ICOS 2014

'NAMES AND THEIR ENVIRONMENT'
PROCEEDINGS OF THE 25TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF ONOMASTIC SCIENCES
GLASGOW, 25-29 AUGUST 2014

VOLUME 2: TOPONOMASTICS II

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of Glasgow

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Glasgow 2016

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Les formes toponymiques dans quelques enquêtes réalisées en Normandie à la fin du XIIIe siècle

Stéphane Laîné
France

Résumé

Les attestations les plus anciennes des toponymes sont souvent fournies par les documents diplomatiques, voire par des textes littéraires. Cependant, le développement des appareils administratif et juridique, initié dans le royaume de France par Philippe-Auguste, s'accompagne, dès le début du XIIIe siècle, d'un recours à la langue vulgaire dans les actes juridiques. Les enquêtes et les procédures d'appel ne sont plus systématiquement rédigées en latin, ce qui offre l'opportunité, notamment dans la transcription des témoignages oraux des témoins requis, de mieux apprécier ce que pouvait être la langue vernaculaire usitée quotidiennement par des gens de différentes conditions et notamment les formes toponymiques en usage. Quelles sont les mentions des toponymes présentes dans diverses enquêtes réalisées en Normandie à la fin du XIIIe siècle ? Sont-elles similaires à celles recueillies dans les autres types de documents ? Nous répondrons à ces questions en exploitant deux documents publiés au XIXe siècle par Léopold Delisle, mais également une enquête inédite réalisée en 1292 contre Jean de Carcassonne, bailli de Domfront.

Abstract

The oldest attestations of place names are often provided by diplomatic documents, or even by literary texts. However, the development of administrative and legal devices, initiated in the Kingdom of France by Philippe-Auguste, was accompanied, from the beginning of the 13th century, by the use of the vernacular in the legal acts. Investigations and procedures of appeal are not written in Latin as often, which offers the opportunity, especially in the transcript of the oral testimony of the witnesses, to better appreciate what could have been the common vernacular used daily by people of different conditions and in particular the name forms in use. What are these references to place names in various surveys carried out in Normandy at the end of the 13th century? Are they similar to those collected in other types of documents? We will respond to these questions by analysing two documents published in the 19th century by Léopold Delisle, but also an unpublished survey in 1292 against Jean de Carcassonne, bailiff of Domfront.

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Le développement des appareils administratif et juridique, initié par Philippe-Auguste, s'accompagne, dès le début du XIIIe siècle, d'un recours à la langue vulgaire dans les actes juridiques. Les enquêtes et les procédures d'appel ne sont plus systématiquement rédigées en latin, ce qui offre l'opportunité, notamment dans la transcription des témoignages oraux des témoins requis, de mieux apprécier ce que pouvait être la langue vernaculaire usitée quotidiennement par des gens de différentes conditions. Dans la présente étude, nous nous proposons d'analyser les formes toponymiques employées dans trois enquêtes réalisées en Normandie à la fin du XIIIe siècle pour mieux apprécier ce phénomène. Nous exploiterons deux documents publiés au XIXe siècle par Léopold Delisle, mais également une enquête

inédite réalisée en 1292 contre Jean de Carcassonne, bailli de Domfront. Bien que la nature des documents diffère – d'une part, des textes transcrits et publiés, et d'autre part un manuscrit à ce jour presque inconnu –, ces enquêtes sont quasiment contemporaines et issues d'une zone géographique et politique commune : nous tenterons d'en dégager les points communs et les divergences, et de nous interroger sur l'usage du toponyme dans la pratique linguistique, tant orale qu'écrite, en Normandie à cette époque.

Les documents

«Enquête contre le vicomte de Pont-Audemer», in Delisle Léopold, Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint-Louis et Philippe-le-Hardi, Caen, Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie, t. XVI, (2ᵉ série, 6ᵉ vol.), 1852, chartes nᵒˢ 664 et 665, vers 1260.

Le vicomte de Pont-Audemer est à cette période Johan de Novi, ou Jehan de Nuevy, selon la graphie choisie. Il est accusé d'avoir abusé de son pouvoir ou d'en avoir mal usé.

La charte 664 est un exposé des faits reprochés au vicomte ; elle est formée de deux séries. Le rouleau original est conservé au Supplément du Trésor des Chartes, carton J. 1024, nᵒ 42.

