

## *hlewagastiz*: Names and Early Germanic Morphology

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### I. Names and Early Germanic Grammar

Names play an important part in the phonology of the early stages of the Germanic languages, primarily because they constitute the earliest attested Germanic forms. Personal names, ethnic (tribal) names, local placenames usually resist translation and were thus borrowed intact into classical language texts, such as those dealing with historical events.<sup>1</sup> Some common nouns, e.g. those designating Germanic legal concepts, appear as untranslatable in Latin texts, however later than do names. Names and lists of names appear earlier than regular texts, as for instance in Old High German.

Each Germanic name form in a Latin or Greek text has to be analyzed like a one-word text itself if it is to yield any phonological information: the difficulty of such an analysis is obvious, as distortions of the underlying Germanic or other foreign forms in order to conform to native patterns are almost a rule for classical authors and scribes. Even if phonemic distortion in the stem seems to be comparatively slight, the morphology of such forms as inflectional suffixes is Latin and Greek. A form with Latin endings must be considered Latin, even if its lexical and formative parts were borrowed from Germanic.

It was a great disappointment to scholars in the field of Germanic when the inscription on the helmet of Negau, datable from the beginning of the Christian era (*Harigasti*), was proven to contain the Latin genitive ending *-i*, not a Germanic case ending reduced to *-i* from *\*-iz*.<sup>2</sup> Often the interpretation of one letter can change the character of the word entirely: scholars have resisted Gustav Must's analysis<sup>3</sup> of the penultimate rune in the Kowel inscription *tilarids* as possibly <u> (thus *tilarius*) instead of <d>, which would keep the name Germanic. Only a name form with a Germanic flexive, i.e. a case morpheme, can be claimed for the Germanic corpus.

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Early Runic inscriptions contain sufficient names to be useful for the study of early Germanic morphology, not only for early phonology.<sup>4</sup> Actually, the onomastic data provide us with information concerning the word-formation processes of composition and affixation. We have a fairly complete set of case-endings of the singular, predominantly nominative forms, but few genitive, dative, and accusative ones.

## II. The Gallehus Inscription

The name in the title of my paper occurs with perhaps another name form in the inscription on one horn of Gallehus, dated usually as from 400 A.D., which I transliterate from the Runic text as follows:

EC/HLEWAXASTIZ/HOLTIJAZ/HORNA/TAWIDO<sup>5</sup>

Elmer H. Antonsen of the University of Illinois, the leading Runic specialist in this country, translated the inscription as follows: "I, Hlewagastiz [i.e. protected or famous guest], son of Holtagastiz, made the horn."<sup>6</sup> This is the oldest attested alliterating Germanic verse line. Compared to its Proto-Germanic equivalent, in the third and fourth words it has /o/ out of earlier \*/u/, and there is loss of final nasals in *horna* and *tawido*. The archaic shapes of the two name forms establish for us an exemplary text for the Nordic-West Germanic proto-language.<sup>7</sup> This fact was obscured for a long time because of the misleading transliteration of one Runic letter (final  $\text{Y}$ ) in the name as <R>, which made the text with its preserved rhotacism appear as Nordic (\*z > r).

It has been objected that the Gallehus inscription is fairly late (from the end of the fourth century) and thus unlikely to contain remnants of a proto-language like Nordic-West Germanic, particularly since we have earlier North Germanic inscriptions. The flexive morphemes in *hlewagastiz* and *holtijaz*, corresponding to Indo-European \*-i/s and \*o/s respectively, show Proto Germanic \*-iz and \*-az with the nominative case-morpheme \*-s changed to its voiced counterpart -z according to the regular operation of Verner's Law after an unstressed vowel. Final z is later lost in West Germanic,<sup>8</sup> becomes [r] in North Germanic (Nordic), and is devoiced to /s/ in East Germanic. There is a great deal of evidence for the preservation of original phonemic features, at least orthographically, in names after they are lost in common nouns; e.g. *h* before *l* is still kept in *Hludwīg* in the OHG Ludwigslied, which has *luto* 'loud' instead of *hluto*.<sup>9</sup> However, there is no satisfactory evidence that features of morphology such as flexive case-morphemes are preserved in names when they were lost in common nouns. Thus the archaic flexive morphemes in

*hlewagastiz* and *holtijaz* are not just due to their occurrence in names. Even if the spoken language by 400 A.D. had developed considerable dialectal differentiation (which is very likely), texts like formal inscriptions would be apt to keep the earlier language form. For instance, in late Vulgar Latin times inscriptions in Classical Latin prevailed. Third-century inscriptions like those on the Vimose buckle and the Vaerløse clasp<sup>8</sup>, with their West Germanic loss of the inflectional endings, show early written reflexes of the morphological development; *tilarids* (see supra, p. 21) shows typical East Germanic final devoicing (Auslautsverhärtung \*z > s) and loss of "thematic" vowel (\**rīdaz*).

