Book Reviews

English Place-Name Elements. By A. H. Smith. Vols. 1–2. (= English Place-Name Society. Vols. XXV–XXVI.) LV 305, 417, pp. 9 maps. Cambridge University Press. 1956. Price. $13.

The English Place-Name Society's publications appear in rapid succession, but even more impressive than the great speed in which the county surveys are turned out – the volumes hitherto published cover about half the country – is the solid quality and great accuracy displayed by the English place-name scholars. The two volumes here reviewed, written by the present director of the Survey of English Place-Names, are a new specimen of good philological scholarship.

The major part of the two volumes consists of a dictionary of the elements found in the major English place-names, in principle restricted to habitational names older than 1500 and largely to final elements, but also containing a large number of first elements and words forming uncompounded names. It is in the nature of a book like this that it is not the result of any original or pioneer work. It is rather the result of a painstaking and time-consuming compilation of the findings in published and unpublished investigations. This work, however, requires a complete command of the whole vast material as well as sound judgment and solid learning in the various fields included in onomatology. Smith's book is an important and most useful handbook for the study of Germanic place-names and early vocabulary.

Thirty years ago, the nestor of the English place-name research, Sir Allen Mawer, published a rather slim volume entitled *The chief elements used in English place-names.* As the title indicates, it covered only those elements that most frequently occur in the nomenclature. Smith's work, which now replaces that of Mawer, gives a more exhaustive and complete picture of the whole vocabulary pertinent to the name-giving of old major habitations.

In the time that has elapsed since Mawer published his survey, hundreds of books and papers on English and related place-names have appeared. A vast new material and numerous re-evaluations and re-interpretations of older findings have been published. This

is largely due to the development of finer methods and a more profound knowledge of the principles of name-giving. Furthermore, our knowledge of the Old-Germanic vocabulary in general and the place-nomenclature in particular has been augmented and deepened, and more attention is now given to facts and *realia* relative to name-giving. Consequently, the interpretations have become more and more accurate and the origin of a large number of names formerly obscure has been more or less convincingly established. The enormous growth of knowledge and material is, to a certain extent, illustrated by the difference in size between Mawer's small book, comprising 77 pages and ca. 600 elements, and Smith's two bulky volumes, containing more than 700 pages and probably ca. 20,000 words. The latter work, based on Mawer's pioneer work, epitomizes and brings up to date the results of the last thirty years' research.

In a well written Introduction, principles and methods in onomatological interpretation, various types of compounded names, the nature and arrangement of the dictionary, etc., are discussed in a condensed but lucid form. It appears that the purpose of the book is twofold. In the first place, it is intended to serve as a companion to the county surveys. In subsequent volumes, the commentary on most second elements can conveniently be given simply by reference to the dictionary. Much uneconomical repetition will then be avoided and space saved. In the second place, the book is designed to give a broad survey of basic facts of the lexicographical material that is now available in English place-names. In order to give as complete a picture as can readily be done a great many elements that occur only sparingly or even uniquely have been included. Word-formation, composition, syntactical relationship between the members of compounded names and other onomatological phenomena are illustrated and discussed in numerous articles on suffixes, case endings, prepositions, etc.

The major part of the two volumes consists of a dictionary of individual name elements. It is sometimes amazing to find how much information of various kinds has been incorporated in the articles. The material is lucidly and perspicuously arranged.

The main-entries are given in the normalized standard orthography of the various languages from which they originate, e.g. Old English, Celtic, Old French, Old Norse, etc. Significant variants as well as Middle English forms are listed. The provenance of all

forms is carefully given. A considerable part of the dictionary consists of starred elements which are not found on independent record but reconstructed. The large number of such forms shows how much new lexicographical material has been derived from place-names.

Next, the meaning or meanings of the words are given, usually followed by a short discussion of the usage, possible indistinguishability from other words, etc.

A most important part of the account is the exemplification of the elements as they occur in place-names, this being arranged so that first the use of the element as the first member of compounds is illustrated, thereafter its occurrence as simplex name and final member of compounds, and finally its function as an affix, e.g. *cold* in the name *Cold Ashby*. By referring every place-name listed to the county in which it has been recorded a successful and most welcome attempt has been made to give a picture of the frequency and the geographical distribution of each element. Under the most common elements their general frequency and distribution are indicated and only a few representative examples given. All compounded place-names are interpreted by giving the identity of the other element. Sometimes alternative interpretations are omitted, but this was no doubt done in the interest of brevity.

At the end of each article is given an etymological note, in most cases only consisting of references to one or more cognates with a firmly established etymology, but quite frequently there are short, highly condensed analytical expositions of etymological nature. When a certain element may have a double or manifold origin, this fact is regularly mentioned, when possible with some degree of preference. Numerous cross references facilitate the use of the dictionary.

It is, however, to be regretted that the gender of nouns is given only in exceptional cases. It is true that this serious deficiency is to be found in many etymological dictionaries, but the reason for this neglect to give accurate information is hard to understand. The gender is as important a component of a noun as its phonetic substance, its inflexion and its meaning. The absence of information about the gender is most badly missed in the many cases when words are known only from place-names and, thus, are not listed in other dictionaries.