La première série comporte quatre cas, elle est annoncée par la formule 'Che sunt les cas contre le visconte du Pont Audemer.'

À la fin du troisième cas, l'accusation cite ses sources et dévoile la procédure suivie : 'Ceu soit prové par ces qui furent à l'enqueste et par la bone gent du paais' (transcription de L. Delisle respectée).

La deuxième série comporte vingt et un cas, elle est annoncée par la formule : 'Vez ci les cas sus Johan de Novi, visconte du Pont Audemer'.

Le premier cas est introduit par l'adverbe 'Premierement', les deux suivants le sont par 'De rechief', ainsi que les cas quinze, seize et vingt et un ; tous les autres le sont par 'Item', à l'exception d'un seul (cas quatorze), qui débute directement le récit.

Dans dix-neuf cas, les témoins sont cités à la fin du récit rapportant les faits, en général au moyen de la formule prudente 'Ce seroit prové par…'. 'Che seroit prové par…', 'C'est à prover par…', ' […] et est à prover', 'Chen seroit prové…', 'C'en seroit prové'» et 'cen [seroit] prové' en sont des variantes.

Si les formules employées laissent penser qu'il s'agit plutôt de témoignages, le premier cas laisse entrevoir de possibles plaintes : '[…] et c'est à prover par Robert Tison,qui en fu pledeor, par Radulfe Gaydee, par Guillaume Heel le Viel, et par l'enqueste de Conteville, qui pristrent le devant dit larron.'

La charte 665 est la défense du vicomte ; elle reprend les faits et fournit les arguments opposés par l'accusé. Malheureusement, Delisle n'a pas jugé utile de citer plus qu'un exemple et s'en justifie : 'Nous n'avons pas cru devoir reproduire en entier le contenu de ce rouleau. Il roule [sic] sur les mêmes faits que celui que nous venons d'imprimer dans toute son étendue. Seulement il contient la justification du vicomte "Jehan de Nuevy" sur plusieurs points. Nous avons donné, comme modèle, un des articles de la défense.'

Or, c'est dans ce document que le linguiste a toutes les chances d'approcher au plus près la langue orale, le discours indirect pouvant facilement céder le pas au discours direct : ' […] respont le viconte, que riens il n'en out, ne autre pour luy, ne n'en fu nulli pris, ne l'omme ne fu pas tue…'

S'il existe toujours, il serait donc intéressant de se reporter au manuscrit : rouleau original au Supplément du Trésor des Chartes, carton J. 1031, n° 22.

« Enquête faite contre Guillaume de Bohon », in Delisle Léopold, Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint-Louis et Philippe-le-Hardi, *Caen, Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie, t. XVI, (2ᵉ série, 6ᵉ vol.), 1852, charte nᵒ 1222, 1272.*

Guillaume de Bohon appartient à une importante et vieille famille du Cotentin, fixée dans la région de Saint-Lô, où le patronyme est perpétué dans des toponymes : Saint-André-de-Bohon, Saint-Georges-de-Bohon. Un ancêtre de Guillaume, Onfroi Iᵉʳ, participa à la conquête de l'Angleterre en 1066, et la famille fut dès lors l'une de celles qui se partagèrent entre la Normandie et l'Angleterre.

La charte 1222 est une sorte de procès verbal des témoignages recueillis contre Guillaume de Bohon ; elle est formée de deux séries. Le rouleau original est conservé au Supplément du Trésor des Chartes, carton J. 1028, n° 26.

Curieusement, la première série contient les réponses fournies par Guillaume aux accusations portées contre lui, elle est annoncée par la formule 'Ce sunt les responses que Guillaume de Bohon a faites selonc les demandes que l'an li a faites.'

Les questions débutent toutes par : 'Requis se…' et les réponses par '[…] il dist que oil…'/'[…] il dist que non…'.

La deuxième série comporte trente-quatre témoignages, correspondant à une enquête menée par la justice du roi, semble-t-il (Guillaume de Bohon lui porte préjudice dans l'administration des forêts du Cotentin qui lui ont été confiées) : 'C'est l'enqueste faite seur Guillaume de Bohon et des bois de sa garde par monseigneur Guillaume des Mineres, chevalier, et Hue de Saint Just, en l'an de Grace MCCLXXII, la semaine enprès la Saint-Denis.' Nous découvrons ainsi l'identité des deux enquêteurs et l'année de l'enquête, 1272.

