Place-name Research in Scandinavia 1960-1982, With a Select Bibliography

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In the present survey the term *Scandinavia* is used in its broadest sense to include not only the two countries of the Scandinavian peninsula, Norway and Sweden, together with Denmark, but also Finland, which is closely linked to Scandinavia geographically and geologically, Iceland and the Faroe Islands, where the languages spoken are Scandinavian, and Greenland, which was until recently an integral part of the Danish kingdom.

Most of the works listed in the bibliography are written in one of the Scandinavian languages. A translation of each title into English or occasionally German or French has been appended within square brackets. Indication has also been given if the individual works are accompanied by a summary in one of the major languages. The date-limit of 1960 has not been adhered to strictly and no date-limit has been imposed at all for regional editions of place-names, since these are an essential tool for research and the old editions will remain valuable until they have been superseded by new ones. Sections B and C of the bibliography have been arranged by country for ease of reference. Specialized works are listed alphabetically by author in Section D. It has been impossible for me to discuss individually all the books and papers listed. I have concentrated upon the themes which are of greatest interest to an international audience and upon the books and articles which have seemed to me to have made significant contributions to knowledge within these particular fields.

1

The concept of the place-name, analysis and classification

There does not seem to be any consensus in Scandinavia as to the most satisfactory way of defining the term *place-name*. While no one would disagree with the very general definition employed by Kurt Zilliacus in 1966 (8, p. 42), "In order to be a place-name a term must denote a place and be a name," more explicit definitions have all given rise to heated

discussion. Grammatically the proper name has been defined by its inability to be given a definite inflection (47, 1, p. 9). In this connection it has been shown that in place-names such as the Danish Skagen, which might superficially appear to contain the enclitic definite article *-en*, this ending cannot, in fact, be a determinative flexive (111). Gordon Albøge has argued that place-names cannot be defined satisfactorily with the aid of grammatical or syntactical criteria, since they can be such dissimilar structures as a single word, a compound, a free syntagm, a prepositional phrase or a verbal phrase (110), to which Bengt Pamp has objected that place-names are always by their very nature definite nominal phrases (328). Turning from grammatical criteria to semantic ones, the most satisfactory semantic definition of the place-name would seem to be based on the fact that it is mono-referential. The place-name denotes one and only one locality not only in linguistic performance (*la parole*) but also in competence (*la langue*) (47; 379). When the place-name *Lyngby*, for example, can be used of more than one locality, this is because there is more than one name *Lyngby*. Taking as starting-point Ogden and Richards' triangle of reference,[1] Albøge has defined a place-name as a linguistic sign in which a single expression (symbol) is endowed with two elements of content and consequently refers to both a reference and a referent (110, pp. 140–42). The referent, the "onomastic meaning," the locality denoted, for example the Danish settlement Ulvemose, is called by Albøge the external referent, while the reference, the "lexical meaning," *ulvemosen* "the wolf bog," is called the internal referent.[2] The internal referent is naturally only accessible in names that are etymologically transparent.

The question as to whether or not a name can be interpreted is also of vital significance for the various methods that have been proposed for the classification or analysis of a body of names. Bengt Pamp analyzed a group of Swedish settlement names according to both formal and semantic criteria (324). Formal criteria were used for the principal divisions (names in stem form, names in the genitive, etc.) and for the primary subdivisions (uncompounded formations, syntagms, compounds, derivatives), while semantic criteria were used in the subsequent breakdown of the material. The impracticability of this method of analysis is shown by the fact that although Pamp was only classifying 473 names, he had to operate with no less than 93 groups and subgroups. In his analysis of Swedish names in Finland, Kurt Zilliacus abandoned formal criteria for the principal divisions and replaced them by syntactical and semantic ones, dividing the material into groups consisting of names of one, two or (rarely) three segments (*led*) (8, p. 60). *Grundet* is an instance of a one-

segment name. *Grundet* | *i fjärden* and *Björk* | *grundet* are two-segment names, while *Hamnholms* | *norra* | *udden* is a three-segment name. The three main subdivisions are made according to the semantic connotation of the specifying segments. These may describe (1) a relationship to something or someone outside the locality (e.g., a relative or absolute location, direction, ownership, origin, incident), (2) some quality of the locality (e.g., size, shape, color, vegetation), or (3) the function of the locality. Within these semantic sub-divisions, the segments are classified according to formal criteria (appellative, adjective, prepositional phrase, etc.). Most of the material with which Zilliacus was working was lexically transparent, and the names which could not be interpreted were left out of account. The practical problems involved in this method of analysis have been discussed by Allan Rostvik (340).

In a recent study of the structure of Finnish place-names, Eero Kiviniemi has examined names of one element to see whether they have always had only one element or whether they are the result of ellipsis or reduction (258). He has also discussed the differences between names of one element and names of two elements in syntactical analysis.

The linear method of syntactical analysis of the structure of place-names proposed by Lis Weise and John Kousgård Sørensen is claimed to be universally applicable (403). It is based on a division into fields in which each field is defined according to its relationship to the other fields. In each name there is a central field, consisting of CA the central primary field and CB the central determinative field. The remaining fields are the preceding and following peripheral fields (FP and EP), which are subordinate to C, and the final field (F), which is "loosely connected" with the C-field, e.g. FP *Vestre* | CB *Sand* | CA *bæk* | EP *lille* |F *Mark*. This linear analysis has proved its value to me in a study of Middle English field-names (171). The aim of this study was to determine the degree of Scandinavian influence on the field-names of the Danelaw. Over a quarter of the Scandinavian words contained in the field-names in question proved to belong to the final field, which merely showed that these words, several of which were terms for fields or divisions of fields, were Scandinavian loan-words which formed part of the local English agricultural vocabulary in the 14th century. It was only those names whose central fields were Scandinavian that might conceivably have been coined by Scandinavian-speakers in the Viking period. For this particular study, then, the isolation of the elements in the final field proved useful but that it can sometimes be inexpedient to consign elements to the final field has been demonstrated by Bent Jørgensen (244).

Weise-Kousgård had argued that whereas a change in the CA or CB

field would produce a new name, a change in the other fields would merely produce a variant of the same name. If Danish street-names are analyzed according to the Weise-Kousgård schema, however, then a street-name such as *Gammel Holte Vej* will emerge as a variant of the settlement name *Gammel Holte.* This is obviously erroneous and Jørgensen therefore advocates a four-field analysis for street-names, consisting of the CA and CB fields and the preceding and following peripheral fields. In the case of *Gammel Holte Vej,* the settlement name Gammel Holte is placed in the CB field and the generic *Vej* in the CA field. In practice, Bent Jørgensen's objection also applies to the five-field linear analysis of field-names. *Watergatewong* may be a variant of the name *Watergate* but, on the other hand, it may be a different name altogether. Everything depends on the external referents of the two recorded forms. For names only recorded in old sources, however, the external referents can rarely be determined. Another problem is presented by the employment of Weise-Kousgård's linear analysis on names which defy interpretation. Albøge has drawn attention to the name *Harte,* for example, which can hardly be placed in the CA field as it stands simply because it denotes a locality (110, p. 159). The name may have originated as a compound. Another problem of analysis noted by Albøge is presented by names whose forms have been extended by the addition of a new peripheral element at a period when the original form of the name had already become lexically opaque, e.g., the addition of the distinguishing color adjectives *Rød-* and *Hvid-* in the 16th century to two names **Ovre,* which had originated as **ā-warth.* It is also difficult to see how imperatival place-names such as *Bi-lidt* can be fitted into the field-diagram satisfactorily, and no allowance seems to have been made for the analysis of names such as *Klinting,* which are formed with derivative suffixes.

Some of the problems presented by the linear analysis are avoided in Bengt Pamp's tentative proposal for a generative analysis of Swedish place-names. This is because Pamp takes as his starting point the name as it was at the moment of coining (325; 327). He assumes that compound place-names, the commonest type, exist as sentences in the deep structure, where they are combined with a marking [Name] that eventually leads to the transformation of the sentence into a place-name. He presents a list of rules for generating place-names, demonstrates some possible place-name trees and proposes some rules for ensuring that the resulting place-names are grammatically correct. This method of analysis is not without its problems, either, and some of these have been pointed out by Albøge (110). Since Pamp's method treats all place-names as hypotagms, in most cases compounds, he has to treat simplex names as generics

lacking a specific and imperatival names as place-names with a deleted generic, while derivative suffixes have to be treated as generics. Albøge suggests that Pamp's first rule for place-names, "a place-name is transformed into an optional determinative flexive + an optional specific + an obligatory generic" could instead read "transform the place-name into a simplex, compound, derived simplex, free hypotagm, verbal phrase (nexus) or prepositional phrase." Pamp, however, is reluctant to accept this alteration because he considers that all place-names are nominal phrases (328). He justifies this view by demonstrating that place-names can occupy all the grammatical positions which can be occupied by nominal phrases, e.g., as subject, object, genitive attribute, governed by a preposition. Arguing that names should be considered as an autonomous semantic category rather than as the result of transformation from non-names and noting that it is rarely possible to reconstruct the context in which a name has been coined, Albøge advises against attempting to include deep structural viewpoints in a generative analysis (110, pp. 171–72), but he nevertheless agrees with Pamp that the method of generative grammar can be useful for analyzing the surface structure of place-names.

An interesting attempt to establish a linguistic classification of the place-names in an area colonized by Scandinavians, Celtic-speaking Scotland, has been made by Magne Oftedal (315). The first criterion for division is the synchronic one of transparency. Transparent names are those whose lexical meaning is clear to a modern Gaelic-speaker, and they are mostly of purely Gaelic formation. Some contain Scandinavian loan-words, but these are not proof of Norse occupation of the place to which the name applies. Only Norse names that were used as place-names by the Norse point unequivocally to Norse colonization and all these names are opaque to the modern Gaelic-speaker, although a diachronic study can explain the lexical meaning of most of them. As with other methods of analysis, Oftedal's method can only be used on names whose internal referents can be identified.

