Vibeke Dalberg

NAME AND PLACE

Ten essays on the dynamics
of place-names

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Foreword

Vibeke Dalberg has been studying place-names and personal names throughout a long and active life of scholarly research. The material she has employed has generally been Danish but the perspective of the research and the scope of its results have normally been of relevance for the whole of the Germanic language area. Through her yearlong involvement in ICOS, Vibeke Dalberg has become well-known and highly respected as an onomastician. For those who do not read Danish, however, much of her work and some of her most significant papers have remained a closed book.

To remedy this state of affairs, friends and colleagues at Vibeke's former place of work, the Name Research Section at the University of Copenhagen, have wished to mark her 70th birthday by arranging for ten important papers to be translated into English. The translations have been carried out by Gillian Fellows-Jensen, Peder Gammeltoft and Berit Sandnes in close cooperation. The translation has in principle kept as closely as possible to the original texts and we have therefore normally made no changes to the name-examples cited. Where we have thought it necessary, however, these examples have been supplemented by information about the linguistic content so that Vibeke Dalberg's examples can form a transparent and adequate complement to the texts in question.

The ten works are prefaced by a Tabula gratulatoria listing all the onomasticians and colleagues who have desired to link their birthday greetings to Vibeke Dalberg with the publication of the present translations. The volume concludes with an up-to-date bibliography of Vibeke Dalberg's published works.

It is with great pleasure that we are able to place a selection of Vibeke Dalberg's scholarly publications at the disposition of an international readership.

Gillian Fellows-Jensen, Peder Gammeltoft,
Bent Jørgensen and Berit Sandnes

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The characteristic properties of proper names – a contribution to the discussion*

As can be seen from the title, this article is a contribution to a debate concerning both the more abstract question of what are the characteristics of proper names and the more concrete question of whether particular linguistic categories belong to this word-class or not. Before discussing the presence or absence of proprial characteristics in specific categories, I should like to recapitulate some major points in the discussion concerning the grammatical and semantic features that constitute proper nouns as a linguistic unit.

Obviously, the definition of the proper noun is not of onomastic concern only; linguists and language philosophers have discussed the delimitation of proper nouns, too. Within place-name research, the question of delimitation has played a minor role with rather few persons engaged in the discussion. Nonetheless, I shall focus on views previously advanced in onomastics, particularly in Nordic place-name research. There is no agreement as to what are, and must be, reckoned as proprial characteristics. Above all, the disagreement pertains to how the semantic properties of the proper noun diverge from those of the appellative.

However, there seems to be agreement about one fundamental condition, namely the identifying function of the proper nouns. The proper noun distinguishes one object from other objects of the same kind. Proprial function is assigned to a linguistic unit when it, by convention, is allowed to refer to one item only. This item is in principle unique. The term mono-referential has been used to cover this proprial feature.

The mono-referential, individualising property of the proper noun has grammatical implications in two ways. First and foremost, as has often been maintained, the proper noun is neutral with regard to number and definiteness. In other words, there is no opposition

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between singular and plural or between definite and indefinite form in proper nouns. This means that, as opposed to appellatives, there is no change between singular and plural or between indefinite and definite form conditioned by the context.

Proper nouns may certainly have plural form, such as *The Hebrides*, but as it only denotes one individual item, the denotation in such cases is regarded as a unit. Such plural forms have been termed pluralia tantum. The proper noun *The Hebrides* does not have a singular form *a Hebride*. This is due to the fact that a proper noun functions by singling out individual units.

This is also the reason why the opposition between the definite and the indefinite form has been neutralised. The proper noun is inherently definite. The definiteness of the proper noun belongs to the linguistic system rather than to usage. Alternation between definite and indefinite form depending on the context is thus inconsistent with proprial function. This does not mean that proper nouns may not occur in the indefinite as well as the definite form. Actually, most proper nouns are indefinite, like *Hamburg*, and fewer are definite such as *The Baltic Sea*. In other words, definiteness is redundant in proper nouns. If a proper noun is found in the definite form as well as the indefinite one, such as the name of the lake *Furesø/Furesøen*[1] north of Copenhagen, it is usually a matter of different situations or name users. Thus, *Furesø* is mainly found in maps and other official contexts, whereas *Furesøen* belongs to the spoken language. In such cases, the alternating forms can be seen as stylistic variation.

Can this be regarded as evidence for the presence of proprial characteristics? Research has pointed out what appears to be counter-examples to the ones given above. There are familiar examples such as "there are several *Newcastles* in Britain" or "there are three *Janets* in our class". These statements are grammatically correct, as are the sentences "she was a *Florence Nightingale* for her patients" and "the *Bushes* are very conservative". As has been maintained, such examples should rather be seen as proper nouns

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[1] *-en* is a postpositive definite article in Danish (and the other Scandinavian languages).

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functioning as appellatives. The former example, "there are several *Newcastles* in Britain" should be paraphrased as "there are several localities in Britain named Newcastle". This means that the plurality pertains to the localities (called Newcastle). Similarly, "there are three *Janets* in our class" should be rendered as "there are three persons in our class named Janet". The plural form indicates that there are several persons in question bearing this name. It could be added, that by definition, there are as many proper nouns as there are name-bearers. Consequently, there are a number of homonymous place-names *Newcastle* and personal names *Janet*, but the plural forms in the examples do not refer to these. The sentences "she was a *Florence Nightingale* for her patients" and "the *Bushes* are very conservative" are also instances of an appellative use of proper nouns. The former is a comparison with a person named *Florence Nightingale* and in the latter "the Bushes" can only be opposed to "a Bush".

As mentioned above, opinions differ concerning the semantic content of the proper noun. Some maintain that under certain circumstances appellative, characterising meaning from the name formation moment may survive even after the linguistic unit has started functioning as a proper name (Andersson inter alia 1973: 154, 1994: 31, 1997: 147). One type of proper noun in particular has been used to support this reasoning, namely those formally identical with appellatives, such as *The Mill* and *Wetlands*. If the meaning of the appellative corresponds to the characteristics of the locality, i.e. if *The Mill* is the name of a mill and *Wetlands* denotes wetlands, it has been suggested that the names maintain some degree of appellative meaning. A slightly modified view adds the condition that the persons using the names should be aware of the correspondence (Peterson 1989: 83, 90). Such names have been termed *appellative* or *semi-appellative*. Among personal names, bynames[2] are singled out as a category inherently carrying appellative meaning. According to this view, bynames in such proprial compounds as *Red Rudy*, *Leif the lucky* or *Erik Ejegod* characterise the name bearer not only at the moment the name was coined but even in a later proprial phase, and

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[2] Danish *tilnavne*, Swedish *binamn*.

they can only function via the appellative meaning. John Kousgård Sørensen (1984: 94) is probably the strongest advocate of this view.

According to the opposing view, the proper noun, by definition, cannot have classificatory or semantic meaning like the appellative. The appellative assigns the denoted item to a certain class of objects having certain characteristics in common. This classificatory function is irreconcilable with an individualising function. From this point of view, a word cannot possibly have appellative and proprial characteristics at the same time. Neither does it make sense to talk about "weaker" or "stronger proprial character" (Dalberg inter alia 1989: 38; Helleland 1987: 25).

From an etymological point of view, place-names can certainly be coined as descriptive formations. However, once a linguistic unit takes on proprial function, i.e. starts referring to one unique object only, the appellative semantic properties present in the pre-proprial phase are suspended. Examples in support of this thesis are plentiful. A large number of place-names have no pendants in the lexicon, and for this reason cannot be associated with any appellative meaning. Moreover, proper nouns that can be associated with lexical items, like *Lund* and *Ås* for instance, have referents that do not correspond to the appellative meaning. The appellatival pendants of *Lund* and *Ås* mean 'grove' and 'ridge', but the place-names refer to a city in Southern Sweden and a village in Jutland respectively. Similar examples are found in personal names. The Danish family names *Skytte* 'archer' and *Præst* 'priest, clergyman' have been borne by a politician and a football-player respectively.

What is the phenomenon at play in proper nouns like *The Mill*, *Wetlands*, *Red Rudy* and *Erik Ejegod* when they correspond partly or fully with lexical items? In these examples, there is a direct link between the proper name and the appellative for the name-user. Botolv Helleland (1999: 178) has called it a "meta-onomastic" act of language activating the descriptive aspect. As I have seen it, it is an instance of what linguistics has termed associative meaning. In my opinion, homonymy causes semantic associations for speakers (Dalberg inter alia 1985: 135).

Actually, there is no need to involve the original, pre-proprial, appellative meaning that has played an important role in the discus-

sion of the semantics of proper nouns, as this is not necessary for the proprial function. Nor is it necessary for bynames like *Red* and *Ejegod*. The name-user may use the byname *Red* in *Red Rudy* without knowing whether *Red* refers to his red hair, communist conviction or some other feature. In the same way, it is unimportant for the name-user that the name of the medieval Danish king *Erik Ejegod's* byname meant 'ever good' at the moment of coining, rather than 'very good' in the sense of the adjective today (cf. Dalberg 1995: 14). In my opinion, these are all examples of synchronous rub-off effect from the lexicon, and should be seen in the light of the continuous interaction between the proprial and the lexical component of language.

Based on this rather brief review of the grammatical and semantic features regarded as characteristic for the proper noun, I will take a closer look at the categorisation of two groups that have been the subject of recent debate. The former is *brands* or *trademarks*.[3] I will use the term trademarks, which refers to designations for products registered by trademark law. Most name-researchers have labelled trademarks as proprial or at any rate proprial in the formation moment (inter alia Andersson 1994: 31; Jørgensen 1994: 45; Pamp 1994: 55). The non-proprial features pertaining to these words have been seen as the result of later appellative use conditioned by the context. I have maintained the opposite view, however: not only do trademarks behave like appellatives, they are actually coined as such (Dalberg 1989: 37, 1998: 157). Linguists such as Bengt Sigurd (1973: 72) and Jørgen Schack (1998: 100) support this view more or less explicitly.

Proper nouns are used as trademarks in quite a number of cases. The name of the manufacturing company is frequently used as the name of the product, e.g. *Volvo* and *Fiat*, but a number of other proper nouns turn up as trademarks, too. Just think of all the Swedish place-names used as labels for furniture from IKEA. In this

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[3] In Danish *varemærke* or *varenavn*, in Swedish also *varumärkesnamn* (Andersson 1997: 144). A more precise Danish term is *ordmærke* 'word mark', as we only deal with the sub-category of trademarks consisting of words and word groups.

year's Danish catalogue we find *Huddinge* as the appellation for a settee, *Bokhult* for an oval coffee table and *Öland* for an armchair. However, most trademarks are coined directly for their purpose, i.e. to designate a specific product. An example of this is *Mifi*, designating secure fittings for windows and doors against burglary (Patented security system, Danish patent nr. 146 659).

Whether these trademarks consist of proper nouns in a new function or have another etymological origin, they all show appellative characteristics. If they refer to objects, they are indefinite or definite depending on the context. Examples are "do you drive *a Volvo*?", "I have mounted *a Mifi* to the door" and "*the Volvo* was parked on the street". The same goes for the plural marking in "how many *Mifis* did you buy?". When trademarks denote substances, as is often the case, they behave like other terms for substances, e.g. requiring the same determiners as uncountable nouns. One may talk about a "tube of Colgate" just the same as "a tube of toothpaste". The trademark does not single out individual items. From a semantic point of view, it is classificatory and descriptive. It states that an item belongs to a group of objects sharing some characteristics.

As far as I see, trademarks exhibit no proprial properties, and so far, I have seen no convincing examples substantiating their assumed proprial status. On the other hand, trademarks show a number of special characteristics depending on their commercial context. I think these characteristics have sometimes been mistaken for proprial properties. For one thing, trademarks often differ from other words in the lexicon, and if they correspond to common words, the semantic content of the word rarely tallies with the characteristics of the product the trademark denotes. In the case of trademarks, this has a different reason than for proper nouns, however. It is due to regulations of the trademark law, stating that one cannot have the common designation for an object registered as a trademark for that same object. This means that the manufacturer has either to coin a new word or use an existing word to denote a new object. Secondly, the use of a trademark is strictly limited, as it may only refer to a certain product produced by a specific company. In other words, the use of these words is restricted to a strictly limited category, which may resemble the use of proper nouns for a specific object. Thirdly,

trademarks are spelt with initial capitals in Danish and a number of other languages, rather than with initial small letters as appellatives. This should probably be regarded as deliberate sales-promoting correspondence, which supplies them with a wrongful air of propriality.

In line with the reasoning above, I shall briefly comment on what has been termed degenerated trademarks. A degenerated trademark is a trademark that originally referred to a specific product produced by a specific company, e.g. *Grammofon*, but has eventually come to refer to any product of a certain kind. In Danish, *grammofon* is still a common term for a record player (cf. Schack 1998: 101). Consequently, a degenerated trademark is no longer a protected trademark. In the light of the analysis so far, degenerated trademarks should not be seen as original proper nouns that have taken on appellative function, but rather as appellatives whose range of meaning has been extended. Finally, just like other appellatives, trademarks may be used as proper nouns. This is what happens if a cow is named *Nivea*, a bull is called *Ferguson* or a yacht is named *Chivas Regal*.

The other category I should like to discuss with regard to proprial and appellative properties is that of *plant names*. Several scholars have pointed out that the term *plant names* is used of proper nouns as well as appellatives, in the same way as *animal names*. Most onomasts avoid this terminological ambiguity by referring to appellatives as *plant terms* and *animal terms*,[4] reserving *plant names* and *animal names* for the proprial categories.

There is a certain amount of uncertainty as to which words belong to plant proper names and plant appellatives respectively. In botanical literature, where *plant names* is the common term just as in everyday usage, they are often treated as proper nouns. They tend to be spelt with capital initials, for instance *Yellow Marsh Saxifrage*. If the Latin term is added, the former element is usually still spelt with capital initials, e.g. *Saxifraga hirculus*. There is consensus in place-name research that the few instances of names referring to individual

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[4] In Danish: *plantebetegnelse* and *dyrebetegnelse*.

plants like *Snapphaneeken*[5] in Scania should be labelled proper nouns. Similarly, all agree that classificatory words such as *rose* are appellatives. What has been a matter of debate however, are examples such as *Nina Weibull* for a rose and *Golden Delicious* for a variety of apples. Bengt Pamp (1994: 55) regards these words and other terms for other cultivated plants as proper nouns.

The designations for commercially bred plants are similar to trademarks in many respects, and some of them are actually registered trademarks. We may note that they are commonly spelt with capital initials. In fact there is no difference between words for artificially bred plants like *Nina Weibull* and natural ones as far as appellative characteristics are concerned. They are all marked for number and determinedness according to the context in the same way as other appellatives. Nevertheless, like trademarks, their range of meaning is often limited, and as a result, their usage is restricted. This fact may explain why they, in my opinion incorrectly, have been regarded as proper nouns.

Finally, I should like to draw attention to some words and phrases that have been pointed out as particularly noteworthy when discussing the definition of proper nouns but unfortunately have not been subject to in-depth critical studies. These include terms for institutions (inter alia Andersson 1994: 23), historical events (inter alia Berger 1976: 376; Pamp 1994: 53), periods of history (inter alia Pamp 1994: 53), book titles (inter alia Berger 1976: 383; Pamp 1994: 54, 56), and a number of others of similar kind. An analysis of these categories, all of dubious proprial status, would certainly help to clarify our conception of what should be seen as proprial characteristics.

The problems I have dealt with in this paper are sometimes labelled "eternal questions", i.e. questions that can never be answered, and which are thus futile. Personally, I rather agree with those who find that the delimitation of the field of research, the proper nouns, is one of the fascinating aspects of name research.

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[5] 'The Snapphane Oak'. Depending on one's point of view, *snapphaner* were pro-Danish freedom fighters or highwaymen during the wars between Denmark and Sweden in the 17th century.

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On the concept of locality*

Two articles by Albøge et al. (1976: 13–25) and Falck-Kjällquist (1976: 27–39) presented under the heading "Locality and Name" in NORNA-rapporter 10, *Ortnamn och samhälle*, posit the existence of both named and unnamed localities as a basis for the formulation of the problem. Both accounts try to pinpoint why some localities are named and why others are not.

The starting-point for the contribution by Albøge et al. is the locality itself. Primarily through the registration of the classificatory nature of the locality, the attempt has been made to highlight which types of localities become objects of naming more frequently and which more rarely. At the same time, the survey tries to establish whether it is possible to establish characteristic traits for each category which can distinguish named localities from unnamed ones.

The method of investigation is thus a comparison between named and unnamed localities within the same category of locality (hills, cultivated areas, settlements), as well as between the individual categories. This comparison, however, presupposes that an adequate material for unnamed localities can be established, and this only seems to be possible for some of the categories in the survey.

In order for the unnamed locality to be made comparable with the named one, it is necessary to establish that it belongs to the same category. This criterion seems to be difficult to fulfil, particularly for unnamed topographical features. The naming process actually structures nature into delimited elements; topographical features become localities. But the nature of the structuring created by means of naming cannot be predicted, owing to the existence of various latent structuring possibilities whose realisation yields different results. An example of various latent possibilities in the material pertains to elevations. They may be structured into individual locality units, a hill, but also into locality units which designate parts of a

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hill or several hills. Thus, a comparison between named localities and a description of topographical conditions based on the stock of locality-designating appellatives cannot be carried out.

The principal question is whether or not a natural feature is only defined as a locality as the result of naming. If this is the case, there are weighty theoretical objections to be made against comparisons of this kind.

Falck-Kjällquist claims that the reason that some localities are named while others are not must be found in the function of the localities. The notion that there is a close connection between naming and presence or absence of a practical function connected with the locality has been central to this work. Practical function should thus more often lead to naming than the lack of such a function.

As suggested by Falck-Kjällquist, it is doubtful whether it is possible to single out localities which can be proven never to have had any practical function. All localities may function as points of orientation and can thus be said to have a practical function in some situations. The concept of practical function must be defined closer if it is to used as a differentiating criterion.

One objection, however, affects the entire theoretical basis of this survey. It has so far not been possible to prove that there is such a specific relationship between naming and practical function which makes it relevant to isolate this particular factor in a study of naming motives. The Swedish survey itself points to a number of examples of localities with a practical function which are not named.

Even working from the prerequisite that the concept of practical function is accepted as useful and relevant, the actual execution of an analysis of function is difficult to make. Only in rare instances do we find information about the function of the locality at the time of naming. A reconstruction founded on the semantic content must be rejected for reasons of method. This is because it is in principle impossible to presuppose a similarity in the motive of name formation and the naming motive. It is arbitrary and also very rare that the reason for naming a locality is mirrored in the linguistic elements chosen as name elements.

In spite of the theoretical objections made to the two surveys under the heading "Locality and Name", it is far from irrelevant that

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they are presented here. As is the case for a number of other subjects treated at the NORNA-symposium *Ortnamn och samhälle*, they have not earlier been the subject of isolated and in-depth treatment within the field of Nordic onomastics. It is only through tests such as the above-mentioned ones that theoretical problems may be given an explicit form which may constitute the basis for a reformulation of the theoretical issue.

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Possible influence of patterns in some Danish place-names*

The importance of the onomasticon for coining new names has long been acknowledged in Nordic onomastics. It has been observed that this influence may manifest itself in different ways but few actual studies have been carried out. The following contribution should be looked upon as a tentative investigation into such patterns. More specifically, it is an attempt to trace influence from one group of generics to another in a corpus of place-name material. Below, I shall use the term influence of patterns for this situation. The word pattern in this context designates 'system, structure'.

The influence of patterns is a mental phenomenon that cannot be observed directly. It may be difficult to obtain information about the motives behind the coining of a name and other relevant circumstances pertaining to the formation that may shed light on such patterns. Thus, we have to rely on the analysis of potential results of pattern influence to render it probable that such an influence has taken place. This is usually the case when it comes to the house names investigated here. I have already presented part of this material and the related problems at the 11th Nordic Congress of Onomastics 1994 (Dalberg 1996), and the present study should be seen as a continuation of that investigation.

In the Danish house-name material from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there are large numbers of names containing abstracts as their generics. Such names even occur – though less frequently – with other denotations, e.g. larger or smaller farms, but there seems to be no typological difference between these names and those of houses.

Possible influence of patterns in some Danish place-names

The custom of naming houses is now more or less extinct in Denmark, and consequently the formation of names with abstracts as specifics has dropped out of use. In 1921, when the postal address register used as a base for this investigation was published, the practice was still flourishing. The Postal Address Register for the Kingdom of Denmark 1921 contains a wealth of house names, an estimated number of more than 30,000.[1] Owing to the nationwide coverage and its large number of names, the postal address register can be regarded as a representative source, reflecting the actual stock of house names at the time of publication.

If one counts homonymous names only once, we have a total of 1,200 different house names coined with an abstract generic in the Postal Address Register 1921. The most frequently occurring generics of this kind are *-minde* 'memory, remembrance', *-ly* 'shelter, protection' and *-lyst* 'pleasure, delight'. Together, they make up 80% of the total. The remaining 20% are spread over 16 different generics, among others *-håb*, *-hvile*, *-ro*, *-fred*, *-blik* and *-sigt*,[2] all of which are comparatively rare. The influence of pattern will be discussed particularly in the light of the generics *-minde*, *-ly* and *-lyst*.

Within this group, there are substantial differences in frequency. Names containing *-minde* make up more than half of the total number of names with abstracts as generics, namely 53%. Names containing *-ly* and *-lyst* account for 14% and 13% respectively. When it comes to different names, *-minde* compounds are far more common than compounds with *-ly* and *-lyst*. However, if one looks at the frequency of homonymous names, a different picture emerges, with *-ly* names as undisputed top scorers. On a list of the twenty most frequently occurring individual names, they occupy first, second and third position with *Bakkely* (284 localities)[3], *Granly* (223 instances) and *Skovly* (222 instances).[4] Moreover, names in *-ly* occupy positions 11, 12 and 13, namely *Birkely* (110 instances),

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[1] *Postadressebog for Kongeriget Danmark.* København 1921.

[2] *håb* 'hope', *hvile* 'rest', *ro* 'tranquillity', *fred* 'peace', *blik*, *sigt* 'view'.

[3] Reciprocating names are not included, as it is difficult to determine how many original name formations should be taken into account.

[4] *Bakke* 'hill', *gran* 'spruce', *skov* 'forest'.

Lindely (108) and *Elmely* (103) respectively.[5] Compounds with *-lyst* are also included in the list, *Landlyst* (98) as number 18 and *Sølyst* (94) as number 19.[6] No *minde*-compounds are among the top twenty. Below, I shall return to the reason why this otherwise frequent type includes fewer homonymous names than the two other groups.

In principle, homonymous names may be independent formations. However, when such overwhelming numbers of homonymous names can be observed, it seems more likely that existing place-names have acquired a new function denoting a new locality. This may be the result of naming a place after another locality, i.e. based on the name of a specific locality, or the name may have been selected among existing place-names with no specific locality in mind. When it comes to the naming of houses, the latter often seems to have been the case, as it is tends to be difficult to pinpoint the locality they are named after. In both cases, the name is taken from an existing onomasticon. In onomastic literature, the term *pattern* has been used to denote such naming. It should be pointed out that pattern seems to denote 'model' rather than 'system', which is the case in this study. At any rate, the vast number of homonymous names formed with terms for abstract concepts as generics reflects the popularity of this type of house-name formation.

If we look at the three generics *-minde*, *-ly* and *-lyst* together, a number of identical or semantically similar specifics compounded with these generics can be noted. If the generics are analysed separately, however, it turns out that the uniformity is only apparent, and that each group has its individual profile with regard to specifics.

Thus, in the case of *-minde*, personal names dominate as specifics. In particular, family names are a distinctive feature of this group, as for instance *Andersen* in *Andersensminde*. Christian names are also represented, such as *Erik* in *Eriksminde* and *Anna* in *Annasminde*. Incidentally, this explains why this very frequent generic does not occur on the top twenty list of homonymous place-name forms. Personal names normally refer to specific persons, and

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[5] *Birk* 'birch', *lind* 'lime', *elm* 'elm'.
[6] *Land* 'countryside', *sø* 'sea, lake'.

such names tend to be new coinages rather than reuse of existing place-names. When several instances of compounds in -*minde* with specific personal names actually occur, such as *Petersminde* and *Christiansminde*, it is in fact a testimony to the popularity of certain personal names in the period. Terms for topographical features are rare as specifics in -*minde* compounds, one of the few examples being *Moseminde*.[7] We may certainly exclude the family name *Mose* as a potential specific, since the composition form for family names is -*s*- (i.e. with the genitive morpheme) in all other -*minde* compounds. From a name-semantic point of view, the more common compounds appear to be the most authentic. A compound of a personal name and *minde* 'remembrance of' makes sense, much more so than the compound of *minde* and a term denoting a topographical feature.