Les témoignages sont tous établis selon le même modèle et comportent les mêmes renseignements liminaires : 'Hamon de Booug, serjans du chastel de Chierbourc, de l'aage de XL ans, juré et requis se il set que Guillaume de Bohon ait doné point du bois de sa garde, il dist que oil.'…

« Enquête faite contre Jean de Carcassonne », Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, série A 37-30 bis, A 924/1 et 2, 1292.

Jean de Carcassonne ou Carcassonne fut bailli de Domfront de 1287 à 1292, soit cinq ans.

Le bailli était le représentant personnel du comte d'Artois, Domfront constituant pour lui un apanage. Il avait compétence dans les domaines administratif, militaire (en temps de

paix seulement), financier et judiciaire. Il rendait des comptes deux fois l'an, à la Toussaint et à l'Ascension. Le compte de la Toussaint 1289 est connu.

L'enquête est un document resté manuscrit, conservé aux Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais sous les cotes A 37-30 bis, A 924/1 et A 924/2. Les parchemins cousus qui le constituent atteignent une longueur de cinq mètres. L'érudit Gabriel Hubert en a fait une transcription restée manuscrite. Les aspects historiques de l'enquête ont été étudiés par Jean-Philippe Cormier (Cormier 1986, 1993).

Le document comporte trois parties.

La première partie est formée de treize témoignages recueillis par les enquêteurs : 'Inquisitio facta contra Johanness de Carcassono. Le merkedi après la feste Notre Dame en septembre l'an IIIIxx et XII fu faite ceste informations à Danfront en Passais par Monsigneur Nicole d'Ytre, chevalier et Piere Jehan de Sainte Crois consilliers et familiers monseigneur d'Artois.'

Les témoignages sont tous recueillis sous la même forme : 'Juliot le Petit, bourgois de Danfront, jurés et requis sour toutes choses dist par son serement que Jehan Carcassonne ne mercioit le gens du pais a tort et sans raison et en levoit plus grans amendes que les gens ne eussent fourfait […]'. Si un témoin rapporte plusieurs faits, ils sont introduits par 'Item…'.

La deuxième partie est un recueil de plaintes : 'Demureray de grief et les défautes que on a montre et dites que Jehan de Carcassonne a faites et commises en Danfront apartenanches u tans de son offise.'

Quarante-sept personnes déposent une plainte, qui débute en général par la formule : 'Complaignant est…'/'Complaignant(z) sont…'. S'il y a plusieurs plaintes pour un plaignant, l'enchaînement se fait au moyen de : 'De rechief'.

La dernière partie est une reprise des témoignages ; sept personnes supplémentaires déposent, portant leur nombre total à vingt.

Les formes toponymiques

Nous ne saurions évidemment commenter dans cette contribution toutes les formes toponymiques rencontrées dans les trois textes. Nous n'étudierons que les exemples dont la graphie, la phonétique ou la morphologie offre une variation par rapport aux occurrences les plus communes.

'Enquête contre le vicomte de Pont-Audemer'

'*le visconte du Pont Audemer*' ; '*la commune de Pont Audemer*' ; '*Richart Tanes, du Pont Audemer*' ; '*les borgeis du Pont Audemer*' ; '*du chastel du Pont Audemer*' ; '*en geole deu Pont Audemer*' ; '*I bois sus le Pont Audemer*' ; '*la bone gent deu Pont Audemer*' ; '*le maire du Pont Audemer*' : telles sont les formes relevées dans le texte pour le toponyme *Pont-Audemer* (Eure, chef-lieu de canton). Ce dernier repose sur le nom commun *pont* (latin *pontem*), auquel est postposé un complément déterminatif constitué par un anthroponyme d'origine germanique *Aldemar(us)* (*alda* 'vieux' + *mar* 'célèbre') : littéralement, il s'agit donc du pont construit par/appartenant à un dénommé Audemer ; les plus anciennes attestations du toponyme sont : *ad duos Pontes* 715 ; *Pontem Haldemari* 1025 ; *Aldemari*

