Reviews

These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics. Vol. 5. Edited by AARON DEMSKY. Pp. 209 + 163. Ramat Gan, Israel: Bar Ilan University Press. 2011. Ill. $35.00 (HB). ISBN: 978-965-226-375-9

This volume continues the series initiated by Aaron Demsky in 1997. There are nine essays in English and seven in Hebrew. They developed, along with some additional papers, out of the Seventh World Conference on Jewish Onomastics, held in Jerusalem in 2005. There are abstracts in Hebrew for the articles in English and abstracts in English for the articles in Hebrew. Indexes of names appear in English, Cyrillic, Hebrew, and transliteration.

Editor Demsky suggests that the papers can be placed in two major categories:

1. Onomastics in antiquity, particularly with Bible-related themes.
2. Modern issues.

Using this classification as a point of departure, we can describe the contributions. The first essay by Yael Avrahami ("Name Giving to the Newborn in the Hebrew Bible") focuses on three main areas: (1) the study of the theological and religious meanings of personal names; (2) the literary aspect of how biblical narrative authors used names and their interpretation as a literary device; and (3) the meaning of the name as relevant to the circumstances of the naming.

A useful contribution of the essay is the listing of the more than fifty biblical references to name-giving.

The second item in the antiquity group is an article by Joel S. Burnett ("Divine Absence Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible"). This type of name is probably unfamiliar to most if not all of us. It is also known as a "Where?" name type. The type was first mentioned by Albright as appearing as early as the second millennium and occurring mostly in the first millennium BCE. The names occurred in Bronze Age sources such as the Egyptian Execration texts, cuneiform documents in Akkadian, and alphabetic texts from Ugarit. Examples include some with theophorous meaning, as in ʾAyya-ma-ʾilu ("Where is the God?") or ʾiyb ʿl ("Where is Baal?"). There is relevance for this type of name, as Burnett explains, to several in the Bible. One is Ichabod, the son of Phinehas, the one who was born at the time the Ark was captured as described in I Samuel 4. While there are other explanations, Burnett suggests that *Ichabod* is of the ancient "Where?" type and translates as "Where is the Glory?" referring to the story of the loss of the Ark. Several other Bible "Where?" names are also explained, including *Jezebel*.

The third contribution to this group is the work of David Calabro ("Personal Names with Egyptian Elements in Pre-exile Hebrew Inscriptions"). He analyzes twenty-two instances of Egyptian name elements in pre-exilic Hebrew inscriptions. After examination of the names, many authorities suggest that "Egyptian names were fashionable among Israelite families, or they may point to mixed Egyptian-Israelite families." The Appendix has useful tables listing the instances, number of attestations, Egyptian identification, and other information.

Editor Demsky ("Ghost-Names in the Bible") describes ghost-names. A ghost-name is a name that after close examination appears to have been created out of error, a misunderstanding, or a contrivance. After being accepted into the biblical canon, it appears to be a legitimate proper name. It is definitely not a "no-name," as Demsky has described elsewhere. In that article he cites the name *Peloni Almoni* from the Book of Ruth as referring to "Mr So-and-so" where the author of the story shows disapproval of the man and his refusal to marry Ruth by

not giving the man's real name. Among the ghost-names commented on are *Hen* (Zech. 6:14), which Demsky's proposes is a title rather than a name. Other names that are not supported by evidence include *Malachi* and *Avigdor*.

From the first millennium BCE, Yaacov Kaduri ("On Biblical Names and Later Etymologies") takes us to the Second Temple Period, 530 BCE–70 CE. He evaluates the Bible explanations of the meanings of many of the names of figures in the Bible. Many names such as *Cain*, *Noah*, *Jacob*, *Moses*, and others have their biblical meanings contradicted by modern scholarship. One interesting bit of information is that while Moses had several Hebrew names, in Leviticus 1:1 he was called by the name given him by his non-Jewish mother.