We shall now turn to the -*ly* compounds, whose specifics show nearly opposite proportions. Terms denoting topographical features such as *bakke* 'hill', *strand* 'strand' and *skov* 'forest' occur frequently as specifics, the top scorers *Bakkely* and *Skovly* belong to this group. Words denoting vegetation are also numerous, e.g. *gran* 'spruce', *birk* 'birch' and *lind* 'lime', cf. the favourites *Granly* and *Birkely* mentioned above. Personal names, on the other hand, are rare in *ly*-compounds. Among such compounds, female names such as *Anna* in *Annaly* are the largest group. Masculine names, such as *Oluf* in *Olufsly* are very rare, and no instances of family names have been recorded. In this case, too, there appears to be a name-semantic difference between the names compounded with the frequent and infrequent specifics respectively. As *ly* implies 'protection … in particular with reference to being protected from the wind and rain, … place where shelter can be found'[8], terms denoting topographical features and vegetation must have indicated the feature that yielded shelter at the moment of name formation, e.g. a hill in *Bakkely* and one or more spruces in *Granly*. When -*ly* is compounded with a personal name, as in the case of *Annaly*, the specific seems to have indicated the person receiving protection, presupposing that place-

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[7] *Mose* 'marsh, moor, swamp'.
[8] *Ordbog over det danske Sprog* XIII: 142.

names can actually be split up into conventional semantic units (cf. below).

Finally, we shall look at the names containing the generic *-lyst*. Its appellative meaning in a place-name context is 'happiness, pleasure'. The predominant group of specifics is feminine names such as *Ella* in *Ellalyst*, but also terms for topographical features such as *sø* 'lake' and *skov* 'forest' are well represented. For instance, *Sølyst* is a favourite and *Skovlyst* is another popular compound. The occurrence of these specifics may reflect foreign patterns but unfortunately, this matter has not been subject to in-depth studies. Masculine names, such as *Ejner* in *Ejnerslyst* are much more infrequent and family names such as *Lehn* in *Lehnslyst* and terms for vegetation such as *birk* 'birch' in *Birkelyst* are even more unusual.

The differences in distribution become even more striking if we compare the number of terms denoting vegetation in *ly*-compounds, where they are frequent, and *lyst*-compounds, where they are rare. Thus, *birk* in 110 *Birkely* compares to 4 *Birkelyst*, *bøg* 'beech' in 69 *Bøgely* to a single *Bøgelyst*, *eg* 'oak' in 69 *Egely* to 4 *Egelyst*, *el* 'alder' in 20 *Ellely* to 2 *Ellelyst*, *elm* 'elm' in 103 *Elmely* to 2 *Elmelyst*, *gran* 'spruce' in 223 *Granlyst* to 4 Granlyst and *lind* 'lime' in 108 *Lindely* compares to 7 instances of *Lindelyst*.

If we assume the rare specifics in these categories of generics to be due to influence from other patterns, we can explain the occurrence of terms for topographical features compounded with *-minde*, e.g. *mose* in *Moseminde*, as reflecting the influence of *-ly* and *-lyst* compounds (e.g. *Bakkely* and *Sølyst*). Feminine names in *-ly* compounds, such as *Anna* in *Annaly*, may be due to influence from *-minde* compounds (e.g. *Annasminde*) or *-lyst* compounds (e.g. *Ellalyst*). The latter explanation is more likely, as feminine names as specifics in *-ly* names lack the *s*-morpheme in the same way as do most feminine names in *-lyst* compounds. Masculine names compounded with *-ly* such as *Oluf* in *Olufsly* can be ascribed to influence from *-minde* compounds (e.g. *Eriksminde*). Masculine names in *-lyst* compounds such as *Ejner* in *Ejnerslyst* can be explained in the same way. Family names compounded with *-lyst* such as *Lehn* in *Lehnslyst* should most likely be interpreted as reflecting pattern influence from *-minde* names (e.g. *Andersensminde*), as this is the only

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generic exhibiting family names as a commonly occurring specific. Finally, terms denoting vegetation, such as *birk* 'birch' in *Birkelyst*, may be due to influence from names in -*ly* (e.g. *Birkely*).

Additional influence from other groups of house names than the above-mentioned ones is also possible. Unfortunately, no in-depth studies of house names have been carried out but to judge from my sketchy survey, this cannot normally be the case. Personal names and terms for topographical features certainly form a part of a number of other place-names but it is difficult to point out other generics dominated by these specifics to the same extent and occurring frequently enough to form potential patterns for name formation.

This can be demonstrated by the list of the 20 most frequently occurring house names:

1.	Bakkely	284	11.	Birkely	110
2.	Granly	223	12.	Lindely	108
3.	Skovly	222	13.	Elmely	103
4.	Bakkehus(et)	191	14.	Aldersro	103
5.	Solbakke(n)	188	15.	Hytten	102
6.	Aldershvile	186	16.	Virkelyst	100
7.	Solhjem	165	17.	Alfa	100
8.	Godthåb	152	18.	Landlyst	98
9.	Højbo	149	19.	Sølyst	94
10.	Solhøj	147	20.	(The) Home	92

As noted above, the list contains six compounds in -*ly* and two in -*lyst*. Three names are coined with other terms for abstract concepts, namely no. 6 *Aldershvile* 'Rest for the Aged', no. 8 *Godthåb* 'Good Hope' and no. 14 *Aldersro* 'Peace for the Aged'. These generics are comparatively infrequent but occur in a few common homonymous names such as the three quoted. The rest of the list includes four simplex names, i.e. no. 15 *Hytten* 'The Cottage', no. 16. *Virkelyst* 'Enterprise', which is a compound noun containing the element -*lyst*, no. 17 *Alfa* and nr. 20 *Home*. This leaves five compound names containing five different generics: -*hus* 'house' in no. 4 *Bakkehus*(*et*) 'Hill House', -*bakke* 'hill' in no. 5 *Solbakke*(*n*) 'Sunny Hill', -*hjem* 'home' in no. 7 *Solhjem* 'Sunny Home', -*bo* 'abode' in

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no. 9 *Højbo* 'Hill Abode' and *-høj* 'mound, hill' in no. 10 *Solhøj* 'Sunny Hill.

Another circumstance that, in my opinion, may support the idea of pattern influence between the *-minde*, *-ly* and *-lyst* groups is the fact that the abstract denotations of the generics do not refer directly to specific features of the locality. This leads on to the complex question of the semantic properties of names coined according to pattern influence, and the methods of analysis required for their study. These problems have a scope extending far beyond housenames and in the present study I have only addressed them in passing. They certainly require a separate study, as well as a discussion in their own right. Still, I am convinced that the names treated will be able to contribute greatly to their elucidation.

House names formed with terms for abstract concepts have never formed a prestigious field of onomastic research. Rather, they have been regarded with disdain in traditional research (e.g. Förstemann 1863: 208; Noreen 1915: 5; Sahlgren 1916: 5; Hovda 1978 [1953]: 57). In recent research, they have tended to be treated with indifference. Such negative attitudes seem rather unjustified to me.

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Ellipsis in place-names*

Two volumes of onomastic standard works appeared in 1996, namely *Namenforschung. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*, vol. II, and John Kousgård Sørensen's *Danske sø- og ånavne* (DSÅ) vol. VIII. Both volumes present general analyses and both comment on ellipsis in place-names. The International handbook treats ellipsis under the heading "Morphologie und Wortbildung der Ortsnamnen", whereas in DSÅ ellipsis is treated in the chapter "Udvikling" ('Development') (Handbuch II 1996: 1370; DSÅ VIII: 459). Thus, ellipsis is viewed primarily as an aspect of name formation in the former work, and as an aspect of name development in the latter.

Setting out from the classifications more or less explicitly expressed in the above headings, I shall try to clarify some of the problems pertaining to the assessment of ellipsis in place-names.

The discussion of ellipsis in the international handbook is extremely brief considering the jumbo size of the volume. It amounts to 24 lines in a single column under the heading "Elliptische Namen", written by Wolfgang Laur (Handbuch II: 1375). In the brief survey ellipsis is exemplified by the two names *Sankt Peter* (from *Sankt Peters Kirche*) and *Salzburg* (from **Salzachburg*). The latter is referred to as Klammerform, a term that will be discussed below.

By comparison, the two-page presentation of ellipsis in DSÅ (VIII: 464–66) is considerably more detailed, including the following definition "In elliptical formations, one element of the original place-name is omitted" (op. cit. 464). This is consistent with definitions found elsewhere, for instance in the Finno-Swedish list of place-name terminology from 1974 (Kiviniemi et al. 1974: 74). DSÅ adds one important limitation, stating that the omission should

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* A revised and translated version of: "Ellipse i stednavne". In: Harling-Kranck, Gunilla (ed.) 2001: *Namn i en föränderlig värld. Rapport från tolfte nordiska namnforskarkongressen, Tavastehus 13–17 juni 1998. Studier i nordisk filologi* 78. Helsingfors, pp. 53–61.

not be the result of regular linguistic development. The omission should be arbitrary, irregular, inorganic (DSÅ VIII: 459; cf. Bach 1953: 233; Skautrup 1953: 351). In more technical terms, ellipsis belongs among the so-called exceptions to the element functions (cf. Hjelmslev 1963: 48), where linguistic intuition causes a reorganisation of the linguistic sign (cf. Christensen & Kousgård Sørensen 1972: 128).

Another limitation could be added to the definition: The elliptical name form must refer to the same location as the non-elliptical one. In other words, the denotation of the two has to be identical. This is consistent with definitions of ellipsis of common nouns that require the elliptical forms to have the same signified as the non-elliptical form.

DSÅ distinguishes between ellipsis of the first element and ellipsis of the second element. Reduction affecting the second element of the name will be discussed first. Among the examples quoted in DSÅ are the name of the watercourse *Spanget* (elliptical form of *Spanggroben*), and the name of the pond *Stampen* (an ellipsis of *Stampedam*) (DSÅ VIII: 466).[1] The elliptical form *Sankt Peter* from *Sankt Peters Kirche* belongs to the same category. Similar elliptical forms are found in the lexicon, e.g. *snuff* (*tobacco*), *daily* (*paper*).

Ellipsis of the first element can be total or partial according to DSÅ. Among the examples of total ellipsis, with omission of the first element, are the names of the lakes *Lunen* and *Øjet*, ellipses of *Bredlunen* and *Paddesøje* respectively (DSÅ VIII: 465). Parallel forms in the lexicon are for instance Scandinavian *bil* from *automobil*, which is in its turn a loan from a French elliptical form (*voiture*) *automobile*.

Partial ellipsis of the first element is defined in DSÅ as the omission of the latter segment of a compound first element. The bases for the ellipses in such cases rarely survive. Among the recorded examples are the watercourse names *Fokkebæk* and *Gelså*, from *Fokkebrobæk* and *Gelstoftså* respectively. In most cases where

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[1] Both names consist of the first element of the original name plus a postpositive definite article *en* (comm.) or *et* (neutr.).

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partial ellipsis is likely to have occurred, the basis for the ellipsis is hypothetical. This goes for *Gribsø* from the supposed base-form **Gribskovsø* and *Abildå* from the supposed basis *Abildtrupå* (DSÅ VIII: 466). Parallels such as *isbod* 'ice-stall' and *motorløb* 'motor-race' as opposed to *iskagebod* 'ice-cream stall' and *motorcykelløb* 'motor-cycle race' can be found in the lexicon.

The German term for partial ellipsis of the first element is "Klammerform", as can be seen from the international handbook's example *Salzburg*. This is supposedly an elliptic form of **Salzach-burg*, containing the watercourse name *Salzach* (cf. Bach 1953: 233, Witkowski 1964: 41). In Swedish onomastics, Sahlgren's term reduction has gained acceptance for this kind of ellipsis. The result of reduction is referred to as reduct (Sahlgren 1912–35: 29).[2] These terms have also been applied elsewhere, e.g. in Denmark (cf. DSÅ V: 247). The phenomenon has also been termed ellipsis of a medial element (e.g. Lindén 1969: 6; Kiviniemi et al. 1974: 100, Ainiala 1997: 17) or "das Ausstoßen eines mittleren Gliedes" (Witkowski 1964: 41). In my opinion, these terms should be avoided, as we are not dealing with elements in a medial position but rather with the generic of the compound that functions as a specific in a new compound place-name.

In the international handbook, Laur explicitly states that the non-elliptical form may never have existed (Handbuch II 1996: 1375). It may be difficult or even impossible to tell whether ellipsis occurred at the moment a name was coined or in the course of its existence as a proper name.[3] Even so, there is a fundamental difference between the two events. Ellipsis at the time of name-formation has been termed ideal ellipsis, particularly in Swedish onomastic literature but also in Danish (e.g. Jørgensen 1970: 186). Ideal ellipsis pertains strictly to word formation. If the full name form has never existed except as an idea in the mind of the coiner of the name, it is obvious that the elliptical form cannot be seen as a result of name-development.

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[2] The Swedish terms are "reduktion" and "redukt".

[3] This also applies to reductions; these may have taken place either when a name is coined or at a later stage (cf. Zilliacus 1976: 76).

Ellipsis in place-names

What about the real ellipsis, which has demonstrably occurred while the name has been in use, can this be seen as a case of word formation too? The international handbook clearly does so, by quoting examples of real ellipsis under the heading word formation. Implicitly, even DSÅ seems to treat real ellipsis from this point of view, since the elliptical name is seen as a new name as compared to the basis form. If the elliptical name replaces the basis form, it is also classified as a name shift (DSÅ VIII: 460).[4] According to DSÅ, a name is new not only if it consists of one or more elements different from the original name (which has been termed partial and total name shift), but also when it differs structurally or semantically from the original name (sometimes called name variation. The term includes reciprocation,[5] epexegesis and ellipsis) (DSÅ VIII: 459).

DSÅ is by no means alone in regarding reciprocation, epexegesis and ellipsis as related phenomena. Reciprocation and epexegesis are often seen as extensions of the name forms by one or more elements, and ellipsis, whereby the name is reduced, tends to be regarded as the inverse (e.g. Zilliacus 1966: 52).

A closer analysis of reciprocated and epexegetic name forms certainly reveals parallels. A reciprocated place-name like *Store Rørdam*, one of DSÅ's type examples, contains the original name *Rørdam* as a generic compounded with a reciprocating specific *Store*.[6] The meaning of the name at the moment of coinage can be rendered as 'the large(st) one of the localities named *Rørdam*'. Just like reciprocated names, epexegetic names such as DSÅ's example *Gudenå* are compounds. Epexegetic *Gudenå* contains the original name *Guden* as a specific. The generic, in this case *å* 'stream', is an appellative describing the category of the locality when the epex-

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[4] Furthermore, there is a genetic connection between the two forms in a name shift of this kind (DSÅ VIII: 460).

[5] In Danish onomastics, reciprocation denotes the addition of a characterising element to distinguish identical names, e.g. Newcastle upon Tyne – Newcastle under Lyme. See Jørgensen 1977: 458.

[6] The elements in the original compound name *Rørdam* are transparent in Danish, the generic *dam* 'pond' is specified by *rør* 'reeds'. The reciprocating element *stor* means 'big, large'.

egetic name was formed. The epexegetic *Gudenå* has a formation form which can be rendered 'the stream called *Guden*'.[7]

An elliptic name form cannot be analysed as a new syntactic-semantic unit in the same way. For instance, *Gelså* cannot be seen as a new syntactic-semantic unit as compared to *Geltoftså*. A rendering of the semantic content is impossible for *Gelså*, as well as for *Spanget* and *Stampen*. This is not contradicted by examples such as *Søen* (from *Bildsø*), where the elliptical form is homonymous with an appellative in the definite form, 'the lake'. This can be seen from other examples such as *Krogen* (from *Ørekrog*), for even if the elliptical form is homonymous with the common noun *krog* 'hook, bend', there is no semantic reference to the name-bearer. Just like the basis form, elliptical *Krogen* denotes a castle (the forerunner of Elsinore).

Contrary to reciprocation and epexegesis, ellipsis does not result in a new formation and should thus be treated separately. Furthermore, defining ellipsis as the omission of en element is not precise, if element is taken to mean an etymological element. This tends to be the case in onomastics, where name elements normally refer to name-formation elements. According to Zilliacus, a name element can be defined as a linguistic unit expressing a specific feature or quality of the name-bearer at the time when the name was formed (Zilliacus 1966: 70). The above-mentioned example *Øje* from the basis *Paddesøje* demonstrates that ellipsis does not necessarily imply the omission of etymological elements. Etymologically, the omitted element *Paddes-* is not the specific, neither is the remaining *-øje* the generic. As can be seen from several source forms, the name was originally a compound containing the generic *sø* 'lake' (DS XIV: 296). Locally *sø* in this name has been pronounced [*-soj*] and it has eventually changed into or interpreted as the word *øje* 'eye'. The initial *s* in *sø* has been interpreted as the

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[7] The analysis of reciprocated and epexegetic names also shows that reciprocation and epexegesis cannot be seen as extensions of names by the addition of one or more elements. In the reciprocated and epexegetic place-names the original place-names form new compounds, functioning as generic and specific respectively (cf. Dalberg 1991: 116).

genitive morpheme of the etymological specific *Padde-* 'toad', and the whole linguistic unit has subsequently been omitted. Consequently, terms like *forledsellipse* and *efterledsellipse* (ellipsis of the first end second element respectively) are ambiguous and thus less suitable when describing ellipsis in place-names. The fact that the elements omitted by ellipsis are identical to etymological elements in many cases is irrelevant in this context.

Elliptic names are sometimes characterised as non-compound, as opposed to their compound formation form (e.g. Kiviniemi 1975: 24; Ainiala 1997: 14). This description is not entirely appropriate, since an analysis of the elements in the original formation is not possible for the elliptical form.

To my knowledge, no major systematic study of ellipsis in place-names has ever been carried out, even though various onomastic works comment on the phenomenon. Nor have the reasons for ellipsis in place-names been studied in detail. Various explanations have been suggested, possibly a combination of several factors. Being of a psychological nature, they are difficult to verify. According to the two main lines of explanation, elliptical forms are simpler and easier for the user and offer a sense of familiarity (e.g. Ståhl 1970: 53 and Lindén 1969: 20). The latter explanation is supported by the frequent addition of the definite article to elliptical names, such as the examples *Spanget* and *Stampen* referred to above. Definite forms are supposedly more colloquial than indefinite forms (cf. Skautrup 1968: 245). This explanation can only apply to real ellipsis, however, for the elliptical form can only be seen as a stylistic variant of the full form if the full form remains in existence.

Finally, a comment on the frequency of ellipsis in Danish place-names in so far as this can be established. Hydronyms have been studied most thoroughly in this respect, owing to the publication of DSÅ. Based on a corpus of 16,175 names, Kousgård Sørensen's conclusion that ellipsis is rare in Danish hydronyms carries great weight (DSÅ VIII: 465). Thus, there seems to be a striking difference between Danish and Swedish hydronymy. In the latter, in lake names in particular, ellipsis is regarded as quite frequent. As noted by Svante Strandberg (1996: 64), it would be interesting to find out what lies behind this discrepancy.

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In Danish toponymy there are few documented instances of elliptical name forms replacing non-elliptical place-names. Even what appear to be ellipses are sometimes contradicted by source forms. For instance, the two village names *Stenmagle* and *Humble* look like ellipses when compared to older forms such as Stenløsse-magle 1489 and Humlæthwet 1231 (King Valdemar's cadastre). However, later source forms such as Stensemagle 1570 and Homlet 1496, show that these are developments pertaining to unstressed syllables rather than ellipses (cf. DS XIII: 254 and DS XXIII: 59).

It seems that in most cases the elliptic and non-elliptic name forms live side by side as alternatives, in the same way as for appellatives. This ties in well with a view of ellipsis as a means of creating linguistic variation. In some cases, it may be difficult to distinguish between ellipsis and other kinds of name changes that result in alternating forms. If the first part of a name is omitted, it may be difficult to distinguish the alternating name forms from reciprocated and non-reciprocated forms. If the second element is omitted, the alternating form may be confused with epexegetic versus non-epexegetic names.

To sum up: Ellipsis at the moment of name formation should clearly be regarded as an aspect of word formation, whereas this is not the case for ellipsis in a current name form. The latter does not imply a new formation, but rather a new name form. An elliptical form replacing a non-elliptical one can be seen as name alteration, but not as name shift. As a rule, elliptical forms resulting from real ellipsis seem to have emerged as stylistic variants among a close circle of name users. In the Danish onomasticon ellipsis appears to be quite rare, but the question still awaits a more comprehensive treatment.

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On the question of epexegesis in Danish nature names*

The onomasticon of nature-names in present-day Denmark differs on one striking point from that found in other Germanic-speaking areas. Simplex names, particularly those formed by the addition of suffixes, occur only in small numbers as the names of natural features in present-day Denmark, while such names are familiar in linguistically related neighbouring areas. Among many other examples can be mentioned the lake-name *Vättern* in Sweden, the river-name *Kvina* in Norway, and the river-names *der Rhein*, *de Waal* and *the Severn* in Germany, the Netherlands and England respectively.[1] The Danish nature-names almost always occur with a two-element structure, where the second element from an etymological point of view indicates the nature of the locality. Synchronically it is often homonymous with a living word for a topographical concept – as for example in the river-name *Gudenå*, the lake-name *Furesø* and the island-name *Barsø*.[2] The difference between Denmark and the neighbouring countries cannot be explained by differing natural or cultural conditions. The situation in Denmark has been explained as being largely the result of epexegesis. This implies that an existing name at some point enters into a new name-formation together with a word that was intended to indicate the nature of the name-bearing locality (cf. Stednavneforskning I: 84–85).

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* A revised version of: "Gudenå-typen versus Gern Å-typen. Til spørgsmålet om epexegese i danske naturnavne". In: Jørgensen, Bent (ed.), 1991: *Stednavne i brug. Festskrift udgivet i anledning af Stednavneudvalgets 75 års jubilæum.* Navnestudier 26. København, pp. 64–75. Translation based on chapter II.3. in Dalberg 1991: 93–114.

[1] Whether or not the role played by the definite article – pointed out, for example by Odo Leys (1967: 23–24) – as the marker of certain categories of denotata and name-groups is taken to be related to the absence of epexegetic elements will not be the subject of comment in the present paper, since the question is hardly of relevance for Danish place-names, where definiteness apparently does not have this function, cf. DS XVII,1 and XVII,2.1.

[2] *Sø* 'lake' and *å* 'stream'.

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Many old simplex nature-names of the same type as those occurring in the neighbouring countries can thus be presumed to be found in Denmark with an epexegetic element. However, this very reasonable assumption can only be confirmed by documentary evidence in a very limited number of cases (cf. the material presented in Dalberg 1991: 47–77). Most of the examples consist of island-names and if we had not had King Valdemar's Cadastre from c. 1300, which, among other items, contains an island-list from the 13th century, our basis would have been even more flimsy. In this single source, about two-thirds of all the simplex island-names listed below have been transmitted. As documentation here only one instance will be named of a non-epexegetic form and one of an epexegetic form, since reference can be made to the work cited above for the etymology of the names and their development.

> *Agerø* (Karby p., Morsø Sønderh.)
> VJb 1231 (c. 1300) Akær
> 1594 Jonas Koldingensis 97 Aggerroo, Aggerøe
>
> *Barsø* (Løjt p., Rise h.)
> VJbØ 13th cent. (c. 1300) Bars
> 20/1 1411 Barsøø
>
> *Hesselø* (Rørvig s., Ods h.)
> VJbØ 13th cent. (c. 1300) Esæl
> FrlReg 5/7 1523 Hesløen
>
> *Holmsland* (Hind h.)
> 21/7 1411 Holm
> M 1664 Holms Landt
>
> *Jegindø* (Refs h.)
> VJbØ 13th cent. (c. 1300) Ekund
> FrlReg 27/3 1523 Iegennøø
>
> *Langø* (Kalvehave p., Bårse h.)
> VJbØ 13th cent. (c. 1300) Lang
> M 1688 Lang=øe

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Langø (Kappel p., Lollands Sønderh.)
VJbØ 13th cent. (c. 1300) Lang maior
Jb c. 1560 Langøø

Langø (Stubberup p., Bjerge h.)
VJbØ 13th cent.(c. 1300) Lang
M 1688 Langøe

Langø (Nørre Sandager p., Skovby h.)
29/5 1480 (1650–1700) Lang
M 1688 Langøe

Lidsø (Rødby mkt. t., Maribo c.)
MB 1681 Liiz
Gst 1892 Lidsø

Nekselø (Føllenslev p., Skippinge h.)
14/11 1203 (Århusbogen 1313–1350) nixlæ
1529 (c. 1570 ÆDA III 362) Nexeløen

Strynø (p. Sunds h.)
VJbØ 13th cent. (c. 1300) Strun
KancBrevb 27/3 1604 Stryen Ø

Tunø (p., Ning h.)
VJbØ 13th cent. (c.1300) Thund
KancBrevb 17/5 1592 Thundland

Other simplex names with a natural location as their denotatum occur more rarely in the recorded sources. In the examined name corpus they are only represented by a handful of names of watercourses, as will be seen from the following list and from Dalberg (1991: 51–63).

