (between Lucca and Pistoia in the Apennines), *Ràmini* (< (*A*)*ràmini*, near Pistoia), *Aramengo* (Alessandria, Piedmont) (Arcamone 1997; 2006: 25; 2014: 41), G. *Heer* (EWDS 1989: 299) = OE *here* ‘an army’: ‘In compounds it is frequent with words for roads and the like which were suitable for the passage of an army or words for “army quarters”’ (Smith 1956 I: 244); OE *here-beorg*, *here-wīc*, *Here(ford)* H&H, *Herr(iard)* Hants (Gelling 1984: 50, 69, 71; Mills 1993: 169; Watts 2004: 298-299); (see also 11. *haima-);

17. *newja--*wardō- ‘the new ward’: It. *Ni-guarda* (Milano; Arcamone 2006: 25), G. *Neue Warte* (am Inn) (Bach 1954 II,1: 396) = OE *nīwe* ‘new’ very frequent in compounds, but with other stems in E., *New(ark)* Cambs, *New(bold)* Midlands, *New(brough)* ‘new fortification’, *New(ton)* very common (Smith 1956 II: 50-51 ‘it is mostly used with words for buildings’; Mills 1993: 240-242; Watts 2004: 432-39); (see also 22. *wardō-);

18. **stōða*-+**gardō*- ‘a horse enclosure’: OIt. *Stuthi-garda*, Cremona a. 1126 (> *Scottigarda*), *Ston-garda* Bergamo a.1263, etc. (Gamillscheg 1935: 67, 162; Pellegrini 1990: 276; Arcamone 2006: 24), G. *Stuttgart* (Bach 1954 II,1: 318) = OE *stōd* ‘a stud, a herd of horses’, E. *Stod(fald)* ‘a stud-fold, a horse enclosure’, *Stod(fold)* L, Bd, Du, *Stut(fall)* Castle K, *Stud(ham)* ‘enclosure where horses are bred’ Beds, *Stud(ley)* ‘clearing used for a stud of horses, stud pasture’ Warw, Wilts, N.Yorks (Smith 1956 II: 157; Gelling 1984: 206; Mills 1993: 315; Watts 2004: 577, 587);

19. **wardō*- ‘watch, ward, protection’: It. *Guardia* (everywhere), *Garda* (Lago di), *Gardone*; (Gamillscheg 1935: 68; Sabatini 1963-64: 164-165; Pellegrini 1990: 276; Arcamone 2006: 24, 25), G. *Warte* (Bach 1954 II,1: 396; EWDS 1989: 777) = OE *weard* ‘ward, district’, *Warden* ‘watch hill’ (< OE *weard+dūn*) L, Kent, Northants, Beds, *Wardle* (< OE *weard+hyll*) Ches, GMan, *Ward(low)* Derby, Staffs, *Wardy (Hill)* (< OE *weard+ēg*) ‘look-out island’ (Smith 1956 II: 247; Gelling 1984: 171; Mills 1993: 345; Watts 2004: 650-651); (see also 20. **wardō*-+**stalla*-);

20. **wardō*-+**stalla*- ‘watch-house, watch-tower’: *Guardistallo* (Pisa, Tuscany), *Gua-stalla* (Reggio Emilia, Emilia) (Gamillscheg 1935: 68; Pellegrini 1990: 276; Pellegrini *et al.* 1990: 323; Arcamone 2006: 25) (**stalla*: Bach 1954 II: 286 nr. 21) = OE *weardsteall* ‘watch-tower’, but no place name; see also OE *weard-setl*, *weard-seld* ‘a watch-house’ > *Wars(hill) Top*, *Wassell*, *Wast(hills) Wo* (Smith 1956 II: 247); (see also 19. **wardō*-).

Habitative: Property

21. **ga-hagja*- ‘a fence, an enclosure’: It. *Cafaggio*, *Cafaggiòlo*, *Gaggio*, *Gaio*, *Gazzo*, etc. very frequent everywhere in Langobard Italy (Gamillscheg 1935: 65, 140; Sabatini 1963-64: 184-186; Pellegrini 1990: 274; Pellegrini *et al.* 1990: 292; Arcamone 2006: 24; 2014: 45-48), G. *Gehege* (Bach 1954 II,1: 380-82; EWDS: 252) = OE (*ge*)*hæg*, (*ge*)*heg*, ME *hay* ‘a fenced-in piece of ground’ (Latinized *haia* ‘a part of a forest fenced off for hunting’), in *Hay-a-Park* N.Yorks (1518 *Haia*), *Hay(don)* So (OE *hægdun*), *Hay(wood)* Staffs, Notts, *Hay He*, etc. (Smith 1956 I: 214-215; Gelling 1984: 229; Mills 1993: 164; Watts 2004: 289-290);

22. **gardō*- ‘an enclosure, a yard, a court- yard’, see 18. **stōða*-+**gardō* (Arcamone 2006: 24) (Bach 1954 II: 375) = OE *geard* ‘a fence, an enclosure, a yard, a court-yard’, *Yar(khill)* H&H (< OE *geardcylle* a. 811, Mills 1993: 375), OE (*Wode*)*hyerd* Bk, E. (*Brom*)*yard* H&H, (*Herr*)*iard* Hants (Mills 1993: 55, 169);

23. **snaidō*- ‘cut (on the ground, on the trees), border’: It. dial. *sinaita/finaita* ‘boundary’, *Sinaita* (everywhere in Italy; Gamillscheg 1935: 160; Sabatini 1963-1964: 195-198; Pellegrini 1990: 276; Arcamone 2006: 25), G. *Schneide* (Bach 1954 II,2: 178) = OE *snād* ‘‘something cut off, a detached piece of land or woodland’’ recorded only in OD charters place names, except for a single explanatory note [...] *unus singularis silva...quem nos theodisce snad nominamus* and *snæd* ‘‘something cut off, a fragment, a detached piece of

ground” (Smith 1956 II: 131); *Snaith* Humbs ‘The detached piece of land’ (ON *sneith* perhaps replacing OE *snæd*), *Sned(ham)* Gl, *Snea(ton)* N.Yorks ‘Settlement on the slope’ < OE *snæd+tūn*; (*Whip*)*snade* ‘Wibba’s detached ground’ Beds (Smith 1956 II: 131; Mills 1993: 356; Watts 2004: 672);

24. **þeuðō-+*baki-* ‘rivus publicus, public watercourse’: It (*Al*)*topascio* < *Teut-pasciu* (Arcamone 2006: 23; Arcamone 2011), G. *Diebach* (< *Deobacis*, Bach 1954 II,1: 108) = OE *þēod* ‘people’, in some compounds it means ‘public’ **þēod-herpaþ* ‘public highway’, place names *Thet(ford)* Lincs, *Thet(ford)* (< OE *þēod-ford* ‘the public ford’ Cambs, Norf (Smith 1956 II: 203; late 9th cent., Mills 1993: 324; Gelling 1984: 70; Watts 2004: 607-608); (see also 2. **baki-*);

25. **walda-* ‘public forest’: It. *Gualdo* with many variants, everywhere and very frequent; (Gamillscheg 1935: 169-170; Sabatini 1963-64: 171-84; Pellegrini 1990: 276; Pellegrini *et al.* 1990: 321; Arcamone 2006: 25; 2014: 52-53), G. *Wald* (Bach 1954 II: *passim*; EWDS 1989: 774) = OE *wald*, *weald* ‘woodland, a large tract of woodland, high forest-land, later cleared’, very frequent in England too: *The Wolds* L (Watts 2004: 692), Nt, (*North*)*wold* Nf, (*Prest*)*wold* Leic, Ye, *The Weald* K-Sx (< OE *Walda* a. 1086, Mills 1993: 349), etc. (Smith 1956 II: 239-42; Gelling 1984: 222-229; Watts 2004: 657, 692).

For other Langobard place names I have so far been unable to find corresponding forms in English, as, for example, for: *Biffa/Ghiffa* < **wīpō* ‘sighting stake’, *Lèno*, *Lèvane*, etc. < **laihwana-* ‘benefice’, *Parlascio* (< **bera-+*laika-*) ‘place where bears fight’, etc.

This first comparative study of Italian place names of Langobard origin and their corresponding forms in Old or Modern English shows that all Italian place names with a simple single-stem form are sure to have an equivalent in English. Some of these like OE *denu* < **ga-danja-*, *ēg* < **auwja-*, *hām* < **haima-* or *wald* < **walda-*, are listed in *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (2004: xliii, xlv, xlvi, xlvi) as being those most frequently found in English toponomastics. All the stems examined here belong to the same place and period – that is, almost certainly the period of the great migrations, perhaps even earlier; that is to say that they may form part of the common Germanic lexical stock. Langobard retains more earlier forms than other Germanic languages, as can be seen from the toponyms derived from 2. **baki-*, 5. **banki-*, 13. **sali-*, 9. **wangjō-*.

Perhaps English place names have had to compete with Danish ones, which are very similar, being part of the Germanic family, while the Langobard names have remained fossilized, as they were, in Italian toponyms which, as they are of Romance origin, were quite different, and therefore the Langobard place names have preserved their original linguistic form.

Compound place names, too, all correspond, but only on a semantic level. See example number 23: It. *Stuthi-Garda* and E. *Stod-fold*. Only in the case of *Guardistallo* = OE *weardsteall* do we find a morphological correspondence, but not on a level of toponomastic lexis, only on the plane of common lexicon.

I believe that the differences we have seen between Italian place names of Langobard origin and English ones of Anglo-Saxon origin are due to the differing historical circumstances (linguistic, geographical, military, anthropological) that characterized the migration of the two groups, one of which gave rise to English culture, the other to the Langobard.

Comparisons can throw light on both sides, but the significance of the illumination must be judged case by case. For example, we find (Smith 1956 I: 46) that, of the English place names deriving from **braidō*, OE *brædu*, only in ME do we see ‘developed a concrete sense of a broad cultivated strip in a common field’. But the Langobards brought this word, with this very meaning, into Italy already in the 6th century; early German has it, so perhaps OE had it too, only that the earliest extant reference is in ME.

The English toponym, *Thetford*, where *Thet-* signifies ‘public’, may corroborate the obscure etymology of the Tuscan toponym (*Altopascio*, which derived from the earlier *Teutpasciu*, recorded as early as the 8th century, where *Teut-* corresponds to English *Teth-*; both derive from Germanic **peudō* ‘the people’, in the sense of ‘the state’.

But this is only the beginning: future research will no doubt bring further interesting finds.

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The Wider Environment of Shropshire Place Names

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Abstract

The county of Shropshire has an unmistakably borderland position: traversed by the River Severn, shared between upland and lowland, bisected by the Anglo-Welsh linguistic border, divided in the early medieval period between the kingdoms of Mercia and Powys (and perhaps a number of smaller polities), split between the ecclesiastical dioceses of Hereford and Lichfield, and crossed by the impressive Offa's Dyke. In the later medieval period, parts of Shropshire became Marcher lordships, removed from both English and Welsh administration. It is clear that this linguistically, culturally and socio-politically mixed environment has had a major impact on the place-naming strategies of the region—the late Margaret Gelling argued convincingly that certain English place name compounds were a reflection of new bureaucracy in a border zone—but the relationship with wider naming patterns should not be ignored. This paper arises from the AHRC-funded Place Names of Shropshire project, tasked with completing Gelling's survey of that county, and will examine a number of English place name types thought to be symptomatic of Shropshire's borderland position. It aims to reassess their significance within the wider environment of English place naming, drawing comparisons not just with other borderland regions, but other areas of marked administrative upheaval and reorientation.

Unofficial Urbanonyms of Latvia: Tendencies of Derivation

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Abstract

The research is based on the questionnaire addressed to young Latvians (study carried out together with an MA student of the University of Latvia Sintija Doniņa). Material for this paper – more than 700 lexemes – was collected from Riga and other largest cities of Latvia. The goal of the study was to gain insight into the main models of coining slang urbanonyms, as well as their motivation and functions. The most often recorded slang urbanonyms in all cities under review were the names of the fast-food restaurants *Hesītis* // *Hesīts* (= ‘Hesburger’) and *Maķītis* (= ‘McDonald’s’), which also have the largest number of different variants. The most widespread model of derivation were shortened forms of the urbanonym: suburb names *Boldis* // *Boldža* (= *Bolderāja*), *Čieris* (= *Čiekurkalns*) often used also with Latv. diminutive suffixes *-ītis* or *-iņš*: *Čierītis*. The way of derivation could be the following: suburb *Āgenskalns* > *Āģis* > *Āģītis* > *Āģīts*. Suffix *-ene*, which is characteristic for appellative slang lexemes, is used also in street-names: *Avotene* (= *Avotu iela*); Slavonic diminutive suffixes in slang urbanonymy are widely spread in Riga and in the eastern part of Latvia. There are also well-known acronyms: *KK*, *C-iela*, as well as numerous metaphoric urbanonyms. Mostly, these slang urbanonyms have negative or neutral connotation.

* * *

Unofficial names or slang toponyms (mostly urbanonyms¹) have recently become of specific interest in many countries and languages (see Paunonen (2000, 2006, 2010), Paunonen and Paunonen (2002), Ainiala (2003, 2004, 2006), Ainiala and Vuolteenaho (2005, 2008, 2009), Ainiala *et al.* (2009), Ainiala and Lappalainen (2010), Protassova and Reponen (2011), Vlahova-Angelova (2008), Streljčova (2011), Vasiljeva (2012), Sharipova (2012a, 2012b), Györffy (2013), Zujeva (2014), etc.). This branch of modern socio-onomastics was untouched for many years in the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia), as no material was collected, nor were there any studies carried out on it. Only during the last five years interest in the subject has arisen – especially among young researchers.²

To start with some quotations which explain the place and importance of slang toponyms in use: Hungarian onomastician Erzsébet Györffy (2013: 80-86) emphasizes that slang toponyms have a special role in the toponymic system of a language: ‘their status is observable both in pragmatic and linguistic conditions of name giving’. According to

¹ The terminology used in this article is based on the newest dictionary of Latvian linguistic terms (VPSV 2007): *urbanonym* – toponym which names geographical object of the town/city (‘vietvārds, kas nosauc pilsētā esošu ģeogrāfisku objektu’) (VPSV 2007: 413); *slang toponym* – a proper name of a place, both inhabited and uninhabited, that is regarded as very informal, more common in speech than writing, and is typically restricted to a particular context or group of people (VPSV 2007: 413); *colloquial toponym* (VPSV 2007: 342) and *unofficial toponym* are both often used as synonymous terms.

² There have been several reports and publications on this subject in Latvian and Lithuanian onomastics during recent years: for reports see Balode (2009b, 2010, 2011b) and Račickaja (2014a, 2014b) and for publications see Balode (2004a, 2004b, 2009a, 2011a, 2014), Doniņa (2013) and Doniņa and Balode (2015).

Györffy, ‘one of the most important features is that during slang name giving the denotatum already has a name and the motivation is to give a different name from the already existing one’. According to the well-known Finnish researcher Heikki Paunonen (2010), unofficial toponyms are not marked on the maps, they exist only in our memory. They exist while they are in active use. Slang names exist in our minds, and each of us makes our own map with our own names, and this map is being supplemented the whole life. Nevertheless, slang names are part of urban culture, part of the history of the city, and also an important part of collective identity. (Paunonen 2010, 1: 6) It is a well-known fact that slang or unofficial names are mostly used by young people. Why is it so? After studying languages of youngsters, Latvian sociolinguists Vineta Ernstsone and Laura Tidriķe found that young people’s speech style is an expression of protest and denial against the dominant language culture with its correctness and language standards (Ernstsone and Tidriķe 2006: 101). Also the introduction of the *Slang Dictionary of Latvian Language* shows that individuals demonstrate their knowledge and their belonging to a specific stratum of society, belonging to like-minded groups (Bušs and Ernstsone 2006: 6).

This article is based on a questionnaire on slang urbanonyms addressed to young Latvians. The study was carried out in 2012-2013 together with Sintija Doniņa – an MA student of the University of Latvia, Faculty of Humanities. The goal of this study was to gain insight into the main models of coining slang urbanonyms and their motivation and functions. The material consisted of more than 700 lexemes collected from the capital of Latvia, Riga, and other largest cities of Latvia in order to represent distinct parts of the country: Riga (Latv. *Rīga*, 306 different urbanonyms collected), Valmiera (Latv. *Valmiera*, northern part of Latvia, 121), Kuldīga (Latv. *Kuldīga*, western part of Latvia, 114), Rēzekne (Latv. *Rēzekne*, eastern part of Latvia, 93), Bauska (Latv. *Bauska*, southern part of Latvia, 82) (see Fig. 1).



Fig.1. Map of Latvia – cities (*Rīga*, *Kuldīga*, *Bauska*, *Valmiera*, *Rēzekne*) where the unofficial urbanonyms were collected

The most often mentioned names in this collection are the following: names of parts of the city, suburbs, street names, road names (odonyms), names of shops, coffee-bars, clubs (ergonyms). Whereas the most rarely mentioned slang names in this questionnaire are water names (hydronyms) e.g. almost the only ones: *Ķīstis* (5x³) // *Ķīstītis* (4x) (= lake *Ķīšezers* in Riga); *Aleksene* (1x) (= river *Alekšupīte* in Kuldīga); *Nabīte* (1x) (= lake *Nabas ezers* in Kuldīga); *Kovšiks* (15x) // *Kaušiks* (1x) (= lake *Kovšu ezers* in Rezekne).

Usually the meeting places of youth do not have official names, so they are named and used in their narrow circle, for instance:

- *Bočkas* (< Russ. *бочка* ‘barrel’ = meeting place near two barrels in Rezekne);
- *Černobiļa* (< *Chernobilj* = empty building near the pontoon bridge in Bauska);
- *Pentagons* (5x) (< *Pentagon* = sport field in Bauska);
- *Kvadrāts* (< Latv. *kvadrāts* ‘square’ = meeting place near St.Peter’s church in Riga);
- *Astotnieks* (2x) // *Astoņnieks* (6x) (< Latv. *astoņi* ‘eight’, ∞ = playground in Bauska: the shape resembles the number 8).

Particularly large group of ergonyms (names of bars and clubs) are used in Riga, for instance:

- *Džasts* (3x) // *Justs* (1x) (= bar/club *Just*);
- *Empīrs* (1x) (= club *Empire*);
- *Esītis* (1x) (= club *Essential*);
- *Feņķis* (3x) // *Feņka* (3x) // *Fēnītis* (2x) (= gambling club *Fēnikss*);
- *Hārdijs* (2x) (= club *Ed Hardy*);
- *Koijoti* (24x) // *Koijots* (1x) // *Kojoī* (2x) (= club *Coyote Fly*);
- *Piektdienis* (1x) (= club *Melnā Piektiena* /‘Black Friday’/);
- *Pulkvedis* (3x) (= club *Pulkvedim neviens neraksta* /‘Nobody Writes to the Colonel’/).

A lot of school names (mostly in Riga, but also in other cities) have been recorded during the questionnaire, for example:

- *Draudziņa* (3x) // *Natālija* (4x) (= *Natālijas Draudziņas vidusskola* /Secondary school of Natalia Draudzina/ in Riga);
- *Francis* (1x) (= *Rīgas Franču licejs* /Riga French Lyceum/ in Riga);
- *Hanza* (8x) // *Hanzene* (10x) (= *Rīgas Hanzas vidusskola* /Riga Hansa Secondary School/ in Riga);
- *Mauriņa vidusskola* (1x) (= *Rīgas 64. vidusskola*) – unofficial name derived from the surname of previous headmaster of the school – Mauriņš);
- *Jūrene* (1x) (= *Latvijas Jūras akadēmija* /Latvian Maritime Academy/ in Riga);
- *Ķīmiķi* (3x) (= *Latvijas Universitātes Ķīmijas fakultāte* /Faculty of Chemistry, University of Latvia/ in Riga);
- *Fifaks* (1x) // *Visvaldis* (2x) // *Visvalža pils* ‘castle of Visvaldis’ (3x) (= Faculty of Humanitarian Studies, former Faculty of Philology, University of Latvia,

³ The number enclosed in brackets after a slang urbanonym shows the number of answers in the questionnaire (2012-2013).

address – Visvalža Street 4a; the last two names in student slang are alluding to historical person Visvaldis – ruler of the ancient Baltic kingdom’).

There are several oikodomonyms which are widespread not only among youth, but also among other generations:

- *Ķīnas mūris* ‘wall of China’ in Riga;
- *Mauzolejs* (= building in Stirnu Street in Riga);
- *Staļina dzimšanas dienas torte* ‘birthday cake of Stalin’ // *Staļina kūka* ‘Stalin’s cake’ // *Staļina smaids* ‘Stalin’s smile’ // *Tramplīns* ‘launching pad’ // *Zinātņu augstceltne* ‘skyscraper of the science’ // *Kolhoznieku nams* ‘house of the collective-farmers’ (= building of the Academy of Sciences of Latvia in Riga).

These slang urbanonyms most often have negative or ironic connotation, but sometimes they are used with neutral or even positive connotation, for instance:

- *Lielā māja* ‘Large House’ (= main building of Latvian University in Riga);
- *Baltais nams* ‘White House’ (= building of National Opera in Riga);
- *Sīmanene* // *Sīmanis* (= St. Simon’s Church in Valmiera);
- *Baltā baznīca* (3x) ‘White Church’ (= Lady of Sorrows Cathedral in Rezekne);
- *Krievu baznīca* (2x) ‘Russian Church’ (= Orthodox Church in Rezekne);
- *Sarkanā baznīca* (2x) ‘Red Church’ (= Cathedral of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Rezekne);
- *Māmuļa* ‘Dear Mother’ (= Latviešu biedrības nams ‘Building of Latvian Society’ in Riga).

According to the data gathered in the questionnaire, the most popular unofficial urbanonyms in Latvia are the following: slang name *Hesītis* (= fast food restaurant *Hesburger*) which is recorded in Riga – 85x and in Kuldīga – 44x. (Doniņa 2013: 55) In northern city Valmiera the most popular slang toponym is a bridge name *Dzelzīts* (= *Dzelzs tilts* ‘Iron Bridge’), in southern Bauska – the most popular slang name *Staķiks* (= fuel station *Statoil*). Usually one topo-object has one or two slang names. The only exception: nine different slang names recorded in Riga naming fast food restaurant *McDonald’s*:

- *Maķītis* (74x) // *Maķīts* (38x) // // *Mačītis* (1x) // *Maķis* (2x) // *Mahītis* (1x) // *Makijs* (1x) // *Maķiks* (1x) // *Makčiks* (1x) // *Makdaks* (3x) (Doniņa 2013: 17).

In all five cities of Latvia young people use such slang urbanonyms as:

- *Rimīts* // *Rimītis* // *Rimčiks* (= shop Rimi);
- *Superghetto* (= shop Supernetto);
- *Hesīts* // *Hesītis* (= Hesburger);
- *Staķiks* // *Staķis* (= fuel station *Statoil*) (Doniņa 2013: 56).

From topoderivational point of view the most common way of coining new slang urbanonyms is to shorten the forms of the official name, most often eliminating the second

component of compound name, for example: *Āģis* (< *Āgenskalns*), *Bastejs* (< *Bastejkalns*), *Čieris* (< *Čiekurkalns*), *Ķeizis* (< *Ķeizarmežs*), *Ķendzis* // *Ķenga* (< *Ķengarags*), *Zass* (< *Zasulauks*), or eliminating the second part of the collocation, for instance: *Ezis* // *Ezīts* // *Ezītis* (< coffee-bar *Ezītis miglā* ‘Hedgehog in the Fog’). There are much fewer examples where the first component of compound is eliminated, for instance: *Ciems* (< *Ilģuciems*), *Saule* (< *Jauna saule*), *Netto* (< *Supernetto*). Sometimes only the middle component of the collocation is saved:

- *Barons* (< *Krišjāņa Barona iela* ‘Street of Krišjanis Barons’);
- *Francis* (< *Rīgas Franču licejs* ‘Riga French Lyceum’);
- *Hanza* (< *Rīgas Hanzas vidusskola* ‘Riga Hansa Secondary School’);
- *Kongress* (< *Rīgas Kongresu nams* ‘Riga Congress Centre’);
- *Pirmā* ‘the first’ (< *Rīgas Valsts 1. ģimnāzija* ‘Riga State Gymnasium No. 1’).

There is only one example which is coined as one compound slang name from two separate official odonyms: *Čakmarijas iela* (= *Čaka iela* ‘Čaks Street’ and *Marijas iela* ‘Marija Street’).

Acronyms and abbreviations made from official onyms are a particularly common feature of youth slang, for example:

- *ČBK* // *Čēbēkā* (< club *Četri balti krekli* ‘Four White Shirts’ in Riga);
- *GēCē* // *GāCē* (< *Galerija Centrs* ‘Gallery Center’ in Riga);
- *KK* (< *Kreisais krasts* ‘Left Bank’ in Riga);
- *ZZ* (< park *Ziedoņdārzs* ‘Spring Garden’ in Riga);
- *A-kojas* (< student hostel in *Auseklis Street* in Valmiera);
- *B-kojas* (< student hostel in *Beāte Street* in Valmiera);
- *Z-kojas* (< student hostel in *Zvejnieku Street* in Valmiera);
- *C-iela* (< *Cēsu Street* in Valmiera);
- *T-iela* (< *Tērbatas Street* in Valmiera);
- *MK* (< *Multiklubs* ‘Multi-Club’ in Valmiera);
- *ZB* (= building *Ziemeļblāzma* ‘Aurora Borealis’ in Rezekne);
- *DK* // *DeKA* // *Dekā* // *Dekaška* (= *Rēzeknes kultūras nams* ‘Rezekne Culture House’) < Russ. *дом культуры* ‘house of culture’.

Unofficial names are very often derived with Latv. suffix *-ene* which is characteristic also for appellative slang lexemes (Ernstson and Tidriķe 2006: 36). A lot of odonyms coined with the help of this suffix have been recorded in the youth slang in Riga, for instance:

- *Avotene* (= *Avotu iela* ‘Spring Street’);
- *Brīvībene* (= *Brīvības iela* ‘Freedom Street’);
- *Čakene* (= *Čaka iela* ‘Street of Aleksandrs Čaks’);
- *Dzirnavene* (= *Dzirnavu iela* ‘Mill Street’);
- *Gogolene* (= *Gogoļa iela* ‘Street of Gogol’);
- *Jūrmalene* (= highway to Jūrmala);
- *Kuģene* (= *Kuģu iela* ‘Street of Ships’);
- *Matīsene* (= *Matīsa iela* ‘Street of Mathias’);

- Valdemārene // Valdžene (= Krišjāņa Valdemāra iela ‘Street of Krisjanis Valdemars’).

Suffix *-ene* is also typical for slang ergonyms in Riga:

- Čilene // Čillene (= Čili Pica);
- Hanzene (= school *Rīgas Hanzas vidusskola*);
- Jūrene (= *Latvijas Jūras akadēmija* ‘Latvian Maritime Academy’);
- Kaļķene (= *Rīgas Tehniskās universitātes ēka* ‘Technical University building in Kalku Street’);
- Šahene (= *Rīgas Šaha skola* ‘Riga Chess School’);
- Tvaicene // Psihene (= *Rīgas Psihoneiroloģiskā slimnīca* ‘Psychoneurological Hospital of Riga in Tvaika Street’).

This type of topoderivation (with Latv. suffix *-ene*) is well-known in slang speech of other cities under review as well:

- Krievene (= *Valmieras 2. vidusskola* ‘2nd Secondary School of Valmiera’ in Valmiera);
- Valstene (= *Valmieras Valsts ģimnāzija* ‘Valmiera State Gymnasium’ in Valmiera);
- Viesturene (= *Viestura vidusskola* ‘Viestura High School’ in Valmiera);
- Limbene (= *Limbazi Street* in Valmiera);
- Gotene (= *Bauskas Gotiņu fabrika* ‘Factory of Sweets “Gotiņa”’ in Bauska);
- Ķirbacene (= *Ķirbaksala* island in Bauska);
- Liepene (= *Liepu Street* in Bauska);
- Putnene (= *Bauskas putnu fabrika* ‘Broiler Factory’ in Bauska).

Quite popular suffixes are used in derivation of slang urbanonyms – Latv. diminutive suffixes *-ītis/-īts*, *-iņš* which are added usually to shortened forms of urbanonyms:

- Ķīpīts < Ķīpītis < *Ķīpis < Ķīpsala (name of island in Riga);
- Memīts < Memītis < *Memis < monument *Memoriāls* in Valmiera);
- Bruņinieciņš (= street *Bruņinieku iela* in Riga);
- Centrītis (= market place *Rīgas Centrāltirgus*);
- Čilītis // Čilīts (= Čili Pica);
- Fēnītis (= club *Fēnikss*);
- Ķīsītis // Ķīsīts (= lake *Ķīšezers*);
- Mežītis (= park *Mežaparks*);
- Vansītis (= bridge *Vanšu tilts*);
- Vērmanītis // Vērmanīts (= park *Vērmanes dārzs*) (a well-known slang name already in the 1920s, used by youth and elderly generation as well).

Very often Latvian diminutive suffixes *-iņš*, *-ītis* are added to foreign names of the shops or restaurants which in Standard Latvian are used in indeclinable form, e.g.:

- Depiņš (= *Depo*);
- Lidiņš (= *Lido*);
- Topiņš (= *Top*);

- *Dunītis* // *Dunīts* (= *Duni*);
- *Elvītis* // *Elvīts* (= *Elvi*);
- *Esītis* (= *Essential*);
- *Ikītis* (= *Iki*);
- *Narvītis* // *Narvīts* (= *Narvesen*);
- *Rimītis* // *Rimīts* (= *Rimi*).

Some other Latvian suffixes (-*enieks*, -*inieks*, -*nieks*) are also recorded coining unofficial urbanonyms:

- *Studentnieks* (= Studentu klubs club in Riga);
- *Vidzemnieks* (= Vidzemes tirgus market in Riga);
- *Kultūrniece* (= Kuldīgas Kultūras centrs in Kuldīga);
- *Vantinieks* // *Vantenieks* // *Vanšinieks* // *Vanšenieks* (= bridge Vanšu tilts ‘Shroud bridge’ in Riga);
- *Salenieks* < **Sala* < *Salu tilts* (= ‘Island bridge’ in Riga).

Also some Russian diminutive suffixes (-*iks*, -*čiks*, -*ka*, -*aška*) are rather popular, especially in Riga’s slang, for example:

- *Agenčiks* (= part of the city *Āgenskalns*);
- *Barončiks* (= shop Barona centrs);
- *Centriks* (= part of the city *Centra rajons*);
- *Čīļiks* // *Čilliks* (= bar/restaurant *Čili Pica*);
- *Domčiks* (= square Doma laukums);
- *Elviks* (= shop *Elvi*);
- *Grizņiks* (= part of the city *Grīziņkalns*);
- *Lubančiks* (= street *Lubānas iela*);
- *Juglaška* (= part of the city *Jugla*);
- *Maksimka* (= shop *Maxima*);
- *Pļavčiks* (= part of the city *Pļavnieki*);
- *Purčiks* // *Purvčiks* (= part of the city *Purvciems*);
- *Rimčiks* // *Rimiks* (= shop *Rimi*);
- *Stačiks* // *Staķiks* (= *Statoil*);
- *Tirzīks* (= street *Tirzas iela* and the surroundings);
- *Zemitančiks* (= bridge *Zemitāna tilts*);
- *Zepčiks* // *Ziepčiks* (= part of the city *Ziepkalns*);
- *Zoļīks* (= part of the city *Zolitūde*).

Unofficial place names in Latvia are often coined using semantic word-formation: they could be observed as metaphors, for instance:

- *Burkāns* // *Markovka* ‘carrot’ (= building in orange colour in Riga);
- *Cepešpanna* ‘frying-pan’ (= restaurant *Vairāk saules* in Riga);
- *Naudas maiss* ‘sack of money’ (= totalizator place *Optibet* in Riga);

- *Milda* // *Augstā meiča* ‘high girl’ (= *Brīvības pieminēklis* ‘Monument of Freedom’, founded in 1935 in Riga);
- *Parks uz Elli* ‘park to hell’ (= park *Nordeķu parks* in Riga);
- *Putnu būris* ‘bird cage’ (= harbour near the Museum of Valmiera – visual similarity with a cage, in Valmiera);
- *Titāniks* ‘Titanic’ (= St. Simon’s Church in Valmiera);
- *Šķūns* ‘shed’ (= shop *Viss lauksaimniekiem* ‘everything for farmers’ in Kuldīga).

Paronomasia or play on words is very popular in the unofficial language of youth. It can also be observed in slang urbanonyms, for instance:

- *Cooldīga* (= city *Kuldīga*);
- *Supergetto* // *Ghetto shops* // *Superene* (= shop *Supernetto* in Kuldīga);
- *Negatīvs* (= club/bar *Pozitīvs* in Kuldīga);
- *Rococo* (= club *Coco* in Rezekne);
- *South Park* // *Southparks* (= *Dienvidu rajons* ‘South district’ in Rezekne);
- *Horseburger* (= *Hesburger* in Bauska).

Sometimes, though rarely, slang toponyms show dialectal features, for example, Livonian dialect (the so called Courland variety or *tāmnieku* dialect) in Kuldīga’s material:

- *Kuldž* // *Kuldža* // *Kūldža* (= city *Kuldīga*);
- *Stendž* // *Stendžs* // *Stendža* (= bar/club *Stender’s* in Kuldīga);
- *Priedž* // *Priedža* // *Prieduška* (= part of the city *Priedaine* in Kuldīga).

Briefly touching upon the origin or etymology of the slang toponyms, one can conclude, that mostly slang urbanonyms are of Latvian origin, but in Riga (the capital of the country) and Rezekne (eastern part of Latvia) there are many names of Slavonic origin in use (some of them coined like calques) (Doniņa 2013: 56; Doniņa and Balode 2014):

- *Kukuška* (= *Dzegužkalns* hill in Riga), cf. Latv. *dzeguze* ‘cuckoo’, Russ. *кукушка* ‘idem’;
- *Kraska* (= *Sarkandaugava* part of the city in Riga), cf. Latv. *sarkans* ‘red’, Russ. *красный* ‘idem’;
- *Lotene* (= airport *Rīga*), cf. Russ. *лёт* ‘flight’;
- *Butka* (= *Reval Hotel* in Riga) < Russ. *будка* ‘hut, shanty’;
- *Staruška* (= old part of Riga *Vecrīga*) < Russ. *старушка* ‘grannie’;
- *Čortovka* (= youth meeting place behind apartment houses in Maskavas Street in Rezekne) < Russ. *чёрт* ‘devil’.

There are several examples of urbanonyms of English origin used in all Latvian cities under review:

- *Indoors* (= skatepark in Kuldīga), cf. Eng. *indoor-*;
- *Skeiītis* // *Skeiītīšs* (= skatepark in Kuldīga), cf. Eng. *skate*;
- *Pentagons* (= Latvian State Police Department in Gaujas Str. in Riga);
- *South Park* // *Southparks* (= *Dienvidu rajons* part of the city in Rezekne).

This article provides a short insight into main models of coining slang urbanonyms and main derivation tendencies in the speech of the Latvian youth. It would be of great interest to compare these slang names with unofficial urbanonyms used by other (elderly) generations in Riga, as well as with the slang names used by young people in other cities and towns of Latvia. No doubt, there are parallels in coining unofficial urbanonyms in other languages – this item is the question of future socio-onomastic research.

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Zur Widerspiegelung naturräumlicher Gegebenheiten in ‘alteuropäischen’ Hydronymen – Neubewertungen althergebrachter Etymologien (Moderne Indogermanistik vs. traditionelle Namenkunde, Teil 5)

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Zusammenfassung

In der sog. ‘alteuropäischen’ Hydronymie spielen naturräumliche Gegebenheiten eine zentrale Rolle in der Benennung. Die älteste uns greifbare und sinnvoll analysierbare Schicht von Gewässernamen in Europa weist in erster Linie Benennungen nach dem Wasser selbst oder seinen Eigenschaften (Farbe, Fließgeschwindigkeit etc.) auf. An dieser Einschätzung ändert sich auch durch die Neuuntersuchung dieser Namen nichts, die seit einigen Jahren mit den Methoden der modernen Indogermanistik erfolgt, da sich die bisherigen Analysemethoden bzw. die bislang auf diese Namen angewandte Art der Indogermanistik als hoffnungslos veraltet erwiesen haben.

Abstract

In the so-called ‘Old-European hydronymy’ the natural features of rivers and their surroundings play a central role. In this oldest layer of analysable river-names in Europe known to us the rivers were usually named after the water itself or after the water’s characteristic properties (colour, speed, etc.). This analysis is true even today, although some years ago these oldest hydronymic layers began (finally) to be analysed with the methods of modern Indo-European linguistics. The kind of Indo-European linguistics used to analyse these names until then turned out to be hopelessly outdated.

* * *

Zur ‘alteuropäischen Hydronymie’

Als ‘alteuropäische Hydronymie’ bezeichnet man für gewöhnlich die älteste uns in Europa greifbare Schicht indogermanischer Gewässernamen. H. Krahe (1898–1965) erkannte, dass die Benennung dieser Gewässer in erster Linie durch Wörter bzw. Ableitungen von Wörtern erfolgte, die entweder das Wasser selbst oder charakteristische Eigenschaften desselben bezeichneten. Es begegnen somit als Ableitungsbasen in erster Linie urindogermanische Wurzeln, die entweder Farben oder verschiedene Arten von Wasser oder Arten der Bewegung also v.a. des Fließens bezeichneten. Diese Erkenntnisse legte H. Krahe in einer Reihe von Aufsätzen und Monographien nieder.¹

Die Erforschung jener Gewässernamen erfolgte dann seit den Zeiten Krahes unter Anwendung einer praktisch unveränderten Methodik (sprich: Indogermanistik), wodurch diese allmählich völlig veraltete. Dies zeigt sich exemplarisch etwa in den Arbeiten J.

¹ Vgl. u.a. Krahe (1950, 1950/51, 1951/52, 1953, 1954, 1954a, 1955, 1959, 1963, 1964).

Udolphs (*1943). So wurde etwa hinsichtlich des Phonemsystems des Urindogermanischen trotz der teils grundlegenden Fortschritte der Indogermanistik in den Forschungen zur alteuropäischen Hydronymie fast durchweg mit laryngalfreien Rekonstrukten gearbeitet, wie es auch im Hauptreferenzwerk jener Forschungen, dem *Indogermanischen etymologischen Wörterbuch* Pokornys (1959), der Fall ist. Auch Fragen von Akzent und Ablaut spielten in der bisherigen Forschung kaum eine Rolle. Nur in Ausnahmefällen wurde dargestellt, welche Ablautstufe nun vorliegt (welche semantischen Veränderungen allerdings mit wechselnden Ablautstufen einhergehen, wurde nie auch nur angesprochen) und wie diese mit evtl. im appellativischen Wortschatz auftretenden Ableitungen von der mutmaßlich selben Wurzel zusammenhängt. Angaben zum Akzentsitz im jeweils erschlossenen Rekonstrukt wurden nie gemacht.

Aus Sicht der heutigen Indogermanistik ist deshalb zu konstatieren, dass die ‚Alteuropäistik‘ bislang kaum jemals vollständige Etymologien geboten hat, die sowohl die morphologische als auch die semantische Seite in angemessenem Maße berücksichtigt hätten. Letztlich verharren jene Forschungen methodologisch auf dem Stand der Zwischenkriegszeit.²

Erst seit wenigen Jahren gibt es Bemühungen einzelner Forscher (zu nennen sind u.a. P. Anreiter und Th. Lindner)³, diese Forschungen auf das heute in der Indogermanistik übliche Niveau zu heben.

Einige Ergebnisse dieser Bemühungen sollen im Weiteren anhand einiger traditionell zur alteuropäischen Hydronymie gestellten Flussnamensippen vorgestellt und die sich bei neuer Betrachtung ergebenden Probleme thematisiert werden. Es geht dabei v.a. um den Namen der Elbe, dann die Sippe der Namen des Shannon (in Irland), der Sinn (in Nordbayern) und des San/Sjan in Polen und der Ukraine gehören. Es schließen sich Hinweise auf weitere vergleichbare Fälle an, so etwa den des Namens des Mains oder den des dem Ortsnamen *Leipzig* zugrundeliegenden Flussnamen.

Zum Namen der Elbe⁴

Der ‚klassische‘ Ansatz geht für die Elbe (lat. *Albis*) von einem Stamm (spätidg.?) **alb^h-ī-*/**alb^h-jā-* aus, das dann ein feminines *ī/jā*-stämmiges Adjektiv ‚weiß‘ gewesen sein müsste. Daneben wird auch ein feminines Substantiv ‚Weiße, Weißheit‘ angenommen, das dann im Germanischen zur Bezeichnung von ‚Fluss‘ allgemein geworden sei, vgl. anord. *elfr* ‚Fluss‘,

² Hinsichtlich des gewöhnlich angesetzten urindogermanischen Phonemsystems (das etwa auch Pokorny 1959 zugrunde liegt) muss man sogar feststellen, dass hier beharrlich auf dem Stand von vor 1878 agiert wird, denn bereits in jenem Jahr hat der junge Ferdinand de Saussure postuliert bzw. aus dem Material deduziert, dass nicht ein Schwa /ə/ anzusetzen ist, sondern man vielmehr von drei „coëfficients sonantiques“ ausgehen müsse. Dass es sich dann weiter nicht um vokalische Elemente handeln könne, erschloss der Däne Møller 1911, bewiesen wurde dies endgültig durch die Entzifferung des Hethitischen durch Bedřich Hrozný 1915, als sich herausstellte, dass mindestens einer dieser Konsonanten im Hethitischen als /h/ fortgesetzt wird. Heute wird meist davon ausgegangen, dass anlautend vor Vokal und inlautend zwischen Vokalen uridg. **h₂* und **h₃* im Hethitischen als /h/ bewahrt sind, zudem inlautend nachvokalisch vor Kononant uridg. **h₂*.

³ Vgl. etwa Anreiter (1997, 2001, 2013 etc. pp.), Lindner (2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2014 etc.)

⁴ Vgl. dazu auch die teils ausführlicheren und auch teilweise die Belegreihen anführenden Darstellungen bei Bichlmeier (2012c, 2015), Bichlmeier/Blažek (2014a), die besonders auch auf Fragen der Wortbildung und der Semantik eingehen.

md. *elve* ‚Flussbett‘. Für das Urgermanische hat man folglich wohl entweder mit dem Paradigma eines femininen Adjektivs Nom. **alb̄-ī*, Gen. **alb̄-(i)īō-z* oder eben eines Substantivs Nom. **alb̄-i-z*, Gen. **alb̄-(i)īa-z* zu rechnen.

Weiter muss auch mit einer zugrundeliegenden Form **alb^hā-* (< uridg. **h₂elb^heh₂-* bzw. **h_{1/3}alb^heh₂-*) gerechnet werden, dem femininen Pendant zum *o*-stämmigen Adjektiv **alb^ho-* (< uridg. **h₂el-b^ho-* bzw. **h_{1/3}al-b^ho-*). Die etymologischen Wörterbücher zu indogermanischen Sprachen sind darüber uneins, ob der Komplex **h₂elb^h-* bzw. **h_{1/3}alb^h-* weiter zu zerlegen ist oder nicht: Neben der Analyse des Worts als uridg. **h₂elb^h-* bzw. **h_{1/3}alb^h-* plus Themavokal **-o-* (wie in lat. *albus* ‚weiß‘) – oder eben ‚Themavokal‘ bzw. besser Stammbildungsformans **-i-* wie im vorliegenden Fall – wird nun bisweilen eine weitere Aufspaltung des Wurzelkomplexes in die Farbwurzel **h₂el-* bzw. **h_{1/3}al-* ‚weiß‘ plus Suffix **-b^ho-* vorgenommen. Dieses Suffix **-b^ho-* (das freilich nirgends von dem dann als Kompositionshinterglied zu bestimmenden **-b^hh₂o-* zur Wurzel uridg. **b^heh₂-* ‚glänzen, leuchten, scheinen‘⁵ unterschieden werden kann) begegnet auch sonst besonders in Farb- und Tierbezeichnungen (vgl. gr. ἔλαφος ‚Hirsch‘ < uridg. **h₁el-ŋ-b^ho-* neben urslaw. **(j)eleni-* < **h₁el-en-* + *-i-* zur Wurzel uridg. **h₁el-* ‚rot(braun)‘).

Nach den Untersuchungen Hyllestedts (2010) tritt das Suffix uridg. **-b^ho-* nicht nur an Farbwurzeln an, sondern scheint in einer frühen Phase des Urindogermanischen auch Verbalsubstantive (Nomina agentis ebenso wie Nomina actionis und Nomina rei actae) gebildet zu haben. Man gewinnt jedenfalls den Eindruck, dass das Postulat eines (früh)urindogermanischen Suffixes, am ehesten vielleicht ursprünglich (quasi-)partizipiellen Charakters, mit dem dann auch Verbalsubstantive gebildet werden konnten, nicht völlig aus der Luft gegriffen ist.

In diesem Zusammenhang bedeutet dies, dass nicht nur ein Rekonstrukt uridg. **h₂el-b^ho-* bzw. **h_{1/3}al-b^ho-* ‚weiß‘ (< **-b^ho-* ‚weiß seiend‘) möglich ist, sondern eben auch uridg. **h₁elb^ho-* ‚herumtreibend‘ bzw. **h₂elb^ho-* ‚ziellos gehend‘ oder uridg. **h₁el-b^ho-* ‚rot(braun)‘ und uridg. **h₁el(H)-b^ho-* ‚modrig, sumpfig‘. Wenn weiter vor diesem Suffix die eigentliche Wurzel in der *e*-Stufe, der *o*-Stufe oder der Schwundstufe auftreten konnte, könnte es neben uridg. **h₁elb^ho-* bzw. **h₂elb^ho-* auch uridg. **h₁olb^ho-* bzw. **h₂olb^ho-* gegeben haben. Hinzu kämen dann noch als denkbare weitere Bildungen uridg. **h₁ol-b^ho-* ‚rot(braun)‘ sowie **h₁ol(H)-b^ho-* ‚modrig, sumpfig‘. Man kann sich nun weiter überlegen, was aus den gerade genannten Formen entweder im Germanischen oder in einem dem Germanischen vorangehenden ‚Nord-West-Indogermanisch‘ werden musste. Man erhält ausgehend von den beiden Formen mit **h₁e-* im Anlaut nwidg. **elb^o* bzw. urgerm. **elb^o*, ausgehend von den anderen sechs Formen nwidg. **alb^o* bzw. urgerm. **alb^o*, wenn man annimmt, dass der interkonsonantische Laryngal nicht vokalisiert wurde.

Es somit ist nicht sicher zu entscheiden, welche Etymologie aisl. *elfr* f. *i*-St. ‚Fluss‘, md. *elve* ‚Flussbett‘ einerseits und die *Elbe* / lat. *Albis* < urgerm. **alb̄i/ī-* o.ä. andererseits nun haben: Für das altisländische und mittelniederdeutsche Wort dürfte aufgrund der Semantik eine Herleitung aus einem Adjektiv der Bedeutung ‚weiß‘ auszuschließen sein: Die bisher des öfteren postulierte semantische Entwicklung von ‚weiß‘ zu ‚Fluss‘ (weil die Elbe,

⁵ Vgl. Rix (2001: 68f.).

die ‚Weiße‘ eben, ein so prototypischer Fluss sei oder weil in Island Flüsse meist aus Gletschern hervortreten o.ä.) hat meines Wissens nirgendwo Parallelen und ist zu verwerfen.

Dem Namen der Elbe kann folglich sowohl eine der Farbbezeichnungen als auch eines der Verbalsubstantive zugrunde liegen: Ob die Elbe nun ‚die Weiße‘ (< uridg. **h₂el-b^{h_o}*- bzw. **h_{1/3}al-b^{h_o}*-), ‚die Rotbraune‘ (< uridg. **h₁ol-b^{h_o}*-) oder ‚die Mäandrierende‘ (< uridg. **h₂elh₂-b^{h_o}*- ‚ziellos gehend‘) etc. war, ist nicht zu entscheiden. Angesichts der Gestalt des (ursprünglichen, unregulierten) Flusses gerade in seinem Unterlauf, der durch weitgehend flaches, gefällearmes Terrain führt, oder seines Weges durch das Elbsandsteingebirge hat die letztgenannte Lösung einiges für sich. Dagegen bedürfte die Benennung als ‚die Weiße‘ oder ‚die Rotbraune‘ noch einer gesonderten Erklärung, denn eine weißliche bzw. rotbraune Färbung o.ä. ist m.W. für die Elbe in ihrem Verlauf nirgendwo charakteristisch. Gleiches dürfte für Benennungen nach modrigen bzw. brackigen Flussabschnitten gelten. Auf weitere Probleme v.a. der Wortbildung ist andernorts genauer eingegangen worden.

Aber schon aus diesen kurzen Ausführungen sollte deutlich geworden sein, dass zwar die alte ‚monokausale‘ Herleitung des Namens der Elbe nicht mehr haltbar ist, aber in jedem Falle auch weiterhin davon ausgegangen werden darf, dass das Aussehen dieses Flusses in irgendeiner Weise maßgeblich für seine Benennung war.

Shannon, Sinn und San/Sjan

Dargestellt werden soll die mit diesen Namen verbundene Problematik am Namen der Sinn, für die anderen Flussnamen gilt aber weitgehend dasselbe.⁶ Die *Sinn* entspringt in der Rhön und mündet nach gut 60 km bei Gemünden in die Fränkische Saale.

Bei von Reitzenstein (2009: 171 s.v. *Obersinn*) lesen wir zur Etymologie: „wurde zu altindisch *sindhu* ‚Fluss‘ gestellt“ unter Verweis auf Pokorny (1938: 145f. = 1940: 127f.). Ebensolches finden wir nun bei Niemeyer (2012: 590 s.v. *Sinntal*).

Auch in den aktuellen Namenbüchern wird also in der Regel auf Arbeiten Pokornys aus den 1930er Jahren verwiesen und immer eine Verbindung zwischen diesen Flussnamen und ai. *sindhu*- ‚Fluss‘ hergestellt: Angenommen wird ein kelto-illyr. Lautwandel **sind^hn-* > **sinn-* und zusätzlich steht in diesen aktuellen Namenbüchern noch die Anmerkung, diese Form sei zu einer Wurzel „**sēi-/sī-* ‚tröpfeln, rinnen‘“ zu stellen und letztlich idg.-alteurop. **Sind^h-nā* zu rekonstruieren. Zumindes der Verweis auf diese Wurzel „**sēi-/sī-* ‚tröpfeln, rinnen‘“ findet sich jedenfalls nicht bei Pokorny in den angeführten Werken, die Herkunft dieser etymologischen Angabe bleibt vorerst unklar – was aber nichts macht, da sie ohnehin falsch ist: Von einer derartigen Wurzel ist eine Form **sind^h-* schlicht nicht ableitbar. Pokorny rechnete weiter noch damit, dass ai. *sindhu*- m. eine sekundäre Form sei, die aus einem ursprünglich neutralen Heterokliten **sind^hu*, Gen. **sind^h-n-és*, Lok. **sind^h-n-i* umgebaut sei. Im Kelto-illyrischen sei dann die Stammform **sind^hn-* > **sinn-* verallgemeinert worden. Diese Lösung ist allein schon aus morphologischen Gründen zu verwerfen: Solche Heteroklita hat es nie gegeben.

⁶ Vgl. dazu auch Bichlmeier (2014, 2015).

Trotzdem werden etwa von Udolph neben dem Flussnamen *Shannon* nun auch der polnische und der ukrainische Name *San/Sjan* zu diesem Etymon gestellt.⁷ Lautlich ist gegen diese Etymologie zunächst nichts einzuwenden: Das von Udolph im Gefolge etwa von W. P. Schmid u.a. „mit Genuswechsel“ angesetzte **sind^hnos* für älteres **sind^hnā* würde in der Tat über späterslaw. **sęnъ* zu bezeugtem poln. *San* und ukr. *Sjan* führen.

Die Frage ist nun: Geht das so einfach? Verwiesen wird in diesem Kontext eben seit Pokorny auf ai. *síndhu-* m.f. ‚Fluss, Strom; Indus‘ (sowie dessen altiranische Pendant) und die darin vermeintlich enthaltene Wurzel uridg. **sind^h-*.

Für diese indoiranische Wortsippe ist nach P. Thieme von einer Bildung ai. **sind^hú-* ‚abhaltend‘ zu ai. *sedh-* ‚abhalten, vertreiben‘⁸ auszugehen, das mit Substantivierungsakzent ai. *síndhu-* ‚Grenze‘ ergab. Während das überlieferte Verbum nur die Präsensbildung ai. *sedhati* (< uridg. **séj^h-e-ti*) kennt, setzt der *u*-Stamm ai. **sind^hú-*, eine nasalinfigierende Präsensstambbildung ai. **sinadh-*, **sindh-* (< uridg. [Transponat] **si-né-d^h-*, **si-n-d^h-*)⁹ voraus. Es handelt sich bei diesem Typ von *u*-Adjektiven um ein indisches Muster, nach dem zu Verbalstämmen in ihrer Bedeutung partizipähnliche Adjektive mit Endbetonung gebildet werden konnten.