Some of the articles are rather long and comprise small essays on

the etymology, the provenance, the meaning and the use of the elements, e. g. *bȳ*, *lēah*, *stōw*, *tūn*, *þorp*, *þrop*, *-ing*. These articles are well written and give, in extremely condensed form, a wealth of information and a graphic picture of significant phenomena pertinent to the elements used in place-names. They will be of great value for investigations into the corresponding elements in other areas of the Germanic world. The author does by no means pretend to have solved all or even most problems relative to the individual elements, but he calls attention to phenomena that ought to be investigated. So he does also in the Introduction.

The most common place-name elements found in the European continent and in Scandinavia, e. g. *-bȳ*, *-hām*, *-ing*, *-land*, *-stede*, *-tūn*, *-þorp*, etc., invaded also England and rose to great popularity during various periods. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the old Scandinavian elements *-lēv*, *-hēm*, *-vin* and *lōsa* are not demonstrable in England. They were no longer productive elements in name-formation when the Norsemen settled in the British Isles. Therefore the head-word *lausa* 'a slope' (2, p. 17), which at least should have an asterisk, is unjustified. One of the two names concerned is *Lowesby* in Leicestershire (*Glowesbi* 1086 Domesday Book, *Lousebia* ca. 1125), which according to E. Ekwall, *The Oxford dictionary of English place-names* (1940; hereinafter abbreviated Ekwall, *Dict.*), p. 291 "very likely" contains the word just mentioned. Another interpretation must be made. The other name is *Backleys* in the North Riding of Yorkshire (*Baklaus* 1335), the forms of which according to *EPNS* 5, p. 98 "are too few for any satisfactory explanation." Thus, the entry *lausa* should be deleted.

The value of the book is highly enhanced by the maps that are attached to both volumes. They show the distribution of certain elements, of British and Scandinavian names, etc. Many interesting and important findings can be concluded from a study of them. Even a quick glance at these maps shows, for instance, that the two elements *-ing* and the metathesized *-þrop* 'a hamlet' came to England not from Scandinavia but from the continent. It is true that there are scattered names ending in *-ing* that are of Scandinavian origin (see E. Ekwall, *English place-names in -ing*, 1923; R. E. Zachrisson, *English place-names in -ing of Scandinavian origin*, 1924), but it seems certain that *-ing* had more or less ceased to be a productive naming element in Scandinavia at the time the people

emigrated from there to England. Furthermore, it is evident that *-þrop* has nothing to do with the common ODan *-thrup*, *-throp*. These and other observations resulting from a study of the maps are no new discoveries, but they confirm in a decisive way the results of earlier investigations.

The maps also show, more clearly than ever before, the enormous Scandinavian influence on the place-nomenclature in the northern half of England, Danish in the eastern Danelaw and Norwegian in the north-west. The Scandinavian names comprise, beyond comparison, the most interesting part of the foreign constituents in this area. A comparison between map no. 10 showing the distribution of parish names of Scandinavian origin and a map of the presence of Scandinavian surnames in *-son* in England presented by Belsheim, *Norge og Vest-Europa i gammel tid* (1925), p. 143 (reprinted by P. Skautrup, *Det danske sprogs historie*, 1 (1944), p. 103) shows a striking similarity as to the local distribution and frequency of the Scandinavian elements.

The formative nature of the many Scandinavian names in England is varied. They may be native names which were adopted by the invaders and given Scandinavian forms (see, for instance, under *karl*, 2, p. 2), or they may be (combinations of) purely Scandinavian words. But in many cases the new population used names that already existed in finished form. Such names are no doubt *Upsall* (2, pp. 96, 227), which occurs twice in the North Riding of Yorkshire. It is, however, not evident from the reference (*loc. cit.*) to Swedish *Uppsala*, nor from the formulation in *EPNS* 5, pp. 159, 200 ("This name ... is the same as the Swed *Uppsala*"), whether or not the name is regarded as having been transplanted in fixed form or as a primary formation on English soil. The former alternative is no doubt the right one. Other names that most likely were transplanted by the Scandinavian settlers, although it is not so indicated in the book here reviewed or in the respective county surveys, are *Carlby* (2, p. 2; Scand *Karlaby*, *Karleby* etc.), *Hesket* (1, p. 245; 2, p. 124) from three places (WScand *Hestaskeiði*), *Sowber*, *Sulber* (1, p. 31; 2, p. 134; Scand *Solberg*, *-berga*), and hundreds of others. This concerns a matter of principle, which should have been given more consideration both by Smith in his dictionary and by the authors of the county surveys.

In general, the Scandinavian material in the dictionary is not

handled with the same thoroughness and accuracy as the English and Celtic parts. Although two Scandinavian scholars read proofs, there still remain quite a few inconsistencies and inaccuracies. In the following are given some scattered remarks which are the result of a cursory reading of some of the articles that deal with Scandinavian material. They might be of some value for a possible future edition.

The OScand words are usually given in the OIcel orthography. Consequently, long vowels are signified by accents, e. g. *brúðr* 'a bride', *vík* 'a bay', *sól* 'the sun'. The following words with long stem vowel are erroneously listed without accent: *dígr* 'thick', *bóndi* 'a farmer', *hvítr* 'white'. Inversely, the following words, the stem vowel of which is short, have by mistake an accent: *hundr* 'a small wood', *rugr* 'rye', *take* 'to take' (under *intake*), *suðrœnn* 'southern'; the form given is ON *súðrœn*, confusingly enough in the acc. masc. or nom.-acc. fem.).