Drideå (Møborg and Flynder p., Skodborg h.)
28/6 1503 Drydi, Drydi aa
11/7 1508 Dryde Aa

Furesø (Smørum, Lynge-Kronborg and Ølstykke h.)
Skovsyn 1660 Fursøe
MB 1682 Fure, Fuersø

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Gudenå (Vejle, Skanderborg, Viborg and Randers counties)
13/7 1478 Gwyen, Gwden
PrI 1638 I 183 Gunaa

Hellesø (Jetsmark p., Hvetbo h.)
PrI 1638 I 33 Helffuede
M 1662 Helle Søe

Kølstrøm (Givskud p., Nørvang h., Gadbjerg p., Tørrild h.)
17/6 1488 (18. cent.) Cøll
Opt 1916 [*kjøljstrøm*]

Lærksø (Jystrup p., Ringsted h.)
RJb 1370–80 Hiortsio læærk
KancBrevb 9/10 1645 Lerckesø

Ravedam (Tommerup and Brylle p., Odense h.)
MB 1682 Raffte
Jb 1572 Raffte dam

Rødsø (Rødding, Pederstrup and Vammen p., Nørlyng h.)
1519 (1612 *ÆDA* V 94) Røø
5/12 1489 Rødsiø

The fact that the development from being a simplex nature name to becoming a nature-name with an epexegetic suffix is so rarely traceable in the source material cannot, however, be adduced as a serious objection to the assumption that there has been widespread epexegesis in the corpus of nature-names. The lack of such names can be ascribed to the survival situation of the sources. The older place-name sources, i.e. those from before c. 1500, are mainly interested in settlements and consequently their names. Nature names simply have a poor chance of being recorded early. After 1500, nature names become much more frequent in the sources. When we do not find many simplex nature-names among these younger sources, it may be because the names had already entered into epexegetic compounds at the point when they begin to be transmitted. One may supplement the sparse information in the sources for epexegesis in nature-names with what can be read out of the transmission of settlement-names recorded with epexegesis. In that way we see clearly

that names with an epexegetic ending were rather rare in the earlier period.[3] They do not really make their appearance in sources until the 16th and especially the 17th centuries, that is at precisely the time when the transmission of nature-names becomes copious.

There are therefore good grounds for assuming that there have been many more epexegetic nature-names than are revealed by the sources. By employing different criteria it has been rendered plausible that many nature-names only surviving with elements denoting their nature can best be explained as epexegetic (cf. Stednavne-forskning I: 77–82). In this way it has been possible to reconstruct much ancient nature-name material, not least old suffix-derivatives that would otherwise seem to be lacking in Denmark. In particular, attention can be drawn to the large corpus of names of watercourses that has been treated by John Kousgård Sørensen in *Danske sø og ånavne* (DSÅ I–VIII, cf. Dalberg 1991: 149–50). Additionally, many reconstructions of island-names can be found in the works of Kristian Hald, most of which have been collected in the article *De danske Ønavne* (Hald 1971).

In the rather densely settled country of Denmark there are many examples of the familiar phenomenon where the name of a natural locality has been transferred to the settlement that has grown up close to this locality. It is therefore not surprising that we find simplex names among such semantically secondary settlement-names, including derivative formations that must originally have denoted natural phenomena. Based on word-formation, semantics and topography, the names of the following villages can be assumed to have been borne originally by the watercourses close to which they lie.

> *Ganer* (Skjern p., Bølling h.)
> 25/8 1508 Gane, ChrIIReg, 1514 Ganner (DSÅ II: 198).

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[3] For an assessment of the chronology of epexegesis it is without significance that epexegetic forms of settlement-names do not generally obtain a footing in linguistic usage.

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Gjern (p., Gjern h.)
1343 (1558 ÆDA II 55) Giernsogen (DS XII: 116, DSÅ II: 306–09).

Gurre (Tikøb p., Lynge-Kronborg h.)
31/12 1361 (PavKopib, DD 3 rk VI 118) Gorwe (DS II: 7–8, DSÅ II: 298).

Halle (Grædstrup p., Tyrsting h.)
27/7 1456 Haligh Mark,
6/1 1497 Halle (DSÅ III: 24–25).

Hampen (Nørre Snede p., Vrads h.)
Jb 1586 Hampenn (DS XII: 163, DSÅ III: 28–29).

Hee (p., Hind h.)
RO end of 13th c. He, Hee (DSÅ III: 49–51).

Hvejsel (p., Nørvang h.)
RO c. 1325 Hwyxil (DS VIII: 59, DSÅ III: 187–87).

These simplex names have not been transmitted in their primary function as nature names but this is, as will be explained below, not of importance for the problem that is to be discussed here, namely the assessment of the later names of the natural localities in question, which are always formed with a suffix describing the nature of the locality.

Ganer Å, KrSk 6/1 1546 Gaanner Aa

Gjern Å, Trap[4] VII: 300 1926 Gern Aa

Gurre Sø, KancBrevb 2/2 1568 Gurre Sø

Halle Sø, 6/1 1497 Halle syø

Hampen Sø, M 1664 Hampensøe

Hee Å, PrI 1638 I 144 Hie aae

Hvejsel Sø, PrI 1638 I 184 Huixellsø

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The authors of *Stednavneforskning* take these names to be epexegetic, that is consisting of a simplex nature-name plus a word indicating the nature of the locality (Stednavneforskning I: 85). As one of those jointly responsible for the claim, I can state that the idea behind it is that an epexegetic element in these names must have been necessary in order to remedy the inconvenience that would be bound to arise when both the settlement and the river were called *Gjern*, both the settlement and the lake *Gurre*, etc. etc.[4]

A possible interpretation that seems to have been overlooked is that such lake- and river-names might contain the original watercourse-names in their secondary function as settlement-names. In that case it would not be a question of the name of the watercourse entering into a compound with an epexegetic *å* 'stream' or *sø* 'lake'. The new names of the watercourses would then consist of the name of the neighbouring village plus -*å* or -*sø* respectively.

The surviving name forms provide no basis for preferring either of the two possibilities. Here, however, it is not the defective transmission of the sources that is at fault. Even an ideal transmission of the sources would have left us in the lurch. In addition to possible information about the etymology of the name, records of the simplex name in its original function as a nature name would thus only have been able to prove the otherwise hypothetically based interpretation of the settlement-name as being semantically secondary. It could no more answer the question as to whether the components of the compound nature-name had such forms than could the forms of the name in function as a settlement-name. Even additional forms of the compound nature-name could not have helped us, since the difference between an epexegetic name and a name compounded with the name of another locality is of a nature that is not revealed in the name form.

As mentioned elsewhere (Dalberg 1991: 75), an epexegetic name appears to be a compound in which the original name of the locality is the specific and the epexegetic description of its nature

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[4]A similar argumentation with respect to Norwegian river- and fiord-names has been put forward by Magnus Olsen (1939: 32–33) and Oddvar Nes (1990: 41), cf. also Stemshaug (1990: 34–35).

the generic. The same formal structure belongs to the compound name that has the name of a different locality (e.g. a neighbouring locality) as its specific and a word denoting the locality as its generic. The difference between the two is to be found in the semantic structure that was present when the name was coined. In the epexegetic name both elements refer to the same locality, namely to the one that bears the name. The etymological content in an epexegetic *Gurre Sø* must be expanded as 'the lake that is called *Gurre*'. In a *Gurre Sø* with the village-name as specific, it is only the generic that refers to the name-bearing locality, the lake, and the meaning of the name must be assessed as being 'the lake that lies beside the settlement called *Gurre*'. As so often when it is a matter of older names, we are in the position of being able to point to different possibilities for interpreting the semantic relationship between the components of a place-name, but we have few means of preferring the one possibility to the other.

A pointer to the question of the interpretation of these names can be found in the various degrees of support given by the parallel material. Not only is it exceptionally common that Danish watercourse-names are compounded with the name of a significant settlement close to the watercourse,[5] it can also often be proved or rendered likely that a change of name has taken place, so that an older watercourse-name has been replaced by one containing a settlement-name as a component.[6]

 Villestrup Å (Ove p., Hindsted h.), *Viby Å* (Nørre Åby p., Vends h.), *Dalby Bæk* (Skanderup and Sporup p., Gjern h.), *Lejre Å* (Gevninge p., Volborg h.), *Hauge Sø* (Torning p., Lysgård h.), *Holsted Å* (Gørding p. and h.) and many other watercourses whose names are formed with a village-name as their specific, must thus be

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[5] An impression of their frequency of occurrence can be gained by reading the introduction to *Danske sø- og ånavne*. Here John Kousgård Sørensen states that for considerations of space he was only able to include in that work the instances of such names that are attested in medieval sources (DSÅ I: 24).

[6] Corresponding changes of name can be observed in Norway and Sweden (Olsen 1939: 32, Stemshaug 1980: 35, Hellquist 1903–06: 44).

assumed to have borne simplex names originally, *in casu* *Ava* (DSÅ I: 100), **Burghung* (DSÅ I: 261), **Fūsung* DSÅ II: 167–68), *Giofn* (DSÅ II: 224–27), **Grathi* (DSÅ II: 250–53), **Gyria* (DSÅ II: 303).

Occasionally we find the original name of the watercourse as the specific in the settlement-name which eventually forms a component of the watercourse's later name. One example is *Esrum Sø* (Esbønderup p., Holbo h.), MB 1681 Esßerums Søe, which contains the name of the village lying beside the lake *Esrum*, undated 1151–57 (DD 1 rk II 107) Esrom. In oral tradition the lake was still known as late as into the 19th century under the name *Ese*. It is this old simplex lake-name which enters as specific into the compound settlement-name *Esrum* with ODan *rum* 'open space' as its generic (Nielsen 1881–87: 185, DS II: 43, 72, DSÅ VII: 385–87). Our knowledge of several old watercourse-names depends exclusively on their survival as the first element of names of settlements close to the watercourse in question. A random sample from *Danske sø- og ånavne* yields the following instances: **Bæfli* in *Bælum* (p., Hellum h.), **Gera* in *Gørløse* (p., Lynge-Frederiksborg h.), **Giofn* in *Gentofte* (p., Sokkelund h.), **Grunni* in *Grøntved* (Sønder Asmindrup p., Merløse h.) (DSÅ I: 274–75, II: 212–14, 224–25, 268–69). These settlement-names reappear in the names evidenced in the sources for the relevant watercourses: EB 1683 Bellum Søe, Gst 1900 Gjørløse Aa, Gst 1901 Gjentofte Sø, MB 1682 Grøntesøe.

Incidentally, such changes to watercourse-names that contain settlement-names are not only found with simplex watercourse-names and they can therefore hardly be associated with their special typological feature. *Hellegårds Å* (Borbjerg p., Hjerm h.), for example, contains the name of a settlement **Helghā-garth*, whose name is an older compound name of the river **Hælghæā*, consisting of an ODan adj. *hēlagh* 'holy' in definite form and the ODan noun *ā* 'river, stream' (DS XVII: 228, 252–53, DSÅ III: 65).[7] It should also be noted that the above-mentioned lake-name *Ese* as well as the **Horni* posited in *Horneby* appear compounded in epexegetic form

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[7] A yet older name of the river is 28/3 1451 (1749) Oe hin hellige (with more instances) (DS XVII: 252–53).

with the noun *sø* 'lake' in KancBrevb 21/6 1585 Esse Sø and undated 1158–60 (DD 1 rk II 128) Hornisseu, KancBrevb 17/3 1562 Hornessøholms Gaard (DSÅ III: 148–50). Nevertheless they are later replaced by *Esrum Sø* and *Horneby Sø*, names with settlement-names as specifics.

A watercourse-name transferred to a settlement sometimes undergoes a change in form determined by its new function. Absolutely certain examples of the replacement of an older watercourse-name by a new one containing a settlement-name are those where we find the entity in changed form as a part of the watercourse-name.

For example, the original lake-name **Hā* in its employment as a settlement-name (15/6 1474 (DuehDipl), 1/1 1485 Haa[8]), receives a reciprocating element (20/5 1509 Norrehaa, 30/11 1389 Synder-haa) (Hald 1977: 717, DS XVIII,1: 80, Jørgensen 1977: 170, DSÅ III: 218–19). On topographical grounds it must be assumed that it is the lake known as *Nørhå Sø* (21/7 1502 Nørrehaasø) that was once called **Hā* (Jørgensen 1977: 170). *Nør(re)-* in the transmitted lake-name shows that this is a case of a change to a name with the semantically secondary settlement-name *Nørhå* as a component, not epexegesis.

Such changes can also be noted in connection with compound watercourse-names and this supports the claim about the great frequency of occurrence of the phenomenon. Near *Dybe Å* (Dybe p., Vandfuld h.), for example, the parish village (RO c. 1325 dybek), lies on the river and to judge from its situation it must have taken over an older name, *Dybæk* from the river (DSÅ I: 338–39, DS XVII: 135–36).[9] As a parish-name *Dybæk* would often have been used in combination with the word *kirke* 'church', i.e. *Dybæk Kirke*. With a false subtraction of *-k*, which was taken to be the *K-* in *Kirke*, the settlement-name *Dybæk* acquires its later form *Dybe* (earliest

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[8] According to Bent Jørgensen the 1474-record refers to *Sønderhå* (p. Hassing h.), the 1485-record possibly to *Nørhå* (p., Hundborg h.) (Jørgensen 1977: 170).

[9] At an even earlier date the river probably bore the name **Otta* (DS XVII: 148, DSÅ V: 205).

record 23/11 1499 Diøbe) (Hald 1977: 227). It is this form, specially developed as a settlement-name, that is found in the younger name of the watercourse *Dybe Å*. Another example is the lake-name *Gundsø* (Gundsømagle p., Sømme h.), 1500 (c. 1570 ÆDA III 330) Goffuens szøe, which was transferred to a settlement 27/7 1288 (PavKopib) Guthinssio.[10] In combination with a reciprocating adj. *magle* 'great' the settlement-name became *Gundsømagle* (RJb 1370–80 Gundesiø maklæ), and this form reappears in the later name of the lake *Gundsømagle Sø* (earliest M 1664 Gunsemagle Søe).

The last-mentioned name, however, we would rather have tended to assess as a lake-name containing the semantically secondary settlement-name, even if the settlement-name had not appeared in altered shape. The name would have been a counterpart to, for example, MB 1683 Helligsøe Søø, used of the lake *Helligsø*, close to which lies the settlement *Helligsø* (p., Refs h.), and to Gst 1939 *Glumsø Sø*, used of the large lake *Glumsø*, close to which lies the village of Glumsø (DSÅ III: 67, II: 242).[11] The tautological noun *sø* in *Helligsø Sø* and *Glumsø Sø* indicates that it is a case of *formally secondary* names, that is formations involving an already existing place-name.[12] In the examples mentioned it is probably the villages in question that are the denotata for the *formally primary* names *Helligsø* and *Glumsø* – which are therefore secondary from a semantic point of view. If we instead think of the lakes as denotata, then *Helligsø Sø* and *Glumsø Sø* must be taken to be epexegetic, since this would mean that an epexegetic element *sø* 'lake' is added to a name already containing the word in a form in complete agreement with the homonymous appellative.

Parallels that support the idea that the type *Ganer Å*, *Gjern Å*, *Gurre Sø*, *Halle Sø* etc. contain the settlement-names *Ganer*, *Gjern*,

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[10] The lake-name *Gundsø*, originally **Guthung*, contains an epexegetic *-sø* (DSÅ II: 299–300).

[11] Corresponding Swedish examples are to be found in Franzén (1939: 159–60).

[12] A summary account of this terminology is given by Vibeke Christensen (Dalberg) 1973.

Gurre, *Halle* etc. are not too difficult to produce. The same does not apply to the epexegetic interpretation of these names.

As mentioned above, it has been suggested that epexegesis is employed in such names to distinguish between names. It should be interpolated here that name-distinguishing epexegesis can only be conceived in connection with localities of differing nature, since its aim is to specify to which of two localities with the same name reference is being made. If the localities belong to the same category, the information will not have the desired effect. Identical names borne by localities from precisely the same category, for example two villages, are distinguished from each other first and foremost with the help of distinctive reciprocating affixes such as *Store-*, *Lille-*, *Øster-*, *Vester-* etc.[13]

Epexegesis motivated by synchretism does, however, occur. In *Valløby-* the *-by* 'settlement, village' was intended to serve to distinguish the village of *Vallø* from the manor-house *Vallø* (cf. Dalberg 1991: 68–69). Most of the examples of name-distinguishing epexegesis make only a few sporadic occurrences in the transmission of the names and hardly ever become conventional. In addition, it would appear that settlement-names and watercourse-names that sound alike can actually live happily side by side with each other without the use of a distinguishing element. By the river *Nivå*, for example, lies the settlement *Nivå*,[14] *Ørbæk* flows along the village of *Ørbæk*, by the lake *Langesø* lies the manor-house *Langesø* – many more examples could be mentioned (Jørgensen 1981: 88, DS XIII: 200, DS XIV: 217). These are examples of compound watercourse-names with generics that are homonymous with appellatives in the living language, and for this reason epexegesis in the watercourse-name would perhaps be less well-founded. One could imagine, however, that epexegesis in the settlement-name might well have been called for. This has evidently not been the case. Examples where

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[13] Dan *stor* 'great, large', *lille* 'little, small', *øster* 'eastern', *vester* 'western'.

[14] The name has acquired epexegetic *-å* 'stream' in its function as a watercourse-name and has together with this been transferred to the settlement (cf. the forms cited in DS II: 24 and the interpretation of the name as a simplex in Jørgensen (1981: 88 and DSÅ V: 140–41).

simplex names form such name-pairs can – for good reasons – not be cited, since, as mentioned above, they simply do not occur.

If one thinks that the arguments put forward have sufficient cumulative weight to result in abandonment of the epexegtic interpretation of the type of compound nature-names that acquired the function of the names of the neighbouring settlements in uncompounded form, then the number of epexegetic nature-names in Denmark will be reduced. This does not mean, however, that the number of simplex Danish nature-names will be fewer – the names in question still exist in function as settlement-names.

Additionally, through the interpretation of such lake- and watercourse-names as consisting of the semantically secondary settlement-name plus the element denoting the nature of the locality, it is possible to propose an explanation of a peculiar structural divergence between Danish island-names of the present day and contemporary watercourse-names.

The few simplex nature-names that still are borne by natural localities almost all denote islands. *Als*, *Falster*, *Fur*, *Fyn*, *Illum*, *Mors*, *Møn*, *Vresen* are familiar examples. Similar simplex watercourse-names are excessively rare. Among the hundreds of watercourse-names in *Danske sø- og ånavne* only a few simplex examples are to be found, for example *Bliden*, *Bloster*, *Flom*, *Færgen*, *Glammen*, *Glut*, *Gløde*, *Skvatten* (DSÅ I: 166–67, 171. II: 117, 174, 233–34, 242–43, 246, VI: 178).[15] It is probably characteristic that these names are borne by rather insignificant watercourses. The names have never been transferred to settlements. Nor is it by chance that the written transmission of the names is very weak and generally very young.

The surviving simplex watercourse-names only make up a strikingly small percentage of the total number of watercourse-names – a considerably smaller percentage than that of the simplex island-names of the total number of island-names. If we assume, however, that many watercourses have changed from being simplex

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[15] Comparative names such as *Brillerne* 'the spectacles' are left out of consideration.

names to becoming a part of the name transferred to the settlement together with an element denoting the nature of the locality, it is no wonder that so few watercourses bear simplex names today. Island-names are transferred to settlements much less frequently and this means that the theoretical possibility for a change of name of this type is also much less common.

Apart from the noting of its presence in certain names, the aspects of the phenomenon epexegesis most often referred to in place-name literature are the syntactic-semantic structure of epex-egetic name-formation and the reason for its appearance (cf. Dalberg 1991: 47–92). On the other hand, it has never been discussed why epexegetic names in some cases gain a footing in linguistic usage and in other cases not.

In principle, as already mentioned, any category of locality may be indicated by epexegesis but epexegetic names do not occur with equal frequency in connection with all categories of denotata. In Danish place-name literature the view has been put forward, both directly and indirectly, that epexegesis takes place more frequently in connection with nature-names than with settlement-names (Sted-navneforskning I: 85, Jørgensen 1981: 126). The claim is undoubt-edly correct, if the cases where the epexegetic name has ousted the non-epexegetic one are taken into account (cf. Jørgensen 1982: 134 and 1983: 137).[16]

On the other hand, it is hardly valid, if it is meant to apply to epexegetic place-name-formation in general and thus also include the examples where an epexegetic element is only known from a single record or some few of these, while the non-epexegetic form otherwise continues as the current name for the locality in question. Within the last-named category a large number of settlement names can be found,[17] and one can easily convince oneself of this by

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[16] Bent Jørgensen has in the last two sections of his three-part place-name dictionary defined his formulation more clearly than in the first one so that this limitation is stated expressly (Jørgensen 1982, 1983).

[17] Swedish examples of this type, where *-by* "...seems...to have been added but is no longer retained" were pointed out by Elof Hellquist as early as in 1918 (Hellquist 1918: 96–97).

reference to the volumes dealing with settlement-names in *Danmarks Stednavne*.[18] A few random examples will be cited here. The recorded forms are only a selection of those available, since fuller documentation can generally be found in *Danmarks Stednavne*.

> *Broholm* (farms, Brylle p., Odense h.) M 1664 Broeholmb, M 1844 Broeholm Gaard,[19] Gst 1872 Broholm (DS XIV: 78).

> *Donskær* (farms and houses, Møborg p., Skodborg h.) VSKOrig 1795 Danskiær [symbol for house], M 1844 Donskiær huus,[20] Gst 1873 Donskjær Hse, PA 1966 Donskær (DS XVII: 64).

> *Geddal*[21] (village, Ejsing p., Ginding h.) 15/5 1500 (18th cent.) Gedelbye, KancBrevb 8/12 1591 Giedil, MB 1683 Giedil, M 1688 Giedel=bye,[22] M 1844 Gieddal (DS XVII: 227–28).

> *Heldager* (village, Tved p. Sunds h.) M 1664 Haldagger, KrSk 7/1 1671 Heldagerbye, M 1688 Haldagger, VSKOrig 1773 Heldager Bye og Gaard, 1844 Helager (DS XIII: 28).

> *Kulerup* (village, Bjæverskov p. and h.) Mandt 1596 Kyllerup, M 1664 Kiullerupbye, M 1688 Kiulerup (DS XVI: 29.).

> *Mark* (farm, Heldum p., Skodborg h.) KrSk 7/6 1586 Marck, M 1688 Marchboell, Folketælling 1787 Mark, VSKOrig 1790 Markhuus, M 1844 Markgaard, PA 1966 (DS XVII: 42).

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[18] One may suspect *Danmarks Stednavne* of inconsequence in its documentation of epexegetic name-formation. Sometimes epexegetic elements are rendered – more often they would seem to be ignored in the source forms that have been selected. The reason is probably that the main objective for *Danmarks Stednavne* has been to present the name records as the basis for interpretation of *the non-epexegetic* name, and any epexegetic form was thus only of subordinate interest.

[19] Dan *gård* 'farm'.

[20] Dan *hus* 'house'.

[21] *-dal* is unetymological (DS XVII: 227–28). Reshaping to *dal* had, however, not occurred at the time when the epexegetic name-formation took place.

[22] Dan *by* 'settlement, village'.

On the question of epexegesis in Danish nature names

Mose (farms, Husby p., Ulfborg h.) LR 1609 Moesgaardh, Mandt 1610 moesgaard, paa moes, M 1688 Moeseboel,[23] M 1844 Mose (DS XVII: 357).

Neble (farms, Allerslev p., Bårse h.) M 1664 Nebelle, M 1688 Nebbølle=gaarde, VSKOrig 1767–68 Neble, M 1844 Neble Gaarde, PA 1972 Neble (DS XVI: 207–08).

Vinde (village, Skive land p., Hindborg h.) Reg c. 1525 widtne, M 1664 Wind Bye, MB 1683 Windbye, Winde, M 1688 Vind-bye, M 1844 Vinde (DS IX: 15).

Årbjerg (farms, Skive land p., Hindborg h.) M 1664 Ørnbiergh, M 1688 Aarbierggaard, M 1844 Ahrbierg (DS IX: 14).

Considerably fewer examples of a settlement-name with an epexegetic element have acquired the status – at least in written form – of being a conventional name. Among these can be mentioned those described in Dalberg 1991: 47–77, where further information is provided.

Hovedgård (Ørridslev p., Voer h.)
Jb 1544 Hoffuitt
M 1688 Hoffuidgaarde

Hverkenby (Humble p., Langelands Sønder h.)
Reg 1531 Huærken
M 1844 Hverkenbye

Hydesby (Radsted p., Musse h.)
2/8 1434 Høwet
MB 1682 Synder Hyrresbye(s Thuerhoyschifft)

Kiddegård (Jelling p., Tørrild h.)
KancBrevb 23/10 1578 Kidie
U 1822 Kiidegaard

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[23] Dan *bol* 'small-holding'.