We have only about twenty Runic inscriptions that are from the third century and early fourth century and are thus earlier than Gallehus. Their language mostly agrees with Gallehus and does not reflect the different locations: RAUNIJAZ (Øvre Stabu, Norway), WIDUHUDAZ (Himlingøje), etc. But the West Germanic inscriptions AADAGAST, ALUGOD<sup>8</sup> have no case-ending. *Tilarids* has syncope and final devoicing. This, according to Krause, gives us examples for the three main divisions of Germanic dialects.<sup>10</sup>

The names in our oldest sources give us almost entirely nominative case forms. They are the names of the possessor, the donor, or the artist. The artist in the Gallehus inscription left no doubt in the engraved text that he did the engraving. Incidentally, no scholar so far has claimed that HORNA contains the plural morpheme *-a* as found in Gothic and not the accusative singular with loss of the final nasal. But the artist could have referred to the second, most elaborately ornamented gold horn of Gallehus, without any Runic letters. However, it must be noted that frequently the names do not refer to the male or female proprietor or the artist but to the object itself, if it is a weapon: RAUNIJAZ 'tester' is found on the spearhead of Øvre Stabu. This is also true for *tilarids*, which is found on the spearhead of Kowel, and for RANJA 'router' on the spearhead of Dahmsdorf.<sup>11</sup> HARJA on the Vimose comb indicates the owner (Krause 1971, 173).

### III. Name Formation

*Hlewagastiz* contains two lexives: *hlew-* 'fame' or 'protection' and *gast* 'guest,' both with good Indo-European etymologies. The linking of the two lexives is by means of the stem formative *-a-*; the first part of the compound contains no flexive morpheme, only the second part, *gastiz*. This assures the unity of the word.

This compounding found in Germanic names, which is important for the development of the Germanic lexicon not only in the language of poetry, has often been described from the semantic and lexical point of view, e.g. by Gottfried Schramm.<sup>12</sup> Often there is no clear semantic connection between the two parts.<sup>13</sup> *Gastiz* and equivalents constitute a frequent common noun, but in names the first part may only vaguely determine its meaning. The previously-mentioned inscription WIDUHUDAZ (from Himlingþje) 'dog of the wood' (Krause: 'Waldhund'), perhaps the name of the donor (the owner of the clasp must have been a woman), could be a variation for *Wolf* (Antonsen 1975, 31).

From the double compounded full Germanic names, hypocoristic forms were derived which often functioned as full names later on. Professor Antonsen's translation ('son of Holtgastiz') assumes such a form to be underlying the first part of *holtjaz*. This brings us to the second type of word formation for which early Germanic names provide evidence: formation by affixation. *\*ija* in *holtjaz* contains a suffix formative, which creates not only agent nouns from nominal stems such as *holt* 'wood' but also adjectives. The name of the father added to that of the son is found, for example, in the Nordic inscription on the stone of Istaby (600 A.D.): HAΦUWULAFZ HAERUWULAFIZ. The father's name, like an apposition, is added to the son's name in the nominative.<sup>14</sup> A patronymic, thus adjectival, meaning of *\*ija* (Indo-European *\*-eio-*) in *holtjaz* has been frequently assumed.\* The lexical meaning of the suffix seems to be 'pertaining to, involved with.' Thus scholars have tentatively considered *holtjaz* as indicating a location for the artist. He could then be 'the woodsman.' But he could also be 'the wood-carver,' indicating his usual medium for creating artifacts, with gold for the horns a remarkable exception. Not the earliest but later inscriptions repeatedly contain, next to the name of the artist, the term *erilaz*, possibly originally an ethnic term referring to the *Eruli*, a Germanic tribe (Schönfeld 1911, 78; see fn. 1), but usually translated as 'rune-master,' indicating his trade or profession.<sup>15</sup> This could apply to *holtjaz* as well. The small size of our corpus is responsible for many 'hapax legomena'; thus lexical analysis must remain uncertain. We cannot be sure whether uncompounded names (HARJA, HOLTJAZ) are nonce-formations or frequent common nouns.