Daraus entstand mit Übertragung auf einen charakteristischerweise als Grenze fungierenden großen Fluss (hier eben den Indus als Grenzfluss zwischen dem Perserreich und Indien) oder eben einen ebenfalls eine Grenze bildenden Ozean die Bedeutung ‚Fluss, Meer‘.

Diese Etymologie des Wortes ai. *síndhu-* wird nun freilich zu einem unüberwindlichen Problem für die althergebrachte Etymologie der Gewässernamen *Sinn*, *Shannon*, *San/Sjan*: Es handelt sich bei ai. *síndhu-* also um eine innerind(oiran)ische Bildung, bei der aus einem nicht mehr vorhandenen Nasalinfixpräsens der Nasal in eine nominale Bildung übertragen worden ist. Folglich handelt es sich bei dem daraus entwickelten Namen für den Indus, also bei der Übertragung eines Appellativums auf einen Fluss und die sich daraus entwickelnde onymische Verwendung des Lexems, um einen rein innerindischen Vorgang und somit letztlich um reinen Zufall, dass aus einer Bezeichnung für ‚Grenze‘ ein Flussname geworden ist.

Ausgehend von dieser aus indogermanistischer Sicht einwandfreien Etymologie müsste man annehmen, dass für die Vorformen von *Shannon* < air. *Sinnan* < **Sinnon* < späturidg. **Sinnōnā-* und *Sinn* (ahd. *Sinna*, *Sinne*) < späturidg.-alteurop. **Sind^h-nā-* sowie *San/Sjan* < gemeinlaw. **Sęnъ* < späturidg.-alteurop. **Sind^h-no-* dieselbe morphologische und semantische Entwicklung wie für das altindische Wort und zudem noch die Entstehung einer nasalhaltigen Neowurzel angenommen werden müsste, bevor die o.a. *no*-Ableitungen gebildet werden konnten. Für den *San/Sjan* (443 km), vielleicht auch für den *Shannon* (ca. 370 km) mag das angehen, für die *Sinn*, ein gerade einmal 61 km langes Flüsschen von nicht sonderlicher Breite will man eher nicht annehmen, dass es einmal als prototypischer Grenzfluss aufgefasst worden wäre.

Allenfalls könnte man annehmen, dass es sich bei dem gerade für das Indoiranische angenommenen Wortbildungsprozess um einen bereits (spät)urindogermanischen Vorgang gehandelt hat, der allerdings in den anderen indogermanischen Sprachgruppen sonst keine

⁷ Vgl. Udolph (1979: 634; 1990: 267).

⁸ Vgl. Mayrhofer (1992-2001: 2, 745f.); Rix (2001: 522).

⁹ Vgl. Thieme (1995a: 816).

Reflexe hinterlassen hätte, außer in diesen Flussnamen. Das Wort wäre eine gänzlich isolierte Bildung, da sonst keinerlei Ableitungen o.ä. zu einer Wurzel uridg. **seid^h*- in Europa nachweisbar sind.

Deshalb sei hier eine andere Möglichkeit der Etymologisierung vorgeschlagen, die die germanischen und keltischen Flussnamen klar von dem vermeintlichen indoiranischen Kognaten trennt und in die für den genannten Raum üblichen germanischen resp. keltischen Zusammenhänge einordnet.

Für *Sinn* < *Sinna* und *Shannon* < air. *Sinnan* < **Sinnon* < späturidg. **Sinnōnā*- sollte besser mit einer Bildung von der im Keltischen und Germanischen gut bezeugten Wurzel uridg. **sent-* ‚gehen‘¹⁰ gerechnet werden.¹¹ Zugehörig ist wohl auch das Verb ahd. *sinnan* st.V. ‚reisen, sich begeben, trachten nach‘, das ursprünglich zu der besonders im Altisländischen und Gotischen noch anzutreffenden Gruppe der inchoativen *na*-Verben gehört haben könnte. Das Verb kann u.a. auch auf urgerm. **sinþ-ne/a-* zurückzuführen sein. Es zeigt den Schwund des urgermanischen Dentals zwischen den beiden Nasalen.¹² Derselbe Schwund von Verschlusslauten zwischen zwei Nasalen darf auch für das Urkeltische angenommen werden. Da zudem beide Sprachgruppen auch noch die Hebung von uridg. **e* > *i* vor Nasal in geschlossener Silbe zeigen, steht folglich nichts mehr im Wege, diese Flussnamen auf eine entweder im Urkeltischen als **sént-no/ā-* oder im Urgermanischen als **sénþ-na/ō-* erfolgte Bildung zurückzuführen, bzw. als die Fortsetzung einer vorurgermanisch bzw. vorurkeltisch erfolgten Bildung späturidg. **sént-no/ā-* zu bestimmen. Als Bedeutung müsste schlicht ‚der/die Gehende‘ → ‚der/die Fließende‘(?), also letztlich ‚Fluss‘ angesetzt werden.¹³

Semantisch wäre man dann wieder im selben Bereich wie vorhin bei der Elbe, die ja durchaus auch ‚die Mäandrierende‘ sein könnte.

Etwas komplizierter ist die Sachlage beim Namen des San/Sjan: die Wurzel uridg. **sent-* ist im Slawischen allenfalls marginal belegt, eine innerslawische Bildung des Namens ist somit wenig wahrscheinlich, aber als Archaismus denkbar. Möglich ist aber entweder eine germanische Bildung des Namens durch die ostgermanisch-gotischen Stämme, die auf dem Weg zur Krim durch jenes Gebiet gekommen sein dürften, oder eine vorgermanisch-alteuropäische Bildung. In beiden Fällen wären nach Übernahme des Namens ins Slawische die bezeugten Formen entstanden. Unwahrscheinlich ist eine Entlehnung aus dem Iranischen.

Die Bildung des Namens der *Sinn* und seiner Verwandten kann nicht weiter zeitlich eingeordnet werden: Bei einer alteuropäischen wie bei einer keltischen oder einer germanischen Bildung ist mit demselben Ergebnis zu rechnen.¹⁴ Aufgrund ihrer jeweiligen

¹⁰ Vgl. Rix (2001: 533).

¹¹ Hierzu sind etwa belegt air. *sét* ‚Weg‘ < urkelt. **séntu-* < uridg. **sént-u-*, got. *sinþs* ‚Weg, Reise‘ < urgerm. **sinþa-* < uridg. **sént-o-* und got. *sandjan* ‚senden‘ < urgerm. **sandīje/a-* < uridg. **sont-éje/o-*.

¹² Aufgrund des Bedeutungsspektrums des Verbs wird man vielleicht auch einen Zusammenfall zweier ursprünglich verschiedener Verben, nämlich eines schwachen zu uridg. **sent-* und eines starken zu uridg. **senh₂-* ‚erlangen, erwischen‘ (Rix 2001: 532f.) annehmen dürfen.

¹³ Zu klären wäre abschließend noch, ob eine solche Bildung primär sein kann oder sekundär zu einem regulären schwundstufigen *no*-Verbaladjektiv **snt-nó-* gebildet worden sein muss. – Für den *Shannon* müssten natürlich dann noch Erweiterungen um ein weiteres nasalhaltiges Suffix angenommen werden, die uns hier aber nicht interessieren müssen. Dort käme eine vorkeltische und eine keltische Bildung in Frage.

¹⁴ Das belegte Verb ahd. *sinnan* lässt für den fränkischen Fluss theoretisch sogar noch eine erst westgermanisch/frühalthochdeutsch erfolgte Rückbildung ahd. **Sinna* aus dem Verbum als möglich erscheinen.

geographischen Lage ist im Falle der besprochenen drei bzw. vier Flussnamen, sogar mit zwei wenn nicht drei parallelen Bildungen zu rechnen: *Shannon* beruht sicher auf einer keltischen, *Sinn* auf einer alteuropäischen, keltischen oder germanischen und *San/Sjan* am ehesten auf einer alteuropäischen Bildung.

Ein Zusammenhang mit in ihrer Bildung rein innerindoiranisch zu erklärenden Flussbenennungen hat niemals bestanden. Es dürfte bei der klassischen Etymologie dieser Flussnamen vielmehr ein weiterer von Pokorny in die Welt gesetzter und dann über Jahrzehnte unreflektiert weitertradiertes Irrtum vorliegen.

Main

Semantisch lässt sich hier noch der Name des Mains, lat.-gall. *Moenus* anschließen: Dieser wird in Arbeiten der letzten Jahrzehnte gewöhnlich mit weiteren ähnlich lautenden Flussnamen besonders in Polen *Minia*, *Mień* etc. und v.a. mit dem peripheren, in seiner tatsächlichen Existenz äußerst zweifelhaften Appellativum lett. *maiņa* ‚Sumpf‘ verbunden.¹⁵ Die entsprechende Literatur bleibt hinsichtlich der genauen Etymologie reichlich vage, es scheint aber irgendwie von einer ‚Wasserwurzel‘ **mejn-* ausgegangen zu werden.¹⁶ Es fragt sich hier dann ja schon, ob nicht der schon bei Pokorny angedeutete Zusammenhang mit der Wurzel uridg. **mej-* bzw. **h₂mej-* ‚wechseln, tauschen, ändern‘, falls gr. ἀμείβω ‚wechsle, vertausche‘ zugehörig sein sollte¹⁷, das Richtige trifft, und all diese Flussnamen einfach ‚die Veränderlichen‘ oder sekundär ‚die Beweglichen‘ bedeuten. Für den Namen des Mains wurde als weitere Möglichkeit vorgeschlagen, ihn als den ‚klein(er)en (Fluss)‘ im Vergleich zum Rhein zu interpretieren und seine Vorform als uridg. **mojh₁-no-* zur Wurzel uridg. **mejH-* (wohl **mej₁-*) ‚schwinden, gering werden‘¹⁸ anzusetzen.¹⁹

Ob das ohnehin recht zweifelhafte lettische Sumpfwort dann noch wirklich etymologisch zugehörig sein kann, muss vorerst offen bleiben.

Leipzig

Und zum Schluss sei noch kurz auf den Fall des Ortsnamens *Leipzig* hingewiesen.²⁰ An diesem Beispiel wird sichtbar, dass – statt wie früher üblich – ein oder zwei Lösungen theoretisch für den wohl germanischen Flussnamen **Lībō-* bzw. den Landschaftsnamen urgerm. **Lībja-*, der dem Ortsnamen *Leipzig* zugrunde liegt, etwa zwanzig denkbare Lösungen existieren:

¹⁵ Das Wort findet sich anscheinend nur in einem einzigen Wörterbuch des Lettischen verzeichnet, nämlich bei Mühlentbach/Endzelin 1923-1932: 2, 550 (II *maiņa*) und ist zudem nach Auskunft lettischer Kollegen eine Übernahme aus einem anderen Wörterbuch ohne Verankerung in der gesprochenen Sprache.

¹⁶ Vgl. Udolph (1990: 161-163).

¹⁷ Vgl. Rix (2001: 279; 426); de Vaan (2008: 373f.); traditionell als eigene Wurzel uridg. **mej-* ‚gehen, wandern‘ angesetzt (vgl. Pokorny 1959: 710), aber wohl einfach nur Sonderentwicklung aus der Wurzel der Bedeutung ‚wechseln, tauschen‘.

¹⁸ Vgl. Rix (2001: 427).

¹⁹ Vgl. dazu Bichlmeier (2010a).

²⁰ Vgl. dazu ausführlich Bichlmeier (2013a).

- 1) uridg. **h₂leĭH-b^ho-* oder **h₂liH-b^ho-* ‚beschmutzend, schmutzig‘ bzw. **h₂leĭH-h₂p-ó-* oder **h₂liH-h₂p-ó-* ‚schmutziges Wasser habend‘; zu uridg. **h₂leĭH-* ‚beschmieren‘;²¹
- 2) uridg. **leĭH-b^ho-* oder **liH-b^ho-* ‚sich anschmiegend‘; zu uridg. **leĭH-* ‚sich anschmiegen‘;²² das Kompositum mit **-h₂p-ó-* dürfte hier aufgrund der Bedeutung entfallen;
- 3) uridg. **leĭH-b^ho-* oder **liH-b^ho-* ‚(sich er-)gießend‘ (→ ‚fließend‘?) bzw. **leĭH-h₂p-ó-* oder **liH-h₂p-ó-* ‚sich ergießendes Wasser habend‘; zu uridg. **leĭH-* ‚gießen‘;²³
- 4) uridg. **leĭh₂-b^ho-* oder **lih₂-b^ho-* ‚aufhörend, schwindend‘ bzw. **leĭh₂-h₂p-ó-* oder **lih₂-h₂p-ó-* ‚schwindendes Wasser habend‘; zu uridg. **leĭh₂-* ‚aufhören, schwinden‘;²⁴
- 5) uridg. **leĭp-ó-* ‚klebrig‘ > ‚matschig, sumpfig‘(?), zu uridg. **leĭp-* ‚kleben bleiben‘;²⁵ für uridg. **leĭp-h₂p-ó-* ‚matschiges Wasser habend‘(?) wird man wohl ebenfalls mit einer Entwicklung zu urgerm. **lībō-* rechnen dürfen, Parallelfälle mit der Lautgruppe uridg. **-pHp-* wird man aber wohl schwerlich finden;
- 6) uridg. **(s)leĭH-b^ho-* oder **(s)liH-b^ho-* ‚bläulich‘ bzw. **(s)leĭH-h₂p-ó-* oder **(s)liH-h₂p-ó-* ‚bläuliches Wasser habend‘; zu uridg. **sleĭH-* ‚bläulich‘;²⁶ die schwundstufige Form der Bildung ist nur möglich, wenn die Wurzel (wei man aber wohl annehmen darf) laryngalhaltig war. Zugehörig wäre hier in erster Linie der Name der Pflaume oder Zwetschge bzw. des Pflaumen- oder Zwetschgenbaums im Slawischen, vgl. serbo-kroat. *šljīva* etc. (< urslaw. **slīvā-* < uridg. **sl(e)iH-ueh₂-*);²⁷
- 7) uridg. **(s)leĭ(H)-b^ho-* oder **(s)liH-b^ho-* ‚schleimig, matschig‘ bzw. **(s)leĭ(H)-h₂p-ó-* oder **(s)liH-h₂p-ó-* ‚schleimiges/matschiges Wasser habend‘ zu uridg. **sleĭ(H)-* ‚schleimig, matschig‘²⁸ die schwundstufige Form der Bildung ist nur möglich, wenn die Wurzel laryngalhaltig war. Diese Wurzel ist eine Wurzel, für die im Germanischen Fortsetzer mit und ohne anlautendes **s-* nachgewiesen sind: Man vergleiche ahd. *leim* ‚Lehm, Ton, Schlamm‘ (< urgerm. **laĭma-* < uridg. **(s)loĭ(H)-mo-*) > bair. *loam*, nhd. *Lehm* und ahd. *līm* ‚Leim, Ton, Tonerde, Lehm‘ (< urgerm. **līma-* < **(s)leĭ(H)-mo-*) > nhd. *Leim* neben ahd. *slīm* ‚Leim, Ton, Tonerde, Lehm‘ (< urgerm. **slīma-* < **sleĭ(H)-mo-*) > nhd. *Schleim*. Lat. *līmus* ‚Schlamm, Kot, Schmutz‘²⁹ ist hier uneindeutig, da im Lateinischen in dieser Position anlautendes **s-* ohnehin schwinden würde.

Die Zahl der Möglichkeiten vermehrt sich weiter, da theoretisch auch ein vorgermanischer (alteuropäischer) Gewässername zugrunde liegen könnte, der, zumindest in den Fällen, die uridg. **-b^h-* enthalten, bei Übernahme ins Germanische dann ja zu derselben Form geführt hätte.

²¹ Vgl. Rix (2001: 277f.).

²² Vgl. Rix (2001: 405).

²³ Vgl. Rix (2001: 405f.).

²⁴ Vgl. Rix (2001: 406).

²⁵ Vgl. Rix (2001: 408f.), Wodtko, Irslinger und Schneider (2008: 453f.).

²⁶ Vgl. Pokorny (1959: 965).

²⁷ Vgl. Vasmer (1953-1958: 2, 660); Fasmer (2003: 3, 670); Derksen (2008: 453f.). etc.

²⁸ Vgl. Pokorny (1959: 662f.).

²⁹ Vgl. de Vaan (2008: 342. Dort wird eine Herleitung aus urital. **sle/oĭmo-* < uridg. **sle/oHi-mo-* erwogen. Für den Ansatz der Struktur uridg. **sleHi-* gegenüber sonst vorgezogenem uridg. **sleĭH-* gibt es aber m.E. keine Notwendigkeit.

Ausblick

Vieles Weitere ließe sich noch anschließen. Es sollte aber auch so der zentrale Punkt deutlich geworden sein: Die Einschätzung Krahes, dass zumal die Benennungen der Gewässer der ältesten Gewässernamenschicht in Europa nach den Eigenschaften der Gewässer im weitesten Sinne (Art der Bewegung, Aussehen etc.) erfolgte, hat nach wie vor Gültigkeit. Trotzdem lohnt sich nach den Entwicklungen, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten in der Indogermanistik stattgefunden haben, ein neuer Blick auf das gesamte Material.

Dieser fördert zwei fast gegensätzliche Ergebnisse zu Tage: Einerseits findet eine Präzisierung der Etymologien auf neuestem Kenntnisstand hinsichtlich Phonologie und Morphologie, bisweilen auch des Akzents statt. Andererseits ist aber zu konstatieren, dass die früher üblichen monokausalen Erklärungen heute kaum mehr Bestand mehr haben können, sondern vielmehr fast immer mehrere Etymologien gangbar sind. Diese Etymologien kann man allenfalls nach größerer oder geringerer Wahrscheinlichkeit werten, eine eindeutige Entscheidung zwischen ihnen ist kaum einmal zu fällen.

Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass weitere Forschungen hier mehr Klarheit bringen werden, vorläufig lassen sich solche Tendenzen freilich noch nicht erkennen.

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Les noms de lieux gallo-romains dans leur environnement

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Résumé

Quand les livres de toponymie regorgent de noms de lieux ‘gallo-romains’ expliqués par un nom de personne pour leur étymologie, il existe des noms de la même époque qui peuvent être expliqués par le nom d’une personne ayant réellement vécu sur place ou été propriétaire du bien. L’épigraphie et la littérature antiques en fournissent plusieurs témoignages. En outre, des saints patrons d’églises ont servi à nommer des lieux à la fin de la période impériale.

Abstract

Although books on place names are full of ‘Gallo-Roman’ names of anthroponymic origin, there are also contemporary names which can be explained by the name of a person who actually lived in or owned the property: Latin epigraphy and literature provide several testimonials. Moreover, patron saints of churches were used to name places at the end of the Roman Imperial period.

* * *

La présente étude repose sur les noms de lieux attestés dans l’Antiquité en Gaule, ainsi que ceux formés dans l’Antiquité sur des noms de personnes précédemment et localement attestés : le corpus sera limité aux seuls anthropotoponymes. Les sources utilisées sont les nombreuses inscriptions, lapidaires ou autres qui parsèment le territoire, les auteurs antiques tardifs ainsi que les vocables ecclésiastiques relevés pour la totalité du territoire de la France métropolitaine.

De semblables sources permettent de resituer les lieux dans le contexte qui a prévalu au moment de leur nomination, historique et géographique, linguistique et ethnique, culturel et social, mais aussi, dans certains cas, prosopographique. Elles révèlent aussi différents aspects qui participent de la motivation animant les principaux acteurs de la nomination.

Les noms de personnes dans l’épigraphie

Les fragments en marbre du cadastre dit ‘d’Orange’, lieu de sa découverte à la fin du XIX^e s., ont fait l’objet de nombreuses publications relatives à la localisation des éléments cadastrés. Leur étude a montré dès 1953 l’existence de trois cadastres, correspondant chacun à une zone sise dans la vallée du Rhône, avec une emprise plus forte sur sa rive gauche faite de plaines alluviales et de collines (Piganiol 1962). Afin de lutter contre les usurpations de terres publiques, l’empereur Vespasien a ordonné de refaire les cadastres embrassant l’intégralité du territoire de la colonie : le premier, aujourd’hui appelé cadastre A, fut réalisé au cours de l’année 77. Les trois cadastres ont été placardés sur un très haut mur de la ville, afin que les

citoyens prissent connaissance des parcelles légalement occupées par des personnes privées ou par la puissance publique. Récemment, une révision épigraphique a été menée de quelques fragments du cadastre C qui concerne la plaine d'Orange et principalement sa partie orientale (Christol *et al.* 1998). La relecture a porté sur les éléments onomastiques qui, très rares, parsèment le document. En les comparant avec d'autres inscriptions de la Gaule Narbonnaise, il apparaît évident aux auteurs que des connexions familiales existaient, ce que confirment les gentilices, entre des familles de propriétaires aisées de Nîmes, Aix et Orange, Nîmes et Vaison aux I^{er} et II^e s. après J.-C. Parmi les personnes qui figurent dans le document, un certain *Iuuentius Pedo* est mentionné comme adjudicataire dans les *insulae Furianae* du Rhône mais aussi à une quinzaine de kilomètres plus à l'Est (Christol *et al.* 1998: 342). Les cadastres d'Orange apportent donc la preuve que, durant le Haut-Empire, une famille peut être possessionnée dans des lieux parfois très éloignés, de même qu'un seul et même propriétaire. Et l'épigraphie, ainsi que son étude peuvent apporter un grand secours à l'étude de la toponymie formée à la même époque : elles permettent de savoir non seulement qui était réellement la personne éponyme du lieu, mais aussi quand le nom de lieu a été formé, à condition, bien entendu, que l'inscription porte une date ou ait fait l'objet d'une datation conjecturée.

Une première piste consiste à rechercher parmi les lieux géographiquement proches de l'invention d'une inscription celui qui porterait un nom dont l'éponyme anthroponymique figurerait sur ladite inscription. Rares en effet sont les cas où le nom des personnes porté sur une inscription devient éponyme d'un nom de lieu à l'intérieur même de la paroisse (ou commune) où elle a été trouvée.

Dans le quartier des Esparans, sur la commune de Plaisians (Drôme), un gros domaine, occupé du I^{er} s. a.C au milieu du III^e s. p.C. et des inscriptions, l'une des II^e-III^e s. p.C., l'autre probablement du I^{er} s., confirment l'antiquité du site. La plus ancienne est une dédicace divine : *P(ublius) Val(erius) Plac(idus) u(otum) s(oluit)* (Planchon *et al.* 2010: 488). L'auteur de la découverte ne sait s'il convient de restituer l'abréviation *Plac(...)* en *Plac(idus)* ou *Plac(idianus)*, dans la mesure où la pierre a été brisée après la première syllabe ; cependant, l'absence du cognomen *Placidianus* en Gaule et les quelques attestations du cognomen *Placidus* permettent de préférer cette seconde interprétation. Toujours est-il que ce nom de personne, par une évolution phonétique régulière et muni du suffixe -ANU, est à l'origine du nom du village *Plaisians*, attesté *Plazianum* en 1216 (Brun-Durand 1891: 275).

Sur la commune de Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme), différentes fouilles menées entre 1845 et 1971 ont permis de découvrir une source sacrée entourée de monnaies et de céramique antiques, et contenant des offrandes (vases, monnaies, noix, noisettes...) et environ 3.000 ex-voto en bois dont la plupart sont anthropomorphes, représentant des jambes, des bras, des pieds, des mains, d'autres membres et organes, ainsi que des personnages, tous offerts en vœu ou en grâce de guérison. La source a été fréquentée des années 30 a.C. aux années 60 p.C. La dernière découverte, et la plus prestigieuse, fut celle d'une lame de plomb comportant une inscription gauloise, en lettres cursives : une incantation druidique pour lier le dieu *Maponos* et obtenir de lui le succès dans une lutte à venir (Provost et Mennessier-Jouannet 1994: 59). En tête de la liste des incantateurs figure *C(aion) Lucion Floron Nigrinon adgarion*, c'est-à-dire 'Caius Lucius Florus Nigrinus l'invocateur', celui qui dirige la prière. La source est appelée *Fontz Sallées* en 1628, *Les Roches* sur le cadastre du début du

XIX^e s. Quant au terroir sur lequel elle se trouve, il est attesté *ad Floiracum* au XI^e s., puis *Florat* en 1488, enfin *Clora* sur le même cadastre, jusqu'à devenir *Rue de Clora* après 1950 (Grémois et Chambon 2008: 47-48).¹ L'étymon est évident : c'est le nom même de l'invocateur, *Florus*, muni du suffixe -IACU. Ce type d'exemple est rarissime : il fournit la preuve que le toponyme peut être formé sur le lieu même de l'inscription et que le suffixe -IACU était déjà utilisé au tout début du Haut-Empire pour former un nom de lieu. En effet, ce suffixe gaulois, dont le premier emploi adjectival était patronymique, possessif puis locatif, est passé à un emploi substantival seulement locatif, non pas au début du II^e s., comme l'attestait l'inscription trouvée à Champoulet (Loiret) (Lambert 1994: 39),² mais un siècle plus tôt.

Les habitants de la Gaule ont continué d'utiliser ce suffixe au moins jusqu'aux VI^e-VII^e s., comme en témoignent deux autres inscriptions trouvées dans le département du Puy-de-Dôme. Dans la vallée encaissée de l'Allier, à sa confluence avec la Couze Chambon, se situe le village de Coudes dont le nom est d'origine gauloise (< COSA + -ATE) et, sur son flanc Nord, la chapelle dédiée à saint Genès. Celle-ci gît à l'emplacement d'une nécropole occupée du V^e au XIV^e s., et qui contient sept stèles funéraires de la fin du V^e au VII^e s. À cette époque, le lieu primitif de culte, dédié à saint Genès, évêque de Clermont, peu après sa mort qui intervint en 662, est le seul sur le côté occidental de la voie romaine entre Clermont et Issoire : il attire donc les fidèles des alentours. Une stèle en marbre rappelle la mémoire de *Johannis*, décédé à 21 ans (Provost et Mennessier-Jouannet 1994: 83). Au VI^e s., ce nom est rarissime, et il y a tout lieu de penser qu'il est l'éponyme de *Jonat*, attesté *in villa Jaonago* en 994-1049 (Doniol 1864: n°400),³ lieu-dit situé à cheval sur les communes de Plauzat et Saint-Sandoux, à 6 km à l'ouest de la nécropole. Une autre stèle, datée du règne de Thierry (soit en 512 ou 527, soit en 602), rappelle la mémoire de *Palladius*, décédé à 17 ans (Provost et Mennessier-Jouannet 1994: 83). Rarement attesté en Gaule avant le V^e s., ce cognomen devient relativement fréquent aux VI^e-VII^e s., bien porté dans les milieux aristocratiques et épiscopaux. Le cognomen est à l'origine du toponyme *Palazinges* (Corrèze), attesté *villam Pallaiangas* vers 925-31, formé avec le suffixe -ANICAS (Villoutreix 1992: 77). Le nom de la commune jouxtant Coudes est *Plauzat*, constamment expliqué par le nomen latin PLAUTIUS avec le suffixe -ACU⁴ : attesté *in Plauziaco* en 954-84 (Doniol 1864: n°82). Ce nomen est encore plus rare, seulement documenté sous le Haut Empire à Nîmes et à Lyon,⁵ disparu après sans laisser aucune trace dans la toponymie. Il semble probable que le cognomen PALLADIUS soit à l'origine de *Plauzat*, après métathèse de la consonne liquide et différenciation de la diphtongue secondaire par la fermeture de son second élément : *Palladiacu* > **Plaadiacu* > **Plaodiacu* > *Plauziacu*.

¹ L'évolution de l'initiale est expliquée par une fausse régression spécifiquement régionale des groupes [fl] et [kl] en [çl].

² À Champoulet, trois dédicaces sous forme adjectivale (deo Merc(urio) Dubnocaratiaco et deo Appolino Dunocaratiaco), et une substantivale (d(e)ae Rosmerte Dubnocaratiaci).

³ Le lieu, divisé en plusieurs parcelles est graphié Jonas sur le cadastre de Saint-Sandoux, Jonat sur celui de Plauzat.

⁴ Dauzat, A. (1971) *La toponymie française...* Paris: Payot. 284 ; Nègre, E. (1990) *Toponymie générale de la France. Étymologie de 35.000 noms de lieux. I.* Genève: Droz. 491.

⁵ Respectivement : CIL XII 3799 et XIII 11198.

Une autre piste consiste à rechercher un gentilice dont la présence est propre à une zone relativement restreinte, à l'échelle de l'Empire romain bien entendu. Tel est le cas de la gens *Antistius*. À Malvèzie (Haute-Garonne), un autel votif mentionne *L(ucius) Antist(ius) Syntri(...)* (Sablayrolles et Beyrie 2006: 185) Plus au Nord, dans la région de Saint-Gaudens (Haute-Garonne), un autel votif a été dédié à la déesse Minerve par *Auctus Antisti(i) l(ibertus)* (Sablayrolles et Beyrie 2006: 412) À Auch (Gers) : *(Dis Manibus) C(aii) Antisti Seueri flaminis* 'Aux Dieux mânes de Caius Antistius Severus, flamine', inscription trouvée dans le couvent des Ursulines d'Auch, ancien prieuré de St-Orens, sur un cippe, datée du I^{er} s. p.C. (Lapart et Petit 1993: 81). Deux inscriptions funéraires trouvées dans la ville font référence au même gentilice;⁶ en outre, une dédicace est faite à *C(aius) Antistius... IIIII vir augustalis*, 'sévir augustal', fils probable du précédent, aussi datée du I^{er} s. (Lapart et Petit 1993: 84). À Pellefigue (Gers), *Antistia Erotien* dresse un monument funéraire à la mémoire de son mari *C(aius) Antistius Protogenus* et de leur fille *Antistia Biblidis* (Lapart et Petit 1993: 235). À Belloc-Saint-Clamens (Gers), un autel funéraire du II^e s. p.C. porte la mémoire de *C(aius) Antistius Arullianus* (Lapart et Petit 1993: 252). À Gimont (Gers), sur les limites de la forêt gauloise de Bouconne, a été trouvée sur une pierre funéraire l'inscription dédiée à la mémoire d'*Antistia Talseia* (Lapart et Petit 1993: 180). Pour l'historien Michel Labrousse, 'il s'agit d'une grande famille italienne installée dans la région ou d'indigènes très tôt romanisés, jouant un rôle important dans la cité et qui a affranchi ses esclaves travaillant en ville ou sur ses domaines ruraux' (Lapart et Petit 1993: 56). Ce gentilice est tout aussi fréquent à Narbonne (Aude) où il est attesté du milieu du I^{er} s. au II^e s.⁷ et à Nîmes (Gard) à pareille époque;⁸ il apparaît aussi à Vaison (Vaucluse)⁹ où la personne appartient à la famille de *C(aius) Antistius Quintillus* attestée à Nîmes, ainsi qu'à Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône) au I^{er} s.¹⁰ Les douze noms de lieux formés sur le gentilice sont de trois types morphologiques : gentilice simple, *Antist* (Hautes-Pyrénées) et *Andiste* (Pyrénées-Atlantiques) ; avec le suffixe latin -ANU, *Antichan* (Ariège, Haute-Garonne, Gers, Landes) et *Andissans* (Gironde) ; avec le suffixe latin -ANICOS, *Andissorgues* (Gard) et *Antissargues* (Hérault). Trois de ces lieux ont eu suffisamment d'importance pour devenir des paroisses au Moyen Âge, *Antist* dans les Hautes-Pyrénées, *Antichan* dans les Hautes-Pyrénées et la Haute-Garonne, les trois dans une zone restreinte : le premier dans la haute vallée de l'Adour, le second dans la vallée de

⁶ 'uiuos Syneros sibi et Lezbiae contubernali lanipendiae Antistiae Rufinae et Florae filiae ; (...) ceph(...) Antist(...)' (Lapart et Petit 1993: 81).

⁷ 'Viuit M(anus) Egnatius (...) Lugius cocus ; Antistia (mulieris) l(iberta) Elpis, contuber(nali) ; p(edes) q(uoqueuersus) XV. 272 : V(iuit) L(ucius) Coelius Placidus sibi, (et) Antest(i)ae L(uci) filiae Pacat(ae) matri pienti(ssimae), et Iuliae C(ai) libertae Itali(cae) contubernali, in a(gro) p(edes) XV (...) in f(ron)te p(edes) XV. 455 : [An]tist[io] [...] f(ilio) Gal(eria) Pa(t)e(r)n(o) conmil(oni)' (Dellong 2002: 231)., ce militaire ne peut être inclus dans la gens narbonnaise car issu d'une gens romaine.

⁸ 'épitaphe de C(aius) Antistius Quintillus, décédé à 12 ans, par C(aius) Antistius Epitectus et Pompeia Quintilla ses parents, au II^e s. p.C. 366 : épitaphe de Iulia Antistia par Iulia Thymele sa sœur, au II^e s. p.C. 368 : épitaphe de D. Antistius Bassus par Sc(...) Chloe son épouse, seconde moitié du I^{er} s. p.C. 443 : épitaphe de C(aius) Antistius Ant(...) médecin et Antistia Ir(ene) son épouse, par Syneros leur affranchi, au II^e s. p.C.' (Fiches et Veyrac 1996: 354).

⁹ 'Antistiae Q(uinti) fil(iae) piae Quintillae, flaminicae colonia Flauia Tricastrinorum, patronae optumae, Philocr(a)te(s) lib(ertus) (faciendum curauit ?), fin du I^{er} s. p.C. (Provost et Meffre 2003: 158). Ainsi, Antistia est flaminique à Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux mais semble posséder un domicile à Vaison.

¹⁰ 'Peregrino Antistiae Piae dispensatori, Antistia Piae liberta Cypare, contubern(ali) pientissimo.' (Rothé et Heijmans 2008: 510).

l'Ourse affluent rive gauche de la Garonne, le troisième en amont de ce confluent dans la haute vallée de la Garonne. Preuve que ces trois grands domaines ont pu traverser le haut Moyen Âge sans grands dommages. La carte de répartition des inscriptions latines (couleur bleu) et des toponymes (couleur rouge) révèle trois enseignements principaux :

- trois centres familiaux sont à l'origine de vestiges toponymiques : à l'Est, Nîmes avec les domaines situés chez les *Volcae Arecomici* ; au Sud, les familles du Comminges avec les domaines situés chez les *Conсорanni* (Couserans), les *Conuenae* (le Comminges), les *Bigerriones* (la Bigorre) et les *Tarbelli* (le Béarn) ; un peu plus au Nord, les familles toutes installées chez les *Ausci* (autour d'Auch), avec les domaines situés chez les *Ausci*, les *Tarbelli* (le Marsan) et les *Bituriges Viuisi* (le Bordelais) ;
- les familles urbaines n'ont quasiment pas laissé de vestiges toponymiques, ce qui pourrait suggérer que leurs richesses n'étaient pas basées uniquement sur des domaines ; les familles rurales, au contraire, ont laissé une forte empreinte toponymique ;
- les trois types de formation, gentilice simple ou dérivé avec les suffixes latins -ANU ou -ANICOS, coexistent au II^e s. p.C., dernier siècle d'attestation du gentilice.

Pour clore, Patxi Salaberri, Professeur à l'Université de Vitoria-Gasteiz, nous signale l'existence d'un même processus sur le flanc sud des Pyrénées : à 5 km au nord-ouest de Vitoria se situe le village d'*Antezana* de Foronda (*Andetxa* en basque), à 25 km au sud-ouest celui d'*Antezana* de La Ribera, les deux noms provenant de ANTESTIUS + -ANA. À 25km du premier et 15 km du second, sur le territoire communal de Villanañe, a été trouvée une inscription libellée *D. M. Antestia Euterpe S P an. LXXV* (Elorza 1967: 58), cette femme septuagénaire, portant pour gentilice l'éponyme des deux *Antezana* et un cognomen grec, demandant aux dieux mânes de faire cette épitaphe. Quelques 300 km séparent cette zone basque des zones nord-pyrénéennes : un lien familial ne saurait être exclu.

Une dernière piste consiste à rechercher, dans un pays bien défini, le nombre d'inscriptions qui ont laissé un vestige toponymique dans un rayon inférieur à 30 km, soit 13,5 lieues romaines. Pour ce faire, la *ciuitas Conuenarum*, à savoir le Comminges actuel, autrement dit les contours de la haute vallée de la Garonne, avec pour capitale *Lugdunum Conuenarum*, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges qui deviendra le siège d'un évêché au V^e s. dépendant de la métropole d'Auch. Cette cité romaine présente l'avantage de receler de très nombreuses inscriptions latines dont plusieurs comportent des noms de personnes et de divinités de langue aquitaine. La recherche est ici limitée à la haute vallée de la Garonne en aval de Saint-Gaudens, dans le département de la Haute-Garonne. Dans cette zone, 29 communes, hameaux ou lieux-dits portent un nom dont l'éponyme figure sur une inscription. L'éponyme porte un nom aquitain dans la majorité des cas (15/29), latin dans les autres. Son nom se présente sous la forme simple (7/29), ou dérivée avec les suffixes latins -ANU (9/29) et pluriel -ANOS (2/29), gaulois -ACU (2/29) et -IACU (4/29), aquitains -OSSU (3/29), -IOSSU (1/29) et -ENNU (1/29).

NP	simple	-ANU	-ANOS	-ACU	-IACU	-OSSU	-IOSSU	-ENNU
latin	2	6	1	0	4	0	1	0
aquitain	5	3	1	2	0	3	0	1

Seules deux inscriptions ont été datées, l'une de la fin du I^{er} ou du début du II^e s. p.C., l'autre de 194 ou 202 p.C.¹¹ Il est légitime d'en inférer, à l'aide des critères épigraphiques et historiques habituels, que les inscriptions remontent à l'époque du Haut-Empire, aux I^{er}-III^e s. p.C.

Parce que l'échantillon est relativement faible, on se contentera d'observer que les formations toponymiques géographiquement les plus proches du lieu de trouvaille des inscriptions sont celles en -ANOS et -ANU, -ACU et -IACU, de 3 à 11 km ; l'éloignement des autres relève en moyenne d'une distance double, de 17 à 20 km.

Les inscriptions éponymiques ont été trouvées, pour la plupart, le long de la vallée de la Garonne. Les noms de lieux qui en sont issus sont mieux répartis le long et autour de l'axe ripuaire, et marquent aussi une forte présence dans la vallée de la Pique, affluent rive gauche de la Garonne qui baigne le pays de Luchon. Cela signifie que la tendance était forte, pour les riches habitants de la vallée garonnaise, de posséder en amont des domaines que l'altitude et le climat rendaient plus propices à l'élevage et à l'habitat d'exploitation qu'à l'agriculture et à l'habitat de confort. Les vestiges archéologiques d'habitats du Haut-Empire (Sablayrolles et Beyrie 2006: 79),¹² bien que peu nombreux dans la haute vallée de la Garonne, présentent une répartition qui ne contredit ni la localisation des données épigraphiques, ni celle des données toponymiques. Le meilleur exemple en est la petite ville thermale antique que fut Bagnères-de-Luchon : au milieu des vestiges romains, un autel votif portant la gravure *Ilixonio deo, Secund(i)nus Ve(r)ecundi* (Sablayrolles et Beyrie 2006: 122-123) est voué au dieu *Ilixo* qui a donné son nom à la vallée de *Luchon*, par un nommé *Secundinus Verecundi* dont le patronyme, muni du suffixe pluriel -ANOS, a donné son nom au quartier appelé *Barcugnas*, situé sur la voie romaine, où se trouve une source ferrugineuse et probablement l'un des deux secteurs de l'antique ville thermal (Schenck-David 2005: 193).

Les noms de personnes dans la littérature

Né à Bordeaux en 309 ou 310, mort octogénaire, *Decimus Magnus Ausonius* appartient à l'aristocratie de la Gaule ; grammairien, poète, il fut précepteur du futur empereur Gratien qui, le temps venu, le remercia en lui confiant la préfecture des Gaules et de l'Italie, puis le consulat. Dans les années 380, Ausone habite un domaine situé en bordure de la Garonne, aujourd'hui *Lugagnac* sur la commune de Vertheuil (Gironde) et qu'il appelle lui-même *Lucaniacus*.¹³ Ce domaine est celui de son défunt beau-père, *Attusius Lucanus Talisius*¹⁴ : le nom de lieu constitué du nomen *Lucanus* et du suffixe -IACU est en pleine formation, ce que

¹¹ 'Canpan(us) H(ispanus) Iuli(a) Nou(a Karthagine et) Siluanus a (latro)nibus h(ic inte)rfecti V(... die ante) kal(endas) iun(ias) Imp(eratore Lucio Septimio) Seu(ero) co(n)s(ule)' (Sablayrolles et Beyrie 2006: 458)

¹² La carte présentée par les auteurs, est incomplète et ne prend pas en compte les établissements urbains.

¹³ MGH, AA, V/2, Ep., XXII, 13 : iam iam Perusina, iam Saguntina fame Lucaniacum liberet.

¹⁴ MGH, AA, V/2, Parent., 10 : Attusius Lucanus Talisius socer.

confirme l'emploi d'une *tmèse* dans *villa Lucani mox potieris aco* qui lui permet de suggérer que la *villa* est bien celle de *Lucanus*.¹⁵ En 393, peu avant la mort d'Ausone, son ancien élève Paulin de Nole lui écrit une lettre qui mentionne le *Lucani fundi*, ce qui ne fait que conforter l'assurance d'un toponyme en pleine formation.¹⁶

Né à Lyon vers 430, mort quinquagénaire, *Caius Sollius Apollinaris Sidonius* devient évêque de Clermont en 472. Dans ses poèmes, il décrit son domaine situé dans la montagne d'Auvergne, au pied d'un lac, aujourd'hui *Aydat* (Puy-de-Dôme) et qu'il appelle lui-même *Avitacus*,¹⁷ *villa* munie d'une grande piscine alimentée par un ruisseau qui provoque un vacarme gênant pour les conversations avec ses hôtes. Cette *villa*, il l'a reçue en dot de sa femme, fille de *Marcus Maecilius Flavius Eparchius Avitus*, qu'il épousa en 452. Ainsi donc, la *villa* tient son nom du cognomen de cet aristocrate arverne devenu empereur en 455 et décédé l'année suivante, cognomen muni du suffixe -ACU.

Sur les quelques dizaines de noms de lieux formés sur un nom de personne et attestés dans la littérature antique, seuls ces deux exemples permettent non seulement de retrouver le personnage éponyme, mais aussi de dater la formation du toponyme.

Les noms de saints

La recherche des éponymes exige d'aller plus loin encore. L'étude des vocables des anciennes paroisses de la France conduit à observer que nombre d'entre elles portent pour nom celui de leur saint patron : il en est ainsi des paroisses appelées *Martigny* qui ont pour patron saint Martin de Tours, l'un des principaux saints du monde chrétien occidental, né en 316 en Pannonie (actuelle Hongrie), mort en 397 en Touraine. Le témoignage le plus ancien du phénomène est relaté par Grégoire de Tours, en 587-90 expliquant que près de la ville de Tours se situe un *oratorium... situm in villa Martiniacensim, in quo celebre ferebatur saepius orasse Martinum*, le village étant l'actuel *Martigny* sur la commune de Fondettes (Indre-et-Loire), dont le nom est issu de *Martinus* muni du suffixe -IACU.¹⁸ Situé à un carrefour de voies romaines et ainsi fréquenté par saint Martin qui avait l'habitude d'y prier, cet oratoire est mentionné en 900 et 920 comme une *capella in honore ejusdem sancti Martini dedicate* (Mabille 1863: 403).

Le second témoignage est plus complexe : le testament de saint Remi de Reims, dans sa version longue interpolée au X^e s., mentionne pour le début du VI^e s. l'*ecclesiae proprium quod fuerat Iovini in solo Suessionico cum ecclesia beati Michahelis*, ce *Iovinus* ayant été chef de la milice romaine au IV^e s., puis déclaré saint par la ferveur populaire. À la fin du VIII^e s., ce domaine est appelé *uilla Iuuiniaco* (Malsy 1999: 509). À la fin du X^e s. ou peu après, le patronage de saint Michel est abandonné au profit d'un saint ardennais, *Iuvinus*, mort au début du X^e s. et déclaré bienheureux en 988 (Malsy 1999: 510-513). Le nom du saint propriétaire laïc antique, éponyme de la *villa* de *Juvigny* (Aisne), a donc été tardivement

¹⁵ MGH, AA, V/2, Ep., V, 36 : 'Tu arriveras promptement à la villa de Lucanus'.

¹⁶ 'aut cum Lucani retineris culmine fundi' (Hartel 1894: Carm. X, 256).

¹⁷ MGH, AA, VIII, Carm., XVIII, 1 : Si quis Avitacum dignaris visere nostram, non tibi displiceat : si quos habes placeat.

¹⁸ MGH, SRM, I/2, In Gloria confessorum, 8.

remplacé par le nom d'un saint ecclésiastique homonyme. Il n'en demeure pas moins que la suffixation du nom en -IACU a été faite entre le VI^e et le VIII^e s.

Parmi les noms de saints entrés dans la toponymie, et dans le cadre de la présente étude, seuls peuvent être relevés ceux qui, décédés avant la fin du V^e s., ont pu laisser leur empreinte dans la toponymie de la Gaule impériale. Si l'entrée des formes simples des hagionymes ne peut être datée sans recourir aux attestations anciennes, parce qu'on ignore à quel moment le préfixe *Sanctus* ou *Domnus* a été abandonné, celle des formes dérivées peut être datée en fonction des suffixes employés.

Dans ce cadre très restreint, on notera l'emploi des suffixes :

- ACU : *Baudelius Nemausensis* > *Blauzac* (Gard) ; *Genesisius Arelatensis* > *Générac* (Gironde) ; *Martinus Turonensis* > *Martiac* (Hautes-Pyrénées) ;
- IACU : *Germanus Autissiodorensis* > *Germagnat* (Ain), *Germigny* (Nièvre) ; *Jovinus Remensis* > *Juvigny* (Aisne) ; *Martinus Turonensis* > *Martigny* (Aisne, Calvados, Indre-et-Loire, Manche, Seine-Maritime) ; *Paulus apostolus* > *Poilly* (Loiret), *Poisly* (Loir-et-Cher), *Polliu* (Ain), *Pouilly* (Côte-d'Or, Loire, Nièvre, Rhône) ;
- IANICOS : *Martinus Turonensis* > *Martignargues* (Gard) ;
- ATICU : *Johannes Baptista* > *Jonage* (Rhône).

La répartition de ces toponymes montre clairement leur usage privilégié dans la moitié nord de la France. Si l'on cartographie tous les noms de lieux formés sur un hagionyme antérieur au VIII^e s., quel que soit le suffixe (-ACU, -IACU, -IACAS, -ANICOS, -IANICOS, -INIACU, -ATICU, -ONE), les zones couvertes sont encore plus renforcées, dans la partie nord de la France, une vaste région autour de Lyon, une région restreinte autour de Nîmes. Dans la situation religieuse de la période mérovingienne, les quatre provinces ecclésiastiques de la Lyonnaise, évêchés bretons mis à part, ainsi que la province de Deuxième Belgique sont bien représentées. Les sept autres provinces sont fortement lacunaires, Première Narbonnaise mise à part avec les seuls évêchés de Nîmes, Alès et Uzès. Dans cette seule région, il est légitime d'y voir le calque de formations toponymiques considérées comme typiquement régionales.

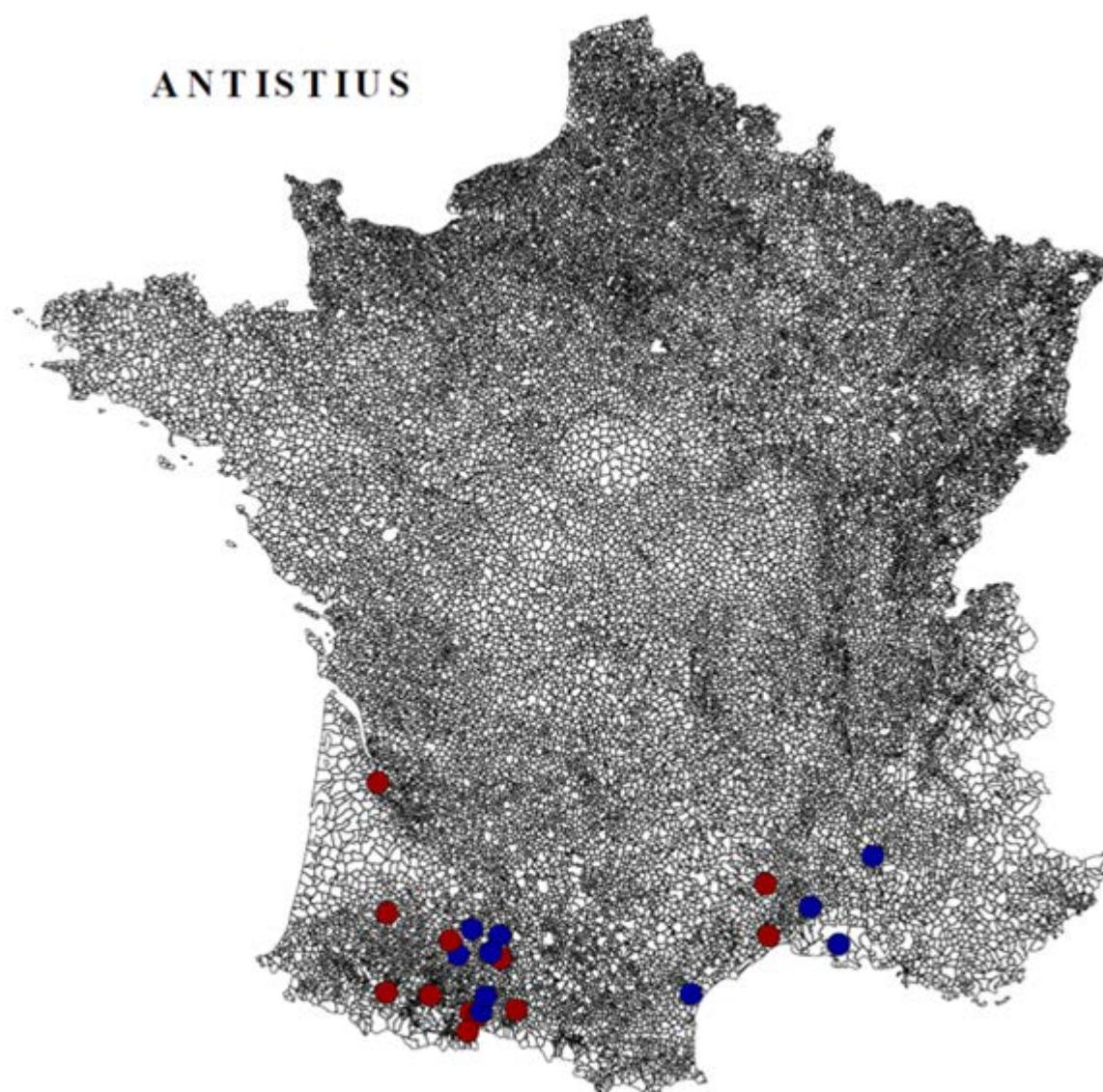
Il n'est pas inutile de répéter que ce qui fait la différence entre le nom propre et le nom commun est l'existence d'un référent particulier au nom propre. La conséquence en est que le linguiste traite du nom propre sans lien avec le référent, l'historien du référent sans lien avec le nom, l'onomasticien du nom propre en lien avec son référent. La meilleure illustration en est l'exemple vu plus haut de *Clora* où l'archéologue a trouvé l'inscription de *Florus* sans faire le lien avec le toponyme, où le linguiste a trouvé l'étymologie de *Clora* sans faire le lien avec l'inscription. C'est cette différence qui permet de dire que l'onomastique est une science à part entière, au même rang que la linguistique et l'histoire.