In OIcel a short vowel before cacuminal *l* + cons. was lengthened shortly before 1200. The orthography in Smith's dictionary reflects conditions after this change in vowel quantity, e.g. *úlfr* 'a wolf', *stólpi* 'a post', *hjálmr* 'a helmet'. The advantage of this orthography is debatable in a case when the actual material is about three centuries older. Inconsistently, it happens that some forms that after 1200 had a long stem vowel are given without accent, e. g. *almr*.

As main-entries, the nouns are normally given in the nom. sing. and the adjectives in the nom. masc. sing. Therefore it must be confusing to a reader who is not an expert in Old Norse when OScand words of these categories are listed in the acc. or stem form, especially since the nom. *-r* usually also indicates masc. gender. The following errors were noted. The forms *gang* 'a passage, a path' (1, p. 193) and *hring* (1, p. 265) 'a ring' are OE but not ON, which are *gangr*, *hringr*. Similarly, *leik* 'play' (2, p. 23) should be *leikr*. The adj. *kald* 'cold' (2, p. 2) should have the masc. nom. *-r* (cf. correctly *langr* 'long', *myrkr* 'dark', etc.). Inversely, the form *lǫgr* 'a (district under one) law' (2, p. 26) is wrong for *lǫg*, which is neut. plur. The reference under this word to *býjar-lǫgr* 'a village community' is likewise wrong, while the compound as a head-word has the correct form *býjar-lǫg*. The first element of this compound is (1, p. 66) as head-word inconsistently given as ON *bȳ*, *býr*. Only the latter form is normally used.

Confusing and partly incorrect is the etymological parenthesis given under *gǫltr* 'a hog, a boar' (1, p. 206), in which is referred to OE *galt*, ON *gylt* and OE *gilte*, translated by 'a gilt, a boar'. There is no ON *gylt*, but there exist two other words, viz. *gyltr*, f. (*iō*-stem) and *gylta*, f. (*iōn*-stem), which both mean 'a young sow', as does the OE *gilte*.

Wrong is also *lúkar* (2, p. 27), given as the plur. form of ON *lúka* 'a hollow'. Since *lúka* is a fem. *ōn*-stem the correct plur. is *lúkur*. The same wrong information is given by A. Mawer, *The place-names of Northumberland and Durham* (1920), p. 137.

The name *Breydon Water* in Norfolk, where the Danes settled in 879, is said to contain ODan **brething*, 'a broad', cognate to Dan dial. *bredning*. More likely seems to be an ODan form **brethung*; cf. the name *Bredungen* (def. sing.) as name of a wide part of a river in western Sweden (*Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, 5, p. 124). This name establishes the gender of ODan **brethung* as masc.

ODan. *brink* 'a brink' is (1, p. 51) said to be "the older form (OEScand) of *brekka*." This is an inaccurate formulation. ODan. *brink* would correspond to OWScand **brekk(r)*, while ON *brekka*, f., is ODan *brinkæ*, which did exist and thus should be regarded as an alternative base-form of ME *brenke* and of some of the place-names containing the stem *brink-*. The word *brink* is in Scandinavian etymological dictionaries and elsewhere generally said to be a MLG loan-word, in which case it would be difficult to interpret the pertinent English place-names as Danish, but L. Moberg, *Om de nordiska nasalassimilationerna* (1944), pp. 101 ff., has shown that it is a native Scandinavian word. The frequent occurrence of *brink* especially in the Danelaw indicates the general assumption that *brink* is a Danish loan-word to be correct.

ON *deill* 'a share' (1, p. 128) is discussed as if it were a native Scand word, which might cause some misunderstanding. There might once have existed a native Proto Norse word **dailaR*, **dailiR*, m., or **dailō*, f., but if so it must have died out very early, at least in WScand, superseded by ON *deild*, ODan and OSwed *dēld*, f. When it again appeared in OScand, in ONorw. not until ca. 1370, it was borrowed from MLG. However, it is possible that the old native word without dental suffix never disappeared in ODan, but until the history of this word in the Scand languages has been clarified in detail, caution is needed in assuming that it exists in old place-names in the Danelaw.

The first element of *Plain Field* in Cambridgeshire and *Plainfield* in Northumberland is (according to 1, p. 176) ON *fleinn*, m. 'a dart, an arrow', "possibly in p. ns. denoting places where the use of such weapons was practised." The former name (*Flaynefelde* 1335) signifies, according to *EPNS*, 19, p. 272, an area shaped like an arrow-head. The first element of the latter name (*Flaynefeld* 1272) has been interpreted by A. Mawer, *The place-names of Northumberland and Durham* (1920), p. 157, as either the OWScand personal name *Fleinn*, or *fleinn*, referring to an arrow-shaped field. To these interpretations, which are preferable to the one suggested by Smith in his dictionary, may be added the possibility that the place-names denote places where material for arrows could be had.