On the question of epexegesis in Danish nature names

Kærgårde (Nautrup p., Harre h.)
17/6 1474 Kiær
DAtl IV (1768) 739 Kier Bye
Gst 1882 Kjærgaarde

Lavensby (Havnbjerg p., Als Nørre h.)
22/10 1245 Langesio
Sk 1483 Langesbw

Lundby (Landet p., Sunds h.)
31/12 1459 Londh
31/7 1499 Lwnby

Risgård (Egtved p., Jerlev h.)
KancBrevb 15/3 1579
MB 1683 Riisgaard

Valløby (p., Bjæverskov h.)
22/7 1346 Waleuæ
12/3 1461 Valløffwe by

Øby (Viskum p., Sønderlyng h.)
Sk 1528 Øø
DAtl IV (1768) 402 Øe Bye

Øby (Husby p., Ulfborg h.)
26/5 1492 Øø
M 1688 Øebye

There are probably a number of reasons why considerably more epexegetic nature-names than settlement-names become accepted as conventional forms.

One factor that has undoubtedly played a role is the model-forming effect of the existing place-name lexicon. As earlier mentioned, Danish nature-names are from an etymological point of view dominated by compounds with topographical substantives as the generic element. Synchronically these name-elements generally appear in a form that is homonymous with living appellatives whose meaning corresponds to the nature of the name-bearing locality.

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The reason for this is that the majority of the Danish nature-names have been coined as compounds with topographical nouns as their generic. On the basis of word-formation and vocabulary it can be established that a number of these names are of considerable age and this is a sign that the type must have been productive from the earliest period, even though a large number of these nature-names are comparatively young (Hald 1965: 185, 1971: 74, Kousgård Sørensen 1985: 32).

Together with epexegetic names, the above-mentioned changes of name, in which simplex nature-names are replaced by nature-names compounded of a settlement-name and a topographical noun, have continuously contributed to the numerical superiority of nature-names with generics denoting the locality. As explained above, changes of name of this type have been very widespread. The number of epexegetic nature-names also seems to have been comparatively great – at any rate considerably greater than the transmission allows us to assess. As already mentioned, Kristian Hald and John Kousgård Sørensen have made it seem likely that many island-names and watercourse-names are to be interpreted as epexegetic compounds (particularly Hald 1971 and DSÅ I–VIII). Nature-names linked to other categories of denotata have not been examined anywhere near as closely with respect to the occurrence of epexegetic name-formation. Epexegetic name-interpretation has – in a more or less well-founded way – been proposed in connection with, for example the names of *fairways* such as *Fanefjord* (DS XVI: 259), *Isefjord* (Jørgensen 1981: 59) and *Kolding Fjord* (Hald 1965: 246, differently DSÅ IV: 149), names of *coastal projections* such as *Lindsnakke* (Jørgensen 1983: 86), *Vindshorn* (Stednavneforskning I: 78) and *Knudshoved* (Stednavneforskning I: 81, differently Jørgensen 1981: 67), names of *elevations* such as *Feggeklit* (Hald 1977: 276), *Bulbjergbakke* (DS XX: 125) and *Nibakke* (DS XVIII,1: 154, differently DSÅ V: 131), names of *boggy areas* such as *Donsmose* (DS XIV: 275) and names of *growths of trees* such as *Arnitlund* (Jørgensen 1983: 15).

The reason why nature-names can so often be perceived synchronically as containing a second element that is homonymous with a familiar topographical appellative whose meaning agrees with the

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nature of the locality borne by the name-bearer is primarily the fact that nature-names are seldom semantically secondary, i.e. metonymically transferred from a topographically neighbouring locality. The watercourse names *Bølsvad*, *Katterøgel* and *Ormedal*, which were originally borne by a *vad(ested)* 'a ford(ing-place)', a *røgel* 'an elevation' and a *dal* 'a valley', are, together with the examples named in Dalberg 1991: 61, 131, of rare occurrence (DSÅ I: 184, IV: 57–58, V: 194). There is therefore small chance for the etymological content of a nature-name to refer to a different locality from the name-bearer, and consequently a reduced possibility for a discrepancy between the nature of the name-bearer and a homonymous appellative's topographical meaning.

The patterns presented by settlement-names are much more diffuse with respect to homonymy with appellatives denoting localities and their semantic agreement with the nature of the denotatum. Many settlement-names lack an element that is homonymous with an appellative whose meaning refers to the nature of the locality, and many settlement-names are semantically secondary. Several of these have an element that is homonymous with a topographical appellative whose meaning does not agree with the nature of the name-bearing locality.

The written transmission may also have been a contributing factor to the difference that has arisen between epexegetic nature-names and settlement-names. An early and stable written tradition has a well-known name-conserving effect. Such a transmission is characteristic for many settlement-names in contrast to nature-names, which are generally committed to writing at a late date and often, in addition, rather sporadically. This is naturally a reflection of the significance of the localities for society and their related dissemination to greater or smaller groups of language-users. Nor is it a coincidence that almost all the current simplex island-names were recorded early – several of them even unusually early[24] – and that

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[24] For example, *Falster*, 9th cent. account of Wulfstan's voyage in King Alfred's translation of Orosius (c. 900 Sweet, Orosius 20) Falster, *Fur* 1166 (c. 1600 DD 1 rk II 171) Phur, *Fyn*, Arnórr Jarlaskáld c. 1050 (Jónsson, Skjalde-

the name-bearers in question from ancient times are known to have had social and political functions (cf. Hald 1971: 71).

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The psychology of place-name changes*

A large number of the place-names that we use without hesitation every day appear quite unintelligible on second thoughts, at least compared with other words in the modern language. This does not, however, mean that they are any the less Danish in origin than other words in our language.

One reason why we cannot identify place-names with familiar words is the fact that many names are of great age and over the years, phonological changes have altered their form to such an extent that we do not recognise the words from which they were formed. This may be true even if the words actually exist in the modern language. Who could possibly recognise 'Odins vi', 'ånæs' and 'hejrehals'[1] in the place-names *Vojens*, *Ans* and *Hejls*, for instance? In addition to phonological changes, a number of words have been lost in the course of time. The vocabulary is constantly changing, as some words disappear and others are added. Consequently, place-names may become opaque to modern speakers because the words from which the names were once formed are no longer part of our vocabulary. For instance, we are not familiar with a word *nibe* meaning 'a protruding hill', but this word was current when the place-name *Nibe* was coined. In the same way, the words **ī* 'yew tree' and *kost* meaning 'coppice' have been lost, but the words were still current at the time when a thicket of yews was given the name *Ikast*.

In a large number of place-names we recognise familiar words, e.g. *præst* 'vicar' and *ø* 'island' in *Præstø*, *havn* 'harbour' in *København* and *skov* 'forest' in *Nakskov*. However, we often notice that the meaning that can be read out of the name is not very appropriate for the locality in question. For instance, *Præstø* is a town rather than an island, and the clergy are no more prominent here

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[1] The Danish etymologies mean 'Odin's sanctuary', 'river headland' and 'heron's neck' respectively.

than in other towns. Normally, we do not even consider the meaning of names, i.e. whether the elements of the name can be associated with familiar words. Neither do we ponder as to whether the characteristics deduced from the names are actually consistent with the locations. There is no need to reflect on these matters, for place-names generally function perfectly well even if we do not understand them, or if their semantics make no sense. After all, the primary function of a place-name is not to describe a locality to which it refers. Rather, its linguistic function is solely to single out a certain locality, i.e. to function as a recognised and stable appellation for a specific locality.

We may still reckon that the linguistic unit that gained the status and function of a place-name bore a meaning related to the place it denotes at one point in its development, namely the moment the name was formed. Identifying the meaning of the names at the moment they were coined has been the main task of traditional onomastics. Knowledge about linguistic changes from pre-historic times until today often enables us to reconstruct the form and meaning of the name at the time of formation. In the first place, this is a prerequisite for clarifying fundamental onomastic issues, namely the principles at play when place-names are formed. In addition, the etymological analysis, as the process is called, is a base that enables us to use place-names as a source for cultural history. The words contained in place-names often refer to phenomena in the society in which they were coined, e.g. pre-Christian religion, old administrative units, communications and settlement, agriculture etc. Thus, place-names may be an important source of information in such matters.

In recent decades, onomastic research has turned to other aspects than etymology. To some extent, this is a result of current trends in modern linguistics, focusing on language as a means of communication. In addition, an extension of the field has emerged internally, as onomasts have addressed new questions. For instance, studies with a more theoretical focus have attempted to define and delimit proper nouns, including place-names, as opposed to other words in the language. These have pointed at the lack of meaning as a distinctive characteristic of place-names. Moreover, it has become

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relevant to discuss the function of proper names in the usage, in communication.

Above, it has been suggested that it is irrelevant for speakers whether they are able to associate a meaning with place-names and what kind of meaning they are able to deduce. Though this is true for the vast majority of place-names, the claim is somewhat simplistic. There are a number of place-name changes that can only be explained if we take into account an intentional contribution on the part of the speakers. These seem to prove that the semantic content speakers associate with a name is not always subordinate.

Some of the intentional name changes seem to be due to mainly *external changes*. If the characteristics of a locality change to such an extent that there is an obvious discrepancy between the apparent signification of the name and its actual location, the name may be changed completely. Alternatively, the element that stands out as manifestly inappropriate may be replaced by another that seems more adequate. For reasons not yet identified, such changes are rare for names of towns and cities. I have already mentioned town names formed from words that denote other localities than habitations. Other examples include e.g. Hol*bæk* 'brook', Ros*kilde* 'spring' Nek*sø* 'lake'. There are some examples of name changes, however, e.g. *Sakstorp* changed to *Sakskøbing* when the village changed into a market town. For non-habitation names there seems to be less tolerance towards the lack of correspondence between the names, in particular the generic, and the actual locations.

Some name changes have *practical* reasons. It causes confusion for speakers if two localities within a limited area have identical names or names that are easily confused. In the case of identical habitation names, the problem is normally solved by adding an element to one or more of the names, e.g. *Lille* Næstved : Næstved, Brøndby*vester* : Brøndby*øster*, *Kirke*-Søby : *Sø*-Søby etc.[2] In recent times, it has been necessary to change street names that are identical or similar enough to cause postal confusion. Thus, *Enighedsvej* and *Randersvej* in Frederiksberg have been changed to *Edisonsvej* and

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[2] *Lille* 'little'; *vester* 'western'; *øster* 'eastern', *kirke* 'church'; *sø* 'lake, sea'.

The psychology of place-name changes

Priorvej to avoid confusion with *Enighedsvej* and *Randersgade* in other parts of Greater Copenhagen.

In the majority of cases, however, the motive for place-name change should be sought in the mind of the speakers. Psychological factors may have been at play even in the examples given above, but in many cases the reasons for changes seem to be purely psychological.

Name taboo is related to superstitions in former times. It was imagined that evil powers could be warded off if one avoided mentioning the names of the localities to which they were connected. In many cases, this resulted in new, inoffensive names, so-called 'noa-names'. It may be difficult to prove that such name changes have taken place, since it is rare for us to know the original name that was lost owing to the taboo. Some scholars have suggested that names containing the element *hellig* 'holy' may be such taboo names, e.g. *Helgenæs* and *Hellesø*. The latter may have replaced a tabooed lake-name *Sevel*, a name preserved as the name of a village and parish in Jutland.

Aesthetic and *ethic* standards change over the years. Quite a number of names have been changed on the grounds that speakers have considered them to be aesthetically or ethically offensive, either because of the words they have appeared to contain or because events associated with the location caused unpleasant associations. To remedy the matter, the whole name could be changed, or at least the offensive parts of it. The name or element chosen as a replacement was either more positive from an aesthetic or ethical point of view, or possibly neutral. Thus, the inhabitants of the Silkeborg suburb *Aldershvile* 'Rest for the Aged' chose this name in 1873 as a replacement for the former name *Pjaltenborg* 'Ragged castle', which went back to the time when this was a poor quarter. And even though they contain respectable personal names, the former even a saint's name, the Sjælland village names *Ludserød*, *Gumperup* and *Rumperup* were changed in the 1920s on the initiative of the inhabitants. Their first elements were associated with *lus* 'lice' and *gump*, *rumpe* 'behind, bum' respectively.[3] The streets *Sct. Peders-*

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[3] Their new names are *Høvelte*, *Klinteby* and *Højsted*.

stræde 'St. Peter's Street' in Svendborg and *Krystalgade* 'Crystal Road' in Copenhagen acquired their present names in the mid 18th century. Until then, they were called *Røven* 'The Arse' and *Skidenstræde* 'Dirty Street'. The street *Bremerholm* in Copenhagen has had it name changed twice by request, in 1823 from *Ulkegade* to *Holmensgade*, and then in 1932 to its present name. Both times the argument was that prostitution in the street had given the street name a negative ring.[4] A number of similar examples could be mentioned. However, it may be difficult to bring about a name shift, i.e. make people use a new name. This was obviously the case for the village name *Tyvkær* 'Thieves' Marsh' in Jutland. It retains its name[5] in spite of a royal decree from 1580 stating that its name should be "Fridtzkier" ('Peace Marsh'), even though the fine for using the old name counter to the King's orders was "a good, ready ox".

In Denmark, place-name changes due to the dominance of certain *political* ideologies or *religious* fractions at different times are rare. Politically motivated name shifts are frequent in Eastern Europe, however. For instance, the town called *Tsaritzin* in the Tsar period was renamed *Stalingrad* after the Russian revolution and *Volgograd* after Stalinism had been abolished. Danish examples are mainly to be found in South Jutland, which was under German rule 1864–1920. When the area was reunited with Denmark, a number of street-names in Sønderborg were changed, for instance, *Kaiser Wilhelm-Allee* was replaced by *Kongevejen* 'King's Road'. *Adelbart Strasse* – named after a German admiral – was changed to *Helgolandsgade*,[6] and *Baudessin Strasse* was renamed *du Plats Gade*. The former name commemorates a German admiral, the latter a prominent Danish major-general.

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[4] *Ulk* denotes 'the short-spined sea scorpion' and other fish of the Cottus family. It is also an old slang word for a seaman. *Holmen* 'the islet', is a place-name.

[5] However, in order to conceal the negative connotations of the name, its local as well as authorised Danish spelling is now *Tiufkær*, reflecting an older written form of the name.

[6] Helgoland or Heligoland in the North Sea was under Danish rule 1714–1814, after a successful Danish conquest.

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Though the conversion to Christianity must have meant a total upheaval, it did not really leave an imprint in the form of place-name shifts with religious motivation. The new faith only appears indirectly to give rise to occasional name shifts. Since it is known that most churches were built in existing villages of a certain size, we may assume that some of the villages called *Kirkeby* and *Kirk-erup* (Dan *kirke* 'church') etc. have previously borne other names. We know little or nothing about these original names, but there is no reason to assume that they were particularly "heathen". This can be deduced from the fact that other church villages have retained their names in spite of their reference to the old religion, e.g. *Nærå*, *Tise* and *Thorsø*, containing the names of the gods *Njord*, *Tyr* and *Thor*. The reformation appears to have had a somewhat stronger influence on the stock of place-names. For instance, the names of monasteries were occasionally changed after the royal takeover, e.g. *Sct. Hans Kloster* in Odense to *Odensegård*.

An early instance of place-name shift caused by an owner shift is attested in Sorø Abbey's register of donations from about 1440, in the words "Gökstorp qvod nunc Knutstorp dicitur", meaning "Gökstorp which is now called Knutstorp". It can be deduced that at some point in the Middle Ages, the masculine name *Knut* replaced another masculine name *Gøk* as a specific in the village name which is now called *Knudstrup* (near Sorø). It is probably safe to assume that the personal names refer to owners or tenants. We do not know to what extent personal names in place-names were replaced in medieval times, as old sources rarely make reference to such changes. In most cases, only one form of the name is recorded, which is identical with the form that has survived until the present day. However, this can also be construed as showing that the custom of indicating the names of changing owners or tenants had stopped by the time our oldest sources were written, possibly because there was no longer a chieftain in the village.

We know, however, from later periods and other localities that changing ownership may result in changing names. In the late 16th century, it became fashionable in the Danish royal family and the aristocracy to give their manors and castles etc names indicating ownership. This tradition, influenced by foreign patterns, continues

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into modern times. It causes a large number of name-shifts, partly because old names had to give way to new names of this kind, and partly because names of the new kind replaced each other concurrently with changes of owners. There are numerous examples, and only a random sample is presented here. In most cases, the family name is included in the new name. Examples of such changes are *Holmekloster* to *Rantzausholm*, *Iversnæs* to *Wedellsborg*, *Sandagergård* to *Brinkenslyst*, *Kærup* to *Gabelseje*, *Finstrup* to *Holstenshus* and *Løvenskjolds Palæ* to *Schacks Palæ*.[7] In some cases, an abbreviated form of the family name is included, e.g. Rosenkrantz in *Roseneje*, formerly *Qvitzowsholm*, or an extended form, such as Holck in *Holckenhavn* (replacing *Nygård*). *Brahetrolleborg*, formerly *Rantzausholm*, includes both family names (Brahe and Trolle). In some cases, a family name can be used as a place-name without an added generic, e.g. *Hardenberg* and *Brockdorff*, which replace *Krenkerup* and *Grønlund*. The owner may also use his first name to signal his claims to an estate. For instance, former *Hillerødsholm* was renamed *Frederiksborg* after King Frederik II. *Skovkloster* acquired its new name *Herlufsholm* after its owner Herluf Trolle and the manor *Ulfeldsholm* was renamed *Ellensborg* when it was taken over by the renowned Ellen Marsvin. As we have already seen, names indicating ownership often replace one another. The above-mentioned *Roseneje*, renamed from *Qvitzowsholm*, later had its name changed to *Bøttigersholm* and finally *Hofmannsgave*. Similarly, *Ulfeldsholm*, *Ellensborg* and *Holckenhavn* all refer to the same manor in Fyn. A name indicating ownership of no current interest was sometimes replaced by a name with no connection to the new owner. In the case of manors, it was rather common to adopt a former, abandoned name. Thus, *Brinkenslyst*, *Gabelseje* and *Hardenberg* eventually got back their original names *Sandagergård*, *Kærup* and *Krenkerup*.

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[7] In the latter, the family name *Schack* replaces another family name *Løvenskjold*. The generic means 'palace'. The other original names are typical habitation names, apart from *Holmekloster*, which means 'islet monastery'. The specifics of all the new names are Danish and Schleswig-Holstein aristocratic family names: *Rantzau*, *Wedell*, *Brink*, *Gabel*, *Holsten* and *Schack*.

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The wish to signal ownership through a name is not limited to the upper classes, but we know more about its manifestation in naming tradition among the nobility. Even if farms and houses belonging to common people have borne names indicating who their owners were, we rarely know the circumstances around their formation or which names they may have replaced. This naming practice is still alive, for instance when summer cottages are named.

The so-called *memorial names* are another group of names associated with a certain prestige. Their purpose is to honour a person or an event by referring semantically to that person or event. This sometimes means that established names are abolished. For instance, the owner of *Vedtofte* renamed his manor *Brahesholm* in honour of his aunt Christence Brahe. *Hagenskov* acquired its new name *Frederiksgave* 'Frederik's gift' as an expression of gratitude towards the donator, King Frederik II, and *Østrup Slot* was renamed *Fredensborg* (Dan *fred* 'peace') to commemorate the peace treaty after the Great Nordic War. Above all, memorial names abound in street names coined from the 19th century onwards. A couple of Copenhagen street names demonstrate that these, too, have occasionally replaced existing names: *H. C. Andersens Boulevard* replaced *Vester Boulevard* in 1955, and *Dag Hammarskjölds Allé* formed a part of Østerbrogade until 1961. The latter change also appears to be politically motivated. As for such shifts, as well as for other types of psychologically motivated name shifts discussed above, there may be underlying complex motives.

Above, we have seen that the introduction of new naming practices has led to the replacement of names. For there are *fashions* within name formation, too, and the desire for a more up-to-date name may be one reason for name change. The changes from *Nydamshuse* and *Lundehuse* to *Skovly* and *Lundely* reflect a 19th-century trend in naming patterns, when *ly* 'shelter' became a popular generic. The changes from *Abrahamstrup*, *Ibstrup* and *Tubberup* to

Jægerspris, *Jægersborg* and *Hjortespring*[8] are heavily influenced by foreign (German) patterns.

Influence from *existing place-names* is important in another kind of place-name change as well. Place-names are sometimes reshaped so that they appear to have the same generic as a large group of other place-names, although they were originally compounded with completely different words. It is not, however, every frequent type of place-name that can attract any place-name whatsoever. A certain phonetic similarity between the attracted form and the attracting one is required. Thus, such changes differ from the free substitution of place-name elements observed in the examples above. On the other hand, these substitutions have no reference to actual circumstances relating to the locality. Their main function is to give these names a more familiar form, i.e. make them resemble other well-known place-names. For instance, there was once a village name *Græsholte* in Sjælland. This developed a form *Græste*, which was reinterpreted as *Græsted* under the influence of other names in *-sted*, which is still the name of the village. The names *Strellev*, *Vedersø* and *Grenå* in Jutland are all original compounds with the generic *høj* 'mound'. In the first, *høj* developed into *-øw*, and as the specific ends in *-l*, it was interpreted as the familiar ending *-lev*,[9] and was spelt accordingly. The two latter names also developed dialectal forms with an *ø*-sound and an *o*-sound respectively. Under the influence of other village names ending in *-sø* and *-å*, they were reinterpreted as containing these words. This kind of reshaping has sometimes been called "folk etymology". The term is somewhat unfortunate, partly because these forms rarely emerge as popular pronunciation forms, but much more often as scribal forms in official documents. Moreover, such changes are not necessarily due to attempts to etymologise names or to restore older, more original forms. The first element or specific is subject to

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[8] The original names are typical Danish settlement names with the generic *torp* 'dependent settlement'. The new names mean 'Hunter's Praise', 'Hunter's Castle' and 'Deer Leap', cf. German *Hirschsprung*.

[9] *-lev* is an Iron-Age name element denoting 'inheritance, what is left for somebody'.

reshaping, too. *Jordløse* and *Kildebrønde* do not originally refer to *jord* 'soil, earth' or *kilde* 'well'. Instead, they contain the old words **iūr* 'wild boar' and **gældi*, probably denoting 'a stretch of infertile land'. When the words went out of use, they were replaced by two familiar words that were phonetically close. Reshaping based on the phonetic form may be combined with other motives, e.g. avoiding a name that does not appear sufficiently aesthetic. The changes from *Svineborg* to *Svendborg* and from *Fulebæk* to *Fuglebæk*[10] can probably be seen in this light. Occasionally, place-name reshaping can be ascribed to learned persons who wish to restore the original etymology of a name. A well-known Danish example is *Hertadalen* near Roskilde. The form is due to the antiquarian interest of medical practitioner Ole Worm, who wanted to see the heathen goddess *Herta* in the rather mundane place-name *Ærtedalen* 'pea valley'.

The examples quoted above combine to prove that name shifts cannot always be ascribed to phonetic development over the years. In some cases, psychological factors lie behind such changes, and these may overrule organic developments. However, we should bear in mind that most place-names develop independently of conscious external chance. Moreover, changes that do not depend on language-internal development are always irregular. Under what seem to be identical circumstances, some names remain untouched, whereas others are replaced or reshaped in some of the ways discussed above.

It has been maintained that conscious name changes prove that the linguistic information a name appears to convey is relevant to the speaker after all. From this point of view, I shall look at one final group of extralinguistic name changes, the so-called elliptical names. In such names, the information appears to be reduced, since one element of the name is omitted. This is the case with village names *Fuglebjerg* and *Borre*, which are recorded as *Withfuglæbyerg* and *Østerburgh* in the Middle Ages, *Blegdammen* for *Blegdamshos-pitalet*, *Bakken* instead of *Dyrehavsbakken* and *Sundet* for *Øre-*

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[10] *Svin* 'pig, swine' is replaced by a masculine name *Svend*, and *ful* adj. 'foul' by *fugl* 'bird'.

sund.[11] In the initiated circle where such ellipses arise, the elliptic form is no less informative than the original form, however. After all, the functional impact of a name is determined by the persons who use them at different times.

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[11] *Withfuglæbyerg* may either have meant 'hill with woodland birds' or 'at the hill with the birds'. *Østerburgh* meant 'the eastern stronghold', *Blegdamshospitalet* 'the hospital at the bleaching ground', *Dyrehavsbakken* 'the hillslope at the deer park' and *Øresund* 'the sound at the gravelly sandbank'.

Denotation shift and shift in denotatum*

In South-West Jutland there is a bog called *Skærbæk* (< Dan *bæk* 'brook', cf. DSÅ VI: 192). Originally, *Skærbæk* was the name of a brook which ran through the bog. Later it was transferred as the name of the bog itself. In Western Sjælland, we find a bog called *Ellesø* (< Dan *sø* 'lake') DSÅ II: 39). The locality acquired its name in its earlier condition as a lake and retains it even after having become a bog.