Concluding the section on ancient names is the examination by Hananel Mack ("Mehetabel, the Daughter of Matred, the Daughter of Me'zahab: Three Biblical Names in Light of the Classical Jewish Commentaries" [Hebrew]). *Mehetabel* is clearly a female name, but there are questions from the commentaries as to whether the other two names refer to a man or a woman, a profession, a place, or even, in interpretations by kabbalists and mystics, God's attributes.

Shifting to the more modern period is the contribution of Juliette Hassine ("Sol Hatsadiqah — Onomastic Characteristics in the Creation of a Cultural Heroine" [Hebrew]). Hassine describes how the name of a Jewish woman from Fez, Morocco who was martyred in 1834 went through onomastic changes in Judeo-Arabic manuscripts. These changes created a cultural heroine.

Yosef Rivlin ("The Practice of Giving Two Birth Names" [Hebrew]) describes the practice mostly among Ashkenazi Jews of giving a child two names at birth. While there are explanations of the reasons for this practice — giving a vernacular name, name restrictions, adding an additional name for a sick child, or special qualities of different names — none is completely satisfactory.

Bracha Yaniv ("Jewish Surnames Reflecting the Embroidery and Ornamentation Crafts in Central and Eastern Europe") goes back to sixteenth-century tombstones in Prague to find occupational surnames associated with embroidery. Photographs demonstrate the types of embroidery that were created by people with surnames like *Goldsticker*, *Posamentier*, or *Schnurmacher*.

The final contribution to this section is by Michael Falk ("Jewish Surnames Derived from the *Shabbat* and Other Days of the Week"). He shows that "a wide variety of Ashkenazic and Sephardic surnames derived from the Hebrew, Yiddish, German, or Slavic names for the seventh day of the week." Naming for Friday and other days of the week is also discussed.

The focus of papers shifts to another area, countries that were parts of the former Soviet Union: Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Latvia. Lawson, Alakbarli, and Sheil ("The Mountain (Gorskij) Jews of Azerbaijan — Their Twentieth Century Naming Patterns") evaluated the naming patterns of an old, isolated Jewish community near Baku. The majority spoke Judeo-Tat, a dialect of New Persian as a first language. Even under Soviet rule, the traditional naming practices were observed and their historical identity was maintained. The authors conclude that the continuation of this identity was due more to the maintenance of the Judeo-Tat language than to religious influence.

Alexander Beider ("Jewish Surnames in Latvia"), well known for his major contributions to Jewish onomastics with his *Dictionary of Jewish Surnames in the Kingdom of Poland*, *A Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from Galicia*, *A Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from the Russian Empire*, and other works, turns his attention this time to Latvia. He explains that there were combinations of various forces, political, cultural, and religious that influenced naming methods. The major districts were Courland, the western part of the Vitebsk *guberniya*, and Riga. Many examples of names in the different regions are presented along with comments on the role of (German) Christian officials.

The final paper in this grouping is Reuven Enoch's ("Hebrew Names in the Speech of Georgian Jews" [Hebrew]). He explains that Georgian Jews except for the period under Soviet rule had Hebrew given names (as in Russia itself). These Hebrew names were of two types: (1)

those used only by Jews; and (2) those used by both non-Jews and Jews. Enoch describes the influence of Georgian on the pronunciation of Hebrew names, e.g., *Itsxak* v. *Isxak*. Analysis of the names used by both Jews and non-Jews shows conflicting tendencies — to keep the Hebrew form or to use the Georgian form, e.g., *Šelemo* v. *Solomon*. Other types of phonetic changes are also described.

The final two studies are from modern Israel. Ofra Malka Birnboim's ("Jewish and Israel Identity According to the Personal Names of Certain Communities in Samaria" [Hebrew]) reports on the reasons given for naming children. They are: (1) event-oriented names, e.g., holidays; (2) person-oriented names, such as memorial names; (3) religiously oriented names, e.g., Bible words, prayers; (4) ideals or nature; and (5) pleasant-sounding names. The conclusion is that the religious communities are influenced by contemporary Jewish society but still maintain their religious identity in their naming practice.