Ponte v. 1040… (Beaurepaire 1981: 159). À l'exception de la deuxième occurrence, '*la commune de Pont Audemer*', toutes les mentions du texte introduisent le toponyme au moyen de l'article défini, sous sa forme simple ('*le*') ou sous une forme enclitique (variantes '*deu*'/'*du*') : cela signifie, selon toute vraisemblance, que les éléments composant le toponyme sont encore clairement identifiés et possèdent une sorte d'autonomie. Aujourd'hui, le toponyme est lexicalisé, le mot '*pont*' a perdu son sémantisme et il ne sera plus jamais précédé d'un déterminant.

Illeville-sur-Montfort (canton de Montfort-sur-Risle) apparaît dans le texte à deux reprises : '*Villeville*' ; '*Villeville jouste le Pont Audemer*'. La plus ancienne attestation du toponyme, *Willevilla* XIIIe siècle, permet de supposer qu'il s'agit d'une composition formée d'un anthroponyme anglo-saxon *Willa* ou *Withlac*, joint au terme latin *villa* 'domaine', soit 'le domaine de *Willa*/*Withlac*'(Beaurepaire 1981: 130-131). La forme du texte est conforme à cette étymologie, du moins à l'attestation la plus ancienne. Rien ne permet en revanche de comprendre pourquoi la consonne initiale du nom s'est ensuite amuïe car elle est dans une position forte. La seule explication qui nous paraît plausible est une dissimilation, '*Villeville*' pouvant être interprété comme une redondance inutile : *ville-ville*. *Illeville sur Montfort* est attesté en 1793.

Bourg-Achard (Eure, canton de Routot) repose sur le nom commun d'origine germanique **burg*, latinisé *burgum* 'petite ville, souvent centre de marché, parfois fortifiée ou close de murailles', auquel est joint un anthroponyme germanique latinisé *Acardus*/*Achardus*. C'est cette étymologie que les attestations les plus anciennes du nom permettent de reconstituer : *Nemore Achardi* v. 1060, *Burgum Achardi* 1198… (Beaurepaire 1981: 75). Le premier élément de cette composition a cependant été influencé au cours de l'histoire par le mot *bosc* 'bois', issu du terme germanique latinisé **bosk*/*boscum*. Là encore, la mention du texte permet de penser que les éléments composant le toponyme conservent leur sémantisme, le nom commun *borc* étant précédé d'une forme enclitique de l'article défini : '*le prior du Borc Achart*'.

Bosgouet (Eure, canton de Routot) est formé du nom commun germanique **bosk*, latinisé *boscum* 'bois', auquel est joint un anthroponyme difficilement interprétable ou indentifiable ; la mention la plus ancienne est *Boscum Goiet* 1156-1161 (Beaurepaire 1981: 130-131). L'occurrence de notre texte, '*chimetiere du Bosc Geet*', comporte une variante dialectale de l'anthroponyme. Au XIIe siècle, la diphtongue [éi] n'a pas poursuivi dans l'ouest du domaine d'oïl son évolution vers [ói], mais elle s'est réduite à [e] (Gauthier 1995: 29-32). La graphie autorise à penser que la prononciation dialectale était [gee], tandis que la forme orale 'standard' suivit une évolution [geie] > [goie] > [goee] > [guee] > [gwee] > [gwe] > [gwɛ]. La mention du texte permet par ailleurs une nouvelle fois de penser que les éléments composant le toponyme conservent leur sémantisme, le nom commun *bosc* étant précédé d'une forme enclitique de l'article défini.

Bosc-Bénard (Eure, canton de Bourgtheroulde) est également formé sur le mot germanique latinisé *boscum* 'bois ', associé à un anthroponyme d'origine germanique *Bernard* (*bern* 'ours' + *hard* 'dur') ; la plus ancienne attestation du toponyme est *Bosbesnart Commin* 1236-1244 (Beaurepaire 1981: 71). Deux phénomènes peuvent être observés dans la mention de notre texte, '*Thomas de Bosc Bernart*'. Le premier est une probable lexicalisation du toponyme, dont le premier élément n'est pas déterminé ; il est ici partie intégrante d'un

anthroponyme, semble-t-il, ce qui expliquerait ce fait. Le deuxième est une sorte de conservatisme de l'anthroponyme Bernart/Bernard, qui ne paraît pas comporter d'amuïssement de la consonne liquide [r] placée devant la consonne nasale dentale [n], alors que c'est une évolution qui n'est pas rare en Normandie (Lepelley 1999: 7) ; la forme moderne comporte d'ailleurs le témoignage de ce phénomène.