The above examples represent the two types which are called "utbyten" (replacements) and "förskjutningar" (displacements) by Kurt Zilliacus (1988: 9–10) – see also *Ortnamn och samhälle* 1976: 222–23). With regard to terminology it should be noted that the Danish equivalents *denotationsskifte* (denotation shifts), *udskiftninger* (replacements), *forskydninger* (displacements) have hitherto not been used in Danish place-name research. With names of the *Skærbæk*-type, where the name of a brook is transferred to the adjacent bog, the terms metonymic transference (Weise & Kousgård Sørensen 1964: 4) or semantically secondary names (Dalberg 1985: 67) are occasionally used. For the *Ellesø*-type, where a lake develops into a bog but retains its name unchanged, there are no specific terms in Danish, although the phenomenon is naturally well-known.

In the following, I wish to discuss some differences between the two types. However, before proceeding to do this, I aim to illustrate the two types with additional examples.

The *Skærbæk*-type – the semantically secondary names – occurs primarily in the countless instances where settlements have acquired their name from the natural or cultural feature close to which the settlement evolved. Below, I shall primarily concentrate on natural features which have semantically secondary names – i.e. like the bog *Skærbæk* – as it appears that this type of names may

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occasionally be difficult to distinguish from names of the *Ellesø-*type. In the example *Skærbæk,* a semantically primary brook-name has become a semantically secondary bog-name. Watercourses may themselves also carry semantically secondary names. An example is the West Jutlandic stream *Falen* (< Jutish *fal* 'ford'), whose name was transferred from the ford crossing the watercourse. *Smækken* (< Dan *smække* 'drawbridge') is a North Jutlandic brook whose name was originally that of a bridge and *Egesti* (< Dan *sti* 'path') a brook in West Sjælland, takes its name from its fish weir (DSÅ II: 68–69, DSÅ IV: 233, DSÅ II: 17). In a number of instances, names of watercourses have themselves become the semantically secondary names of other types of localities, including numerous settlements. In the village of Dragør, the name of a hydronymic feature has been transferred to a street, namely *Badstuevælen* (< Dan *væl* 'water-course, watering-place'), which was originally the name of a pond (DSÅ I: 105). In the city of Århus, there is an example of a street name, *Immervad* (< Dan *vad* 'ford'), which has been transferred from the name of a ford (DSÅ III: 236). In these instances, a place-name has acquired a new place-name function. It has become the name of a new and different locality from the one which first bore it and for which it was originally created. The etymological content of the name is thus concerned with the original bearer of the name and it must be seen as being an uncompounded name in a name-semantic analysis, regardless of whether or not it was compounded. *Skærbæk* was at the outset a compounded name, consisting of the specific *skær* adj. 'pure, clean' and the generic *bæk* n. 'brook'. The bog-name *Skærbæk*, on the other hand, cannot be split up into separate elements. Naming has taken place as a metonymic name transfer based on association by adjacency, presupposing topographical contact between the locality from which the name was transferred and the one onto which it is transferred. With regard to the original carrier of the name, it is fully possible for it to retain its name. This is, for example, the case with *Nivå* (< Dan *å* 'stream') in North Sjælland, which is still the name of both the watercourse as well as the settlement *Nivå*. Another possibility is that the original name bearer is given a new name, such as in the case of the lake of *Glumsø* (< Dan *sø* 'lake') in South-Western Sjælland which ended

up by being called *Glumsø Sø*. In this case we even have the original lake name *Glumsø* in its later function as a settlement name as the specific in the new lake name. Finally, it is also possible that the original name bearer may be left unnamed. This seems to have been the case with the little pond east of the farm *Kantedam* (< Dan byname *Kantor* and *dam* 'pond') on Bornholm. The pond, whose original name must have been *Kantedam*, apparently no longer has a name of its own (DSÅ IV: 35).

In the Swedish language survey of the Finnish terminology overview of 1974 (*Terminologin inom namnforskningen* 1974: 72), denotation is defined as 'syftning' (reference), which ties in with the definition I should like to use, namely that denotation is 'a linguistic symbol for an extra-linguistic phenomenon, a denotatum' cf. also *Stednavneforskning* 1 1972: 227.

It may be justified to claim that there have been changes in denotation in the above-mentioned names, in so far that they have become linguistic symbols for completely different kinds of denotata from what they had originally referred to. I do, however, doubt whether it is fitting to call this *replacement* of denotation, as is done by Zilliacus (1988: 9–10). To me, replacement means that *x* is substituted for *y* but others may have diverging interpretations of the meaning of the word. The change in denotation I have tried to describe does not necessarily consist in the former denotation disappearing and giving way to a new one – i.e. what I understand by the word replacement. In its new function as a linguistic symbol for a new denotatum, the name has a different denotation from what it had in its earlier function but the original function may still be fulfilled at the same time. Or to express it more directly: They are two different denotata – name bearers – and two different but homonymic names.

In the case of the *Ellesø*-type, on the other hand, we are dealing with one name and one name bearer only. The latter has clearly undergone a change, to which I shall return after I have illustrated the type with additional examples. On a map from 1806, a lake is marked west of Kalundborg in Western Sjælland as *Munkesø*. On later maps from 1897 and 1944 the lake is no longer visible. *Munkesø* is now the name of the meadow land which was earlier a lake

(DSÅ V: 95). Two plots of land in South Western Jutland are named *Bredkær* and *Smalkær* on a map from 1943. The word *kær* is used of swampy areas, and the names had been formed prior to the drainage of the area. In the middle of the 19th century, the island *Holmsland* (< Dan *holm* 'islet' + *land* 'land') on the west coast of Jutland was connected with the mainland (Trap[5] IX, 1: 483) but the locality is still called *Holmsland*. Somewhat later in the same century, a similar occurrence took place on the north coast of Fyn, where the island *Langø* (< Dan *ø* 'island') was connected to Fyn (Trap[5] V,1: 371). However, the name of the area is retained as *Langø*.

In the above-mentioned examples, the name bearer has been transferred from one category of locality to another: from a lake to a bog, from a swamp to cultivated fields, etc. No new naming has taken place. *Ellesø* as the name of a bog cannot, for example, be analysed as an uncompounded name, that is, as a name with a structure different from the etymologically compounded lake name *Ellesø*. If my definition of denotation above ('a linguistic symbol for an extra-linguistic phenomenon, a denotatum') is applied to this phenomenon, it is very difficult to see that the name as a linguistic symbol has undergone any kind of change. It is the extra-linguistic phenomenon, the denotatum of the name, which has changed. In the above-mentioned cases, one may claim that it is the character of the locality which has changed. If we remain within Zilliacus' termino-logical universe (Zilliacus 1988: 9–10), then we may call this change a shift in denotatum. I shall return to the question as to whether such a shift in denotatum is an onomastically relevant phe-nomenon or not.

Even if I find the terms less than satisfactory in a number of instances, I shall refer to denotation shift in connection with the semantically secondary bog-name *Skærbæk* and shift in denotatum in connection with the name of the bog *Ellesø*, which was formerly a lake.

I can only agree with Zilliacus (1988: 9–10) that it is impor-tant to distinguish between two such differing phenomena. Nor-mally, this is not that difficult either. The names of neighbouring localities can often guide us with regard to a denotation shift, and extra-onomastic information about topographical changes in the

locality may reveal the shift in denotatum. It may, however, be difficult to make such a distinction in cases where we may establish that the present character of the locality does not correspond to the one which, according to the etymology of the name, was referred to at the time of naming. To return to my type-examples: It is fully plausible – and well-proved – that a lake may develop into a bog (*Ellesø*), whereas it is more difficult to imagine a development in which a brook has become a bog (*Skærbæk*).

If a topographical development cannot be rendered probable, it is impossible to reckon with a shift of denotatum. On the other hand, this does not necessarily mean that a denotatum shift has occurred even when it may in fact be probable. A denotation shift remains a theoretical possibility. A bog which carries an original lake-name may also have acquired its name by means of a metonymic name transfer from an adjacent lake. Is it, for instance, possible to establish whether the North Jutlandic brook *Starsig* (< Dan *sig* 'waterlogged hollow') has undergone a shift in denotatum or one in denotation? The brook runs through a large swampy meadow, and it must be this, now nameless, meadow, which originally bore the name *Starsig* (DSÅ VI: 314). Is the situation to be judged in such a way that a watercourse developed at the bottom of the swampy meadow or has a watercourse running along the bottom of the meadow assumed its name? *Bellerup* is the name of a hill in central Jutland, originally borne by the village situated here (DS IX: 217). Is the hill to be seen as the last remainder of the village – i.e. a denotatum shift – or has the hill had its name transferred from the now lost village? I wonder whether it is best not to attempt a definite answer in these cases?

One circumstance of an entirely different character may in some cases render it uncertain whether a name belongs to this discussion or not. It is relatively common for the names to occur in the records both with and without an element which states the character of the locality. Such names are only relevant to this discussion if name forms with characterising elements can be considered to be epexegetic. The previously mentioned example of the name of a watercourse transferred from a ford, *Falen*, is also known as *Falenå*. However, the *-å* is best interpreted as an epexegetic addition, a sec-

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ondary name element, intended to state the character of the locality at a certain point in time. The reason is partly that -*å* forms are few in number and partly that they are primarily found on maps, where epexegetic elements are common. If there are no arguments for considering the name forms with character-stating generics as being epexegetic, then they must be considered to be semantically primary compounds, and the forms without such elements must be elliptic formations. *Falenå* should in this case be interpreted as 'the brook by the ford *Falen*' and the name form *Falen* for the brook as an elliptic instance of *Falenå*. Such names are of no interest to this discussion. Unfortunately, we often lack the means to ascertain positively with which type of name formation we are dealing. The following situation in which both interpretation possibilities are present is not that uncommon. In the 1682 cadastre a fenced meadow in southern Fyn is characterised as "En Enghaffue som kaldis Brunemose" ("A fenced meadow called Brunemose [< Da. *brun* 'brown' and *mose* 'bog']"). Elsewhere in the same source the locality is called "Brunemose Enghaffue" but it is otherwise not known from other sources. If *Brunemose Enghave* is to be considered as being epexegetic with *Brunemose* as a semantically secondary transfer from a bog to a fenced meadow, then we are dealing with a shift in denotation. If *Brunemose Enghave* was coined as the name of the meadow with the name of the adjoining bog as specific, we do not need to consider either it or *Brunemose* in this discussion. This problem is, however, present in numerous farm names both with or without the element -*gård* 'farm'.

Finally, I wish to return to the question of shift in denotatum, i.e. the type illustrated with the example *Ellesø*, the name of a bog which had formerly been a lake. All localities change character over time and the transition between the type-categories is often relative. What basis do we have for deciding if a locality has entered into a new category – e.g. changed from a lake to a bog? We have our language and the structuring of our surrounding world which it reflects. However, such a change of concept is not very exact and is additionally also influenced by the individual language user's command – or lack of command – of the topographical word stock. A descriptive model borrowed from e.g. geology or topography does not

appear to be suitable either. In my opinion, such methodological deficiencies are irrelevant. In which respects is a shift in denotatum an onomastically relevant problem? It has already been underlined that it is important to be able to distinguish between a denotation shift and a shift in denotatum. To ascertain that a denotatum shift has taken place is also relevant from an etymological point of view, as it is important to know the character of the locality which was the object of naming when interpreting a name. However, the point here is how to reconstruct the character of the locality at the time of naming, not to classify the locality's characteristics at a later stage. It is very difficult to see how a description of a shift in denotation can in itself be of onomastic relevance. The fact that the name may survive at the same time as a denotation shift takes place shows that we are dealing with a proper noun, as a proper noun does not have the description of its denotatum as its mission. Naturally, it is an onomastically relevant aspect but it does not belong in a discussion of denotation shift.

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The role of toponymic analogy in the reshaping of place-names*

The effect of analogy with existing place-name material is not only seen in the formation of new place-names. Place-names that are already in use can influence each other, too. When certain acoustic conditions are fulfilled, it is not seldom that place-names are reshaped in such a way that their appearance comes to correspond wholly or partly with place-names that are of a different origin.

With my starting point in the reshaped place-name, that is in the result of the reshaping, I aim to discuss some factors which in my opinion indicate that toponymic analogy has been at work. Problems that concern the questions as to where and how reshaping can take place and which name-users seem particularly likely to be involved will only be touched upon briefly in this context.

As examples are selected names, firstly where reshaping can be assumed to have taken place with reasonable certainty and secondly where the reshaped form has made sufficient impact to gain a footing as an orthographic standard form. Although the names have generally been transmitted in several older forms that document their non-reshaped form, the process will only be illustrated by one citation from before the reshaping and one showing the result.

Generally, only parts of the place-name are reshaped. If one wishes to employ the terms first and second elements for these parts, it is necessary to note that it is not a matter of a first and second element in the etymological sense. At the moment of reshaping the place-name is a proper noun and if it can be understood as being segmented, this is merely how the name-users perceive the elemental structure of the name. Even though the elements might be identical

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* A revised version of: "Den toponymiske analogis rolle ved stednavneomdannelse". In: Albøge, Gordon, et al. (eds), 1991a: *Analogi i navngivning. Tiende nordiske navneforskerkongres. Brandbjerg 20.–24. Maj 1989. NORNA-Rapporter* 45. Uppsala, pp. 49–60. Translation based on chapter I.3. in Dalberg 1991b: 34–43.

with the etymological elements, they are in principle of a different nature. It is the name-user's synchronic perception of the structure of the place-name that underlies the reshaping. This is demonstrated when the process involves a change in the etymological elemental structure of the name.

A displacement of the syllable-boundary has taken place in the name of the North Sjælland settlement *Ålsgårde* (Hellebæk p., Lynge-Kronborg h.). From an etymological point of view the generic of the name is the noun *skår* 'cut, breach', as can be seen for example in LR 1582–1583 Alskaar (DS II: 14–15). In the reshaped form, *Ålsgård*, which is found, for example, in Mandt 1613 Aalsgaardtt, the -*s*- in *skår* is assumed to belong to the specific, i.e. *Åls*-, while the rest of the word is understood as the noun *gård* and written as this.

In the West Jutlandic *Vedersø* (p., Hind h.), the syllable boundary has been displaced in the opposite direction. The name was originally a compound of the personal name *Withar* in the genitive and the noun *høj* 'mound', as appears from the form RO c. 1325 withershøgh (DS XVII: 466–67). With reshaping to -*sø*, represented in, for example, LR 1609 Wedersjøe, -*s*- from the specific has been interpreted as a part of the generic -*sø*.

It can also happen that place-names that were not created as compounds are reshaped to look as though they are compounds. An example is the place-name *Nisted* (Lumby p., Lunde h.), the name of some farms that in Ldh c. 1510 is written as Nystæ. Originally the name was a simplex **Nisti* (< ODan **nisti* 'hook, corner', cf. DS XIV: 162). In its reshaped form *Nisted*, for example Mandt 1610 Nystedt, it looks as though it is a compound in the common generic -*sted*. *Holland*, which was the name of an inn north of Copenhagen (Kongens Lyngby p., Sokkelund h., enters into the present *Hollandsvej*), was originally an imperative name *Hold-an* 'rein in'. Here the verbal form + adverb is reshaped so that the name looks like a compound in -*land* corresponding to *Holland* in the Netherlands (Nyrop 1882: 49), differently Zinglersen 1979: 97).

Incidentally, it should be made clear that this information about the etymological form of the names is mentioned here because it is relevant for the description of the form that has been affected by

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the reshaping, which has often undergone a sound development. In the original formation we have the opportunity to observe the elements that formed the basis for the subsequent reshaping. For the determination of the actual reshaping process, however, the etymologies of the names are without relevance.

The role of toponymic analogy is difficult to isolate in connection with the reshaping of the *first part* of the place-name – using a perhaps less concise but rather more adequate term – although it is striking that the result of the reshaping often corresponds to familiar place-name elements such as, e.g. *Sø-* 'lake' and *Lund-* 'grove'. The explanation as to why it is more difficult to identify the patterns lying behind the reshaping of the first part of the place-name than the second part is probably to be sought in a pattern-forming place-name lexicon. When place-names are being coined, there are naturally many more options available as the specific in a compound name than as a generic. This greater variation in the available place-name lexicon is reflected in the reshapings, which show a correspondingly wider dispersal.

A particular type of reshaping of the first part of a place-name can, however, be ascribed to toponymic analogy with reasonable certainty. This is reshaping to familiar personal names. In appellatival compounds personal names as the first element are rare, while toponyms containing personal names are of frequent occurrence. To cut a long story short, the background for this difference is that appellatival compounds rarely require a specific that specifies the generic by referring to a uniquely occurring object, as a personal name does. Such a limited field of reference can rarely be relevant with words such as appellatives that have to refer to categories of objects, while words like proper nouns on the contrary point out individualities.

There are examples of reshaping to both masculine names and feminine names. The latter are often contained in genitival forms without *-s* (cf. Dalberg 1986: 162). We find this reflected, for example, in the East Jutlandic *Bodilmølle* (Hørning p., Hjelmslev h.), where the reshaped form corresponding to the feminine personal name *Bodil* is documented in DAtl IV: (1768) 195 Bodil=Mølle. In

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older sources such as KancBrevb 8/7 1586 the locality is referred to as Buol Mølle, and it is perhaps the noun *bol* 'small-holding' that enters into the etymological specific (DS XII: 102). The -*s*-less form is also found in the West Jutlandic *Gertrudbæk* (< Dan *bæk* 'brook'; Tvis p., Hammerum h.), which displays reshaping to the feminine personal name *Gertrud*. An earlier form of the name is KrSk 3/1 1547 Giettrup beck. This was originally a watercourse-name, probably coined with a place-name *Gettrup* as its specific (DS XVII: 258). Later it became the name of a farm and is recorded in its reshaped form in, for example, VibLandstSkPanteb 18/2 1633 Giertrudbek.

The fact that *Gertrudbæk* refers to a farm can hardly be without relevance for the reshaping. When the name-bearer belongs to a category of localities whose members often bear names compounded with personal names, this is bound to be conducive to reshaping. In the case of manor-house names personal names are not rare as specifics. The East Jutlandic *Haraldskær* (< Dan *kær* 'pond, marsh'; Skibet p., Tørrild h.) has since 1844 been known in this form, which shows agreement with the genitive of the masculine personal name *Harald*. The fact that the name was borne by a manor-house at the time of its reshaping has undoubtedly contributed to the reshaping of the original Harritzkier, which also occurs in M 1668. The etymological specific of the name would seem to have been a place-name (DS VIII: 89–90).

Congruity between the name-type resulting from reshaping and the category of the denotatum can also be illustrated by one of the rare examples of a whole place-name's being subjected to reshaping. The Funen farm-name *Vilhelmsgave* (Øster Hæsinge p., Sallinge h.) is recorded in, for example, M 1688 and DAtl III (1767) 516 as Willeholms Gab, respectively Wilholmsgab. From the beginning it was a nature-name, a compound of yet another nature-name, *Villeholm, and the noun *gab* 'gap'. In its later function as a farm-name it becomes reshaped to *Vilhelmsgave*, as can also be seen in M 1844. The personal name as a specific is a very characteristic feature of names in -*gave* 'gift', where they refer either to the person who presents the locality as a gift, for example *Frederik* in *Frederiksgave* (Sønderby p., Båg h.) in Fyn, or to the recipient of the gift, as the

feminine name *Edele (Ulfeldt)* in *Edelgave* (Smørum p. and h.) in Sjælland (DS XIV: 326, Jørgensen 1981: 31). The names in *-gave* are usually borne by farms. With the reshaping of *-gab* to *-gave* and *Vil(le)holms-* to *Vilhelms-*, corresponding to the genitive of the masculine name *Vilhelm*, *Vil(le)holmsgab* has been adapted to form a type of name suitable for the nature of the locality.

With the preceding example I have already opened up the next question, which concerns the place-names whose last part has been subjected to reshaping. In the material of approximately 350 examples selected as a basis for my paper, this is the most numerous group.

The influence of toponymic analogy can first be noted in the instances where reshaping has resulted in entities that only have *equivalents in the onomastic lexicon*. The top-scorer here is undoubtedly reshaping to *-lev*,[1] and as might be expected, it always involves the names of settlements. Acoustic conditions are often conducive for reshaping to *-lev*, as many generics of other origins can develop a form that is close to the local pronunciation of *-lev*. This is in all likelihood the background for the following reshapings.

The East Jutlandic *Randlev* (p., Hads h.), which in 7/4 1488 has the form Randløff, is a reshaping of a name which in De Vita et Miraculis Beati Nicolai Arusiensis c. 1350 (transcript by Bartholin, Vitae Sanctorum Danorum 402) is spelt Ranlog. The etymological generic of the name is perhaps the ODan noun *lø̄gh* or *lō̄gh* 'water' (DS XII: 74, DSÅ V: 493).

The West Jutlandic *Bjørslev* (Nørre Vium p., Bølling h.) occurs in M 1688 as Biørsleff. Older forms, e.g. KrSk 12/8 1585 Biørsleie, show that reshaping has taken place to *-lev* of a presumably original *-leie* 'lair' (DS XVII: 493).

In West Jutland we also find *Strellev* (p., Nørre Horne h.), whose name has this form in *-lev* in, for example, DAtl V (1769) 741 Strelev. We find the name in a more original state, strelhøch, in 14/11 1203 (1313, c. 1350) and from this form we see that the ety-

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[1] *-lev* is an Iron-Age name element denoting 'inheritance, what is left for somebody'.

mological generic is the ODan noun *hōgh* 'mound' (DS XVII: 574–75). The final consonant in this word in the local dialect develops to [*w*] and the initial *h-* of the word is lost in its positions as the second element in a compound. In combination with the final -*l* of the first element [*øw*] has been interpreted to be a name in -*lev*.

In several cases it is the acoustic merging between a weakened form [-*lə*] of -*lev* and [*lə*] in other names that is the basis for the reshaping. In the name of the village of *Vejle* (p., Sallinge h.) in Fyn, 1351 (1476 ÆDA I 108) Weteleue, such a weakened form has been accepted into the orthographical norm. In most cases, however, the written form retains the written norm -*lev*, and this is the reason why we also find the following name examples reshaped to -*lev,* at least in the written language.

Haslev (p., Ringsted h.) in Sjælland is written Hasløf in KancBrevb 19/7 1560. Older forms, however, e.g. RJb 1370–1380 Haslæ, reveal that this is a case of reshaping of an originally simplex **Hasli*, a derivative of the tree-denoting term *hassel* 'hazel' (Jørgensen 1981: 48).

Gislev (p., Gudme h.) in Fyn has, as shown by many sources, e.g. 17/7 1489, an older form Gislæ. This is the basis for the reshaping to -*lev*, as recorded, for example, in KancBrevb 18/10 1577 Gisløf. From the etymological point of view the name is identical with the ODan noun **gīsæl* 'stick, wand' (DS XIII: 152).

The Sjælland village-name *Kastelev* (Sværdborg p., Hammer h.) is actually the noun *kastel* 'castle'. In its ODan form with stress on the first syllable, *kastellæ*, it has been given the function of a place-name, cf. Mandt 1610 Castele (DS XVI: 177). In its reshaped form it appears, for example in M 1664, as Casteløff.

A phonetic merging of a similar nature must lie behind some reshapings to -*rød*. The development of the ODan noun *ruth* 'clearing' to -*rød* is a peculiarly dialect feature found in North Sjælland and -*rød* originally only belonged in names in North Sjælland. Sometimes -*rød* was weakened to [-*rə*], as can be seen in the old pronunciation of, for example, *Horserød*, [*hɔrsərə*] and *Brederød*, [*bre·ərə*] (DS II: 14, 90). It must be such weakened forms that are the basis for the reshaping in *Hulerød*, also the name of a settlement in North Sjælland (Søborg p., Holbo h.). The name is found with

many older forms revealing that -*rød* is unoriginal, e.g. KancBrevb 20/6 1551 Hullere. The reshaping to -*rød* (< ODan *ruth* 'clearing'), which is documented in Jb 1660–1661 Hollerøed, must have had -*re* as its starting-point, cf. the form cited from 1551. This is perhaps all that remains of an original -*øre* 'gravelly beach' (DS II: 52).

Since there are particularly many of these names in North Sjælland, the form in -*rød* acquires the characteristic of being the standard form and can thus give rise to analogical formations in other parts of the country (cf. Hald 1965: 162). Hellerød, M 1688 Hillerød, is thus the name of a village in North-West Jutland (Søndbjerg p., Refs h.). Even so, reshaping to -*rød* has taken place of a name form which in M 1664 is represented as Hillerøe. Perhaps the etymological generic is again -*øre* (Jørgensen 1982: 55). Close to the east coast of Jutland lies the island of *Alrø*. Also in this name several sources have the form -*rød*, for example LR 1545 paa alrødt (cf. DS XII: 92). In the island-name the reshaped form has not, however, been able to win acceptance as the written norm.

As a final example of reshaping to an entity that only has a toponymic equivalent, I shall mention the reshaping to -*strup* in the name of the now-lost West Jutlandic farm *Hestrup* (Heldum p., Skodborg h.), in MK 1817 written thus. The earlier form of the name was *Hættestrud*, as attested in older sources, for example Mandt 1614 Hettestruud. Originally it was probably a comparative name that was once borne by a locality with a shape like a *hættestrud*, i.e. 'liripipe' that was fashionable in the Middle Ages (DS XVII: 41–42). After reshaping, the name fits into the large flock of names in -*torp* 'dependent settlement' with specifics ending in -*s* that appear in the form -*strup*.