One type of place-name for which the syntactical method of analysis is particularly suitable is that in which a distinguishing adjective has been appended to the original name. This adjective can stand either in front of the names as in *Store Magleby* (Great M.) or after the name as in *Maglebylille* (M. Little). Lis Weise has studied the post-positive adjective in Danish field-names and settlement names (400; 401). This onomastic construction is now characteristic of eastern Denmark, but it was much commoner and more widespread in the medieval period than it is today and Weise has studied the change to pre-position which began earlier in Jutland than elsewhere in Denmark. Since the Faroe Islands are the area of

Scandinavia which had the most place-names with postpositive adjec-
tives, Weise had made a thorough diachronic examination of the Faroese
material, with a view to studying the individual stages in the development
from post- to pre-position, and this has led her to make some suggestions
as to the development of the element of "definiteness" in place-names
and to the employment of the prefixed definite article in Jutland. Christian
Matras has noted that some at least of the Faroese nature names of the type
appellative (with definite article) + (weak) adjective, e.g., *Fjallith
mikla,* must have arisen in the Viking period and he has drawn attention to
a number of parallel formations in the Orkneys and Shetlands (298).

   An exhaustive study of the preceding and following peripheral ele-
ments, including pre-positive and post-positive adjectives, in Danish
settlement names has been made by Bent Jørgensen (247). Jørgensen
argues that the function of these elements is almost always to distinguish
one settlement from another and hardly ever simply to describe the
settlement. This means that a study of the so-called reciprocating ele-
ments can provide information about the development of the settlement
pattern. Jørgensen distinguishes between four types of reciprocation: type
A is the result of subdivision of a single unit of settlement, type B includes
other cases where adjacent vills share the same name, while type C
includes vills with identical names that are not adjacent and type D is the
result of memorial naming, e.g., Jersey/New Jersey. A brief survey by
Tom Schmidt of reciprocating elements in Norwegian names has revealed
that in the 17th and 18th centuries most farms had a name with a recipro-
cating element, presumably because the division of farms into indepen-
dent units began to be a common occurrence from the beginning of the
17th century (355). The comparatively rare instances of the superlative
form in place-names have also been discussed. In Norway the use of the
superlative in reciprocating elements would seem to be a comparatively
young phenomenon, resulting from the division of farms (355), while in
Denmark the superlative adjective or adverb is found as specific in a
number of old compound settlement names (245).

   One of the reasons for increased interest in the analysis of place-names
in recent years is the desire to exploit automatic data-processing (ADP) in
the study of place-names. At a symposium held in Copenhagen in 1973
reports were presented on projects either planned or in progress in the
various Scandinavian countries (131; 270). Of these projects it was the
survey of names in the South Finnish archipelago that was then furthest
advanced (412). This project was based on a large body of easily interpre-
table material, and its main aim was to stabilize the categorization of the
names. Since then, progress has been made at several research centers but

comparatively little information about the projects is as yet available in print. A report of progress made in the Finnish project has been provided by Eeo Kiviniemi (58), while the Danish project has recently been described in some detail by Birte Hjorth Pedersen and Lis Weise (221). The analysis of the Danish names has been successfully based on the Weise-Kousgård linear syntactical system. Hitherto the material analyzed has all been etymologically transparent, but the program employed is to be adapted to the processing of uninterpreted material as well.

2

The expression of the place-names

Many studies have been concerned with just one formal category of place-name, for example compounds, simplex names, derivative names. Most place-names are compounds, and these have been the subject of several studies with varying aims. Bent Jørgensen has drawn attention to the fact that the development of old compound place-names in Danish has generally differed from that of compound appellatives (249). He considers that the mere fact of being a proper name changes the status of place-names in the language in respect both to their content and to their expression. Compound place-names in relation to compound appellatives have also been discussed by Gordon Albøge (112). He has studied the semantic relationships between the elements in compound place-names, with a view to seeing whether these could throw light on the semantic relationships to be found in appellatival compounds. The number of possible relationships between the elements in place-names is much more limited than is the case with appellatival compounds, since the final element in place-names, the generic, is almost always either a topographical or a habitative element and the relationship to the specific can normally be expressed by means of one of the prepositions *with, in, on, by, from* or by a genitive morpheme. Compound place-names based on adverbials, e.g., the Norwegian *Djupvika*, have been studied by Alv G. Nordal Muri (300). He argues that a name such as *Djupvika* need not necessarily always be interpreted as ''the deep inlet'' as opposed to a shallow inlet, an interpretation which is not always appropriate. The correct meaning may in some cases be ''in the deep part of the inlet.''

There has been a good deal of discussion of the morphology of the specifics of compound names. Ola Stemshaug has recently argued that tribal names can be compounded in stem-form in the names of lands or provinces, e.g., *Danmark, Trondheim,* and that names containing tribal names in stem-form are likely to be older than those in which the tribal

name stands in the genitive case, e.g., *Raumaríki* (367a). Bent Sønder-
gaard has argued that in several of the old Danish place-names in *-lev*
which have personal names as specifics, the personal names are in stem-
form, perhaps because the relationship between the two elements in this
type of name is not necessarily possessive (378). Thorsten Andersson, on
the other hand, has argued that personal names and names of gods as
specifics are in the genitive in all names in which the case can be
determined with certainty (124). Observation of numerous instances in
English place-names in which a genitival morpheme has disappeared
from, or been added to, a place-name between the earliest record of the
name in the 8th, 9th or 10th centuries and the recording of the name in
Domesday Book in 1086 should prompt to caution when assessing the
significance of the presence or absence of genitival inflections in Scandi-
navian place-names, most of which are not first recorded until much later
than the English place-names.[3]

Svavar Sigmundsson has drawn attention to the fact that variation
between the oblique form and the nominative form of adverbial specifics
is recorded very early in Icelandic place-names (73). The occurrence of
Djúpafjörthur in a list of names from about 1300 rather than the formally
correct *Djúpifjörthur* shows that the fact that place-names rarely stood in
the nominative case had already resulted in a kind of "onomastic"
inflection of the specific of compound names.

There has been some discussion about the question of ellipsis of ele-
ments in place-names. In a study of Swedish names, Bror Lindén distin-
guishes between first-element ellipsis, which is very rare, e.g., *Rausn* for
Byönnerausen, intermediate ellipsis or "reduction," which is common,
e.g., *Vådån* for *Vådsjöån,* and final element ellipsis, which is the largest
category, e.g., *Balk* for *Balkbodarna* (282). Lindén also points out that
the borderline between the elliptic formation of names and the new
coining of simplex names is not always easy to draw. One type of
Icelandic place-name which has earlier been thought to result from ellipsis
is that in which a personal name such as *Geirólfur* or *Lothmundur* stands
alone as a place-name. This type of name has been discussed at length by
Helgi Thorláksson (381). He notes that such names were coined as early
as the 10th century, although it was not until the 19th and 20th centuries
that they became particularly common, and he argues that the names have
retained their original form and are not the result of ellipsis.

Derivative names, that is names formed by the addition of a derivative
suffix to a root-form, are among the oldest place-names in Scandinavia,
and they are particularly common as the names of such significant topo-
graphical features as rivers and islands. The Danish island-names have

been treated by Kristian Hald (194), while Per Hovda has pointed to parallelism and occasional complete identity between river-names and island-names in Norway (234). Mattias Tveitane has also discussed Norwegian river-names, including names of the type *Dufa* and *Hauka* (390; 391). These he considers need not be directly related to the bird-names "dove" and "hawk" but simply be derived from the same root as the bird-names. One particular place-name suffix, *-str-*, is the subject of a study by Th. Andersson (120). He notes that this suffix is found in a number of river- and island-names throughout the Germanic area and that it was no longer productive in the period after Norwegian, Swedish and Danish had become independent languages. He argues that the suffix, which is used in the Germanic languages to form nouns, adjectives, and verbal abstracts, denotes connection.

Prepositional phrases as place-names, e.g. *Millum Fjartha*, are particularly common in the Faroe Islands. Since they are also well evidenced in the Shetland Islands, Christian Matras has suggested that there may be a connection between this naming-habit and the similar type of name that is familiar from Gaelic-speaking areas (298). An example is the name *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* "between two fords" (315). An interesting feature about some of the prepositional names in the Faroes is that the employment of a particular adverb of direction before the name is obligatory, for example *Uppi á Brekkum* (338).

A type of name that is common in Finnish-speaking Finland is the participial name. Eero Kiviniemi has examined 1,823 such names, involving 367 different participles (256). He notes that some of the participial names are of common occurrence, for only 10% of the participles involved account for no less than two-thirds of all the names. In connection with the participial names, Kiviniemi emphasizes the role played by analogy in the naming of places (257).

The final type of name to be discussed in this section is the imperatival place-name, e.g., *Bi lidt* "Wait a while," cf. English surnames such as *Shakespeare, Golightly*. A detailed examination has been made by Inge Wohlert of the imperatival place-names in Denmark (407). These can be shown to be of fairly late origin, none being older than from the 16th century, and Wohlert suggests that the name-type was introduced into Denmark from Germany in the late medieval period.

There has been a good deal of discussion as to the significance of the plural form in Scandinavian place-names and the reasons behind the changes in gender which are apparently exhibited by some of these names. As early as 1942 Kristian Hald had discussed the Danish place-names in the dative plural in *-um*, e.g. *Bjerrum*.[4] He considered that the

Danish names in -*um* had originated as field- or nature names and that they had later been adopted as settlement names. The generics in the names frequently denoted small localities which might easily have come to be referred to in the plural form. The plural names achieved new actuality when Lars Hellberg published a monograph devoted to them in 1960 (208). Hellberg agreed with Hald that the plural settlement names had developed from field-names but he assumed that the plural form referred not to the feature denoted by the generic but to the fields themselves and that it indicated an increase in the number either of units of land under cultivation or of owners. The fact that several of the plural names are inflected according to the feminine gender even when the natural gender of the generic is masculine or neuter is explained by Hellberg as a reflection of the concept of ''cultivated earth'' which is inherent in the names and whose normal expression is a feminine noun, Primitive Scandinavian *erthu-*. Bror Lindén would actually treat the plural names as a kind of elliptical structure from which an element denoting ''fields'' or the like had been lost (282). Gösta Franzén criticised Hellberg's view that the place-names in -*sta* (-*stathir*) were originally field-names, declined as feminines (183). He notes that the *stathir*-names in Iceland are regularly declined as masculines and that the few exceptions reflect a development to singular form in the 14th century. The assumption of neuter gender may reflect the influence of the term *bol* n., which was the unit employed in the valuation of land at that time. Ingemar Olsson was unwilling to accept Hellberg's explanation of the origin of the plural names, since many of the names concerned can be shown not to have been coined as field-names (319). Börje Tjäder argued that the feminine declension of the plural names is a secondary one (387). He considers that the names originally followed the normal declensions of their generics and that the apparent variations between the declensions of the names in different regions of Scandinavia reflect dialectal differences between areas in which the final -*R* of the nominative plural survived and areas where this -*R* was first lost but then restored in appellatival inflections but not in that of place-names.