The essay by Reuven Gafni ("Memory, Economy and Ideology: On the Names of Synagogues in Jerusalem" [Hebrew]) categorizes the names of synagogues in Jerusalem in the last hundred fifty years. He explains that the names have various sources, a religious obligation to a public leader or religious leader whose rulings guide them, financial obligations to individuals or organizations, a political obligation to a movement or party, or other.

Ephraim Hazan ("The Proper Name as a Linguistic and Stylistic Factor in Spanish Poetry" [Hebrew]) explores the literary devices used by Ibn Gebirol and others that involve names.

Somewhat different from the more academic papers is a poem by Samuel Menashe ("Whose Name I Know"). It gives the reader pause for thought and perhaps something to puzzle over.

This fifth volume of the *These Are the Names* series has brought together contributions from a wide range of topics. Many of the articles have explored areas that have hardly been previously touched, articles such as Burnett's divine absence names, Yaniv's on embroidery names, Demsky's on ghost-names, and Beider's on Jewish surnames in Latvia. This book is highly recommended for collections of onomastics and Jewish history.

State University of New York, Fredonia   EDWIN D. LAWSON

Studies in Etymology and Etiology (With Emphasis on Germanic, Jewish, Romance, and Slavic Languages). By DAVID L. GOLD. Selected and edited, with a foreword, by Félix Rodriguez González and Antonio Lillo Buades. Alicante [Spain]: Universidad de Alicante. 2009. Pp. 872. $35.00. ISBN: 978-84-7908-517-9. Also available on Kindle from Amazon at $9.99.

David L. Gold is known by onomastics scholars for his work with Patrick Hanks on the *Dictionary of American Family Names* and with Robert Singer on *Jewish Given Names and Family Names: A New Bibliography* and his many articles dealing with names. This is a collection of his thirty-one articles. Most seem to have appeared earlier in journals. The focus of the articles, as the title indicates, is on etymology and etiology of words and slang that have come into current usage from English and from other languages.

Gold uses his extensive language background to trace the etymologies of words like *paparazzo*, *parky*, *pastrami*, *serape*, and many others. These thirty articles are probably more appealing to linguists. It is the thirty-first article on Jewish Dickensiana that will be of interest to onomasticians. It is book-length (135 pages).

The main focus of the first section seems to be that the name *Fagin*, the arch villain in *Oliver Twist*, is in popular belief derived from the East Ashkenazi demetronymical family name *Feygin*. I am afraid that I am unfamiliar with the term *demetronymical*. I cannot locate the term in dictionaries. I assume that it is a metronymic of some sort. A metronym refers to a family name derived from the name of a woman. In this case, it is ultimately derived from the name *Tzipora*, the wife of Moses. It came into Yiddish as *Foygl* as a female given name and as *Feygin* as a family name. The question seems to be whether Dickens in naming Fagin knowingly used an East European Jewish name that was spelled similarly. Gold proceeds to

give information showing that this was not likely. Following the introduction, there is a discussion of naming practices in Czarist Russia and other countries. There is a vivid description of how naming regulations cruelly affected Jewish life in Russia. (Appendix I describes laws affecting names from 1539 to 2004 in different countries.)

Gold goes on to describe Jewish life in England and how little direct contact Dickens would have had with Ashkenazi Jews. The reader is left with the impression that Dickens did not or could not knowingly have chosen Fagin as a Jewish name. But why did he choose it?

Many explanations are presented, including those by Edmund Wilson, Stanley Gerson, Stephen Gill, Robert Fleissner, Leonard Prager, and others, as to why Dickens chose the family name of the man who had helped him at the blacking-warehouse for the name of the arch villain.