The next category of reshaped names showing evidence of toponymic analogy is characterised by the fact that the reshaped entities are *homonymous with living topographic appellatives whose meaning does not fit the denotata of the names*. The models here are the semantically secondary names that have been created as a term for one locality, e.g. a lake, and later metonymically transferred to another one, e.g. a settlement by the lake. If the name is formed from words that retain homonymy with living appellatives, their

meaning will rarely be adequate for name-bearer number two. The etymological elements of the name obviously pertain to name-bearer number one. It is most frequently settlements that bear semantically secondary names, and correspondingly it is most often names of settlements that are reshaped with these as models.

Rudersdal north of Copenhagen (Søllerød p., Sokkelund h.) is now the name of a residential neighbourhood but was originally borne by the King's travelling stable that stood by the lost settlement *Rude*. The form in *-dal* 'valley' occurs for example in M 1844 Rudersdals Kroe. Older forms such as MB 1682 Rude Stald, however, reveal that reshaping has taken place of the etymological generic *-stald* 'stable' to *-s + -dal* (Jørgensen 1981: 97).

In South Sjælland we find *Vallø* (Valløby p., Bjæverskov h.), the name of a manor-house and formerly also of a village. The etymological generic is *-lev*, as can be seen from older forms, e.g. Waleuæ from 22/7 1346 (DS XVI: 45–46). As will be recalled, *-lev* could develop to [lə] and hence contribute to these names being reshaped to *-lev*. Here the [lə]-form itself has been affected by reshaping. The pronunciation shows that the name has been taken to be a compound with *-ø* 'island', corresponding to the orthographical form which, for example, is represented in M 1664 Wallø. For the name as a part of an epexegetic formation see Dalberg (1991: 68–69).

An example taken from Fyn is *Aborg* (Gamtofte p., Båg h.), the name of a village that was first recorded in this form in Mandt 1600. The older name forms, e.g. 20/11 1508 Abordh, show that the etymological generic is the ODan noun *barth* 'border, edge', for which the local pronunciation merges with *-borg* 'castle, fortification' (DS XIV: 286).

From the North Jutlandic area mention might be made of the village-name *Søndbjerg* (p., Refs H.), whose reshaped form is documented in 29/5 1512 *sønbergh*. The basis for the reshaping to *-berg*, later *-bjerg* 'hill', can be found in the form 24/2 1408 Sunberk. As can be seen from the even earlier form 12/12 1382 Synbyrky, the etymological generic is an ODan **birki* 'growth of birch-trees' (Jørgensen 1982: 123).

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Ilskov, a parish name in West Jutland (Hammerum h.), appears, for example, in VSKOrig 1792 in the form with *-skov* 'wood, forest'. Originally the name was compounded of the nouns *ild* 'fire' and *horn* 'horn', as can be seen, for example, from KancBrevb 1/1 1579 Ildtzhorn. The reshaping of *-s* from the etymological specific + *-horn* to *-skov* is yet another example showing that at the same time the syllable boundary has been displaced (cf. DS XVII: 292).

The East Jutlandic *Haslund* (p., Galten h.) was originally compounded with the ODan noun *hēm* 'home'. The basis for the reshaping to *-lund* 'grove', which is attested in Hb 1772, is partly a form *-um*, developed from *-hēm*, documented in many older and younger sources, including M 1688, partly the *-l* from the etymological specific, the noun *hassel* 'hazel' (DS XVIII,1: 7).

Reshaping to *-sø* 'lake' in the name of the Jutlandic village *Ravnsø* (Vester Nykirke p., Skast h.), M 1664 Raffnssøe, has as its basis an *-s* from the etymological specific + the remains of the original generic *-hede* 'heath', as can be seen for example from the form 28/5 1504 Rafwenshiæ (Jørgensen 1983: 107).

In the above-mentioned examples, the reshaping took place to *-dal*, *-ø*, *-borg*, *-berg*, *-skov*, *-lund* and *-sø* in names that were borne by localities that had developed into urbanised settlements or parts of these, and not a valley, an island, a castle etc. The toponymic analogy that has made itself felt here is of the very effective type, for such reshapings of settlement-names actually belong to the most frequently occurring type. If we allow the pattern-forming place-name lexicon to determine our point of view for a moment, the following observation can be made: *-sø* and *-lund* belong among the types of generics that attract most settlement-names. In the material as a whole, reshaping to *-sø* stands alone at the top. In second position comes reshaping to *-sted*, where calculations are complicated because of orthographic merging between *-sted* and certain names in an original *-s* + *-tved*. The forms in *-sted* of the latter names are not in themselves reshapings but can be the basis for such. In the third position follows *-lund*.

One could imagine that reshapings to *-sø*, *-lund*, *-borg* etc. were encouraged by the topographical conditions at the locality, in

such a way that there was a lake, a grove and a castle by the settlements whose names have been reshaped to *-sø*, *-lund*, *-borg* etc. but this would not not seem to have been so in most cases (cf. Dalberg 1991: 26–33). The result of the reshaping must first and foremost be ascribed to toponymic analogy.

Sometimes one finds the term folk-etymology employed about reshapings of the type that I have described here. Elsewhere in this book I have touched on the inappropriateness of this. Firstly the word folk-etymology in itself is a poor term for the phenomenon. Secondly the current definition of what has been referred to as folk-etymological reshaping is inadequate for these place-name reshapings. With the appellatival reshapings the name-user makes unidentifiable entities identifiable by transforming them into known words. In place-names it can almost go in the opposite direction. As has been shown by several examples, the reshaping in place-names also affects entities that correspond to familiar words, just as the result of the reshapings can correspond to words that had died out long ago. Think, for example about the reshaping of *-stald* to *-s + dal* in *Rudersdal* and about *-le* becoming *-lev* in *Kastelev*. However, the difference between place-name reshaping and appellatival reshaping is perfectly explicable. Place-names are proper nouns and should not, therefore, necessarily be identifiable with well-known words. One could pose the question why they should be subject to reshaping at all. The answer in my opinion is that by reshaping they achieve closer resemblance to other place-names in the onomasticon of the name-user in question and in this way come to function more satisfactorily. In its reshaped form the name sends out clear signals as to what kind of word it is, namely a toponym. A further argument in favour of this claim is that it is almost impossible – at all events among the names that have been studied – to find examples of a name whose reshaped form does not have toponymic parallels. Thus, the name of the lake *Paddesøje* (Gamtofte and Turup p., Båg h.), e.g. in 1743 FFF III 177 Paddes Øye, earlier Paddesø, e.g. JacMadsen c. 1600, is only apparently an example of this. Admittedly this is an example of the reshaping of a generic characteristic for lake-names, *-sø*, pronounced [*-soj*], to an entity that is a homo-

graph of the noun *øje* 'eye'. The name of the lake is now *Øjet* (DS XIV: 296, DSÅ V: 214). As a result of reshaping the name has been removed from the large group of lake names that end in *-sø* 'lake' but in return it has been made to agree with another group, namely the one made up of lake-names containing the word *øje* (cf. DSÅ VII: 169, 392 under *Tyreøjet* and *Øjet*).

The identity of the name-users who have produced the reshapings that have taken place under the influence of toponymic analogy is a different problem altogether. It has sometimes been claimed that the scribes of the sources are particularly frequently involved. It can be difficult to determine when this accusation is justified but the responsibility for the transmission of the written expression is of course theirs in any case.

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The role of toponymic analogy in the reshaping of place-names

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Ldh = Landehjælp [Extraordinary tax].

LR = Lensregnskab [County accounts].

M = Matrikel [Cadastre].

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So-called folk-etymological reshaping of place-names*

The word folk-etymology has often been considered to be an imprecise and inadequate linguistic term. Many authors in the course of time have felt obliged to place the word between inverted commas ("folk-etymological") when using it or have had to resort to the formulation "so-called folk-etymology" in order to indicate an unspecified reservation towards this term – as can be seen, for example in the title of the present article.

The terminological uncertainty and the conceptual opacity which is in part a result of this depend firstly on the fact that the word folk-etymology, since it was first introduced into linguistics by Ernst Förstemann more than a century and a half ago, has been used of several different phenomena (Förstemann 1852). Secondly, an explanation can be sought in the fact that the semantic content of the word itself is often hardly adequate for the phenomena described, in some cases directly misleading, a matter to which more attention will be paid below.

First and foremost the word folk-etymology is used in connection with a particular type of word-reshaping and word-reinterpretation which, as far as appellatives are concerned, can be illustrated by familiar examples in Danish such as *undervisitet* (from *universitet*), *manuskrift* (from *manuscript*), *indballere* (from *emballere*), *løvstikke* and *agermåne* (from the Latin plant terms *levisticum* and *agrimonia*), *avindskjold* from older Danish *awigh skiold* 'backward-turned shield', reshaped to *avind-* 'envy, hate'.[1]

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[1] In *undervisitet*, the original element *univers* has been replaced by Dan *undervise* 'to teach'; in *manuskift*, original *skript* by Dan *skrift* 'writing'; in *indballere*, initial *em-* has become Dan *ind* 'in'. In the plant-designations *løvstikke*

So-called folk-etymological reshaping of place-names

It has often been emphasised that place-names display a particularly large number of reshapings that have been referred to as folk-etymologies, and that these present a body of material that is of importance for the understanding of the character of the phenomenon (e.g. Sandfeld 1923: 34, Koch 1963: 162). This observation has not, however, led to any extensive exploitation of concrete place-name examples with more general descriptions of the phenomenon. The literature about folk-etymology is sparse in the Scandinavian linguistic area; there is a particular lack of treatments of newer date. In continental Germanic research, the subject has traditionally held a central position. Among more recent treatments special attention should be paid to Willy Sanders' theoretical-linguistic oriented works (Sanders 1971, 1972, 1975).

The folk-etymological reshaping – which for the lack of a better term is also described in this way in the present study – has been characterised as an irregularly occurring phenomenon that belongs among analogical formations. With Hjelmslev's terminology, it can be described as a counter-case against the theory of the function of elements. It is thus the reshaping of a symbol resulting from a speaker's feeling for language. It is claimed that it affects foreign loanwords and proper nouns in particular. A common feature for these categories of words is that they consist of, or may consist of, word stock that cannot be identified with familiar entities. Foreign words are thus by definition foreign when seen in relation to native word material. With respect to the proper nouns, the following discussion will be limited to place-names. For these it is firstly the case that they often contain words which have since passed out of use in the appellatival vocabulary. Secondly, the development of the form in well-known words (for example owing to their unstressed position) can differ from the corresponding appellative.[2]

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and *agermåne*, the Latin forms *levisticum* and *agrimonia* have been conceived to contain the Danish words *løv* 'leaf' + *stikke* 'stick, pin' and *ager* 'field' + *måne* 'moon', respectively.

[2] When the reshaping exceptionally affects appellatives such as *awigh skiold*, the background for this is similar.

So-called folk-etymological reshaping of place-names

It has been claimed that users of language sometimes make unidentifiable linguistic entities identifiable by reshaping them to acoustically similar words that already exist. It is thus a matter of a process with both a formal and a semantic side. On the expression plane this results in a reshaping of the word, on the contents level it causes a re-interpretation of the word. Whether re-interpretation of the word is a precondition for the reshaping of the word or vice versa is difficult to assess. Perhaps it should be understood in such a way that the two factors work together in a form of interaction in the process (cf. Sanders 1972: 10).

When choosing the word to be reshaped and reinterpreted, conceptual association can clearly play a role (for example in Danish from *karrusel* to *køre selv*, *champignoner* to *svampignoner*),[3] but it is characteristic that reshaping does not result in meaningful words in the normal sense, even if the replacement word has a living semantic content. In fact, it is often only parts of a word that are affected, while the rest of the word retains its original form (for example in *manuskrift* and *indballere*). Sometimes the replacement word also seems to be without any semantic link with the object that is to be denoted (e.g. *kamelblomst* from *kamilleblomst*),[4] so that it is only the similarity of sound that links it with the basis for the remodelling.

The words that are subjected to reshaping are almost always compounds, or can be perceived as such. In this situation there is another concealed element that encourages the reshaping, because the language user expects compound words to be made up of words that already exist in the language. The result of reshaping therefore often looks like a compound.

The folk-etymological reshaping, however, is only partly described by the above-mentioned characterisation of its external, observable sides. There remains the difficult question as to what psychological forces are at work. In the word folk-etymology there is an implicit assumption that some kind of etymological activity is

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[3] The reinterpreted word *køre selv* means 'self-propelling', whereas *svamp-* of *svampingnon* is the Danish word for 'mushroom'.

[4] I.e. from Dan *kamille* 'camomile' to Dan *kamel* 'camel'.

at work. It has often been perceived that the language users by these reshapings were trying to recreate the words in a meaningful and in their opinion etymologically more correct form.[5] It has been presumed that a form of reflexion has been taking place in the mind of the language-users about the origin of the word and its historical context.

The phenomenon finds a more reasonable explanation, however, if one looks upon it as a functional improvement instead of as an etymological improvement. Every language user has a tendency when communicating to decipher the sound sequences that are heard on the basis of the structures that are found in his own linguistic norm and the usage that he masters. It is not only a matter of the phonetic plane but also of the morphological and semantic planes. If what is heard does not correspond to recognisable entities, there will also be a tendency to make it agree with the norm and usage by applying familiar patterns to it. For the language-users reshaping is not associated with any motive that goes further than the actual adaptation. The case is rather that as a language-user one repeats what *one thinks one hears*, so that one is not conscious that what has been repeated is not identical with what was pronounced. It is thus not a matter of any linguistic reflection on the part of the language user but only that the language-users by means of the reshaping process adapt items to fit the linguistic norm. The aim behind the reshaping is of a functional nature. From such a point of view the phenomenon in the course of time has also been categorised as, among other things, a speech technical or mnenomic aid and as a linguistic economical improvement (Leenen 1949: 56, Koch 1963: 166, Sanders 1972: 15).

Seen against the background of this description of the phenomenon, the word folk-etymology is an inappropriate term. However, alternative terms such as those earlier employed in foreign specialist literature "lautlich-begriffliche Wortassimilation" and "Unconscious

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[5] Cf., for example, W. F. H. Nicolaisen's definition "the fanciful reconstruction of the origins of obscure lexical items, in order to give or restore meaning to the meaningless" (Nicolaisen 1977: 24).

Sound- and Sense-Assimilation" have never really been accepted (Kjederqvist 1902, Houtzager 1935).

Karl Gustav Ljunggren has proposed "etymologising correction" as a collective term for both the folk-etymological reshapings and the "erroneous tidyings up" of place-names that can be ascribed to the scribes of the land-register, surveyors, cartographers, priests and others (Ljunggren 1958: 21–22).[6] The author himself notes that the terminology was inspired by Jöran Sahlgren (1947). The choice of the term is based on the view that the motive in both cases is "to give the name a supposedly more correct form" (Ljunggren 1958: 22). As it is described above, however, the folk-etymological reshaping does not rest on any linguistic considerations on the part of the language-user – neither with respect to the *correctness* of the word etymologically nor in any other way. With respect to the corrected forms that sometimes occur in place-name sources, they must, if they have an etymologising aim, be considered to be on a par with the "learned folk-etymologies" discussed below, and are therefore of subordinate interest in the present context.

The term "folk-etymological reshaping" has unfortunately yet to find its correct terminological replacement.

The terminological problem is further complicated by the fact that the word folk-etymology has also been used of other phenomena than the above-mentioned reshapings – including some which have a special relationship with place-name material.[7] It has, for example, been taken to be a reflection of "mythopoeic folk-etymology", when, on the basis of a linguistically incorrect understanding of the etymology of place-names, myths have been created about the origin of the names (e.g. Nyrop 1882: 101, Bach 1953–54: II 539). As an example can be cited the naming myth that has arisen because the name *Ringkøbing* (a compound of the village-name *Rindum* +

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[6] The word 'correction' has achieved a certain degree of currency in Nordic name research (e.g. Benson 1976: 47).

[7] Occasionally one or more of these phenomena are treated together, both with and without a clear delimitation from folk-etymological reshapings (e.g. Johansen 1952).

købing 'market town') has been assumed to contain the adj. *ringe* 'inferior': When King Christian III was unable to find lodgings in the town, he exclaimed "that was a poor market town" and this was how the town got its name. The phenomenon, which is more usually referred to as "a name-explanatory legend", is widely known and really belongs under the concept of etiology. Mythogenesis of this type rarely results in a change in the form of the place-name. "Learned folk-etymologies" is the term employed for the scientifically untenable interpretations of place-names produced by medieval scholars, and particularly by learned men in the 17th and 18th centuries (e.g. Bach 1953–54: II,2 538). A well-known Danish example in which an interpretation of this kind has led to a permanent change in the form of the place-name is *Herthadalen* near Roskilde. Its original name *Ærtedalen* 'the pea valley' was explained by the philologist Ole Worm and others in the 17th century as a compound containing the name of the goddess *Hertha*.

A "jocose (Ger. "scherzhaft") folk-etymology" has been considered to be found both in the form for homonym juxtaposition that lies behind an expression such as "gå til *Slumstrup*" with the meaning 'lie down and slumber, sleep' (corresponding examples are Ger. "Aus *Greifswald* sein" 'be thievish', Dutch "in *Hongarije* wonen" 'be hungry'), and in some slang name-variants such as *Nykøbing på Flasker* 'bottled Nykøbing' for *Nykøbing* (in) *Falster* (Bach 1953–54: II,2 536–37, 538).

With respect to the suitability of the term as a designation for these phenomena, it is firstly debatable whether unscholarly etymologising can be separated from a particular popular breach of grammar. There is hardly more than a difference of degree between the false etymologies produced by "the people" and "the learned", and the untenable suggestions sometimes proposed by professional name-scholars. As far as the "jocose" folk-etymology is concerned, it is hardly possible to include this phenomenon here, even with the broadest conceivable definition of the concept etymology.

An attempt will be made below to test various aspects of the general definition of folk-etymological reshaping described above on some place-name examples.

So-called folk-etymological reshaping of place-names

The reshapings that occur in the place-name material are for obvious reasons known to us almost exclusively through the place-name forms that have been transmitted in writing. Extra-linguistic information as to the circumstances under which the reshaping took place is extremely rare. This means that it can be difficult to determine whether a case under discussion is actually of a folk-etymological nature. Other types of place-name changes can also result in a name form that appears to contain a new and, in respect to the original form, acoustically similar word. Only the most important of these will be named here.[8] These include the regular sound developments which result in place-name elements of different origin acquiring the same orthographic expression. The loss of a fricative thus gives the words ODan *both(æ)* 'booth' and *roth* 'clearing' in, for example, *Nøddebo* (p., Holbo h.) and *Abildro* (Skovby p. and h.) an orthographic form that is identical with the words *bo* 'domicile' and *ro* 'rest', which can also occur as place-name generics (cf. DS II: 47–48, DS XIV: 181). With loss of *w*, names whose first element ends in a consonant + *s* in combination with ODan *thwēt* 'clearing' develop a form which is represented orthographically in the same way as the generic -*sted* 'place', e.g. *Børsted* (Tureby p., Fakse herred) and *Gelsted* (Herlufmagle p., Tybjerg h.) (cf. Kousgård Sørensen 1958: 30–31, DS XVI: 117, XVI: 129). Such written instances should not be taken as indications of reshaping. That they can be the basis for such is shown by the pronunciations of *Abildro* with a stop on the final vowel, which is not correct for original *roth* 'clearing' but for the noun *ro*. Similarly, *Børsted* and *Gelsted* with the vowel quality [æ] corresponds with the pronunciation of *sted* but not with original *s* + *thwēt*.

So-called written transmutation can also sometimes lead to forms that resemble the result of a folk-etymological reshaping. As an example can be named the Funen form *Bolsbanke* (Strib-Røjleskov p., Vends h.), originally *Boesbanke*, which has probably acquired its present -*l*- from a misprint on a topographical map (DS XIV: 233).

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[8] Reshaping against the background of "learned folk-etymology" is discussed above on p. 85.

So-called folk-etymological reshaping of place-names

It can also be difficult to delimit folk-etymological reshaping from the instances of partial name-change where there is identity of sound between the old and the new name. The problem can be illustrated by the rather common change of *Fulebæk* to *Fuglebæk* DSÅ II: 149–52, 158–60). If the reason for this is that the word *ful* 'foul' has been thought to be unpleasant, the example falls outside the definition that is given above for a folk-etymological reshaping. Rather it is a case of an external, aesthetically justified motive in connection with an idea as to the meaning of the word *ful*. However, if the background is that *Ful-* has slid over to a more familiar *Fugl-* 'bird', then it is in principle a case of reshaping of a folk-etymological nature. There are obvious difficulties in administering this criterion in practice.

On the other hand, the fact that most of the folk-etymological place-name reshapings first come to light in a written manifestation makes it difficult to determine among which circle of language-users they were created. In this connection the fact that certain sources of non-local provenance such as land registers etc. contain many of the earliest instances of place-name reshapings has been emphasised. This has been explained as owing to the fact that the scribes of such sources often lacked knowledge of the dialects and were thus in a situation that offered a good opportunity for making folk-etymological reshapings of whatever information their informants provided. In German place-name research mention is often made of "Beam-tenetymologie" (e.g. Koch 1963: 164). It is undoubtedly true that many folk-etymological reshapings were brought about by the scribes of the sources but it should be emphasised that scribal reshapings that are the result of lack of familiarity with the local dialect do not in principle differ from other folk-etymological reshapings, and that they, too, contribute to throwing light on the phenomenon. Until a more systematic study has been made, it cannot be decided to what degree these reshapings can be delimited to particular types of sources.

The transmission of the place-names can often throw light on the problem. If a reshaping only occurs in one single source, it would seem to be reasonable to consider it to have been created by the scribe. This is the case for example with the form *Mørkiøb* of the

village-name *Mørkøv* (p., Tuse h.), originally a compound of the adj. *mørk* 'dark' and the noun ODan *hōgh* 'mound'. The form, which shows reshaping to -*køb* 'purchase' is only recorded in M 1844. The same point of view naturally applies if it can be demonstrated that the reshaping has only been accepted as a written norm or that the reshaping has first and foremost become accepted much later than its first written manifestation. The first case can be exemplified by the Funen *Lilleland* (Dreslette p., Båg h.), the name of a smallish settlement whose local pronunciation still corresponds to the name's original generic *lung* 'bog' (DS XIV: 324). The transmission of the village-names *Rungsted* (Hørsholm p., Lynge-Kronborg h.) and *Karlstrup* (p., Tune h.) will demonstrate the other case. These names are known from older pronunciations [*runsdi'*] and [*kawsdråp*], which agree with the old forms 22/7 1346 Runæstigh and 8/9 1326 Caxtorph (DS II: 34, Hald 1977: 512). The reshaping to -*sted* and *Karl-* respectively are none the less evidenced as early as in the 17th century and the younger pronunciations showing reshaping must therefore be deemed to be dependent on the written forms.

If the reshaping results in a form that is unfamiliar to the local dialect, a local development can also be excluded. This is the case, for example, with an original ODan *hæghth* 'enclosure' in the name of a small settlement in the north of Sjælland *Harreshøj* (Tikøb p., Lynge-Kronborg h.) (DS II: 8).[9] At the period in the second half of the 17th century, when the form in -*høj* made its appearance in the written transmission of the name, the local pronunciation of the second component in the diphthong in the appellative *høj* 'mound' cannot be assumed to have been [*w*] (cf. Christensen (1971: 72).

In many cases, however, the question as to whether reshaping is to be ascribed to the scribe of the source, or whether it was an accomplished fact expressed in writing for the first time will remain unanswered.

The assumption that the folk-etymological reshaping affects word material that cannot be linked to the living vocabulary, is supported by many place-name examples. For example, the two words

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[9] In DS the generic is explained incorrectly as an original -*hed*, which was supposed to be identical with the noun *hede.*

brok 'bog' and *spyr* 'track', which in (*Vester-* and *Øster*) *Eges-borg* (p., Hammer and Bårse h.) in Sjælland and in the Jutlandic village-name *Sabro* (p. and h.) are reshaped to *-bro* and *-(s)borg*, have not been transmitted as appellatives in modern Danish and must therefore have been lost from the language at a very early stage (DS XII: 37–38, DS XVI: 168, 213). In a weakly stressed position even well-known words functioning as place-name elements may acquire a form in which they can no longer be recognised. This is the background for the reshaping of M 1664 Steilebierigs huus and 29/6 1387 (vid. 1400) Windebotheholt to *Stillebækshus* (Veflinge p., Skovby h.) and *Vindbyholt* (Roholte p., Fakse h.) (DS XIV: 210, DS XVI: 110). The development in weakly-stressed position which is evidenced in the 18th-century form Stølpers Huse and the 16th-century form Vinndebehollt, has given the words *bjerg* 'hill' and *bod* 'booth, hut' a form coinciding with the forms which may develop from *by* 'village, town' and *bæk* 'brook' as place-names elements.