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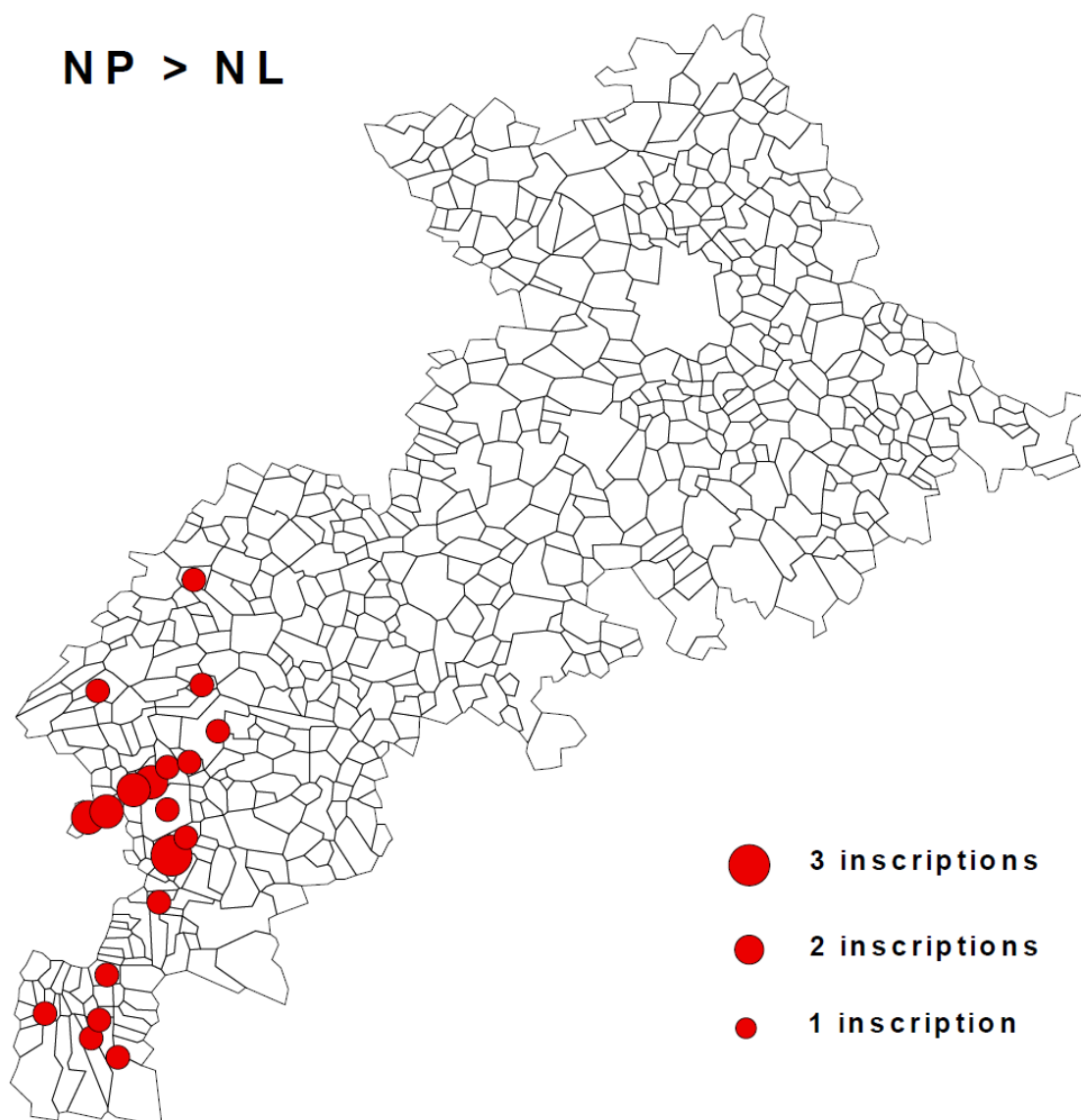
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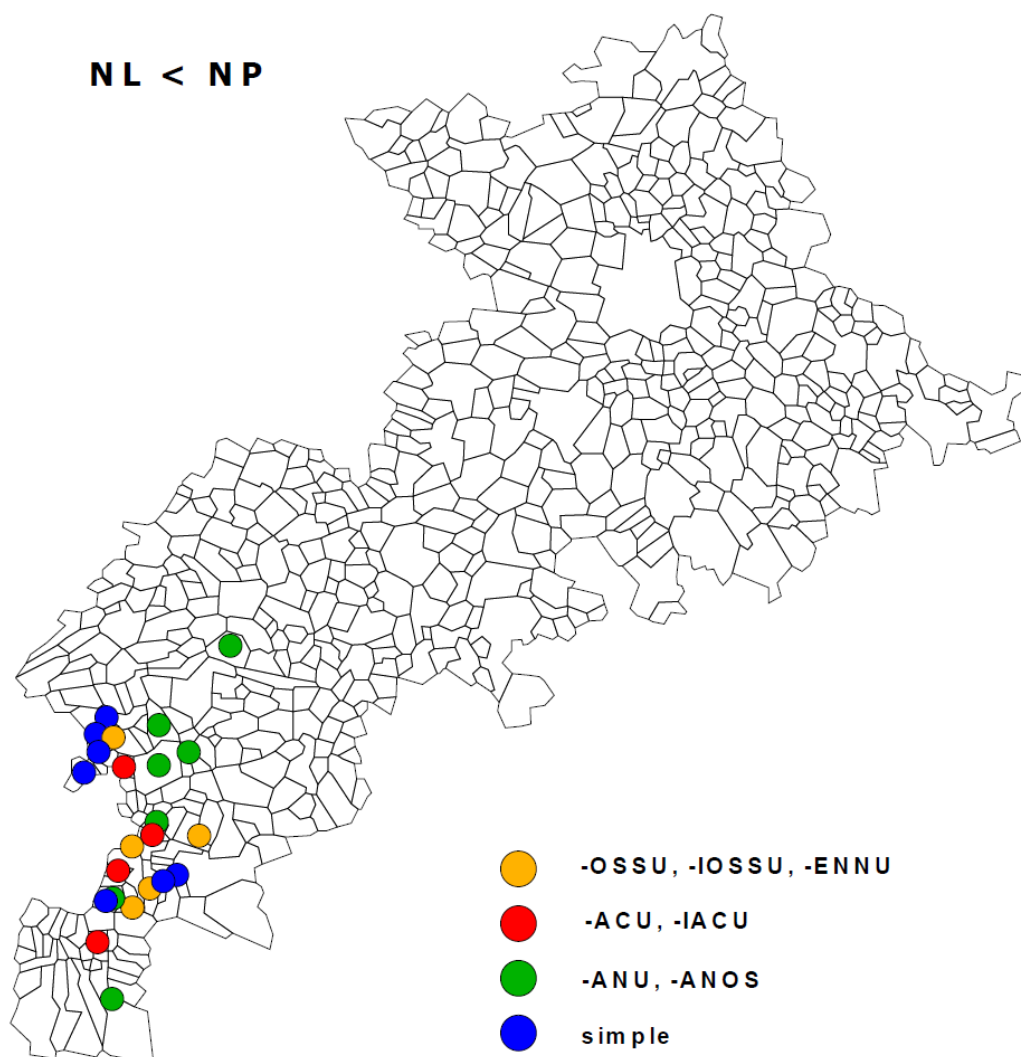
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Annexe 1 : Cartes de localisation

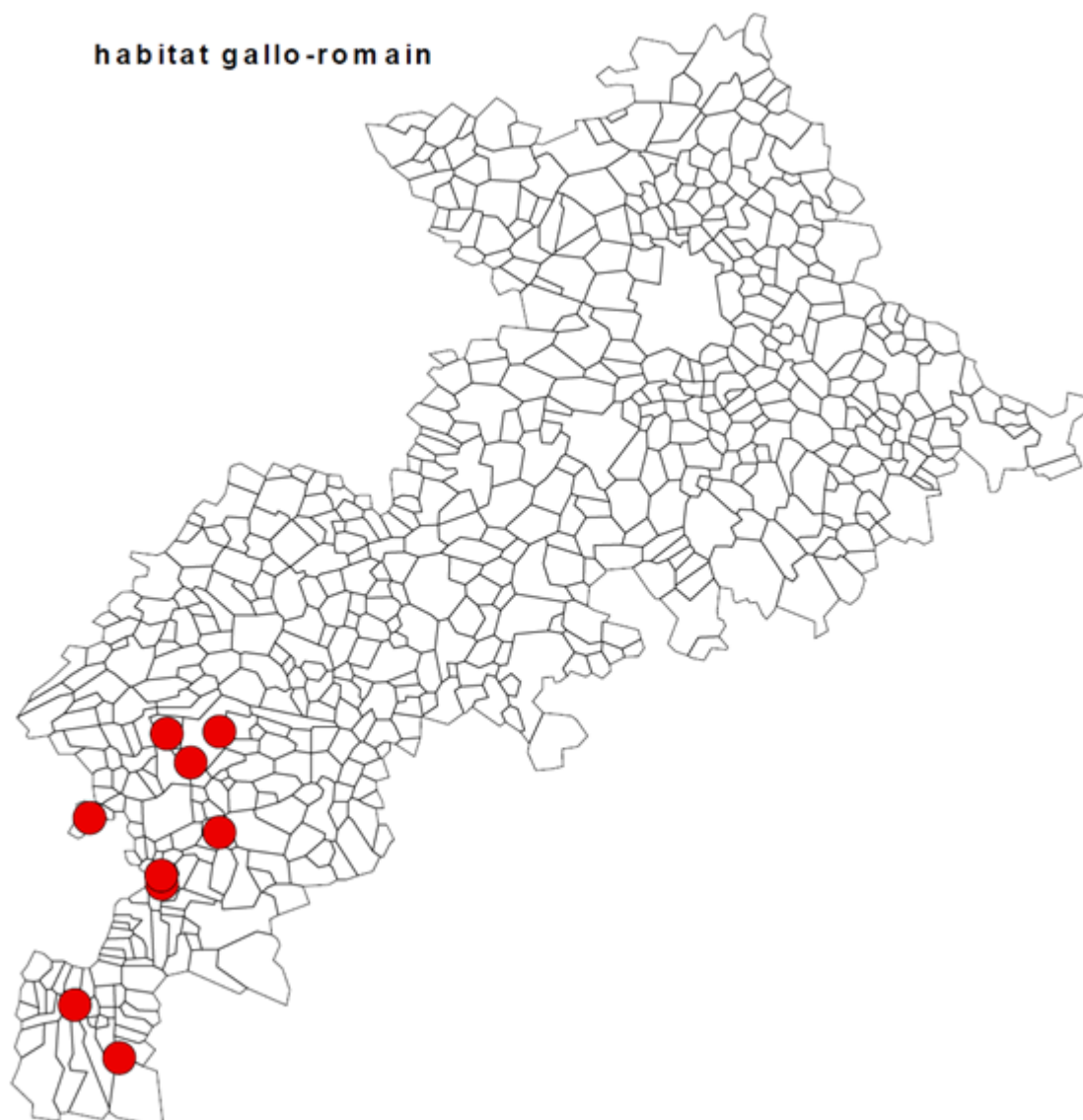


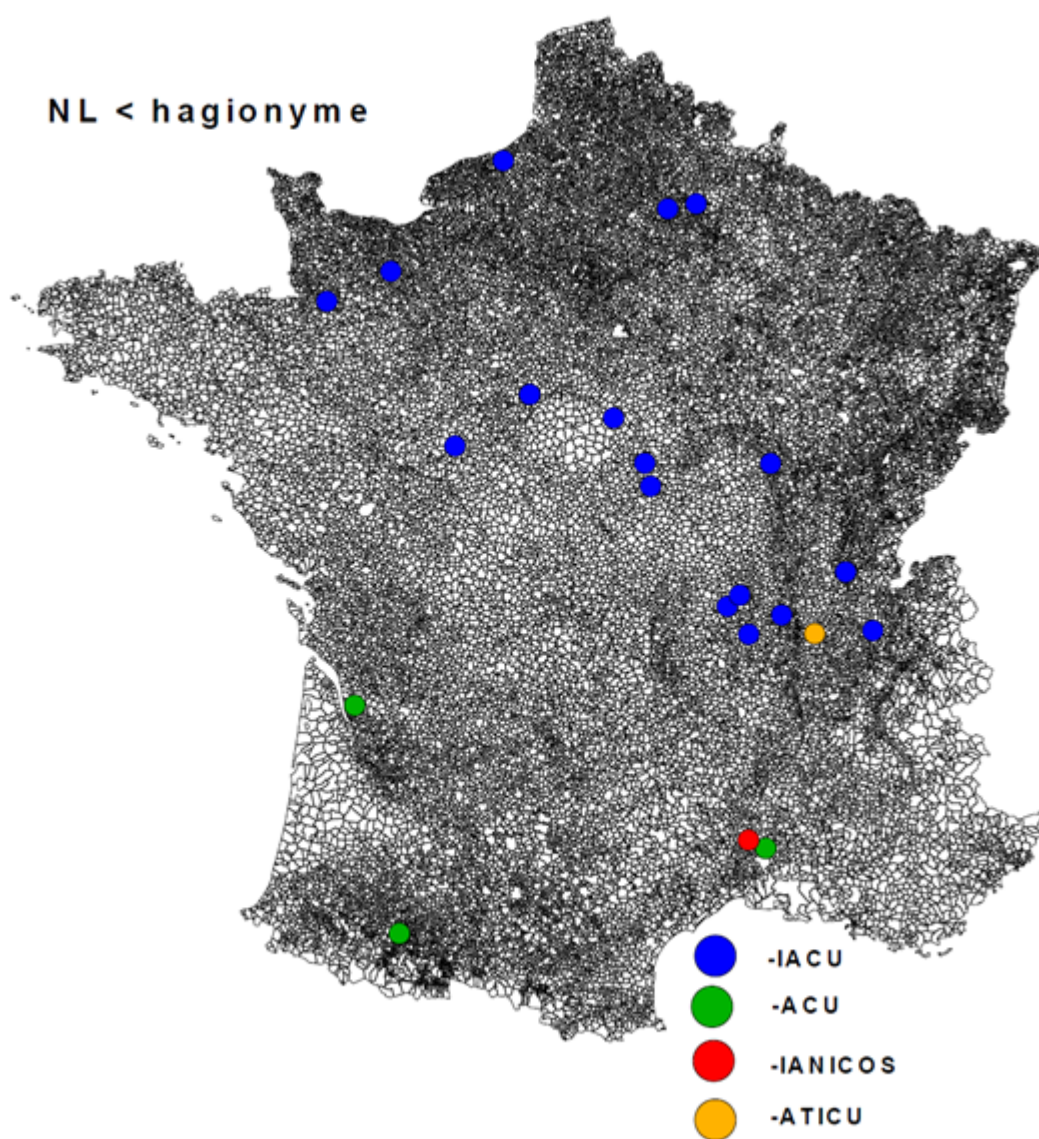
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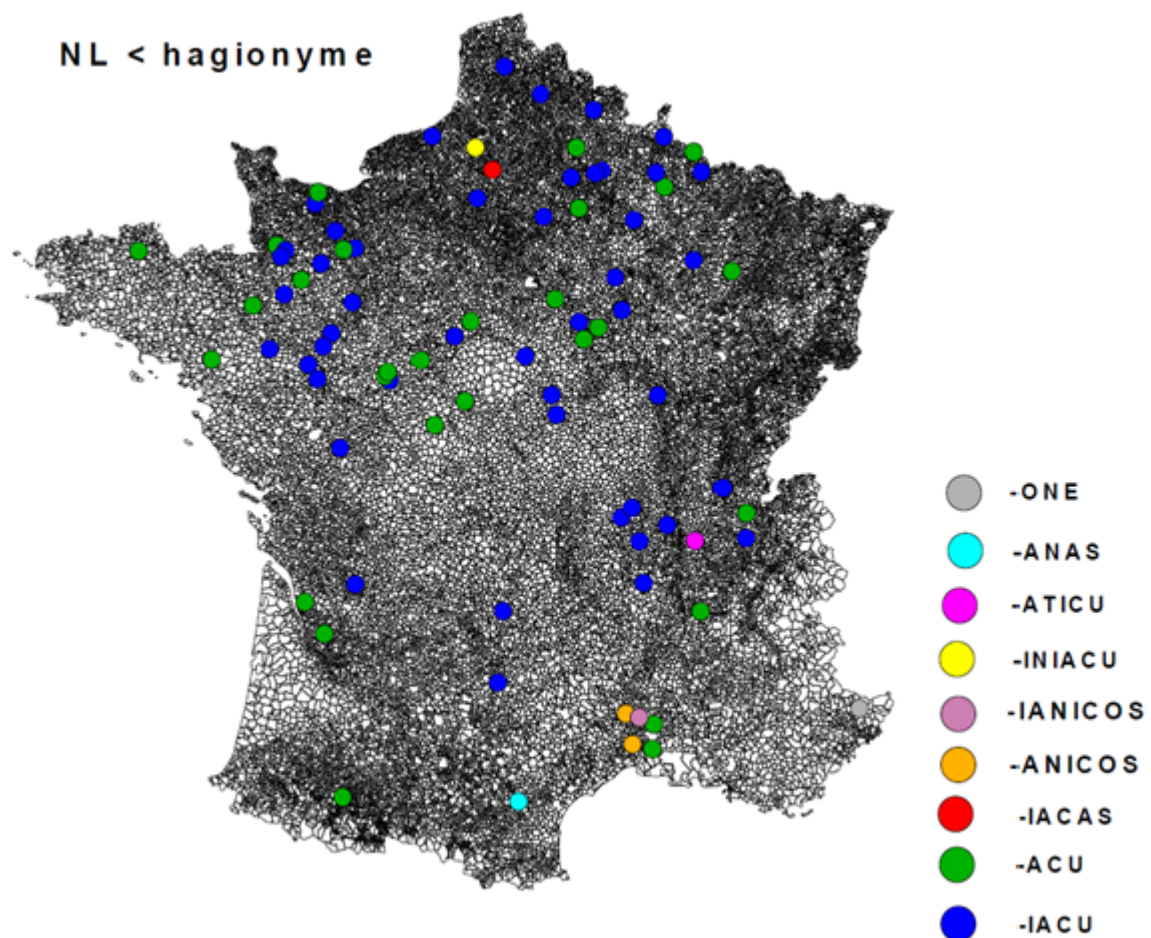




habitat gallo-romain







Eigennamen und Ethnogenese (am Beispiel der Balten)

Grasilda Blažienė

Litauen

Abstract

Längst ist bewiesen, dass systemhafte Untersuchungen der Eigennamen, insbesondere der Gewässernamen, wesentlich zur Klärung der kompliziertesten Fragen der Ethnogenese beitragen können. Bei der Begründung der Natur unterschiedlicher Kulturen dürfen die Namenforscher keinesfalls die Entwicklung des archäologischen Gedankens außer acht lassen. Auch die wiederholte Analyse der historischen Quellen nach dem heutigen Stand unseres Wissens ist unbedingt erforderlich.

Besonders präzise zu erforschen sind die Eigennamen in den Berührungsgebieten unterschiedlicher Völker, in unserem Fall baltisch-germanisch-slawisch. Unter den Forschern zu den Namen in Pommern, links der Weichsel, herrscht schon seit geraumer Zeit das Streben vor, die Namen als slawisch zu betrachten und die alteuropäische (indogermanische) und baltische Schicht auszuschließen. Das anschaulichste Beispiel ist der Flussname Persante, dem im Lichte der Erweiterung des baltischen bzw. altpreußischen Materials neue Deutungen zuzuschreiben sind. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen nicht nur die Wurzel, sondern auch der Derivationsmechanismus und die morphologische Struktur (Anreiter 2013 :23–24). Die Ergebnisse der neuesten Forschungen zu den altpreußischen Eigennamen sowie die baltischen Stämmen zuzuordnenden archäologischen Funde werfen erneut die Frage auf, ob die Weichsel als Westgrenze der Balten anzusehen ist.

Dass Germanen, Romanen und Slawen Anteil an Europa haben, steht außer Zweifel. Dagegen bleibt, auch ohne dem Panbaltismus zu verfallen, die Frage offen, welche Rolle die Balten in Europa gespielt haben.

Changes of Toponyms Reflecting Ecclesiastical Possession in Medieval Hungary*

Andrea Bölcskei

Hungary

Abstract

Based on a corpus of medieval Hungarian toponyms referring to the possession of a clergyman, and the possession of a religious order, this paper focuses on the patterns of possible structural and semantic changes of name forms reflecting early ecclesiastical possession. Simple changes involve processes such as the addition, change or loss of a toponymant; the addition, change or loss of a suffix; the addition, change or loss of a geographical common noun; the change of a specific name constituent; the addition, change or loss of a distinctive addition; the change from a suffixed to a compound name form and vice versa; the appearance and disappearance of alternative name forms; the addition, change or loss of semantic content in the name form; foreignization and domestication; and the complete change of a toponym. Furthermore, these processes are sometimes combined together in a single attested change, or appear in the source documents one after the other in a sequence of consecutive simple changes, constituting instances of complex changes. The author uses the principles of Cognitive Linguistics to explore how toponyms in this case were utilized to direct speakers' attention to a culturally significant Church-related aspect of the places bearing the names.

* * *

The Church as a Feudal Landowner in Medieval Hungary

In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, institutions of the hierarchical secular church organization (archbishoprics, bishoprics, chapters, archdeaconries and parishes), the basics of which were established before the end of the 11th century by the first kings of the Árpád dynasty, and those of monasticism (monasteries of certain monastic, chivalric, mendicant and semi-hermit orders),¹ founded by royalty and important noble families mostly during the 11th-14th centuries, got their financial support from two sources: tithes and the income gained from ecclesiastical estates. Tithes imposed on agricultural products (by King Stephen I, reigning between 997 and 1038),² customs and taxes (by King Coloman I, reigning between 1095 and 1116) were given to the Church as an organization and allotted to the bishops of dioceses. A quarter of the tithe was given to parish priests by their superior diocesan bishops. The Church, however, was also entitled to income as a feudal landowner, possessing considerable tracts of land, held by church dignitaries and monasteries or chapels.

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¹ In Hungary, monastic orders such as the Benedictines, the Cistercians, the Premonstratensians, as well as chivalric orders such as the Knights Templar, the Hospitallers and the Order of Saint Lazarus appeared in the 11th and 12th centuries. Mendicant orders such as the Dominicans and the Franciscans, and (semi-)hermit orders such as the Carthusians and the Paulines, launched in later times, however, they soon became much more popular than the monastic ones (Kristó 1999: 87-91; Kristó 2003: 132-138, 178-179, 194, 213-214, 258-260). For further details on the organization of the Church in Medieval Hungary see also Bölcskei (2013).

² Stephen reigned first as a ruling prince, then, after the millennium, as a king of Hungary.

The annual amount of the tithes was strongly dependent on the number of the devout Christian population and on the amount of crops produced in a given year; most clerical land, however, had come into the possession of the Church by the end of the 11th century, providing constant revenues for the church organization and its representatives (Kristó 1999: 103).

To ensure the conditions for operation, donation of land and real assets (lakes, forests, villages, etc.) was a customary practice whenever a bishopric, chapter or monastery was founded in the country. In the 11th century, the most generous bestower was definitely the king, as he founded most of the ecclesiastical institutions. Affluent noblemen also granted tracts of their land to the Church as a gift for the sake of their salvation, or as a bequest; alternatively, they established private monasteries or churches, equipped with landed properties. Monasteries established by the king were usually richer than those founded by landlords. Monasteries, abbeys, parishes and church offices, as a result of chance donations, usually owned widely spread properties. The bishops of dioceses could count on a regular and stable income stream from their estates, although parish priests had to be satisfied with slender means. Landed wealth gained by inheritance and earned by position was intertwined in the case of the members of the ecclesiarchy: sons of rich aristocrats often became prelates, bishops were entitled to keep for themselves a quarter of the goods they obtained while they were in service. An economic responsibility of the Church as a feudal landowner was to teach secular people by example to improve farm profitability. The economic welfare the Church could achieve was undoubtedly higher, thus more attractive, than most previous attempts (Kristó 1999: 104-107; Kristó 2003: 150-151, 258-260; Mályusz 2007: 19-20, 31).

The strong connection between church and state was unquestioned in Medieval Hungary: the basic moral principles of Christianity enhanced respect and service for superiors and protection of the inferiors in society as required by the contemporary feudal political system, while the state legitimized the authority of the Church by making and acknowledging it as a feudal landowner. Data suggest that by the turn of the 14th-15th centuries 12.1% of landed property in the country was possessed by the Church. At the beginning of King Matthias's reign (1458-1490), 10.3% of the castles and 17.4% of the towns, including wealthy market-towns, were in ecclesiastical hands. Although some historians emphasize that the total area of clerical lands at the end of the Middle Ages, when ecclesiastical possession was the most extensive, did not exceed 15% of the territory of the country, which was far below the European average, we cannot doubt that the Church's income from its lands by that time must have been significant, possibly more than the amount of the tithe (Kubinyi 1999: 69-86; Kristó 1999: 106-107; Kristó 2003: 150-151, 258-260; Engel *et al.* 2003: 225).

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Church wanted to display its role as a feudal landowner in place names as well. Evans and Green observe that 'language provides ways of directing attention to certain aspects of the scene being linguistically encoded' (2006: 41). By including a reference to a member of the clergy or to a religious order as possessor in the name form, ecclesiastical ownership became the most salient feature of the designated settlement or geographical object. Also, the namers' attention seems to be restricted by culturally significant aspects of their understanding of the world (cf. Palmer 1996, 2007; Kövecses 2006: 28-30, 36). In a feudal society, in which economic and political power was connected to land ownership and the Church acted as a spiritual leader, toponyms

foregrounding ecclesiastical possession at the price of the other perceivable peculiarities of the place could easily be accepted and reproduced by the members of the speech community. As a result, place names referring to (i) the possession of a clergyman, or (ii) that of a religious order constitute typical name types in Medieval Hungary.

The Corpus of Observed Toponyms

In the framework of a research project supported by the Bolyai János Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the author of the present paper is currently building a database of Hungarian historical and contemporary place names reflecting (former) ecclesiastical possession. The database includes the same set of information in connection with each place name: a number of identification (identifier); the actual place name (and its possible variants); the type of the indicated denotatum; the county in which the designated habitation or geographical object was/is situated; a more precise localization with the help of significant settlements in the neighbourhood; relevant events in local history (i.e. if known, the ecclesiastical owner, its order, the bestower, the year of donation, changes in ownership, other nearby places bearing a type-specific name; etymological notes); and toponymic data from five time periods: (i) from the earliest times to 1350 (Early Old Hungarian period), (ii) from 1350 to 1526 (Late Old Hungarian period), (iii) from 1526 to 1772 (Middle Hungarian period), (iv) from 1772 to 1920 (Modern Hungarian period), (v) from 1920 up to the present day (Contemporary Hungarian period). The database also includes the year of appearance, the linguistic form(s) and the source document for each toponymic datum. Spelling, lexical, morphologic or syntactic peculiarities, types of name development or name change as well as the semantics of distinctive additions (if there are any) of all toponyms are examined and classified in the database.

Thus, the database serves two main research purposes. Firstly, classic dictionary entries can be retrieved for all included toponyms from the database through query, displaying the headword, name variants (if any), identification and localization of the indicated settlement or geographical object, historical data (comprising year, name form and the source document), relevant remarks on the semantics and structure of the headword toponym, and, if changes were applied, today's equivalent of the name. Secondly, using the database, linguistic analysis of the name forms concerning spelling, sound changes, lexical and structural features, semantics, evolution and modifications could also be carried out.

Relevant toponymic data are being collected from well-known Hungarian historical geographies (Gy., Cs., FN.), published collections of historical documents (AO., ZsO.), gazetteers (Lip., Hnk.), historical-etymological place name dictionaries (KMHSz., FNESz.), standard historical and linguistic sources (PRT., M.) (for the abbreviations see Primary sources). Place names are included in the database if (i) they indicate settlements or geographical objects whose former possession by the Church is verified in the sources; and (ii) (at least) one of their constituents³ identifies the ecclesiastical possessor linguistically.

³ The term *name constituent* is used here as in Hoffmann (2007): a name constituent is a unit of the toponym 'which—in the situation of name formation—express[es] any semantic feature that is connected with the signalled denotatum', as opposed to a *name element*, which is 'an umbrella term for all the lexemes and suffixive morphemes (derivational and inflectional suffixes) that take part in forming the name' (176, 177).

The Aim and Scope of the Present Survey

The present survey focuses on the possible changes of medieval Hungarian toponyms reflecting ecclesiastical possession. Significant differences in the structural or semantic features of two name forms for the same denotatum appearing in source documents closest in time are qualified here as toponymic changes. Peculiarities of early recordings such as those indicating assimilation with respect to the voiced or voiceless quality of a consonant (progressively, e.g. 1260: *Popth*, FNESz. 2: 316;⁴ or regressively, e.g. 1465: *Pabd*, Cs. 2: 514-515; cf. standard *Papd*, consisting of the lexeme *pap* ‘priest’ and the topoformant *-d*)⁵ are not discussed in the paper. Neither is the appearance in writing of certain characteristics of contemporary pronunciation concerning, for instance, the lack of a customary epenthetic vowel breaking the consonant cluster at the beginning of the name (e.g. 1266/1270/1499: *Brath*, Gy. 2: 581; cf. *barát* ‘friar’), the insertion of a non-etymological consonant (cf. an epenthetic *p*, e.g. 1470: *Naghzemplen*, but 1890: *Kis-*, *Barát-* and *Nagy-Zomlin*, Cs. 1: 628, see entry *Zamlén*; cf. *Kis-* ‘little’, *Nagy-* ‘great’, *Zamlén* is a settlement name), or the dropping of the first sound from a consonant cluster at the beginning of a name constituent (cf. the loss of *h*, e.g. 1469: *Eghazi Rihcho*, but 1941: *Egyházihricsó*, FN. 127; cf. *Egyházi* ‘church’, *Hricsó* is a settlement name). Occasional semantic discrepancies, for instance, inappropriate use of terms for clergymen are also disregarded, e.g. a settlement in Borsod county known in 1332-1335 as *Popi* or *Popy* (‘of the priest’) was in fact in the possession of the bishop of Eger (Gy. 1: 799, FNESz. 1: 583, see entry *Hejópapi*); a habitation in Gömör county called *Pyspuky* (‘of the bishop’) in 1263 seemed to be owned by the archbishop of Esztergom from the very early times on (Gy. 2: 536-537).

Types of Changes

The changes of the observed toponyms fall into two basic categories: simple and complex changes. In more detail, simple changes involve processes such as the addition, change or loss of a topoformant; the addition, change or loss of a suffix; the addition, change or loss of a geographical common noun; the change of a specific name constituent; the addition, change or loss of a distinctive addition; the change from a suffixed to a compound name form and vice versa; the appearance and disappearance of alternative name forms; the addition, change or loss of semantic content in the name form; foreignization and domestication; and the complete change of a toponym. Furthermore, these processes are sometimes combined together in a single attested change, or appear in the source documents one after the other in a sequence of consecutive changes, constituting instances of complex changes.

Simple Changes

Simple changes might affect affixes (topoformants and suffixes) or constituents (geographical common nouns, specifics and distinctive additions) in the name forms; might alter a simplex

⁴ For the abbreviations see ‘Primary sources’ below.

⁵ Only those components of name forms that are relevant to understanding are explained or translated into English in the paper. Though historical toponymic data are presented authentically, translations and explanations are given by way of using the modern Hungarian spelling of the words found in the name forms discussed. Name constituents not translated or explained in the paper were used as place names in their own right.

into a compound name or the other way round; might elicit the appearance or disappearance of alternative name forms; might modify the semantic content of the place name; and might result in the foreignization, domestication or the complete change of the toponym.

Addition, Change or Loss of a Topoformant

In the observed corpus, the common topoformant added to a previous name form is *-i*, originating from the same root as the Hungarian general possessive suffix *-é* (Tóth 2008: 184; Bényei 2012: 74), e.g. 1256: *Puspuk* > 1338: *Pyspiky* (FNESz. 2: 371, see entry *Pozsonypüspöki*; i.e. ‘bishop’ > ‘of the bishop’). Sometimes the topoformant *-i* was substituted by the topoformant *-d*, developed from an early derivative suffix referring to the abundance of something at a place, in the name form, e.g. 1221: *Popi* > 1260: *Popth*, 1332-7: *Popd* (FNESz. 2: 316, see entry *Papd*; i.e. ‘of the priest’ > ‘priest’ + *-d* topoformant). The topoformant *-i* might also disappear from the end of toponyms through the centuries, e.g. 1251/1263/1398: *Barathy* > +1252 /1270: *Barath* (Gy. 2: 580; i.e. ‘of the friar’ > ‘friar’).

Addition, Change or Loss of a Suffix

This process usually affected third person singular possessive and locative suffixes (*-a/-e* ~ *-ja/-je*, and *-n*, respectively). In the case of compound names, the morphologically unmarked possessive constructions sometimes changed into morphologically marked possessive structures, incorporating the relevant suffix into the name forms, e.g. 1424: *Papthelek* > 1475: *Paptheleke* (Cs. 1: 562; cf. *pap* ‘priest’, *telek* ‘plot’). Exceptionally, the possessive suffix was substituted by the suffix *-(o)s*, meaning ‘being provided with’ in the actual name form, e.g. 1438: *Papsara* > 1894: *Papsáros* (Cs. 2: 635; cf. *sár* ‘mud’). The possessive marker might also disappear from the end of a toponym displaying a morphologically marked possessive structure, e.g. 1427: *Monorethe* > 1435: *Monoreth* ~ *Monnoreth* (Cs. 1: 142, see entry *Monyóréte*; cf. Old Hungarian *monoh* ‘friar’, *rét* ‘field’). Sometimes the locative suffix *-n* at the end of a place name in the course of time became unidentifiable for the speakers and got incorporated into a name form, e.g. 1522: *Appathy* > 1765: *Apathin* (Cs. 2: 185, FNESz. 1: 105; cf. *apát* ‘abbot’).

Addition, Change or Loss of a Geographical Common Noun

The addition of a geographical common noun to a former name including a topoformant resulted in a compound form, e.g. 1479: *Apathy* > 1481 *Apathyrew* (Cs. 2: 468; cf. *rév* ‘ferry’). A geographical common noun might also change into another in the name form, preserving the possessive structure, e.g. 1336: *Dezmasteluke* > 1338: *Dezmasfelde* (Gy. 2: 494; cf. *dézmás* ‘tithe collector’, *föld* ‘land’). The elimination of the geographical common noun from a compound name led to a simplex form, e.g. 1497: *Remethewdwar* > 1894: *Remete* (Cs. 2: 638, 635; cf. *remete* ‘hermit’, *udvar* ‘court’). Sometimes all these three processes could be observed in the data sequence of a single settlement (i.e. loss, addition, change, respectively), e.g. c.1436: *Apáczaegyháza* > 1436: *Apacza* > 1466: *Apáczakuta* ~ *Apáczaegyháza* > 1525: *Apáczateleke* (FNESz. 1: 305, see entry *Csanádapáca*, Cs. 1: 648; cf. *apáca* ‘nun’, *egyháza* ‘the church of’, *kuta* ‘the well of’, *teleke* ‘the plot of’).

Change of a Specific Name Constituent

A very typical name structure in Hungarian is the combination of a specific name constituent and a geographical common noun (as a generic) in an attributive compound. The specific name constituent of a compound name sometimes altered morphologically, e.g. the plural marker *-(o)k* disappeared: 1550: *Baráthokfalwa* > 1571: *Baráthfalwa* (FNESz. 1: 166, see entry *Barátudvar*; cf. *barát* ‘friar’, *falva* ‘the village of’); the suffix *-(a)s* was erased, e.g. 1429: *Eghazaspatha* > 1430: *Eghazpatha* (Cs. 5: 393-394; cf. *Egyházas-* ‘having a church’, *Pata* is a settlement name). In other cases the specific name constituent was changed into another in the name form, e.g. 1292/1358: *Saulfelde*, 1297: *Prepostfelde* > 1341/1358: *Saul et Endrefelde* (Gy. 2: 546; cf. *prépost* ‘provost’, *földe* ‘the land of’, *Saul* and *Endre* are personal names). Sometimes the complete change of the specific name constituent is illusory, because what really happened was the substitution of an obsolescent word (*monoh*, see above) by a commonly used lexeme of the same meaning (*barát*, see above), e.g. 1439: *Monohlehota* > 1493: *Barathlehota* (FN. 96; *Lehota* is a settlement name).

Addition, Change or Loss of a Distinctive Addition

Distinctive additions are epithets distinguishing otherwise identical name forms. Thus, distinctive additions are always coupled to place names proper. Though differentiating identical name forms, especially names for settlements, with distinctive additions has been a characteristic feature of Hungarian naming practices since the 19th century, its beginnings date back to medieval times. Distinctive additions of different semantic contents could be attached early to name forms to identify – in comparison with other places bearing the same primary name – a unique peculiarity of the indicated location, such as size, e.g. 1392: *Barathy* > 1395: *Kysbarathy* (Cs. 3: 545, FNESz. 1: 550, see entry *Győrújbarát*; cf. *kis* ‘little’); animals, e.g. 1319: *Popt* > 1330/1477: *Bekaspab[d]* (Gy. 1: 355; cf. *békás* ‘having frogs’); individual owner, e.g. 1245: *Morot* > 1476: *Apathmarothya* ~ *Apathwrmarothya* (FNESz. 1: 106, see entry *Apátmarót*; cf. *apát* ‘abbot’, *úr* ‘sir’, *Marótja* ‘Marót of’); institutional owner, e.g. 1332-7: *Dench* > 1444: *Budauaridench* (Cs. 2: 600; i.e. ‘Dencs possessed by the Chapter of Buda’); ethnicity of the inhabitants, e.g. 1419: *Jezenew* al. nom. *Remethe* > 1449: *Olahremethe* (Cs. 1: 397, see entry *Remete*; cf. obsolescent *oláh* ‘Romanian’); social status of the inhabitants, e.g. 1394: *Apaty* > 1510: *Nemes-Apathy*, otherwise *Thwthorzegh* (Cs. 3: 29, FNESz. 2: 227, see entry *Nemesapáti*; cf. *nemes* ‘noble’); a river nearby, e.g. 1411: *Püspöki* > 1553: *Zajopispeky* (Cs. 1: 144, FNESz. 2: 438, see entry *Sajópüspöki*; cf. *Sajó* is a river name); a valley nearby, e.g. 1331: *Pyspuky* > 1406: *Zurdokpyspeky* (Gy. 3: 127, Cs. 1: 68-69; cf. the valley is known as *Szurdok-völgy*); a neighbouring settlement, e.g. 1332-5: *Pyspeky* > 1493: *Kerezthespyspeky* (Cs. 1: 178, cf. *Keresztes* is the name of the neighbouring settlement); a region, e.g. 1391: *Apathy* > 1583: *Jász-Apáthi* (Gy. 3: 119, FNESz. 1: 652; cf. *Jászság* is the name for the region).

Distinctive additions might fluctuate over time in name forms, regardless whether they belonged to different or identical semantic types, cf. a building > relative position/owner change, e.g. 1454: *Eghazas Abran* > 1461: *Alsoabran* al. nom. *Barathnyarad* (Cs. 1: 165, see entry *Ábrány*; cf. *egyházas* ‘having a church’, *alsó* ‘low’, *barát* ‘friar’, *Ábrány* and *Nyárád*

are settlement names); an owner > owner change, e.g. c.1276: *Zolonta Zakalus* > +1278: *Apachazakalus* (FNESz. 1: 104, Gy. 3: 451; cf. *Szalonta* is a personal name, *apáca* ‘nun’, *Szakállas* is a settlement name).

Distinctive additions might also, though rarely, disappear from name forms, which, in this way, lost reference to such features of the place as individual owner, e.g. 1261/1271: *Dezmaszykzou* > 1270-72/1390: *Zygzow* (Gy. 3: 136; cf. *dézmás* ‘tithe collector’, *Szikszó* is a settlement name); patron saint, e.g. 1351: *Scentmihalremetey* > 1426: *Remethe* (Cs. 5: 728; cf. *Szent Mihály* ‘Saint Michael’); a river nearby, e.g. 1261/1271: *Gunguspispuki* > 1301: *Pyspuky* (Gy. 3: 127; cf. *Gyöngyös* is a river name); a region, e.g. 1261/1323: *Mezeupyspuky* > 1332-5: *Pyspeky* (Gy. 1: 801, Cs. 1: 178; cf. *Mezőség* is the name for the region).

Change from a Suffixed to a Compound Name Form and Vice Versa

Topoformants in name forms might be substituted by geographical common nouns, resulting in compound names, e.g. 1491: *Pyspeky* > 1497: *Pyspekfalwa* (FNESz. 2: 680, see entry *Trencsénpüspöki*, FN. 178; see also above). The process could also work the other way round: a geographical common noun sometimes was changed into a suffix in the name form, e.g. 1415: *Borothfalua* > 1567: *Barathos* (FNESz. 1: 166, see entry *Barátos*; see also above).

Appearance and Disappearance of Alternative Name Forms

Toponymic changes, like language changes in general, must have taken place through alternation of forms. Alternative name forms were in fact recorded in documents, e.g. 1429: *Pyspuki* ~ *Pysky* (Cs. 1: 620; both forms mean ‘of the bishop’). The first step of a toponymic change in the past could be the appearance of an alternative form next to a so far extensively used place name, e.g. 1299: *Popy* > 1311: *Papi* ~ *Papifalu* (Gy. 1: 546, Cs. 1: 418; i.e. ‘of the priest’ ~ ‘priest village’). The final phase, at the same time, could be realised as the disappearance of one of the alternative name forms, e.g. 1415: *Orozapath* ~ *Orozapathy* > 1418: *Orozapathy* (Cs. 2: 105; i.e. ‘*Apát* ~ *Apáti* inhabited by Russians’). The process might lead to the complete change of a toponym, e.g. 1257/c.1365: *abb-is* > 1367: *Apaty* al. nom. *Vruzfolu* > 1390: *Oruzfalu* (Gy. 3: 289, Cs. 5: 119; i.e. ‘of the abbot’ ~ ‘village inhabited by Russians’).

Addition, Change or Loss of Semantic Content in the Name Form

Regular or irregular sound changes might affect the semantic contents of name forms. A name form unintelligible for the speech community could get a proper meaning by rearranging the sequence of sounds in the name form, e.g. 1093: *Poposka*, 1211: *Poposca* > 1314: *Popsuka* (Cs. 3: 92; i.e. Ø > ‘the village of the priest’). A meaningful constituent of a name form might also be given a new sense, e.g. 1468: *Apathyda* > 1469: *Apahyda* (Cs. 5: 327-328; i.e. ‘the bridge of the abbot’ > ‘the bridge of a person called Apa’). Haplology regularly blurred the semantic content in name forms, e.g. 1261: *Pyspyky* > 1415: *Pysky* (Cs. 1: 654; see above).

Foreignization and Domestication

Sometimes foreign name forms became integral parts of the Hungarian name stock by way of foreignization or domestication. In the case of foreignization, the foreign form was borrowed into the Hungarian language to indicate a place that had had a Hungarian name before, which, however, had gradually become disused. Hungarian speakers, failing to recognize the fact that the Hungarian and the foreign names were in fact close semantic equivalents, finally opted for using the foreign form exclusively, at least for a while, e.g. 1488: *Apacza* > 1709: *Opatitza* (Cs. 1: 766, Gy. 1: 170; both names mean ‘nun’, FNESz. 2: 65, see entry *Magyarapáca*). In case of domestication, the incomprehensible foreign name forms were transformed by the Hungarian borrowers in a way that made them intelligible as Hungarian names, e.g. 1451: *Papina* > 1889: *Papháza* (Cs 1: 359, Wikipedia 2014; i.e. Ø > ‘priest’s dwelling’).

Complete Change of a Toponym

Most often a toponym changed from a name of non-ecclesiastical reference to a name reflecting ecclesiastical possession, e.g. 1246/1383: *Hatuan* > 1294: *Puspuky* (Gy. 4: 287; i.e. a place name originating eventually from a numeral, possibly via a personal name > ‘of the bishop’). However, some toponyms displaying ecclesiastical ownership were modified into a non-ecclesiastical name, e.g. 1290/1413: *Apathwlge* > 1347: *Iclod* (Gy. 3: 554, 3: 558, see entry *Pánád*; i.e. ‘the valley of the abbot’ > a place name developed from a personal name).

Complex Changes

In the past, two or more of the above mentioned processes were sometimes applied to the same name form at the same time, recorded as a single attested change, or appeared in the source documents one after the other in the data sequence of a place as consecutive simple changes, constituting instances of complex changes.

Single Attested Changes

Two toponymic data of the same place consecutive in time in our database might differ from each other in a complex way, i.e. in more than one respect. A single attested complex change usually involves different types of simple changes. Alternations exemplifying this process are, for instance, 1346: *Zentmiclos* > 1376: *Keresztuszenthmikloslaka* (Cs. 2: 646), involving the addition of the distinctive addition *Keresztes-* ‘having a connection with the Trinitarians’ and that of a geographical common noun *-laka* ‘dwelling of’ at the same time; 1351: *Scentmihalremetey* > 1426: *Remethe* (Cs. 5: 728) involving the loss of the distinctive addition *Szentmihály-* ‘Saint Micheal’ and that of the topoformant *-i*.

Consecutive Changes

In consecutive changes, simple changes followed one another within a longer timeframe, e.g. 1410: *Pisspek* > 1491: *Pyspeky* > 1497: *Pyspekfalwa* (FNESz. 2: 680, see entry *Trencsénpüspöki*, FN. 178), involving first the addition of the topoformant *-i*, and then its

change into the geographical common noun *-falva* ‘the village of’. Consecutive changes sometimes involve instances of single attested changes, e.g. 1416: *Leel* > 1449: *Erseklely* > 1452: *Erseklel* > 1499: *Erseklely* (FNESz. 1: 106; Cs. 3: 506, see entry *Lél*), involving the addition of the distinctive addition *Érsek-* ‘archbishop’ as well as the topoformant *-i* first, then the loss and the re-addition of the same topoformant.

Conclusion

Changes of toponyms reflecting ecclesiastical possession, whether affecting affixes, content constituents, the meaning in name forms, or the entire names, always produced name forms that were structurally and semantically consistent with already existing Hungarian place names. By foregrounding the Church’s ownership in place names, the mental construal of the designated entities could be strongly influenced: the ecclesiastical possession of the relevant denotatum became an active part of the speakers’ conventionalized encyclopaedic knowledge about the indicated place. In the Middle Ages, as toponymic changes suggest, place names were often designed (and sometimes manipulated) to manifest linguistically the contemporary feudal reality from the Church’s perspective and were utilized to direct speakers’ attention to a culturally significant Church-related aspect of the places bearing the names.

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Narratives and Landscape in the Collection of Aberdeenshire Field Names

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Abstract

Field names in Scotland are part of the oral tradition, passed down from generation to generation of farmers. Despite the valuable holdings at the Scottish Field Name Survey (University of Edinburgh), work to collect these names has been patchy and many areas of Scotland remain uncovered. I have collected a corpus of 1,450 field names from the north-east of Scotland using a socio-onomastic approach. Spoken interviews were used as the main tool for data collection drawing on practices from the discipline of sociolinguistics. During this process a number of field names emerged through story-telling and landscapes were discussed in terms of shared narratives, history and legends.

This paper focuses on some of these narratives and how place names are used to create a landscape that is not only functional but also preserves social and historical features of a community. Some of the names that will be presented include Government Field, Twelve Tree Park, Moss Road and The Bruce Field. The methods used to capture these responses will also be discussed.

An Experiment in Public Engagement with the Cognitive Toponymy Project

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Abstract

The *Cognitive Toponymy* project is a collaboration between the Universities of Copenhagen, Glasgow and St Andrews. Funded by the Royal Society of Edinburgh from 2014-2016, the project uses place names to investigate how people conceptualize place in Western Europe. As part of the Glasgow Science Festival (5-15 June 2014), the Cognitive Toponymy team organized a stand at the University of Glasgow's Science Sunday event. Visitors were shown photographs of ten landscape features from different parts of Scotland, and invited to suggest names for them. The aim was to identify naming strategies, and to find out which aspects of the images were considered most salient. The responses revealed a number of common themes, including colour, shape, size, and links to the supernatural.

* * *

Introduction

The *Cognitive Toponymy: People and Places in Synergy* Research Network is funded by the Royal Society of Edinburgh from January 2014 to June 2016, with the primary aim of developing new approaches to the study of place names focusing on the role of human cognition in mediating external reality. The project is a collaboration between the Universities of Glasgow, Copenhagen and St. Andrews, and involves participants from a range of academic disciplines. Network members are Alison Burns (Glasgow), Thomas Clancy (Glasgow), Barbara Crawford (St Andrews), Peder Gammeltoft (Copenhagen), Carole Hough (PI; Glasgow), Henrik Hovmark (Copenhagen), Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig Jakobsen (Copenhagen), David Simmons (Glasgow) and Simon Taylor (Glasgow). The project draws on evidence from Scotland and Denmark to investigate how human beings conceptualize place, and how the conceptualization of place has impacted on the development of Western society. Academic activities focus around three one-day symposia held in Copenhagen and Glasgow. In addition, the project includes a lively programme of Knowledge Exchange events, one of which is reported in this paper.

Glasgow Science Festival

As part of the *Cognitive Toponymy* project, an informal survey was carried out at a public engagement event which took place as part of Glasgow Science Festival (5-15 June 2014). The project team organized a stand at the University of Glasgow's Science Sunday event on 15 June 2014. This is one of the main public engagement activities of the year, showcasing

the University's research projects in a family-friendly way. Alongside a display relating to a range of place name research at Glasgow, visitors were shown photographs of 10 landscape features from different parts of Scotland, and invited to suggest names for them. The aim was to identify naming strategies, and to find out which aspects of the images were considered most salient. The responses were then collated and analysed, and some of the results are discussed below.

Photographs

The 10 photographs used are shown in Figures 1-10.

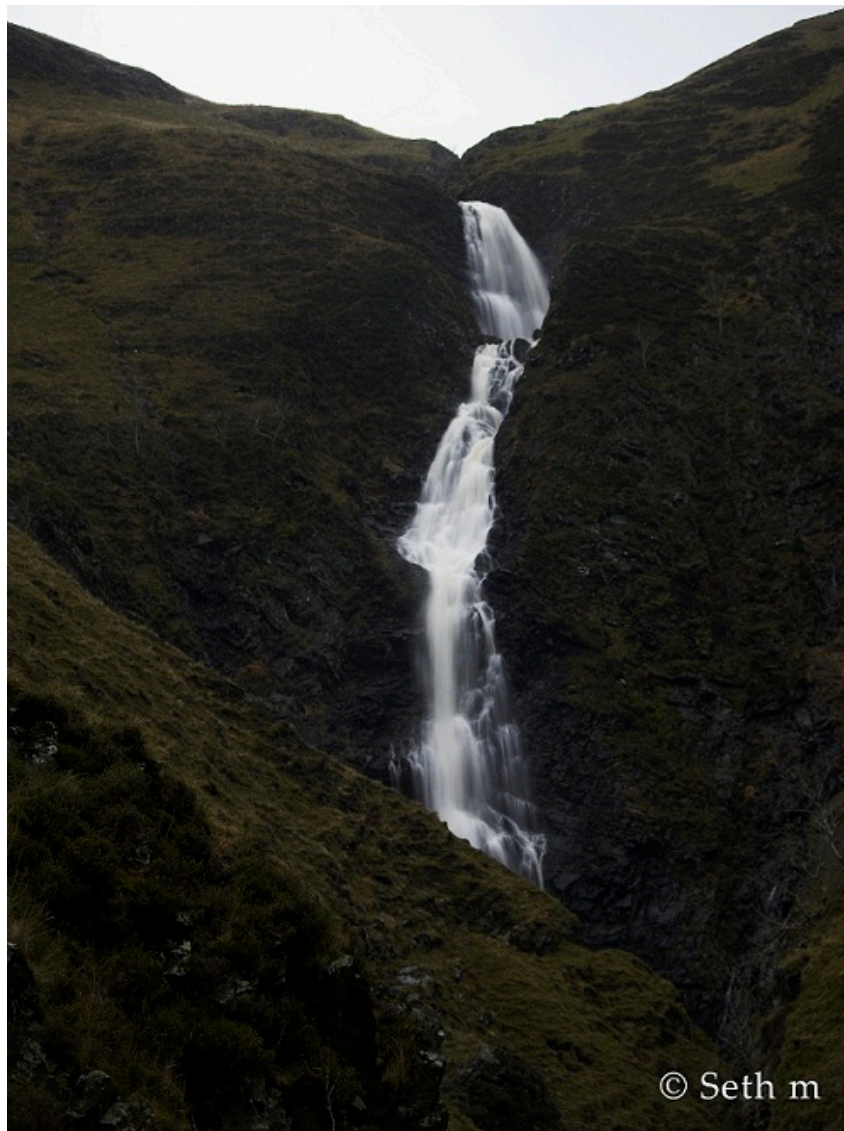


Fig. 1. Grey Mare's Tail, near Moffat

This landscape feature is a 60-metre waterfall named from its likeness to a horse's tail.



Fig. 2. Tongue Burn in Kinross-shire

The shape of a tongue can clearly be seen in Fig. 2. This and many other places are named from human or animal body parts (see also Figs. 1, 7, 9 and 10).