ON *gildri* 'a trap, a snare' (1, p. 202) is given as the only source of ME *gylder* and Engl dial. *gilder* of the same meaning. There existed, however, in OScand at least two other formations, viz. OSwed *gilder*, n., and OScand *gildra*, f. Either of these two words could, like *gildri*, n., have resulted in ME *gylder*.

ON *hellir*, m., is (1, p. 242) translated by 'a cave' and is in names like *Hell Beck* and *Hell Gill* suggested to "refer to 'a cave-like ravine or hollow' through which the stream flows." Unless the meaning of *hellir* changed in England, this interpretation is hardly quite accurate. ON *hellir* and its descendants in modern Scand dialects do not denote any kind of a cave but '(a cave under) a projecting rock'. A cave-like ravine or hollow would not have been called *hellir* if there were no beetling rock formation. However, the first element of the names just mentioned is more likely to be ON *hella*, f. 'a flat stone or rock' or possibly ON *hjallr*, m. 'a ledge'. The former interpretation is *EPNS*, 5, p. 259, given to *Helebec* (1201) and *Helgill* (15th century) on topographical grounds.

ON **hloppa*, f. 'a flea' is (1, p. 253) given as a head word with reference to OE *loppe* 'a spider'. About the latter word is said (2, p. 26) that it is "difficult to distinguish from ON *hloppa* [should be **hloppa*] (Swed *loppa*), ModE dial. *lop* 'a flea'." The etymology of the exclusively Swed. word *loppa* has not been definitely established. It is possible that it is cognate with Proto Germanic **hlaupan* 'to run, to leap', in which case the suggested ON form **hloppa* would be justified. But a more likely possibility is the one suggested by O. von Friesen, *Om de germanska mediageminatorna*, p. 11, viz, a hypocoristic formation denoting 'an animal with a rounded or lumpy

body'; cf. Norw dial. *lopp*, m. 'a frog', *lopputt* 'lumpy', ModIcel *lopi*, n. 'a soft swelling' (see Hellquist, *op. cit.*, p. 588; unsatisfactorily treated by A. Torp *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok*, p. 390). OE *loppe* 'spider' would then be a close relative. If this etymology is correct, the ON form would be **loppa*, and the word is in one way or another related to a whole group of germanic words containing the stem **lubb-*, *lobb-*, all denoting 'something rounded or lumpy'. It is possible that Swed *loppa*, Dan *loppe*, is the result of a fusion of two words, one related to Proto Germanic **hlaupan* 'to run, to leap', the other derived from the hypocoristic stem **lupp-*, but this is a sheer guess.

The first element of the place-name *Neepsend* (*Nipisend* 1297) in the West Riding of Yorkshire is said (1, p. 254) to be an unattested OE, ON **hnipa* 'a hill', which survives as ModE dial. *nip* 'the steep ascent of a road, a hill'. This word **hnipa* is presumed from Norw, Swed *nipa* 'a crag, a steep river bank'. As this is described, several objections may be raised against it. In the first place, OE and ON **hnipa* are not identical formations. The OE form represents a Proto Germanic **hnipan-*, m., while the ON forms would have developed from a Proto Germanic **hnipōn-*, f. Furthermore, the assumed head-word has a short stem vowel, while the Swed *nipa* has a long *ī*. The interpretation given seems, in a distorted form, to originate from E. Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 321, who assumes ModE dial. *nip* and the first element in *Neepsend* to be the same word as Swed, Norw *nipa*, which he relates to ON *hnípa* 'to overhang' and OE *hnipian* 'to droop'. Thus, Ekwall considers the stem vowel in the Engl *nip* originally long. Whether or not this assumption is reconcilable with the phonology of the pertinent dialect this reviewer cannot determine, but even if the phonetic part of the problem is in order, the problem is not yet solved. The existence of Swed *nipa*, which today belongs to the vocabulary of the national standard language, was originally limited to the northern dialects. It could theoretically correspond to a WScand **hnípa* or *gnípa*, f. Only the latter form is known from ON. The dialectal conditions in Norw have to be clarified before a definite etymology of ModNorw dial. *nipa* can be given. Since an ON **hnípa* has not yet been established, Ekwall's explanation of ModE dial. *nip* and the first element of *Neepsend* is all in the air. It does not seem impossible that there existed a native OE derivation (**hnipa*, m., **hnipe*, f., or **hnip*, m., n.) to the verb *hnipian*.

The OE *hnutu*, f. 'a nut', OIcel *hnut*, f., OSwed *not*, *nut*, *nyt*, f., is an original Germanic consonant stem **hnut-*. But it was in the sing., in OE partly, in ON fully, transferred to the declension of the *ō*- stems. (The explanation in Wright and Wright, *Old English grammar*, 1950, p. 207, of OE *hnutu* as the acc. form used for the nom., is in the light of conditions in OScand hardly satisfactory.) But Smith's suggestion (1, p. 254) that ON *hnot* represents an older **hnuta*, which could be only a neuter *a*-stem, is wrong. It is hard to determine when the fem. consonant stems in Proto Norse assumed the inflexion of the fem. *ō*-stems in the sing., but it probably happened very early, perhaps before the Christian era. But it is certain that there never was an ON **hnuta*. The *u*-umlauted stem vowel in OWScand *hnot*, OSwed *not*, must come from the gen. plur. or be due to an analogy of some kind.