Prerequisites like those mentioned above are, however, far from always present when folk-etymological reshaping takes place in place-names. In the following names, all of which presently denote settlements, the reshaping has affected place-name elements having familiar counterparts in the living vocabulary. For instance, *-land* in Jb 1667 Aalands Haue, -Bierg etc., which corresponds to the noun *land* 'land', is reshaped to *lund*, *Ålund* (Vester Hæsinge p., Sallinge h.), *Kalf-* in 8/9 1326 Caalfslundæ, which corresponds to the noun *kalv* 'calf' is reshaped to the masculine personal name *Karl*, *Karlslunde* (p., Tune herred), *Hiort(h)-* in 25/1 or 8/2 134[4] (c. 1500) Hiortøgh, which corresponds to the noun *hjort* 'stag' or *hjord* 'herd', is reshaped to *Jord-* 'earth', *Jordhøj* (Slangerup p., Lynge-Frederiksborg h.) (DS XIII: 125, Hald 1977: 512, DS II: 111).

The claim that the words into which the reshapings have been transformed are taken from the living vocabulary needs to be modified in the case of place-names. It is true that this often seems to be the case, for example in the quoted examples of reshaping to *-bro*, *-borg*, *-by*, *-lund*, *Jord-*. Among place-names, however, we also find examples of reshaping to entities that did not exist as living vocabulary at the time of the reshaping, namely obsolete place-name

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generics and endings such as *-lev*, *-um*, *-drup* (< *-thorp*). Examples include 24/4 1325 Synderlyugh (compounded with ODan **liūgh* 'swamp') reshaped to form *Sønderlev* (Skallerup p., Venneberg h.), 28?/8 1508 Sønderleff, in 26/2 1482 Børglan (compounded with ODan **lan*, probably meaning 'road' to form *Børglum* (p. and h.), 14/7 1466 Burlom, in 7/7 1480 Rwmdrw (compounded with a noun related to Swedish dialect *drov* 'cud') to form *Romdrup* (p., Fleskum h.), LR 1541 Romdroppe (Hald 1965: 82, 1977: 172, 844). The names are only known with denotations as settlements.

A difference can thus be recognised between folk-etymological reshaping of place-names and of appellatives. The explanation for this is undoubtedly that the existing onomasticon has a pattern-forming effect when place-names are reshaped. Many folk-etymological place-name reshapings are probably to be understood primarily as adjustments to the particular structures and norms that are found in the language-user's onomasticon. Some place-name elements probably signal more clearly than others – perhaps on account of a greater frequency of occurrence or a special association with the particular groups of denotata – that the linguistic entity in question is a place-name. They can therefore be considered to be more functional in usage.

As mentioned above, folk-etymological reshaping most frequently results in expressions that take the form of compounds. The pattern-forming structure is, as far as the reshaping of place-names is concerned, obviously the two-element place-name whose second element allows itself to be identified as a place-name generic. The settlements *Nisted* (Lumby p., Lunde h.), Ldh c. 1510 Nystæ, (< ODan **nisti* 'hook, corner') and *Kastelev* (Sværdborg p., Hammer h.), 1/5 1334 Kastællæ (< ODan *kastellæ* 'castle') both bear originally simplex names that have been reshaped into compounds in *-sted* and *-lev* respectively (DS XIV: 162, DS XVI: 177). Also originally compound place-names without two clearly distinguishable elements such as, for example, the Funen village-name *Bolmerod* (Skamby p., Skam h.), 13/3 1466 Bolmære (originally compounded

with the ODan noun *myr* 'bog' in the oblique case), can be reshaped with a new generic, in this case *-rod* 'clearing' (DS XIV: 174).[10]

As mentioned earlier, folk-etymological reshaping is described as a process that takes place when human beings communicate with each other. Many of the quoted place-name examples have illustrated that the phonetic form of the names has been the basis for the reshaping. This factor is, however, demonstrated particularly clearly by place-name reshapings that have a false subtraction of the original expression as a precondition, as these can only be understood as a product of auditive perception of coherent speech (cf. Jespersen 1894: 27). The basis for reshaping 24/4 1458 Hiortils (i.e. Hjorthals, Dan *hjort* 'stag' and *hals* 'neck') to *Hjortdal* '-valley' (p., Vester Han h.) is thus a subtracted form Hjortel, where the original final *-s* of the name has been taken to be the initial *s-* in *sogn* 'parish', a word with which this parish-denoting name has often been linked (Hald 1977: 425). A similar situation can be demonstrated in the case of the name *Øverste Ende* 'Upper End' (Endelave p., Nim h.), which must be assumed to be an original **Øvre Stendys* (containing the word *stendys* 'dolmen', which can have the pronunciation [*stenis*],[11] of which the *-s* has been considered to be a genitive inflexion in the collocation *Øvre Stendys Nakke* (DS XII: 222).

With respect to the semantic aspect of the folk-etymological reshaping, the reinterpretation, focus has been placed on the fact that the word which has resulted from the reshaping, is not meaningful in the normal appellatival sense. This can hardly be transferred to the place-name material because, as is well-known, no word that has achieved the status of proper name retains its meaning in the appellatival sense. The semantic difference that can be noted between reshaped appellatives and other appellatives can thus not be expected to be reflected in the place-name material. Of the two semantically secondary settlement-names *Præstø* and *Gevnø*, which both appear to contain the word *ø* 'island', the first is an original

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[10] The generics *-sted*, *-lev* and *-rod* can have weakly-stressed forms [*-stə*], [*-lə*] and [*-rə*].

[11] Cf. forms of the West Jutlandic village-name *Stendis* (DS XVII: 234).

nature-name in -*ø*, the second a folk-etymological reshaping of a [*gevnə*], originally a nature-name in ODan *hōgh* 'mound' (DS XVI: 2, 74). In both names -*ø* can be identified with the appellative *ø* but in neither of the names *Præstø* or *Gevnø* does the word classify the localities as being areas surrounded by water. In the formulation that it has received hitherto, the question of semantic differences between folk-etymologically reshaped words and other words cannot be transferred to place-name material.

Seen in the light of the observations outlined above, the description of folk-etymological reshaping that has generally been employed in linguistics is not adequate on all points for a material consisting of proper names, even though it has been implicitly assumed that it was. On the contrary, it can be concluded that place-names can not only make a quantitative contribution to a description of the phenomenon but also by virtue of their special characteristics as proper nouns they can expand and introduce light and shade into the description in a qualitative respect.

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The concept of partial place-name replacement*

In the introduction to his comprehensive study of Danish lake- and river-names John Kousgård Sørensen presented an appetising fore-taste of the contents of the as then yet unpublished volume VIII. Here, among other interesting problems, those concerned with name-replacements are also treated. Special attention is dedicated to partial place-name replacement, by which the author understands "the circumstance that an earlier name of a stretch of water enters into and forms part of a later name of the same stretch (e.g. Arresø, Glenstrup Sø (DSÅ I: 19)). This definition – specially formulated with a view to the names of stretches of water – differs considerably from the definition of partial-name-replacement that is most often met with in Nordic place-name literature. In its Danish formulation this, for example, reads "udskiftning af ét for- eller efterled med ét andet for- eller efterled" ('replacement of one first or second element by another first or second element') (Holmberg 1976: 186).[1] A delimitation of the concept of partial name-replacement that agrees with this can be found in Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish name-research (Mattisson 1976: 199, Helleland 1976: 209, Harling-Kranck 1976: 178).

Partial place-name-replacement is thus a concept which, dependent on the point of view of the observer, has been given varying content. A classification of name-replacements according to the two definitions cited will thus yield quite different results. Both proposals are, however, well-considered attempts to solve certain problems of definition associated with replacements in place-names.

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[1] On the basis of an unpublished discussion paper 'Stednavne og samfund', compiled by V. Dalberg, B. Holmberg, B. Jørgensen and J. Kousgård Sørensen in 1973.

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Therefore, a demonstration of the divergences between the two definitions seems to me to provide a suitable background for an attempt to define some of these problems more precisely.

The most widespread definition – referred to below as definition 1 – will be considered first. According to this, a locality is considered to have changed its name if the old name's first or second element reappears as the first or second element in the new name. There is, in other words, in the partial name-replacement a linguistic link between the earlier and the later name that consists in the fact that an element in the earlier name continues in the same position in a new name-compound. If this relationship between the old and the new name is not present, the name-replacement is considered to be total (see e.g. Holmberg 1976: 186).

The form that the definition has generally taken gives rise to a couple of comments. The partial name-replacement is described as the substitution for one element in the old name by a new element, cf. the above-cited definition and formulations such as "den ena...av namnets leder har bytts ut..." 'one of the name's elements is replaced' (Mattisson 1976: 199), "Förleden är utbytt" 'The first element is replaced', "Huvudleden har bytts ut..." 'the generic has been replaced' (Harling-Kranck 1976: 178), "utbytning av... lekkar i namnet" 'replacement of...elements in the name' Helleland 1976: 209). Expressed in this way the change first acquires the character of a process that takes place in the old name, which then continues its existence but now equipped with a new element, as compared with earlier. A name-replacement, however, means in fact that a new name replaces the old one (cf. Dalberg 1991: 115–29). The partial name-replacement should also be looked upon as a change between two names – with the main point being that in the formation of the new name, one element from the old name is employed. Secondly, it seems unacceptable to me that the first element and second element in the old name are compared without modification with the first and second element in what must be considered to be a new name-formation. The entities I am talking about are of a different nature from a structural point of view. The old name is a proper noun. From a diachronic point of view this can have been created as a

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compound, that is containing etymologically a first element and a second element. It is not, however, an element from the time when the name was first formed but a part of the name in its function as a proper noun that is employed in the new name in the partial name-replacement. From a synchronic point of view the name may have an appearance which is considered by the name-user to be a compound but this has in principle nothing to do with the etymological structure of the name. The entities that the name-user may consider to be "elements" in the proper noun, do not always correspond to the etymological components of the new name. Several examples of such disagreement are yielded by names which have undergone analogical, "folk-etymological" reshaping (cf. Dalberg 1991: 15–42). However, we have first and second elements in the etymological sense in the new formation, which with its future but as yet unestablished function as a proper noun is to supersede the old name of the locality. If one is to use the terms first and second element in connection with partial name-replacement, it is necessary to remember that it is a matter of entities isolated by the name-user in the old name that are employed as first or second component in a new name-formation.

Below I shall cite a number of examples where such a relationship between the earlier and later name of the locality is either certainly or probably present.

I shall first discuss name-replacements in which the generic in the new formation has been taken over from the earlier name of the locality – or expressed with the above-named terminology – the specific has been changed. As illustrative material, I shall for each of the names involved only give one quotation from the sources, namely the one that is chronologically closest to the date of the name-replacement.

> *Juelsberg* formerly *Raskenberg* (manor-house, Avnslev p., Vindinge h.)
> VSKOrig 1772 Raskenberg
> Jb 1799 Juelsberg

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The owner Amalie Christiane *Juel*, born Raben, who had taken over *Raskenberg* (named 1675 by Claus *Rasch*) after her deceased husband, had the property turned into an entailed estate for the *Juel* family in 1675. At the same time, she replaced the name with one consisting of *-berg* 'hill' and the family-name *Juel* (DS XIII: 175, 176–77).

> *Pallisbjerg* formerly *Padbjerg* (farm, Staby p., Ulfborg h.)
> KrSk 2/12 1560 Padberig
> LR 1584 Pallisbierg

In 1560 the farm *Padbjerg* (with a semantically secondary name, originally a nature-name formed with the term *padde* 'toad' as first element) was acquired by *Palle* Jul, whose forename probably enters into the new name (DS XVII: 369). The acoustic relationship between *Pad-* and *Palle* was probably of significance for the re-use of *-bjerg*.

> *Lindenborg* formerly *Dåsborg* (manor-house, Blenstrup p., Hellum h.)
> Kirkebog 5/12 1677 Daahessborg
> KrSk 10/3 1683 Lindenborg

Sofie Amalie *Lindenov* took over *Dåsborg* (named in 1673 by Claus Olufsøn *Daa*) after having assisted in the murder of her husband, the above-mentioned Claus Olufsøn Daa in 1678. In the new name of the manor-house she chose to let a part of her own family-name be joined to *-borg* 'castle, fortification'.

> *Williamsborg* formerly *Bryskenborg* (manor-house, Daugård p., Hatting h.)
> DAtl IV (1768) 152 Bryskenborg
> M 1844 Villiamsborg Hgd

In 1775 *William* Halling, the owner of *Bryskenborg* (named between 1655 and 1674 by Lisbet *Bryske*) employed his forename in a new name-formation in *-borg*.

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> *Engborg* formerly *Rotborg* (farm, Resen p., Skodborg h.)
> Trap[5] IX: 217 1965 Rotborg
> PA 1972 Engborg

The first element of the new name can hardly be anything other than the noun *eng* 'meadow'. In *Rotborg* the noun *borg* (in combination with the noun *rotte* 'rat') is most likely to have been used ironically of a smaller farm (DS XVII: 92, XXVII).

> *Christiansholm* formerly *Ålholm* (manor-house, Nysted land p., Musse h.)
> KrSk 29/3 1734 Aalholm
> DAtl III (1767) 312 Christiansholm

The name-change from *Ålholm* (< Dan *ål* 'eel' and *holm* 'islet') to *Christiansholm* took place in 1734 in connection with the creation of an aristocratic estate for the owner Emerentia v. Raben's 8 year-old grandson *Christian*, whose forename in combination with *-holm* became the name of both the aristocratic estate and the manor-house (DS XI: 158–59).

> *Høgholm* formerly *Bjørnholm* (manor-house, Tirstrup p., Djurs Sønderh.)
> M 1664 Biøren Hollems Hgd
> M 1688 Høgholms Hgd

In 1681, the owner, Iver Juul *Høg*, created a name-formation in *-holm* with his own family-name as the first element. This was employed both of a newly created barony and of the manor-house *Bjørnholm* (whose name contained either the animal term *bjørn* 'bear' or the masculine personal name *Bjørn* as first element), that became its seat. The present *Bjørnholm* is a later (1806) parcelling out from *Høgholm* (Jørgensen 1982: 21).

> *Julianelyst* formerly *Sofienlyst* (farm, Østbirk p., Voer h.)
> Inscription probably to be dated 1793 (Haugsted 1941: 55) Sophienlyst
> M 1844 Julianelyst

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After having acquired *Sofienlyst* in 1799 (named c. 1793 to include the then owner's wife's Mette Sofie's second forename and the appellative *lyst* 'delight', the new owner, Ove Henrik Juel had the name replaced with one containing his wife *Juliane Marie*'s first forename and -*lyst*).

> *Fredskær* formerly *Tyvkær* (village, Smidstrup p., Holmans h.)
> KancBrevb 17/6 1580 Tiufkier
> KancBrevb 17/6 1580 Fridtzkier

On 17/6 1580 King Frederik II issued an order decreeing a change of name from *Tyvkær* (originally a nature-name in which the first element is the noun *tyv* 'thief' or, as alternatively suggested by Bent Jørgensen, the noun ODan **thiuf* 'thicket' (DS VIII: 137, Jørgensen 1983: 132). The intention behind the new name according to Thorsten Andersson should be to praise the King (Andersson 1976: 66).[2] The formulation in the royal decree of 17/6 1580 does not point at all in this direction, however. Andersson's view is presumably based on an interpretation of the first element as a (German) hypocoristic form of the King's name. There is, of course, the possibility that Frederik II, like his later and greater namesake in Sanssouci, could be referred to as *Fritz* on less official occasions. However, it seems less likely that he himself would choose a colloquial form of his name as part of a place-name intended to praise him. It can also be mentioned that the short-form *Fritz* does not have the same early dissemination in Denmark as does the name *Frederik*, also borrowed from Germany. No examples are recorded from the medieval period, where Frederik is well-evidenced (cf. DgP I 1936-40: 319–21).[3] Another possibility is that the new name

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[2] In this connection Thorsten Andersson refers to Christian Lisse, who mentions the name-change without, however, expressing such a sentiment (Lisse 1974: 118).

[3] However, one late medieval Frytz Parijs (11/9 1473) is known. He is also called Frisse Paris (4/10 1456), Fritzse Pariis (27/10 1464), Ffretzæ Pariis (15/12 1477), Fretze Pariis (26/7 1481) and Friizæ Paris (24/3 1484). Thus, in *Danmarks gamle Personnavne* this man's name is recorded under the headword *Fritse* (DgP I 1936–40: 326).

is formed from the noun *fred* (in the gen.)[4] and *-kær*, although it is uncertain what the first element refers to in that case. The lifespan of *Fredskær*, incidentally, was not long. Although the King in his decree of 17/6 1580 had commanded his official at Koldinghus to announce the decree of name change at the local assembly and also threatened everyone who did not employ the new name with a considerable fine, the village re-appears with its old name from the middle of the 17th century.

In many cases it can be difficult to determine whether the second element of the new name really does have any link with the older name, even when there is agreement. The problem arises when the new name's second element is a word whose meaning indicates the nature of the locality borne by the name-bearer. This can be illustrated by the following two name-replacements.

> *Lundegade* formerly *Bøddelgade* (street in Helsingør mkt.t.)
> Boesen (1757) 80 Bøddel-Gaden
> Map 1852 Lundegade

The name-change from *Bøddelgade* (from Dan *bøddel* 'executioner' and *gade* 'street') was carried out in 1847 at the request of the inhabitants. In the new name the first element is the noun *lund* 'grove'.

> *Kildegård* formerly *Skidengård* (farm, Nørlem p., Skodborg h.)
> Gst 1947 Skidengaard
> Guide 1958 Kildegård

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[4] In appellatival compounds the word often has a genitival form in the first element, even in earlier times (cf. ODS V: 1206–12). Examples cited in Kalkar are, for example, 1549 fridtz klocke and 1564 fredz handell (Kalkar I 1881–85: 778–82). An ODan **frithsbæk(k)* is assumed to occur with the function of a place-name in *Frisbæk* and a **frithsdam* in *Frisdam* and *Fredsdam* (DSÅ II: 138–39, 140). *-s*-composition may occur as early as in *Fredsgårde*, 5/7 1430 Fretsgarth (Sneslev p., Ringsted h.).

The concept of partial place-name replacement

Skidengård (formed from the adj. *skiden* 'filthy' as first element) is replaced by a name in which the noun *kilde* 'spring' is the first element.

The question here is whether the selection of *gade* 'street' and *gård* 'farm' respectively as second elements in the new names is inspired by the *-gade* and *-gård* in the old names or whether it was simply determined by the fact that the name-bearers are in fact a street and a farm. We rarely have information that makes it possible to guess the correct answer, as in the following example:

> *Dronninggård* formerly *Skovsgård* (manor-house, Dronninglund
> p. and h.)
> M 1688 Schouf Gaard Hovit G.
> KrSk 7/9 1714 Dronninggaard

Queen (*Dronning*) Charlotte Amalie bought the farm in 1690, together with *Hundslund Kloster*, in whose new name *Dronninglund* she employed a part (*-lund*) of the old name in combination with the term denoting her regal rank. It is likely that the compound of the noun *dronning* and *-gård*, which was intended to replace *Skovsgård* (with the noun *skov* as first element) was formed in the same way.

Where there are no certain indications that the new name was created as a replacement for the old name, it is thus doubtful whether partial name-replacement has occurred. If two names are created independently of each other – both formed with the same topographical appellative that corresponds to the nature of the locality – and have taken part in a competition that has been won by one of the two, the result may look like a partial name-replacement but in fact it is not so. A situation like this may perhaps be reflected in the following example.

> *Pugemølle Å* formerly *Pugeå* (river, Barløse p., Båg h.)
> MB 1682 Pueaae
> MB 1692 Pugmølle aae

The concept of partial place-name replacement

A compound of a site-indicating mill-name *Pugemølle* (KancBrevb 11/12 1559 Pugemølle) and the noun *å* 'stream' replaces *Pugeå* (simplex watercourse-name **Pūki* + epexegetic *-å*) (DSÅ V: 278).

It is also necessary to note that the new name may have been taken over from a different locality belonging to the same category. A partial name-replacement would then only be apparent, for the second element of the name denoted at its formation a totally different locality from the one with the changed name. That the risk of misinterpretation is inherent is illustrated by the following examples of name-replacements.

> *Krogstrup* formerly *Ordrup* (village, Krogstrup p., Horns h.)
> SU-brevarkiv 1926 Ordrup
> SU-brevarkiv 1926 Krogstrup

In 1926, on the initiative of the inhabitants, *Ordrup* (a compound with the ODan noun *wara* 'uncultivated area' as first element and the ODan noun *thorp* 'dependent settlement' as second element) was replaced by the name of the neighbouring (now disappeared) settlement *Krogstrup* (a compound of the ODan noun *krog* 'hook' or *krage* 'crow' and similarly *thorp* as second element). The still existing church *Krogstrup Kirke* was actually situated on *Ordrup*'s land at the time of the name-replacement (DS II: 142–43, Jørgensen 1981: 69, SU-brevarkiv).

> *Kær Mølle* formerly *Nielstrup Mølle* (mill, Vorup p., Galten h.)
> Church Register 1656 (Rosenørn I 1873–1901: 186) Nielstrup
> nu kaldet 'now called' Kjær Mølle

The replacement of the name may be related to the fact that the parish had changed its name from *Nielstrup* to *Vorup*. As the new name for *Nielstrup Mølle* (with the parish-name as first element) one probably employed a name (formed with the word *kær* 'pond, marsh' as first element) that had been borne by a lost mill in *Vorup Kær* (DS XVIII,1: 2).

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> *Jægersborg* formerly *Strasborg* (farm, Hårslev p., Skovby h.)
> M 1844 Strasborg
> M 1844 Jægersborg

Strasborg (named after *Strasbourg* in France) was replaced by a transferred name, whose basis was *Jægersborg* north of Copenhagen (DS XIV: 200, 203).

Obviously, the selection of the first element of place-names involves a much wider range of linguistic possibilities than the selection of the second element. In the latter case, the fact that the locality in question belongs to a certain category acts as a limitation. With name-replacements the category of the locality is in principle constant, since the old name and the new one by definition must have the same denotatum (Dalberg 1991: 123). This is probably part of the explanation for the fact that the type of partial name-replacement that consists of the first element in the new name's being taken over from the old one – which is referred to using the above-mentioned terminology as replacement of second element/generic – is more sparsely represented than the examples that have been described above. The following examples belong among the comparatively certain instances.

> *Christianssæde* formerly *Christiansborg* (manor-house,
> Skørringe p., Fuglse h.)
> DAtl III (1767) 313 Christiansborg
> DAtl III (1767) 313 Christians=Sæde

When the name *Christiansborg* (given in 1729 by *Christian* D. Reventlow) was replaced in 1741 by a name formed with the noun *sæde* 'seat' as second element, the manor-house was in the possession of *Christian* D. Reventlow (a son of the above-mentioned man) (DS XI: 105, Trap[5] IV: 834 s.n. *Kristianssæde*).

> *Antvorskov Slot* formerly *Antvorskov Kloster* (castle, Skt. Peders
> p., Slagelse h.)
> KrSk 12/12 1584 Andvorschouf Kloster
> 17/4 1585 Andvorskouf slot (CCD II 388)

The concept of partial place-name replacement

The monastery was secularised in 1580 and rebuilt 1580–84. The document 12/12 1584, in which *Antvorskov Kloster* (a compound of the nature-name *Antvorskov* and the noun *kloster* 'monastery' is still being used, concerns a wedding held after the rebuilding. The King's order to make a change to a compound in *slot* 'castle' is dated 17/4 1585.

> *Sæbyholm* formerly *Sæbygård* (manor-house, Halsted p.,
> Lollands Nørreh.)
> M 1688 Sæbyegaards Hofuitgaard
> MB 1682 Sæbyeholm Hovedt Gaard

Sæbygård (a compound of the name of the neighbouring, lost village (*Sønder*) *Sæby* and the noun *gård* 'farm' was replaced about 1680 by a name in which the noun *holm* 'islet' forms the second element. The replacement took place at the owner's request in connection with an extension of the manor-house's appurtenances, including land from the village of (*Nørre*) *Sæby* (DS XI: 77–78.).

Unfortunately we often lack more detailed information about this type of partial name-replacement and are obliged to rest content with documentation that the replacements have taken place, as in the following examples.

> *Næsbyholm* formerly *Næsbygård* (manor-house, Næsby p.,
> Tybjerg h.)
> SSL 1567 Nesbygaardt
> Addition c. 1570 in SSL Neßbyholm.

> *Erikshåb* formerly *Eriksdal* (house, Norup p., Lunde h.)
> Gst 1870 Eriksdal
> Gst 1886 Erikshaab

> *Lundely* formerly *Lundehuse* (houses, Vester Åby p., Sallinge h.)
> PA 1952 Lundehuse
> Gst 1952 Lundely

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Kokkehaverne formerly *Kokkehuse* (houses, Svindinge p.,
Gudme h.)
Gst 1867 Kokkehuse
Trap[3] III: 712 1899 Kokkehaverne

Examples of names that seem to derive from a partial name-replacement, even though the name-formation has in fact taken place in a different way, are also found for this type.