Going back to the question about the similarity of the character Fagin and the Jewish family name, one has to ask about the linkage. Gold supplies similarities or coincidences in names in general (e.g. the Ashkenazic family name *Chen* and the non-Jewish Chinese name *Chen*, the Ashkenazi family name *Kahn* and the non-Jewish Pakistani family name *Kahn*, and several others). A second list of eleven items shows similarities/coincidences between Dickens' names and Ashkenazic Jewish names. Examples include: *Dorrit* in Dickens and the Israeli Hebrew given name *Dorit*; the family name *Tellson* in Dickens and the Ashkenazic family name *Telson*; and the family name *Weller* in Dickens and the Ashkenazic family name *Weller*. What we are left with is the conclusion that Dickens' choice of Fagin as the family name of the villain and its similarity to the Ashkenazic family name was coincidence.

We are still left with the question of how the choice was made. Dickens himself throws some light on the choice. Those familiar with Dickens' life will recall that as a young boy he was sent to work six days a week in a blacking warehouse, infested with rats, where he pasted labels on pots of blacking. One older boy taught him some of the necessary skills for the work and looked after him when he was ill. That boy, an orphan, was Bob Fagin. According to a quotation by David Paroisssien from Dickens' "Autobiographical Fragment," Dickens "'took the liberty' of borrowing the name 'Fagin' from an associate at Warren's blacking factory."

There is one additional point that might be mentioned, that is, the model for the character Fagin. There was a criminal well known at the time named Ikey Solomon. He recruited children as pickpockets, giving them food and shelter in return for the goods they stole. Apparently he was quite a colorful character who was arrested, escaped, recaptured, tried, convicted, and sent to a penal colony in Tasmania. He was the subject of pamphlets. He is considered by Dickens experts as the model for Fagin.

What can be concluded is that while the character of Fagin was taken from a model who was Jewish (Ikey Solomon), there was no attempt to use a Jewish family name for the villain; rather the name came from an old friend.

Gold has exhaustively explored the seemingly endless series of explanations for the naming of an important character in literature. It would be fascinating to see what he could do with the naming of other characters such as Bradley Headstone, Uriah Heep, and Martin Chuzzlewit.

State University of New York, Fredonia   Edwin D. Lawson

In 2004, the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture sponsored an international symposium on the subject of *Suffix Formation in Old Place Names* [*Suffixbildungen in alten Ortsnamen*], the proceedings of which were published, edited by Thorsten Andersson

and Eva Nyman, the same year as Volume 88 in its series of *Acta*. That conference was followed in 2010 by another symposium under the same auspices and published the same year, under the editorship of Lennart Elmevik and Svante Strandberg, as Volume 112 in the same series. In many respects the later volume is a continuation of the earlier one but, as its title indicates — *Problems in the Reconstruction of Obsolete Words in Old Proper Names* [*Probleme der Rekonstruktion untergegangener Wörter in alten Eigennamen*] — emphasizes problematic aspects of the research method rather than its positive past results, which are nevertheless recognized as having been considerable. The seventeen essays (eight in English and nine in German) which form the substance of this collection have, like the conference papers which they echo, as their central theme a phenomenon that all those name scholars who have undertaken quests for origins have encountered, in a variety of guises, in their research, though mainly in the reverse exercise of reconstructing names with the help of old, or sometimes not so old, words. As the editors put it, in their summarizing, opening abstract, the purpose "was to explore the possibilities and problems involved in attempts to reconstruct words with the help of old place-names and personal names, and thus to deepen the study of names as a historical source," but whereas the 2004 symposium and its subsequent publication concentrated on derivational, morphological material, its successor, now under review, pays special attention to dithematic names or name compounds, particularly the nature and use of specifics. In their linguistic affiliation, fourteen of the essays focus on earlier phases and the language history or prehistory of Scandinavian countries like Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, two single out Old High German and one builds a bridge between Scandinavia and (North-West) Germany. In one of the contributions, Germanic or even pre-Germanic roots are suggested. This is not surprising insofar as it is unspecified "old" place names and personal names that are especially targeted as potential providers of relevant data for the reconstructive exercise conducted.