The transition of place-names from one paradigm to another is linked by Gun Widmark with their change from appellatival description to label (405). Assar Janzén claimed that the plural settlement names referred to two or more farms bearing the same name, instancing a group of names which take the form of a river-name or a generic denoting a river in the plural and which probably refer to settlements on either side of the river (241). Birgit Falck-Kjällquist has examined a body of field-names whose generic is in the plural to see whether the plural could be shown to refer to the appellatival content of the name or whether the plural ending had

arisen after the name had been adopted as a field-name and referred to a division of an area into more than one cultivation unit (167). In most cases no definite decision could be reached but there are one or two instances, e.g., *Fjällarna*, in which there has been a change of gender from the one normal for the appellative (here from neuter to masculine or feminine), a change which Falck-Kjällquist would associate with the cultivation of the area concerned. In Iceland, where the nominal inflectional system has survived intact to the present day, most plural place-names have retained their appellatival status as far as inflection is concerned (310). Jan Nilsson has noted, however, that some place-names have acquired deviating gender inflections and he suggests that when the appellatival meaning of the place-name had faded, the sense "the land," lying behind the name, can have caused an analogical inflection, modelled on that of *jarthir* (fem. pl.), to be given to the names. On the other hand, in some cases in which the generics of plural settlement names in *-ar* are feminine appellatives but declined as masculines, the change of gender is probably analogical and to be explained by the fact that masculine appellatives with *-ar* plurals are five times as numerous as feminine ones. That the form taken by the plural ending in place-names depends on which plural ending is the most common in the area in question has also been argued by John Kousgård Sørensen on the basis of the Danish material (267, pp. 162–64). The variation in Norwegian names between plural and singular forms *-setrar* and *-setr* "shieling(s)" has been explained by Birger Kirkeby as reflecting a chronological difference (255). While the *setrar*-names in Romerike, for example, would seem to go back to the Migration period, the *setr*-names he would date to between 600 and 1050. Jørn Sandnes, however, disagrees with Kirkeby and argues that the correct explanation for the variation between plural and singular forms in names containing this generic is probably that the older farms are named in older sources in which the plural endings survive, while the names of younger farms are not recorded until the 14th or 15th centuries, by which time the plural form *-setrar* was beginning to be replaced by *-setr* (349).

Since the form taken by the place-names is sometimes dependent upon the sources in which they occur, a number of detailed studies have been made of important sources of early forms of Scandinavian names, with a view to establishing a firm basis for the interpretation of the names they contain. Kr. Hald has discussed the orthography of Danish place- and personal names recorded in original 13th-century Latin charters from the island of Zealand as evidence of sound developments in Danish (191a). Johannes Jutæ, the chief scribe of *Liber Census Daniae* and of the best manuscript of the Zealand laws, was active about 1300. Anders Bjerrum

has argued that Johannes cannot have been a Jutlander, in spite of his by-name, since he regularly normalized the language of his originals in the direction of the Zealand dialect (132b). The varying linguistic forms recorded in Johannes' manuscripts show that the Zealand dialect must have undergone a very swift development in the 13th century. A fragmentary terrier from Småland, Sweden, dating from between 1350 and 1378, has been discussed by Hans H. Ronge, who identifies the places named and traces their subsequent fate (338a). An examination of the material from between 1370 and 1400 in the cadastre of the Bishop of Roskilde by John Kousgård Sørensen has revealed similarities with the normalizing and dialect-free language of royal documents in the period around 1400, an agreement which presumably reflects the close relationship that is known to have existed between the episcopal see at Roskilde and the Royal Chancellery (267a). Roland Otterbjörk has studied two hitherto unknown late 15th-century charters from the province of Ångermanland in Sweden and shown how they necessitate a revision of some earlier place-name interpretations based on forms recorded in 16th-century documents (323a). A comparison by Eva Villarsen (Meldgaard) of the name-forms recorded in court records from 1636–39 from the Skast district of Denmark with those found in an inventory of land from 1683 shows that while the earlier source preserves dialectal forms of field-names, the younger source normalizes name-forms except when the scribe has not been able to interpret the dialect forms, in which cases he has tried to provide a phonetic representation of the lexically opaque names (393a). Bengt Pamp has discussed the process by which the forms of Scanian place-names of Danish origin recorded in official documents were swedicized in the period between 1658 and about 1750 and has drawn attention to the significance of G. Buhrmann's Map of Skåne from 1684 as a source of information about the dialectal forms of the place-names (102).

3

The content of the place-names

Attention will first be paid to studies of individual generics. The generic *-lev, -löv,* which is contained in some of the oldest settlement names in Scandinavia, has been studied by Bent Søndergaard (374; 375; 377). The most significant result of his researches is probably his demonstration of the fact that there is no reason to reckon with a relationship between the *lev*-names in Denmark and Sweden and the *leben*-names in Germany. Søndergaard argues that the generic *-lev,* beside the meaning

"something left behind," might also denote "something handed over" but there is no justification for assuming that the generic could have the latter meaning in the Migration period and Anders Bjerrum has argued convincingly that the generic *-lev* is a nomen agentis formation on the verb **līban* with the sense "what remains behind" (134).

Several studies have been devoted to Swedish place-names in *-tūna*. Karl Axel Holmberg has argued that the generic *-tūna* had the very general significance "enclosure" or "farmyard" (230) but Th. Andersson considers that in some of the names at least *-tūna* must have denoted some kind of administrative center (116). Drawing attention both to England, where in several cases a hundredal division was administered from a centre with a name in *-tūn*, and to the fact that the instances of *Tuna* as a simplex name suggest that these places must have had an acknowledged status, Jan Arvid Hellström has argued that some of the places with names in *-tūna* must have been administrative centers within the hundred, perhaps in the possession of the crown or some great magnate (217). Åke Hyenstrand also considers that the names in *-tūna* must have some connection with the administrative organization (238). He draws attention to linguistic connections between *tūna*-names and the name of the hundred in which they are situated, e.g., *Ultuna/Ulleråker, Torstuna/Torsåker*, and argues that the *tūna*-names are borne by settlements that played an integral role in the pre-Christian administrative system. A convenient summary of the state of research into the *tūna*-question has been provided by Ingemar Olsson (323). He argues that Th. Andersson was correct to assume more than one significance for the generic *-tūna* and suggests that the varying size of the *tūna*-settlements may reflect the fact that some developed as trading-places, fortified settlements, cult-centers, etc., rather than as the centers of estates dependent for their income upon agriculture.

Names in *-stathir* are found over most of Scandinavia, although the form taken by the generic today differs from land to land (224). John Kousgård Sørensen has argued that the old view that the *stathir*-names spread to Scandinavia from Germany in the Migration period is untenable and that the Danish names in *-sted* developed independently of any influence from German names in *-stedt* or Swedish names in *-sta*, although they are typologically related to both groups (267). Most of the Danish names were probably coined before the Viking period, although the generic would seem to have continued to be productive in some peripheral areas such as northern Jutland in that period and perhaps even later. Kousgård Sørensen considers that in most of the Danish names the generic had a meaning such as "the site on which a farm stands, has stood or can stand," while, in the names in *-sted* which originated as nature

names, the generic probably had a meaning such as "area that was used for, or characterized by, whatever is denoted by the specific" (267, pp. 205–19). Lars Hellberg considers that the generic originally had a non-habitative significance and denoted "fields in meadowland" (209, pp. 282–84; 224, pp. 117–19). The original significance of the generic was, in his opinion, "staddle, framework upon which corn or the like can be stacked" and he has argued that fixed compounds such as *hæsia-*("hurdle") *-stathi* in a kind of elliptic form **stadher* lie behind many of the place-names in *-stathir*. A similar kind of ellipsis is reckoned with by Gösta Holm, who argues that the names in *-stathir* can be the result of actual or "ideal" reduction of a compound generic such as **hús-stathir* or **heim-stathir* (cf. the English place-names in *hām-stede,* e.g., Berkhamstead) (223; 224, pp. 41–42). Holm considers, however, that the actual meaning of the generic in the place-names is simply "place" (224, p. 131). Hans Kuhn has argued that it is wrong to treat the Icelandic place-names in *-stathir* as settlement names, because the generic refers to the fact that a site has been deserted after it had proved unsuitable for settlement (275). Thórhallur Vilmundarson reckons with a general meaning such as "area of land" for the generic, with the plural form referring to extent (395). Many years ago Magnus Olsen suggested that the farms with names in *-stathir* in Norway might represent small settlement units detached from an old estate center[5] and Svavar Sigmundsson has recently proposed a related explanation for the *stathir*-names in Iceland (360). He maintains that the generic referred to a share of property, land and livestock which rich farmers gave to their associates, possibly for rent, at the time when Iceland was first settled. This argument is based on the fact that the singular *stathr* is recorded in Old Icelandic with the same meaning as Latin *pars.* Later, the generic lost this particularized meaning and came to be used quite generally as a term for a farm. Names in *-stathir* are common in the Viking-age colonies in the Scottish islands but there are no certain examples in Scandinavian England and no old instances in Finland (66).