An ON *hrapi* is possibly the first element in the place-name *Ravden* (*Rapeden* 1429) in Lancashire. It is (1, p. 264) translated by 'small shrubs'. This meaning still exists in ModNorw dialects and is evidenced in ON *fjallhrapi*, m. 'dwarf birch (Betula nana)'. This interpretation was given by E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire* (1922), p. 48, but he suggests an alternative which seems more likely, namely that *Rape-* may be the name of the brook that flows in the valley (the last element is OE *denu* 'a valley'), which perhaps may be derived from ON *hrapa* 'to rush along'. However, in view of the fact that the name in full is *Ravden Clough* a third interpretation is possible. *Rape-* may be an ON **hrapi*, m., or **hrap*, n., derived from ON *hrapa* 'to fall down'. In mod. Scand dialects *rap*, n. means 'slip, heap of stones or gravel that have fallen down from a (rocky) hillside (often overgrown with shrubs or small trees)', while *rape* has only the latter meaning. The bottom of a clough is likely to consist of fallen stones. For the Scand words here referred to see A. Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk ordbok* (1919), p. 514 (in detail not satisfactory); E. Abrahamson, *Västsvenska ordstudier* (1936), pp. 3ff.; *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, 16, pp. 178f. and the literature there quoted.

The place-name *Whams* (? *Quassum* ca. 1240, *Quassam* ca. 1300, *Whassum* 1338, 1386) in Lancashire is (1, p. 270) explained as the dat. plur. of ON **hvass* 'a reed'. This interpretation no doubt originates from E. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 124, who says that *Whassum* recalls OSwed *hwas* (Swed *vass*) 'reed', and adds

that "at 'the reeds' seems a suitable name." The same word as ModSwed *vass* occurs in OSwed manuscripts of provincial laws several times as *vas(s)*, and once as *hwassom* (dat. plur.). There is no doubt that the latter form is a scribal error (probably caused by association with *hwass* 'sharp') and, thus, has no value for the etymology of the word. Even if the initial sound is established as Proto Norse *w-*, not *hw-*, the etymology is not fully clear. E. Lidén, *Studien zur altindischen und vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte* (1897), pp. 30f. suggested Proto Germanic **wassa-* < Indo-Eur. **wod-s-o-*, related to the *s*-stem, in Gr. ὕδος, n. 'water' and Sanskr. *útsa-*, n. 'a well', but later, *Studien zur tocharischen Sprachgeschichte*, 1 (1916), p. 9, note 1, he changed his opinion and considered the word related to Norw dial. *vassa* 'to wade', derived from ON *vaða* 'to wade'. – Since *vass* seems to be an exclusively Swedish word, and consequently perhaps never existed in ONorw, another interpretation of the English place-name than Ekwall's ought to be found.

As the origin of the first element of ME *hilder(tre)* 'an elder-tree' is (1, p. 274) suggested OE **hyldre* or ON **hyldri*, "a derivative of a word which survives in Dan *hyld*, *hyldetræ*, Swed *hyll* 'elder'." Probably the OE form **hyldre* is regarded as a fem. *iōn*-stem (cf. OE *bierce* 'birch', *bēce* 'birch') and the ON **hyldri* as a neuter *ia*-stem (cf. ON *birki* 'birch woods', *eiki* 'oak woods'). But there never was an ON **hyldri*. – In *NED*, under *elder*, it is suggested that the ME forms are cognate with Dan *hyld*, *hyldetræ*, Swed *hyll*, and that they are of Scand origin. – Ekwall, *Studies on English place-names* (1936), pp. 121ff., attempted to clarify the seemingly chaotic Germanic forms. After having stated that the exact formation cannot be determined, he gave the following alternative etymologies: 1. OE **hyldre*, a *iōn*-stem derived from an earlier **huldr*. 2. A base **huliðra-*. 3. OE **hulindra-* (cf. OHG *holuntar*, *holinder*), whose *-n-* may have been lost in a later syncopated form (dat. **hylindre* > **hylndre* > *hyldre*; cf. OHG *holnder*, *holder*, *holler*). He concludes his short but fine analysis by the following important statement: "It seems to me most probable that the word is English, as it is only found in this form in English, and as in place-names it is always combined with English elements. The distribution of the element does not give a definite indication. In Suffolk, Scandinavian influence is not inconsiderable, while it is slight in Essex and Northumberland." However, he finally finds it possible that a Scandi-