The "exploration" or, perhaps rather the "explorations," of which the editors speak and in which the seventeen authors are engaged in their contributions are, it seems, not so much a search for relevant evidence in support of fundamentals primarily distilled from procedures which have already achieved broad acceptance, in the first place among our Scandinavian colleagues, but also to a certain extent, elsewhere, as an investigation probing the diverse applications of these principles and the challenges met in establishing them. It would, however, be a mistake to come to the foregone conclusion that the various reconstructive writers have on the whole little that is new or contradictory to say and are only reinforcing each other in their findings, though from different perspectives. It could easily and justifiably have turned out that way if it were not for the continuing impact of the lingering, still fairly audible voices drifting in from what is likely to have been a lively, well-informed debate and reined-in interchange of ideas among the participants round the conference table itself. What this volume therefore felicitously offers instead is an astonishingly rich variety — one may be tempted to call it a kaleidoscope — of meticulously researched and evaluated expert responses to the symposium organizers'-cum-*acta*-editors' invitation to take part in a timely, intra-disciplinary discourse on the multi-faceted theme of lexical reconstruction, while at the same time increasing the potential audience beyond an established circle of specialist scholars. The chief aim of these published proceedings is thus apparently the creation of an awareness of greater particularization and not an attempt at generalization based on a cumulative inventory of relevant examples acquired as the result of a systematic survey. An editorial statement to the latter effect should therefore not be expected, perhaps after a parade of illustrative material culled from contributors' papers. On the other hand, less self-assured, or perhaps more receptive, than its predecessor, this second volume of the *Acta* is, as its title reveals, willing, even happy, to expose problems as well as to celebrate achievements, a balance to be welcomed.

Complementary to such perceived editorial intentions, this reviewer decided, however, to select for special scrutiny a representative sample of a few individual papers in order to convey an impression of the range and variety of the conference proceedings, by highlighting what appear to be some emergent categories. The choices are based on this consideration alone and

do not reflect any qualitative factors. The author of the first of these selected essays, Svante Strandberg, a lake- and river-name expert of the University of Uppsala and co-editor of these *Acta*, narrows the general theme to "Problems in the Reconstruction of Hydronyms" (117–128), implicitly acknowledging both the proven usefulness of the research method for his own intentions ("Many obsolete words have been reconstructed from place-names [in the widest sense].") and the need for improvement on that front.

Elaborating further on the sometimes problematic nature of lexicalization, he is also one of several scholars in the proceedings to alert their audiences/readerships to what they regard as a major distinction between so-called "primary" or "secondary" name-formations, a conceptual contrast which has played a pivotal role in relevant Scandinavian scholarship but is more peripheral elsewhere. According to Strandberg, "primary name-formation takes place when a place-name contains a word which has been formed directly and has not previously existed as a *nomen*" (117). As a prototypical example of primary formation he cites the Swedish *Värmland* lake-name *Värmeln* (ancient Nordic **Wermilaʀ*) formed by affixation from the river name *Wermōn* 'the lake associated with the river *Wermōn*,' and illustrates "secondary formation by the name *Vättern*, Old Swedish *Vætur*" in which an appellative for "water" has become a name. The tenor of the article, however, deals with ambiguities in this respect and with other kinds of uncertainties in other types of name. As the relevance of this basic distinction between primary and secondary name-function in the reconstruction of old words from toponymic sources is deemed essential in the context of this volume, a brief tangential excursion into adjacent territory is therefore in order to clarify matters.