Related to the problem of the significance of the generic *-stathir* is the question of the nature of the specifics with which it is compounded. Recent studies have suggested that the specifics were less frequently personal names than had hitherto been thought (267; 395; 398). Thórhallur Vilmundarson in particular has argued repeatedly and for the most part persuasively that many of the the Icelandic *stathir*-names originally contained not personal names but topographical terms, some of which have been replaced by personal names as a result of folk-etymology. Svavar Sigmundsson acknowledges that not all the *stathir*-names in Iceland

contain personal names but argues reasonably that this does not mean that none of them do (356). The mere fact that settlements with *stathir*-names are extremely common in Iceland means that namers are likely to have had recourse to the names of tenants in order to distinguish one settlement from another. If Svavar Sigmundsson's explanation of the generic as denoting "rented property" is accepted, then it is only natural that many of the names would have as specific the names of the men who rented the property in question. Sigmundsson would therefore argue that the *stathir*-names whose specifics are topographical appellatives are likely to be young formations dating from after the time when *stathir* had acquired a generalized meaning such as "farm" (360).

A much discussed generic is West Scandinavian *býr*, *bær*, East Scandinavian *bý*. This has generally been considered to denote a settlement of some kind but Otto von Friesen had long ago argued that the root meaning of the element was "cultivate" rather than "dwell"[6] and this view has been revived by Lars Hellberg (209, pp. 369–419). He has argued that many of the oldest names in -*bý* in Sweden, particularly those which have appellatival specifics, originally denoted "cultivated land," more specifically land in the outfields of an older settlement that has been newly brought under cultivation, particularly in the form of meadowland. Such names later came to be used of the settlements which grew up on the newly cultivated land, first single farms and later hamlets or villages. Recent research on Danish place-names has revealed that in this country the generic could be used of single farms, young secondary settlements, areas of dispersed settlement and of villages (220; 402). The Danes took the generic with them to the Danelaw, where they employed it of every conceivable kind of settlement from a flourishing borough such as Derby to single farms whose sites are no longer to be located (174). In another area of Scandinavian colonization, Finland, *bý* would seem to have been used frequently of new settlements established on the outfields of pre-existing ones (384; 385).

Birte Hjorth Pedersen has examined the personal names which occur as specifics in Danish place-names in -*bý* and shown that although most of the names would seem to have been coined in the Viking period, there is nothing about the personal names to suggest either English or Swedish provenance (219). She argues that the in Denmark comparatively rare name-type personal name + *bý* must be assumed to have arisen spontaneously as a consequence of a specific situation in settlement history and need not reflect any foreign influence. In the Danelaw personal names occur much more frequently as specifics in place-names in -*bý* than they do in the Danish homeland, but it has been argued that there has been a

tendency to overestimate the number of personal names (172). There would, however, seem to be certain similarities between the names consisting of personal names + *bý* in the Danelaw and those consisting of personal names + *stathir* in Iceland and other areas of West Scandinavian colonization (181; 360).

There has recently been renewed discussion of a generic which only occurs in the Faroes and the British Isles. Christian Matras first drew attention to the fact that the generic which is found in a number of place-names in northern England and had been referred to by English scholars as Scandinavian *erg* "shieling" was in fact *ærgi*, a loan-word in Scandinavian from Gaelic *áirge*.[7] I have since argued that the element was probably borrowed by the Vikings from Scottish Gaelic rather than from Irish, as hitherto supposed, and that the term was borrowed because there was something characteristic about the location or the function of the shielings in the Scottish Isles that made the Scandinavians reluctant to refer to them by one of their own words for "shieling" such as *sætr* or *sel* (173; 176). The word may have been used in the British Isles to form place-names denoting what is now referred to in Norway as a *heimsetter*, a shieling close to the home-farm that was used for short grazing periods in spring and fall. This would account for so many of the sites now being occupied by prosperous farms or hamlets. In the Faroes, however, the places with names in *-ærgi* are all situated at some distance from their home-farms, often high up in the mountains, so here at least the generic cannot have denoted a "home-shieling."

T.L. Markey has argued that the names in *-thveit, -tved* "clearing" bear witness to the practice of slash and burn agriculture among the North Germanic peoples at an early date and that this North Germanic element was paralleled by West Germanic *hurst* (297). He also considers that the generic was introduced to England by Irish-Norwegian settlers. It should be noted, however, that names in *-thveit* occur not only in northwestern England but also in the Danelaw and the greater frequency of occurrence of the generic outside the Danelaw is more likely to reflect the availability of land for clearing than that the element was more popular among Norwegian settlers than among the Danes. It is noticeable that the distribution pattern of the *thveits* in Scandinavian England is different from, and complementary to, that of the *býs*. This pattern fits well with the explanation that *thveits* in England mark new land brought under cultivation, while most of the *býs* were old established units of settlement that had simply been taken over by the Vikings.

Settlement names in *-ryd, -rud, -röd* and *-red* have been discussed by Bertil Ejder (160). He argues that in southern Scandinavia at least the

variants of this generic originally denoted small cultivated parts of the territory of old farms and referred to the clearing from the areas in question of wild vegetation, generally woodland. He would link the use of this generic with the expansion of the settled area in the Viking period and later but considers that some of the names must be much older. An appendix to Ejder's monograph is provided by Folke Hedblom, who studies some Swedish nature names in *-rödder*, in which the stem *-r* of *rjóthr* survives (207). Sigurd Fries has studied the generic *-rum* and come to the conclusion that it must simply have denoted an "open space" and that this space can either have been the result of clearing or have arisen naturally (187).

Finally, Jørn Sandnes has drawn attention to a generic *aun* from older *authn* which is particularly common in Trøndelagen in Norway and Jämtland in Sweden and whose principal meanings are "the act of laying waste," "the state of lying waste" and "uninhabited tract of land" (350). Sandnes argues that in place-names the generic usually has the meaning "deserted farm" and he considers that in most cases desertion probably took place in the 14th or 15th centuries. Later the generic acquired a more general sense "waste, uninhabited plot of ground" and it is probably this meaning which is found in young place-names in Norway. There is some indication that the word *authn* might occur as a specific in Danelaw place-names (174, pp. 33–34).

A number of publications deal with generics which originally denoted various kinds of natural features. Ingemar Olsson has discussed words which occur both independently and as place-name generics and which denote various land formations on the Swedish island of Gotland (318). Scandinavian words for "a body of water" have been discussed by Hans Jonsson (243) and Ingemar Olsson (320), while Eero Kiviniemi has devoted a monograph to Finnish lake-names whose meanings in one way or another express curved shape (58; 260). He argues that the coining of names for lakes in Finland was very largely based on a system of models and determined by the relative density of lakes in a given area. One particular model would not be used for two lakes in the immediate neighborhood of each other. Old Danish names for woodland have been discussed by Kr. Hald, who attempts to date, and define the meaning of, the generics *-wi(th)*, *-skov*, *-lund* and *-holt*, all of which denote woodland in one form or another, and *-ris* and *-kær*, which denote (boggy) under-wood (195).

It is comparatively rare for individual specifics to form the subject of separate studies, but Bertil Ejder has examined the Swedish name *Fager-hult* and other Scandinavian place-names in *Fager-* and come to the

conclusion than in place-names the adjective does not have the meaning which is recorded in literary sources, namely "fair, beautiful" but an older meaning "serviceable, fitting," and argues that the name *Fagerhult* refers to the return yielded by the wood (159). Stig Isaksson has studied the words *uggla* "owl" and *ulv* "wolf" as specifics in place-names in Sweden (239). Dialectal developments have often made it difficult to distinguish between the two words in place-names but Isaksson's analysis of parallel material has provided a basis for fairly reliable etymologies of the names concerned.

   A few studies have been devoted to the etymology of old Germanic roots that are found in several place-names, usually river-names or lake-names. Oddvar Nes has examined place-names containing the roots **streun-* and **geul-* (308; 309), while the subject of Jan Paul Strid's study is the Swedish place-names *Nären*, *Njärven* and *Njurhulten* and other names and words containing the root **(s)ner,* as in English *narrow* (369). Strid notes that the lake-names all refer to a narrowing in the shape of the lakes.

                                          4

                               Names in function

   Recent years have seen an increasing interest in the function of place-names and the motives and methods of the namers (152; 411). Birgit Falck-Kjällquist has looked into the motives that lie behind the naming of places (168) and Eero Kiviniemi has studied the social background against which naming has taken place (259). Works dealing with the question as to whether descriptive names were created as names or developed gradually from appellatival descriptions have been treated in section 1, above. There are other names, however, for which a deliberate act of creation can certainly be reckoned with, for example so-called transferred or second-hand names of the kind which are so familiar from the United States of America. A possible instance of the deliberate transference of a geographically linked group of names from the home-land to a new colony has been discussed by Helgi Guthmundsson (190). Settlers in the Kjalarnes region of Iceland in the Viking period would seem to have originated from the island of Lewis in the Hebrides, since they apparently transplanted to Kjalarnes a block of names from the east of Lewis. Most names which can be proved to have been transferred, however, are younger. Examples in Sweden have been discussed by Bertil Ejder (158) and Göran Hallberg (204; 205), and Th. Andersson has

dealt with a particular kind of transferred names — the literary borrow-
ings, as when place-names from the legend of Troy and the legends of
Theodoric and Roland have been given to localities in Scandinavia (117).
Sometimes places that are linked topographically or in some other way
have been given names which are related to each other. Bent Jørgensen
has discussed group-naming of streets in Denmark and elsewhere (244)
and provided a historical survey of the development of group-naming in
Europe, together with an analysis of the formal and semantic groups
which occur in Denmark (246). An example of the systematic naming of
parishes has been discussed by Jörgen Ericson (165). The parishes on the
island of Bornholm were named after the parish churches, e.g., *Ny-
larsker, Klemensker, Olsker,* and the churches in turn were named after
the saints to which they were dedicated, i.e., Nicholas, Clement and Olaf.
It is argued that the naming of the churches was probably the work of
Archbishop Eskil, who came into possession of most of the island of
Bornholm in 1149 and took the dedications of churches in Lund as his
model. Eero Kiviniemi has discussed the role played by fashion in estab-
lishing models for naming in Finland (58; 257) and Sven Benson has
argued that a kind of name-typology developed in Sweden, as elsewhere
(132). Manor-houses could be given names with an international flavor,
such as *Vogelsang* "bird-song" or *Sorgenfrei* "carefree," or names
whose topographical generics, e.g., *berg* "mountain, hill," *hult*
"wood," *holm* "island," had long ceased to be used exclusively of
features to which they were lexically appropriate and had developed into
"meaningless" generics suitable for the naming of manor-houses.