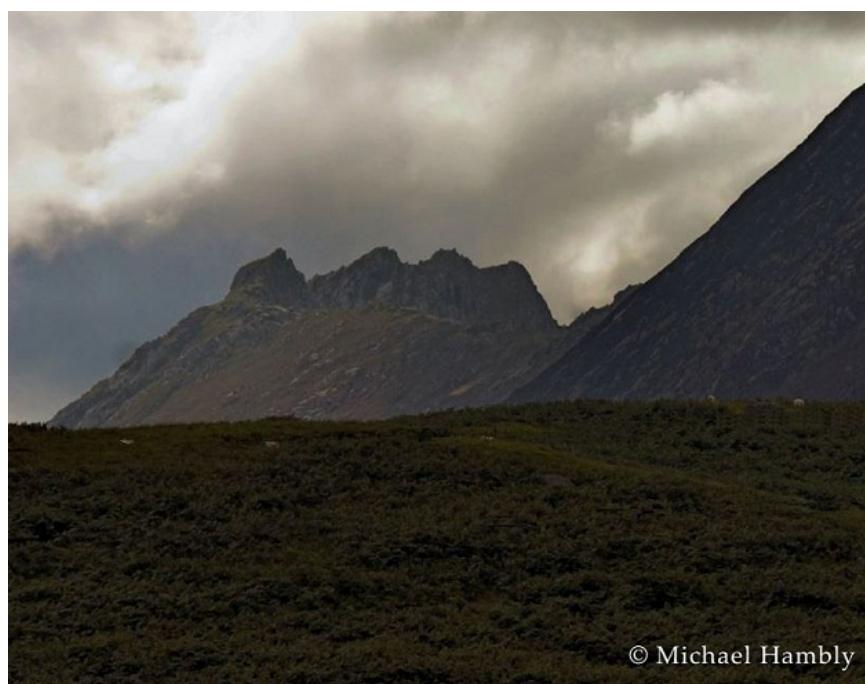


Fig. 3. The Sleeping Warrior, part of the north Arran hill range

The Sleeping Warrior is named from a resemblance to a resting human figure.



Fig.4. The Inneans, a range of hills in eastern Scotland

The hill range is named from Gaelic *innean* ‘anvil’. Fig. 4 is of Middle Innean, showing the anvil shape which gave rise to the name.



Fig. 5. Cauldron Linn in Kinross-shire

As in a number of place names in Scotland (and other parts of the world), the pool below the waterfall is conceptualized as a cauldron of boiling water.



Fig. 6. Shepherd's Hat, an island in the Sound of Mull

Shepherd's Hat is named from the shape of a traditional shepherd's hat. Such hats are no longer worn and suggestions for this feature included more salient phenomena from present day life such as submarines.



Fig. 7. The Paps of Jura

The Paps of Jura are named collectively from their rounded shape. As with many other hills, they are likened to breasts, known in Scots as *paps*.



Fig. 8. The Cobbler

The Cobbler, one of Scotland's most famous mountains, is thought to resemble a cobbler sitting over his work. An alternative name for the mountain is Ben Arthur.



Fig. 9. Fiaclan Dearg, Skye

Fiaclan Dearg has a Gaelic name meaning 'red teeth', in allusion both to the shape of the rock and to the colour of the red sandstone.



Fig. 10. Foinaven

Foinaven, described by Drummond (2007: 105) as ‘a long raw bone of whitish quartzite rock sticking out of the green and brown peat moors of the north-west’, has a Gaelic name that may mean either ‘wart mountain’ (from its protuberances) or ‘white mountain’.

Responses

With around 200 visitors to the *Cognitive Toponymy* stand during the course of the day, we might in theory have expected to garner 200 survey responses. In fact there were 69. This was due to the fact that although the survey forms were initially intended for completion by individuals, in the event many were group or family efforts, unexpectedly mirroring the way place names are arrived at through consensus. Not all respondents offered suggestions for all 10 names, and a few of the entries were illegible. Some respondents recognized, or thought they recognized, individual place names, so these too were discounted, leaving a total of 656 usable pieces of data.

Languages

Responses were in four languages: English, Gaelic, Scots and Spanish. Although all conversations during the Science Sunday event were in English, visitors clearly felt it appropriate to use their vernacular language for place naming. Again, this mirrors actual naming practices. No guidelines or instructions regarding response languages were given on the question sheets.

Structures

The vast majority of suggested names were compound (481), containing a defining term modified by one or more descriptors (e.g. White Falls, Black Spray Falls). The next largest group were simplex (140), containing a single term (e.g. Waterfall, Mountain). A small minority were phrasal (29), characteristically comprising a genitive phrase (e.g. Hill of Doom, Rise of Four Points). Definite or indefinite articles were included in 71 instances (e.g. The Waterfall, A Green Meadow).

Literal and Metaphorical Names

Many suggested names comprised literal descriptions (e.g. Grassy Hill, Green Mound), while others were metaphorical (e.g. Camel Hump, Sleeping Giant). Some included both a descriptive and a metaphorical element, as with Whale Mountain, while The Whale was fully metaphorical. All of these were suggested for Fig. 4, alongside others such as Humpback Hill, Poker Face, Turtle Hill and Wangy. In total, 525 names were wholly or partly descriptive, while 138 were wholly or partly metaphorical.

Some photographs inspired the imagination more than others. Figures 3, 7 and 8 elicited 24, 22 and 20 metaphorical names respectively, whereas most names suggested for Figures 4, 5 and 10 were straightforwardly descriptive, with fewer than 10 exceptions each. The well-known LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor was represented in no less than 30 suggested names, with a range of both human and animal body parts. Examples include Snake Tail Falls (Fig. 1), A Green Eye (Fig. 5), The Breasts (Fig. 7) and Red Shoulder (Fig. 9). The most striking unanimity was found for Figure 8, where all 5 suggestions containing body parts related to the face (Face; Faces; Faces Rock; The Four Faced Lighthouse; The Grumpy Face), and for Figure 3, where all 9 suggestions containing body parts related to the teeth (The Broken Teeth; Crooked Teeth; The Deil's Teeth; The Devil's Teeth; Dragon's Teeth (x2); Saw Tooth Rock; The Tooth Rocks; The Wise Tooth).

The Supernatural

A common theme was the supernatural. Even though the images were seen in isolation and therefore had no traditions associated with them, mythological creatures featured in 18 of the responses. The Devil appeared in 5 names, fairies in 3, giants in 3, dragons, elves, pixies and witches in one each, and Janus, Rapunzel and Thor in one each. Some respondents came up with the same idea, but expressed it differently. As well as The Deil's Teeth and The Devil's Teeth mentioned above for Figure 3, suggestions for Figure 1 included Devil's Drop and Deils Fall (Scots *deil* 'devil').

Colour Terms

Colour terms featured prominently in the responses for all except Figure 8. Out of a total of 78 colour terms across the remaining 9 photographs, 21 appeared in suggestions for Figure 6, and 19 in suggestions for Figure 9, with fewer than 12 for each of the other images. Responses to Figure 6 were dominated by the colour red, with 16 occurrences of *red* itself and one each of Scots *broony-red* and Spanish *roja* ‘red’, but also two occurrences of *brown* and one of *green*. Again, colour salience is a recurrent feature in the toponymica of different languages (see e.g. Hough 2006; Dunlop and Hough 2014).

Transferred Names

Another unexpected parallel to the historical place name corpus was the use of ready-made names. In 8 instances, suggestions appeared to be motivated by a resemblance to another place. Hence a Spanish visitor gave the name *Velo de la novia* (‘Veil of the bride’) to Figure 1, clearly influenced by similar landscape features in New Zealand, British Columbia and North Carolina (all alluding to waterfalls called Bridal Veil Falls). Similarly, the name Los Gigantes applied to Figure 8 was clearly transferred from the holiday resort on the coast of Tenerife (see Fig. 11). These and other transferred names were noted with interest, but excluded from further analysis.



Fig. 11. Los Gigantes, Tenerife

Conclusion

Overall, a number of naming strategies were identified from the survey responses. The data show that people perceive landscape in terms of colour, shape, size, and links to supernatural phenomena, and that they also draw parallels with other places they have experienced. In this experiment, the visual aspect of the landscape was the most prominent sensory feature used in the naming process, with both literal and metaphorical descriptions being common. Moreover, visitors of all ages clearly enjoyed the activity, finding it fun to engage with naming. Group approaches, rather than an individual approach, to naming during the experiment were noticeable, and reinforce the fact that everyday interactions between human beings and the world are often social encounters.

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Personal Names in Shropshire Place Names

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Abstract

This paper will offer a survey of the personal names recorded in Shropshire place names attested before 1400, collected from the six English Place-Name Society Survey volumes authored by Margaret Gelling before her death, and from the material currently being used to complete the Survey as part of the AHRC-funded project, *The Place-Names of Shropshire* (2013-16). It will examine the linguistic origins of this corpus, the types of name found and their distribution, and the elements with which they are compounded. It will compare the corpus with data from the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England, and from Survey data from across England. It will address the question of whether the borderland environment of these names is reflected in personal naming strategies.

Place Names and Identity: Place Names of Northern and Southern Latgale Reflecting Vegetation

Zane Cekula

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Abstract

Within the framework of a research project on linguistic aspects of territorial identity, a detailed study has been carried out on place names of the Northern and the Southern Latgale region reflecting vegetation. The main purpose is to present some general observations, regularities and insights into the complex relationship between plants and people that have emerged through the analysis of geographic names, seen as a system of symbols.

The basic source of data for this research is the place name information from maps on a scale of 1:50,000. The main tasks are to identify plant species in the place names of the area in question, to quantify their representation and to compare the acquired data with common phytogeographical and socio-cultural features of the investigated area. The place names reflect a number of Latgalian forms of plant names and are found in some parishes more often than in others. Standard Latvian is, however, the language form used in most names. Tree names are more frequent than herb names in the formation of place names.

A number of different generics are used in the material, indicating that there is a great variation of topographical features where plants grow. For instance, *kolns* 'hill', *māja*, *mājas*, *sāta* 'farmstead', and *leja* 'valley' are among the most frequent generic elements in the material.

* * *

Within the framework of the research project 'Linguo-Cultural and Socio-Economic Aspects of Territorial Identity in the Development of the Region of Latgale' (ESF project No. 2009/0227/1DP/1.1.1.2.0/09/APIA/VIAA/071) on the linguistic aspects of the territorial identity, a detailed study has been carried out on place names in the Latgale region reflecting vegetation.

The main purpose of this paper is to present some general observations, regularities and insights into the complex relationship between plants and people that have emerged through the analysis of geographic names, seen as a system of symbols.

The methodological approach involves identifying plant families in the place names of Latgale, quantifying their representation and comparing the acquired data with common phytogeographical and socio-cultural features of the investigated area.

The key terms used in this paper are:

- *place name/toponym*: a 'proper noun applied to a topographic feature' (Kadmon 2002: 26); an oral or written linguistic expression that two or more persons use with reference to a particular spatial perception (Helleland 2009: 26);
- *vegetation*: a general term for the plant life of a region, it refers to the ground cover provided by plants. It is a general term, without specific reference to particular taxa, life forms, structure, spatial extent, or any other specific botanical or geographic

characteristics. It is broader than the term *flora*, which refers exclusively to the distribution of species (Wikipedia 2015);

- *phytotoponyms*: all the names for settlements and other geographical objects in which plant names were recognized, such as *Jaunroziņas*, *Maijrozēs*, *Rozes*, *Roziņas*, *Roznieki*, *Rozumegi*, *Rožudārzs*, *Rožukalni*, *Rožukalns*, *Rožukrūmi*, *Rožulejas*, all referring to ‘roses’;
- *identity* (personal and group identities): group identity is composed of language, religion and all the other cultural elements shaping a social group (Jordan 2009: 35).

Latgalian identity blends with Latvian identity to different degrees. Latgalians share some common identifying characteristics, such as territory, language, religious affiliation (the religious affiliation of Latgalians is mainly Catholicism), and ethnic identity. Two orthographic traditions co-exist (the old one and the new one). In an interview with *Latvijas Avīze*, academic linguists from the University of Latvia and Rēzekne Higher Education Institution have stated that the Latgalian language should be granted the status of a regional language, which would allow the usage of both languages on an equal basis in the Latgale region. Academics believe that strengthening the Latgalian language at an official level would help to preserve Latgalian identity and culture and to overcome stigmatisation.

Sources and Methods

The information about the place names of Latgale reflecting vegetation was selected and arranged with the use of the Place-Names Database of Latvia. The basic source for this study is place name data from maps at a scale of 1:50,000. The Latvian Address Register has been used for the selection of plant names in farmstead names in cases when phytotoponyms were not found, or when the amount of phytotoponyms was small in the Place-Names Database of Latvia.

A table containing about 150 plant names in Latgalian and Latvian has been established as a basis for investigating their representation in the place names of Latgale. All the toponyms were selected in which the name for a plant in Latgalian differs from the plant name in Latvian. This data was then compared with common phytogeographical and socio-cultural features and analysed. It seems useful to analyse place names in such a way in order to gain an overview of the relationship between humans and plants over a considerably large territorial area.

In cases when a detailed collection of microtoponyms is available, it would be useful to search for additional information on plant names in place names in order to make the survey more complete.

In the Latgale Planning Region, the Place Names Database of the Latvian Geospatial Information Agency (LGIA) contains about 10,500 place names of populated places (5,691 village names and 4,704 names of farmsteads), 1,074 lake names, 461 river names, and so on. The Latgale Planning Region was founded in August 2006 with the aim of ensuring the planning and co-ordination of regional development, as well as co-operation between local government and other state administrative bodies. In June 2006, the Saeima of the Republic

of Latvia adopted the amendments to the Regional Development Law (in force since 1 August 2006), granting legal status to the planning regions. The Latgale Planning Region encompasses nineteen municipalities (Aglonas novads, Balinavas novads, Balvu novads, Ciblas novads, Dagdas novads, Daugavpils novads, Ilūkstes novads, Kārsavas novads, Krāslavas novads, Līvānu novads, Ludzas novads, Preiļu novads, Rēzeknes novads, Riebiņu novads, Rugāju novads, Vārkavas novads, Viļakas novads, Viļānu novads, Zilupes novads) and two cities of national significance (*Daugavpils* and *Rēzekne*). The area of the Latgale Planning Region is close to 14,547 km² and the population is 394,058 (2012). Unfortunately, the territory of the Latgale Planning Region is not the same as the historical territory of Latgale in 1939. Historically, the southern border of Latgale was the river Daugava. In my study, I selected place names from the territory of the Latgale Planning Region, but I only included place names from the territories of municipalities located in the north and south of the region.

The research area in Latgale covered Balvi district in the north, and part of Daugavpils district in the south (see Figure 1). There are two main sources for the names of plants in Latgalian: the description of the Tilža dialect by Veronika Ūsele (1998) and the vocabulary of the Kalupe dialect by Antoņina Reķēna (1998). The latter text includes more detailed definitions, for example, *olksna* ‘a low, wet place where only alder grows’.

The names of plants in Latgalian in Līksna parish (written in accordance with their usage in Gančauski) were provided by Ģertrūde Krisunova. As I have a detailed collection of microtoponyms in Līksna parish I was able to search for additional information on plant names in place names in order to make the survey more comprehensive.



Fig. 1. The study area

Results

Place names convey information on the relationship between the name givers and the named objects at the time when the names were coined. Put together, they reveal an enormous amount of detail about the name givers' understanding of the surrounding landscape, so place names may be viewed as a historical oral or written text of the landscape and the people who lived there (cf. Helleland 2009).

Geographical names reflect spatial characteristics, most frequently natural characteristics, but also characteristics of settlement history, land use and economy, former feudal relations, historical events, etc. Village names in Latgale that reflect natural characteristics mostly refer to location, land relief properties, soil conditions, vegetation, and the names of living beings (animals, birds, insects etc.). In this way, these names highlight qualities that the inhabitants considered as remarkable for a certain place. Plants are, and have always been, an extremely important resource for human beings. Trees are a source of building material, and plants are used both in medicine and as food. Place names reflect all kinds of natural circumstances, and many are derived from words describing flora. Plant names can be found in many of the place names in my material, for example the village names *Bērzine* (Latg. *bārzs* 'birch') in Ambelī parish, *Zeiles* (Latg. *zeiles* 'acorns') in Dubna parish, *Berezovka* (Rus. *берёза* 'birch') in Naujene parish, *Buļvīšu sola* (Latg. *buļvi* 'potatoes', *sola* 'island') in Nīcgale parish, *Līpu Mukoni* [uo] in Vabole parish, *Līpiniškas* (Latg. *līpa* 'linden') and *Osinovka* (Rus. *осина* 'aspen') in Biķernieki parish, *Lozdas* (Latg. *lozda* 'hazel') and *Lazovka* (Rus. *лоза* 'osier') in Višķi parish.

According to the information from the Place-Names Database about the place names of Balvi district, 540 names (22%) out of 2,430 are related to plants. Plant names are less frequent in names of natural features (4%), e.g.:

- streams: *Ašusila strauts*,
- rivers: *Bērzupe*, *Kaņepe*, *Nīdrupīte*, *Skujatne*,
- bogs: *Bierzpiļš pūrs* (*Bērzpīls purvs*), *Nīdrumola*, *Peisa pūrs*, *Rutkovas pūrs*, *Vīksnas pūrs*,
- forests: *Olksna 2x*, *Peismola*,
- lakes: *Egļezers*, *Lazdags*, *Obeļovas ezers*, *Odziņš*.

Many plant names not found in the place names of Latgale can be found in the rest of Latvia, such as *henbane* (*Hyoscyamus niger*), Latg. *driġine*, Latv. *driģene*, Lith. *driġnė* (see Fig.2). A search for the element *driġ-* resulted in three farmsteads bearing the name *Driģenes*.

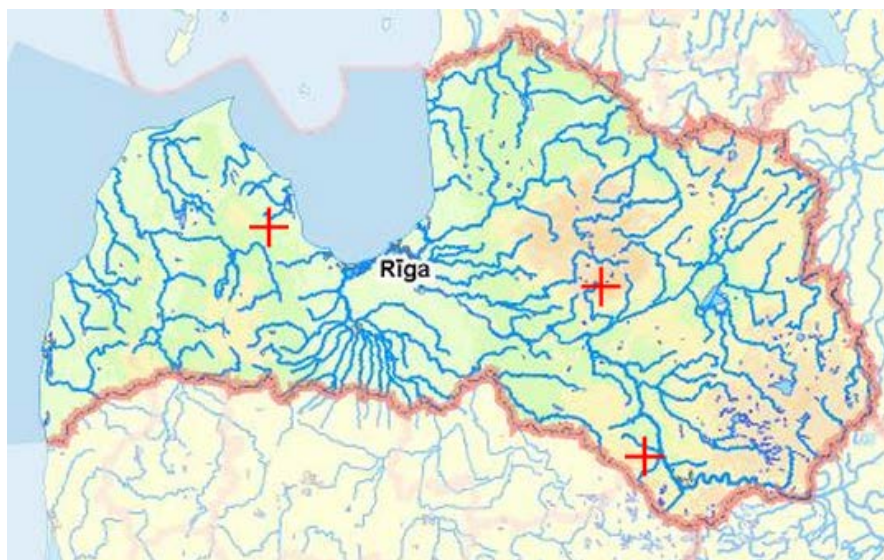


Fig. 2. Location of farmsteads bearing the name *Drīgenes* in Zentene parish, Vestiena parish and Pilskalne parish

Some plant names like that of the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), Latg. *buļvi*, Latv. *kartupeļi*, Lith. *bulvė* can be found only in the place name *Buļvīši* (a village in Nīcgale parish), but many other plant names are common across the territory of Latvia, for example the farmstead *Astras* ‘aster’ (*Callistephus chinensis*) in the Kalupe parish, the farmstead *Dilles* ‘dill’ (*Anethum*) in the Rugāji parish, and the farmstead *Zilenes* ‘bog bilberry’ (*Vaccinium uliginosum*), Latg. *girtūklis*, *reibinis* in the Maļinova parish.

Quite a few plant names occur in several place names, such as hops (*Humulus lupulus*), Latg. *apeiņš*, Latv. *apinis*, Lith. *apynys*, in place names such as *Apiņu mājas* (2x), *Apiņumājas*, *Apiņziedi*, and *Kalnapiņi*, or the name of plantain (*Plantago major*), Latg. *dzeislīne*, Latv. *ceļteka*, Lith. *plačialapis gyslotis*, in the place names *Ceļtekas* (3x), *Ceļtekas 2*. Some plant names are particularly frequent, for instance *auzas* ‘oat’, or *bērzs* ‘birch’. More widely used in toponyms are *ozols* ‘oak’, or *liepa* ‘linden’. In Latgale, the number of these names is similar. For instance, the following place names can be found in Northern Latgale: *Liepas* (12x), *Liepas-1*, *Liepaskalns*, *Liepava*, *Liepiņas*, *Liepiņi*, *Liepiņsalas*, *Liepiņu māja*, *Liepkalni* (2x), *Liepna/Līpna*, *Liepnieši*, *Liepsalas*, *Liepsēta*, *Liepu mājas* (2x), *Liepukalni*, *Liepukalns*, *Liepukalns*, *Liepulejas*, *Liepziedi*, as well as *Ozolāres*, *Ozolbirze*, *Ozoli* (8x), *Ozoliņi* (4x), *Ozolkalns* (2x), *Ozolkrasti*, *Ozollejas* (2x), *Ozolnieki* (6x), *Ozolsala* (4x), *Ozolsalas*, and *Ozolzīles* (2x). In the farmstead name *Liepozoli*, both tree names are represented (*liepa* and *ozols*).

Less widely used in toponyms are the names of the willow tree (*vītols*), alder (*elksnis*), fir tree (*egle*), pine (*priede*), and aspen (*apse*). Other tree names as components of toponyms are rare, for instance the name of the elm tree (*goba*). Names with the element *gob-* are only to be found in the Northern Latgale region: *Gobas* (3x) – which are farmsteads in Balvi, Susāji and Medņeva parishes – and *Gūbusola/Gobusala* in Kubuļi parish.

In Latgale, 36 phytotoponyms were found featuring the element *ūzul-* ‘oak’ (*Kolna Ūzuli*, *Lielā Ūzuliņa*, *Lielā Ūzulīņa*, *Mazā Ūzulīņa* (2x), *Ozolsala*, *Ūzula kalns*, *Ūzula līkne*, *Ūzuldorzs*, *Ūzuleņi* (2x), *Ūzuleņš*, *Ūzuliški*, *Ūzulišķu ezers*, *Ūzulkolns*, *Ūzulmuiža*,

Ūzulmuižas ezers, Ūzulova (4x), Ūzulsola, Ūzulu sala, Ūzulu sola, Ūzuļņiki, Ūzuldorzs, Ūzuleņi (2x), Ūzuliški, Ūzulmuiža, Ūzulova (2x), Ūzulsola, Ūzulsola, Ūzuļņiki). Among these names are ten village names (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. 10 village names featuring the name of the oak tree (Latg. *ūzuls*): *Ūzuldorzs, Ūzuleņi (2x), Ūzuliški, Ūzulmuiža, Ūzulova, Ūzulova, Ūzulsola (2x), and Ūzuļņiki*

In order to find all the phytotoponyms, I had to search for several other elements, for example the elements *lazd-* and *lozd-* (*Corylus*, Latv. *lazda*, Latg. *lozda* ‘hazel’).



Fig. 4. 18 place names featuring the element *lozd-* (Latg. *lozda*): *Lozdukolns, Lozdas (4x), Lozdova (5x), Lozdu grovs, Lozdu kolni, Lozdukolns (3x), Lozduļova, Lozdupeite, and Lozdusola*

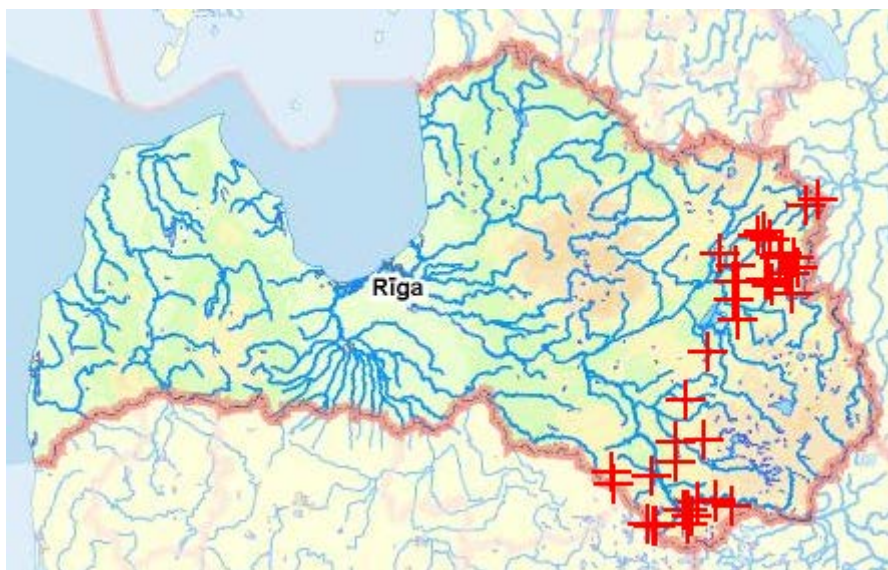


Fig. 5. Place names containing the element *lazd-* (Latv. *lazda*)

Some plant names can only be found in a small number of place names, even though the plants themselves may be common across the territory in question, as in the case of the sharp-leaf willow or Siberian violet willow (*Salix acutifolia*), Latg. *vierba* or *pyupūls*, Latv. *smaillapu kārklis*, Lith. *smaillialapis karklas*. The name of this plant can be found in the farmstead names *Pūpoli* in Baltinava, Dubna, Nīcgale, Vabole, and Kalupe parish and *Pūpoli 1*, *Pūpoli 2*, and *Pūpoliņi* in Naujenes pagasts. In Latvia there are more than twenty species of willow and more than sixty hybrids of willow (Pīra-Rezovska 2014). Therefore, many names can be found containing the element *vītol-*, such as *Vītoli* (8x), *Vītoli-1*, *Vītoliņi* (3x), and *Vītolkalni* in the Northern Latgale region, and *Vītoli* (2x), *Vītoliņi*, *Baltvītoli* (2x), *Pavītoli*, and *Sudrabvītoli* (2x) in the Southern Latgale region. It is striking that only one name of this category appears in Latgalian in the Place-Names Database, which is *Veituli* in Krišjāņi parish.

In some cases, there are differences with respect to names between the highland area (*Latgales augstiene*) and the lowland area. For instance, no names featuring the element *lazd-* ('hazel', Latv. *lozda*) were found in the upland territory of the *Latgales augstiene* (Fig. 5), which is dominated by place names containing the element *rutk-* (*Raphanus sativus*, Latv. *rutks*, Latg. *ruduks*) (see Fig. 6). In the Northern Latgale region, the Latgalian plant name *ruduks* is found in place names *Ruduki*, *Rudukova*, and *Ruduku mājas*.



Fig. 6. 15 place names containing the element *rutk-* (Latv. *rutks*, Latg. *ruduks*): *Rutkeviču ezers*, *Rutkeviči*, *Rutkeviču astraveņa*, *Rutki* (5x), *Rutkova* (2x), *Rutkovas pūrs*, *Rutkovsku Kaži*, *Rutkovsku Kažu kapi*, *Rutku mežs*, and *Rutkuški*

A similar situation is found when it comes to rowan (*Raphanus sativus*), Latg. *sārmyukša*, Latv. *pīlādzis*. The Latvian name is dominant in place names such as *Lejas Pīlādži*, *Pīlādžītis*, *Pīlādžogas*, and *Pīlādžu mājas*, while only one name appears in Latgalian: *Sārmūški* in Vecumi parish.

Names containing such plant names as *agrosti*, *buldurjuoņi*, *buruoki*, *casnāki*, *dzeislinis*, *garškys*, *girtūklis*, *gundaga*, *klubnīki*, *kreņi*, *lazdīki*, *ližeicenis*, *meža lūki*, *romūleņi*, *ružinka*, *skuobinis*, *šļukys*, *snīga pyka/snīga bumba*, *soltuos mātrys*, *ušņa*, *vaivierņi*, *valnaukys*, *vieršņi*, *vuorpota/soldonuo zuoļa/vuorpatine*, *vuosilka*, *zemneidzys*, *žybžainis*, and *žydaukys* cannot be found in place names. The main reason is likely to be that people are no longer familiar with these names of plants in Latgalian.

Some names, such as *Īves* ‘the yew’, are formed directly from the tree name, but other place names in the material follow a structure using the plant name as the specific (first element), in genitive or stem form, combined with a generic (last element) representing a topographic word, for instance *Līpusola* ‘the lime-tree island’. There are many different generics used in place names, which means that there is a great variation of topographical features where plants grow. For instance, among the more frequent words are:

- *kolns, kalns, kalni* ‘hill’
- *māja, mājas, sāta* ‘home’
- *leja, lejas* ‘valley’
- *līči* ‘inlet’
- *pļava* ‘meadow’
- *sola, sala* ‘island’
- *strauts* ‘stream’
- *ezers* ‘lake’

- *pils* ‘castle’
- *pilskalns* ‘castle’
- *upe, upīte* ‘river’ etc.

In space-related identity building, place names function as labels, while also performing a function of supporting emotional ties. The place names of an area are a vital factor for ‘feeling at home’, so it might be considered important to use more plant names in Latgalian (see Table 1), but the examination of the material shows that place names in Standard Latvian are dominant in Latgale.

<u>Plant name in Latgalian</u>	<u>Plant name in Latvian</u>	<u>Scientific name</u>
agrosti	ērķšķogas	<i>Grossularia reclinata</i>
agurks	gurķis	<i>Cucumis sativus</i>
meļneidzys	mellenes	<i>Vaccinium myrtillus</i>
meža lūki	lakši	<i>Allium ursinum</i>
mudrauka	lapegle	<i>Larix</i>
muškets	pelargonija	<i>Pelargonium</i>
nasturka	krese	<i>Tropaeolum majus</i>
palākī eļkšņi	baltalkšņi	<i>Alnus incana</i>
paričkys	jāņogas	<i>Ribes rubrum</i>
pasolis	pupiņas	<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>
pelieji	vērmeles	<i>Artemisia absinthium</i>
romūleņi	kumelītes	<i>Chamomilla recutita</i>
sirsneitis	čemuru augstiņi	<i>Centaurium erythraea</i>
smerškys	sievmētras	<i>Elsholtzia ciliate</i>
soltuos mātrys	piparmētras	<i>Mentha × piperita</i>
svieris	pērkonenes	<i>Erysimum cheiranthoides</i>
vuosilka	rudzupuķe	<i>Centaurea cyanus</i>
žybžainis	pelašķi	<i>Achillea millefolium</i>
žydaukys	plūškoki	<i>Sambucus nigra</i>

Table 1. Some plant names in Latgalian that cannot be found in place names

Conclusions

1. Research on the plant names featured in the place names of Latgale contributes to the understanding of the cultural heritage of this specific geographic area.
2. This study shows which plants are represented in the place names of Latgale (in the selected material), thus giving an indication of the distribution and frequency of various plants, with the most frequent being the names of the linden, oak, and birch trees.

3. Most of the plants used in place names can be found growing in the territory in question. In Latgale, the names of wild plants are more widespread than the names of cultivated plants.
4. Phytotoponyms in Latgalian have an important role in identity building in Latgale and in supporting emotional ties.
5. The Place-Names Database of Latvia covers only a part of the total number of place names in the explored territory. It would be useful to search for additional information on plant names in microtoponyms in order to expand the scope of the survey.
6. Such an investigation may be of interest for other areas in Latvia as well as for name scholars in other countries.

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- LVDA = Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants. Leksika (1999). Rīga: Zinātne.
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Toponymy in the Era of Climate Change: Some Issues

Sungjae Choo
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Abstract

The mega-trend of climate change, perceived with its various forms, is expected to cast enormous and diversified impacts on the use of place names. This research aims to draw some issues on the impact of climate change on place names and suggest how to accommodate them in the toponymic research. Some preliminary thoughts include: change or extinction of toponyms resulting from the reformulation of geographical features, birth of new names for newly created features, revision of name-related identity coming from the geographical shift of specialized products in agriculture and fisheries. Some examples of the potential toponymic changes will be provided.

A Suffixed Landscape: Constitutive Adjectives in Gaelic Place Names and Poetry

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United Kingdom

Abstract

An adjectival suffix *-ach*, derived from Celtic *-āko-* was particularly productive in Gaelic. I term adjectives employing this suffix ‘constitutive’, in that the suffix is attached to nouns to express that something is full of, abounding in, or characterised by that noun: *iasgach* ‘abounding in fish’; *triathach*, ‘having many chieftains’. These adjectives, and the substantives derived from them, are particularly common in Gaelic place names in Scotland, but they also have a large role to play in the dynamics of Gaelic poetry. This paper seeks to explore the relationship between these two phenomena, and argues that the richness of this adjectival type, and its capacity to illustrate the nature of a place (and other features) succinctly supported its use in both these environments. More tentatively, it explores the possibility that the presence of such adjectives in the environments of both place names and poetry was mutually reinforcing.

Place Names and Road Signs

Lennart Dehlin

Sweden

Abstract

My paper is dealing with reactions amongst the local inhabitants when the unofficial spelling of place names on road signs is changed to the official spelling, in spite of the fact that the official spelling of the names has been present on official maps for a long time, sometimes for decades. An important question is why the spelling on the road signs differs from the official spelling, and the fact that the road sign is regarded as a bearer of the correct spelling. I will also describe the close co-operation between Lantmäteriet and the Swedish road authority Trafikverket, concerning the work with the minority place names in Meänkieli and Saami languages in order to present their place names on road signs.

Toponyme Slawischer Herkunft in Bulgarien

Liljana Dimitrova-Todorova

Bulgarien

Zusammenfassung

Im bulgarischen toponymischen System zeichnen sich unterschiedliche chronologische und ethnische Schichten ab – thrakische, dako-mösische, keltische, lateinische, romanische, griechische, slawische, turksprachige (protobulgarische, kumanische, oghusische, petschenegische, osmanisch-türkische, yörükische, tatarische, tscherkessische), arabische, persische, rumänische, arumänische u.a. Der Grundstock im bulgarischen toponymischen System ist slawisch, wird auch slawisch-bulgarisch genannt, der wegen seiner Zugehörigkeit zum bulgarischen Sprachsystem als heimisch bezeichnet wird.

Die Toponyme slawischer Herkunft spielen eine wesentliche Rolle bei der Erforschung der Ethnogenese der Bulgaren. Diese Toponyme sind Gegenstand des vorliegenden Beitrags. Im Rahmen der Untersuchung wird die Aufmerksamkeit auf drei stratigrafische Schichten slawischer Toponyme gelenkt – frühslawische Toponyme (ihre Niederschrift geht der Schaffung der ältesten slawischen Schrift – der altbulgarischen – um etwa 4 Jahrhunderte voran), Toponyme aus der Zeit des Mittelalters und neuere Toponyme.

Abstract

In the Bulgarian toponymic system different chronological and ethnical strata can be distinguished: Thracian, Daco-Moesian, Celtic, Latin, Romanic, Greek, Slavic, Turkish (Proto-Bulgarian, Kumanic, Oğuz, Pechenegian, Ottoman Turkish, Yürük, Tatar, Circassian), Arabic, Persian, Romanian, Aromanian, etc. The fundamental background in it is Slavic, also referred to as Slavonic-Bulgarian, which, because of its belonging to the Bulgarian language system, is defined as domestic.

The toponyms of Slavic origin play a major role in determining the ethnogenesis of the Bulgarians. These toponyms are the subject of this study. In it three stratigraphic strata of Slavic toponyms are examined – early Slavic toponyms (their records precede the creating of the oldest Slavic script, the Old Bulgarian, by about four centuries), toponyms from the Middle Ages and newer toponyms.

* * *

Im bulgarischen toponymischen System zeichnen sich unterschiedliche chronologische und ethnische Schichten ab – thrakische, dako-mösische, keltische, lateinische, romanische, griechische, slawische, turksprachige (protobulgarische, kumanische, oghusische, petschenegische, osmanisch-türkische, yörükische, tatarische, tscherkessische), arabische, persische, rumänische, arumänische u.a. Der Grundstock im bulgarischen toponymischen System ist slawisch, auch slawisch-bulgarisch genannt, und wird wegen seiner Zugehörigkeit zum bulgarischen Sprachsystem als heimisch bezeichnet.

Im bulgarischen toponymischen System sind drei stratigraphische Schichten von Toponymen slawischer Herkunft nachweisbar – frühslawische Toponyme, Toponyme aus der Zeit des Mittelalters und neuere Toponyme.

Von wesentlicher Bedeutung für die Erforschung der Ethnogenese der Bulgaren sind die frühslawischen Toponyme, die die ältesten schriftlich belegten einheimischen Namen in der Welt der Slawen darstellen. Ihre Niederschrift geht der Schaffung der ältesten slawischen

Schrift – der altbulgarischen – um etwa 4 Jahrhunderte voraus. Diese Namen werden von den südlich von der Donau in kompakter Masse eingedrungenen slawischen Stämmen mitgebracht. Bereits im Werk von Prokop aus dem 6. Jh. n. Chr. „De aedificiis“ („Bauten“) sind slawische Toponyme nachzuweisen – Bezeichnungen von Kastellen aus der Zeit von Kaiser Justinian. Diese Kastelle wurden eben deswegen erbaut, um die Slawen bei ihren alljährlichen Einfällen über die Donau in die römischen Provinzen im 6. Jh. aufzuhalten. Prokop bezeichnet die Kastellnamen nicht als slawisch, sie werden als solche von M. Drinov (Дринов 1872), I. Dujčev (Дуйчев 1959, 1962), Vl. Georgiev (Георгиев 1958), A. Loma (Loma 1997), G. Holzer (Holzer 1998) u. a. gedeutet. Dazu gehören Namen von Kastellen wie *Βέρζανα* = altbulg. ***БѢРЖАНЕ** – neubulg. *Брѣжане*, *Βικάνοβο* = altbulg. ***ВЪЛКАНОВО** – neubulg. *Вълкàново*, *Βούρδωπες* = altbulg. ***ВЪРТОП(И)**, *Δουρβουλιανά* = altbulg. ***ДЪРВЛΙΑНЕ**, *Βράτζιστα* = neubulg. *Врàчица* u. a.

Auf Grund dieser Bezeichnungen kommt Vl. Georgiev (Георгиев 1958: 86-88) zu der wichtigen Schlussfolgerung, dass die Slawen nicht später als Mitte oder in der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jh. u. Z. auf die Balkanhalbinsel eingedrungen seien. Unter den bei Prokop erwähnten 565 Kastellen seien laut Georgiev (Георгиев 1958: 86) 54 Bezeichnungen mit Sicherheit slawischer Herkunft, weitere 42 sind wahrscheinlich slawisch, und somit beläuft sich die Zahl der slawischen Bezeichnungen auf 10-17%.

G. Holzer (1998: 115-129) bestreitet die Meinung von Vl. Georgiev über die slawische Herkunft vieler Burgbezeichnungen bei Prokop, wobei seiner Meinung nach nur 6 davon mit Sicherheit slawischer Herkunft seien: *Γούρβικον*, *Κάλις*, *Ουϊσιανά*, *Σουσιανά*, *Τιμένα*, *Τιμίανα*.

Einen wesentlichen Platz in der bulgarischen Onomastik nehmen die Toponyme urslawischer Herkunft ein, die auf dem ganzen bulgarischen Sprachterritorium verbreitet sind. Ein großer Teil der Bezeichnungen slawisch-bulgarischer Herkunft in Bulgarien haben sich im Laufe ihres fortwährenden Gebrauchs durch die Jahrhunderte nicht verändert, unabhängig vom Wechsel verschiedener ethnischer Gruppen bzw. Völker. Ein Teil davon sind Toponyme, die auf verloren gegangene Appellativa, Adjektive, Anthroponyme oder deren Stämme zurückzuführen und heute für die Sprecher unklar sind. Die Beteiligten am Kommunikationsprozess in den verschiedenen Epochen haben diese Toponyme aufgenommen, ohne hinter ihre etymologische Bedeutung zu kommen. In vielen der örtlichen Bezeichnungen in Bulgarien sind Spuren eines alten Sprachzustandes nachzuweisen; die alte Lexik ist in unveränderter Form erhalten geblieben, die Toponyme enthalten uralte Wörter, die längst außer Gebrauch gekommen sind. Mancherorts haben die Mundarten nur in den Toponymen relikthafte Formen bewahrt.

Es können zahlreiche Beispiele für Toponyme aufgeführt werden, die ihre altertümliche Wortbildung oder ihre relikthafte Formen aus der örtlichen Mundart bewahrt haben, genaue Entsprechungen in den anderen slawischen Sprachen aufweisen und deren Etyma urslawischer Herkunft sind. Meistens handelt es sich um Orts- bzw. Flurbezeichnungen aus dem Mittelalter, die in einer Reihe altbulgarischer und osmanischer Dokumente belegt werden können.

In einer Reihe von Untersuchungen über die bulgarische Toponymie erforscht J. Zaimov (Займов 1967, 1973 u. a.) eine eindrucksvolle Zahl altertümlicher Arten von Namen

slawischer Herkunft. Er analysiert die Oikonome auf dem ganzen bulgarischen Sprachterritorium: die (Bewohnernamen – patronymisch und nicht patronymisch) auf *-ане, -ани, -яне* (mit der Erweiterung *-чане*): *Горичане, Пищане; Гниляне, Горубляне* u. a., auf *-ене, -ени*: *Чупрене, Глòжене, Злокучене* u. a., auf *-ци* (mit den Erweiterungen *-овци, -евци* und *-инци*): *Брусàрци, Белòтинци, Кремиковци, Мàлашевци, Новосèлци* u. a.; patronymische Oikonome auf *-иит-* aus urslaw. **-itj-*: *Драгàнице, Драглица, Добрìнища* und Oikonome-Adjektive auf *-jь*: *Витìня, Владàя, Войнèжа, Добруша, Нèвша, Обидим, Пèтрич* u. a.

Auf Grund dieser Untersuchungen versucht J. Zaimov, die Auswanderung der Slawen und ihre späteren Bewegungen auf der Balkanhalbinsel zu erklären und darüber hinaus die Ethnogenese des bulgarischen Volkes nachzuvollziehen. Dem Autor gelingt es, überzeugend zu belegen, dass diese altertümlichen Toponyme in Mösien, Thrakien (einschließlich der Ägäischen Küste), Makedonien und auf dem Prizren-Timok-Gebiet verbreitet sind und dass diese unzweideutig davon zeugen, dass diese Regionen von Bulgaren besiedelt waren, die ihre Spuren in der Toponymie hinterlassen haben.

In alt- und mittelbulgarischen Schriftdenkmälern sind altertümliche Toponyme zu finden, die Einiges über die Entwicklung der bulgarischen Sprache im Mittelalter schlussfolgern lassen: **РАКЪТА** (bei Radomir, 1347), **РЪБНОЕ ЕЗЕРО** (im Rila-Gebirge, 1378), **ВЕЛН КАМН** (im Ogražden-Gebirge, 1332), **НОВАУАНЪ** (bei Botevgrad, 1382) (Zaimov 1968: 144-146) etc. Altertümliche bulgarische Namen slawischer Herkunft sind in den byzantinischen Schriften reichlich auffindbar: **Добровоуль, Дрѣвешане, Кроуьпннцн, Лѣсковнцн, Мѣльннкъ, Старъ потокъ, Урѣвена поляна** u. a. Solche Toponyme aus griechischen mittelalterlichen Quellen über die bulgarische Geschichte, sowie aus serbischen mittelalterlichen Dokumenten, die Toponyme aus dem bulgarischen Sprachraum enthalten, sind Gegenstand tiefer gehender Untersuchungen vieler bulgarischer und ausländischer Wissenschaftler, unter denen folgende zu erwähnen sind: A. Hilferding (Хильфердинг 1868), Fr. Miklosich (Miklosich 1927), I. Krystyniacki (Krystyniacki 1890), D. Matov (Матов 1893), G. Weigand (Weigand 1928), M. Vasmer (Vasmer 1941), J. Ivanov (Иванов 1905, 1906, 1911 u. a.), A. Seliščev (Селищев 1929, 1933), I. Dujčev (Дуйчев 1957, 1962, Dujčev 1977), J. Schütz (Schütz 1957), Vl. Georgiev (Георгиев 1958), Iv. Duridanov (Дуриданов 1978, Duridanov 1975), J. Zaimov (Займов 1967, 1973, 1978, 1987, Zaimov 1975), F. Malingoudis (Malingoudis 1981, 1983), Хр. Дзидзилис (Tzitzilis 1989-1990), L. Taseva (Тасева 1998) u. a. Außerdem ist in allen regionalen toponymischen Monographien eine riesige Zahl an altertümlichen bulgarischen Toponymen slawischer Herkunft verzeichnet und interpretiert worden.

Die frühslawischen Oikonome aus der Zeit des Ersten Bulgarischen Staates (681-1018) sind bis heute in Schriftquellen bzw. als Ortsbezeichnungen erhalten geblieben: *Вàрна, Мèлник, Плìска, Преслàв* u. v. m. Während des Zweiten Bulgarischen Staates (1185-1393/1422) werden neue Ortsbezeichnungen geschaffen: *Витенградъ, Врàца, Земленградъ, Лòвеч, Плèвен, Сòфия, Шумен, Червень* u. a. Viele von den altertümlichen bulgarischen Oikonomen sind zum ersten Mal in osmanischen Dokumenten aus dem 15. und 16. Jh. nachzuweisen – *Водуца, Гàгово, Ковàчевеи, Крèпча, Опакà, Паламарца, Пòсабина, Сàдина* u. a.

Zu den in der altbulgarischen Epoche entstandenen Oronymen gehören vorwiegend die Bezeichnungen der großen Gebirgsmassive in Bulgarien, die nach der Einwanderung der Slawen auf die Balkanhalbinsel und ins Mittelalter zu datieren sind. Die mittelalterlichen Quellen bewahren wertvolle Oronyme, die als Grundlage für die Datierung einzelner oronymischer Schichten in der zeitgenössischen Toponymie dienen, z. B.:

1) Die Bezeichnung **Рѣла** (16. Jh.) für das höchste Gebirge auf der Balkanhalbinsel ist ursprünglich auf einen Flussnamen zurückzuführen, der aus der Wurzel *рѣя* ‘graben’, altbulg. **рѣти** stammt (Дуриданов 2000: 77-83).

2) **Маторые горы** (13. Jh.), die mittelalterliche Bezeichnung für *Стара планина*, ist aus altbulg. **маторын** ‘groß, alt’ herzuleiten (Дечев 1925: 36).

3) *Витоша* lässt sich aus dem Personennamen **Витох* bzw. **Витош* ableiten (Дечев 1925: 36).

Von den frühen bulgarischen Hydronymen sind nur die Bezeichnungen von zwei großen Flüssen und von einer wesentlichen Zahl mittelgroßer Flüsse vorwiegend in Wetsbulgarien erhalten geblieben: *Топòлница*, *Скът*, *Висòчица*, *Драговѣщица*, *Рѣла* = *Рѣлска река*, *Елѣшница*, *Лѣбница*, *Топòловец*, *Пѣсчаник*, *Доспàтска река*, *Тѣщица*, *Вѣдима* u. a. Geringer ist die Zahl der altertümlichen bulgarischen Flussnamen in Nordostbulgarien: *Врàна*, *Белѣца*, *Златàрица*, *Стàра река* u. a. Auf Grund dieser Angaben kann angenommen werden, dass sich die Slawen ursprünglich kompakt in Wetsbulgarien und teilweise in Nordostbulgarien niedergelassen haben, was mit den Angaben über die Verbreitung der ältesten slawischen Ortsbezeichnungen auf der Balkanhalbinsel übereinstimmt, welche von Prokop im 6. Jh. u. Z. aufgelistet wurden (s. oben).

Keine Bezeichnung der Flüsse, die in das Schwarze Meer münden, ist alter slawisch-bulgarischer Herkunft. Diese Tatsache zeugt davon, dass sich die Bulgaren relativ spät an der Schwarzmeerküste niedergelassen haben.

Die altertümlichen slawisch-bulgarischen Hydronyme haben in Hinblick auf die wortbildende Struktur und in lexikalisch-semanticischer Hinsicht sehr viel Gemeinsames mit den Gewässernamen in der restlichen slawischen Welt.

Zu der jüngsten Schicht slawischer Toponyme gehören die Bezeichnungen vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis heute. Es handelt sich um die Toponyme, die sich in der Volkstradition entwickelt haben, die offiziellen Bezeichnungen, die auf administrativem Weg entstanden sind und Eingang in die Kartographie gefunden haben etc.

Nach dem Fall Bulgariens unter osmanische Herrschaft im Jahr 1396 verändert sich das bulgarische toponymische System grundsätzlich infolge der Assimilationspolitik der osmanischen Eroberer, die im Laufe von 5 Jh. über Bulgarien geherrscht haben. Ein Teil der alten bulgarischen Bezeichnungen kann während der jahrhundertlangen Fremdherrschaft unverändert erhalten bleiben (*Аблàново*, *Крѣчим*, *Крѣн*, *Стоб* u. a.) bzw. wird an das grammatische System der osmanisch-türkischen Sprache angepasst (*Белоградчик*, *Дòбрич*, *Крѣпча*, *Лòвеч*, *Стрàнджа* u. a.). Weitere Toponyme werden übersetzt bzw. durch Namen, die die Herrscher mit sich gebracht haben, oder durch neue Bezeichnungen osmanisch-türkischer, arabischer oder persischer Herkunft ersetzt.

Nach der Befreiung Bulgariens von der osmanischen Herrschaft im Jahr 1878 treten erneut große Veränderungen im bulgarischen toponymischen System ein, die bis zum 20. Jh. andauern. Viele Toponyme osmanisch-türkischer, arabischer oder persischer Herkunft werden entsprechend der Besonderheiten der bulgarischen Sprache übersetzt, verändert, umgedeutet bzw. durch neue ersetzt. Bereits in den ersten Jahren nach 1878 beginnt der Ersatz der während der fünf Jahrhunderte langen osmanischen Herrschaft durchgesetzten und dem bulgarischen Volk fremden Namen osmanisch-türkischer Herkunft, darunter auch die ins Türkische übersetzten altertümlichen bulgarischen Bezeichnungen. Dialektale Formen werden verbessert und die Unstimmigkeiten mit der modernen bulgarischen Schriftsprache beseitigt.

Die verschiedenen Kategorien von Toponymen reagieren stark auf die Veränderungen im gesellschaftlich-politischen, wirtschaftlichen und geistigen Leben des Landes im 20. Jh. Zu dieser Zeit dominiert die künstliche Intervention auf administrativem Weg durch Normierung und Standardisierung der Namen über die natürliche, spontane Namensbildung. Die massenhaften Umbenennungen sind eine bewusste und organisierte Handlung, die auf gesetzlichem Wege erfolgt. Die bedeutendsten Veränderungen betreffen die Oikonyme, Oronyme, in geringerem Maße die Hydronyme und die Flurnamen. Manche Bezeichnungen werden mehrfach Veränderungen unterworfen, z. B. trägt die heutige Stadt *Монтана* in der Vergangenheit mehrere andere Namen – *Михайловград*, *Фердинанд*, *Кутловица*.

Besonders intensiv ist der Prozess der Umbenennung unter den Oikonymen und Oronymen nach 1944, als große Veränderungen im Siedlungsnetz infolge der Ablösung der kapitalistischen Gesellschaftsordnung durch die sozialistische eintreten. Das hohe Tempo der Industrialisierung im Land führt zur schnellen Flächenvergrößerung der Städte und der innerstädtischen Objekte, zur Gründung neuer Städte bzw. zum Zusammenwachsen mehrerer Orte zu einem größeren, zum Verschwinden mancher Orte wegen Entvölkerung bzw. weil diese auf dem Gelände von neu zu erbauenden Stauseen liegen. Daraus folgt die Schaffung neuer Namen, die Umwandlung alter Bezeichnungen in neue, welche den Anforderungen der neuen Gesellschaftsordnung entsprechen. In diesem Zeitraum zeichnen sich die neu entstandenen Gedenknamen (Memorialnamen) mit der höchsten Frequenz aus. Nach 1989 rufen die neuen gesellschaftlich-politischen Veränderungen in Bulgarien sowie ideologische Faktoren eine massenhafte Umbenennung in der Toponymie hervor, wobei häufig die früheren Bezeichnungen wieder aufgenommen werden, so z.B. werden die Stadt *Толбухин* wieder in *Добрич*, *Мичурин* – in *Царево*, die Stadt *Димитрово* – in *Перник* u.s.w. umbenannt.

