

**Vibeke Dalberg**

**NAME AND PLACE**

**Ten essays on the dynamics  
of place-names**

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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lake- and river-names John Kousgård Sørensen presented an appetising fore-taste of the contents of the as then yet unpublished volume VIII.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).<sup>1</sup> 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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\* A revised version of: “Begrebet partielt stednavneskifte”. In: Dalberg, Vibeke & Gillian Fellows-Jensen (eds), 1986: *Mange bække små. Til John Kousgård Sørensen på tresårsdagen 6.12.1985*. Navnestudier 27, København, pp. 41–58. Translation based on chapter III.3. in Dalberg 1991: 137–58.

<sup>1</sup> On the basis of an unpublished discussion paper ‘Stednavne og samfund’, compiled by V. Dalberg, B. Holmberg, B. Jørgensen and J. Kousgård Sørensen in 1973.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 Pallisbjerg

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*.

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

Sofie Amalie *Lindenov* took over *Dåsborg* (named in 1673 by Claus Olufsen *Daa*) after having assisted in the murder of her husband, the above-mentioned Claus Olufsen *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 *Bryskenberg* (manor-house, Daugård p., Hatting h.)  
DAtl IV (1768) 152 Bryskenberg  
M 1844 Villiamsborg Hgd

In 1775 *William* Halling, the owner of *Bryskenberg* (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<sup>5</sup> 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 *Åholm* (manor-house, Nysted land p.,  
Musse h.)  
KrSk 29/3 1734 Aalholm  
DAtl III (1767) 312 Christiansholm

The name-change from *Åholm* (< 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).<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup> Another possibility is that the new name

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

<sup>3</sup> 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).



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is formed from the noun *fred* (in the gen.)<sup>4</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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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<sup>4</sup> In appellational 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 klokke* 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.).

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*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

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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<sup>5</sup> 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)

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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 Sæbyholm 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<sup>3</sup> 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 *Turebygaard*. 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

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then becomes a new component of the name.<sup>5</sup> 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 sometimes 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 synchronically 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 *Åholm* which was replaced by *Christiansholm*. The latter name is in turn superseded by *Åholm* 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 – differs 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).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Examples presented in Lisse 1960: 99 and Holmberg 1976: 182–83.

<sup>6</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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*, *Ilso* (Dover p., Hjelslev h.), VSKOrig 1781 Iil Søe, containing \**Ighli*, *Ilso* (Østbirk p., Voer h.), EB 1683 Ilso, 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 KiøldsNord 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 Hjermslev p., Hvetbo h.), 23/11 1471 Aasenbeck, \**Blā* in *Blåbæk* (Hornbæk and Tikøb p., Lyng-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, \**Lōghur* 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, \**Ry̥thandi* 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 (18<sup>th</sup> 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 lɔŋ:sø*] (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 NocrLund 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 \**Dæng* 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 Raanstrup, 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* 13<sup>th</sup> cent. (13<sup>th</sup> 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) *Roheklic*, 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

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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 \**Gorgh*. 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:

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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).<sup>7</sup> 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

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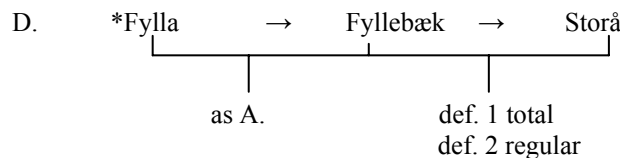
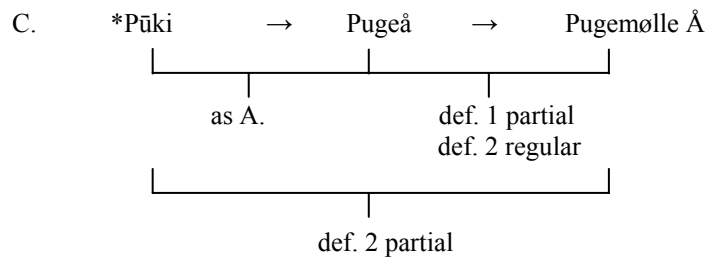
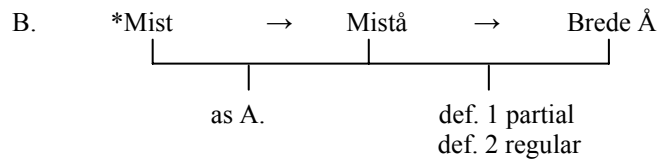
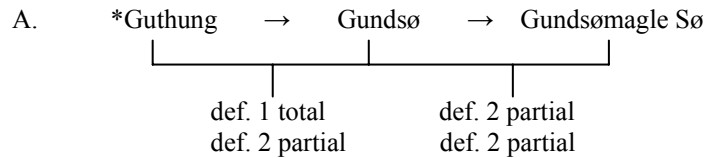
<sup>7</sup> For the sake of completeness it should be added that Christian Lisse and Bent Jørgensen, who have employed other more individually adapted limitations of partial name-replacements – i.e. not corresponding completely to either definition 1 or definition 2 – have classified names with reciprocatory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

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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.



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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 *Glenstrup 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 *Rantzauholm* (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.<sup>8</sup> In this way formations with a different

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<sup>8</sup> Some authors have allowed this definition based on compounds to be used of *partial* place-name replacement and a definition as *total* place-name replacement 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

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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 unintentional 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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