In Finland studies have been made of the extent of the geographical
area over which knowledge of a place-name can be demonstrated (365;
367). It has been shown that the number of names familiar to any one
informant is, not unexpectedly, dependent on age, occupation, and sex.

The continuity of place-names has been the subject of several studies.
Gunilla Harling-Kranck has discussed the continuity of settlement names
in a Swedish province (206), while Christian Lisse has concentrated on
one particular group of settlement names in Denmark, the names in *-thorp*
(287). He has shown that these names were not all completely stable in the
13th century but that a change of specific could sometimes take place.
This means that *thorp*-settlements whose specifics are Christian loan-
words or loan-names need not themselves date from after the conversion
to Christianity. Lisse's study inspired Niels Lund to argue that changes of
specific, particularly among *thorp*-names, took place much more fre-
quently than had previously been thought, not only in Denmark but also in
the Danelaw (291). If Lund's view is correct, it could be of great signifi-

cance for the assessment of the density of the Danish settlement in England. The continuity of field-names in three areas of Denmark has been studied by Christian Lisse (286), Ib Lumholt (290), and Bente Holmberg (227). Their studies reveal that the percentage of names from the end of the 17th century that survived until the end of the 18th century varies considerably from one part of the country to another.

Several studies have been devoted to the reasons that lie behind changes in place-names. Vibeke Dalberg has provided surveys of the reasons for deliberate name-changes, for example practical motives such as taking account of changes in the localities themselves or avoiding the risk of confusion with other places, and psychological motives determined by changes in esthetic, ethical, political, or religious norms (147), and of the typology of name-changes (151). She has also paid attention to the so-called folk-etymological re-shaping of place-names, which she would prefer to describe as the result of attempts by the users of the names to adapt them to current linguistic norms (150). The tendency to interpret and adapt semantically opaque elements is particularly marked when more than one language is concerned in the names (266). So-called folk-etymological adaptation of place-names in monolingual Iceland has been the subject of a number of studies by Thórhallur Vilmundarson (394; 396; 397) and Svavar Sigmundsson (357; 359). In the opinion of the former, many specifics of topographical origin have been converted into personal names. Ann-Christian Mattison has demonstrated that the owners and builders of castles and manor-houses in Sweden often replaced the old name of localities by new names considered suitable for such stately residences, often names which incorporate the name of the owner or some feature of his coat-of-arms (299). Pet-names or slang-names for localities in Denmark and Sweden have also been the subject of recent studies (152; 279). Since such names do not actually oust the official name of the localities in question, except in the speech of the groups who coin the names, they are not really instances of name-changes.

A kind of variant of the change of name is the change of denotation, by which a name comes to be used of some other feature than that which it originally denoted. Occasionally the change of denotation will be succeeded by a change of name, as in the case of the manor-houses discussed by Mattison (299), but generally the old name lives on with its new external referent. Many of the settlements with originally topographical names may be instances of change of denotation (215; 370), while there are also instances of names transferred from one natural feature to another, for example the name *Rösund* used of a meadow (8, p. 54).

5

Names in contact

All the Scandinavian countries, with the exception of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroes, have, or have had, land-frontiers in common with other countries. In the Viking period Scandinavians settled in many new colonies and Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have all exercised sovereignty over other Scandinavian countries at various periods of their history. These three factors contribute to make contact between place-names of different linguistic origin a perennial subject of interest for Scandinavian toponymists and a symposium was devoted to the topic in 1978 (129). A brief survey will be given here of studies dealing with names in border areas and in areas colonized by Scandinavian-speaking peoples.

Denmark marches with Germany at the foot of the Jutland peninsula and the place-names in the frontier area reflect the interplay of the Danish, German, and Frisian languages. This frontier has been far from stable. Anders Bjerrum examined the field-names in the parishes of Svavsted and Mildsted, which are now both well to the south of the frontier (133). This study revealed that the inhabitants of these parishes must still have been Danish-speaking in the medieval period but that Danish was replaced by German in the course of the 14th century in Mildsted and probably in the 13th century in Svavsted. The field-names also suggest that the younger villages on the edge of the geest probably arose as the result of secondary colonization by German-speaking people from the old villages and not of new colonization from the south. A study by Anders Bjerrum and Ebba Hjorth of the factors to be taken into account when interpreting names in areas of linguistic contact is illustrated by a discussion of the town-name Husum (135). Scandinavian elements in old settlement names in Nord-Friesland have been discussed by Ulf Timmermann, who exploits them to determine the density of the Scandinavian settlement there (386).

Interaction between Finnish and Swedish is evidenced in place-names not only along the frontier between the two countries but also within Finland itself, since Swedish is still the mother-tongue of over 7% of the Finnish population. In a general survey of the Scandinavian linguistic element in the Finnish nomenclature, Viljo Nissilä has demonstrated that it is mainly Swedish and that it is chiefly found in the border areas between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking settlements, although Swedish elements have also penetrated deep into Finnish-speaking areas (311). The reasons why one or other of a pair of names, one Swedish, the other Finnish, for the same locality should be selected by an individual

informant or the population of a settlement are the subject of a large-scale research project and they have been discussed in several papers (264; 335; 413). Another subject of inquiry has been the reasons behind changes of name in the language-contact areas (393). Peter Slotte has made a valuable study of the generics in lake-names in a part of Ostrobothnia where Swedish and Finnish generics occur side by side and he has shown how linguistic contact has influenced the onomastic vocabulary (366). Slotte's study has been discussed at length by Gunnar Pellijeff (331). Particular problems connected with the Finnish-Swedish contact area are discussed by Aino Naert, who has proposed a system of classification for loan-names on the basis of material from Finland (306) and pointed to the problems presented by interlingual homonymy (305), by Lars Huldén, who has treated the different types of hybrid formations that have arisen (236), and by Ritva Liisa Pitkänen, who has proposed a method of reconstructing the original form of Swedish loan-names in Finnish by means of the establishment of rules for changes in syllable structure and for sound-substitutions (336).

In northern Sweden there are no less than three linguistic elements in the place-nomenclature, Swedish, Finnish and Saamish (Lappish). The many linguistic problems connected with the borrowing of names from one or more of these languages into another one have been discussed by Gunnar Pellijeff (330; 331) and Tryggve Sköld (363). Place-names as evidence of settlement history and of the history of the Saamis in Scandinavia have been exploited by Gösta Holm (222; 225), Eivor Nylund Torstensson (388), Gunnar Pellijeff (334), Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt (146), and Erik Wahlberg (399), while most recently Lars-Erik Edlund has used the Swedish place-names of a parish whose name is probably Saamish as a source of evidence for the exploitation of resources by the incoming Swedish population (155).

The relationship between Norwegian and Saamish place-names in the Finnmark district of Norway has been discussed by John G. Allee, who has proposed a classification system for double names from two or more languages on the basis of phonology, semantics, and syntactical analogy (113), while Nils Hallan has attempted to determine how far south in the Scandinavian peninsula the Saamis penetrated in the pre-historic and early historic period (201) and the contribution made by place-names to the determination of the extent of medieval Lapp territories has been discussed by Knut Bergsland (132a).

In some of the areas in which the Scandinavians settled in the Viking period, they came into contact with indigenous populations who spoke a non-Scandinavian language and who had already given names to most, if

not all, of the localities in the countries in question. The problem as to whether names of Scandinavian origin in the colonized areas are borne by new settlements established by the Vikings on virgin land or whether they are borne by old established settlements whose names had been ousted lies behind the heated discussion of the density of the Danish settlement in England. Gillian Fellows Jensen has compared the effect of the Scandinavian settlement on the nomenclature of England with that produced by the earlier settlements in the country of Celts, Romans and Anglo-Saxons and the later Norman conquest (177). It would seem that the names of large settlements and major topographical features are those that have the greatest chance of being taken over by incoming settlers, perhaps in adapted form. Names of insignificant settlements and features have little chance of surviving an invasion on the scale of the Anglo-Saxon and Viking settlements but where the invaders were only a ruling minority, it is these minor names that have the greatest chance of escaping corruption. Fellows Jensen has also discussed similarities and differences between the nomenclature of the Danelaw and that of the Danish homeland (179). She argues that the differences reflect first and foremost the different social and political conditions in the two areas. The problems connected with identifying the national origin of place-names in an area such as the Danelaw, where the indigenous population and the incomers both spoke a Germanic language and had a number of specifics and generics in common, have also been the subject of discussion (180; 293).

The Scandinavians who settled in the Scottish islands found there a Gaelic-speaking population and a Gaelic nomenclature. It is therefore much easier to distinguish the Scandinavian and native elements in the place-names from each other. There are, however, problems connected with the determination of whether or not any pre-Viking Gaelic names have survived and whether hybrid names were coined by Scandinavians or Gaelic-speakers (181; 315; 316).

In Normandy the assessment of Scandinavian influence on the pre-existing Gallo-Roman place-names is complicated by the presence of elements of English and Celtic origin. Lucien Musset has studied the English (302) and Celtic (303) elements and Gillian Fellows Jensen has concluded that the place-name evidence points to the presence in Normandy of Danes, Norwegians, Vikings from the Celtic regions and Anglo-Scandinavians (175).

Carl-Eric Thors has drawn attention to the fact that the Swedish dialects and place-names of Finland, which are generally considered to derive from Central Swedish, show clear linguistic traces of the presence among the Swedish settlers of people from southern Sweden (383), while Lars

Hellberg's examination of the place-names of the Åland islands has suggested to him both that the pre-existing place-names of the island must have been submerged under the new place-names of Swedish origin and that there must have been a Finnish element among the Swedish settlers (213). A non-Scandinavian contribution to the place-names of Finland which is to be ascribed to Low German influence issuing from the Hanseatic enclave at Wiborg has been discussed by Viljo Nissilä (313).

A recent brief survey of the use of place-names of Danish and Greenlandic origin in Greenland (153) is a useful onomastic introduction to the material presented by Dan Laursen in his full study of the place-names of North Greenland (14). A similar kind of onomastic situation to that in Greenland is met with on the Norwegian islands of Jan Mayen (28) and Svalbard (29).