Thorsten Andersson, in particular, who is credited with having been the chief originator and promoter of the idea since the 1980s, is given an opportunity in the opening presentation of the proceedings to speak authorially on the subject (11–24). "The main problem," he states, "in the search for old words, i.e., appellatives and adjectives, in (proper) names is the differentiation between primary and secondary name-formation as only in secondary name-formation is the discovery of obsolete words possible," but adds the caveat that "if one concentrates on this kind of name-formation one comes to the point where it becomes impossible to draw a sharp line between the two" (11). He advocates that, after the long, past preoccupation with non-compound names, the quest for old words be extended to name compounds as they, too, like suffixed derivative names, are often the result of primary formation (14). As primary formations he quotes many of the place-names which are found with personal names as first elements, like *Erikstad,* and toponyms in which other place-names are the specific, like *Hebytorp*, and notes as a secondary formation the Swedish name *Tingstad* "place where the *ting* is held" (12). In his own contribution, Lennart Elmevik, another Uppsala academic and co-editor of the *Acta*, draws attention to the lively scholarly discussion regarding the borderline between primary name-formation made possible with the help of suffixes and secondary name formation achieved with the help of existing words (25), or between place-names that can be formed with words and those which cannot. He demonstrates the dilemma in which scholars find themselves trying to determine the category to which the Swedish place-names *Vaksala*, *Vaxhälla*, *Skånela*, and *Magla* belong (28). In his article on Swedish-Norwegian lake names in *–agen* (38–43), Staffan Fridell (also from Uppsala), regards the opinion as probably correct that the names *Helagsjön* and *Róragsjön* are secondary formations to primary lake-names **Helagen*, and **Röragen*, respectively (38), whereas the name *Skjärvagen* is not. Inge Særheim (from Stavanger) suggests that most of the names, such as *Goa*, *Tasta*, and *Hinna*, containing suffixes which were used in the pre-Nordic and pre-Germanic periods, are examples of primary names (133–134) and that a name like *Bore* (Old Norse *Borða*) should be regarded as an instance of secondary naming (135). He also warns that "in some cases it is difficult to decide whether a place-name is an example of so-called primary naming or a result of secondary naming. Is the name formed with a suffix, and thus an instance of primary naming, or is it coined from an existing word and hence a case of secondary naming?" (131). In the course of his discussion of old names of small places (55–68), Botolv Helleland of Oslo concentrates on three place-names in *Hordaland* (Norway) — *Skutull*, *Låte*, *Lote* — the first of which is

associated with his ancestral home; the name *Skutull*, which is traceable only in oral tradition until the twentieth century, refers to a protruding mountain feature and is considered by Helleland to be a "telling" illustration of the alternatives available to the investigating scholar in its interpretation. It may, for instance, go back to an appellative **skutell*, a side form of *skutíll*, with topographic reference to such a specific feature, but it may also serve as an example of the difficulties involved in determining whether it represents primary or secondary name-formation. Helleland points out that a name can only be adjudged to be secondary if the word on which it is based is documented (89). This word can, however, be obsolete itself. Svavar Sigmundsson of Reykjavík summarizes his presentation of Icelandic naming as follows: "this discussion has raised various questions in past years including those of whether the name is primary, that is the elements of a name were created when the place was named, or secondary, that is the name involves words that already existed in the vocabulary of a language" (95). As Icelandic examples in different categories, Sigmundsson mentions *Boðaldsey*, *Blekhill*, *Kyrfi*, *Skandi*, and *Flangir*. At the other end of the chronological spectrum, Elmevik, Greule, and Strandberg throw Hans Krahe's "water words" in his pre-Nordic and pre-Germanic Old European network of river-names into the debate: *Ager*, *Aland*, *Alster*, *Eger*, *Elster*, *Ergers*, *Ergolz*, *Oker*, *Yealm*, etc. (50–51, see also 31 and 124). It is difficult to deduce a common denominator from these individual attempts at defining the contrast between the dichotomy of primary and secondary formations. Perhaps Svavar Sigmundsson's paraphrase, "whether the name is primary, that is the elements of a name were created when the place was named, or secondary, that is the elements of the name involved words that already existed in the vocabulary of the language" (95), or Elmevik's "primary name formation made possible with the help of suffixes, and secondary name formation achieved with the help of existing words" (25) is closest to inviting consensus among the practitioners in the field, but they will probably not satisfy everybody. At any rate, their role in the recovery of lost words from names is obviously not a negligible one, though by no means unproblematic.