Le toponyme Brestot (Eure, canton de Montfort-sur-Risle) est formé des termes scandinaves *breidr* 'grand' et *topt* 'domaine', 'village' ; ses attestations les plus anciennes sont *Bretot* (vers 1040), *Breitot* (vers 1080), *Braistot* (1547) ; ce toponyme est également attesté en Grande-Bretagne : *Bratoft* (Lincolnshire, *Breitoft* vers 1115) (Beaurepaire 1981: 77). La graphie -ei- indique peut-être encore une diphtongue, présente dans l'étymon scandinave. La forme de notre texte, '*Breetot*', peut donc marquer par le redoublement graphique du *e* l'évolution de cette diphtongue, ou bien une longueur plus importante de la voyelle, consécutivement à la réduction de la diphtongue ; les mentions plus modernes marqueront cet allongement au moyen d'un *s* postposé à la voyelle, évidemment muet et seulement diacritique, et qui n'est absolument pas étymologique.

L'enquête contre le vicomte de Pont-Audemer comporte une occurrence '*Kilebo*'. Il s'agit de Quillebeuf-sur-Seine (Eure, chef-lieu de canton), dont l'étymologie reposerait sur un terme scandinave *both* 'cabane, maison, domaine', précédé d'un mot inconnu ; les attestations anciennes sont *Cheliboey* / *Cheliboy* 1025, *Chileboi* 1170 (Beaurepaire 1981: 163). En son temps, Fouché a déjà relevé les difficultés que comporte une telle étymologie : elle suppose une diphtongaison de la voyelle accentuée, à une époque (le Xe siècle) très postérieure à la période des diphtongaisons, qu'elles soient romanes ou françaises (Fouché 1952: 160-163). Les graphies -oey-/-oi- ne peuvent pas correspondre non plus à la diphtongaison d'un *o*, qu'il soit bref ou long ; pour parvenir à la prononciation moderne, on attendrait plutôt la diphtongaison d'un [ó] libre. Quant à la graphie de notre texte, elle ne paraît pas transcrire de diphtongue, mais une simple voyelle *o*, sans doute fermée, et il est difficile de croire qu'elle puisse correspondre à [ø], c'est-à-dire au résultat de la diphtongaison d'un [ó] tel qu'il aboutit au XIIIe siècle. Nous avons déjà abordé ces questions partiellement (Laîné 2006: 257-268; Laîné 2009), mais il sera nécessaire de les reprendre dans une étude plus exhaustive. Remarquons enfin que la forme '*Kilebo*' confirme la fermeture de la voyelle initiale, déjà attestée en 1170, et une absence de palatalisation de la consonne initiale (les attestations antérieures sont pour leur part ambiguës sur ce point).

La mention '*Catelont*' concerne Catelon (aujourd'hui Flancourt-Catelon, Eure, canton de Bourgtheroulde). Ce toponyme est composé de l'anthroponyme scandinave *Kati*, associé au nom commun scandinave *lundr* 'bois' ; son attestation la plus ancienne est *Catelunti* 1096-1101 (Beaurepaire 1981: 84). La graphie de l'enquête permet de s'interroger sur le maintien de la consonne finale : les dentales ont été les premières à s'amuïr dans l'histoire du français, dès la deuxième moitié du IXe siècle, mais la Normandie a été conservatrice et les a maintenues plus longtemps, parfois jusqu'au XIIIe siècle (début d'une période d'effacement généralisé).

La mention '*Formoville*' est conforme à la plus ancienne attestation connue, *Formovile* 1205, et ne contredit pas l'étymologie en général retenue : une composition formée de l'anthroponyme germanique latinisé *Formaldus*, joint au mot latin *villa* 'domaine'

(Beaurepaire 1981: 111).[1] La graphie moderne, Fort-Moville (Eure, canton de Beuzeville), comporte une déglutination due à une réinterprétation 'savante' et totalement aberrante.