navian word might have spread to Essex and Northumberland from regions where Scandinavian influence was more marked. In a note he rightfully declines Björkman's tentative suggestion, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, 2, pp. 215f., that ME *hilder* is a blending of Engl *alder*, *elder* and Scand *hylle*, as being "not convincing." Ekwall's third alternative, with deletion of the possible Scand influence, is the only one that satisfactorily explains all pertinent forms. Actually, the problem is not extremely difficult to solve. The more important Scand forms are the following: OSwed *hylle*, n., ModSwed *hyll* (originally masc.), ModNorw *hyll*, ModDan *hyld* (*-d* is only orthographic, as in *fuld* 'full' = ON *fullr*). ModScand dialects have *hyll*, *höll*, etc., m. (also fem. through attraction from the large group of fem. tree-names) and *hylle*, n. Also an un-umlauted form *holl-try* exists in early ModSwed. There is no trace of a dental suffix in Scand. Consequently, ME *hilder* has no root at all in Scand. The WGerm forms developed from Proto Germanic **hulinðra-*, **hulanðra-*, **hulunðra-*, perhaps all three forms represented in OHG *holinder*, *holantar*, *huluntar*. These forms are formations with the suffix *-ðra-*, which is common in names of trees. The basis is **hulin-* (*-an-*, *-un-*), in syncopated form **huln-* from where the Scand forms are derived. Such occasional forms as early ModSwed *hylder*, *holder* 1578 (both forms in the same source) and *hylder-trää* 1683 are due to influence or loan from MGL *holder*. – Thus the suggested ON form **hyldre* in Smith's dictionary should be deleted. ME *hilder* developed from OE **hylder*, m. (< **hulinðra-*) or **hyldre*, f. (< **hulinðriōn-*).

The etymological parts of the two articles OE *igil*, *īl* 'a hedgehog' and ON **igli* 'a leech' (1, p. 280) are not satisfactory. In the first place, there existed no **igli*, m. 'a leech' in ON. This form was probably reconstrued on the basis of ModDan and ModNorw *igle* (also in Swed dialects). Older Scand for forms are, for instance, OSwed *igil*, early ModSwed *ighel*, early ModDan *egel*, *igel*, *ile*, OHG *egala*, *egila*, which all developed from Proto Germanic **ezila-*. According to *Ordbog over det danske sprog*, 9, col. 74, the Danish word was borrowed from MLG. There must, however, once have existed a native *igil* also in Danish. Such forms as *igle*, *ile* occur rather late and are new formations abstracted from syncopated forms, e.g. def. sing. OSwed *ighlen*, plur. *ighlar*, in analogy with such masc. *an*-stems as *kulle*, *kolle*, (def. *-en*, pl. *-ar*), OSwed *redhre* (def. *-en*, pl.

-ar), etc. – Furthermore, it is suggested by Smith that *igil* 'a leech' is cognate with ON *igull* 'a sea-urchin', but how the long initial vowel in the latter is to be explained is not indicated. If the ON form really had a long *ī*, we shall have to assume two originally different roots. But *ī* is not evidenced beyond doubt, and it seems most likely that the length of the vowel is secondary. Such forms as OSwed *egelkotther*, OIcel *igulkottr* 'a hedgehog', MLG *egel*, OHG *igil* show an original short initial vowel, in which case OSwed *igil* 'a leech' and OE *igil* 'a hedgehog' are, at least as far as the stem is concerned, identical. The suffix may have been different in the two words. In Scandinavian *igel* 'a leech' is Proto Norse **izila-*, while *igel-* in *igelkott* is **izula-*.

The translation (2, p. 5) of ON *kleif*, f., by 'a steep hill-side' and of ON *klif*, n., by 'a cliff, a steep hill' are not fully adequate. Normally *kleif* denotes '(a hill-side, a ravine, a pass, etc. with) a steep or difficult path'. Scandinavian place-names indicate that the difficulty of climbing or descending the place in question is the basis for the meaning. Also *klif*, n., signifies something that has to be climbed, e.g. a steep hill, a stile, etc. Both words are closely related to the ON verb *klifa* 'to climb, to clamber'.

OE and ON *land*, n. 'land' occurs in place-names in a variety of more or less specialized meanings, of which the principal ones are listed in the dictionary (2, p. 13f.). Not mentioned, however, is the meaning 'land by water or a river, a shore', which is common in Scandinavian place-names. This signification should be considered as a possibility at least in the Scandinavian settlements in England, especially when the first element denotes water.

On the basis of the place-name *Malham* (*Malgun* 1086 Domesday Book, *Malghum* 1208, *Malghum* 1257), *Malham Moor* (earlier *Malghemore*) and *Malham Tarn* (earlier *Malgewater*) in the West Riding of Yorkshire, the author abstracts an ON **malgr* 'a gravelly or stoney place'. There was no such word. Smith's interpretation was no doubt inspired by Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 27, who interprets *Malham* as "the dat. plur. of a Scand word related to the Swedish lake-name *Maljen* (from *Malghe*), ON *mol* 'gravelly soil', *melr* 'sandbank' etc. The exact Scand base is not clear (an OScand *malg-* or an adj. *maligr*; in a def. form *malgi*?). The name means something like 'stony or gravelly place'." Smith, who refers to Ekwall's interpretation, considers even the meaning