Finally, Hans Kuhn has drawn attention to the influence which the local topography and settlement situation in a colony had on the selection of generics from among those the settlers brought with them from their homeland and to the influence which the place-names of the colonized area, in this case Iceland, had on the nomenclature of the homeland (276). He argues that it was the need to create many new names within a very short period in the colonized areas that led to the popularity of the name-type personal name + habitative generic and that this colonial name-model then spread to the homelands. It should be noted, however, that Kåre Lunden has argued that the practice of coining farm-names with a personal name as specific was in full flower in Norway well before the Viking age began and that it was the kind of independence of a higher authority that is reflected in this name-type that was a necessary prerequisite for the Viking expeditions (295).

6

The dating of names

A comprehensive survey of the methods used for dating Danish place-names and settlements and an assessment of the reliability of the various methods have been provided by Vibeke Christensen and John Kousgård Sørensen (47, 1, pp. 163–226; 53). Dating can be either linguistic or non-linguistic. Linguistic dating exploits the chronology that has been established for various developments in the language or languages to which the place-names belong. It can only be used when the name in question is a primary name-formation and it can only date the coining of the name and not the establishment of the settlement denoted by the name. Non-linguis-

tic dating has been used to date place-names and settlements with the aid of various kinds of evidence: (i) documentary, (ii) historical, (iii) distributional, (iv) topographical and geological, (v) geometrical, (vi) fiscal, (vii) administrative, and (viii) archaeological. The first three kinds of evidence can contribute towards the dating of the names, while the last five can at best only date the settlements that bear the names. Kousgård Sørensen has argued that the safest criterion for dating nature names is the linguistic one (268). The same applies, of course, to habitative names, with the exception of those few for which there is relevant documentary evidence. Aino Naert, however, has shown that sound-developments which have or have not taken place in originally Finnish place-names that have been taken over by Swedish settlers are not in themselves reliable criteria for the determination of the age of the place-names or of the Swedish colonization, since several other factors may have played a role (307).

Erland Porsmose has commented on the use of evidence about site quality as a means for dating settlements (337). He notes that the selection of the type of land on which to establish a settlement must have been dependent on the technological and economic conditions that were prevailing at the time in question. On the island of Fyn in Denmark, for example, there would seem to be a tendency for young settlements to lie on better land than the settlements with names of an older type. Lars Huldén's study of the place-names in the archipelago between Maxmo and Nykarleby in Ostrobothnia exploits the fact that the land in the area has been rising from the sea at the rate of about a meter per century as a means of dating the coining of the place-names (237).

The fiscal evidence has been much exploited for the dating of settlements in Norway (347) and Kåre Lunden has provided a useful survey of the advantages and drawbacks of the statistical method and some good advice on the determination of whether or not a deviation is significant (294).

Bent Søndergaard has drawn attention to some problems in connection with the use of one kind of administrative evidence, namely the proportion of a group of names which are borne by parishes (376).

On the basis of extensive archaeological excavations on the Danish island of Fyn, Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen (189) and Erland Porsmose (337) have emphasized the importance of remembering that there is not necessarily an exact correspondence in time between the coining of a name and the establishment of the settlement it denotes. For most of the surviving villages, continuity on the present site cannot be traced back further than to *c.* 1100 and Grøngaard Jeppesen and Porsmose consider that the survival of older names probably reflects the fact that before the

11th century the settlements moved about within their resource-areas, as a result of changes in technology, agricultural methods or economic systems. Kousgaard Sørensen has pointed out that this view is by no means in conflict with that of place-name scholars, who also operate with the concept of a ''settlement area'' rather than that of a village or hamlet in the modern sense (272).

7

Names as evidence

A convenient summary of some of the various uses to which place-names have been put by scholars in neighboring disciplines has been provided by Vibeke Dalberg and John Kousgård Sørensen (47, 2; 53). Here attention will be paid to studies which have concentrated on particular aspects of the exploitation of place-names as evidence.

The most obvious use to which place-names can be put is as evidence for the history of settlement. Some studies have treated place-names as evidence for the history of a particular area through a long period of time. This area can be a town and its neighborhood, as in Lars Hellberg's study of Kalmar (212), an island, as in Sigurd Fries's demonstration of the influence of settlers from the Mälar region of Sweden on the island of Öland (186) or Per Wieselgren's study of Swedish place-names in the Estonian island of Ormsö (406), an administrative district such as a hundred, as in Lars Hellberg's exhaustive study of the nomenclature of the Kumla district in Sweden (209) and Bent Jørgensen's study of the place-names of Horns herred in Denmark as a background to a discussion of the deserted settlements in the herred (248), a province, as in Jørn Sandnes's studies of the names of Trøndelag (Norway) (344) and neighboring Jämtland in Sweden (353), and Viljo Nissilä's treatment of the names of Finnish Karelia (312), a geographical area, as in Jouko Vahtola's study of place-names as evidence for the development of settlement in the valleys of the rivers Tornio and Kemi on the Swedish-Finnish border (392) and Botolv Helleland's study of the cultural history of a Norwegian fiord community (216a), or a whole country, as in Eero Kiviniemi's discussion of the problems connected with the use of place-names as a source of information about settlement history in Finland (263).

There are other studies which concentrate on the history of a particular period. A German scholar, Hans Krahe, put forward the theory that beneath the place- and river-nomenclature created out of individual Western Indo-European languages in central, northern and western Europe

there is to be found an Old (Indo-)European network of river-names which must be assumed to have existed before the Germanic, Italic, Illyrian, Venetic, or Baltic dialects had become fully-fledged independent languages.[8] Another German scholar, Hans Kuhn, has argued for the existence of a "second Old Europe," namely the Europe whose language was driven out by Krahe's Indo-Europeans.[9] Traces of this second Old Europe are thought to be found in pre-Indo-European place-names, particularly those containing the combination *-ur-*. There have been a few investigations of the river-names of Scandinavia with a view to determining whether or not any Old European names occur there. Jørn Sandnes has discussed the possibility of the Norwegian river-name **Nith*'s being related to a number of West European names in *Nid-*, *Neid-* (341). Th. Andersson has discussed the Swedish material and seems to be sceptical as to the likelihood of finding Old European names in Sweden (118; 122). He notes that for some of the names for which an Old European origin has been proposed, perfectly satisfactory explanations as Scandinavian formations can be provided. John Kousgård Sørensen has noted that while most of the river-names in Scandinavia can be explained as Scandinavian formations, there are a few names which can be better interpreted in a European context, although it is extremely uncertain whether it is the context described by Krahe (269; 273).

There have been comparatively few studies which have concentrated on the earliest period with Scandinavian place-names but Jørn Sandnes has discussed the oldest political history of Trøndelag in Norway in the light of place-names and these suggest that it was inner Trøndelag and not outer Trøndelag and Nidaros that was dominant in ancient times (344), while several studies have been concerned with the onomastic evidence for a very early Germanic influence in Finland (261; 314; 362; 363). Bertil Ejder has made the interesting suggestion that Viking expeditions actually began much earlier than the end of the 8th century (157). He notes that the Scanian place-names *Österslöv, Västerslöv,* and *Sönnarslöv* may have as their specifics words indicating the directions in which the people of Scandinavia were in the habit of going out on expeditions, not of course as far-reaching as those of the Viking period proper.

Many of the studies dealing with the Viking period concentrate on the nomenclature of the areas where Scandinavians established colonies at this time. The earliest settlements would seem to have taken place in the Scottish islands about the year 800. Norse domination of the Hebrides lasted for almost 500 years and that of the Orkneys and Shetlands for almost 700 years. To judge from the nomenclature, the pre-Norse inhabitants of the Orkneys and Shetlands would seem to have been utterly

overwhelmed by the Viking settlers, while a Gaelic-speaking population must have survived in the Hebrides (181). Although the majority of the settlement names in the Outer Hebrides are of Scandinavian origin, Gaelic settlement names do occur and almost all the minor names there are Gaelic. The Scandinavian settlement names of the Northern and Western Isles show that Viking settlement there must have been very dense. There is reason to believe that the islands became overpopulated in the course of the 9th century and that some of the settlers moved on from there to Iceland, the Faroes, England, and Normandy. Their presence in Iceland is recorded in the written sources but there were other settlers in Iceland who came direct from Norway. Baldur Jónsson's study of the place-name *Ölfus* has suggested to him that the settlers who were responsible for this name must have come from south-eastern Norway or western Sweden (242).

There has been some discussion as to ways and means of distinguishing between settlements established in the Faroe Islands early in the 9th century and secondary farms established at later dates. Jørgen Rischel has investigated the use of the term *heim* "home to" with place-names and concluded that there are a number of *heim*-areas or -villages and that the inhabitants of the surrounding settlements use the term *heim* when referring to this place (338). More recently Rolf Guttesen has argued that when the path between two settlements runs through a pass (*skarth*), then the pass will be named after the secondary settlement of the two and not after the parent settlement (191). In this way he has been able to conclude that villages with names in *-havn* "harbour" and *-fjørthur* "fiord" are relatively older than those with names in *-vík* "inlet."

Detailed studies of Scandinavian settlement names in eastern England have suggested that these do not, as has earlier been thought, represent the development by the Danes of hitherto unoccupied areas for settlement but rather reflect the fact that it was during the Viking period that much land in England passed into small-scale private ownership for the first time (170; 174; 178). Old estates were broken up, and some of the individual units passed into the possession of the Danes, who would also seem to have planted new settlements on the outfields of existing villages and in the neighborhood of settlement sites that had been abandoned by the English long before the Viking invasions. The Danes may also have developed some marginal areas for settlement, but England would seem to have been fairly intensively exploited before their arrival. The most significant result of the Viking invasions and settlement in eastern England would thus seem to have been a reorganization of the pattern of landholding. Less attention has been paid to the Scandinavian settlement names in

Normandy in recent years, but it has seemed to one outside observer at least as though the situation in Normandy was not as different from that in England as has earlier been thought (175). In both countries the Vikings adopted some names, adapted others, and abandoned yet a third group of names. They took over flourishing settlements, established new ones on deserted sites, and reclaimed hitherto vacant land. In both countries some of the new Scandinavian names described the sites or functions of the settlements, while the most important function of many of the names would seem to have been to mark private ownership.