Die possessiven Flurnamen aus einzelnen Anthroponymen stellen besonders gut die Privateigentumsverhältnisse in der Vergangenheit dar, deren Wiederherstellung in Bulgarien nach den politischen Umwälzungen im Jahr 1989 beginnt. Sie enthalten meist den Namen des Besitzers der Gegend, die sie bezeichnen bzw. den Namen des Besitzers eines Objekts in dieser Gegend. Später treten anstelle dieser Bezeichnungen neuere, die mit der kollektiven Bodenbearbeitung bzw. mit modernen Objekten verbunden sind, z.B. wird *Димитраш* durch *Метесе-станцията*, und *Василевата нива* durch *Летницието* u. ä. ersetzt.

Das Gebirgsrelief begünstigt die Entwicklung des Tourismus und des Bergsteigens in Bulgarien, wodurch die zeitgenössische Oronymie beeinflusst wird. Die von Touristen und Bergsteigern geschaffenen Oronyme unterscheiden sich von diesen, die von der Bevölkerung

oder von den Hirten kreierte werden. Diese Oronyme enthalten Informationen über das Objekt, die sich meist auf die Zugänglichkeit, auf die Schwierigkeit der Route sowie darauf beziehen, ob die Berge zu bezwingen sind: *Злата скала*, *Странното езеро* etc. Die Namen kennzeichnen die Wanderrouten und die einzelnen Raststätten: *Втора тераса*, *Третата пътека*, *Второ езеро* u.a. Bei einem Teil der touristischen Namen handelt es sich um Memorialnamen, bei denen das Objekt nach Touristen oder Bergsteigern benannt ist, die ums Leben gekommenen oder den Wanderweg als erste gegangen sind: *Барева чешима*, *Петрова пътека* u.a. Hierhin gehören die Bezeichnungen, die nach Berg- bzw. Jägerhütten oder nach sich dort befindenden Skianlagen benannt sind, wie z.B. *Заслона*, *Лифта*, *Ски влека*, *Спасителния дом* etc.

Die historische Vergangenheit Bulgariens bestimmt die Etappen in der Entwicklung des bulgarischen toponymischen Systems. Wegen des Fehlens von Schriftquellen ist es nicht immer möglich, den Zeitpunkt der Entstehung bestimmter Namen nachzuweisen, aber die onomastischen Untersuchungen können in hohem Maße dazu verhelfen, Licht auf ihre sprachlich-ethnische Zugehörigkeit zu werfen. Auf Grund der onomastischen Analyse der toponymischen Grundkategorien kann nachgewiesen werden, dass die Namen der großen Flüsse am ältesten sind, gefolgt von den Namen der großen Gebirge und Gebirgsketten und den Namen einiger Orte und großer Objekte. Zu der slawisch-bulgarischen Schicht gehört der Grundbestand an Toponymen in Bulgarien, von denen ein großer Teil im Laufe der Jahrhunderte unverändert erhalten geblieben ist, unabhängig vom Wechsel verschiedener Völker oder ethnischer Gruppen. Viele von den Toponymen in dieser Schicht bewahren relikthafte Formen der in den Mundarten verloren gegangenen Appellativa und Adjektive, archaische Merkmale der bulgarischen Phonetik und Wortbildung sowie viele alttümliche slawische Personennamen, die unser heutiges anthroponymisches System nicht mehr kennt. In die slawisch-bulgarische Schicht gehen Personennamen mit eigener Formbildung und Semantik ein, die aus der urslawischen Epoche geerbt und mit dem indoeuropäischen Namensystem verbunden sind.

Die bulgarische Toponymie lässt die mannigfaltige Wanderungsbewegung in und außerhalb des Landes nachvollziehen. Sie spiegelt das Bild großer Umwälzungen in der jahrhundertlangen Tätigkeit der Menschen wider, die auf bulgarischem Boden ansässig waren, und zeugt von einer bewegten Vergangenheit auf diesen Gebieten und von der verhältnismäßig großen Bevölkerungsdichte. Die Vielfalt an Toponymen im Laufe unterschiedlicher Epochen bietet die Möglichkeit, nicht nur die örtlichen Prozesse und die geografischen Bedingungen in Bulgarien, die geistige und materielle Kultur der hiesigen Bevölkerung zu beleuchten, sondern auch die Stratigraphie der einzelnen Strukturen in breiteren Gegenden des bulgarischen Territoriums, ihre Chronologie festzustellen, sowie das bulgarische toponymische System mit den toponymischen Systemen anderer slawischer Länder zu vergleichen.

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altbulg.	altbulgarisch
neubulg.	neubulgarisch
urslaw.	urslawisch

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The Fjord Name *Gullmarn*: The Place and its Environment¹

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Abstract

The fjord Gullmarn, *goðmarr* 1300-1325, *til Goðmars* around 1300, stretches from Skagerrak into central Bohuslän. Gullmarn's fauna is very special as an interchange with fresh, more saline and colder water from outer Skagerrak occurs at least once or twice a year.

Numerous archaeological finds from the Stone Age onwards indicate the early presence of people in the area and continuous habitation throughout the Middle and Late Iron Age. A figural goldfoil found close to the inner eastern shore may indicate an old secular and/or religious centre. An indication of a secular centre in the inner part of the fjord may come from the fact that around 1300 King Sverrir summoned a thing at Fyrileif in the inner part of Gullmarn, where several finds from the Bronze Age have been discovered.

The specific of *Gullmarn* contains ON *goð* n. 'god, gods (superior powers)' and the generic ON *marr* m. 'sea, fjord', the name surely meaning 'the fjord related to or belonging to the gods'. At the time of the name-giving the fjord was most likely seen as closely connected to the gods, a sacred place forming an interface between the human world and the world of the gods; cf. water in old Celtic religion.

* * *

The Place and its Environment

Gullmarn is a deep and narrow firth that cuts deep into central Bohuslän from Skagerrak. Today the fjord is about 25 km long, relatively narrow (1-3 km broad) with a depth of about 125 metres. The inner wider part of the fjord branches off into Färlevfjorden, also named Färlevkilen, Saltkällefjorden and Gullmarsvik, as can be seen on map 1 (Fig. 1). Some of the shores are high and steep, especially the eastern and south-eastern shores. Gullmarn is a true threshold fjord, that is, a fjord with a fairly shallow plateau like a threshold under the water surface at its mouth. The threshold of Gullmarn is an extended plateau about 45 metres under the surface. An interchange with fresh, more saline and colder water from outer Skagerrak occurs at least once or twice a year, mostly in winter, when strong internal movements of the water over the threshold take place. This seems to be the genesis of the unique fauna of Gullmarn as it creates a high oceanic salinity of the water in the fjord and also a low temperature in the deeper parts. This creates possibilities for developing individual fauna with species that are mostly only found in Arctic waters.

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Fig. 1. Map showing Gullmarn in the central part of Bohuslän, based on a map in NE 3: 118 (Image editing by Bengt Edqvist)

In more ancient times and as late as during the Bronze Age, the inner part of Gullmarn, that is, Färlevfjorden, was connected with Åbyfjorden by a system of connecting sounds. Fig. 2 shows the extent of the fjord and its shoreline some 4000 years ago, around 2000 BC. The extent of the fjord today is shown in light blue. The elevation of the land in the area is, as in Bohuslän in general, difficult to estimate, but about 1000 years ago (around AD 1000) the shoreline might have been about 4.5 metres above today's shoreline. The elevation of the land is usually estimated to be 4 mm a year in the northern part of Bohuslän. Numerous archaeological finds from the Stone Age onwards indicate early presence of people in the area and continuous habitation throughout the Middle and Late Iron Age. For example a

number of graves dating from the Bronze Age are located not far from Färlevfjorden (Färlevkilen) in the inner part of Gullmarn, and several dolmens from the Neolithic are situated not far from Gullmarn, by a habitation named *Flat* (the Finsbo area, Lyse Parish). Here a workshop for the production of flint tools has also been found, indicating settlement from the Mesolithic. Several archaeological excavations in an area close to the northern shore of Gullmarn, 50-65 metres above today's shoreline indicate settlement in the area from around 9000 BC (see e.g. Schmitt *et al.* 2006: 1-28; 2009: 1-27).

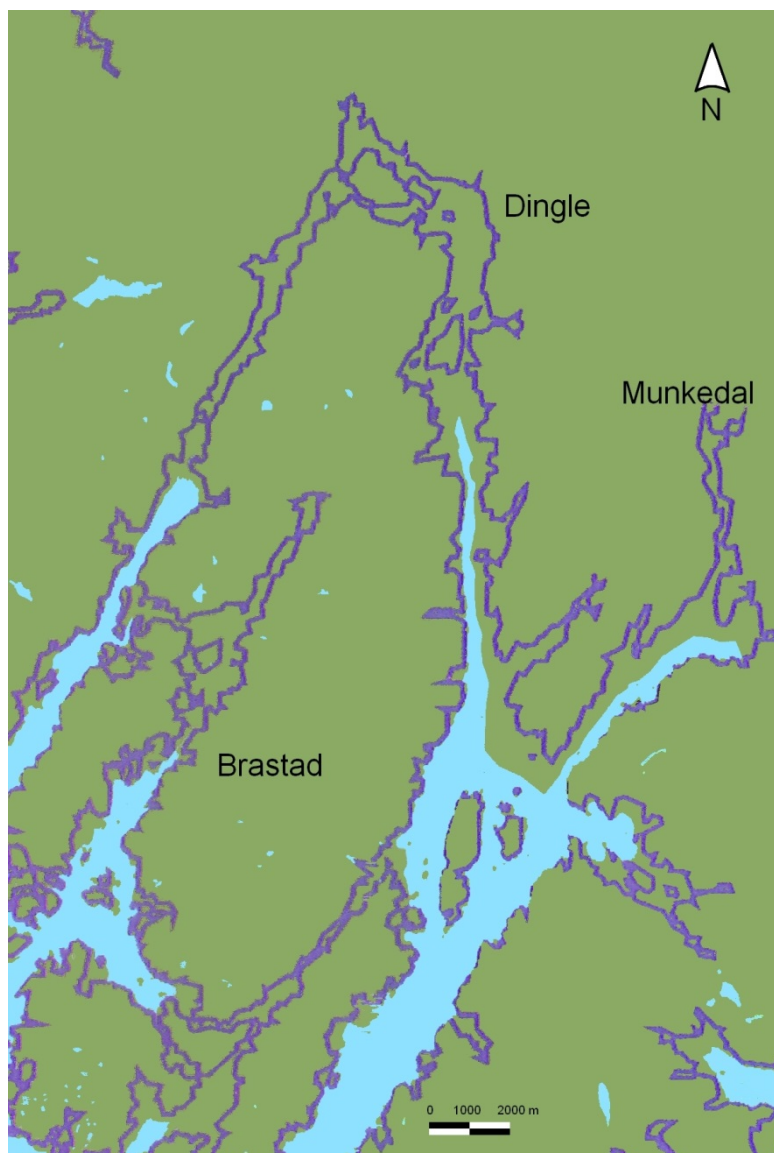


Fig. 2. Map showing the extent of the fjord and its shoreline about 4,000 years ago (about 2000 years BC). Note that the extension of the fjord today is shown by a light blue colour. Map produced by Robert Härnek based on a map from the Geological Survey of Sweden (permission I 2009/0714).

A figural gold foil was found in 1912 in the inner part of Gullmarn by the mouth of Gullmarsvik, the eastern one of the previously mentioned inner creeks of Gullmarn, not far from the habitation Gullmarsvik. The foil was found during work on the foundation of a house under construction, material (gravel) for which surely came from a gravel pit in the

neighbourhood. The exact position of the gravel pit, however, has not yet been found. The gold foil may indicate an old regional secular or religious centre.² Close to the fjord, not far from the place where the gold foil was found, the estate of *Börsås* is situated by the *Börsås* ridge, whose name probably contains the genitive of ON *byrgi* n. (Palm 1978: 163-164) Traces of an ancient castle or ancient entrenchments from the 5th or 6th centuries have been found at the highest point of the ridge. Moreover, stationary ancient remains from the Iron Age are abundant in the whole fjord area.

An indication of a secular centre in the inner part of the fjord may come from the fact that about 1300 King Sverrir summoned a thing at Fyrileif (today's Färlev) in the inner part of Gullmarn (according to Sverri's saga from about 1300), where several finds from the Bronze Age have been discovered. The reign of King Sverrir is supposed to have lasted from 1184 to 1202.

The Name *Gullmarn*

Gullmarn is one of the geographical entities in Bohuslän mentioned in ON literature, *goðmarr* 1300-1325 (AM 748 I a 4^o) and *til Goðmars* in Sverri's saga around 1300 (AM 327 4^o). The name is written *Guldmaren* 1556 (NRR 1: 205), *Gulmarn*, *-maren*, *Guldmaren* (JN: 1574-1597: 36, 139, 218, 497, 532). The writing *Guldmaren* of 1556 may be due to a misunderstanding, as are other name forms in this source. It nevertheless represents the oldest name form hitherto found with *guld-* ('gold-') in the specific.

The name mostly used today is *Gullmarn*, which is also the name form used by the National Land Survey of Sweden, for example, on Swedish national maps. As mentioned above the oldest known form of the name *Gullmarn* is *goðmarr*. Rygh (1896: 30, 34, 67) presents the linguistic interpretation from which all later interpretations originate: the specific of the name contains ON *goð* n. and the generic *marr* m., which at least in the names *Goðmarr* and *Grenmarr* is supposed to mean 'fjord' or 'bay'. Lindroth (1931: 85 f.), also aims to explain why the name-givers long ago found the name *Goðmarr* appropriate for the fjord. He suggests that the name designates that the water was considered by the name-givers, for unknown reasons, to be in some respect holy and an object of worship.

The name is seen here as an onomastic compound formation, consisting of two elements: specific and generic. There is scarcely any reason to suppose that the name contains an ON appellative **goðmarr* 'fjord where the gods reside and where they are worshipped'. That the name contains such an appellative cannot, however, be completely ruled out, even if there is hitherto no documentation that such an ON appellative was ever in use. It may, however, be observed that an interesting parallel can be found in the names *Gudhem*, *Gudhjem*. As shown by Kousgård Sørensen (1985: 131 f.) and Jørgensen (2011: 177 f.), there is every reason to believe that those names contain the ON appellative *goðheimr* 'place where the gods reside and where they are worshipped'. This explanation for the name *Gudhem* is also presented in the Swedish dictionary of place names (SOL: 97). As no ON appellative **goðmarr* has been found, the specific of the name is however here seen as containing ON *goð* n. 'god, gods'. Later *ð* in *goð* developed into *l* or *ll* before the consonant

² See further Lamm (2004: 56 f.) with literature.

m, which is not uncommon in Swedish dialects. Compare also dialectal *gullmor* for Swedish Standard *gudmor* ‘godmother’. This could have created a name form *golmarr* or *gollmar*, the specific of which has the same form as ON *goll*, *gull*, dialectal *gull* ‘gold’. Since the *u*-vowel in the dialectal forms of *Gullmarn* and the appellative *gull* (Swedish Standard *guld* ‘gold’) in Bohuslän are pronounced in the same way, it is quite likely that some name users thought they heard the dialectal form for Sw. *guld* (Eng. *gold*) and spelled accordingly. This explains written forms like *Guldmarn* etc. The connection to gold may come from a commendatory use of the name, either based on positive impressions of the fjord in the minds of the name users (e.g. an ample supply of fish) or on a wish to flatter and thereby appease supernatural forces close to the fjord.

As stated above the generic contains *marr* m. in the names *Goðmarr* and *Grenmarr* surely with the meaning ‘fjord’ or ‘bay’. An example of *marr* in names of inlets and fjords is ON *Grenmarr*, see e.g. Andersson (1998: 589) and Rygh (1896: 67), who states that fjord names containing *marr* may have been more common before than they are nowadays. *Marr* may then have been part of long since forgotten names of fjords that are today known under other names. At least one more fjord name containing *marr* may be mentioned here, namely *Marren*, designating a Norwegian fjord or bay in Eigersund, Rogaland, according to the Norwegian place name dictionary (NSL: 306).

The Sacred Space – Gullmarn as a Cosmologic Boundary Area

The meaning of the name *Gullmarn* thus probably is ‘fjord that in one way or another is close to the gods’, alluding that the name bearer in some way is supposed to have a close connection to the gods (superior powers). It is possible that the fjord, from the oldest times up to the introduction of Christianity, was seen by people moving in this area as representing a place where the presence of the gods was strongly felt or that it was water belonging to the gods. It seems to be not uncommon in many cultures that a sharp distinction is made between different cosmic regions or worlds, for example, between the world of human beings and the worlds of the gods, the spirits or the forefathers (ancestors) etc. and that there is a focus on certain places where it is possible that the world of humans and the world of myths meet. From such a perspective a holy place may be described as an interface where the world of the human beings comes into contact with other worlds, a scene where mythological worlds manifest themselves in the world of the humans, a gateway through which it is in some way possible to get into contact with these other worlds and their inhabitants, as Vikstrand puts it (2001: 26 f.) with reference to Brereton (1987: 528 f.). This seems to be a well-known quality or nature of a holy place. Furthermore, according to Green (1995: 90), it seems that in early Celtic religion, in which the religious powers often seem to have their home under the earth or in the underground, water functions as a surface of communication between terrestrial and non-terrestrial worlds. Such places were looked upon as dangerous and unsafe, but because they were gateways between different worlds, it was considered easier to get into contact with the world of spirits at such places. So, a holy place, in this case *Gullmarn*, should then indeed be seen as a cosmologic interface or gateway to the gods.

As a parallel one can see a name which occurs at several places in Sweden, *Odensjö(n)* (Kousgård Sørensen 1984: 172-174; 1996: 155, 378), perhaps also the Danish river names *Guden* ‘the place or river consecrated to the gods?’ (Kousgård Sørensen 1973: 286-289; 1996: 378). Compare, however, Elmevik (2006: 45 f.), who stresses the possibility of the name containing another word than *god*. Furthermore, the Swedish name *Gussjön*, designating some lakes in northern Sweden, has been considered to contain *gudh* ‘god’ in the specific on what seems to be somewhat unsure grounds, as it has also been considered likely that *Gussjön* contains another word in the specific.³

It is possible that the abundance of fish, together with the exceptional fauna of Gullmarn, which includes several kinds of fish, even visits of deep-sea fish such as basking shark, has promoted the idea of gods being close and of the fjord being a gateway to the world of gods. Especially basking shark is a big fish (about 10-15 metres long) and an imposing sight when it moves – usually in a group – close to the water surface. In the deepest part of the fjord a special species of big crab with a very unusual appearance can also be found. This crab is called *trollkrabba* in Swedish, which in direct translation might be *magic crab* or *witch crab*. One cannot rule out that sightings of those big, unusual, perhaps even terrifying animals helped to give people in the area the impression of the fjord as a place of a very special kind where the presence of a rather frightening world, far above ordinary human beings might be close.

When the area was Christianized and the old gods gradually lost their importance and were seen as more or less frightening relics of the past, the fjord might have been seen as a haunt of dreaded supernatural or magical beings. Folktales with supernatural or terrifying content connected with parts of the fjord, in particular with its inner part, suggest this. The most common stories are about dragons or sea monsters which live in the fjord and frighten people who live in the area or pass by. The monsters are said to catch their prey – animals as well as people – through various kind of trickery and threats and then devour them.⁴

Summing up

The specific of the name *Gullmarn* contains ON *goð* n. ‘god, gods, (superior powers)’ and the generic ON *marr* m. ‘fjord, bay’, the name surely meaning ‘the fjord related to or belonging to the gods’. At the time of the name-giving the fjord was most likely seen as closely connected to the gods, a sacred space forming an interface between the human world and the world of the gods.

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³ See Nyman (2014) with literature.

⁴ See e.g. VFF 1096, 1253, 1759, 1771, 1995.

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- AM 748 I a 4to = from c. 1300-1325, nr 748 I a 4^o i AM; dated after ONP Registre: 234.
- AM 327 4to = from c. 1300, nr 327 4^o i AM; dated after ONP Registre: 452.
- VFF = *Västsvenska folkminnesföreningen*. The Institute for Language and Folklore, Department of Dialectology, Onomastic and Folklore Research, Gothenburg.

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The Effect of the Great War on U.S. Place Names

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Abstract

German immigrants made up a large percentage of settlers in America prior to the 20th century, resulting in many places being named for places in Germany or for prominent Germans, especially in the American Midwest. But when World War I occurred there was a widespread negative reaction to anything associated with Germany. One manifestation of this antipathy was an effort to change names with German associations. *Kiel*, Oklahoma, for example, was changed to *Loyal*, and *Potsdam*, Missouri, became *Pershing*. Similar efforts took place in Canada (*Berlin*, Ontario, became *Kitchener*) and Australia (*South Rhine River* became *Marne River*). But the efforts in America met with little success; not many names were changed and some names that were changed reverted to their former names in the years after that war.

* * *

I have been interested in the topic of place name changes during World War I for some time. While living in Vermillion, South Dakota, I was aware of a small stream in the neighboring town of Yankton which bore the name Marne Creek. I also learned that it was originally called Rhine Creek by German settlers, but the name was changed, probably in 1918, because of anti-German attitudes once the United States entered the War. It is most likely that the name was chosen to honor the Second Battle of the Marne, a river in France. That battle, fought between 15 July and 6 August, stopped the final push of the Germans toward Paris, and the War began to move toward its conclusion with the Armistice on 11 November 1918 (Wikipedia 2009b). It is appropriate that this topic be discussed this year, in August 2014, one hundred years to the month of the outbreak in Europe, of this Great War.

Names have power. If the connection of words and names to unpleasant events is strong enough, the desire is to get rid of them or to replace them with something more pleasant. For many people during the Great War anything that reminded them of Germany needed to be disposed of. And in America among those reminders were the place names.

Americans, however, have not been inclined to change names for political reasons, unlike, say, in Eastern Europe in the years after the Bolshevik Revolution when dozens of places were renamed to honor Lenin, most notably *Leningrad*, which replaced *St. Petersburg*, or *Petrograd* (Room 1979: 82, 119). Of course, after the fall of the Soviet Union, the name went back to its earlier forms.¹

¹ A notable exception in America, though, is the number of streets whose names were changed after the assassinations of John F. Kennedy in 1963 and Martin Luther King in 1968 (Stump 1988: 203-216). And in the period after Kennedy's death, one of the earliest recorded place names in the country, *Cape Canaveral*, was changed in 1963 to *Cape Kennedy*, but a few years later, in 1968, it reverted to its old name and the facility located there was called the *Kennedy Space Center* (Orth 1984: 429-430).

German Names before the First World War

Many immigrants to the United States came from Germany. Some fifty million Americans today identify themselves as having German ancestry, making them the largest ancestry group, ahead of Irish-Americans, English-Americans, and African-Americans. Large numbers of Germans arrived between 1670 and 1760, most of them settling in Pennsylvania and Up-State New York. Most were Lutheran or German Reform (Calvinists), although there were also Moravians and Mennonites. German Catholics did not begin to arrive until after the War of 1812, but between 1820 and the First World War, some six million Germans, of all religious persuasions, arrived. Among these should be counted those Germans who had been living in Russia since the 1700s. The majority of those settled in Kansas, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas (Wikipedia 2014a).

Most of these immigrants settled in groups. They brought their customs and folkways with them, including naming traditions, and many of their settlements were named to remind them of the places that had left behind. In Pennsylvania in 1681, a village settled by German Quakers and Mennonites was named *Germantown*. Now a part of Philadelphia, a large neighborhood is still called *Germantown* (Wikipedia 2014b). In New York the city of New Paltz was settled by Germans from the Palatinate. The town, organized in 1677, honors that region, called in German *Pfaltz* (Vasiliev 2004: 159).

German names are scattered across the country, but this paper will focus on America's middle section, from Minnesota and North Dakota in the north to Texas in the South.

Most place names of German origin in America show loyalty and devotion to the Fatherland, but a few honor prominent Germans. Probably the most honored is Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), a leading scientist of the 19th century. Across the nation, mostly in the Midwest and West, we find eighteen counties, townships, towns, and villages that are named for him, plus the largest river in Nevada. Otto von Bismarck, who brought the separate German states together to form the nation of Germany in the 1870s, is also recognized. Seven places, all in the Midwest, commemorate him (Abate 1994: 4.997, 918).

In the Upper Midwest, Minnesota and North Dakota have the most names of German origin, far more than Iowa, Nebraska, and South Dakota. A sample of names from Minnesota includes the townships of *Augsburg* and *Bremen* and the towns or villages of *Cologne*, *Darmstadt*, *Flensburg*, *Frankfort*, *Fulda*, *Hamburg*, *Heidelberg*, *New Munich*, *New Trier*, *New Ulm*, and *Potsdam* (Upham 2001: 344 *et passim*). North Dakota has (or had, since many of these places no longer exist) *Berlin*, *Bismarck*, *Bremen*, *Darmstadt*, *Dresden*, *Germantown*, *Hamburg*, *Hannover*, *Leipzig*, *Munich*, *Osnabrock*, *Potsdam*, *Rhein*, and *Trier* (Wick 1988: 16 *et passim*).

Iowa has a *Humboldt* County, honoring the German scientist. I found only a few towns: *Schlweswig* (for the province at the border with Denmark), *Hamburg*, *Humboldt*, *Germantown*, and *Westphalia*. A town in Cass County is called *Marne*, for a small town in Germany near Hamburg, and there was a *Berlin* and a *Germania* (Dilts 1993: 20 *et passim*). In Nebraska, there are several: *Bismarck*, *Breslau*, *Brunswick*, *Germanville*, *Humboldt*, *Berlin*, *Frankfort*, and *Germantown*. Not all of these names are still used (Fitzpatrick 1960: 45 *et passim*).

Of all these five states, South Dakota has the fewest place names of German origin. A search of place name sources and post office records yields only one town that is named for a place in Germany, and that one, *Frankfort*, is highly questionable. Names of two towns are German: *Humboldt* (Minnehaha County) honors the scientist and Chancellor (Turner County) was apparently named for Otto von Bismarck, ‘The Iron Chancellor’ of Germany. *Menno* (Hutchinson County) honors the founder of the Mennonites; he was actually Frisian, but most of his followers were German. *Ziebach* County was named for Frank Ziebach. He came to Dakota from Pennsylvania, though his background was certainly German (Sneve 1973: 64 *et passim*). There are *Germantown* townships in Turner and Codington Counties, and a *German* township in Hutchinson, which also has a township named *Wittenberg* and one named *Kassell* (Abate 1994: 4.634, 654-655).

The difference in the number of German-named towns in the two Dakotas is hard to explain. South Dakota had—and has—many more German-speaking Hutterites than North Dakota. A recent website claims that there are fifty-three colonies in South Dakota and only seven in North Dakota (Wikipedia 2009a). Since these people had spent several generations in Russia before coming to America, they would not likely have had any reasons to use place names from Germany.

If we work our way down to Texas through Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma, we find a few more. Kansas had a number of German settlers and many communities bore German names, notably *Humboldt* and *Frankfort* (Rydjord 1972: 172-184. Missouri claims *Bismarck*, *Fredericktown*, *Hermann*, *Wentzville*, and *Rhineland*, and a few more, including *Potsdam*, *Muellerstown*, *Kaiser*, and *Hamburg* (Ramsay 1973: 31-34). In Oklahoma there *were* towns called *Kiel* and *Bismark* [sic] (Shirk 1965: 23,117).

A number of Germans settled in Texas, resulting in a few town names. A suburb of San Antonio is New Braunfels, where descendants of settlers still hold German festivals, including a ‘Wurstfest,’ with ‘traditional German bands, dancers, and, of course, sausages’ (Inks 2014: 109), or wursts, which they call the ‘best of the wurst’. *Fredericksburg*, named in honor of Frederick the Great of Prussia, was settled by Germans in 1846. Many buildings reflect traditional architecture, and old customs are celebrated, including marksmanship tournaments (*Schuetzenfests*), *Oktoberfest*, *Zweite Weihnachten*, and *Kinderfest*. A suburb of Austin is Pflugerville, named in 1904 for German immigrant Henry Pfluger, combined with the ubiquitous French suffix *-ville*. And Boerne, named for Ludwig Boerne, is rich in German heritage, with its summer band concerts, called *Abendkonzerte*, evening concerts, along the *Hauptstrasse*, or Main Street (Inks 2014: 95, 101, 109-110).

Across the United States, there are probably hundreds of place names which can be traced to German origins, either for places in Germany or from German surnames. Only a few were affected by the anti-German attitude that influenced so much of life during World War I. First though, a few words on the War itself.

The War Starts

The First World War began in Europe just over one hundred years ago, in August 1914. The causes of the war were many, but the trigger was the assassination in Serbia, on June 29, 1914, of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir apparent to the throne in Austria. This led to

Austria-Hungary's declaration of war on Serbia and Germany's involvement. On August 4, the United Kingdom declared war on Germany to fulfill their treaty obligation to Belgium, which Germany had invaded. By early August, British Expeditionary troops were in France, digging trenches they would occupy for the next four years (Wikipedia 2014i).

In Britain, whether out of patriotism or boredom, young men in Britain lined up to enlist in this war, and soon anti-German feelings dominated the country. Even the royal family changed its family name. Queen Victoria had married the German nobleman, Albert of *Saxe-Coburg and Gotha*, and that label was applied to the dynasty until July 1917, when by royal proclamation King George V changed the name to *Windsor*, the name of a favorite castle (Wikipedia 2010).² The French changed the name of a Paris street from *Rue de Berlin* to *Rue de Liege*, and *Eau de Cologne* became *Eau de Provence* ('Paris Street' 1914: 6). In America the signature German vegetable, *sauerkraut*, came to be called 'liberty cabbage' (Wikipedia 2014h; 'Liberty Cabbage' 1918: 6).

There were few, if any, German place names in Britain, so changes were not an issue. But in those nations bound to Britain, especially Canada and Australia, names did change. In September 1916, the city of *Berlin*, Ontario, became *Kitchener*, honoring Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850-1916), the British Field Marshal (Rayburn 1997: 184). In Australia many names were changed. At least three *Bismarcks*, a *New Hamburg*, and a *Heidelberg* were given aboriginal names. Names of natural features also changed. *Kaiserstuhl* became *Mount Kitchener*, the *North Rhine River* was changed to *Somme Creek*, and the *South Rhine River* to *Marne River* (Wikipedia 2014d). Even the name of a favorite pastry changed. The *berliner*, a jelly-filled doughnut, became a *kitchener* bun (Wikipedia 2014c).

The United States did not enter the War until April 1917. In the three years before that, attitudes toward Germany were mixed. In North Dakota, where one fifth of the population was of 'German stock', many rejected the war as 'needless and foolish', and they didn't believe the stories of German atrocities. Some newspapers defended the Germans, and one, *Der Staats-Anzeiger*, exulted over German victories. But most Americans wanted to stay neutral, and President Woodrow Wilson was credited with keeping the U.S. out of the war, a position that led to Democratic victories in the congressional election of 1914 (Robinson 1966: 354-355). But once we entered the war in 1917, most North Dakotans, like most of the country, gave all-out support for the effort, and a growing number began to be suspicious of anything that reminded them of Germany.

The number of Americans, even among German-Americans, who did *not* support the war effort was small. In South Dakota, Hutterites, completely committed to non-violence, were treated with suspicion because of this stance and because they spoke German, and most of the colonies moved to Canada.

At the national level, The Justice Department tried to put together a list of German aliens, identifying nearly a half million names, and more than 4,000 were imprisoned. Accusations included spying for Germany or endorsing the German military. The Red Cross would not allow people with German surnames to join because of a fear of sabotage. In Illinois, a German-born man was pulled from his cell as a suspected spy and lynched, and in

² Also, the surname of the family of Prince Philip, the husband of Queen Elizabeth II, is *Mountbatten*, translated during World War I from the German form *Battenberg*.

Minnesota a minister was ‘tarred and feathered when he was overheard praying in German with a dying woman’ (Wikipedia 2014a).

The Effort to Change the Names of Places

Attempts to change the names of places was one of the ways that Americans expressed their antipathy toward the Germans. In May 1918 a U.S. congressman from Michigan, John M.C. Smith, introduced a bill that would require that,

[the] names of all cities, villages, counties, townships, boroughs, and of all streets, highways, and avenues in the United States, its Territories or possessions, named Berlin or Germany, be changed from the name Berlin or Germany to the name of Liberty, Victory, or other patriotic designation.

The bill further specified that mail addressed to anyone living in a place called *Berlin* or *Germany* ‘shall be prohibited from transportation or delivery’ (House of Representatives 1918; Rennick 1984: 26-32). The bill did not pass.

A short time later, a letter to the *New York Sun* picked up the theme. A certain Mr. R. Kuner from Nutley, New Jersey, wrote:

What is the matter with the people residing in these German named places? Can’t they get together—and at once, quickly—and immediately rename such places with good American names? We don’t want anything German over here. We have had enough. We don’t want any more. Let us start at once and begin a nationwide movement to discard anything that has the stench of German. Let us begin on the cities, and if these places are majority German let some other city do it for them. It didn’t take Newark long to get busy. We renamed all the German named streets and Newark feels proud of it and relieved.

In addition to Potsdam, N.Y.; Kaiser, Mo., and the hamlet in Pennsylvania which boasts of its name ‘King of Prussia’, we have Berlin, N.H. No doubt a great many more exist.

Get busy, you people of these German named places and show the stuff in you by giving your town, city or hamlet a real name, and by real I mean American. Get busy. Wake up. Do something. Be ashamed that you live in a place with a German name. We will all feel mighty proud of you if you do, and you must. (Kuner 1918)

In response to this and apparently many similar demands, John M. Clarke, Secretary of the New York State Board of Geographic Names, wrote a letter to the *New York Sun*, offering his opinion on changing names. He pointed out that for a large state like New York, with thousands of place names, those of German origin probably do not exceed forty. And these have ‘very different historical values’. Those German who settled in the Hudson Valley and up the Mohawk had little in common with the Germans of today. Even if they are offensive because of how people felt about Germany in 1918, if they are eliminated, ‘with them must go historical associations two centuries old’.

Secretary Clarke goes on to say that many of the names in New York, when these areas were patented and surveyed, were applied in ‘the most haphazard way, with the help of an atlas and a classical dictionary’. So German names, like those of classical origin, had the same historical standing, and there is little difference between *Syracuse*, *Ithaca*, *Dresden*, *Hamburg*, and *Hanover*.

But the question of whether to change any of these names, Clarke says, depends on the residents of the places so named. ‘In the absence of any legislation by Congress’, already seen to have little support, ‘changes can be inaugurated only on the initiative of their residents through county, town, or village boards. The State Board on Geographic Names has no mandatory power in this matter, ... There is undoubtedly a stern public sentiment that would blot out the whole category and clean up the face of our landscape, but it would seem that the communities themselves must decide this matter’ (Clarke 1918).

Neither Congressman Smith, nor Mr. Nutley was as persuasive as he hoped to be. Or perhaps Mr. Clarke and other state boards convinced the general public that changing place names was not easy to do. Yet the Federal Government became involved in a few changes. In May 1917, one month after the U.S. entered the War, the Justice Department established a Council of National Defense and asked each state to set up its own Council. Duties varied from state to state, and they included prohibiting speaking and teaching the German language and closing German-language newspapers.

For some, including Oklahoma, name changes were mandated, and three names were changed (‘Oklahoma Council of Defense’ 2007). The village of *Kiel*, in Kingfisher County, named for the important industrial city in the north of Germany, became *Loyal*, ‘to show loyalty to the United States’. *Bismark* [sic], like the capital city of North Dakota, honoring Otto von Bismarck, the ‘Iron Chancellor’ of Germany, became *Wright* (now Wright City), chosen to honor the memory of William W. Wright, the first man from the county to be killed in the war. The town of *Korn* (spelled with a *K*), established in 1896 with a post office located in a corn field, was respelled with a *C*. (Shirk 1965: 1-2, 54, 225-226). It is hard to see how such a simple change of a *K* to a *C* might have been demanded by the authorities.

A few towns in other states faced changes. In Missouri, the State Council voted to ask the citizens of *Potsdam*, *Muellerstown*, *Kaiser*, and *Hamburg* to change the names of their towns ‘to American names’ (‘Mo. State Council’ 1918). *Potsdam* was changed to *Pershing*, honoring the general who led the American Expeditionary Forces to Europe (Ramsay 1973: 61, 121). I have found no evidence that the others were changed. *Germantown*, Kansas, became *Mercier* to ‘honor a Belgian Catholic Cardinal persecuted by the Germans’ (Rydjord 1972: 176). *Brandenburg*, Texas, was renamed *Old Glory*, and *Thalheim*, California, a German name which means ‘valley home’, was simply translated as *Valley Home* (Stewart 2008: 373). Most of these new names did not stick. A few reverted to the German names they had before the War. In Illinois, *German Valley* was changed in 1919 to *Meekin* and then, hard feelings forgotten, back to *German Valley* in 1922 (Callary 2009: 135). A little town in Michigan, just northwest of Grand Rapids, was called *Berlin* because of the many German settlers. After the War the name was changed to *Marne*, ‘to honor those soldiers who fought in the Second Battle of the Marne’ (Wikipedia 2014f). Ironically, *Marne* is not only a French place name. It is also the name of a small town in Germany, northwest of Hamburg, near the North Sea (Wikipedia 2014e). Rather than change its name, at least one place changed its

pronunciation. *New Ber-LIN*, a suburb of Milwaukee, is now *New BER-lin* (Wikipedia 2014g).

Of the five states of the Upper Midwest, the two with the most German names are the two with the fewest changes. I have found no evidence so far that any of the names in Minnesota or North Dakota were changed. Bismarck, North Dakota, with its clear reference to the founder of the modern German state, apparently was never considered a candidate for change. *Berlin*, Nebraska, in Otoe County, east of Lincoln, was changed to *Otoe* during the War, echoing the county name, and *Germantown* (Seward County) became *Garland*, ‘in honor of Ray Garland, a soldier from the vicinity, who died in France’ (Fitzpatrick 1960: 109, 131). In Iowa, a Kossuth County place was called *Germania* ‘because of the concentration of German settlers’. But ‘to avoid unpleasant associations’ in the War, the name was changed to *Lakota*. *Berlin* (Tama County) was intended to be *Bellin*, ‘for a town in Scotland’, but the post office misread the application and it came back as *Berlin*. ‘The name was used until World War I, when hostile attitudes toward everything German’ resulted in changing the name to *Lincoln* (Dilts 1993: 112, 117).

Conclusion

In this brief discussion I have touched on only a few examples of changes and attempted changes. No doubt there are many more. But in the end, not many German names were changed, and those that were changed were of very small places. The eminent scholar of names, George R. Stewart, sums up the issue this way:

There was plenty of hatred and hysteria [during the War], but the attitude seemed to be: ‘It’s *our* name now!’ Moreover, two hundred years of German immigration had planted thousands of names; an unlettered American could not distinguish German from Iroquoian, and might himself be of German origin. When Germantown in Texas made the change [to Schroeder], the citizens honored a local boy killed in France, not realizing or caring that Schroeder was a thoroughly German name. (Stewart 2008: 373)

German culture is so much a part of American life that it is not surprising that any serious effort to root out German-ness was doomed to fail. We still have sauerkraut, Germany is one of our closest allies, and German names continue to cover the American landscape.

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Different Ways to Deal with the Official Nomenclature of Field Names

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Abstract

A lot of field names in the German speaking area are printed on actual land-register maps and are thus also recorded in the land charge register ('Grundbuch'). Onomasticians have described over and over again several problems which can appear if oral field names are transferred into official spelling; especially if they are written in the standard language or following standard writing traditions (c.f. for example Range (1998: 86) or Zinsli (1963)). In my presentation I want to show how the actual name-layer on land-register maps in Hesse (Germany) and the Canton of Bern (Switzerland) is handled. Since the middle of the 20th century, in Switzerland there is a special set of rules controlling how to write field names as they are spoken. Hesse, on the contrary, has a long tradition of field name normalization, which hasn't changed much until today.

Which effect do these different advances have on name using communities and on their use of the maps? In this regard my collected empirical data is not large enough to show quantitative evidence. However, I want to discuss the meaning of different nomenclatures and fathom hypothetical(!) opportunities for a new nomenclature in Hesse.

El Muelle del Cay of Santander City (Spain) and the Two Big European Maritime Traditions in the Late Middle and Modern Ages. A Lexicological Study of the Words *Cay* and *Muelle*.

Alberto González Rodríguez
Spain

Abstract

The place name *Muelle del Cay* was part of the street map of Santander city in the 18th century.

Muelle del Cay, made up by the combination of the neologism *muelle* plus the ancient word *cay*, is a tautology since both these words mean 'wharf'. The etymons are Latin *molem* and Gaulish *caio*.

The purpose of the present study is to give an accurate idea of its geographical distribution along the two big nautical areas in the Medieval European maritime world. The linguistic legacy of *caio* is used along the West Sea whereas *mollem* is found along the Mediterranean. Thereby in the Mediterranean area we can find results such as: Catalanian *moll*, Italian *molo*, Spanish *muelle*, Greek *μόλος*. However, in the Atlantic area, the results are: Portuguese *cais*, Basque *kaia*, French *quay*, English *quay*, German *kai*, Swedish *kaj*, Norwegian *kai*, Flemish *kaai*, Danish *kai*, Estonian *kai*.

The existence of the Cantabric place name *Muelle del Cay* in the 16th century breaks off the exclusive distribution of these words due to the political change operated in the Iberian Peninsula with the union of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.

* * *

Introduction

Santander is a sea port city located on the North coast of the Iberian Peninsula. It is the capital of the Autonomous Community of Cantabria, in the Kingdom of Spain. Santander is a well-known name nowadays thanks to the Bank of Santander, whose origins were linked precisely to the development of maritime trade through its harbour in the 19th century.

As evidenced by its first archaeological vestiges belonging to the times of the Roman Empire (perhaps the *Portus Victoriae* of the classical fonts which speak about the Cantabrian Wars), the reason for its existence was the port and its commercial traffic.

The physiognomy of the medieval or modern city and port is almost unrecognizable at present. The disappearance of the old enclosure at the end of the 18th century, the filling-in of the docksides in the next century, the transfer of the port activity to new quays far from the urban area and finally the Great Fire in 1941 and the subsequent urban reorganization do not allow us to recognize the primitive structure of the streets and quays easily.

Fortunately, we can contemplate the appearance of the city in 16th century due to the existence of an engraving belonging to the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, a collection of descriptions and views of the most important cities in the European Modern Age.



Fig. 1. Santander apud *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (detail)

We can appreciate the two docksides, inside and outside the wall. The medieval one takes refuge in the river between the two medieval quarters La Puebla Vieja (The Old Town, surrounding the cathedral) and La Puebla Nueva (The New Town, just in front), connected by a bridge. The Cathedral, stone buildings, King's Castell, enclosure, quays, bridge and Atarazanas (shipyards) were the features of the medieval city. The Renaissance dockside was outside the wall, composed of three quays, the most exterior still in construction with a crane at its bottom. These quays were known as Muelle de Anaos (Quay of the Naos, i.e. of the ships), Muelle Largo (Large Quay) and Muelle del Cay (Quay of the Cay).¹

***El Muelle del Cay*, a Toponym in the 18th Century**

The focus of our study is an old toponym of the old city: *El Muelle del Cay*. The place name *Muelle del Cay* appeared on the street map of Santander city in the 18th century.

We can see this in several plans drawn up in relation to the projected expansion of the city towards the east, outside the wall. In the cartographic records we can read place names like Muelle del Cay (Quay of the Cay), Puerta del Cay (Gateway of the Cay).²

¹ Cf. Casado Soto (1990).

² VV. AA. (1985); VV. AA. (1998).

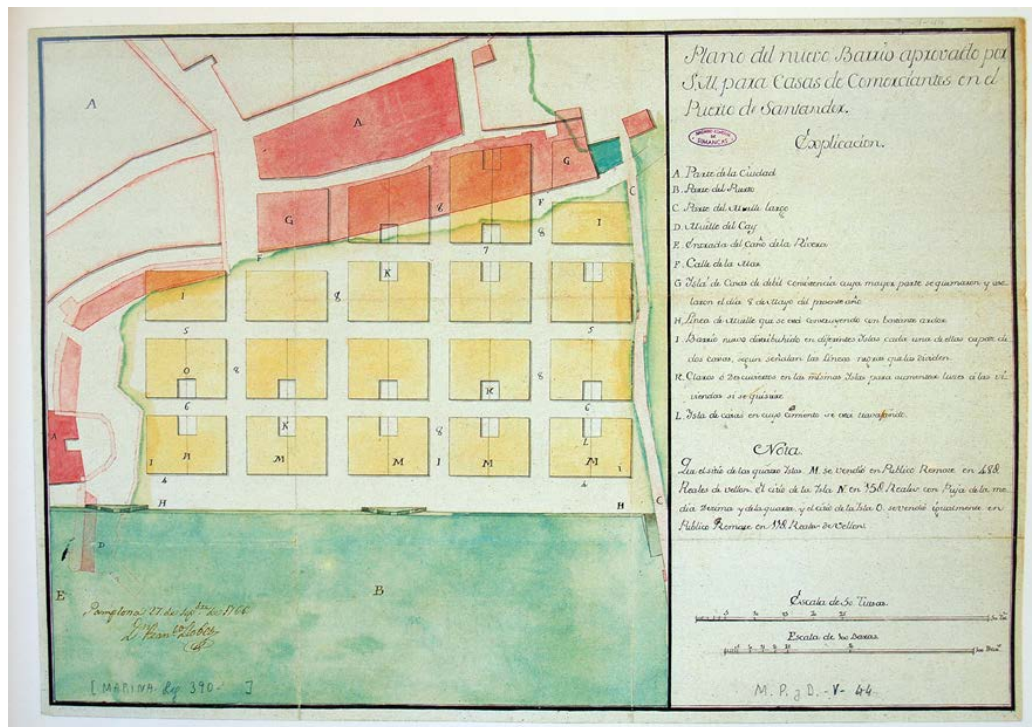


Fig. 2. Llovet (1766)

Also in the City Council Book of Agreements from the Municipal Archives we find the place names Muelle del Cay (Quay of the Cay), Sitio del Cay (Place of the Cay), Puerta del Cay (Gateway of the Cay), Cañón del Cay (Cannon of the Cay) (Blasco Martínez 2005, 2010).

(1747-09-14) y hecho el desembarco en el muelle largo de la calle del mar le acompañaron [al Arzobispo de Burgos] hasta ponerle en la Insigne Iglesia Colegial desta dicha villa... concluidas estas [ceremonias] se ejecuto la misma de acompañamiento hasta llegar al sitio del cay en el que se embarco a cosa de las nueve de la mañana (A.M.S. Pleno 10 f.15v, apud Solórzano Telechea (1996)).

At that time, the quay still existed physically, back to back with the old wall, and its name was *Muelle del Cay*, giving the determinative *del Cay* to the surrounding area.

But this situation changed at the beginning of the 19th century. According to the project of the city expansion, the quay was demolished together with the wall. The toponym survived for a few years, denominating the new square formed in the free space, but it was finally renamed as Plaza del Príncipe (Prince Square, referring to the birth of Queen Elisabeth the Second's son, the future king of Spain Alfonso XII) and the old toponym disappeared (Simón Cabarga 2001).



Fig. 3. The old exterior dockside superimposed on the present-day city. In purple colour, Muelle del Cay; the orange line marks the enclosure; the yellow one, the coast line.

Nowadays, nobody knows the name or the location of the quay, unless you visit the archeological point in the center of town, far from the actual water line of the bay.

Creation of the Toponym

If we review the documentary records about the docks and quays in the ports located along the North coast of the Iberian Peninsula (Cantabria, Asturias and the Basque Country), we can find that the only word meaning ‘quay’ was *cay* /*kai*/ (variants *cae*, *cai*, *contracay*) until the first third of the 16th century.

Santander

(1428-02-27) *Et todas las dichas plaças tienen por costaneras...et por delant, la plaça que disen de La Llana; e de parte del vendaval, la Calçadilla que desçiende a la calle e Cae de los Toneleros; et por detras, la dicha calle e Cae de los Toneleros.* (ACS. Fernández González 1994: 268)

Laredo

(1497-06-10) *Sepades que por parte del Conçejo, iustiçia, regidores, cavalleros, escuderos, oficiales e omnes buenos de la villa de Laredo nos fue echa relación diziendo que la mar avia fecho mucho daño e derrocado muchas torres e parte del muro de la dicha villa e que para su remediar hera nesçesario de se hazer **un cay de cal y canto**...* (Cuñat Ciscar 1998: 359)

The first record we find which includes the word *muelle* in Santander dockside is dated 1542. All the records are in connection with the new harbour structures which were under construction during that century.

(1542-08-05) Convenia que se hiciese un muelle e contramuelle que comenzase desde la Iglesia Colegial de los Cuerpos Santos hasta las peñas de herbosa, que podria aver cuatrocientas brazas poco mas o menos (A.M.S. A3, nº 29, ff. 6-10)

Since this year and for the next two centuries, both nouns – the old *cay* and the new *muelle* – coexist in the documentary records. With the passing of time the neologism *muelle* wins the conflict and finally in the 18th century the word *cay* loses its appellative function and lives as an opaque toponym, ready to serve as a determinant to the neologism *muelle*.

(1551-05-03) Las condiciones con que la villa de Santander y los señores Justicia de Regymiento della en su nombre dan a hazer y mandan poner en pregones y Remate la obra de cantería de muelles que quyeren hazer dende el muelle nuevo hasta el bucaron de la bastida y frontero del cay viejo desta villa son las segstes

(1627-07-16) ...mandaron que ninguno de los dichos carreteros pueda llevar a los muelles y cay desta villa ni descargar en ellos piedra ninguna por quanto los dichos muelles y cay son de mucha utilidad y provecho a esta villa

(1775-08-09) La posesion que esta ciudad tiene immediato al Muelle del Cay en la que acordaron se hagan cocinas con su cubierta y defensa para que las embarcaciones puedan comodamente cocinar” (A.M.S. Pleno 13, ff. 141v-142v)³

Then the emergence of the toponym will be possible. *Muelle del Cay*, made up by the combination of the neologism *muelle* plus the ancient word *cay*, is a tautology since both these words mean ‘quay, wharf’. The etymons are Latin *molem* and Gaulish *caio*.

Study of Each Noun

CAY

We can confirm the Celtic origin of Gaulish *caio* because of its existence nowadays in the Celtic languages: Old Irish *cai* ‘house’, Welsh *cae* ‘fence’, Old Breton *cai* id. The Celtic root is **kaguiom* (Bloch-Wartburg 1975: s.v. *quay*)

Gaulish *caio* evolved into old French *cay*, (actually *quay*) and from the French ports that word was probably exported along the Atlantic and Baltic coasts to other countries.

The present cognates are: Portuguese *cais*, Basque *kai*, French *quay*, English *quay*, Flemish *kaai*, Danish *kai*, German *kai*, Polish *keja*, Swedish *kaj*, Norweian *kai*, Estonian *kai*.

³ Vide all the records in González Rodríguez (2014).



Fig. 4. Geographical distribution of *cay* and *molo*

MUELLE

The Latin word *molem* ‘mass, block’, through its Greek form *molos* in the Oriental side of the Roman Empire, was extended over the Mediterranean ports (DCECH s.v. *muelle*).

In the Mediterranean area we can find nowadays results such as: Catalanian *moll*, Italian *molo*, Spanish *muelle*, Greek *μόλος*.

Conclusions

Clearly, the geographical distribution of each word draws a revealing map which maintains the two large old nautical areas in Medieval Europe.

The linguistic legacy of Gaulish *caio* is used along the Atlantic and Baltic Sea whereas *mollem* is found along the Mediterranean.

The reason for this wild and restricted expansion of the two terms is, as we think, because of the existence of two big nautical traditions. Natural and geopolitical factors are in the base of that: different navigation conditions due to different waters and climates, different situation of maritime trade and traffic in medieval times in each area.

Even different legal texts were written for each area: the *Rôles d'Oléron* (Laws of Oleron) in Atlantic and Baltic coasts and the *Libro del Consulado del Mar* (The Book of Maritime Consulate) in the Mediterranean. They were destined to regulate the traffic and trade in each area (Serna Vallejo 2004).

Similarly, the lexicon studied acts with the same character of general validity in respective nautical area.

The present Spanish word meaning 'quay' is the Mediterranean one, but it was not always like that in the past.

As is well-known, the Iberian Peninsula is located at the west end of the Mediterranean and Atlantic seas and the Straits of Gibraltar is the geographical point which connects both seas and becomes a strategic place. In such a way the Iberian Peninsula participates in both maritime areas and commercial influences. As we just saw, in medieval times each word existed for each coast. The situation changed in the Renaissance.

In relation with the political change resulting from the union of Castilian and Aragon kingdoms in 1479, an amount of words, specially related to nautical activity, were transferred from the Catalan language to Castilian one.