obscure: "The exact meaning is not known, and it is difficult to decide which aspect of the remarkable scenery at Malham it describes. The allusion might be to loose boulders or the like." Both the formation and the meaning are quite clear. The two names *Malham Moor* and *Malham Tarn* indicate that there is or was a lake. This lake had the name ON **Malge*, m., a reduced form of *Malge sær* 'the gravelly or pebbly lake'. If there is a river, it is possible that its name was ON **Malga*, f. from *Malga á*. If the lake-name is the primary formation, the name is, as suggested by Ekwall, identical with the name *Maljen* of a lake in Sweden southwest of Stockholm. The parish in which the lake is situated is called *Malexander*, a somewhat distorted form of OSwed *Malghasandr* 1345, *Malghasanda* 1401, 1461. Already E. Hellquist, *Studier öfver de svenska sjönamnen* (1903–1906), p. 390f., interpreted this name correctly as a weak form of an adj. OSwed **maligher*, **malugher* 'sandy etc.' This adj. (for certain reasons **malugher* is preferable to **maligher*) is a derivation of the root *mal-* (*mel-*, *mul-*) 'to crush', and the lake-name has many such morphological parallels as the Swedish names *Skärgen*, a lake (< *OSwed **Skærghe* from **skærugher* 'full of skerries'), *Lärje*, a river (OSwed. *Lērghu*, obl. form of **Lērgha*, from OSwed *lērogher* 'clayey, muddy'), *Målje*, a river (< **Moldgu*, obl. form of < **Moldga*, from **moldugher*, recorded as OIcel *moldugr*), and the Norwegian names *Songe*, a river (< ON **Sǫndgu*, obl. form of **Sǫndga*, from ON *sǫndugr* 'sandy'), *Vingen*, a bay (< ON **Vindgi*, from ON *vindugr* 'windy', etc.); see Janzén, *Namn och bygd* 42 (1954), pp. 32f. The plural form of *Malham* refers no doubt to a number of habitations with the name *Malghe*.

As the only origin of the last element in *Greenodd* (*Green Odd* 1774) and *Ravenser Odd* (*del Odd juxta Ravenserre* 1235–49) is given ON *oddi* 'a point or tongue of land' (2, p. 53). Equally possible is, however, ON *oddr*, m., which in Scandinavian place-names denotes 'a protruding piece of land, often higher than the surroundings'. Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 213, mentions in his interpretation of *Greenodd* only ON *oddi*, while *EPNS*, 14 (written by A. H. Smith), p. 16, under *Ravenser Odd* refers only to *oddr*, translated by 'headland'.

The head-word ON *reinn* 'boundary strip' (2, p. 82), obviously regarded as a masc. word, is wrong. The real form is *rein*, f.

The forms whose provenance is indicated by "ON" are (1, p.XLVI)

said to be "cited in OIcel forms." In OIcel, *nk* normally appears assimilated as *kk*, which then should show in the head-form. ON **senk* 'a hollow where water collects' (2, p. 118) is an impossible form. ON *søkkr*, m., has the abstract meaning of 'a sunken condition', but Norw dialects indicate that it also might have the concrete meaning of 'hollow', which otherwise normally belongs to Norw dial. *søkk*, f. The only place-name concerned is *Sinkfall* (*Synkefall* 1539) in Lancashire, which by Ekwall, *The place-names of Lancashire*, p. 204, is suggested to contain a ME **senk* 'a hollow'. This **senk* he identifies as a Scand word, viz. the same as Norw dial. *søkk*, *senk*, f., Swed dial. *säkk*, f. 'a hollow, a little valley', which he finds to be the possible source of Engl *sink* 'a basin where waters collect and form a bog'. If Ekwall's interpretation is correct, the head-word in the dictionary should be ON **søkk* or ONorw. **senk*, the latter being an eastern form.

ON *skeið* 'a course, a track, a race, esp. a race-course' is (2, p. 124) given as the second element in some place-names of Scandinavian origin. Disregarded is the synonymous ON *skeiði*, n., which undoubtedly is contained in *Hesket(h)*, evidenced from three counties, ON *Hestaskeiði*, known as the name of some places in Sweden, including the western province of Bohuslän, which has a West-Scand (East-Norw) dialect. Reference should have been given to the last contribution to the discussion of the problems involved in the interpretation of *Hestaskeiði*, viz. *Ortnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län*, 20:1, pp. 41 f., 73 ff. The Engl *Hesket(h)* was most likely transplanted from Scandinavia as a finished name; see above about more such names. – When the author says that "the root meaning [of ON *skeið*] is somewhat obscure," he is too cautious. There is no doubt that ON *skeið*, n., and *skeiði*, n., are derived from the stem of Proto Germanic **skaiþan* 'to separate', OE *scáðan* 'to separate, to split'; see, for instance, Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk ordbok* (1939), p. 931.

In the article on ON *skjálf* 'a shelf, a seat', which in OIcel is recorded only in the well-known word *Hliðskjálf* as name of the place from where the god Óðinn surveys all worlds, but which occurs in a great number of Scand place-names. The author fails to pay attention to E. Elgqvist, *Skälv och Skilvingar* (Lund, 1944), an exhaustive investigation where all the intricate and complicated problems connected with the element *skjálf* and all pertinent literature is quoted. Elgqvist finds that *skjálf* denoted small watch-towers

erected for military purposes. Even if his interpretations and statements are not always reliable, his results must be considered, or rejected, as a possible interpretation of Scand place-names in England containing *skjálf*.

The ON head-form **stafir* 'a stake' (2, p. 142), which is said to be found as OSwed and Dan *staver*, is wrong. The OSwed *staver* is the same word as ON *stafr*, m., 'a stake (used as a boundary-mark)', but ModDan (and ModSwed) *staver* represents OSwed *stavur*, m. 'a stake', Proto Norse **staƀura-*. There was no ON **stafir*.