Appearances are thus deceptive if the later name actually contains an elliptic form of the earlier one, such as *Hagsholm*, which is borne by a manor-house (Houlbjerg p. and h., 1582 (1585 ÆDA II 110) Hagsholm. The earliest reference to the locality is KancBrevb 3/10 1566 Hagestedt. The later name is an original *Hagestedsholm (DS IX: 237–38).

The new name can also have been formed independently of the old name but with the same first element as this. This is, for example, the case with Gst 1950 *Søgyden*, the name of a settlement (Flødstrup p., Vindinge h.), which has replaced Gst 1918 *Søhuse*. The new name is an original road-name, which has been transferred metonymically to the settlement. The first element, the noun *sø* 'lake', in both the old name and in the new creation refers to the situation of the denotata (houses and road respectively) by *Flødstrup Sø* (DS XIII: 182).

Changing name forms sometimes make the assessment uncertain. The manor-house *Turebyholm* (Tureby p., Fakse h.), M 1688 Turebyholms Hgd., is claimed to have been called *Tureby* before that according to some sources, for example M 1664 Turreby Hgd, in others *Turebygård*, for example KrSk 1/10 1604 Tureby-gaard. In relation to *Turebygård*, the name *Turebyholm* (given by the owner in 1667) can be considered to be a partial name-replacement, whereas this is not the case in relation to *Tureby*.

A reservation that applies to both types of partial name-replacement concerns so-called synonym variation. A place-name element that can be identified by the name-user with a homonymous appellative is sometime replaced by an appellative synonymous with this that

then becomes a new component of the name.[5] It can be extremely problematical to separate synonym variation from partial name-replacement (cf. comments on differences in principle in Holmberg 1976: 182–83). However, a rather certain example is *Kildebakker* (Sønder Borris p., Bølling h.), PrI 1638 I 165 Kielderberge, MK 1818 Kjeller Bakker. *Bakke* 'hill' is employed in younger West Jutlandic names with the same meaning as *bjerg* 'hill' and some-times replaces this (DS XVII, XXIII). Another probable example is *Dragsminde* (the eastern outflow of Rødby Fiord), JSørKort c. 1700 Dræxmynde, Map 1769 Dragsminde, where the noun *drag* 'narrow tongue of land' has replaced the etymologically identical but syn-chronically synonymous *drej* (DS XI: 12).

It is naturally not a matter of partial name-replacement, even though it may appear to be so, if the new name is in reality one that was previously borne by the locality. The relationship can be exemplified by the above-mentioned *Ålholm* which was replaced by *Christians-holm*. The latter name is in turn superseded by *Ålholm* as the name of the manor-house in 1840.

John Kousgård Sørensen's limitation of the partial place-name replacement quoted above – referred to below as definition 2 – dif-fers both with respect to content and in part in aim from the one discussed above. He defines partial name-replacement as "the fact that the earlier name of a watercourse enters as a component into a later name of the locality (e.g. Arresø, Glenstrup Sø)". If this factor is not present, the name-replacement is called "regular". It should be noted that the definition was formulated with special reference to a subsequent account of replacements in the names of stretches of water which forms part of a more comprehensive description of "the development in the naming of stretches of water (DSÅ I: 19). Below I shall attempt to apply this definition to material taken from *Danske sø- og ånavne* (I-VIII).[6]

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[5] Examples presented in Lisse 1960: 99 and Holmberg 1976: 182–83.

[6] It should be emphasised that the interpretations in DSÅ are proposed with reservations for several of the names mentioned.

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A definition of partial place-name-replacement that requires the replaced name of the locality to enter into the new name must naturally embrace epexegetic names that oust the non-epexegetic ones. The first example, which the author of *Danske sø- og ånavne* has placed in parenthesis after his definition, is actually the epexegetic *Arresø* (Holbo h.), 8/2 beg. of 14th cent. LDV 32 Arvæsio, a formation consisting of the name of the lake **Arwi* and the noun *sø* 'lake' (DSÅ I: 86–87). The original lake-name has not survived and the assumption of its existence is, among other things, based on its occurrence in the later epexegetic name. As the reader will know, it is one of the great merits of *Danske sø- og ånavne* that here – on the basis of a number of criteria for reconstruction – the author presents a large number of names of watercourses etc. that only survive as part of other place-names, including the possibly epexegetic names. *Arresø* is far from being an isolated example. On the contrary, DSÅ presents a considerable number of watercourse-names that are compounded with a first element that can be interpreted as the original name of the watercourse and a second element indicating the nature of the locality at the time when the compound was created. Lake-name examples include *Hundsø* (Sejerslev and Ejerslev p., Mors Nørreh.), Diørup 1842: 168 Hunsøen, containing **Hundi*, *Ilsø* (Dover p., Hjelmslev h.), VSKOrig 1781 Iil Søe, containing **Ighli*, *Ilsø* (Østbirk p., Voer h.), EB 1683 Ilsø, containing **Illi*, *Læsø* (Holmstrup p. Skippinge h.), 8/6 1199 (c. 1440), Lesiøholm, containing **Læ* (DSÅ III: 177f., 223–24, 234–35, IV: 380). The original names are only in a few cases transmitted as lake-names (cf. Dalberg 1991: 93–110).

In the examples noted so far, the original lake-name was a simplex formation, but also compound lake-names can enter into a later, epexegetic name, although this is a rarer occurrence. For example, *Keldsnor* (< Dan *nor* 'cove') (Magleby p., Langelands Sønderh.), MB 1682 KieldsNord Strand, contains the name **Kildesø* (< Dan *sø* 'lake'), *Malsdam* (< Dan *dam* 'pond') (Håstrup p., Sallinge h.) MK 1784 Maelsdam, contains **Malsø* and *Avsdam* (Løjt p., Rise h.), Mejer 1641 Ougesdam, Ougs dam, contains **Avsø* (DSÅ IV: 77–78, V: 28, I: 102–03).

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Names of watercourses would seem to enter as elements into epexegetic names even more frequently than names of lakes. Here, too, it is mainly a case of reconstructions. A random selection among many names are *Asandi* in *Assenbæk* (< Dan *bæk* 'brook') (Tise and Vrensted p., Børglum h., Ingstrup and Vester Hjermeslev p., Hvetbo h.), 23/11 1471 Aasenbeck, *Blā* in Blåbæk (Hornbæk and Tikøb p., Lynge-Kronborg h.), MB 1682 Blaabeck, *Fylla* in *Fyllebæk* (Brenderup p., Vends h., Hårslev etc. p., Skovby h.), MB Fyllebech, *Humla* in *Hummelbæk* (Lading p., Sabro h.), Gst 1876 Hummelbæk, *Krāka* in *Kravbæk* (Skellerup p., Onsild h., Glenstrup p., Nørhald h.), MB 1683 Krage Bechs Agere, *Linding* in *Lindingå* (< Dan *å* 'stream') (Torstrup p., Øster Horne h.), PrI 1638 I 226 Lindingaae, *Liūgh* in *Liverå* (Vennebjerg h.), 31/5 1375 Lygeraa, *Løghur* in *Løverbæk* (Husby p., Vends h.) MB 1682 Løffuerbech, *Mist* in *Mistå* (Skærbæk p., Hviding h., Brede etc. p., Tønder, Højer and Lø h.), 27/10 1567 (1578) Mist-aae, *Pūki* in *Pugeå* (Barløse p., Båg h.), MB 1682 Pueaae, *Rȳthandi* in *Røendebæk* (Kirke Hvalsø p., Volborg h.), MB 1682 Røendebekes Stumper (DSÅ I: 90–91, 157–58, II: 169, III: 169–70, IV: 179–81, 327–28, 334–35, 390, V: 70–71, 278–79, 404).

Names with distinguishing, reciprocating elements are apparently rare among the names of watercourses and lakes. However, in the same way as the epexegetic names, they fulfil the demand that the earlier name of the locality must enter into the later one after a partial replacement, and therefore belong in this context. The type can be exemplified by *Tjele Langsø* (Tjele p., Sønderlyng h.), earliest record 11/5 1489 (18th cent.) as Langesøø, later, VSKOrig 1785, as Tiele Lang Søe, whose etymological meaning can be indicated as '*Langsø*, which lies by/belongs to *Tjele*', *Salten Langsø* (Tyrsting h.,) KancBrevb 14/5 1584 Langsø, 1416 (1606 ÆDA I 206) Salten Langsiøe, and *Silkeborg Langsø* (Hids, Gjern and Vrads h.), MB 1683 Langsøe, recorded 1916 [*sälgibårə lɔŋˑsøʼ*] (DSÅ IV: 282).

With *Glenstrup Sø* we have come to Kousgård Sørensen's second typical example. Here we have a compound in -*sø* whose first element is the settlement-name *Glenstrup*, before 1177 NecrLund LXVII Gledingstorp, which in turn is a compound in -*thorp* with the old name of the lake *Glæthing* as first element

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(DSÅ II: 245). The settlement-name thus means 'dependent settlement by *Glæthing*' and the lake-name 'the lake by *Glenstrup*'. The earlier name of the lake thus only enters indirectly into the later one through the settlement name.

Glenstrup Sø contains a semantically primary settlement-name. The same applies to, for example, *Denderup Sø* (Vester Egede p., Tybjerg h.), whose first element 2/7 1511 Denrop has the lake-name **Dængh* as a component, *Horneby Sø* (Hornbæk p., Lynge-Kronborg h.), which is compounded with 21/4 1466 Horneby, containing the lake-name **Horni*, *Nagbøl Å* (Skanderup p., Andst h.) compounded with 1/6 1468 Nagbøl, which contains the river-name **Nagha*, *Pugemølle Å* (Barløse p., Båg h.) compounded with KancBrevb 11/12 1559 Pugemølle, which contains the river-name **Pūki*, and *Rogenstrup Sø* (Fiskbæk p., Nørlyng h.), compounded with 10/8 1492 Raanstrop, whose first element is the compound lake-name **Rognsø* (DSÅ I: 352, III: 148–49, V: 123, 278–79, 369).

A semantically secondary settlement-name is found in *Arreskov Sø* (Øster Hæsinge p., Sallinge h.). The original name of the lake **Arwi* is the first element in the name of the wood *Arreskov*, whose name was later transferred to a settlement, Annales Ryenses 13th cent. (13th cent. EJAnn 119) Arwescogh (DSÅ I: 86–87). In this function it enters into the later lake-name, which thus means 'the lake by the settlement *Arreskov*'. Similar examples are *Hørsholm Sø* (Hørsholm p., Lynge-Kronborg h.), whose first element, the settlement-name 31/1 1305 (1494) Hyringsholm is an original nature-name containing the lake-name **Hyrning*, and *Røjklit Sø* (Nysogn, Hind h.), into which enters the settlement-name 1385–1411 (c. 1450) Rocheklic, originally a nature-name compounded with the lake-name **Rōthki* (DSÅ III: 152–54, V: 446).

In a few cases we have the watercourse-name compounded with a nature-name as the first element in the later watercourse-name. *Døndal Å* (Klemensker and Rø p., Bornholms Nørreh.) thus contains the name of the valley, Map c. 1700 Dyndale, which is a compound with the river-name **Dyn* (DSÅ I: 343–44).

Watercourse-names, like other nature-names can be transferred to a settlement near to the natural locality and hence become

semantically secondary settlement-names. As a settlement-name the original watercourse-name can then form the first element in a new name for the watercourse. This is what would seem to have happened with, for example, *Gurre Sø* (Tikøb p., Lynge-Kronborg h.), whose first element is the name of the settlement lying beside the lake, 31/12 1361 Gorwe, which in turn has taken over its name from the lake **Gorghi*. The name is thus in principle a formation of the same type as *Glenstrup Sø*. *Gurre Sø* has (only) through the settlement-name and hence indirectly the earlier name of the lake as a component but it can with this justification be assigned to the partial name-replacements of the definition. Similar constructions are *Ferring Sø* (Ferring p., Vandfuld h.), whose first element is the settlement-name RO c.1325 Færingh, transferred from the lake **Færing*, *Kolding Å* (Brusk h.), whose first element is the settlement-name VJb 1231 (c. 1300) Kaldyng, the original name of the river **Kaldung*, and *Rævind Bæk* (Tårup p., Fjends h.), whose first element, the settlement-name *Rævind*, 1480 (1540-49 ÆDA II 233) Reffn Sogen, was originally the name of the watercourse **Ræfna* (DSÅ II: 85, IV: 149–51, V: 302).

In *Fiskbæk Å* (Fiskbæk p., Nørlyng h.), which is also a compound with a semantically secondary settlement-name, 17/5 1263 Viskebæch, there is no problem about recognising the original name of the watercourse. Nor is there in the case of *Grønnebæk Bæk* (Jels p., Frøs and Kalvslund h.), compounded with the name transferred to the settlement, Sk 1524 Gronebeck, of the watercourse, or of *Ramsø Sø* (Gadstrup p., Ramsø h.), whose settlement-denoting first element was first recorded on 21/5 1085 (before 1123) Ramseherathi (DSÅ II: 92–98, 280–81, V: 316–18).

It should be mentioned in passing that it is far from always the semantically secondary settlement-name with the watercourse's earlier name as a component that ends up by entering into a new watercourse-name. **Asandi*, which enters into the village-name *Åsendrup*, later bears the epexegetic name *Assenbæk*, **Ēsa*, which becomes the first element in *Jestrup*, is to be found as *Hørsted Å*, **Brātha*, which is transferred to the settlement *Brå*, is called *Urlev Å*, **Alsø* is later referred to as *Røgbølle Sø* (DSÅ I: 90–91, II: 53, I:

208–9, 56). In the last three examples it is the name of a different settlement that becomes a component of the later watercourse-name. Above I have presented two fundamentally different opinions about the concept partial place-name-replacement. The difference between them can perhaps best be made more specific by answering the following question: How does definition 1 ("the replacement of one first or second element with a different first or second element" classify the name-replacements that are partial according to definition 2 (" an earlier name...enters into a later name as a part of it") and vice versa?

The answer is most straightforward with respect to those name-replacements that are partial according to definition 1. Since the later name in these never contains the earlier name but only a part of it, they will all be grouped as "regular" name-replacements according to definition 2.

The name-replacements that are classified as partial according to definition 2, however, are placed in different categories of definition 1. The change from *Arwi to Arresø and from Langsø to Tjele Langsø must according to definition 1 belong to the group "total" name-replacements, since it is not a matter of any kind of "change of element". With respect to epexegetic and reciprocatory names, there has been disagreement among scholars who have worked on definition 1. Harling-Kranck classifies these names as variants of partial name-replacements, while Holmberg and Mattisson do not consider them to be the result of name-replacement at all but of name-change (Harling-Kranck 1976: 178, Holmberg 1976: 183–85, Mattisson 1976: 199, cf. also Dalberg (1991: 115–16).[7] Personally, I consider, as will have been seen from the last-mentioned reference, that it is justified to talk about a place-name change when an epexegetic or a reciprocatory name replaces the name that is contained as one of its
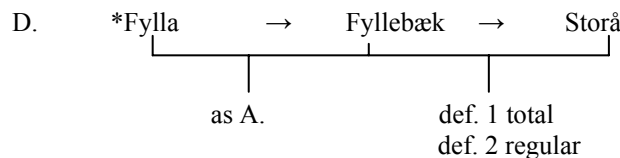

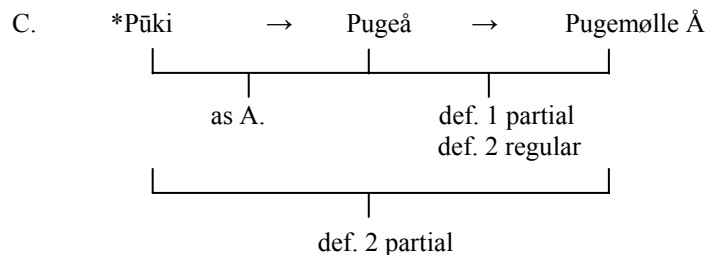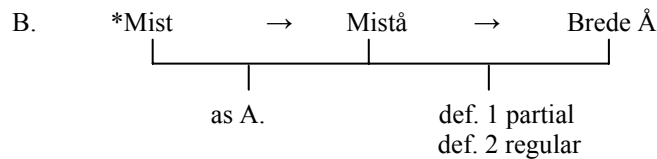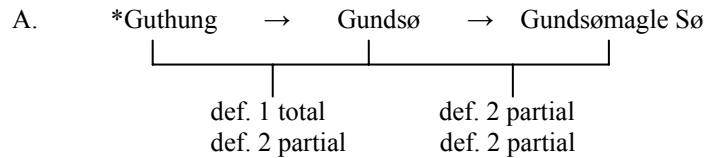[7] For the sake of completeness it should be added that Christian Lisse and Bent Jørgensen, who have employed other more individually adapted limitations of partial name-replacements – i.e. not corresponding completely to either definition 1 or definition 2 – have classified names with reciprocatory elements and names with epexegetic elements respectively under partial name-replacements (Lisse 1974: 117, Jørgensen 1977: 430).

components, but I would at the same time plead that such changes should be made the object of a special study.

The name-change **Glæthing* to *Glenstrup Sø* – partial according to definition 2 – would be classified as total according to definition 1, unless the later name was formed with the same second element as the earlier one (e.g. *Rognstrup Sø*, compounded with *-sø* just like the earlier *Rognsø*), which would be, according to this definition, a matter of a partial change of place-name.

The following examples can make clear how the divisions cross each other.

A.   *Guthung   →   Gundsø   →   Gundsømagle Sø

              def. 1 total   def. 2 partial
              def. 2 partial   def. 2 partial

B.   *Mist   →   Mistå   →   Brede Å

          as A.   def. 1 partial
                    def. 2 regular

C.   *Pūki   →   Pugeå   →   Pugemølle Å

          as A.   def. 1 partial
                    def. 2 regular

                  def. 2 partial

D.   *Fylla   →   Fyllebæk   →   Storå

          as A.   def. 1 total
                    def. 2 regular

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In example A, where the epexegetic *Gundsø* replaces **Guthung*, we have, according to definition 1, a total name-change but according to definition 2, a partial one. The change from *Gundsø* to *Gundsømagle Sø*, on the other hand, is partial according to both definitions, though for different reasons. The fact that the new name is formed with *-sø* like the old one is what justifies the verdict according to definition 1. For definition 2, the criterion is that the new name has the old name as a component – admittedly in its function as a settlement-name.

Mistå to *Brede Å* in example B is, for the reason just mentioned, to be described as a partial replacement according to definition 1 – both names are compounded with *-å*. Definition 2, however, places it rather among the regular name-changes, since the later name does not contain the earlier one.

The same classification applies for the change of name from *Pugeå* to *Pugemølle Å* in example C – partial according to definition 1, regular according to definition 2. Here, however, there is the subtle difference that *Pugemølle Å*, according to definition 2, is also partial seen in relation to the yet older name *Pūki*, since this is contained in the settlement-name *Pugemølle*.

Finally, we have in D the example *Fyllebæk* to *Storå*, which cannot be treated as a partial name-change according to either definition 1 or definition 2, and must therefore be classified as total and regular respectively.

If the definitions are to be assessed individually, definition 2 must be said first and foremost to be well-suited for throwing light on its main theme "the development in naming". As stated above, this is the main task in the context within which it was created. If it is to be assessed simply on its suitability for describing name-change phenomena in general, it must be considered a drawback that changes which are typologically of different natures are grouped together, while others, which are related, are kept apart.

The examples *Arresø* and *Glenstrup Sø* represent, as we have seen, two different types. In *Arresø* the original name of the lake enters as first element into the later name. Both elements in the name refer to the same locality, the lake. In *Glenstrup Sø* the second element refers to the lake, the first element to a neighbouring settlement whose name can be analysed as being compounded with the

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earlier name of the lake. The name-change from *Glæthing* to *Glen-strup Sø* thus corresponds typologically to the change from **Ēsa* to *Hørsted Å*, mentioned above, from **Burghung* to *Viby Å*, from **Ama* to *Øllemose Å* and many others (DSÅ I: 261, 65). The original watercourse-name is replaced by a name which contains the name of a neighbouring locality. The last-mentioned ones, however, are classified by definition 2 as "regular" name-changes, since the names which form their first element do not contain the earlier names of the watercourse etc.

Definition 1 quite definitely isolates an important linguistic characteristic of a number of name-changes. Its suitability for describing a lexical relationship between the old name and a new name-formation, however, is limited by the built-in formalism.

According to definition 1, the element that is shared by the old name and the new name-formation should be found in the same position. This weeds out, for example, name-changes of the following nature: *Holme Kloster*, the name of a manor-house, formerly a monastery (Brahetrolleborg p., Sallinge h.), was replaced by *Rant-zausholm* (named in 1568 by *Henrik Rantzau*), *Hundslund Kloster* receives the name *Dronninglund*. The selection of *-holm* and *-lund* as the second element was probably determined by the earlier names *Holme-* and *-lund-* but the link will not be registered because of the different position of the relevant elements in the names.

The definition only works with names that are compound nominal-formations. Only if the new name-formation is created as a compound, while the old one can be thought to be one, is the change embraced by the definition.[8] In this way formations with a different

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[8] Some authors have allowed this definition based on compounds to be used of *partial* place-name replacement and a definition as *total* place-name replace-ment based on the same type of structure to form in combination the main definition of a place-name change. The following formulations can serve as examples: " By a name-change I understand the replacement of the first and second element by different first and second elements (*total name-change*), and the replacement of one first or second element by another first or second element (*partial name-change*)" (Holmberg 1976: 186). "By name-change (*namnbyte*) is meant that the one of the elements in a name or both of them is/are replaced by a new element or elements; a name-change can thus be

structure, as those mentioned below, are excluded. In 1930 the street-name *Østerlæ* (the suburb of Vigerslev, Copenhagen) was replaced by *Læstedet* because of a partial convergence with the street-name *Øster Allé* (suburb of Østerbro, Copenhagen). The choice of the appellative *læsted* 'sheltered place' as a new name was clearly influenced by the old name's *-læ* 'shelter'. Four years earlier the street-name *Øster Allé* (suburb of Valby, Copenhagen) had been replaced by *Nordre Allé* on the grounds of a partial convergence with *Østerlæ* (Jørgensen 1970: 48, 202, Nordlund 1982: 9). The latter name-change would be classified as partial according to the definition, while the lexical connection between the names in the former change would simply not be registered. No more could this be the case for the relationship of the imperative *Tøv-lidt* 'wait a bit' with its predecessor *Tøvenborg* (the name of a house in Allested p., Sallinge h.) or with the latinisation *Fredericia*'s link with the replaced *Frederiksodde* (the name of the market-town founded by Frederik III in eastern Jutland. *Frederiksodde*, however, would be recognised as the result of a partial name-replacement in relation to the oldest name of the town *Bersodde* (transferred from the *odde* 'tongue of land' on which the settlement was built).

The moral of my exposition of the two definitions that have been proposed for the concept of partial place-name-replacement would seem to me first and foremost to be that this concept is so complex that it has not been possible to define it satisfactorily and that it is unlikely that it will ever be given a single adequate formulation. The linguistic dependence which undoubtedly exists between the old name and a new one in many cases must in my opinion primarily be described – sometimes perhaps exclusively – with the aid of an individually formulated definition for each individual place-name replacement.

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partial...or total..." (Mattisson 1976: 199). In this way the main definition is also lumbered with an inconvenient and probably uninentional limitation, since all the names which do not look as though they can be interpreted as consisting of a first and second element or having two elements are debarred from taking part in place-name-replacements.

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EB = Eng- og græsningsprotokol. [Protocol of meadow and grazing-lands in Denmark 1682–83].

EJAnn = *Annales Danici medii ævi*. Udg. af E. Jørgensen. København 1920.

Gst = Generalstabskort. Geodætisk Instituts målebordsblade [Danish Ordnance Survey Maps].

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KrSk = *Kronens Skøder* I–. Udg. af L. Laursen, et al. København 1892–.

LDV = Liber daticus Lundensis vetustior. Published in: Weeke, C. (ed.), 1889: *Libri memoriales capituli Lundensis, Lunds Domkapitels gavebøger*. København.

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LR = Lensregnskab [County Accounts].

M = Matrikel [Cadastre].

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Mejer = Johannes Mejers håndtegnede kort over Åbenrå Amt, trykt i N.E. Nørlund, Johannes *Mejers kort over det danske Rige* I–III. København 1942.

MK = Matrikelkort [Cadastral maps].

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PA = *Post- og Telegrafadressebog for Kongeriget Danmark*. København.

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RJb = Roskildebispens Jordebog. Published in: Christensen, C.A. (ed.), 1956: *Danske middelalderlige Regnskaber* 3. rk, 1. bd. København.

RO = Nielsen, Oluf (ed.), 1867: *Ribe Oldemoder (Avia Ripensis)*. København.

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