'*Tregueville*' semble être une forme assez conservatrice. Le toponyme possède comme attestations anciennes *Tregavilla* v. 1080, *Tregevilla* XIIᵉ siècle, *Trigevilla* 1216, et serait formé d'un anthroponyme indéterminé, associé au terme latin *villa* 'domaine' (Beaurepaire 1981: 202). La mention de 1216 indique une fermeture de la voyelle initiale, peut-être par dissimilation pour la différencier de la voyelle de la syllabe subséquente, que le texte de l'enquête ignore. Ce phénomène phonétique a été suivi, à une époque indéterminée, par un assourdissement de la consonne [g] en position intervocalique, d'où la forme moderne Triqueville (Eure, canton de Pont-Audemer).[2] Une attraction du nom commun *trique* n'est pas à exclure.

Brionne (Eure, chef-lieu de canton) provient sans doute d'un mot composé gaulois : *brevio*, de *briva* 'pont', et *duna* 'hauteur' ; les attestations anciennes du toponyme sont *Breviodurum* (table de Peutinger, itinéraire d'Antonin), *Brionnam* 1035-1040, *Briotna* 1051-1054, *ecclesiae Briotnienses* 1035-1066 (Beaurepaire 1981: 78). La forme relevée dans l'enquête contre le vicomte de Pont-Audemer, '*Briorne*', comporte une consonne *r* qui ne paraît pas justifiée au regard de l'étymologie (rappelons que la tendance dialectale est également plutôt à amuïr cette consonne devant une autre consonne, liquide), ni correspondre à une articulation particulière. Peut-être s'agit-il d'une cacographie, les autres mentions médiévales possédant un redoublement de la consonne nasale *n*, ou la présence d'une consonne dentale *t* précédant le *n*. Seule une étude détaillée de l'évolution phonétique complexe de ce mot permettrait de résoudre ce problème.

Le Bec-Hellouin (Eure, canton de Brionne) est un toponyme constitué du nom commun scandinave *bekkr* 'ruisseau' et de l'anthroponyme d'origine germanique *Herlewinus*/*Herluinus* ; son attestation la plus ancienne est *Beccus Herlevini* v. 1160 (Beaurepaire 1981: 62). L'occurrence figurant dans l'enquête, '*la commune enqueste du Bec Herluin*', est conservatrice dans la mesure où elle ne comporte pas d'effacement de la consonne [r] placée devant la liquide [l], ce qui est un phénomène phonétique fréquent et attendu, puisqu'il explique la forme moderne du toponyme.

Barneville-sur-Seine (Eure, canton de Routot) a été formé avec l'anthroponyme scandinave *Barni* et le mot latin *villa* 'domaine' ; sa mention la plus précoce est *Barnevilla* v. 1078. L'occurrence du texte étudié est '*Berneville joste le Pont Audemer*', elle comporte le résultat d'une influence fermante de [r] sur la voyelle [a] au Moyen Âge dans l'ouest d'oïl (Gauthier 1995: 2.3.).

Épaignes (Eure, canton de Cormeilles) tire son nom de colons espagnols (des vétérans des légions romaines durant l'Empire, probablement) ; sa première attestation est *Spania* 1035-1037 (Beaurepaire 1981: 103-104). Il est fait mention d'un voleur originaire de cette paroisse dans l'enquête : '*Beliart d'Espaingne larron*'. Cette forme toponymique comporte évidemment une pro(s)thèse vocalique, mais aussi une graphie complexe tentant de rendre

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[1] Nous émettrons toutefois une légère restriction : une telle étymologie suggérerait davantage une graphie étymologique *Formauville*, qui conserverait la mémoire de la vocalisation du *l* placé entre voyelle et consonne… Au XIIIᵉ siècle, la monophtongaison n'est d'ailleurs en principe pas encore intervenue.