The first element in the lost name *Swithenthate* 1578 in Cumberland is (2, p. 170; with the second element incorrectly reproduced as *-thwaite*) is given as ON **sviðinn* 'land cleared by burning', surviving as dial. *swithen* 'a moor cleared by burning'. The same interpretation is given in *EPNS*, 21, p. 371. It is natural that this element, when it occurs as a single name, e.g. *Sweden*, or as the last member of a compound, e.g. *Swinsow* (*Swineswithne*, 15th century) is a noun with concrete meaning, but as the *first* element of compounds it is no doubt used in the primary function of pret. part. *sviðinn* of ON *svíða* 'to burn, to clear by burning'.

Such a name as *Swineshead* (2, p. 172) contains no doubt OE *swin* 'a swine, a pig' and *hēafod* 'a head', but it is not to be equated with such names as *Swinbrook*, *Swin(e)ford*, *Swinton* etc. Names of the latter type were formed as place-names from two separate elements and were given because pigs had something to do with the places in question. But *Swineshead* does not refer to the presence of pigs. It is an appellative compound meaning 'a pig's head' and referring to some point in the landscape that is shaped like a pig's head. Other names that should be interpreted as such names of comparison are *Bullhead* 'a bull's head', *Gateshead* 'a goat's head' (1, p. 237), and many others. Smith mentions (*ibid.*) only the possibility that some name may refer to the setting up of an animal's head on a pole, which occasionally may have been the reason, but should be considered only in the second place, and is not applicable when the second element denotes other parts of an animal's body than the head, e. g. *Lambrigg*, *Marrick* (*Marige* 1086 Domesday Book, *Marrig(g)* 1157–1400), which (1, p. 267; the latter name also *EPNS* 5, p. 294) contain ON *lamb* 'lamb' and *márr* 'horse' and *hryggr* 'back, ridge' and are interpreted as meaning 'lamb ridge', 'horse ridge', but more likely, or at least equally well, may refer to places

having the shape of the back of an animal. There are hundreds of such names in Scandinavia. In such cases the head-word should be given as *swīneshēafod*, ON *lambhryggr*, *márhryggr*, etc.

The place-name *Thirsk* (*Tresc* 1086 Domesday Book, *Thresca* 1145–53) in the North Riding of Yorkshire is interpreted as ON **þresk* 'a fen, a lake', found as OSwed *þræsk*, Swed *träsk*. The same interpretation, although without postulation of an ON form, is given *EPNS* 5, p. 188 and Ekwall, *Dict.*, p. 444. It is somewhat improper to give an ON form of this word, since its geographical distribution is limited to northern and eastern Swed dialects. There is no trace of it in Norway and Denmark. The suggestion in *EPNS*, 5, p. XXV that *Thirsk* is "possibly a Danish name" is, therefore, without justification. The facts now mentioned make one inclined to doubt the possibility that *Thirsk* can have anything to do with OSwed *þræsk*.

On many occasions the information is given that certain Scand names appear in the nom. plur. Such names as *Sawrey* (2, p. 97), *Stanger* (2, p. 157) are said to represent the nom. plur. of ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt' and *stǫng* 'a pole, a stave'. One is here led to believe that the nom. case of old habitative names was so dominant that the names could be stabilized in this form. However, it is well known that the nom. case of old place-names was only rarely used. The names were syntactically used almost exclusively in the obl. cases, first and foremost in the dative, in which case form thousands of names were fixed. A great number of place-names in Norway end in their present form in *-er*. It would be wrong to say, although it is regularly done in the official Norwegian name work *Norske Gaardnavne* and elsewhere, that they represent the regular nom. form. Actually, they originate from obl. plur. forms, normally the dative. But when the case system collapsed and the dative lost its formal distinction and there was still need for expressing the plural nature of the name, for instance if several habitations were included, the basic plur. form in *-er* replaced the dative form. But this should not be called nominative.

A work including such an enormous and diversified material and such a wealth of information as the one here reviewed must necessarily show some inconsistencies and inaccuracies. The few remarks here made concern a negligible part of the vast material, which on the whole is treated with solid scholarship and reliable skill. Smith's

book is a gigantic achievement worthy of admiration and gratefulness from all Germanists and particularly those who deal with or are interested in Germanic place-names in general and English names in particular.

University of California, Berkeley Assar Janzén

★ ★ ★

NEW MEMBERS

Birmingham Public Library, 2020 Seventh Ave. N., Birmingham 3, Ala.
Furman University, Greenville, S.C.
Patrick J. M. Geelam, Royal Geographic Society, 1 Kensington Gore, London S.W. 7, England
George P. Hammond, 810 Contra Costa Ave., Berkeley 7, Calif.
Bertram L. Hughes, Arkansas College, Batesville, Ark.
Lincoln City Library, Lincoln 8, Nebraska
William Paff, R. F. D. 1, Iowa City, Iowa
Emery F. Tobin, Box 118, The Alaska Sportsman, Ketchikan, Ala.
James M. Vicary, 22 East 60 th St., New York 22, N.Y.
Youngstown University Library 410 Wick Ave., Youngstown 2, Ohio