An excellent survey of migrations across the Baltic and their influence on place-names in the Viking period as well as before and after has been provided by Carl-Eric Thors (382). Particular attention is paid to the spread of Swedish place-names to various parts of Finland and to Estonia. Thors has also drawn attention to the problem of whether or not place-names can provide evidence for continuity of settlement in the present Swedish settlements in Finland from the Iron Age onwards (66). It seems unlikely that many of the Swedish names there can antedate the medieval period. The Swedish colonization of the Åland islands has been studied by Lars Hellberg (213). He argues that almost all the Swedish place-names on the islands are typical of the names of an area of new colonization, with those consisting of a personal name + *bȳ* pointing to a speedy take-over of a deserted area. Towards the end of the Viking period, however, the settlements on Åland were abandoned by their Swedish inhabitants, many of whom may have enrolled in the Viking armies that were then being organized in Denmark. A study of the earliest settlement in the Torne valley area on the basis of the place-name evidence has shown that the original population of the area must have been Saamish but that the Saamis were later superseded by successive waves of immigrants from western Finland (between 600 and 1600), Karelia (between 1100 and 1400), and Savalax (in the late 16th century) (371).

With the exception of a general treatment of place-names and settlement in Norway (348), the discussion of place-name evidence for settlement in the Scandinavian homelands in the Viking period has concentrated on the generic *-thorp*. Jørn Sandnes has confirmed Lars Hellberg's earlier identification of two different layers of *thorp*-names,[10] although, from the starting point of the names in south-east Norway, he would argue for a gradual transition from the early simplex names, which may antedate the year 600, to the compound names in *-thorp,* most of which were probably coined between 800 and 1200 (351). There is general agreement that the majority of the *thorp*-names in Denmark date from the Viking period or later but opinions differ as to their significance. Archaeologists

and historians are now convinced that the *thorp*-names are to be looked upon as a reflection not of an expansion of the settled area but of an early reorganization of the settlement pattern, similar to that which took place in the Danelaw, which would have resulted in an increased area of land brought under arable cultivation (142; 292; 337). Danish toponymists, however, are still reluctant to look upon the *thorp*-names as other than a reflection of internal colonization (185; 272).

The study of the desertion of settlements in the medieval period has been to a very large extent dependent on place-name evidence. Place-name documentation has often been able to reveal when a settlement ceased to be occupied and the names of the deserted settlements have given some indication as to the type of farm which would be most likely to be deserted. In Norway, for example, farms with ''old'' names in -*vin*, -*heim* and -*stad* seem to have been able to resist desertion (346; 354). Svend Gissel has discussed Danish place-names such as *Gammelby*, which indicate desertion, and drawn attention to the fact that in Denmark the whole process of desertion has to be seen against the background of the structure of the villages, since it is not always easy to determine whether a settlement has been abandoned or whether its structure has simply been altered, perhaps as a result of the adoption of a three-field system of cultivation (188). Bente Holmberg and Bent Jørgensen have provided a general assessment of the value of place-names as a source of information about the desertion of settlements in Denmark (229).

Several recent studies have dealt with the evidence that place-names can provide about the administrative history of Scandinavia. Bent Jørgensen has discussed the use of the generic -*land* in the names of Danish provinces such as *Jylland* (Jutland), *Lolland, Halland* (251). He considers that there is no evidence for the use of -*land* to denote any kind of administrative division. In Norway, too, there is general agreement that the generic -*land* is a geographical term and not a political one, but there has recently been a good deal of discussion about another generic which occurs in the names of provinces there, namely -*ríki* in *Hringaríki, Raumaríki,* and *Ranríki.* Claus Krag has argued that these names were used in a geographical sense without political implications and that *ríki* is not, as generally thought, a Celtic loan-word referring to an area politically organized or conquered by force but that it is to be associated with the Norwegian verb *rekke* ''to reach, to stretch'' and is in fact a geographical term with much the same meaning as *land* (274). Per Sveaas Andersen, however, maintains that *ríki* is a Celtic loan-word with a meaning such as ''area subject to authority'' and he draws attention to an Old English parallel, *Deira ríce* ''the realm of the Deirans,'' which seems to point to

political authority (114). Mattias Tveitane would also abide by the old explanation of *ríki* as a loan from Celtic (389). This is in part because it would be difficult to explain the sense development to "power" of a word that originally simply meant "area." Th. Andersson also looks upon *ríki* as a Celtic loan-word, but he argues that the problem of the significance of the word in the Norwegian place-names remains unsolved (121). The names alone cannot explain the nature and status of the regions they denote. Names in *-ríki* may originally have had no deeper meaning than province-names in *-land,* such as *Hordaland* and *Rogaland,* and Andersson considers that the three names in *-ríki* around the Oslo fiord simply reflect an early fashion in province-naming.

There has been much discussion of the names for the administrative divisions in Denmark (*herred*) and Sweden (*härad*) which correspond roughly with the English hundreds. Originally the term *herred* would seem to have meant "district, unit of settlement" (271). Th. Andersson has treated the *härad*-names in a monograph (115) and several articles (125; 127; 128). He distinguishes between what he calls primary *härad*-names, that is names given to *härads* which were the result of an artificial division of land, for example in areas where the topography is not marked, and secondary *härad*-names, that is old names for natural districts which became established as *härads* when the division of the country into such units took place. In Denmark and southern Sweden the term *herred | härad* was added to original district names much earlier than was the case further north, and this fact suggests that the institution of the *herred* may have originated in Denmark (115; 125; 127; 128; 271). Andersson has also discussed the terms *hund* and *hundare,* which are used for the corresponding divisions in central Sweden (119; 123). In the light of information that can be drawn from the use of related words elsewhere in the Germanic area, he argues that an older meaning of the terms "(band of) one hundred men" can be linked with their employment in connection with defence levies.

In Jutland there was also an administrative district known as a *syssel.* Each *syssel* included a number of *herreds.* The division into *syssels* is probably older than that into *herreds* and must go back at least to the 10th century (271; 281). The *syssel*-names fall into two categories. Those which have settlement names as their first element, e.g., *Istedsyssel,* are found in southern Jutland, while the *syssel*-names based on the names of districts, e.g., *Ommersyssel,* or of inhabitants, e.g., *Vendsyssel,* are in northern Jutland. This suggests that the *syssel*-division in northern Jutland is probably based on an old division into settlement districts, while the divisions in southern Jutland are probably deliberate creations.

There has been disagreement about the generic *-kind,* which occurs in a number of *härad*-names in Östergötland (Sweden). It has been suggested that there may originally have been a division into *kinds* here. Th. Andersson has rejected the assumption that *-kind* is an administrative term (115; 130), but Stefan Söderlind has argued that the word is a loan from the Latin stem *cent-* "hundred" and hence relevant for a discussion of administrative history (130; 373). John Kousgård Sørensen finds the etymology proposed by Söderlind questionable and notes that a few Danish place-names in *-kind,* e.g., *Herskind,* which have been tentatively interpreted as having an administrative significance, are more likely to contain the generic *-kinn* "cheek," used in a topographical sense such as "steep slope" (271).

A number of articles draw attention to place-names which, although not in themselves denoting an administrative unit, are to be associated in some way with an administrative center. Karin Calissendorff has discussed the name *Helgö,* which she assumes to indicate an assembly place (139), and the name *Björkö* of the Swedish island in Lake Mälar on which the Viking town of Birka was situated (140). *Björkö* would seem to have come to denote a "trading center" and to have been used as a second-hand transferred name in both Finland and Norway. Discussing the place-name *Vapnö* (**vápna-haugr* "weapon mound") in Halland (Sweden), K.G. Ljunggren has suggested that it is an elliptic formation related to such concepts as the *vápnatak* and the English wapentakes and that *Vapnö* might have been an assembly place, for example for the mustering of levies (288). Bente Holmberg has studied the occurrence of *Hanghøj* and *Tinghus* in the field-names of Horns herred in Denmark and shown how it is possible on this basis to date the moving of a place of assembly to a new locality (226), while Lars Hellberg has used the occurrence as place-name specifics of terms such as *hersir* "chief, lord," *stýrir* "skipper" and *vísi(r)* "chief" to locate old administrative centers (211).

Bent Jørgensen has examined the old parish divisions in Denmark in the light of the place-names and come to the conclusion that the division into parishes cannot be older than from the early medieval period and that it does not reflect any kind of cult or cultural continuity (251). Per Hovda's survey of the names and boundaries of districts responsible for ship-levies and parishes in the northern part of Rogaland (Norway) suggests that the parish boundaries must be older than the boundaries of the levy-districts (235). Surveys of the kinds of name borne by parishes in Sweden as a whole and in the province of Östergötland in particular have been provided by Anders Öberg (414) and Svante Lagman (277) respectively.

The exploitation of place-name material as a source of information

about the social and cultural conditions of early periods of history is not without pitfalls. Some of the methods which can be employed and the limitations which have to be borne in mind have been discussed by Vibeke Dalberg (148), Bent Jørgensen (253), and Jørn Sandnes (352), while Svavar Sigmundsson's study of social conditions in Iceland through the ages provides a good example of the very wide range of information which can be squeezed out of place-names (358).

Other articles concentrate on individual aspects of history. Agricultural topics are prominent among these. Several scholars have used the names to provide information about agrarian structure and methods of cultivation, namely E.A. Björk for the Faroes (136), Stefan Brink for a Swedish parish (138), Jørn Sandnes for Trøndelag, Møre and Romsdal in Norway (345), and Karl-Erik Frandsen for Denmark (182). Finn Myrvang has discussed Norwegian place-name specifics which may refer to strife and quarrelling as possible indicators of disputes about boundaries (304), while Bent Jørgensen has demonstrated how field-name material can throw light on the development of Danish estates (252). A study of place-names in central and eastern Norway containing the word *gran* "spruce" has suggested that this tree came to Norway from Sweden (380), while Faroese place-names have revealed that pigs were kept on the islands both in the infields close to the houses and in the outfields, often at a great distance from the settlement (137).