In spite of the predictable emphasis on problems, the volume under review does, of course, offer a large number of reports on successful reconstructions, of which the following are only some instances: the runologist Magnus Källström's (Visby) elegant interpretation of the personal name *binu*, on the rune stone U908 at Fiby in Vange parish near Uppsala, as the accusative of a Runic Swedish name *Bina* 'the staring one, the curious one,' parallel to Old West Norse *Glóra*, *Glíra*, and **Gláma* (179–182); Bent Jørgensen's (Copenhagen) judicious and convincing application of the influential factor of "[f]requency of occurrence as a significant element in the documentation" of lexical retrieval, as, for instance, to the Danish place-names *Pebringe*, *Attemose*, *Hyse*, and *Mellenkyse*, stimulated by the previous treatment of the first of these by the late John Kousgård Sørensen (69–77); Eva Nyman's (Härnösund) investigation, through reconstruction (88–91) of the competing claims of secondary name formation or imitative naming in the evaluation of Old Norse place-names, with particular attention to the *Borgund/Burgund* names cluster (80–91). Contrary to her own earlier thinking, Nyman now prefers to see their origins in a "ready made" appellative **borgund*, although she is not completely convinced that those names and others like them cannot have been coined through the common process of imitation (79–94). Nordic **burgund/*borgund* is also at the heart of Thorsten Andersson's catalog of words which can be reconstructed with the help of parallels in other languages (19). In his careful survey of "lost appellatives in island names" in Central and Northern Norway (105–115), Ola Stemshaug (Trondheim), while admitting that most of the reconstructed island appellatives, like Old Norse *Brettingen* 'steep place' and **fólgsn* 'hidden, concealed place,' refer to significant morphological features, recognizes that "old lost words can also be found in place names without referring to such specific features" (113). Jürgen Udolph (Göttingen) examines closely a substantial group of place- and river-names which occur mostly in north and central Germany, with a notable grouping in south-east Lower Saxony (141–158). These names contain old words which cannot be satisfactorily explained with the help of references to West Germanic strata, such as High and Low German, their predecessors Middle High German, Middle Low German, and Old Low Saxon or Old

Frisian, but can be reconstructed only through their affiliation with North Germanic cognate appellatives. As Udolph points out, these names are not, as has sometimes been suggested, to be regarded as North Germanic relicts but had their origins in a time in which the language of the name-givers of the region still contained the North Germanic words, i.e., in a pre-Common Germanic period. Names like *Beddingen*, *Braunlage*, *Cramme*, *Dragen*, *Engensen*, *Fro(h)se*, etc., are therefore not to be ascribed to Scandinavian colonists or immigrants. This reviewer ventures to suggest the potential linguistic interconnections within a shared Northwest Germanic structure.

This list provides only an inadequate and certainly incomplete indication of some of the individual responses to the conference theme, on which many essays have innovative insights to offer.

Although, as I have already hinted, the organizers of the symposium do not, in my understanding, appear to have attempted to establish themselves or to encourage individual participants to reach generalized conclusions based on their findings, a few of the presenters have nevertheless included in their articles a certain amount of practical guidance regarding their aims and methodology. Inge Særheim (Stavanger), who in his paper (129–140) searches not only for "old words" in place-names but more specifically and probably far more promisingly, for "topographical appellatives," advises, for instance, that, in order for a reconstructive quest to be valid and successful, several criteria need to be fulfilled (131):

a) The reconstruction must be in accordance with the rules of the phonological and morphological system of the dialect represented, and with the development of the dialect.
b) The suggested semantics of the reconstructed word must be in accordance with the semantic content and development of related words.
c) The topography and use of the location must match the suggested semantics of the reconstructed word.
d) The reconstructed word should normally be represented in a sufficient number of toponyms (more than one) to make the interpretation probable.
e) Interpretation of the relevant name(s) as a result of primary naming (i.e., formed with a suffix) must be regarded as less probable and has to be rejected.
f) Linguistic parallels to the reconstruction must be presented in order to make the interpretation and reconstruction reliable.