The actual Spanish *muelle* is a neologism from Catalan, and it came into the language in the 16th century, as we have checked in the documentary shown above (Colón Domenech 1967). There are also phonetic reasons that do not allow thinking in a direct origin from Latin *mōlem* because the expected evolution from the Latin *mōlem* to Castilian is *mole* 'mass, block'. Another different case is the Spanish *muelle* meaning 'soft', that comes from Latin *mollem* with identical meaning and becomes a homonym.

Due to the traditional strength in the Cantabrian ports, despite the official force of dictionaries and the learned language, the local word *cay* meaning 'quay' survived for two centuries coexisting with the neologism *muelle* 'quay'. Finally, the local word became semantically opaque and disappeared, remaining as a toponym.

Final Remarks

The existence of the Cantabrian place name *Muelle del Cay*, breaking off the exclusive distribution of these words, reveals a piece of history for not only Santander city but for all the North coast of the Kingdom of Spain.

Let us add other toponymies contending with the old word *cay* on the North coast. In Gijón, the main port city in Asturias, there is the street map name called *Calle Contracay*, just located in the access to the old dockside, now underground below the Plaza del Marqués. Also on the Asturian coast, in the little fishing village Ribadesella there is a fountain called *La Fonte del Cay*, located on the quay and from where the ships were supplied with fresh

water in the past time. Finally, in Tazones, another Asturian fishing village, exists *La Piedra del Caiz*, a large stone below the quay as it is now.

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Toponyms on the Cognitive Map

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Abstract

The question of spatial representation and the study of the relation between spatial cognition and the linguistic systems of expression related to space are in the foreground of cognitive sciences. So far studies have been mostly focused on inquiries into the role of common words, thus the role of toponyms in orientation has been somewhat neglected. Nevertheless, place names may hold an important position in navigation and orientation, therefore in my presentation I will give an outline of the cognitive map of the population of the settlement of Tépe as the toponyms on the map can be interpreted as potential points of orientation. The cognitive map is a central notion of spatial cognition; it can be stated that mental maps refer to representations of space which are also linked with different types of knowledge: visual, auditive, tactile, etc. experiences, emotional elements or spatial language.

In the course of my research I interviewed 80 people (7%). I established four categories based on age groups: 1) below 20 years, 2) 21 to 40 years, 3) 41 to 60 years, and 4) over 60 years. Furthermore, in the selection of the interviewees my intention was to represent each and every decade as well as both genders proportionately. In my presentation I will analyse the toponymic knowledge of the four age groups. Additionally, in the course of the field work I managed to contact interviewees who represent three different generations of a single family. I identified two such groups, which may bear interesting results in a comparison. Finally, I pose the question whether we can assume the existence of a certain collective cognitive map.

The Types of Czech Exonyms and Incorporating Foreign Geographical Names into Czech

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Abstract

Domestic forms of foreign geographical names, exonyms, have belonged to the vocabulary of each language since earliest times. Although as proper names they are a part of the language system, their origin and existence are determined by extra-linguistic factors, such as by the particular political, economic, religious and cultural contacts between particular countries as well as by the educational level of the population.

In this paper, I analyse the methods of classifying Czech exonyms based on their origins, on the frequency of their occurrence over time, and on their language formation. Special attention is given to the processes by which foreign geographical names have been adapted into Czech considered from the perspective of individual language levels. The set of Czech exonyms, ranging from earliest times down to the present, is also reviewed, as is the contemporary usage of Czech exonyms and the standardisation of geographical names in general. Approaching the problem from a linguistic point of view, an attempt is made to determine the boundaries between exonyms and endonyms (the opposite of exonyms), especially in connection with the existence of so-called phonic exonyms whose graphic form does not differ from the written form of endonyms. The analysis of the processes of adaptation which lead to the creation of exonyms employs a systemic approach that helps to identify regularities according to which such foreign geographical names are Czechified. By studying the ways in which endonyms have been assimilated into Czech over time, sufficient space is given to more general thinking regarding the relation between the centre and periphery within the onymical system.

* * *

The set of toponyms of every language, including Czech, includes domestic forms of foreign geographical names, known as exonyms. This is a special group of toponyms which is studied – mainly in connection with the standardization of geographical names – both by cartographers and linguists. In recent times however, considerable attention had been devoted to exonyms by journalists, radio and television commentators and the public in general.

Although exonyms belong to a language system, historical reasons of their origin are determined by extra-linguistic factors. This is true of Czech and all other languages. Domestic names of foreign geographical objects come into being when the local population first comes into close contact with this object, and therefore considers it necessary to name it to differentiate it from other similar objects of the same type. The rise and existence of exonyms has from the oldest times been connected with the development of international relations on the political and economic level, with the spread of religious influences, rich cultural contacts between individual countries, and last but not least with the development of mass media and the level of education of the population.

Unlike the extra-linguistic circumstances which give rise to exonyms, the form of the name, often considerably different than the original, results from the types and degrees of

integration of the adopted name into the system of the adopting language. These types of differences and the varying degrees of incorporation are influenced to a significant extent by the times in which the exonym is created. Even without closer inspection it is clear that the exonyms of a certain national language (Czech for example) constitute a very heterogeneous group and from a number of perspectives these names can be further divided into several types (Harvalík 1998, Harvalík 2004: 104-114).

The following classification is based on the division commonly used in Czech cartographic literature (Čáslavka *et al.* 1982: 1-3). To provide the most comprehensive possible view of exonyms from the greatest number of perspectives, I shall examine other investigations into this subject (Berger 1991-1992, Back 2002). Individual categories of exonyms are set apart based upon the origin of names, the period of their use, and also with a view to the degree and manner of their incorporation into Czech.

With respect to origins, exonyms can be divided into national names used in only a single language (e.g. in Czech *Řím* ‘Roma’, *Paříž* ‘Paris’, *Lipsko* ‘Leipzig’, *Mnichov* ‘München’, in German *Mailand* ‘Milano’), and international names used by at least two languages (e.g. in Czech and Slovak *Benátky* ‘Venezia’, *Helsinki* ‘Helsinki’, *Varšava* ‘Warszawa’; in Czech, Slovak, German, English and other languages *Peking* ‘北京市/Beijing’). International exonyms are commonly used to name objects often found in remote parts of the world, especially in former European colonies in Asia and Africa. The geographical names from these areas typically enter international consciousness through a mediating language, most often English, French, German, Spanish, Dutch, Japanese and Russian. The pronunciation of some of these international exonyms, especially oriental and African ones which spread through English, differs in individual languages from the pronunciation in the mediating language (English). Aside from modified pronunciation in Czech, minor changes are gradually made in spelling (especially when designating quantity).

Depending on the frequency of incidence over time, exonyms are divided into three groups: living (current), waning (disappearing) and historical (obsolescent) exonyms. Living exonyms (*Paříž* ‘Paris’, *Londýn* ‘London’, *Řím* ‘Roma’, *Benátky* ‘Venezia’, *Vídeň* ‘Wien’, *Drážďany* ‘Dresden’, *Norimberk* ‘Nürnberg’, *Temže* ‘Thames’) are generally well known and widespread in contemporary Czech, are considered a natural component of the language and continue to be used in communication. Knowledge of the second group of waning exonyms (e.g. *Zhořelec* ‘Görlitz’, *Tubinky* ‘Tübingen’, *Trevír* ‘Trier’, *Solnohrad* ‘Salzburg’, *Opolí* ‘Opole’, *Vratislav* ‘Wrocław’), is more a generational matter contingent upon degree of education, cultural and historical awareness, and sometimes even geographical location. The third group of historical exonyms such as *Kouba* ‘Cham’, *Děvín* ‘Magdeburg’, *Dobrosol* or *Dobrohora* ‘Halle’, hardly appears in contemporary Czech with the exception of a few cases where the names are used in historical context (e.g. in the work of medievalists, or when teaching history at school).

The boundaries between individual groups are of course not sharply defined, as there may be fluid and gradual movement of terms along this axis of living – waning – and historical exonyms. This variability is described in R. Šrámek’s study on exonyms:

Repertoár exonym není uzavřený, nýbrž se mění a aktualizuje podle dobových společenských podmínek, zvláště s ohledem na politické a kulturní styky se zahraničím. Repertoár je vnitřně uspořádán v zásadě do dvou velkých skupin: na jedné straně existuje určitý soubor exonym, který má po staletí relativně ustálený obsah, a jména sem náležející mají v podstatě neměnnou podobu a dědí se z generace na generaci (...). Lze říci, že tato jména tvoří jádro exonymické zásoby češtiny; na druhé straně existuje však široká proměnná část repertoáru, která zahrnuje pojmenování buď užívaná jen po jistou, někdy jen krátkou dobu (...), nebo která se patrně jako uměle vytvořená obecněji nijak neujala a jsou dnes spíše historickou kuriozitou (Šrámek 1997: 281).¹

The process of transition is most evident in waning and historical exonyms, nevertheless in recent years there has been a decline in use of less established transient exonyms, and the core group of Czech exonyms has also reduced, due in part to efforts to standardize geographical names.

The integration of names into the adopting language takes place in many ways and on individual language levels. It is clear that if the name taken from a foreign language is to be incorporated into the adopting language – which is an essential condition for its functioning in normal communication – then the particular toponym must be adopted in a certain manner. This is why, when being integrated into Czech, foreign geographical names must undergo changes to their phonetic, morphemic and derivational structure to allow them to be smoothly integrated into the Czech language system. It may even be said that although not necessarily obvious in every case, each foreign geographical name is to some degree subjected to the grammatical and syntactic structure of Czech, both when written and spoken.

The defining feature of when classifying exonyms from a linguistic perspective is the relation between the adopted form and the original form of the geographical name. Depending on this relationship, the set of Czech exonyms is divided into several subgroups.

The differences between the original form of the name and the exonym may only be expressed phonetically, i.e. the name has been integrated into the domestic phonetic system, while the written form of the name remains the same as the original. These phonic exonyms (e.g. in Czech *Brighton*, *Marseille*, *Aberdeen*, *Barcelona*) represent the lowest level of incorporation of such a name into the adopting language. Phonetic modification is obligatory in Czech, and takes place according to the same principles which apply to the pronunciation of all foreign appellatives. Regardless of the pronunciation in the original language, the accent in Czech is regularly shifted to the first syllable and – similar to other languages – the phonemes which do not exist in the adopting language are replaced with the domestic phonemes which are closest in sound (cf. Lutterer 1968).

¹ ‘The set of exonyms is not closed, but is continually changing and being updated according to the social conditions of the day, especially with regard to political and cultural relations with foreign countries. The set is internally divided into two large groups: on the one hand there is a certain set of exonyms which has remained relatively consistent for hundreds of years, and the names found here are essentially unchanging in form and inherited from generation to generation (...). It may be said that these names constitute the core of Czech exonyms; on the other hand however, there is a broad and variable group of exonyms which are only used for a certain and sometimes short period of time, or which were artificially created and never really caught on, and are now fading away into historical curiosities’.

The principles for pronouncing foreign phonemes in Czech (along with examples of toponyms) are included in the appendices of Czech atlases, and certain foreign geographical names and their pronunciation are listed in the *Dictionary of Standard Czech for School and the Public* (*Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* 1994: 624-640). Maintaining the original pronunciation or attempting to imitate it in Czech sounds (unless it is a direct quote) unnatural and affected, is seen as grossly insensitive to the mother tongue, and is generally perceived negatively as snobbery or perhaps a misguided attempt to sound posh.

The phonetic adaptation of foreign geographical names in Czech dates back to the earliest records, where (due to the difference in articulation of the given phoneme in the original language and Czech) even phonemes which existed or exist in Czech were replaced. The Czech forms of foreign geographical names were written and recorded, giving a particular spelling to the exonym as spoken, and these forms gradually stabilized. In certain cases however, even in contemporary Czech certain variability in individual names or phonemes can be sometimes encountered, which comes from their unstabilized usage and sometimes even affects not only the spoken, but also the written form of exonyms (cf. Pokorná 1980, Šrámek 1997: 284-285). An important guide for the orthographic codification of the Czech forms of foreign geographical names is the *Index of Czech Exonyms. Standardized Forms. Variants* (Beránek *et al.* 2011).

As written form of endonyms and the corresponding phonic exonyms do not differ, many language users do not consider the phonic exonym to be the domestic form of a foreign toponym. From the perspective of language system however, this concept cannot be accepted.

The exactness of the phonetic reproduction of geographical names in Czech, just as in any other language, is, as mentioned above, subject to certain restrictions, caused primarily by the fact that the adopting language does not have all the phonemes which are common in the languages from which the name is being adopted. Needless to say, a similar language enabling ideal adaptation is difficult to imagine. The integration of an exonym into a language system takes place at various levels of language (phonological, morphological, lexicological and semantic) and it is not important how or in what way the domestic form of the name differs from the original one (cf. Lutterer 1980: 94-95). The degree to which exonyms are adapted according to the rules of the adopting language is not a primary criterion for their linguistic classification, but merely an aid for establishing certain types or categories within the entire set of exonyms of a given language. It can be said that every foreign toponym is incorporated into the adopting language in a certain manner, simply by its use outside the original language.

Domestic forms of foreign geographical names which are written differently than corresponding endonyms are more clearly distinguishable than phonic exonyms which merely sound different. Among these names, graphic exonyms, there are several subgroups depending on the various ways these names are integrated into the adopting language.

The smallest subgroup includes Czech and international exonyms the form of which is independent from the form of endonyms in the original language. In other words, such exonyms are completely different than their corresponding endonyms. An example of such exonyms in Czech would be the name used for Austria. Most European languages adopted either the German form *Österreich*, or the older Latin form of the name (Eng. *Austria*, Fren. *Autriche*, Span. *Austria*, Hung. *Ausztria*, Isl. *Austurríki*, Dan. *Østrig*, Rus. *Австрия* etc.), but the Czech exonym for *Österreich* is *Rakousko*. In Old Czech, the exonym *Rakuš* or *Rakús* originally referred to the borderland castle *Ratgoz* (today *Raabs*) and only later it was used to denote the

land which one entered when crossing the Czech border at this castle (Lutterer *et al.* 1976: 222-223).

An ancient layer of exonyms are the names which do come from the original endonym, but since they were adopted at a time of major changes (especially phonetic ones) in the adopting language, their present form is a result of these changes and often differs significantly from the original (e.g. in Czech *Cáchy* ‘Aachen’, *Benátky* ‘Venezia’, *Řezno* ‘Regensburg’).

Closer to endonyms are those exonyms in which the original stems of endonyms are left unchanged and only the rest parts of original names are adapted to morphological needs of the adopting language, so that the original endings, suffixes or components are replaced with domestic endings, suffixes or components (e.g. in Czech *Loira* ‘Loire’, *Seina* ‘Seine’, *Somma* ‘Somme’, *Brémy* ‘Bremen’). The need for Czech to decline foreign names was already pointed out by Czech national revivalists back in the 19th century. One of them, P.J. Šafařík, even posited the hypothesis that if declension disappeared in Czech, as it had in Bulgarian, the impetus for such disappearance would be precisely the failure to decline foreign proper names (Šafařík 1852: 116-117). Such morphological adaptation, the aim of which is to place a name in the declension paradigm, is virtually obligatory in an inflective language like Czech. There is just a small group of exonyms which are not declined in Czech because their endings make it impossible to assign the name to one of the Czech declension types, for example *Bordeaux*, *Buenos Aires*, *Coventry*, *Honšú*, *Karlsruhe*, *Lille*, *Los Angeles*, *Marseille*, *Mississippi*, *Missouri*, *Peru*, *Port au Prince*, *Swansea*. Another type of morphological adaptation of plural names is the replacement of the original plural ending with a Czech plural ending, e.g. *Alpy* ‘Alpen’, *Ardeny* ‘Ardennes’. Older Czech exonyms such as *Gotinky* and *Tubinky* arose in a similar manner for the German forms *Göttingen* and *Tübingen* originate from the dative plural (*zu Göttingen*, *zu Tübingen*).

Morphological adaptation is closely related to derivational adaptation, the aim of which is also to incorporate foreign geographical names into the morphological system of Czech more easily. This process, during which the stem of the name is retained, but the word-formative formant (the original suffix or – in case of compounds – component) is replaced with a Czech suffix is not a productive manner of creating an exonym in contemporary Czech and its use is more characteristic of an older age. Derivational adaptation has played a major role in adapting German toponyms into Czech (cf. Laurich 1988: 75-86, Berger 1991-1992: 79-80). The Czech toponymic suffix *-ov* has been used to create Czech forms of German names ending in *-au*, regardless of whether this is a composite with the component *Aue*, or whether the *-au* has a different origin (*Bernov* ‘Bernau’, *Pasov* ‘Passau’, *Thurgov* ‘Thurgau’, *Cvikov* or *Zvíkov* ‘Zwickau’). More rarely, Czech forms of German names with the components *-hof* (*Bejdov* ‘Waidhofen an der Thaya’ – Šrámek 1997: 280), *-dorf* (*Drozdov* ‘Drosendorf’) or *-grund* (*Pavlov* ‘Paulsgrund’) are created in this manner. German names of Slavic origin ending in *-itz* are mostly turned into Czech exonyms by using the suffix *-ice* (*Sasnice* ‘Saßnitz’), other geographical names from the German language area have been Czechified by using the suffixes *-any*, *-ín* and others.

The given examples show that the selection of a suffix in Czech tends to be influenced by similarities in sound between the Czech suffix and the original ending of the German name. Aside from the similarity in sound, there is still one more major feature of Czech and German. Since the meaning of components such as *-hof*, *-dorf*, and *-stadt* recede into the background in

settlement names from a synchronic perspective, these elements gradually attain the character of toponyms. Similarly in Czech settlement names, the original possessive meaning of the suffixes *-ov* and *-ín* is veiled and these suffixes are today understood as a word-formative means to create such a name. From a synchronic perspective, the foreign toponym is replaced with a domestic one. This is a process which can be described by the formula:

$$T^x(t_1, t_2, t_3, \dots t_n) \rightarrow T^y(t_1, t_2, t_3, \dots t_n),$$

where T is the group of toponyms of a certain language, x is the original language, y is the adopting language and $t_1, t_2, t_3, \dots t_n$ are the particular toponyms.

Next group of exonyms is characterized by incorporating into the adopting language through orthographic adaptation of the original form (e.g. *Hamburk* ‘*Hamburg*’, *Gdaňsk* ‘*Gdańsk*’, *Poznaň* ‘*Poznań*’, *Varšava* ‘*Warszawa*’, *Brašov* ‘*Braşov*’, *Kluž* ‘*Cluj*’, *Konstanca* ‘*Constanţa*’). These are called orthographic exonyms. The orthographic adaptation of foreign geographical names is in Czech only facultative.

Another way in which exonyms are created in Czech and other languages is the full or partial translation of an official endonym, usually consisting of more words; one-word names are translated less frequently. An essential condition for translation is that the name contain in some form a translatable common noun or a transparent appellative etymon (in multi-word names, as part of the composite or in the root), e.g. *Solná komora* ‘*Salzkammergut*’, *Iberské pohoří* ‘*Montes Ibéricos*’, *Ijselské more* ‘*IJsselmeer*’, *Kambrické pohoří* ‘*Cambrian Mountains*’, *Bergamské Alpy* ‘*Alpi Bergamasche*’, *Horní Slezsko* ‘*Śląsk Górny*’, *Chiemské jezero* ‘*Chiemsee*’, *Žlutá řeka* ‘*黄河/Huang He*’, *Niagarské vodopády* ‘*Niagara Falls*’. Appellatives in the names usually indicate the type of such named geographical object, so that, after translation, even speakers unfamiliar with the given language are able to learn what kind of object it is (cf. Rostvik 1987: 45). While the given approach is often used for names primarily designating larger natural or administrative areas (choronyms), islands, foothills, mountains, rivers and bodies of water, for settlement names this is not a very productive manner of creating exonyms (e.g. *Bělehrad* ‘*Београд/Beograd*’, *Kapské Město* ‘*Cape Town, Kaapstad, iKapa*’).

In Czech cartography, endonyms are generally preferred, but in certain cases exonyms are also used. Their use depends on the particular recommendations of the UN conferences on the standardization of geographical names and they are listed on maps in parentheses after endonyms (as doublets). If it is absolutely necessary, exonyms are listed together with endonyms especially in cartographic works intended for schools. Czech maps also use the Czech names for countries and continents, larger natural areas (choronyms), rivers and bodies of water flowing or spread over the territory of several countries. The same principle applies to oceans and seas, which lie outside the sovereignty of any state.

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Den Wüstungen auf der Spur – Onomastische Beiträge zur Besiedlungsgeschichte des Oberen Baselbiets

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Schweiz

Zusammenfassung

Es wird die These angenommen, dass die heutigen 29 Siedlungsnamen des Bezirks Sissach nur einen Teil einer ursprünglichen Siedlungsdichte zwischen der Spätantike und dem Spätmittelalter widerspiegeln. Um sich einer möglichst vollständigen Besiedlungsdichte nähern zu können, sollen aus den über 11500 verschiedenen Namen des Untersuchungsgebiets (Bezirk Sissach, Kanton Basel-Landschaft, Schweiz) die möglichen Wüstungsnamen herausgearbeitet werden. Dies geschieht auf einer linguistischen Ebene anhand eines mehrstufigen Selektionssystems. Daraus entsteht ein Korpus, deren 91 Namen anschliessend einzeln anhand sprachlicher und aussersprachlicher Parameter diskutiert werden. Als aussersprachliche Parameter gelten Aspekte der Archäologie, Geographie und der Geschichte. Auf einer sprachlichen Ebene wird jeder Name einer Grundwort- bzw. Suffix-Analyse unterzogen. Mit einer fünfstufigen Qualifikation werden die diskutierten Namen in Gruppen unterteilt. Zeigen die Namen sowohl bei sprachlichen als auch aussersprachlichen Aspekten (mehrheitlich) positive Anzeichen, so erhalten sie die Qualifikation *möglicher Wüstungsnamen* bzw. *tendenziell möglicher Wüstungsnamen*. Abschliessend lassen sich somit 42 *mögliche Wüstungsnamen* und 7 *tendenziell mögliche Wüstungsnamen* bestimmen. Diese Namen werden als abgegangene Siedlungsnamen betrachtet und den heutigen 29 rezenten Namen gegenübergestellt. Somit lässt sich eine Reduktion von 63% aller Siedlungen feststellen. Die historisch-chronologische Sichtung der Suffixe und Grundwörter ermöglicht die Skizzierung eines möglichen Besiedlungsvorgangs im Untersuchungsgebiet.

Abstract

The assumption is that today's 29 place names in the district of Sissach (Basel-Landschaft, Switzerland) reflect just partially the original population density between Late Antiquity and the Late Middle Ages. In order to get a population density as completely as possible the potential deserted names have to be elaborated from the 11,500 different names in the researched area. This is being achieved on a linguistic level by the basis of a multiple step selection system. The result is a corpus of 91 names which are being discussed one by one with the help of linguistic and extra-linguistic parameters. The extra-linguistic parameter applies to archaeology, geography and history. On a linguistic basis each name will be subjected to a primary word or suffix analysis. The discussed names are classified into a five-level qualification. If the names are showing (mostly) positive signs in a linguistic as well as extra-linguistic aspect then they will receive the qualification *potential deserted name* or *tangentially potential deserted name*. Finally 42 *potential* and seven *tangentially potential deserted names* could be identified. Comparing these 49 names with today's 29 place names, a reduction of 63% of all settlements can be determined. The historical-chronological layering of the suffixes and the primary words enable the delineation of a potential settlement process in the researched area.

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Ausgangslage

Das Untersuchungsgebiet beschränkt sich auf den Bezirk Sissach. Dieser ist der östlichste der fünf Bezirke des Kantons Basel-Landschaft. Im Norden grenzen das aargauische Fricktal, im Osten ebenfalls aargauische Gebiete sowie das solothurnische Kienberg an den Bezirk. Im Westen liegen die Bezirke Waldenburg und Liestal, die beide Teile des Kantons Basel-Landschaft sind. Im Süden bildet die Jurakette mit markanten Erhebungen und mehreren Passübergängen die Grenze zum Kanton Solothurn. Die 29 Gemeinden weisen eine Fläche von insgesamt 14'100 ha aus und bilden damit flächenmässig den grössten Bezirk. Von Osten nach Westen verläuft das markante Ergolzthal und teilt den Bezirk damit in einen kleinräumig strukturierten, hügeligen Norden, der ungefähr einen Drittel des Bezirks umfasst. Südlich davon ist das Untersuchungsgebiet durch karstige Hochplateaus und markante Erhebungen gekennzeichnet und wird durch zwei von Norden nach Süden ansteigende Täler, die zu den Passübergängen Unterer Hauenstein und Schafmatt führen, durchschnitten.

Der Bezirk Sissach umfasst über 11'500 verschiedene Namen (Types, bei über 17'000 Tokens), die sich über eine Zeitspanne von über tausend Jahren erstrecken. Älteste Belege können ins 12. Jahrhundert datiert werden, dem 21. Jahrhundert entstammen bei Gewährspersonen¹ eingeholte Belege. Der heutige Bezirk Sissach umfasst 29 Gemeinden mit der gleichen Anzahl rezenter Siedlungsnamen. Kleine, selbständige Weiler mit eigenem Namen, die im Gebiet einer anderen Gemeinde liegen, existieren keine.

Im Rahmen der Dissertation mit dem Titel ‚Wüstungen im Bezirk Sissach – ein onomastischer Beitrag zur Entsiedlungsgeschichte des Oberen Baselbiets‘ werden die über 17'000 Flurnamen auf ihren siedlungsgeschichtlichen Gehalt untersucht.² Insbesondere liegt der Arbeit eine systematische Methode zur Sicherung der möglichen Wüstungsnamen zu Grunde. Dabei wird die These angenommen, dass die heutigen 29 Siedlungsnamen des Bezirks Sissach nur einen Teil der ursprünglichen Siedlungsdichte zwischen der Spätantike und dem Spätmittelalter widerspiegeln. Ein Grossteil der einstigen Siedlungen kann heute nur noch archäologisch bzw. mit sprachwissenschaftlichen Mitteln in Flurnamen gefunden werden.

Scharlaus (1933) Wüstungsmodell, Abels (1976) These der spätmittelalterlichen Wüstungsperiode, die mit den Klimadaten von Lamb (1989) gestützt wird, und die archäologischen Befunde von Marti (2000) bilden die theoretischen Ansätze. Schuh (1985) liefert eine Typologie und Nübling (2012) mögliche Namenbildungsmuster, wie einstige Siedlungsnamen, die sich innerhalb der Flurnamenlandschaft in Wüstungsnamen verstecken, aufgefunden werden können. Im Verbund entsteht eine interdisziplinäre theoretische Grundlage zur Wüstungs- und Wüstungsnamenforschung.

¹ Bei Flurbegehungen wird nach Möglichkeit eine ortsansässige Person - die Gewährspersonen - beigezogen, die mit der Namenwelt des betreffenden Ortes bestens vertraut ist. Dies sind vor allem Landwirte, Förster, Jäger oder Rentner, die einen engen und umfangreichen Bezug zur Namenwelt haben.

² Die Arbeit wurde vom Verfasser am 19. Dezember 2014 bei der historisch-philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Basel eingereicht.

Das Namenkorpus

Mittels einer systematischen Analyse der Grundwörter und Suffixe der vorliegenden Namen wurden 91 als mögliche Wüstungsnamen mit vierzehn unterschiedlichen Bildungsmustern bestimmt.³ Diese 91 Namen bilden fortan das vorläufige Korpus der möglichen Wüstungsnamen, die innerhalb der Einzelnamendiskussion sprachlichen und aussersprachlichen Aspekten gegenübergestellt wurden.

Diachrone Analyse - die Einzelnamendiskussion

Die Diskussion der Einzelnamen verfolgt zwei Ziele. Einerseits die Bereinigung des 91 Namen umfassenden Korpus, da davon ausgegangen werden darf, dass das Korpus über Namen verfügt, die zwar den sprachlich-formalen Kriterien eines möglichen Wüstungsnamens entsprechen, tatsächlich aber bloss Flurnamen sind, weil bei der Erfassung einzelner Namenbildungsmuster keine Unterscheidung vorgenommen werden konnten. Beispielsweise können Namen mit einem *-i(n)g(en)*-Suffix nicht nur als mögliche Wüstungsnamen, sondern auch als maskuline singularische Stellenbezeichnung interpretiert werden, wie dies beispielsweise die Namen *Neuligen* (Anwil) oder *Rüchlig* (Oltingen) zeigen. Die Namen sind als ‚das neu urbar gemachte Landstück‘ bzw. ‚das rauhe, schwer zu bearbeitende Landstück‘ zu deuten. Andererseits dient diese Bereinigung als Grundlage, die möglichen Wüstungsnamen historisch-chronologisch einzuordnen und zu kartographieren, um so einen möglichen Besiedlungsablauf seit der Spätantike rekonstruieren zu können.

Dazu werden für die jeweiligen möglichen Wüstungsnamen Belegreihen erstellt. Im Hinblick auf die systematische Analyse der Grundwörter und Suffixe ist diese Reihung entscheidend. Nur so kann der Name möglichst nahe an eine ursprüngliche Grundform herangeführt werden. Dass diese Belegreihen vielmals erst mehrere Jahrhunderte nach dem vermuteten Zeitraum einsetzen, in dem sich die Siedlung hat etablieren können, kann zu Interpretationsproblemen führen. Mögliche Wandlungen der Schreibung sind dabei nicht auszuschliessen, beispielsweise infolge *Hyperkorrektur* der mundartlichen Aussprache, wie das Beispiel Gelterkinden zeigt, dessen ursprüngliche Schreibung Gelterkingen im 18. Jahrhundert ersetzt worden ist.

Besonderes Augenmerk ist den *-ingen-* und *-inghofen-*Namen geschuldet. Das Suffix *-inghofen* kann sich über die Zwischenform *-ikon* zu *-iken* reduzieren. In der lokalen Mundart fällt zudem das *n* im Auslaut weg. Beispielsweise werden die Siedlungsnamen Tenniken oder Diepflingen - beides Namen mit einem ursprünglichen *-inghofen*-Suffix - in der Mundart [dɛ̃nikχə] bzw. [diəvlikχə] ausgesprochen, jedoch unterschiedlich geschrieben. Einige Namen zeigen eine Lenisierung, beispielsweise der Siedlungsname Zunzgen oder die möglichen Wüstungsnamen Buesgen oder Wirbligen. In diesen Namen wird das Suffix

³ Um sicherzustellen, dass möglichst alle Wüstungsnamen gefunden werden konnten, mussten alle *Tokens* durchsucht werden. Eine Filterung der *Types* war nicht ausreichend, da im Einzelfall zwei Homonyme in der diachronen Betrachtung auf zwei unterschiedliche Namen zurückzuführen sind oder auf Grund unterschiedlicher aussersprachlicher Einflüsse auch differenziert betrachtet und beurteilt werden müssen. Beispielsweise sind nicht alle Siedlungsnamen *Buchs* in der Schweiz auf lat. *buxus buxus* und somit auf eine mögliche römische Präsenz zurückzuführen. Im Untersuchungsgebiet wurde beispielsweise der Name Grimsten, der in Gelterkinden und Sissach vorkommt, unterschiedlich bewertet.

jeweils als [gə] ausgesprochen. Dabei zeigen sich Kongruenzen zum Suffix *-ingen*. Dieses wird mehrfach ebenfalls als [gə] artikuliert, wie die Beispiele der beiden ursprünglichen *-ingen*-Namen Zeglingen [ds̄ɛ̄ḡliɡə] oder Oltingen [old>t̄iɡə] zeigen. Hier erweist sich eine möglichst nahe zur Grundform rekonstruierbare Belegreihe als unabdingbar, um den Namen der entsprechenden Namengruppe und somit der damit verbundenen Entstehungszeit zuordnen zu können. Mit der diachronen Analyse der Belegreihe kann der Name entweder der ältesten Landnahmezeit und somit den *-ingen*-Namen zugeteilt werden oder er erweist sich als *-inghofen*-Name und ist in der chronologischen Gliederung der jüngeren Besiedlungszeit des ersten Landesausbaus zuzurechnen. Für eine Skizzierung eines möglichen Besiedlungsvorganges ist diese Unterscheidung von zentraler Bedeutung. Eine unterschiedliche Zuweisung zur einen oder anderen Namengruppe kann in Relation zur umliegenden Namenlandschaft zu unterschiedlichen Resultaten führen. Da frühmittelalterliche Schriftstücke fehlen, sind die Rückschreibungen immer mit Vorbehalten behaftet. Dieser onomastischen Unschärfe begegnet die Arbeit mit einem interdisziplinären Ansatz zur Diskussion der möglichen Wüstungsnamen.

Beurteilungskriterien

Ausschliesslich mit linguistischen Mitteln sind mögliche Wüstungsnamen nur auf einer formalen, sprachlichen Ebene zu bestimmen. Diese formalen Aspekte können jedoch auch von Flurnamen erfüllt werden, ohne dass dabei ein möglicher Wüstungsname vorliegen muss. Lässt sich beispielsweise ein Name finden, der zwar die sprachlichen Kriterien für einen möglichen Wüstungsname erfüllt, jedoch an einem steilen, weglosen Gelände haftet, so erscheint die Vorstellung, dort eine einstige Siedlung zu vermuten abwegig oder zumindest fragwürdig. Mit Hilfe von aussersprachlichen Kriterien, die den Disziplinen Archäologie, Geschichte und Geographie entnommen sind, soll die Beurteilung, ob ein möglicher Wüstungsname vorliegt, nach interdisziplinären Ansätzen breit abgestützt werden.

Zur Beurteilung ob ein Wüstungsname vorliegt, werden folgende Aspekte gewertet: Ist der Name nach einem Bildungsmuster aufgebaut, das auf einen Wüstungsnamen schliessen lässt oder bieten sich alternative Deutungen an? Beispielsweise kann ein Bestimmungswort Ram auf einen Personennamen Ramo oder schweizerdeutsch Rams ‚Bärlauch‘ (Idiotikon 6: 255) zurückzuführen sein. Während im ersten Fall das Bestimmungswort eine Deutung hin zu einem Wüstungsnamen anbietet, dürfte im zweiten Fall allerhöchstens ein sekundärer Siedlungsname vorliegen. Vielmehr bietet sich jedoch die Annahme eines Flurnamens an. Liegt ein Wüstungsname vor, so darf erwartet werden, dass dieser in den vorhanden Belegen über einen bestimmten Zeitraum mehrfach abgebildet worden ist. Allerdings ist bei der Gewichtung der Anzahl vorhandener Belege Vorsicht angebracht, da die Menge der überlieferten Daten Zufälligkeiten unterliegt. Erdbeben, Feuersbrünste und Überschwemmungen sind nur einige natürliche Ursachen, die sich auf die Menge noch vorhandener Urkunden, Bereine, Urbare und andere Schriftstücke auswirken können. Ist der Name lokalisierbar, so bieten sich aussersprachliche Aspekte an.

Wichtigste Zeugen einer einstigen Siedlung an einem bestimmten Ort sind archäologische Funde. Allerdings liegen nur selten Funde vor, die auf Gebäuderesten

verweisen. Vielmehr sind Grabfunde und Keramikreste belegt. Problematisch ist der Umstand, dass viele archäologische Funde das Resultat einer Notgrabung, nicht einer auf eine bestimmte Problemstellung hin angelegten Grabung sind (Janssen 1968: 312). Überdies hinaus sind Erkenntnisse aus der Archäologie primär immer nur für den einen Ort gültig, nicht aber vorbehaltlos auf andere mögliche Wüstungen übertragbar (Janssen 1968: 356). Einzelne Streu- und Lesefunde verlangen nach genaueren Untersuchungen und können nur in seltenen Fällen auf die Existenz einer einstigen Siedlung am Fundort hinweisen. Ebenso muss die umliegende Geologie analysiert werden, um Gebietsverschiebungen, wie beispielsweise Hangrutschungen oder veränderte Flussläufe, in die Beurteilung der archäologischen Funde mit einfließen lassen zu können. Unabdingbare Lebensgrundlage jeder Siedlung ist der Zugang zu einem ausreichenden Wasservorkommen. Mittels geologischer Karten können Fluss- und Bachläufe, sowie Quellaufstösse und Grundwasserspiegelniveaus untersucht werden. Auch wenn durch klimatischen Wandel und anthropogene Eingriffe in die Natur aus jüngerer Zeit Grundwasserspiegel variieren und Quellen versiegen sowie unterirdische Bachläufe umgeleitet werden können, ist hydrogeologischen Überlegungen grosse Bedeutung zuzumessen. Die meisten frühmittelalterlichen Siedlungen orientierten sich zudem an landwirtschaftlich günstig nutzbaren Böden (Fingerlin 2001: 128). Für eine älteste germanischstämmige Ansiedlung waren deshalb besonders das römische Altsiedelland, aber auch die fruchtbaren Lössböden in den Tälern von Interesse. Als letzter aussersprachlicher Aspekt werden verkehrsgeographische Überlegungen in Betracht gezogen. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass die einzelnen Siedlungen in irgend einer Form in ein Wegnetz eingebunden waren.

Nicht in allen Fällen ist die Datenlage so beschaffen, dass eine ausreichende Beurteilungsgrundlage besteht. Insbesondere bei nicht lokalisierbaren Namen fallen sämtliche auf aussersprachlichen Kriterien basierenden Erwägungen weg. Nicht selten ist auch die sprachliche Datenlage zu dünn für eine abschliessende Bewertung. Daher musste das Bewertungsspektrum erweitert werden. Eine Entscheidungsgrundlage, die nur die Optionen zu Gunsten oder gegen einen Wüstungsnamen beinhaltet hätte, würde zu kurz greifen. Zur Beurteilung wurde daher ein fünfstufiges Qualitätssystem eingeführt.

Die fünf Qualitäten sind: 1) ‚Ist Wüstungsnamen‘ für alle Namen, bei denen sowohl sprachliche als auch aussersprachliche Aspekte zu Gunsten eines Wüstungsnamen ausgelegt werden können. 2) ‚Ist tendenziell ein Wüstungsnamen‘ für die Menge der Namen, bei denen sprachliche und aussersprachliche Aspekte mehrheitlich die Annahme eines Wüstungsnamens zulassen. 3) ‚Ist tendenziell kein Wüstungsnamen‘ für die Menge der Namen, bei denen sprachliche und aussersprachliche Aspekte mehrheitlich die Annahme eines Wüstungsnamens verneinen. 4) ‚Unsichere Faktenlage‘ für die Namen, deren Datenmaterial nicht ausreichend ist, um daraus ein fundiertes Ergebnis ableiten zu können. 5) Die Qualität ‚kein Wüstungsnamen‘ erhalten alle Namen, bei denen sprachliche und/oder aussersprachliche Aspekte die Annahme eines Wüstungsnamens nachweislich ausschliessen können.

Ergebnis

Aus dem vorläufigen Korpus können nach der Diskussion 42 von 91 Namen als mögliche Wüstungsnamen qualifiziert werden. Davon sind zehn Namen als so genannte indirekte Wüstungsnamen⁴ zu verstehen. Bei sieben Namen spricht die Datenlage für eine tendenzielle Annahme, dass ein Wüstungsname vorliegt. Neun Namen sind tendenziell nicht als Wüstungsnamen einzustufen, bei fünf Namen ist die Faktenlage zu dünn, so dass keine abschliessende Beurteilung vorgenommen werden kann. Markant ist die Anzahl an Namen, die sich als einfache Flurnamen erweisen: 28 Namen, beinahe so viele wie es rezente Siedlungsnamen gibt, erweisen sich nicht als Wüstungsnamen. In Relation zu den heutigen 29 rezenten Siedlungsnamen sind somit ungefähr 63% aller einstigen Siedlungen aufgelassen worden.

Besiedlungsvorgang

Der Arbeit liegen kontroverse Thesen zu möglichen Besiedlungsstossrichtungen für das Untersuchungsgebiet vor. Haas: ‚Die Germanisierung des Juras zwischen Basel und Leberberg war nicht das Werk der „Mittelland-Alemannen“, sondern ihrer Stammesgenossen aus der rheinischen Tiefebene‘ (2000: 44). Er ortet die Triebkraft der Besiedlung in den elsässischen Herzögen (Haas 2000: 44). Ähnlich argumentiert auch Zinsli (1975). Er verortet drei Vorstosslinien in Nord-Süd-Richtung. Der westlichste Vorstoss vollzieht sich dabei westlich des Rheines vorbei an Basel hin zur Jurakette. Weniger Jahre zuvor zeigte bereits Moosbrugger-Leu (1967) auf seinen Karten die Verbreitung archäologischer Nachweise alemannischer Funde, die sich mitunter im Kanton Schaffhausen nachweisen lassen. Aus dieser Richtung muss auch ein zentraler, ältester Vorstoss angenommen werden. Ähnliches ist auch Martin (1996) zu entnehmen. Ebenfalls ablehnend äussert sich Boesch gegenüber einer ‚Annahme einer Besiedlung aus dem Süden‘ (1981: 421). Seine Kritik richtet sich gegen die Vorstellung, die galloromanische Bevölkerung hätte sich den alemannischen Siedlern einer Barriere gleich entgegengestellt, so dass diese sich nicht rheinaufwärts hätten ausbreiten können. Er geht von einem verträglichen und erträglichen Durcheinandersiedeln aus (Boesch 1981: 422). Diesem koexistenziellen Verhalten ist nichts entgegenzusetzen. Es erklärt aber nicht die Stossrichtung. Anders argumentieren Bruckner und Bickel. Bruckner (1945) formulierte bereits 1945 die These, dass für weite Teile des Untersuchungsgebiets und des Kantons Basel-Landschaft im Allgemeinen eine Besiedlung von Norden her nicht in Frage kommen kann. Dies legt er anhand der Lage der unverschobenen Siedlungsnamen im Kantonsgebiet dar. Bickel (1998) differenziert geschickt und teilt die von ihm erfassten *-ingen*-Namen in einen westlichen und östlichen Teil ein, wobei der östliche Teil

⁴ Indirekte Wüstungsnamen zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie zwar nachvollziehbar auf eine Wüstung hinweisen, jedoch den Namen der einstigen Siedlung nicht in die Gegenwart transportieren. Beispielsweise ist der Name Wolhusen weder ein mit dem Grundwort *-husen* gebildeter Name noch ist im Bestimmungswort *Wol* ein Personennamenname zu vermuten. Vielmehr ist das Bestimmungswort als verdampfte Schreibung zu ahd. *walah*, mhd. *walch*, *walhe* ‚Welscher, Fremder, Romane, Römer, Nichtgermane‘ zu stellen (Idiotikon 15: 1422ff; Nyffenegger und Graf 2007: 641). Der Name verweist damit auf eine einstige römerzeitliche Siedlung, ohne jedoch deren ursprünglichen Namen in die Gegenwart zu transportieren. Folglich ist Wolhusen als ‚das Land bei den Häusern der Walen, Römer‘ zu deuten.

über weite Strecken dem Untersuchungsgebiet entspricht. Er nimmt an, dass ‚eine Einwanderung von Süden her über den Unteren Hauenstein oder die Challhöchi wahrscheinlicher‘ (1998: 35) sei, als eine Besiedlung aus nördlicher Richtung.

Durch die Analyse der möglichen Wüstungsnamen ergaben sich deutliche Verbreitungsmuster, besonders bei den *-ach-*, *-ingen-*, *-inghofen-* und *-wil-*Namen. In Verbindung mit den rezenten Namen lässt sich eine mögliche Abfolge der Besiedlung der einzelnen Räume im Untersuchungsgebiet aufzeigen. Was bisher nur in groben Zügen anhand der rezenten Siedlungsnamen formuliert werden konnte, kann nun mit dem Einbezug der Wüstungsnamen präzise und kleinräumig erklärt werden. Insbesondere zeigt die Verbreitung der Wüstungsnamen eine grundsätzliche Bestätigung Bickels (1998) Ansatzes. Das Untersuchungsgebiet dürfte von Süden her besiedelt worden sein. Dafür spricht unter anderem, dass sich entlang der Jurakette auf nördlicher Seite einem Riegel gleich mehrere rezente Siedlungsnamen und zahlreiche Wüstungsnamen mit *-ingen-*Suffix finden. Diese fehlen hingegen in der Nähe der tiefer und nördlich liegenden Orte mit galloromanischem Ursprung, beispielsweise bei Muttenz oder Pratteln.

Die Tatsache, dass innerhalb eines kleinen, durch topographische Merkmale begrenzten Gebiets sowohl rezente als auch mehrere abgegangene Siedlungsnamen mit gleichem Suffix zu finden sind, lässt auf eine hohe Siedlungstätigkeit innerhalb einer kurzen Zeitspanne schliessen. Ansonsten wäre zu erwarten gewesen, dass nicht die weniger günstigen Räume auf den karstigen Plateaus besiedelt worden wären, sondern der Vorstoss sich schon vorher in tiefer liegende, aber durch topographische Hindernisse verstellte, günstigere Talebenen vollzogen hätte. Ebenso für eine Südbesiedlung spricht die Tatsache, dass die beiden Täler - Homburger- und Diegtertal - konsequent mit jüngeren *-inghofen-*Siedlungs- und Wüstungsnamen durchsetzt sind, während an ihrem südlichsten Ende, in unmittelbarer Nähe zum Juraübergang mit Eptingen bzw. Läuelfingen jeweils ein älterer *-ingen-*Name zu finden ist. Würde ein Vorstoss aus nördlicher Richtung, entlang dem Lauf der Ergolz erfolgt sein, so müssten sich entsprechende Siedlungsspuren und -namen auch in diesen Tälern zeigen.

Schlussfolgerung

Die Analyse der möglichen Wüstungsnamen und deren Einbettung in die bestehende Namenlandschaft der rezenten Siedlungsnamen konnte die allgemeine Stossrichtung einer möglichen Besiedlung aus südlicher Richtung nicht neu erfinden. Jedoch konnte mit der Erhebung und Lokalisierung der Wüstungsnamen die eine These eindeutig bestätigt werden. Zudem konnte dadurch nicht nur das Ausmass einer einstigen Besiedlung entscheidend ergänzt und präzisiert werden, sondern zugleich ein möglicher Besiedlungsverlauf bis in kleinste Räume skizziert werden. Was exemplarisch an einer explorativen Studie im kleinen Raum vollzogen werden konnte, hat Gültigkeit für die gesamte Namenlandschaft. Nur mit einer flächendeckenden Aufarbeitung der Wüstungsnamen lassen sich Besiedlungswege und -zeiträume präzise bestimmen. Dadurch ergeben sich weitere und möglicherweise neue Schnittstellen zu Erkenntnissen aus der Archäologie.

Die diesem Extrakt zu Grunde liegende Dissertation darf als Pionierleistung verstanden werden. Die sprachwissenschaftliche Aufarbeitung der Wüstungsnamen bedeutet Neuland betreten zu haben. Neuland freilich, von dem es noch viel zu betreten gibt.

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Key Place Names of the Russian Opposition Discourse

Oxana Issers

Russia

Abstract

The paper focuses on discourse analysis of the modern Russian civic society. The methodological basis for complex linguistic research of civic society construction includes revealing of mass consciousness attitudes through 'key words', competition of definitions, metaphors, actual toponyms, etc. 'Key place names of current moment' – such as *Bolotnaja Square*, *Saharova Square* – are discussed. The author concludes that the choice of a place name and its derivatives is the indicator of political competition between 'interpreters', or 'the fight of discourses'. Linguistic games with toponyms in the political context are also analyzed.

The sources of the research are mass media publications and blogs related to protest rallies of the end of 2011-the first half of 2012 in Russia. Linguistic projects 'Russian word 2012' by M. Epshtein and 'Press-word 2012' are also reviewed.

* * *

Introduction

Knowing the pragmatic meaning of place names may be important for understanding the ideological discourse (Dijk 2008, Fairclough 1989, 1992, Kitaygorodskaya and Rosanova 1996, Shmeleva 1993). A large number of proper names are associated with specific events that have place markers. Thus, during the last few years, in Russian political discourse a variety of toponyms have obtained a symbolic value that is relevant for the modern Russian history (half of TOP-30 most popular new words rating 2012 in Mass Media are toponyms and anthroponyms – Table 1). *Bolotnaya Square*, *Sakharov Avenue* and others have become the signs of the protest movement of 2011-2012 (Arkhangelsky 2012, Oreshkin 2012). Due to their relevance for public life in Russia these place names were included in the list of the key words in 2012. They also have become the basis for the formation of new words (Press-word 2012, Word of the year 2012).

Rating	Word	References in Russian Internet
1	Пусси Райот PussyRiot	58 144
3	Болотное дело Bolotnoje Case	3674
4	ОккупайАбай OccupyAbai	3332
5	Света-из-Иваново Sveta from Ivanovo	1255
8	Сердюковский Serdukov's, сердюковщина Serdjukov-style action, сердюковские реформы Serdukov's reforms	563
9	Путинизм Pitinism, путинизация Putinisation	545
10	«чуровщина» Churov-style action, чуровский Churov's	508
11	Путинг Putting	463
13	Пуськи Pussies	350
18	'дамы сердюкова' Serdukov's Ladies	125
19	миллионы Собчак Sobchak's millions	86
24	Пуссинист Pussynist	54
27	«пуськина мать» Pussy Mother	35
32	Движение Про-Пусси Pro-Pussy Movement	20
33	Демедведизация Demedvedevisation	16

Table 1. New words and phrases rating of Mass Media references in 2012 (only ranking of proper names presented)

In 2012 oppositionists gathered on *Bolotnaya Square* for the first authorized rally; *Sakharov Avenue* hosted the biggest protest rally; oppositionists regularly gathered near the monument to *Abai Kunanbaev* in May 2012. Russia had not seen protest actions at this scale in the past 10-15 years. The protesters mentioned the awakened 'civil society' and social changes that had taken place in the country. The meaning of several place names, which they obtained in the political context, could be considered as a linguistic marker of the authority-opposition confrontation.

The present research is aimed at studying 'the competition for meaning' and formation of connotations of the above mentioned place names under conditions of ideological competition.

Materials and Methods

The sources of the research are mass media publications and blog materials on protest activities in the period between the end of 2011 and the first half of 2012. Linguistic projects 'Russian word 2012' by M. Epshtein and 'Press-word 2012' are also reviewed. Based on this corpus, we study the most popular place names ('key toponyms of current moment') in different ideological contexts.

Results

According to the poll ‘Press-word 2012’, several toponyms essential for understanding the relationship between authorities and opposition have become highly topical in the media and blogosphere. With regard to derivation and metaphor creation, the most frequent and productive ones are ***Bolotnaya Square and Sakharov Avenue***. *Bolotnoe Case* had 3674 references in the Russian Internet in 2012. Press and blogs of opposition accentuated the meaning of place names *Bolotnaya* and *Sakharov (Sakharova)* as signs of protest movement.

Whatever happens today, and no matter what will happen in the future, **Bolotnaya and Sakharova have already taken their place in history and historical books** as the moment of public spirit rise, aroused patriotism and belief in democracy (Vladimir Ryzhkov, Russian politician).

Bolotnaya and all that goes with it, is not a single phenomenon, but a **demonstration of deep social changes** that have occurred in the country (Anatoly Chubais, the head of the state corporation).

Speakers of the party of power actively used the semantic potential of the place name *Bolotnaya Square* to discredit the opponent using linguistic means. The etymology of the place name *Bolotnaya Square* is obvious to Russian native speakers (the adjective *bolotny* ‘boggy’ means ‘pertaining to a bog, march, swamp’) and it unequivocally emphasizes the negative evaluation of the proper name:

The freedom that you and your **boggy liberal supporters** suggest, people just do not need ... <...> From **‘boggy leaders’** one could only hear something like: ‘Here soon a million protesters will come! And then ...’ (A. Byuro, politician).

‘Boggy liberals’ are the most fussy, naive, and obviously evil individuals, in terms of traditional Russian culture; they failed to rouse the masses to revolt due to misidentification of the expectations of the modern Russian society (‘Zhivoy Zhyurnal’ (LiveJournal))

The attributive feature easily develops into a discrediting metaphor:

...all our **‘boggy fauna’** unanimously got involved in the persecution of the Church and the Patriarch (Mikhail Leontjev, journalist)

The rallies and meetings of opposition, which took place on *Sakharov Avenue*, were called *‘Sakhar-show’* (‘Sugar-show’) (an analytical model with a clipped toponym) in discourses of the opponents. The derogative connotation is formed both through lexical means and a specific derivational model. *Sakharov Avenue* takes its name after the human rights and freedom activist Andrey Sakharov. It is symbolic that oppositionists gathered just at that place. The clipped model actualizes the root meaning *sakhar-* (‘sugar-’) (‘sweet show’),

breaking positive associations between meetings of opposition and the anthroponym (the personal name of the popular public figure.)

As follows from the analysis, abusive and pejorative connotations of place names *Bolotnaya Square* and *Sakharov Avenue* are frequently used in the pro-government discourse. This strategy is supported by discrediting derivational models and combinability.