Per Hovda has studied the names of Norwegian fishing-grounds (231). He notes that the extensive use of *noa*-names for these grounds may betray fear of supernatural powers but that it is also in the economic interest of the fisherman to conceal favorable locations from competitors. Peter Hallaråker has examined the place-names of part of the Norwegian coast and shown how they reflect not only the natural conditions of the area but also the social and economic conditions of a coastal community (203). Gunnar Pellijeff has examined the place-names of the Luleå area of northern Sweden in the light of the tax assessments of the settlements bearing the names, not, as is usually the case, in order to determine the relative age of the settlements but as an aid to etymological interpretation (333). The specific of the name *Siknäs,* for example, can be either the fish-name *sik* "whitefish" or a word *sik(e)* "slow-flowing stream." That the name is more likely to contain the fish-name is suggested by the fact that a relatively high percentage of the valuation for taxation of Siknäs is based on the fish-harvest.

Bror Lindén has examined the place-name evidence for the extraction of bog-ore and the production of bog-iron in Upper Dalarna, Sweden (283), while Karin Calissendorff has discussed the background of copper-

and iron-mining for the Swedish place-name *Bergslagen* (141). She would argue that the generic is not singular *lag* "corporation, community" but plural **lagu* "laws," used in the same sense as in the province-names Trøndelag and Danelag (Danelaw).

Place-names have also been treated as a source of information about transport in early times. Ole Crumlin-Pedersen has discussed the sea-route to Roskilde, Denmark, and the defensive measures taken against attack from the sea in the light of place-names containing such elements as *bavn* "beacon-fire" and *warth* "watch" (145), while Ingemar Olsson has taken as his subject names containing the word *snäck* in Gotland (321). He considers that this element refers to a warship and that the place-names containing it can therefore provide valuable information about sea-transport and -defense. Taking Olsson's paper as his starting-point, Per Lundström has recently discussed the possibility of exploiting place-names as evidence for old harbors and their possible relationship to administrative divisions (296). Per Hovda has studied the types of name given to mountains that were used as landmarks, either along the coast or inland on mountain tracks, and concludes that in Norway most such mountains received their names from their distinctive form (233). Botolv Helleland has examined the place-names which can indicate the routes across the mountains of Hardangervidda in Norway (214), while Inge Wohlert has been able to identify the sites of lost routes and crossing-places over two Danish rivers with the aid of field-names (408). There have been two more comprehensive studies of the place-name evidence for the history of communications in Denmark by Bent Jørgensen (250) and Bente Holmberg (228). Jørgensen has analyzed the specifics and generics which refer to roads and paths and discussed the evidence that can be drawn from names about the age of the roads and the dates at which they were abandoned in the period up to the compilation of the first detailed maps in about 1750, while Bente Holmberg's important monograph deals with the principles behind the exploitation of place-names as a source of information for cultural history and discusses the etymology of the names concerned and the semantic relationship between their elements.

Some place-names provide information about pagan religious beliefs and superstitions. Place-names containing names of the pagan gods in Denmark and south Sweden have been discussed by Kr. Hald (192) and K.G. Ljunggren (289) respectively, while place-names containing terms for supernatural beings in Iceland (*alfar*) and northern Sweden (*troll, vitter*) are the subject of papers by Bjarni Einarsson (156) and Gunnel Westerström (404) respectively. Other names have been thought to provide evidence for heathen cult-centers or temple-structures. Ingemar Ols-

son has discussed names in *stavgard* on the island of Gotland (322). These have been considered to have a cultic significance but Olsson argues that the names simply refer to Iron-age house-sites. A much discussed element has been *hǫrgr, harg*. Jørn Sandnes has argued that all the names containing this generic in western Norway and Trøndelag refer to natural hills or mounds and have nothing to do with heathen cults (342). A similar conclusion is reached by Allan Rostvik on the basis of his monograph on the *harg*-names (339). He finds that almost all the names in Sweden and Norway can be interpreted as referring to stones or rocks. The only two names that may have a cultic significance are *Odensala* and *Torshälla*, but *harg* in these names may well refer to topographical features, too. Peter Skautrup, on the other hand, has argued in favor of the interpretation of *harg* in Danish place-names as "alter, sacred place" (361). The sacral sense of the generic is certainly secondary to the topographical one, but it may well occur in the *herred*-name *Harre* in Jutland (47, 2, pp. 12–13) and, as pointed out by Olaf Olsen (317), it should not be forgotten that the Old English cognate word *hearg* is generally considered to be a pagan element in English place-names.[11]

For the period before written sources become plentiful, place-names are an important source of information about the history of the language in which they are coined. Much can be learned about phonology, morphology and vocabulary from a careful study of the place-names and their recorded forms. In 1980 a symposium was devoted to the linguistic exploitation of place-name material (154) and various significant aspects of the problem have been dealt with by Botolv Helleland from a Norwegian point of view (216) and Vibeke Dalberg from a Danish one (149). Kr. Hald has exploited the place-name material from the 12th and 13th centuries to throw light on such Danish sound-developments as apocope and the weakening of stops and spirants and has shown that, as far as these are concerned, Jutlandic (or some Jutlandic dialects) was more conservative than Scanian (200; cf. also 191a). That the North Jutlandic dialects were more conservative than the other Jutlandic dialects and the dialects of the Danish islands and Skåne has also been deduced from the place-names, and these have shown that the North Jutlandic dialect was influenced by the language of the south of Norway across the Kattegat in respect of phonology, morphology, and vocabulary (193; 199).

Other studies have concentrated on the information that can be derived from place-names about particular aspects of sound history, for example, the dating of East Scandinavian monophthongization (169), the alternation between *ū* and *ō* in words such as Norwegian *bru*, Swedish *bro* (166; 326), the dating of so-called *a*-mutation (197), the development of Primi-

tive Scandinavian *ai* in syllables not bearing the main stress (163), the
influence of word-length balance on stressed vowels in Swedish (210),
the development of a stop consonant in front of a voiced consonant in
Danish, as in the name *Skodborg* (196), the development of spirants in
Danish (144; 198), the lability of the dialect boundary for the develop-
ment of Old Danish initial *wr* to *fr* and medial or final *rn* to *r* (143), the
loss of prevocalic *h* and final *t* in the dialect of the Östergötland archipela-
go (184), dissimilation in Swedish (368) and eastern Norwegian (232).

Two studies by Bror Lindén are devoted to genitival inflections and the
information about these that can be derived from fossilized forms in place-
names (284; 285), and much information about genitival inflections is
contained in Th. Andersson's study of proper names as the specifics of
Scandinavian place-names (124).

Ebba Hjorth has discussed the criteria for the exploitation of proper
names as lexical material on the basis of her experience as editor of the
dictionary of Old Danish (218). She notes that names are acceptable as
source material when they provide additional information about a word
recorded in other sources or when they can prove the existence of an
otherwise unrecorded word at the period in question. With Finnish as his
starting-point, Eero Kiviniemi has discussed some of the problems con-
nected with the use of place-name material as documentary evidence for
the history of words (262). He notes that terms which are considerably
commoner in the nomenclature than in the language of daily-life tend to
belong to the vocabulary of receding forms of culture but also that name-
formation reflects the influence of naming-patterns and hence that the
distribution of several name elements does not reflect the earlier distribu-
tion of the appellatives in question in the dialects but merely the influence
that various patterns have had on naming (cf. also 260). Nils Hallan has
emphasized the significance of place-names for the determination of the
distribution of both relict words and innovations in the dialects of Norway
(202). Th. Andersson has dealt with some of the problems lying behind
the reconstruction of lost words from place-names (126). He is particular-
ly concerned with the possibility of distinguishing between primary
name-formations formed with a suffix and secondary name-formations
involving already existing words formed with the same suffix. Wolfgang
Laur has discussed some of the ways in which existing words in related
languages can support the reconstruction of otherwise unrecorded words
from place-name material (280). In an area where more than one language
is reflected in the place-names, interlingual word-geography can be used
to throw light on the spread of cultural influence. Olavi Korhonen, for
example, has shown how a study of Saamish-Finnish place-name ele-

ments has revealed how a Slav cultural influence must have been introduced to the Saamis in northern Sweden by the Finns, probably in connection with the trade in furs in the Viking period (265). Gösta Langenfelt's study of the place-name evidence for the word *brink* in Swedish-speaking areas, on the other hand, has led him to argue that *brink* is a native unassimilated form corresponding to assimilated *brekka* rather than, as sometimes thought, a loan from Low German (278). Finally, Michael Jacoby has made use of place-names to show how the word *varg* "wolf," replacing *ulf,* has spread from eastern central Sweden out over the Scandinavian peninsula (240).

It has only been possible in the present survey to discuss a selection of the many works published on the place-names of Scandinavia since 1960, and not all aspects of those works which have been discussed have been taken into account. An address-list of scholars at present engaged in name-research in Scandinavia, which registers the topics with which they are currently concerned, was published by NORNA, the council for name studies in Scandinavia, in 1982 as *NORNA-rapporter* 22 and an illustrated account of the various Scandinavian research institutes and archives and their activities appeared in 1983 as *NORNA-rapporter* 25 under the title *Navne i Norden* [Names in Scandinavia]. Armed with these two reports and the present bibliography, the non-Scandinavian reader should be reasonably well equipped to find his way to the publications and research environments that are of significance for his own projects or interests and to scholars with whom he has onomastic interests in common.

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Notes

[1]Cf. C. K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning,* 2nd ed. (London, 1927), p. 11.

[2]Cf. also W. F. H. Nicolaisen, "Words as Names," *Onoma,* XX, No. 1 (1976), 142–63.

[3]Cf. G. Fellows Jensen, "Personal Name or Appellative?" *Onoma,* XIX, No. 3 (1976 for 1975), 445–58.

[4]In *De danske Stednavne paa -um* (Copenhagen, 1942).

[5]In *Ættegård og Helligdom* (Oslo, 1926), 83–94.

[6]In *Xenia Lideniana* (Stockholm, 1912), 237.

[7]In NoB (1956), 51–67.

[8]Cf. e. g., H. Krahe, *Unsere ältesten Flußnamen* (Wiesbaden, 1964).

[9]In NoB (1971), 52–66.

[10]Cf. L. Hellberg in NoB (1954), 106–86.

[11]Cf. M. Gelling, "Further Thoughts on Pagan Place-names," *Otium et negotium,* ed. F. Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), 109–28.

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