Guided by his own advice, Særheim then proceeds to consider a number of different name categories of potential donors of reconstructable words, such as old uncompounded names of natural, mostly coastal, features in Rogaland (Old Norse *Umbar* and *Talga*); unique uncompounded settlement names that do not contain words that are known in the Scandinavian languages (*Goa* [Old Norse **Guði*], *Tasta* [Old Norse **Tastar* pl.]); settlement names that seem to have parallels in related languages (*Vista* 'river-bank'); lost compound appellatives (*Auglend* [Old Norse **Auklendi*] 'land which is added to a farm'); lost uncompounded appellatives (*Stavanger*, *Hardanger*, *Sandanger* [Old Norse *angr* 'bay, fjord']). He concludes that there are probably more examples of secondary naming and names containing lost words than we are aware of (138).

Similarly, sifting through the relevant evidence in another corner of the Germanic language area, Peter Wiesinger (Vienna), in his study of the old word-inventory of Bavarian Old High German in Upper Austria, has in mind four lexical categories in support of his contention that the contemporary vocabulary was more extensive than the written record in literary sources, etc., suggests (159–162): (1) Words that only rarely appear as appellatives but are frequently found in names; (2) Words which are not on record as appellatives in Old High German but occur in and as names and are found in the Middle High German written records; (3) Words which are found neither in Old High German nor in Middle High German but do survive toponymically and, to some extent, in Modern German dialects; (4) Words which do occur in

various forms in Old High German as appellatives but the progressively differentiated pronunciation of which becomes transparent only through the various modern dialect pronunciations. Wiesinger offers several examples for all four groups, among them Old High German *wang* 'field' (1), Old High German *ran* 'narrow, thin' (2), Old High German **kogal* 'mountain top' (3), and Old High German *ministiri* 'monastery' (4).

The German scholar Albrecht Greule, too, sets out to provide an overview of the lexical reconstruction of appellatives in geographical names, by researching words belonging to older linguistic strata of otherwise well-attested languages, words belonging to unrecorded layers within the same family of languages. appellatives in hypothetical languages, and appellatives in proto-languages, or language groups including Hans Krahe's Old European water-words (50–51; see also 31, 118). He points out that this undertaking is a necessary instrument in name interpretation which rests on the assumption that all names are ultimately derived from lexical items. In conjunction with a step-by-step outline of the stage in the development of the name of the river *Danube* (51–52), Greule, agreeing with Czech name scholar Rudolf Šrámek, however, stresses the desirability of taking onymic facets more into account.

The organizers of the Uppsala symposium were, of course, aware of this desideratum but, predictably and properly, underplayed its importance in the oral presentations and in this volume, preferring to treat names as significant sources for the elucidation of language history. Common ground will undoubtedly be discovered in Greule's observation that practice shows that, at the successful completion of lexical reconstructions, the appellatives retrieved with the help of names are treated by scholars as if they were "existing" words and in usage and interpretation do not differ from them. The accepted convention of marking such retrievals by an asterisk should not indicate a lesser degree of reliability or stop them from being regarded as genuine, worthy additions to the vocabulary of earlier phases of the languages in question. In the center of the symposium and therefore also at the heart of its *Acta* are not theoretical concerns but very practical matters. It would have been cumbersome and relatively unproductive in a review to do equal justice to all of the issues raised, and the objectives of this account have for that reason had to be more limited than might have been desirable. Its main purpose has therefore been to report on the contents and background of the proceedings rather than to attempt a detailed critical assessment of the findings, though it would be unwise to ignore Staffan Fridell's sceptical dictum formulated on the basis of his investigation of the Swedish-Norwegian lake names in *-agen*, that "it is not always advisable to reconstruct" (12). Nevertheless, it is hoped that the value of the *Acta* will be recognized and that the scholarly progress reflected in their contributions will duly be translated into more widespread responses in the years to come, thus increasing our knowledge of the vocabulary of old words reconstructed from names, even further matching the many old (place)names reconstructed from words. Congratulations, Uppsala!

University of Aberdeen, Scotland   W. F. H. NICOLAISEN