Bolotno-sakharny (boggy-sugar) protest by no means represents the whole Russia, whether you like it or not (Andrew Pesotsky, politician).

Another toponym related to the political activity in 2011-2012 is the place near the monument to Abai Kunanbaev (Abai Qunanbaiuli) (Kazakh poet and educator) on the Chistoprudny Boulevard, which became popular due to the placement of the opposition camp.

For a few of days Abai Kunanbaev has been the most popular poet of the Russian capital. Since last Wednesday a modest statute to the Kazakh poet in the shadows of chestnut trees on the Chistoprudny Boulevard has been witnessing these-called 'opposition festivities'. The campaign was wittily called '**OccupyAbai**' by analogy with the American Occupy Wall Street. People speak of it either with sympathy or irritation - depending on the political affiliation (E. Shahnovsky, journalist).

According to the poll 'Press-word 2012', the word combination 'OccupyAbai' had 3332 references in mass media.

The hash-tag with the name of the protest campaign '**#OccupyAbai**' appeared on Twitter. This toponym became both the name of the place of protest meetings and the name of the movement. It also became the basis for formation of new lexical units.

The new word quickly acquired inflectional paradigm and, due to compression, it was reduced to one of two structural components.

...Why did **Occupy** become what it became (**Rus. Occupay-em**)? (LiveJournal)

According to word formation principles that characterize 'key words of the current moment', new derivatives of the new word emerged: the protest participants were called *okkupaytsy* ('occupiers') *abai-addikty* ('abai-addicts'), their community was named *Abai-commune*, and the social life of the opposition included 'Abbai readings'.

Conclusions

Public communication in Russia is characterized by 'the struggle of discourses,' which is determined by intentions of the authorities and the opposition to dominate. The discourse of political opponents is characterized by the use of key toponyms that have ideologically pragmatic meanings. This is instrumental for reconstructing basic social attitudes. Following

the results of the study of development of new pragmatic meanings of place names and formation of new toponymical units in the political vocabulary, it is possible to describe peculiarities of the current social dialogue and subjects of political life.

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Ethnonyms in Toponyms of the 17th-19th Century Vidzeme (Latvia)

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Abstract

Textual material of the historical revisions and church metrics books is an important source of toponymic research. The article is an analysis of house names found in 'soul revisions' of 1826.

The first to be mentioned is the self-denomination of Latvians appearing only in the German form *Lette*. Names of several Baltic tribes: the Selonians – *sehlisch, sehlet*, the Cours – *kursen, kurfet, kurfeet*, have become house names.

Farmstead names reflect an even wider representation of Lithuanian self-denominations *leitis* and *lietuviētis* – *leisch, leite, leithan; leetweet, letowet*. House names formally representing self-denomination of Prussians – *prus, prusche* can also be found.

Finno-Ugric elements are essentially represented in house names. Place names with the ethnonym *igaunis* 'Estonian' have been recorded – *igaun, iggaun*, with the ethnonym *libietis, libis, līvs* 'Liv' – *libesch, lihbet, lihbeet, lihbez, lihwe, liwe*. Possible variants are house names with denominations of the Wots or *krieviņi* – *kreewin, kreewing*.

Some house names comprise denominations of Slavic nations: *krievs* 'Russian' – *kreewe, krewe, kreewuppe, polis* 'Pole' – *pohle*, with the root *slav- / slāv-* – *slahwit, slavīt, slawischan, slawek*.

The house name *Swedre* bears similarity with the ethnonym *zviēdri* 'Swedes', house names *turzing* and *greeke* could probably be linked to ethnonyms *turks* 'Turk' and *griekis* 'Greek'.

* * *

Textual material of the historical revisions and church metrics books is an important source of toponymic research. A copious revision material of ploughs and the church metrics books is available in the archives of Latvia. The oldest revision material of ploughs made up only in some parts of the Vidzeme region dates back from 1631; possibly, not all the materials have survived. A broader revision material of ploughs is that of the year 1638 in the Vidzeme region published in the 1940s. The oldest church metrics books in some mansions date back to 1782, but the materials have been compiled systematically from 1816 and/or 1826. A more detailed analysis of the ethnonyms in the church metrics lists of the Vidzeme gubernia (province) in 1826 will be done on the basis of the Latvian State Historical Archives – the materials of the fund No. 199. These church metrics lists include about 14,500 house names out of which 150 are possible ethnonyms.

First of all, a name for Latvians in German *Lette* should be mentioned, and it has been established in such house names as *Alt Lette* and *Neu Lette*. Components of word groups with *alt* and *neu*, namely, *old* and *new* are traditionally used in the designation of house names, and they usually indicate a name, that is, the sequence of house building. The German form

of this name is unorthodox and mostly encountered in the church metrics books in the parish up to 1858. The rest of the house names or their components in the same parish were written down in the Latvian spelling of the corresponding age, and it was based on the German spelling tradition. *Lette*, namely, *the Latvian* (together with the name *Latgalians*) has been a designation for the Latgalians living in the eastern part of the present territory of Latvia at least since the 12th century; *Lette* was used in the Chronicle of Henry¹ (*Heinrici Chronicon* 1993) describing the events in the territory of Latvia in the 12th and 13th centuries, and even more frequently in the Rhyme Chronicle (*Livländische Reimchronik* 1998) dedicated to the events of the 13th and 14th centuries. For example, in the Chronicle of Henry one can read a very important sentence – *De conspiratione Ruthenorum cum Lyvonibus et Lettis contra Rigenses. ..diffusi Lyvones ac Lethos, qui proprie dicuntur Lethigalli..* ‘About the conspiracy of Russians and their allies – the Livs and the Letts against the inhabitants of Riga. ..called upon the Livs and Letts that are truly referred to as Latgalians’ (*Heinrici Chronicon* 1993: 84-85). In the 19th century when the aforementioned house names appear, the word *Latvian* was used to refer to all those living in the territory of Latvia. Unfortunately, the analysis of the rest of the house names of the Beļava private mansion (*Kortenhof*) does not allow to know whether in all four church metrics books the names *Alt Lette* and *Neu Lette* were used in German daily. Also, in the 19th century church metrics books it was not possible to find a house name containing the component *Lette*, but several times a house name *Jaun Zierul* was written down as *Neu Zierul*. It is likely that a house name containing the word *Lette* is a name given by a mansion landlord to a kin with a positive attitude to Latvians.

In the house names of the 19th century, several names for the Baltic tribes were used. The word *Selian* appears in three house names *Seelisch Robeschneek*, *Sehlich Robeschneek*² (1816); *Sehlet*, *Sehlich*. All these house names were established in the territory where the Selian subdialects of the High Latvian (*augšzemnieku*) dialect in the Vidzeme region are used. Although the historical sources usually mention that the Selians lived on the left bank of the river Daugava in the present territory of Latvia and Lithuania in the 14th and 15th centuries, a language fact, for instance, a rising intonation considered to be characteristic of the Selian speech is also used on the right bank of the river Daugava from where the aforementioned house names have been written down. The Selians were mentioned as one of the Baltic peoples in Livonian Chronicle of Henry, for example, *De obsidione castri Selonum* ‘About the siege of the Selian castle’ (*Heinrici Chronicon* 1993: 106-107). It is possible that these house names indicate the Selians’ descendants who may have lived in these houses at the beginning of the 19th century.

The second name of a Baltic tribe mentioned in several house names all across the Vidzeme region is the name of the Couronians – *Jaun Kurseet* (1834), *Wezz Kurseet* (1834), *Kursen*, *Kurset Land*, *Kurset*, *Kursit*. The Couronians were a Baltic people who lived in the west of the present territory of Latvia – the Courland (Kurzeme) and in northwest Lithuania. The Couronians spoke the Couronian language. It is assumed that the Couronian language disappeared in the 14th and 15th centuries. In describing his trip from 1399-1450, Guillebert de Lannoy describes the Couronians in ‘Voyages et ambassades de messir Guillebert de

¹ *Heinrici Chronicon* – Latin; *Chronicle of Henry* – English.

² The year after the house name is indicated in cases when the materials of the 1826 population registers (the so-called ‘soul’ registers) cannot be accessed, or house name forms differ from the 1826 version.

Lannoy' (Lannoy 1840: 17). The massive migration of the Couronians to certain regions in Vidzeme is mentioned by a Latvian linguist Jānis Endzelīns (Endzelīns 1923: 5-7). However, the spread of said house names does not include those in Vidzeme mentioned as Couronians' new places of residence. It is possible that in houses, which contain the root *kurs-*, namely, *kurš-*, lived those who arrived from Courland, and they might have been the descendants of the Livs. The materials of the plough revision from 1638 show arrivals from the Courland are quite numerous (Dunsdorfs 1938-1941; see also Ancītis and Jansons 1963: 49-50, 66-67).

The name of the Lithuanians in house names appears even more frequently. House names with a component *leitis* are widespread and the form was widely used to designate the Lithuanians as late as in the first half of the 20th century, for example, *Kaln Leisch*, *Leies Leisch*, *Leijse*, *Leisch*, *Leische Appenas*, *Leische Kaln*, *Leiskalln jetzt Rujen*, *Leiskallne*, *Leiskalne*, *Leischmarte*, *Leuschan* (1816), *Leischjahn* (1834), *Leite Behrseleit / Behrseleite / Behrelei*, *Leite*. In a number of house names one can recognize the contemporary form of the Latvian language – *lietuvietis*, for example, *Letowet*, *Letuwit Appenas*, *Kalne Letewesch*, *Leies Letawesch*. The aforementioned house names in the first half of the 19th century are popular in the whole territory of Vidzeme, but mostly in the north of Vidzeme along the border with Estonia.

The materials of plough revision show that many inhabitants of Vidzeme referred to themselves as Lithuanians, even those living close to Estonia (Dunsdorfs 1938-1941). Other toponyms in the whole territory of Vidzeme indicate the presence of Lithuanians. It is highly possible that those living in houses with the names containing *leiš-* had an affinity with the Lithuanians.

Only two house names contain the root *prus*, namely, *prūš-*, for example, *Prus* and *Prusche*. The name Prussian in the Latvian language is not unequivocal even as an ethnonym. *Prussian* is, first of all, a general designation for the small peoples or tribes of the West Balts – the Sambians, Natangians, Bartians, Nadruvians, Warmians, Pomesanians, and Pogesanians. In the history books, they are also referred to as the Old Prussians (about Prussians in Vidzeme see Ancītis and Jansons 1963: 47). The Old Prussians lived in the territory of Prussia (in Russia's Kaliningrad region, in Poland's Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, and Lithuania's Rusnė Island). They were subjugated during the Northern Crusades and fully assimilated by the 18th century. Secondly, during the Early and Late modern periods, the name *prūši* was used to designate the Prussian kingdoms, later on – the inhabitants of the German provinces speaking a peculiar dialect and with different cultural and mental features. Thirdly, the appellative *prusaks* in many subdialects of the Latvian language is also *prūsis*. Cockroaches (*Blattaria* or *Blattodea*) belong to the insect class and they are a species of the Neoptera infraclass. No evidence shows that these insects had lived in Latvian houses by the second half of the 19th century, whereas the 20th century materials compiled from various subdialects show this fact to be of a frequent occurrence (see, for example, Kagaine 1983: 138). Without additional studies the two mentioned ethnonyms with a root *prūš-* can hardly be admitted as house names of the ethnonymic origin. Their location in the north of Latvia at the town of Valmiera does not confirm their ethnonymic origin.

The second group of house names contains designations for Finno-Ugric peoples. Fifteen house names are connected with the Estonian name, for example, *Iggaun* (1816), *Iggaun*, *Kalne Iggaun*, *Leies Iggaun*, *Struppe Iggaun*, *Iggaun Jehk*, *Iggaun Linning*. The

Estonians live in the northeastern part of Europe and they speak the Estonian language. The Estonian language belongs to the Finno-Ugric language group of the Baltic branch. The Estonians have referred to themselves as *eesti* since the awakening of the national consciousness in the 19th century. In Latvian, the name of the country *Igaunija* is derived from the old Estonian area – *Ugaunia* (the south part of Estonia) that was the neighbouring country of the old Tālava (one of the areas populated by the Latgalian). The name of the area *Ugaunia* was mentioned in the Chronicle by Henry, for example, *De bonis mercatorum ab Ugaunensibus quondam direptis* ‘About the merchants’ property once stolen by Ugaunians’ (*Heinrici Chronicon* 1993: 108-109), *nuncios suos ad Estones in Unganiam* ‘sent his messengers to Ugaunian Estonians’ (*Heinrici Chronicon* 1993: 118-119). As we can see in the second example, in Latin *igauņi* (Estonians) are referred to as *Estones*, but the inhabitants of the area *Ugaunija* – *Ugaunes* or *Unganes*.

The Latvians of Vidzeme have always had close contacts with the Estonians. After the serfdom was banned and particularly after 1860, Estonian peasants bought land in the present territory of Latvia, and later on they moved to Rīga, Valka, Valmiera, and other towns. A larger number of Estonians lived in the north of Latvia in the vicinity of Valka and Valmiera; however, Estonians were also present in the vicinities of Alūksne and Gulbene where they were referred to as *leivi*. With a few exceptions, house names with an ethnonym *igaunis* are absent in those regions where a bigger proportion of Estonians could be expected. It is possible that a house name with an ethnonym *igaunis* was chosen in those areas where Estonians were very few, and this fact is consistent with the practice of naming houses – to make them unique and individual. Without doubt we can assert that all the house names with the root *igaun-* are of ethnonymic semantics, namely, at the moment of giving of the house name Estonians lived there.

Practically in the whole territory of Vidzeme in 1826 there were house names with ethnonyms *lībietis* or *līvs*.

Such house names were mentioned 34 times altogether in the church metrics books in 1826, for example, those with an ethnonym *lībieši* are *Zukes Libesch*, *Jaun Libesch* (1811), *Jaun Liebesch*, *Kallne Lihbet*, *Kalne Libesch*, *Kalne Liebeet*, *Kalne Liebet Jahn*, *Kalne Liebet Mattis jetzt Jahn*, *L. Liebet Peter jetzt Jahn*, *Leies Leebet*, *Leijes Lihbet*, *Wetz Libesch* (1811), *Wetz Liebesch*, *Liban*, *Libesch*, *Liebeht*, *Liebet*, *Liebet Jaecob* (1816), *Liebet Jurre* (1816), *Lihbasch*, *Liebet Mik*, *Liebet Sander* (1816), *Lihbeet*, *Lihbet*, *Lihbets Krug*, *Lihbez*, but with an ethnonym *līvs* – *Lihwe*, *Liwe*, *Liewe*.

The number of house names with ethnonyms *lībietis* and *līvs* is evident. The Livs are a Baltic Finnish people living in the territory of Latvia, and they speak the language of the Finno-Ugric group. (The special issue of the *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* (ESUKA – JEFUL 2014) is dedicated to the Livonian language.) The ancestors of the Livs, the Finno-Ugric tribes, arrived in Kurzeme and Vidzeme from the north-east in about 2500BC and settled in the free barren territories along the seashore and the basin of the river Gauja unoccupied by local farmers. In the 11th century after lost wars, the Livs together with the Couronians moved from *Vanema*, that is, the old lands across the Gulf of Riga to the West coast of Vidzeme and also further to the east inland of the western part of the Gauja and the Daugava basins. Due to various historically political and economic reasons, the Latgalian and the Couronian of the inland gradually assimilated the Livs along the seashore

and the lower reaches of the rivers Daugava and Gauja from the 13th century onwards. Thus the Livs gradually became consolidated with the Latvian people. In the 20th century the territory populated by the Livs shrunk to the width of several kilometers and the length of 60 kilometres of the land strip on the coastline of north Kurzeme. The Livs of north Kurzeme referred to themselves as *jūrmalnieki* (*rāndalist*, seaside inhabitants), and their language as *rāndakēļ* (the language of the seaside). They were mentioned in written sources for the first time in the Viking sagas of the 11th century and in Russian chronicles. It should also be mentioned that the first lines of Chronicle of Henry mention the Livs, for example, *cui Lyvones adhuc pagani tribute solvebant* ‘whom the Livs, who were pagans, paid tribute – duties in kind’ (*Heinrici Chronicon* 1993: 48-49), *Interim suscipiende fidei sinceritas a Lyvonibus confirmatur secundo* ‘Among other things the Livs confirmed their strong desire to accept the Christian faith’ (*Heinrici Chronicon* 1993: 48-49).

It might be assumed that all the mentioned house names have a link with the designation of the ethnos – the Livs. Despite the fact that the residents of these houses spoke Latvian, more specifically, one of its subdialects, they were aware of their origin as Livs. There is a dispute over house names with a root *līv-*. Taking into consideration the location of these houses, the territory of the *Leivi*, they are related to the Estonian ancestors who moved to Latvia. The materials from the church metrics books of 1826 do not confirm this assumption because the long vowel *ī* according to the German pattern is written as *ie*. With an exception in the deep Latgalian subdialects of the High Latvian (Augšzemnieku) dialect, two names with a root *līv-* were established, the diphthong *ei* corresponds to the long vowel *ī* in the Latvian language. However, a more in-depth explanation should account for this fact. Besides, it seems that only those Estonian ancestors who moved to the territory of Latvia in the second half of the 19th century are referred to as *leivi*.

Only one house name relates to the Karelians in the three house names *Kareel* (1816) in the middle of Vidzeme. The Karelians are a Finno-Ugric people who reside in the north west of Russia, and they speak a Baltic Finnish language of the Finno-Ugric branch. For centuries, Karelia has been the object of contention among Sweden, Finland, and Russia. Nowadays, Karelia is one of the republics of the Russian Federation. It borders on the southwestern and southern parts of the Leningrad Oblast (Region), the southern and southeastern regions of Vologda, the southeastern and eastern regions of Arkhangelsk, the eastern part of the White Sea, the northern region of Murmansk, and also in the West of Finland.

It is not very likely that a Karelian family could have moved to Vidzeme at the beginning of the 19th century.

It is possible that the house names in Vidzeme have retained an ancient Finno-Ugric people's name – the Votes who were referred to as the small Russians (*krieviņi*) in the Latvian language. A formal diminutive *krieviņi* was established in 24 names – *Brenz Krewin*, *Jaun Krewing*, *Kalne Kreewiņ*, *Leies Kreewiņ*, *Muisch Kreewing*, *Wetz Krewing*, *Matsch Kreewing*/ *Matsch Kreewing*, *Kreewin*, *Kreewing*, *Kreewiņ*, *Krewing*. These names are concentrated in two vertical belts; one of them begins in the northeast of Vidzeme and moves southwards up to the Daugava.

The Votes are a small Finno-Ugric people who live in the southwest of the present Leningrad Oblast (Region), and they speak a Baltic Finnish language of the Finno-Ugric

branch. The small Russians, as they were referred to in Latvian, were the descendants of about 3000 Votes who were taken to Zemgale after the inroad to Novgorod Land by the Master of the Livonian Order Heinrich Vinke von Overberg, and their skills were used to build the Bauska Castle (1447). The castle is similar to the one of Kaporje and other stone castles in Novgorod (Russia).

Having built the fortress, the Votes were settled by the Order in the vicinity of Bauska, sparsely populated and destroyed in the wars with the Lithuanians. Research concerning 'krieviņi' and their language has been summed up in Eberhard Winkler's *Krewinsch* (Winkler 1997).

In written sources, the small Russians have been mentioned by Paul Einhorn in *Reformatio gentis Letticae in Ducatu Curlandiae* (Einhorn 1636) and *Historia Lettica* (Einhorn 1649), for example,

ift noch ein frembd Volck hie im Lande/ die Krewingen oder Reuffifche Bawren genandt/ vnd wohnen dieselben allein im Baußkerifchen Gebiete an der Littawifchen Grentze .. wann fie unter fich felbft reden/ fo reden fie Eftnifch

'in this this country there is yet another foreign folk called 'krieviņi' (*die Krewingen* in German of the 17th century) or Russian peasants, and they live only in the area of Bauska near the Lithuanian border .. when they address each other they speak Estonian' (Einhorn 1636: 6a-6b).

In the Duke's country estates of Kurzeme and Zemgale near Bauska in 1650, three Latvian and two small Russian peasants-freeholders were mentioned, and they lived in the Krieviņi parish land.

Also, in the German language of the parish territory in 1751, the name *Krewische Wacke* appears, and this shows that the name *krieviņi* was given by the inhabitants of the parish territory themselves.

In Vidzeme, the aforementioned house names with the name indicating the descendants of the Votes, the small Russians, are not interconnected, but a Latvian ethnographer Saulvedis Cimermanis has repeatedly expressed an assumption on the basis of the language material that the small Russians on the way to Bauska in the south of Latvia from the vicinity of the present Leningrad Oblast have either escaped or, for any other reasons, stayed in Vidzeme. The belt which crosses Latvia from the northeast Vidzeme is of particular interest. However, all the mentioned house names cannot be linked with the Votes, the small Russians, because of homonymous diminutives, namely, an ethnonym *krieviņi* corresponds to the diminutive of the ethnonym *krievs*.

The third group of ethnonyms consists of the names of the Slavic peoples. First of all, we should consider the name of a Slavic people – *krievs*. Altogether 15 names including their derivatives were established – *Ahres Krew*, *PeterKreewe*, *Kreewe*, *Krewe Kaln*, *Kreewuppe*, *Krewleij*, *Krewupp*, *Leel Meschkreew*, *Mas Meschkreew*, *K. Kreewan*, *L. Kreewan*, *Kreewan*, *Kriwan*, *Kalne Krewel*, *Leies Krewel*. All these names are concentrated in the middle of Vidzeme; no house name has been noted in the northwest of Vidzeme. The Russians are an East Slavic group who speak the Russian language of the Indo-European language group. The

old Russian chronicles show that the contacts with the Russians of the present territory of Latvia existed long ago. The first information about a bigger Old Russian community, of at least several hundreds, in the present territory of Latvia dates back from the 15th century when hundreds of merchants and craftsmen from Polotsk and Vitebsk travelled by barges and rafts down the river Daugava every summer and back in autumn. A big Russian migration began after the Nikon's reform of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1667 when many escaped from persecutions of the tsarist Russia, and a noteworthy number of Old Believers settled in Latgale, Selia, and Riga (about old Believers in Latvia see, for example, Podmazovs 2001). Certainly, the number of Russians increased after the occupation of Latvia in the 20th century, but these events cannot be related to the toponyms of the older period.

It is possible that the house names of a root *kriev-*, with an exception of the formal diminutive *krieviņi*, mentioned in the church metrics books of 1826 are directly linked to the ethnonym. A person being able to speak Russian in the German environment of those days might also be referred to as a Russian. We should not exclude the fact that at least part of the diminutives with a lexeme *krieviņi* refers to the East Slavic people although house names with ethno-diminutives are practically absent.

An ethnonym *polis* can be linked to the house name *Pohle* established in two cases in the middle of Vidzeme. The small number of house names with an ethnonym *polis* is surprising given the fact that Vidzeme was under the Polish rule from 1561–1629. Besides, it is not altogether clear whether the ethnonym *polis* is the basis of a house name because in Latvian an appellative *pole* also has a meaning of 'a cow without horns'.

In Vidzeme, there is a number of names with a root *slav-* / *slāv-* that can relate to ethnonyms, for example, *Slahwit*, *Kalna slawit*, *Kalne Slavit*, *Leies Slavit*, *Slawiht*, *Slawiet*, *Leel Slawehk* (1834), *Mas Slawehk* (1834), *Mas Slawek* (1834), *Slaweck*, *Slawek*, *Groht Pauniņ jetzt Slawehk*, *Slawesch*, *Slawischan* (1816), *Leel Slawezzen*, *Slawehl*.

The Slavs are not a concrete name for a people, in Latvian the name designates a people belonging to the Indo-Europeans speaking a Slavic language. This generalized designation makes one doubt the fact that those house names belong to the semantic group of ethnonyms. Besides, Latvian contains appellatives of different word classes with a root *slav-*, and if we consider the aforementioned examples only one house name of a root *slāv-* with a long vowel *ā* was established. If we analyze appellatives of a root *slav*, the noun *slava*, the adjective *slavens*, and the verb *slavēt* should be mentioned. For this reason, the house names might have one of these appellatives.

Separate house names can also be connected with other ethnonyms, for example, on the bank of the Daugava three houses were named *Swedre* (1816), and it is possible to link it to the ethnonym *zviedrs* – a designation for the Swedish nation in the Latvian language.

There are also two exoticisms in the house names of Vidzeme. They are *Turzinge* (1816) in the middle of Vidzeme, and *Greeke*, *Greke*, *Grieken Krug* around Vidzeme. The first house name is connected with an ethnonym *turks*, the rest – with an ethnonym *griekis*. It is unlikely that the representatives of the distant peoples lived in Latvia during the 18th and 19th centuries; however, they were well-known for their distinct national characteristics. For example, Johann Christoph Brotze in his drawing albums '*Sammlung verschiedner Liefländischer Monumente...*' included the pictures of Greek travelers, for example, here a Greek woman from Morea is depicted, who in Riga in 1785 asks for support of her family to

buy them out of the Turkish captivity (Broce 1992: 144-145). It is possible that a resident of a corresponding house had a tradition to wear specific garments, for example, a head-dress bearing a resemblance to Turks' attire. The house names with a root *griek-*, namely, *griek-* can relate to another semantic group – the house names with the semantics of flora connected with the grain of *griķi* 'buckwheat'.

Before the abolishing of serfdom in 1819, house names in Vidzeme had a wide use of not only the names of the ancient Baltic tribes, but also the names of separate Slavic peoples – the Russians and the Poles. Among the potential nomination subjects, there are also some exoticisms. In order to establish links between a concrete house name with an ethnonym, more in-depth studies on the origin of house names and residents' ethnic background should be done.

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Place Names as an Expression of Human Relations to Space

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Abstract

This article presents a view on place names from a cultural-geographical perspective by the example of the endonym/exonym divide. This divide is indicative of the role place names play in a cultural-geographical context and may therefore be the most useful and telling when explaining this role. The endonym/exonym divide reflects the difference between ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’: endonyms, in the sense of names given by the community in place, mark features owned by the community or for which that community feels responsible; exonyms, in the sense of names adopted from other communities, reflect the network of a community’s external relations. Besides their role of marking features similar to flags and coats of arms, giving them an inevitable and inescapable political dimension, endonyms exert the very important function of supporting emotional ties between people and place and promoting space-related identity building in this way from the cultural-geographical perspective. The paper departs from the findings of Yi-Fu Tuan in his work *Topophilia* (1974) as regards the various relations between people and space and tries to position the role of place names within this system.

* * *

Introduction

Departing from Yi-Fu Tuan’s basic work *Topophilia* (Tuan 1990 [1974]) and his account of the relation between people and place in general, it can be said that place names (can) have four main functions in the relationship of people to territory or communities to geographical space. In each case, the endonym/exonym divide has a certain meaning; the divide between place names used by the community in place for features on its own territory (‘endonyms’) and features located at the territory of other communities (‘exonyms’).

Endonyms and exonyms are therefore status categories of place names. They are the result of one of many aspects under which place names can be regarded (the aspect leading to the endonym/exonym divide is the spatial relation between the human community using the name and the geographical feature assigned by it; see Fig. 1) and reflect the basic human distinction between ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’.

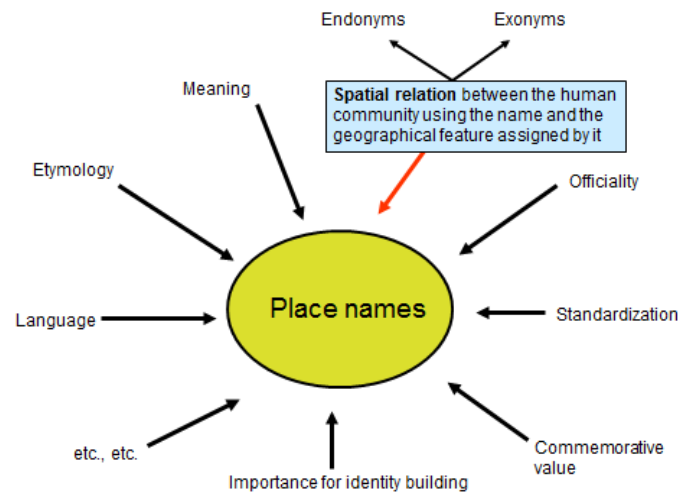


Fig. 1. Aspects under which place names can be regarded

Main Functions of Place Names in Relating People to Territory

So what are these four main functions of place names in relating people to territory and what is the role of the endonym/exonym divide within them?

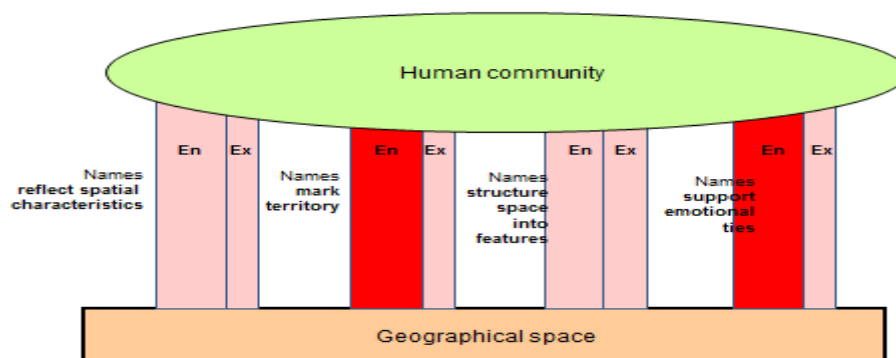


Fig. 2. Roles of place names as mediators between people and space

(1) Place names often reflect the characteristics of geographical features important for a certain community

They often describe location, morphology, bodies of water, vegetation, the soil of a certain place; or the functions of a place within geographical space, e.g. bridges, ports, thoroughfares. They highlight in this way characteristics that seemed important to the people, who named the place within the context of their culture and their specific interests. Farmers had different naming motives than shepherds, a seafarer's motives differed from a mountain dweller's. Place names are in this way 'condensed narratives' about the cultural disposition of a name giving community.

This function affects endonyms and exonyms as well. The endonym/exonym divide has no meaning for it in qualitative terms, but quantitatively. In most cases it is the resident community that assigns place names. External visitors rarely assign place names – but it happens: explorers, alpinists, seafarers or scientists assign new names to geographical features such as mountain peaks, large seas or oceans, submarine features, features in unpopulated areas like Antarctica. These names are exonyms.

(2) Place names mark the territory of a community

This function comprises communities and their territory of all categories and sizes, from a nation to an ethnic minority (Fig. 3), and even down to the level of a family within a home or a person using an office. A label assigning a personal name at the door of an office functions then as a place name (Fig. 4).



Fig. 3. Bilingual Polish-Kashubian signpost in the Kashubian minority region of Poland (Photo: Maciej Zych 2012)



Fig. 4. Name label indicating that this is 'my territory' (Photo: Peter Jordan 2014)

In this function, the endonym/exonym divide is essential and even constitutive: Names for geographical features at the community's own territory are endonyms ('names from within'). Endonyms in this function are symbols of appropriation. Who owns a feature or has the responsibility for it, usually reserves the right to name it. This function is similar to that performed by flags, coats of arms or logos.

For geographical features outside its own territory a community will usually adopt existing names, translating them into its own language or adapting them morphologically or phonetically. In contrast to names for features on its own territory, i.e. endonyms, these are exonyms, needed by a community to mark features outside its own territory in such a way that their use is comfortable, i.e. pronounceable and easy to communicate.

In contrast to endonyms, exonyms are not symbols of appropriation and do not express claims, instead they indicate the importance of a feature for this community and the relations it has with it, i.e. its network of external relations (Fig. 5, see also Jordan 2009a). Exonyms help to integrate this foreign feature into the cultural sphere of a community and help avoid exclusion and alienation (Back 2002). However, it is also true that the use of an exonym is sometimes conceived as exerting a claim, especially when exonyms correspond to historical endonyms. However, this is a misunderstanding, which should be erased, also by a politically sensitive use of exonyms (see Jordan 2000).

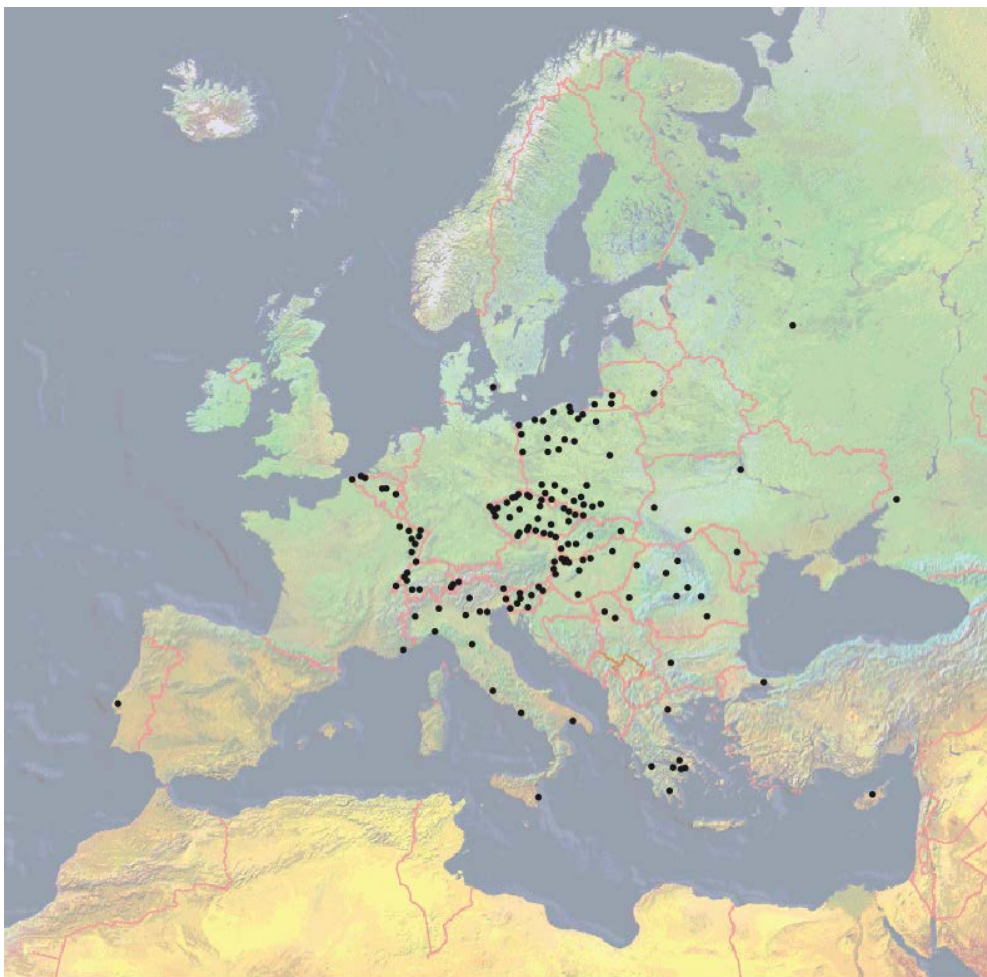


Fig. 5. German exonyms for towns and cities (Thematic layer based on AKO 2012)

(3) Place names structure territory mentally

Place names help to subdivide complex spatial reality into features. Every geographical feature (in the sense of a subunit of geographical space) is a mental construct. Even very distinct features from our point of view – such as a significant mountain or an island – are not features ‘by nature’, rather they exist as subunits of space within a certain cultural background.

This is especially the case with landscapes, cultural regions or macro-regions lacking clear limits such as current administrative boundaries, ‘natural boundaries’ like mountain ranges or rivers. The matter of how far Europe extends to the east is obviously just a convention. In reality, it is impossible to find clear boundaries of Central or West Europe.

A place name is the vehicle, the instrument in this process of mental structuring of space. Without place names we would not be able to establish a system of space-related identities, to communicate it, to maintain it. In many cases (e.g. cultural regions, landscapes) the place name is in fact the only identifier of a geographical feature.

This function affects endonyms and exonyms likewise. However, exonyms can structure space differently from endonyms: while, for example, Romanians have a different name (*Câmpia de Vest*) for their share in the Great Hungarian Lowland, the English exonym includes it.

(4) Place names support emotional ties between people and place and promote in this way space-related identity building

If somebody is acquainted with a place, reads, mentions or memorizes a place name, this recalls all the contents of a space-related concept for them, reminding them of sights, persons, events, smells, sounds associated with this place and facilitating ‘the feel of a place’, as Yi-Fu Tuan (1991) calls it.

The endonym/exonym divide has for this function a differentiating effect in quantitative and – more importantly – also in qualitative terms: for the local community the emotional relationship to a place is usually deeper and more important. However, exonyms can convey emotions too by reminding of images a person has of a certain place, even if they never have been there. *Rome* and *Auschwitz* are very likely the counterparts on the range from positive to negative images conveyed by exonyms. These images are often supported or influenced by active brand management.

Problems of Defining the Endonym/Exonym Divide

It is, however not an easy task to precisely delineate between the concepts of the endonym and the exonym. This was noted during the discussions of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms.¹ I can address here only some of the problems faced. Whilst the arguments might

¹ The Working Group on Exonyms is one of ten thematic working groups of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN). The Working Group was founded in 2002 and some of its main tasks are the exact definition of the endonym/exonym divide, as well as to determine criteria for the use of

sound convoluted and theoretical, they all have a very concrete political meaning and are politically highly sensitive.

The question of who is entitled to assign the primary name, the endonym is an inherently political one, which can easily lead to political conflict, especially when dealing with the names of populated places, administrative units (when, for example, communes are merged), streets or features in areas where linguistic minorities reside.

Interfering with endonyms – the names of the local community – in this context is always a matter of interfering in local affairs, into the civil society in place. This is no problem for authoritarian political regimes (like those in the former Communist parts of Europe), but always a challenge in our democratic societies. Sensitivity on behalf of public authorities for the endonym/exonym divide may even be regarded as a quality proof for democratic systems.

What are then the problems as regards the delimitation of endonym and exonym?

(1) Who is the local community?

One of the main problems relates to the question of who actually constitutes the local community. As a point of departure it must be mentioned that no community is completely homogenous. It is always composed of a dominant portion and non-dominant subgroups. This is even true for the smallest human community, the personal partnership. Also here we usually find a dominant and a non-dominant part.

The dominant portion of a community is of course in the position to decree the use of a name, to oblige other community members to use a name – whether they like it or not. Consequently, some parts of a community may feel that a certain name is not their name, not the endonym, but a name imposed to them, a name from the outside – rather an exonym.

It is also a fact that we usually do not belong to only one community, but rather to a multitude of them – we have in fact multiple identities, also multiple space-related identities (see Fig. 6). We are not only inhabitants of a village, but also of a commune, city and region. We are at the same time citizens of a country. We can feel a very strong emotional attachment to our country as such, when we hear the national anthem, watch sports events in which our national team is involved, while we may never have been in some parts of our country, nor appreciate the attitudes of all of our fellow citizens. We are also members of a nation, a language community (e.g. the English). We are citizens of an association of countries like the European Union. We may even consider ourselves inhabitants of our continent or to be global citizens, when we engage ourselves in questions such as climate change, global disparities in development, etc.

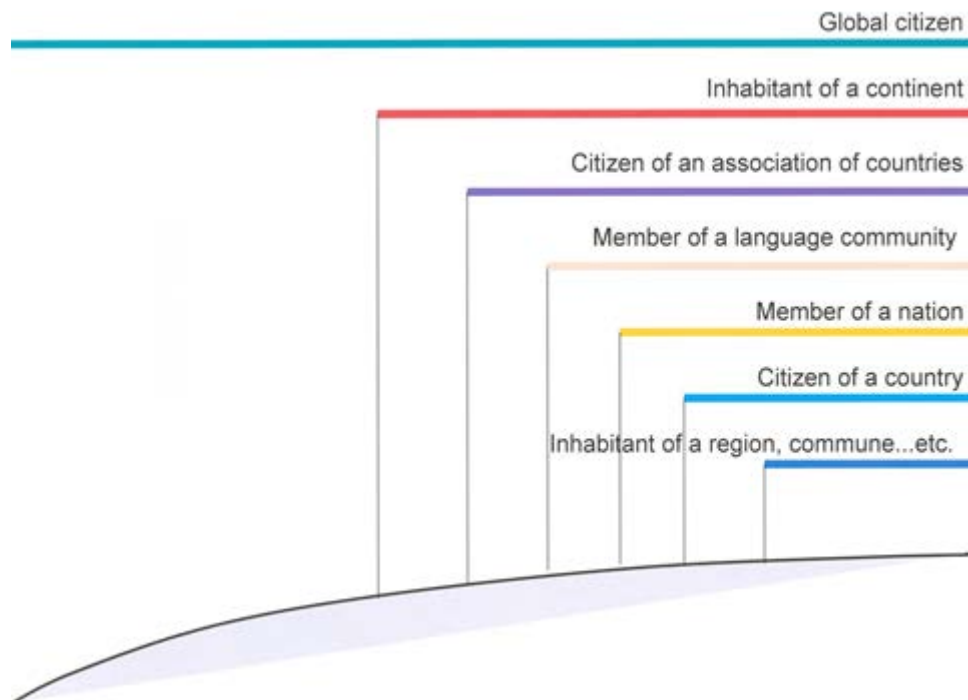


Fig. 6. Our multiple space-related identities

So who is the community in place, when it comes to define, whose name is the endonym and the exonym? According to the subsidiarity principle, it is always the group of people inhabiting a feature or residing closest to a feature. In the case of a family house, this is the owner family. Even if the family has only bought the house recently, it has the endonym for it (see Fig. 7).

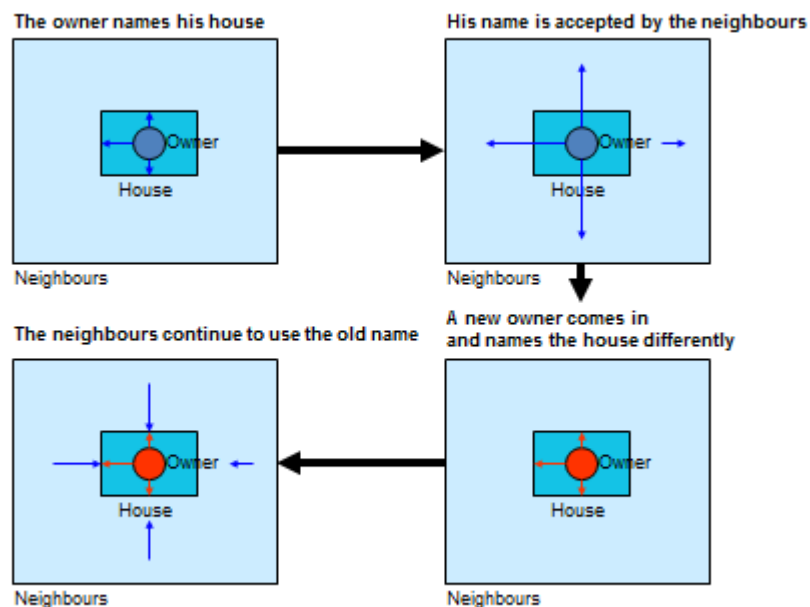


Fig. 7. A new house owner comes in and imports a new endonym

With features inhabited by more than one community, starting with streets and proceeding via villages, towns and cities through regions and states, up to the global level, all communities in place have an endonym for the name of their corresponding reference unit – i.e. the communities residing in a street for the name of this street; the communities residing in a town for the name of this town, and so on.

In these competitive situations the quality of autochthony, of a certain temporal presence, becomes relevant, too. But what is the timespan necessary to qualify a community as autochthonous? Are the names of young immigrant communities endonyms? The usual answer is: they have to be present for at least three generations. Only then has their culture proved to be persistent. And only then they feel the need to assign their own names to features. But the question is delicate and intensively discussed.

(2) How far does the territory of the local community extend?

The answer to this question is easy, when all the territory is inhabited by the community. But the problem is much more complex outside populated territories and even more so with seas. In such cases, it is rather difficult to say where exactly a community's sense of responsibility and emotional attachment ends.

From my experience with the Adriatic Sea, I know that coastal dwellers have a profound emotional relation to their coastal waters in the sense of waters between the islands and in visible distance from the coast, where fisherboats and tourist vessels cruise. They are as much part of their living space as the land is. They are resources of food, areas for transportation.

In Opatija on the Croatian coast, for example, a tradition exists whereby on the Catholic holiday of Corpus Christi, the priest, surrounded by a whole procession of vessels, blesses the sea 'and all that lives in it' from a fishing boat. This documents the emotional relation of the coastal dwelling community with its coastal waters.

The high sea – the sea beyond the horizon from the coast – is another case again. Here it is necessary to differentiate between the cognitive and the emotional level. Emotionally, the high sea is conceived as endless, even a narrow sea like the Adriatic, where the opposite coast can be seen from a mountain top on a clear day. This is expressed by songs for example, which frequently use *sea* as a metaphor for the unlimited, the indefinite, the inconceivable. Endlessness is also expressed using special words for the high sea, e.g. not *more*, but *pućina* in Croatian, which means something like *wilderness, where the winds blow*, etc. I conclude from this attitude that, emotionally, coastal dwellers recognize no opposite coast, no counterpart beyond the horizon; would consequently also not draw a strict line between 'ours' and 'theirs' somewhere out in the sea; would also not feel the necessity to confine the endonym status of their own name to some part of the sea; would possibly extend it to the sea in its entirety (because they feel that this status is not contested by anybody else).

However, I would also guess that the intensity of this feeling fades away more or less as a function of distance, the feeling of being the owner of the sea is relative insofar as it is combined with the other feeling that the sea is endless and inconceivable. (It is in the nature of the endless and the inconceivable that it can never be completely owned, that it is impossible to achieve full command of it.)

At the cognitive level, coastal dwellers are in any case aware that the sea ends somewhere; that there is an opposite coast, inhabited by another community, who have a different name for it. They have learned this in schools, from maps and charts and from the media. Based on this knowledge, they would, however, usually (with the only exception of a politically aggressive and expansive attitude) be ready to acknowledge and accept that their own name loses its endonym status somewhere in between this opposite coast and their own coast; would have no problem with accepting regulations ruling that there is some ‘artificial’ line between where their name has endonym status and where the name of the others is valid as an endonym (see Fig. 8). They will usually – as in many other fields of social interaction – accept that their rights ends where the rights of others begins, if this avoids dispute and conflict.

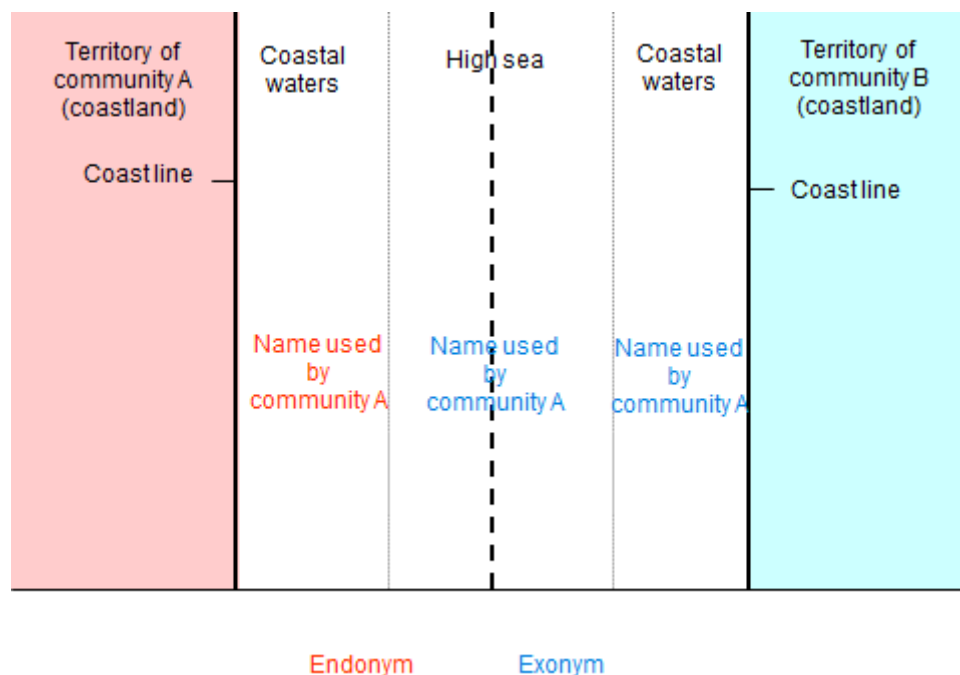


Fig. 8. The endonym/exonym divide on seas (cognitive level)

There are also difficult cases on land, for example, in a country with a dominant community and inhabited, spatially concentrated, by a non-dominant community.

There may be an unpopulated mountain (range) located adjacent to the minority region (Fig. 9). It is not inhabited by the minority group. It is also not administratively incorporated into their territory, and so not officially attributed to them. However, they see it every day; it is perhaps an area of recreation for them; it is perhaps also an economic resource for them; and they have developed emotional ties to it. It is part of their place in the sense of Tuan. All the same is true for the majority community at the other side of the mountain.

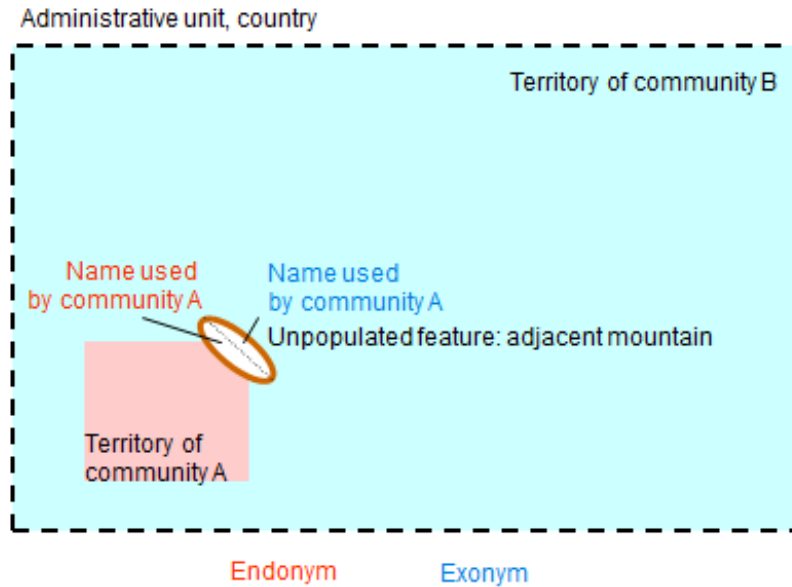


Fig. 9. The endonym/exonym divide with an unpopulated mountain range at the boundary between two communities

It has to be added that mountains and mountain ranges mostly look different from both sides. Inhabitants on one side might not even recognize it from the other side.

This all makes it reasonable to say that the mountain is a divided property between the two communities. The minority can regard it as a part of its own territory only on its own side; the minority's name for it enjoys endonym status only on its own side (but is valid for the whole feature, of course) and becomes an exonym at the other.

An unpopulated mountain (range) outside the minority region, but still in visible distance, is a different case (Fig. 10). The minority community can perhaps see it every day and have an emotional attachment to it, but it does not exploit it economically and – regardless of how strong the relations of the minority community to this feature may be – the other community is closer to the feature and has (very likely) stronger relations to it. This makes it reasonable that the name of the minority community for this feature is only the exonym there.

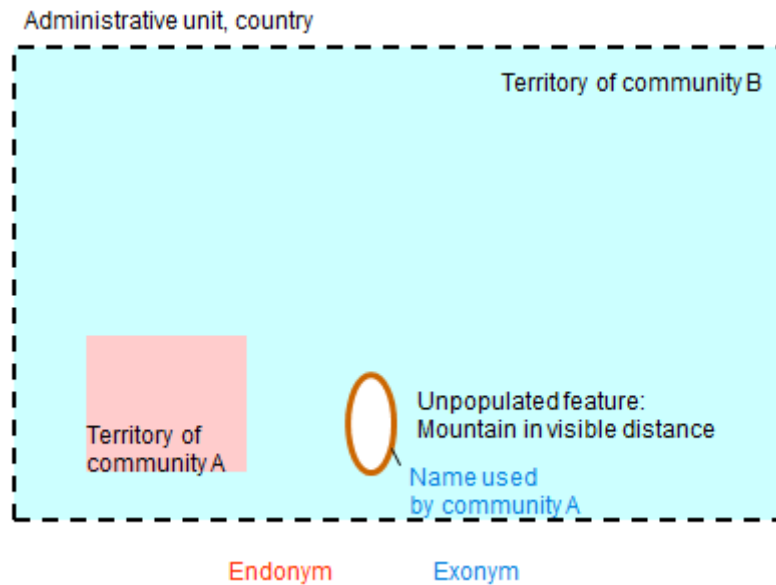


Fig. 10. The endonym/exonym divide with an unpopulated mountain range outside, but in visible distance of a minority community

What is it like, if the feature on the boundary between the two communities is a lake (Fig. 11)? A lake has all the characteristics relevant for the local community as mentioned earlier with the mountain, except that its surface is flat and that it is mostly possible to see the opposite coast. So the lake is much less divisible in ownership and emotional terms than a mountain. Wouldn't it be appropriate to say that it is owned by both communities likewise and the name of both communities for the lake has endonym status at every spot of the lake – even at the opposite bank?