[2] Nous avons commenté ce même phénomène pour Acqueville (Manche, canton de Beaumont-Hague) : voir Laîné (2006: 210-213).

compte du *n* palatalisé en position intervocalique, que l'ancien français restitue selon les textes avec *-gn-*, *-ign-*, *-gni-*…

Beaumont-le-Roger (Eure, chef-lieu de canton) est classiquement issu du latin *bellum montem* ; sa première attestation est *Belmont* 996-1008 (Beaurepaire 1981: 62). Les occurrences sont multiples et variées dans l'enquête réalisée contre le vicomte de Pont-Audemer : '*Belmont le Roger*' ; '*Belmont le Rogier*' ; '*Biaumont le Roger*' ; '*Biaumont*'. Les deux formes concurrentes *Biaumont* et *Belmont* indiquent en fait deux phénomènes distincts. Pour la première, il s'agit d'une fermeture dialectale du premier élément de la triphtongue [έau] résultant de la vocalisation de [l] entre [έ] et [s] dans l'évolution du nominatif latin *béllus* (Lepelley 1974: § 3). Dans le courant du XIIe siècle, le [a], voyelle la plus ouverte de la triphtongue, donc la plus forte, attire à elle l'accent et se vélarise : [bεáus]. Le [ε] désaccentué s'affaiblit, ce qui se traduit par une fermeture d'un degré : [beáus]. Dans plusieurs dialectes, notamment en Normandie, cette fermeture se poursuit : [biáus] > [bjáus]. Le deuxième phénomène est le maintien d'une forme étymologique du toponyme, issue d'un accusatif latin, soit '*Belmont*', face à une réfection inspirée de la forme de cas sujet de l'adjectif qualificatif *beaus/bel*, soit '*Biaumont*'. Cette évolution est une conséquence de l'affaiblissement et de l'abandon progressif du système casuel de l'ancien français, dont une des manifestations est la prédominance progressive de *beau* aux dépens de *bel*, dans tous les emplois (le second terme se maintient cependant devant un mot à initiale vocalique pour des raisons d'euphonie). Si les ouvrages de référence évoquent généralement le moyen français pour ce changement, nous sommes enclin à le dater pour les toponymes de la fin du XIIe siècle ou du début du XIIIe siècle (Laîné 2006: 286-291).

'Enquête faite contre Guillaume de Bohon'

Caen (Calvados, chef-lieu de canton) est formé de deux mots gaulois : *cato* 'combat' et *magos* 'champ' ; parmi les mentions médiévales, notons *Villam quæ dicitur Cathim supra fluvium Olnæ* 1026, *Cadum* 1040, *Cadomum* 1080, *Cahem* 1095, *Caem, Chaem* 1155-1170, *Caam, Chaam, Quaan* 1160, *Canz* XII[e] siècle, *Can* 1333, *Caon* 1377 (Hippeau 1883: 50)[3]... La consonne dentale intervocalique [t] s'est sonorisée en [d] à la fin du IV[e] siècle, puis elle s'est spirantisée au VI[e] siècle, avant de s'amuïr vers la fin du IX[e] siècle, créant un hiatus [aa], puis [aã] après la nasalisation des voyelles placées devant une consonne nasale au XI[e] siècle ; l'hiatus se réduit ensuite normalement au XIII[e] siècle. La mention de notre texte d'étude est assez conservatrice, puisqu'elle maintient graphiquement l'hiatus, qui est déjà réduit : *l'ospital de Caan*.

Dans les occurrences pour le toponyme Cherbourg (Manche, chef-lieu de canton), les formes concurrentes montrent une hésitation sur la transcription de l'évolution du timbre ouvert pour [o] primaire ou secondaire, intervenue au XIIIe siècle ; '*Chierebourc*' marque bien la fermeture de la voyelle finale atone, tandis que les formes '*Chiereborc*' et '*Chierebort*' l'ignorent[4] : '*Chierrebourc*' ; '*Chierebourc*' ; '*l'abé de Chiereborc*' ; '*li abbés*

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[3] Voir aussi Lepelley (1996).

[4] Pour de plus amples considérations sur ce toponyme, voir Lepelley (1993).

de Chierebort'. La dernière mention atteste également de l'amuïssement de la consonne finale du mot, puisqu'un *t* peut sans difficulté remplacer un *c*.