We have attempted to demonstrate that early Germanic names can only be considered part of the Germanic corpus if they contain Germanic

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\* As a name the adjective would become a noun. There is no distinction between nominal and adjectival inflection in our oldest Germanic sources.

flexives, i.e. case endings. Unlike the situation with phonological data, even the earliest Germanic names do not seem to contain or preserve morphological elements not found in common nouns of the period. But early Germanic names provide striking examples of word-formation by compounding and suffixation which may have served as models for word-formation among common names.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup>M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen*, 2d ed. of 1911 original (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), xi. "Vorab die Lexikographen haben sich um unsere Namen allzuwenig gekümmert....Auch fo''u'r die *Wortbildungslehre* lassen sich bemerkenswerte Aufschlüsse aus den Namen gewinnen."

<sup>2</sup>Rudolf Egger, "Die Inschrift des Harigasthelmes," *Anz. der phil.-hist. Klasse der Öst. Ak. der Wiss.* 5 (1959), 79ff. P. Kretschmer, *Zfda* 66 (1929), 4, interpreted HARIKASTI·TEI·V·A·III·IL· as "Harigast dem (Gotte) Teiwa." Egger's analysis is: "(of) Harigastus, (the son) of *Teia*. V(exillarius) A(larum) III II(lyricarum)."

<sup>3</sup>G. Must, *Language* 31 (1955), 493-98. L. Musset, *Introduction d la runologie* (1965), pp. 70 and 367, translates it as 'l'assaillant.' The rune involved he renders as □ "non attesté ailleurs" but "généralement interprété comme d'Antonsen ['goal-pursuer']."

<sup>4</sup>See H. Penzl, "Early Germanic names and vowel shifts," *Names* 4 (1966), 65-68; also "The phonemic interpretation of early Germanic names," in *Papers in Linguistics in Honor of Leon Dostert*, ed. W.M. Austin (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1967), 145-48.

<sup>5</sup>C and X instead of the customary <k> and <g> render the Runic symbols directly. For [ɣ] as the value of X see W. Krause, *Die Sprache der urnordischen Runeninschriften* (Heidelberg, 1971), 38f.

<sup>6</sup>Elmer H. Antonsen, *A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1975), 41. Cf. Krause 1971 [fn. 5], 148: "Ich H., Holtes Sohn, ..."

<sup>7</sup>See H. Penzl, *Vom Urgermanischen zum Neuhochdeutschen: Eine historische Phonologie* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1975).

<sup>8</sup>The Vimose buckle of 200 A.D. has AADAGAST 'Andagast (the eminent guest)' without any ending (Antonsen, 75); similarly the Vaerløse clasp: ALUGOD 'Alugod (magic-good?).'

<sup>9</sup>H. Penzl, *Althochdeutsch, Eine Einführung in Dialekte und Vorgeschichte*, (Bern: Peter

Lang, 1986), 123f.

<sup>10</sup> W. Krause, *Handbuch des Gotischen*, 3d ed. München: C.H. Beck, 1968), 42ff., distinguishes the *dagaz*-group (North Germanic), the *dags*-group (East Germanic), the *dag*-group (West Germanic).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Carl J.-S. Marstrander, "Germanische Waffennamen aus römischer Zeit," *NTS* 3 (1929), 218-35.

<sup>12</sup> G. Schramm, *Namenschatz und Dichtersprache*, in *Studien zu den zweigliedrigen Personennamen der Germanen*. (Göttingen, 1957).

<sup>13</sup> Schönfeld 1911, xii: "Im Laufe der Zeit geschah es, dass gewisse Kompositionsglieder in den einzelnen Familien herrschend wurden; sie pflegten dann bisweilen mit anderen gleichfalls beliebt gewordenen Kompositionsgliedern verbunden zu werden, ohne dass die beiden Komponenten des Kompositums der Bedeutung nach zueinander gehört hätten." Cf. Krause 1971 [fn. 5], § 87 ("Zweigliedrige Personennamen").

<sup>14</sup> Antonsen [fn. 6], 84, also fn. 2. By 550 A.D., Buskerud: HRORAZ HROREZ (Krause 1971, 142).

<sup>15</sup> From Kragebul comes (300 A.D.) *ek erilaz asugisalas*. Antonsen, p. 35, does not translate *erilaz*: *ek erilaz sawilagazaz* 'I am the *erilaz* of Ansugis<sup>a</sup>laz ...' (Lindholm amulet); *ek wagi-gaz erilaz agilamundon* (Rosseland stone); etc. Cf. Krause 1971 [fn. 5], 141, on the Bratsberg fibula.