I would answer this question in the negative, since at the opposite bank the other community is nearer to the spot. So in a competitive situation between two claims (as it is) it has the stronger claim to attributing the endonym, the primary name. This is in accordance with many other judicial issues. So an imaginary line has to be drawn on the lake dividing it into the endonym areas of the two groups.

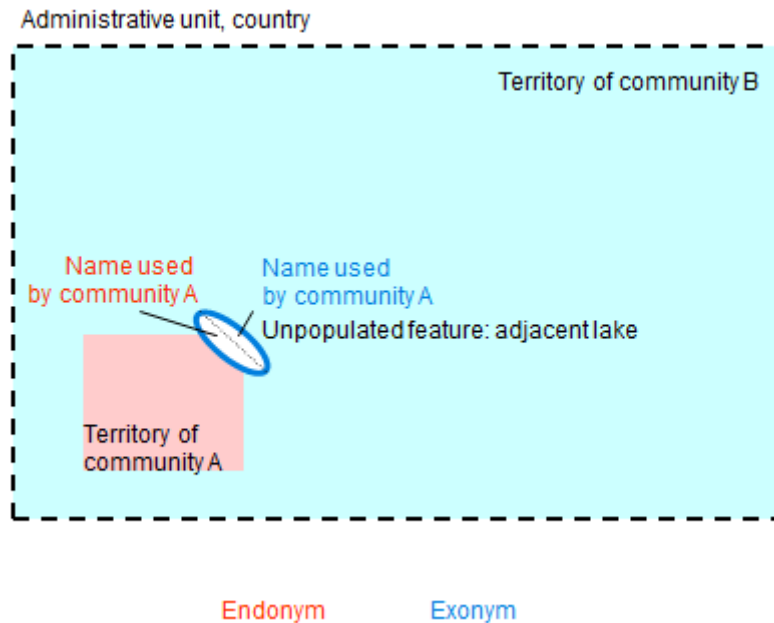


Fig. 11. The endonym/exonym divide with a lake at the boundary between two communities

The last of many other cases that could be mentioned is a capital city geographically far removed from a minority region, but administratively responsible for it (Fig. 12). This establishes a functional relation between the minority and this city, perhaps also an emotional tie: 'This is our capital.', 'The events there affect us too.', 'The landmarks of this city have also a symbolic meaning for us.' Nevertheless, if the minority is not part of the autochthonous population there, the same argument as before applies in this case too: There is another group in place (or closer to this place) and only the name of this other group has endonym status.

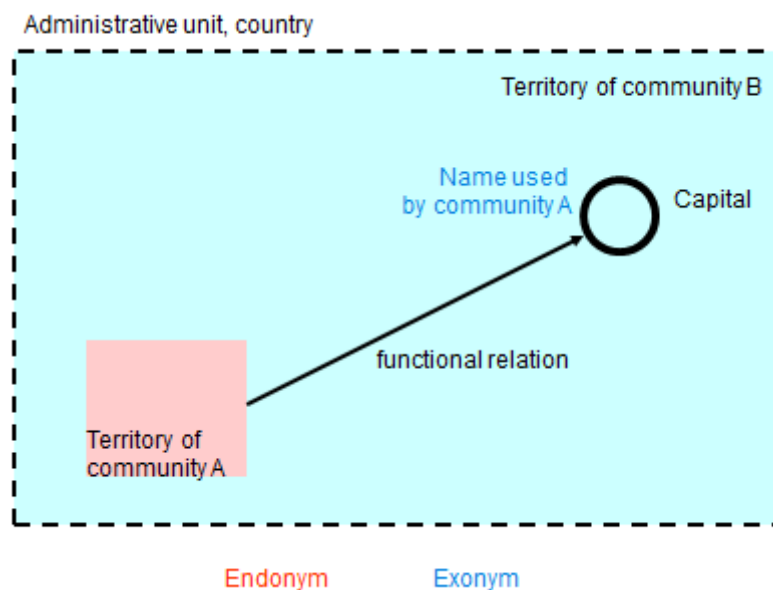


Fig. 12. The endonym/exonym divide related to a capital, to which also a minority community outside the capital has a functional relationship

(3) Can the endonym/exonym divide also occur within a linguistic community?

Let us imagine a situation as it is presented in Fig. 13: Three towns are located in the territory of the same linguistic community. Town A is populated by the community CA, which is the local community of this town. The name used by this community for this town is therefore an endonym. The community of Town B is no longer the local community of Town A, but uses the same name for Town A as the local community. So it uses the endonym. The community inhabiting Town C uses a name for Town A different from the name used by the inhabitants of Town A. So it uses an exonym – even when it is a name in the same language.

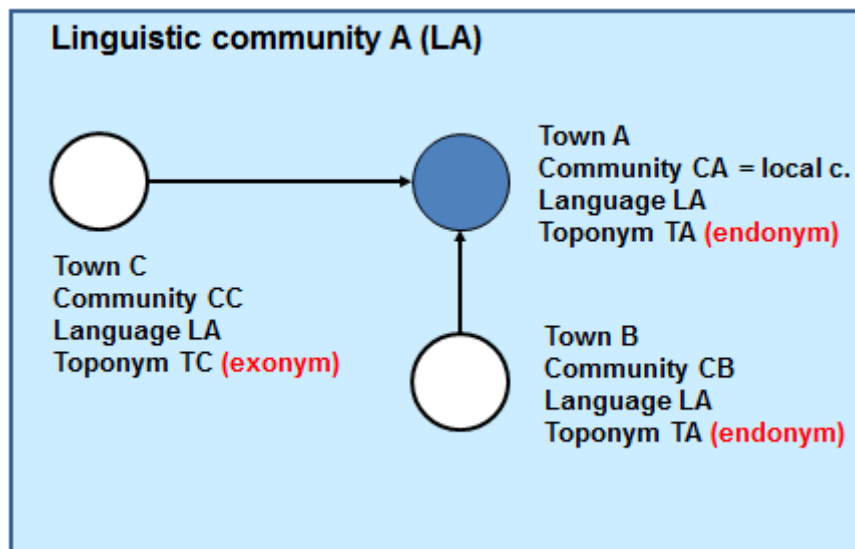


Fig. 13. An endonym/exonym divide inside a linguistic community

This is not an exceptional case: Nicknames or pejorative names (e.g. *Blava* for *Bratislava*) from the outside are quite frequent. But also at the level of standard place names this may occur. German speakers at the lower run of the Romanian river Mureş, for example, call the entire river *Marosch*, while local Germans at the upper run of the same river call it *Mieresch*. Another case in point is the dichotomy between *Derry* and *Londonderry* in Northern Ireland.

(4) Is an official name necessarily an endonym?

For sure, every inhabitant of a village, town or city is at the same time the citizen of a country and a member of a nation. So, what happens, if the official name assigned by the authorities of this country differs from the name used locally? Is the official name in this case an exonym?

A possible answer could be that the official name is also an endonym (in addition to the name in local use), if the official authorities are sufficiently legitimized to assign and use this name and do this in accordance to law. In this case, they act as representatives of all citizens – also of the inhabitants of the place in question.

If, however, these authorities represent an occupation force, the official name has to be regarded as forcefully imposed and as an exonym – as in the case of the Polish city of

Łódź, which was officially named *Litzmannstadt* by the German occupation force during World War II, although this name was never used by the local population – not even by the small German minority, who used *Lodsch*, the phonetic and orthographic adaptation of the Polish name to German.

Another case in point is the new Italian naming in the interwar period in South Tyrol [Südtirol/Alto Adige] with its German population and names, which was conceived by the local community as a kind of cultural aggression.

Conclusion

Place names support space-related identities, contribute in this way to human territoriality, help to distinguish between ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’ and have for this reason always and unavoidably sociological, political and juridical implications.

The endonym/exonym divide has a strong political and sociological significance. The community closer to the feature, owning it or feeling responsible for it, has the right to the primary name, the endonym, and regards it as a part of its culture. Under democratic conditions it will insist on this right and even risk conflict.

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‘Large Rivers Have Older Names’: Quantifying Woolly Toponymic Statements

Jacob King
United Kingdom

Abstract

It has long been observed that there is a correlation between the physical qualities of a place and the linguistic qualities of its name; for instance, water-courses with monosyllabic names (such as The Tay or The Thames) are generally longer than water-courses with polysyllabic names (such as The Grains of Slochd Chaimbeil). This phenomenon, though intuitively understood, has been little researched. Using quantitative research, this paper will propose, within the context of Scottish hydronymy, a methodology and analytical tools for elucidating the relationship between various linguistic qualities of place names and the physical qualities of the places they represent.

It emerges that these analytical tools are of use to the field of toponymy in two ways. Firstly, they formalise and challenge previously unquantified statements made in the field of toponymy, such as that above. Secondly, they elucidate hitherto unnoticed phenomena.

Ballvollen, a Transnational Transfer

Arne Kruse
United Kingdom

Abstract

During the witch-hunt trials in Finnmark, Northern Norway, in the first half of the 17th century several of the accused women agreed, under the threat of torture, that they had met up with the Devil at a place called Ballvollen outside of the town of Vardø. Today, there is no such place name in Vardø and it has probably never existed as a name.

It is argued that Ballvollen is a product of the transnational transfer of ideas that followed the witch-hunt trials in Northern Europe. The specific word is linked to John Cunningham from Scotland who became County Governor of Finnmark.

Ballvollen belongs to a concept that witches gathered in the outskirts of towns, where ballgames and dancing happened, a domain just outside of the direct authority of the church and civil control. In the Scottish proceedings against witches it is referred to as the Ball Lea.

Ballvollen exists as a place name in other places in Norway, and as such it is transparent, meaning 'ball field'. Used by the accused witches, however, it with an appellative function, referring not to a specific location but rather to a concept which has its origin in Scotland.

Proper Names as Signs of Lithuanianness in Canada

Regina Kvašytė

Lithuania

Abstract

In various periods, quite a few Lithuanians settled in Canada (their migration started in ca. 1900). Certain centres appeared; later, communities were established and they arranged events, issued publications and carried out other activities. Wishing to retain identity and enshrine cultural memory, persons who arrived from Lithuania tended to name organisations, publications etc. with the Lithuanian realia. Having analyzed both the manual *Kanados lietuvių organizacijų žinynas* ('A Catalogue of Organisations of Lithuanian Canadians') and some names of public places in Toronto and its surroundings, it can be concluded that usually Lithuanian or Lithuania-related names are given to objects which are significant to residents inside a foreign linguistic environment. In public places, signboards of established Lithuanian organisations are hung; they manifest the allusion to the homeland, e.g. *Lithuanian House* in Toronto. Moreover, single signboards in Lithuanian with one of the components being Lithuanian are noticed (*Vilnius Manor*). Usually, the analogue in English is presented, too (*Labdara. Lithuanian Nursing Home*). Such signs of Lithuanianness encompass the symbolic meaning for the community members and inhabitants of these places. The aim of linguistic research of landscape is to state the perpetuated cultural memory and estimate subjective signs of identity as well as to assess their linguistic diversity.

* * *

Introductory Remarks

The emigration of Lithuanians to Canada began in ca. 1900 and became especially active right after the World War II. Lithuanians, who mostly resided in cities, such as Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Winnipeg etc., formed communities, parishes, established societies and other gatherings, just as other nationalities who settled there densely. On emigration, various activities, events, church services would be performed, commemorations would be arranged, radio programs would be broadcasted (if possible, even TV programs would be broadcasted), publications, such as newspapers, magazines, books, would be issued. In encyclopedic manuals, books, articles prepared and published by Lithuanian Canadians we can find information on how Lithuanians created their lives in a foreign multi-cultural Canada (Gaida *et al.* 1967, Danys 1986). Willing to retain their national identity and perpetuate cultural memory, Lithuanians who arrived in Canada tried to name organizations, publications, celebrations etc. with names of locations, objects, phenomena or national realia that were dear to them. Symbolical names of organizations, also other designations including proper names which are the focus of onomastics research have been recorded in The Lithuanian Canadian Community's encyclopedic edition *Kanados lietuvių organizacijų žinynas* ('A Catalogue of Organisations of Lithuanian Canadians') (KLOŽ 2002), which is the major source for this study. The aim of this study is to find out what proper names are used in

names of organizations of Lithuanian Canadians,¹ and how these signs of Lithuanianness function in public areas. Even though the mother tongue was the newcomers' language of communication, participation in community activities conditioned the need and possibility to use the Lithuanian language not only in the family and among relatives, but also for public purposes. Therefore, certain signs of Lithuanianness are observed in areas of residence, for instance, such signs of enshrining Lithuanian identity have been found in public names in Toronto and its surroundings. This study has been carried out employing analytical descriptive and interpretational methods.

Usage of Proper and Common Names in Designations

Toponyms

Dealing with names of organizations of Lithuanian Canadians, first of all, we focus attention on selection and usage of toponyms. Most often these are place names of the country of origin, i.e. Lithuania, also place names of populated localities or neighbor lands. Several symbolical designations including the name of the country have been found, for example, a newspaper *Nepriklausoma Lietuva* (129)² ('Independent Lithuania'); also, the name of the Lithuanian capital city *Vilnius* has been found in the name of a boarding home for the retired residents in Toronto (*Vilnius Manor*; 210; more on this name can be found in section 'Proper Names in the Linguistic Landscape'); moreover, various settlement names (OT) or object names Names of Lithuania are used: city names *Kretinga* (Youth Camp of the Resurrection Parish; 95), *Šiluva* (*Šiluva St Mary's Parish* in London (173-174) (on the giving of sense to religious symbolism in names see subsection 'Anthroponyms'). Names of major resorts in the motherland are highly popular: folk dance group *Palanga* in Delhi-Tillsonburg (136), a club of hunters and anglers *Nida* in Montreal (130) (also see *Neringa* in subsection 'Anthroponyms'). Names of major Lithuanian rivers³ are included in names of folk dance and song groups (*Nemunas* in Niagara (128) and *Neris* in Windsor (130)), and an oronym *Rambynas* is given to a boarding home of retired Lithuanian residents in Hamilton (147). A name of one of Lithuanian ethnographic regions, *Mažoji Lietuva*⁴ ('Lithuania Minor'), is used in the names of *Mažosios Lietuvos bičiulių draugija* ('Association of Friends of Lithuania Minor') in Montreal (120) and *Mažosios Lietuvos moterų draugija* ('Association of Women of Lithuania Minor') in Toronto (121). In symbolical names, toponyms are usually used in Lithuanian; however, several of them including names in English or Latin have been found: Toronto city park *Park Lithuania* (138) (also see section 'Proper Names in the

¹ When it not necessary to identify the character of an organization, the article uses such a word in its most common meaning.

² The article indicates only pages from the manual, KLOŽ 2002, because all examples are provided from this source.

³ In Lithuanian, such proper names are called by two terms: *upėvardis* ('river name') and *potamonimas* (KTŽ 1990: 221).

⁴ Besides *Mažoji Lietuva* ('Lithuania Minor'), such ethnographic regions as *Aukštaitija*, *Dzūkija*, *Suvalkija* and *Žemaitija* are singled out.

Linguistic Landscape’), a club of hunters and anglers in Welland *Lituanica* (112)⁵. A music and folk dance group in London as well as a camp in Montreal are called by a name *Baltija* (27) which is covering a region broader than Lithuania, the Baltic Sea region. Of course this proper name is used in names formed in English as well, for instance, the *Baltic Business Council* and the *Baltic Veterans League in Canada* (26)⁶ established in Toronto.

Even though the article’s major focus lies on discussion of the signs of Lithuanianness, it should be noted that names of organizations, societies etc. (especially in their direct names) include Canadian place names. Both a name of the country and names of various settlements are used, first of all, as indices of location, for instance, *Kanados lietuvių fondas* (‘The Lithuanian Canadians Foundation’; 79-80), *Kvebeko lietuvių gydytojų sąjunga* (‘Society of Lithuanian Physicians in Quebec’; 95-96), *Londono lietuvių pensininkų klubas* (‘Club of Lithuanian Seniors in London’; 114), *Monrealio lietuvių dramos teatras* (‘Montreal Lithuanian Drama Theatre’; 125), *Vindzoro apylinkės choras* (‘Windsor Neighborhood Choir’; 213) and others. Names of residence locations in Canada are found in symbolical names more rarely, for instance, a newspaper *Kanados lietuvis* (‘A Lithuanian Canadian’; 60) published in 1929-1930 in Toronto.

Anthroponyms

Various proper names – anthroponyms – frequently found in names of organizations of Lithuanian Canadians have been divided into the following three groups: 1) names of saints, 2) names and surnames of real individuals, 3) appellative names.

Names of the first group, i.e. names of saints, are popular with parishes, religious societies and associations. KLOŽ provides six names in total – three of men and three of women; however, some of them have been used several times. The most popular name is the name of the patron saint of Lithuania, *Kazimieras* (Church Lat. *Casimirus* from Slav. *Kazimir* (Pol. *Kazimierz*) – ‘great speaker, famous for speeches’: Old Slav. *kaz-* (Pol. *kazač*) ‘say’ + *meru* ‘famous’ (cf. Goth. *mērs* ‘great’) LVKŽ 1994: 223). The name of this saint was used seven times (associations and parishes of St Casimir in Delhi, Montreal, Windsor, Winnipeg, also, choirs of some parishes bear such name; 180–186). A name of the saint *Jonas* (‘John’) (from Latinized Hebr. *Joannes*, *Johannes* from Hebrew *Jōhānān* – ‘God (Yahweh) has heard’, ‘Yahweh the graceful’ LKVŽ 1994: 208) has been found in three names (*Šv. Jono kapinės* (‘St John’s Cemetery’) in Mississauga, *Šv. Jono Krikštytojo parapija* (‘St John Baptist’s Parish’) and *Šv. Jono Krikštytojo šalpos draugija* (‘St John the Baptist’s Association of Charity’) in Toronto; 176-180; for more on this see section ‘Proper Names in the Linguistic Landscape’). Two times names of associations include the name of a saint woman, *Ona* (‘Ann’) (from Latinized Hebr. *Anna* from Hebr. *Hannā* – ‘attractive, charming’, LVKŽ 1994: 295); saint

⁵ Such choice could have been determined by the flight of outstanding Lithuanian pilots Steponas Darius and Stasys Girėnas across the Atlantic Ocean. In 1933, they flew from the USA to Lithuania on a plane called *Lituanica*.

⁶ These organizations brought together immigrants from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, i.e. all three Baltic States, occupied for the period from 1940 to 1990. Sometimes, ethnonyms *baltai* (‘the Balts’) or *baltiečiai* (‘the Baltic’) are used synonymously: *Baltų federacija Kanadoje* (‘Baltic / Balts’ Federation in Canada’) (28), *Baltiečių moterų taryba* (‘Baltic Women’s Council’) (26). However, it is usual to render linguistic commonality of Lithuanians and Latvians by calling them the Balts, whereas the Baltic States include Estonians, too.

names *Juozapas* ('Joseph') (from Latinized Hebr. *Josephus*, *Joseph* from Hebr. *Jehoasēph*, *Jōsēph* – 'let (God) Jehovah adds (one more son to the recently born one)'; 'Jehovah will add', LVKŽ 1994: 214), *Teresė* ('Theresa') (from Latinized Gr. *Theresia* – 'a Theran woman', 'a female resident of *Thera* (presently Santorini) island', LVKŽ 1994: 347) and *Elžbieta* (variant *Elzbieta* ('Elizabeth')); from Latinized *Elisabeth* which means in Hebr. *Elīšeba* – 'swear by God', LVKŽ 1994: 148) are found as single cases: *Šv. Onos draugija* ('Association of St Ann') in Montreal in two parishes: *Šv. Kazimiero* ('St Casimir's') and *Aušros vartų* ('Gates of Dawn') (188-189), *Šv. Juozapo draugija* ('Association of St Joseph') in Toronto (180), *Šv. Teresės draugija* ('Association of St Theresa') in Montreal (189), *Šv. Elžbietos draugija* ('Association of St Elizabeth') in Montreal (176). It is obvious that Lithuanian Canadians use exclusively Lithuanian forms of saints' names, even though these anthroponyms derive from Hebrew, Greek, or Slavonic languages (usually, forms of Latinized names), and these individuals are famous saints throughout the world. Nevertheless, we should not forget that one of the layers of Lithuanian onomastics deals with Christian names (LVKŽ 1994: 35-41, Zinkevičius 2008: 341-486); therefore, these anthroponyms are widely spread in the Lithuanian language and have many variants, both dialectal and shortened, mostly used in spoken language.

Within the second group, names of historical Lithuanian personalities are to be mentioned in the first place; these two-stem ancient names (LVKŽ 1994: 25-27, Zinkevičius 2008: 67-140) are of Lithuanian origin. As KLOŽ suggests, Lithuanians in emigration select the name *Vytautas* to emphasize their Lithuanianness. He was a grand duke, called *Vytautas Didysis* ('Vytautas the Great'⁷ or, 'Vytautas Magnus'); this personal name is used in the names of two organizations: *Vytauto Didžiojo lietuvių mokykla* ('Vytautas the Great Lithuanian School') in Calgary and *Didžiojo Lietuvos kunigaikščio Vytauto klubas* ('Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas Club', the KLOŽ (the Manual of Organizations of Lithuanian Canadians) lists the latter organization under the name 'The Lithuanian Witold Independent Club', indicating that it existed from 1907 to 1969) in Montreal (223). Names of other dukes are used once each: *Gediminas* (*Didžiojo Lietuvos kunigaikščio Gedimino šaulių kuopa* ('Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas Rifle Company' in Delhi; 171) and *Algirdas* (*Didžiojo Lietuvos kunigaikščio Algirdo šaulių kuopa* ('Lithuanian Grand Duke Algirdas Rifle Company' in Hamilton; 172). One name of a rifle company contained the personal name of a Lithuanian Grand Duke *Mindaugas*⁸; the origin of this two-stem name is Lithuanian as well (LVKŽ 1994: 275). In 1997 this company merged with another under a double name whose second component shows a link with a place in Lithuania – a resort *Neringa*⁹ (*Lietuvos karaliaus Mindaugo-Neringos šaulių kuopa* ('Lithuanian King Mindaugas-Neringa Rifle Company' in Montreal; 172). It is likely that such a choice was determined by the pride in their history; however, it should be noted that all names of dukes are popular in contemporary Lithuanian onomastics, too.

⁷ One of the most famous European politicians and general soldiers (ca. 1350-1430) (VLE XXV, 2014: 310-311).

⁸ Grand Duke of Lithuania, the first and only King of Lithuania (1253-1263) (VLE XV, 2009: 156-157).

⁹ This may also be a name originating from a Lithuanian fairy story (LVKŽ 1994: 285); nevertheless, as it was the name of a marine rifle company, it is more likely that it derives from a toponym (Vanagas 1996: 153-156) (also see subsection 'Toponyms').

To ensure Lithuanianness, personalities familiar to the community, famous names, surnames and pennames of Lithuanians have been chosen in forming names of organizations. For instance, a poet and priest Maironis¹⁰ (*Toronto Maironio lietuviška mokykla* ‘Toronto Maironis Lithuanian School’; 114; *Maironio šaulių kuopa* ‘Maironis’ Rifle Company’ in Sudbury 172), a bishop Motiejus Valančius¹¹ (*Vyskupo Motiejaus Valančiaus lietuviška mokykla* ‘Bishop Motiejus Valančius’ Lithuanian School’ in Hamilton; 220-223), a public activist and writer Vincas Kudirka¹² (*Dr. Vinco Kudirkos šeštadieninė mokykla* ‘Dr Vincas Kudirka’s Saturday School’ in Ottawa; 211).

The third group encompasses appellative names used in names of organizations. It is likely that the motivation for some symbolical names may be linked not to names, but rather to common words of the Lithuanian language that suggest the origin of anthroponyms. Lithuanian onomastics includes a significant number of appellative names because ‘in ancient times the Balts, like other Indo-European nations, may have had a multitude of them: they could be based on common words of various origins, directly or indirectly naming individual features of particular people’ (LVKŽ 1994: 29). For instance, organizations are named with a word *gintaras* four times (a youth ensemble in Montreal, folk dance and music ensembles and a drama club in St Catharines, an ensemble of folk dance and music in Toronto and a folk dance group in Welland; 50-52). The above-mentioned common word means ‘amber’ and it gives origin to a man’s name *Gintaras* (see LVKŽ 1994: 180). Also, four times a common word *aušra* meaning ‘dawn’ was used; it is also a popular woman’s name *Aušra* (LVKŽ 1994: 87). Lithuanian Canadians use this word to name a sports club and a choir in Toronto (18-20), a women’s choir in Montreal (19) and a girls’ choir in Windsor (21). This is also the name of some objects in Lithuania which are significant to Lithuanians, for instance, the first Lithuanian periodical, another famous object in Lithuania – a church *Aušros vartai* (‘Gates of Dawn’) in Vilnius. By the way, the name of this church was given to parishes in Hamilton and Montreal (23-24). Such popularity and semantics of the word (or the name) could have made an impact on the choice of Lithuanian Canadians. Two symbolical names have been found: *Aidas* (a common word means ‘echo’; cf. also man’s name, LVKŽ 1994: 62), is also a name of a girls’ choir and an orchestra in Hamilton (4-5). Some names of the appellative origin for Lithuanians bear an exceptional symbolical meaning. For example, a name that comes from a fairy-tale *Eglė žalčių karalienė* (‘Eglė, the Queen of Grass-Snakes’) (LVKŽ 1994: 88), *Ažuolas* (‘oak tree’) is a name of a club of retired residents in Hamilton (57), and a tree symbolizes strength to Lithuanians. A female name originating from a common word meaning ‘dew’, *Rasa* (LVKŽ 1994: 310) is the name of a quartet of Lithuanian female students in London (149). It should be noted that vocabulary of origin of Lithuanian names reflects a double point of view to some anthroponyms. For example, a club of retired residents in Montreal and a parish choir in Montreal (152) are named *Rūta*, and a woman’s name may originate both from a name of a plant which is common and widely spread in Lithuania, also bearing a symbolical meaning

¹⁰ The real name and surname are Jonas Mačiulis (1862-1932) (VLE XIV, 2008: 50).

¹¹ Also a public activist, writer, enlightener of the nation (1801-1875) (VLE XXIV, 2013: 569).

¹² Also a journalist, critic, musician, physician (1858-1899). One of the most famous activists and ideologists of the national renaissance in the second half of the 19th century, the author of Lithuanian national anthem *Tautiška giesmė* (‘National Hymn’) (VLE XI, 2007: 191-193).

(more extensively on this see Gliwa and Šeškauskaitė 2002), and a borrowing which came via Latin from Hebrew (cf. Lith. *rūta* ‘flower of a garden’; Church Lat. *Ruth* from Hebr. *Rūth* – ‘female friend’, LVKŽ 1994: 318). However, it is likely that Lithuanian Canadians selected this word to form a name referring to its Lithuanian origin because a general tendency of retaining Lithuanianness is maintained.

Names of National Realia

Common words naming national, both cultural and historical, realia were chosen as symbolical names of some organizations; these words raise associations with motherland, reflect its national identity. In linguistic literature, lexis without equivalents (lacunas, according to other researchers¹³) is quite popular with the community of Lithuanian Canadians: *Sutartinė* (‘Lithuanian polyphonic song’ – a song ensemble in Toronto; 169), *Birbynė* (music instrument ‘reed-pipe’ – a youth folk music ensemble in Toronto; 29), *Gyvataras* (a Lithuanian folk dance – a folk dance group in Hamilton; 53-54), *Litas* (a former currency of Lithuania – a credit union in Montreal; 111-112), state coat of arms of Lithuania *Vytis* (sports club in Toronto; 224-226) etc. Lexis naming national phenomena, such as dances, songs, music instruments, was chosen to name organizations enshrining cultural life; whereas organizations related to economic and social life bear names referring to historical realia (more extensively on naming of national realia and their usage see Kvašytė 2012: 109-197).

Proper Names in the Linguistic Landscape

A diverse linguistic landscape is one of the reflections of multi-culturality of a state (Landry and Bourhis 1997; Barni and Guus 2008 etc.) and this also includes proper names. Signboards in foreign languages, including Lithuanian, appearing in the streets, on façades of buildings or near entrances to them, and stands in certain locations of the city all contribute to the enrichment of the linguistic landscape of Canada. It is likely that some of the names discussed earlier, including toponyms or anthroponyms, appear in public spaces where Lithuanian organizations operate. For example, an obvious allusion to motherland is seen in Toronto where one of the city parks is named *Lithuania Park* (Fig. 1).

¹³ It is stated that ‘the term *lacuna* is characteristic to the tradition of Francophone culture (Иванов 2006, 79), and the first to apply this term in linguistics were Canadian scientists Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (Дунь 2007, 135)’ (Kvašytė 2012: 115).



Fig. 1. City Park in Toronto

Such use of proper names has a symbolical and nostalgic meaning in internal communication of communities; however, in the public discourse they obtain a different connotation. No doubt, this is a sign of national identity enabling commemoration of cultural memory; nevertheless, it is informative and recognizable to countrymen only, not the alien foreign-born, as it bears no functional load or it requires certain explanations. It is stated that ‘everywhere there were efforts to remind of the name of Lithuania, which was almost unfamiliar to Canadians. Nevertheless, this is the reason why some protests of representatives of other nationalities who lived at the surroundings of the park occurred; and many officers were visited and persuaded to give this name to the park ... on July 18, 1973 the city council agreed to name a park located near Toronto Lithuanian House, at the intersection of Keele and Glenlake streets, ‘Park Lithuania’ ... on October 27, 1973, witnessed by several hundreds of participating Lithuanians, a new name of the park was officially placed ...’ (KLOŽ 2002: 138-139).

Single signboards in Lithuanian or other signs including a Lithuanian component were noticed in public spaces of Toronto city. Names in Lithuanian or including certain Lithuanian elements occur more frequently in places where Lithuanians settled earlier and more densely. Since there were no opportunities to get acquainted in detail with the life of Lithuanians in Canada,¹⁴ the sample of units of Lithuanian proper names functioning in public areas is not of a larger volume. Nevertheless, the diversity of cases allows us to see how signs of language and culture of the national minority are being constructed and exist in the linguistic landscape of another country.

¹⁴ Fragmentary acquaintance with the life of Lithuanian residents and the role of the Lithuanian language in the linguistic landscape in Toronto proceeded in 2008 thanks to the ICOS congress held at York University.

Names of public places in Lithuanian found in Toronto and its surroundings may be divided into direct names of organizations, symbolical names or combinations of both types. Symbolical names are usually coined using proper names or their compounds, for instance, *Lokys* ('Bear'), *Labdara* ('Charity'), *Parama* ('Support') (also see KLOŽ 2002: 137), *Tėviškės žiburiai* ('The Lights of Homeland') (also see KLOŽ 2002: 196).

When assessing from a linguistic point of view, it is obvious that if a name includes no specific diacritical signs characteristic of the Lithuanian language, visually it is easy for a person who does not know Lithuanian to perceive it. Nevertheless, it is likely that an English-speaking or a French-speaking person would read it in a different way than a Lithuanian individual would do. The meaning of a word will not be clear either. Such symbolical names are not informative; therefore, they require additional clarifications. It was observed that it is not the translations of symbolical names into English, but rather descriptions of the purpose of an organisation located in a particular building that dominate in clarifications of public names: *Parama – Credit Union*. English equivalents of names and their clarifications may be supplemented with new components, for instance, toponyms: *Labdara – Lithuania Nursing Home* (Fig. 2). It is obvious that the use of two languages in parallel helps compensate for information which is not conveyed by the symbolical name.



Fig. 2. Lithuanian nursing home *Labdara* ('Charity')

In one case a name on the signboard has no detailed information either in Lithuanian, or English. This is a Lithuanian homestead *Anapolis* (Fig. 3; see KLOŽ 2002: 6-8).



Fig. 3. Lithuanian homestead *Anapilis* in Mississauga

It would be more exact to deal with the entire complex of institutions dedicated to the needs of Lithuanians residing in Canada: a church, a credit union, an editing office of a newspaper, a museum-archive and a school. There is a cemetery nearby; it is named after St John (see subsection ‘Anthroponyms’). The name *Anapilis* is symbolical to Lithuanians. Even though the word *Anapilis* derives from Scandinavian folklore where it means the place of life after death (a very high, steep hill climbed up by the souls), in the Lithuanian language it spread via T. Narbutas’s book *Lietuvių tautos istorija* (‘History of the Lithuanian Nation’) and creative works of J. Kraševskis. Also, a borrowed idiomatic saying *išeiti (iškeliauti) anapilin* (‘to travel to *anapilis* / to the beyond’) in Lithuanian means is used (Savukynas 2000: 18). It is used as a symbolical name in Lithuania, too. For instance, there are several music clubs which have such a name; however, more often, companies providing mortuary services are entitled with this word. In the case of Lithuanian Canadians,

Anapilis’s roots can be traced back to 1920, when a group of Lithuanian Catholic immigrants, who had formed the St John the Baptist Lithuanian Benefit Society, decided they needed their own parish and community centre. In 1928, a small

Presbyterian church was bought and named after their charitable society, St John the Baptist. In such a way, Lithuanian community bringing together almost 500 people obtained a permanent place for their activities. A mass migration of Lithuanians fleeing Soviet Union oppression followed World War II with thousands coming to Toronto. The existing facilities of St John the Baptist parish, even with the opening of a second Catholic parish in Toronto and the establishment of a Lutheran parish, were insufficient to adequately serve the community. <...> In 1959, in the town Port Credit (presently part of Mississauga city), Father Ažubalis bought a section of an apple orchard and in 1960 developed Lithuanian St John's cemetery with its chapel-to-be. In 1970, more land was acquired which sparked the beginning for building a non-denominational community centre for all Lithuanians. In 1972, the community centre, designed by architect Walter Liacas, was constructed. The complex was given **the name Anapilis meaning 'a city beyond'; a name appropriate for a place that brigdes time and location between the living and the dead** [emphasis added]. In 1974, the original Lithuanian parish with the newspaper's institutions, having the permission of the Archdiocese of Toronto, was relocated from St John the Baptist Church in Toronto to *Anapilis* and renamed in honour of the 'Lithuanian Martyrs'. It was consecrated by this name 1978 and is the first church having such a name in the world! <...> an addition to the centre was built in 1988 to house the Lithuanian Canadian Museum Archives, administrative and cemetery maintenance offices. <...> *Anapilis* runs a book store and a branch of the credit union *Prisikėlimas* <...> (A).

The names of Lithuanian enterprises established in the Lithuanian homestead *Anapilis* (none of them is symbolical, except the newspaper *Tėviškės žiburiai* ('The Lights of Homeland')) include several proper names: names of states *Lietuva* 'Lithuania' (*Lietuvos kankinių šventovė* 'Lithuanian Martyrs' Church') and *Kanada* 'Canada' (*Kanados lietuvių muziejus-archyvas*. 'Lithuanian Museum-Archives of Canada'), and a personal name *Jonas* 'John' (*Šv. Jono lietuvių kapinės* 'St. John's Lithuanian Cemetery'; cf. subsections 'Toponyms' and 'Anthroponyms'). Also, there is *Northridge. Montessori School*, a school named in honour of a psychologist and pedagogue Maria Montessori from Italy, the founder of the eponymous teaching method.¹⁵

Another symbolical name is also Lithuanian, just including a diacritical sign characteristic to the Lithuanian language: *Lietuvių namai* literally means 'Lithuanian House' (Fig. 4). This name is also supplemented with detailed explanation on a signboard which includes an additional index of location – a toponym: *Lithuanian Community Association of Toronto*.

¹⁵ However, it has no relation to the signs of Lithuanianness, therefore this anthroponym is not included into the sample.



Fig. 4. Lietuvių namai ('Lithuanian house')

The only public symbolical name encountered in Toronto, that of a boarding house, includes a Lithuanian toponym *Vilnius* (Fig. 5; see subsection 'Toponyms').

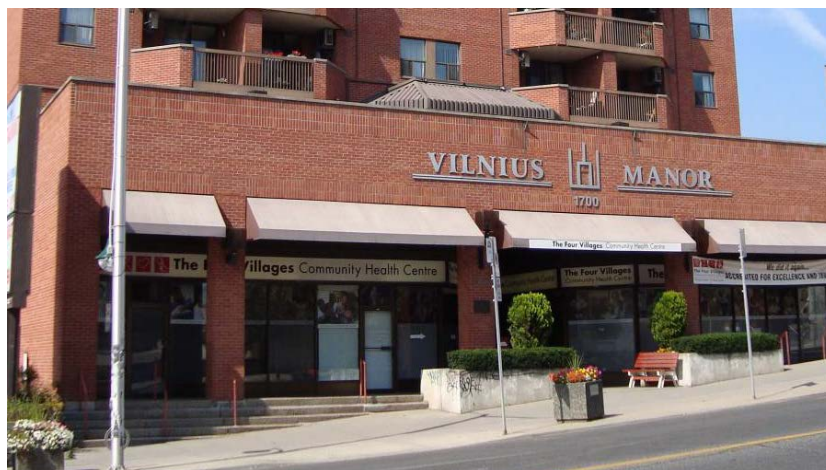


Fig. 5. Toronto Lithuanian Senior Citizens Inc.

A visual hybrid, a combination of Lithuanian and English words, the signboard *Vilnius Manor* (Toronto Lithuanian Senior Citizens Inc.) looks attractive because there are no diacritic characters. Nevertheless, this is a misleading impression because the second letter *i* is not a letter in the Lithuanian language, but actually a grapheme indicating a sign of palatalization. Exactly due to such graphic mismatches, the Lithuanian language is difficult to foreigners; therefore, it is interesting how a foreigner would read such a public name. The already mentioned Canadian toponym *Toronto* (in the Lithuanian language it obtains a flexion *-as* – *Torontas*) has also been found in a non-symbolical name in Lithuanian. Here, in a Lithuanian text, it shows a location: *Toronto Lietuvių Prisikėlimo parapijos bažnyčia* ('Toronto Lithuanians' Church of Resurrection Parish'). In an English analogue the name of the church is reflected only, neither the toponym, nor the ethnonym are left: *Church of Resurrection Parish* (the parish is called *R. C. Parish of Resurrection, Lithuanian Franciscan Fathers* (KLOŽ 2002: 143-145)). Perhaps it was caused by the coincidence of the toponym's

genitive form in Lithuanian and its nominative form in English. However, such choice could be motivated by a wish to attract believers of other nations to this church, too.

Dealing with forms of these proper names, it should be noted that their lettering in Lithuanian and English differs, even though both languages are based on the Latin alphabet. Thus, it is obvious that we approach an endonym which is '[a] proper name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated' (OT) and an exonym which is '[a] name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is widely spoken, and differing in its form from the name used in the area where the geographical feature is situated' (OT) as different shapes of functioning of proper names. For instance, a toponym naming the capital city of Lithuania, *Vilnius*, is to be treated as an endonym because its form coincides in both source (original) and target languages. Other proper names are conveyed through their analogues in the English language, i.e. exonyms: *Lietuva* – *Lithuania* (also, a personal name *Jonas* – *John* is translated), and the primary form of a toponym *Kanada* (Lith.) is English (therefore it is restored to its source language – *Canada*). In such a way it is aimed at partial adjustment of a name to the dominating linguistic environment and one of official languages of the state. True, it should not be forgotten that two official state languages, English and French, function in Canada; therefore, it is obvious that such alteration reflects only one of the languages (cf. equivalents in French *Lituanie*; the state name, *Canada*, is the exception: it coincides in both English and French.).

Closing Remarks

Having analysed both the manual KLOŽ and some public names in Toronto and its surroundings, it can be concluded that usually Lithuanian or Lithuania-related names are given to objects which are significant to residents inside a foreign linguistic environment. Some of Lithuanian proper and common words are used as symbolical titles; others underline links to the motherland in direct names. The majority of them are in Lithuanian; however, several cases of English or Latin variants of the state name have been found. Diversity of proper names in designations is abundant: these are both place names and personal names. Some of them have been used several times.

Parishes, religious societies and associations are named after popular names of saints (especially the patron saint of Lithuania, *Kazimieras* 'Casimir'). These names include Lithuanian forms of names of saints, even though the personal names derive from Hebrew, Greek and Slavonic languages. Names of historical personalities of Lithuania, such as dukes, are popular, too. According to their origin, these are two-stem personal names, one of significant layers of Lithuanian onomastics. Personal names (or common names they derive from) of appellative origin are also frequent in names of organizations of Lithuanian Canadians, even though sometimes it is difficult to establish which – common or proper – name determined a particular choice. Names of national realia (dances, songs, music instruments, etc.) are usually given to organizations of Lithuanian Canadians related to cultural life, whereas names of historical realia (currency, coat of arms) are given to organizations related to economic or public milieu.

The linguistic landscape of Toronto is characteristic of some public names where symbolical names in Lithuanian are supplemented with comments in English, thus compensating the lacking information. They usually define the purpose of an organization.

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Dry Rivers and Secret Rivers as Mappers of Karst Phenomena

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Abstract

Rivers are natural watercourses that, due to the inclined surface of the earth, flow constantly in the channels that they have formed. Some rivers run on the surface, but there are also rivers that flow (partly) underground as if in tunnels. This phenomenon often occurs in karst areas. Due to the variable nature of the flow of karst rivers, they are commonly given distinctive names. In Estonian such rivers have been called Dry Rivers (Est sing nom *Kuivajõgi*), because of the rivers' tendencies to fill their aboveground riverbeds only occasionally, usually leaving the riverbeds dry. Some karst rivers have also been called Secret Rivers (Est sing nom *Salajõgi*) due to their mysteriously disappearing underground streambeds.

In this paper, the Estonian place names *Kuivajõgi* (Dry River) and *Salajõgi* (Secret River) are examined. The development of the names (with the help of historical sources, if possible) and their occurrence today are also introduced. In addition, the names *Kuivajõgi* and *Salajõgi* are indicated on a map in order to make a comparison with a map of Estonian karst areas, thereby showing how nature is reflected in place names.

* * *

Introduction

This paper examines how place names can be reflectors of nature. It could be assumed that karst, as a very clearly circumscribed phenomenon of nature, provides a good opportunity to observe this effect.

Estonian researcher Valdek Pall wrote (1977: 146) that even if some have argued that it would be possible to characterize a certain area's flora based on the names of the plants that appear in the place names, we cannot say that the greater incidence of some plant's name automatically proves that the corresponding plant has a great distribution in the flora of that area, because more common plants might not have been as effective as landmarks as rarer plants (for instance, in Northern Tartumaa, spruce is much more widespread than oak, but in that area, *oak* is much more common attribute than *spruce*). This means that although we can draw some conclusions about the nature of the referent's locality based on the nature-based words that can be found in place names, we cannot equate the incidence of these words with the incidence of the respondent natural objects.

I have chosen karst rivers and their names as possible mappers of the karst phenomena. In Estonia quite a large number of karst rivers can be found in karst areas, according to H. Potter (2008) at least fifty.

About Karst and Karst Rivers

The term *karst* is used internationally. It originates from a limestone plateau in Slovenia on the Balkan Peninsula, where karst phenomena are widespread. The area was locally called *Kras*, but in geological literature, the German adaptation *Karst* was introduced. Karst is a unique type of terrain that has developed due to the permeability and porosity of limestone, dolomite, gypsum, and salt. In Estonia, the very easily soluble salts and gypsum do not exist, but there is a bed of limestone and dolomite that is several hundred meters thick, in which the karst phenomena has spread somewhat steadily. Karst is quite widespread in Estonia, encompassing the entire Northern Estonian limestone plateau (Pirrus 2007: 3).

In the karst terrains, the groundwater and surface water constitute a single dynamic system. Therefore, one of the almost inevitable characteristics of the open streams, creeks and rivers in the karst regions is either a partial water loss along their course or the fact that they completely sink underground (Bonacci *et al.* 2013: 969). Karst rivers are underground rivers associated with karstic properties. A sinking karst river is an open stream flow that disappears underground into the karst, either at a discrete point such as a cave, into many ponors (sinkholes), or gradually along the stretch of a stream channel. It may or may not reappear on the surface (Bonacci and Andrić 2008: 186).

Because of the distinguishing features of karst rivers, they are commonly named in a distinctive way. The karst rivers in Estonia have been called Dry Rivers (Est sing nom *Kuivajõgi*), because of the rivers' tendency to fill the riverbed on the ground only occasionally, usually leaving the riverbeds dry. Some karst rivers have also been named Secret Rivers (Est sing nom *Salajõgi*) due to the streambeds that mysteriously and secretly disappear underground.

An example is **Kuivajõgi** (literally 'Dry River') – the largest tributary of the Pirita River, which flows into Tallinn Bay on the coast of Northern Estonia. In the Kuivajõe karst area, the river disappears into a sinkhole in a 100-metre wide and 4-metre deep karst basin, flows for 2 km underground and reappears above ground through large karst springs 1.5 km before its outflow. In the karst areas, the river flows above ground only during the spring floods.

Kuiv(a)- ('Dry') and *Sala-* ('Secret') Names as Markers of the Karst Phenomena

As mentioned above, the aim of this paper is to examine whether place names with the *Kuiv(a)-* and *Sala-* attributes could mark or map karst areas. To check this possibility, I initially examined the material in the Place Names Archive at the Institute of Estonian Language looking for hydronyms or settlement names based on hydronyms with the attributes *Kuiv(a)-* or *Sala-*. It also had to be considered that the stems *Kuiv* and *Sala* could have been extant quite differently in place names – the reason being that compound names have often undergone a strong irregular shortening, distinctive to old place names, that occurs more frequently than in the general vocabulary (Pall 1977: 40-41, Laansalu 2012: 174-175). The shortening of the last component of a compound name takes place most often in

secondary place names, because the name part loses its semantic load (the proper name is no longer related to a certain common noun). This means that irregular shortening is more likely to take place in secondary names (Laansalu 2014: 129-130). To illustrate, here are two examples of ancient village names (EKNR).

Kuie village in Tamsalu rural municipality, Järva-Jaani parish. The oldest records of the name:

1448 *Kuywejock*,
1525 *Kuyeck*,
1732 *Kuie*.

It appears that the name of Kuie village originated from the river name *Kuivajõgi*. When the name becomes secondary, i.e. the name starts to denote the settlement, the case also changes: *jõgi* (Est nom ‘river’) > *jõe* (Est gen ‘river’). During the use, the name has shortened even more and *Kuivajõe* has become *Kuie*. Hence the name-chain: *Kuivajõgi* > *Kuivajõe* (secondary) > *Kuie*.

Salajõe village in Lääne-Nigula rural municipality, Lääne-Nigula parish. The oldest records:

1397 *Tzalleyeke*,
1507 *Salleick*,
1689 *Sallajeggi Byy*.

This name has also become secondary, the form *Salajõgi* became *Salajõe*, so the name-chain is: *Salajõgi* > *Salajõe* (secondary).

Although both names are very old, one has become shorter over time (the irregular shortening of place names), and the other has not. There is no regularity – which is typical of this phenomenon.

Here are some examples of hydronyms or settlement names based on hydronyms with attribute *Kuiv(a)-* or *Sala-* that occurred:

- **Kuiv jõgi** (river) / **Kuivjõgi** (river) – *kuiv* (Est nom ‘dry’) + *jõgi* (Est nom ‘river’)
- **Kuiva jõgi** (river) / **Kuivajõgi** (river) – *kuiva* (Est gen ‘dry’) + *jõgi* (Est nom ‘river’)
- **Kuivajõe** (farm; village) – *kuiva* (Est gen ‘dry’) + *jõe* (Est gen ‘river’)
- **Kuijõe** (village) – *Kui-* < *kuiva* (Est gen ‘dry’) + *jõe* (Est gen ‘river’)
- **Kuie** (farm; village) – *Kui-* < *kuiva* (Est gen ‘dry’) + *-e* < *jõe* (Est gen ‘river’)

- **Kuivoja** (farm) – *kuiv* (Est nom ‘dry’) + *oja* (Est nom/gen ‘creek’)
- **Kuja** (farm) – *Ku-* < *kuiva* (Est gen ‘dry’) + *oja* (Est nom/gen ‘river’)

- **Salajõe** (village) – *sala* (Est nom/gen ‘secret’) + *jõe* (Est gen ‘river’)
- **Salaoja** (creek) – *sala* (Est nom/gen ‘secret’) + *oja* (Est nom/gen ‘creek’)

The word *kuiv*, genitive *kuiva* ‘dry’, appeared repeatedly in Estonian hydronyms.¹ The word *sala* ‘secret’ appeared as an attributive about four times less frequently.

After searching all the *Kuiv(a)*- and *Sala*-hydronyms or settlement names based on hydronyms, I composed a base map with the borders of the Estonian parishes (Fig. 1). The area that is marked in blue is the Northern Estonian karst area, the green marks the karst-free area and the beige area is the Southeast Estonian karst region. Red dots mark the parishes, where corresponding names were found.

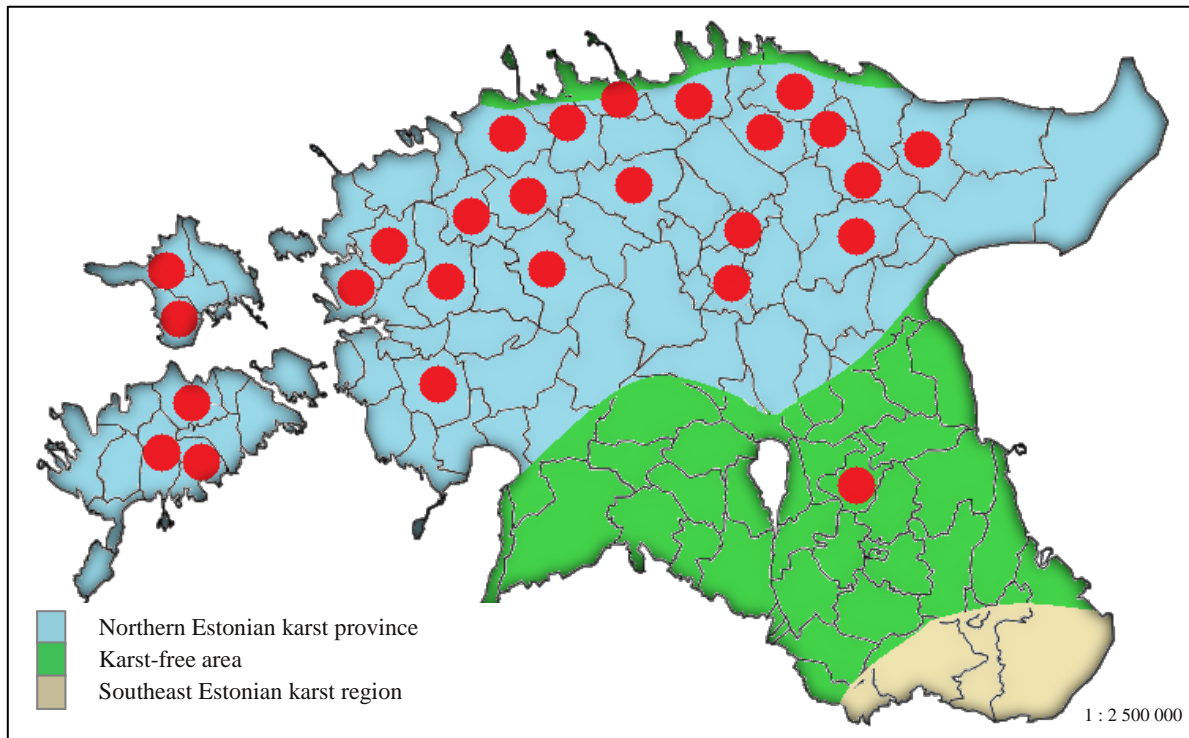


Fig. 1. *Kuiv(a)*- ‘Dry’ and *Sala*- ‘Secret’ in Estonian hydronyms or secondary settlement names (red dots mark the parishes, where corresponding names were found)

It appears that the *Kuiv(a)*- and *Sala*-names that are characteristic to karst objects, occur mainly in the karst areas. The map demonstrates the phenomenon of how nature can be very clearly reflected in place names.

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¹ Besides Estonia, the other two Baltic countries, Latvia and Lithuania, also have karst areas that have developed in both carbonate and gypsiferous rocks (Paukstys and Narbutas 1996: 279). Could some Latvian river name that includes a *kūja*-stem be derived from the Livonian (closely related to Estonian) word *kūja* ‘dry’? Other names with Balto-Finnic substrates can also be found in Northern Latvia (e.g. *Rūjiena* < *ruhi* ‘trough; dugout’).

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