Les formes relevées pour Digosville (Manche, canton de Tourlaville) comportent toutes une fermeture de la voyelle [o] en [u], en revanche : '*Guillaume de Digouville*' ; '*la haye de Digouville*' ; '*li prestres de Digouville*'. Le toponyme Digosville est constitué d'un anthroponyme germanique latinisé *Dingolfus* ou d'un anthroponyme scandinave *Ingulf* et du terme latin *villa* « domaine », avec agglutination de la préposition initiale *de* ; parmi les attestations anciennes, notons *Digouvilla* 1198, *Digouvilla* 08/1257, *Digouvillam*, 08/1257, *Hayam de Digovilla* 07/1272, *Dingouville, Digouville* 1294, *Digovilla* 18/06/1325, *Dygovilla* 1332, *Digouville* 1346, *Digouvilla* 1351-1352, *Digouville* 1402 (Laîné 2006: 82). Le *s* qui figure dans la graphie actuelle n'apparaît que tardivement, après la première moitié du XIXe siècle assurément. Un phénomène d'analogie, avec Grosville par exemple, l'explique sans doute. Même si les locuteurs que nous avons interrogés dans le cadre de notre thèse allongent la voyelle *o*, l'introduction de la consonne *s* est beaucoup trop tardive pour marquer cet allongement.

La forme '*Agueville*' de l'enquête est conforme à toutes les occurrences médiévales : *Aguevilla/Agueville*. La forme moderne *Acqueville* (Manche, canton de Beaumont-Hague), avec un assourdissement de la consonne intervocalique qui s'explique mal, apparaît au plus tôt, selon nos propres relevés, sur des cartes géographiques du début du XVIIe siècle : *Hacqueuille* 1638, *Haqueuille* début XVIIe siècle, *Haqueuille* 1650 (la consonne initiale est aberrante, elle est purement ornementale) (Laîné 2006: 210-213). L'étymologie repose vraisemblablement sur un anthroponyme scandinave *Agi*, joint au mot latin *villa* 'domaine'.

Biville (Manche, canton de Beaumont-Hague) est sans doute constitué à partir d'un anthroponyme scandinave *Boia*, associé au terme latin *villa* 'domaine'. L'évolution phonétique du toponyme est extrêmement complexe, comme le révèlent les attestations anciennes : *Buistot villa* 1013-20, *Boivilla, Boiville* 1062, *Buevilla* v. 1080, *Boevilla* XIIIe siècle, *Buievilla* v. 1280, *Buievilla* 1251, *Boevilla* 1278-1279, *Biville* XVe siècle...(Laîné 2006: 314-323). Les occurrences de l'enquête sont les suivantes : '*li prestres de Beeville*' ; '*au prestre de Beeville*' ; '*Beeville*'. Elles semblent indiquer une prononciation [e:] qui pourrait résulter de la réduction des diphtongues [oe] ou [ue], ou de [je], toutes ces réalisations correspondant à des formes graphiques attestées aux XIIIe-XVe siècles. La forme dominante dès le début du XVe siècle est *Bieville*, et la réduction de [je] à [i], en passant par une étape [ji], est acquise au cours du même siècle.

La mention '*la persone de Torqueteuville*' dans l'enquête réfère à Teurthéville-Hague (Manche, canton de Beaumont-Hague) et elle est parfaitement conforme aux autres mentions contemporaines. Ce toponyme repose sur un anthroponyme scandinave *Thorketill*, joint au latin *villa* 'domaine', comme l'indiquent les attestations anciennes : *Torquetevilla* XIIe s., *Torquetelvilla* 1251, *Torquetevilla* 02/08/1274, *Torquetevilla* 1278-1279, *Torquetevilla* 1332, *Torquetevilla* 1351-1352, *Tourquetheville* 1402, *Tourqueteville en la Hague* 1459, *Turqueteville a la Hague* 13/09/1551, *Turqueteville à la Hague* 29/09/1551, *Torqueteville à la Hague* 23/03/1552, *Torqueteville-à-la-Hague* 26/08/1553, *Turqueteville, à la Hague* 02/05/1562, *Tourteuille* ? (entre Tourlaville et Bretteville) 1650, *Teurtêville* 1689, *Teurteville* 1716, *Teurteville en la Hague* 1754-59, *Teurteville, Teurteville* vers 1764, *Teurteville* 1791, *Teurteville la Hague* fin XVIIIe siècle ou début XIXe siècle, avant 1818, *Teurteville au*

Bocage 1824, *Teurtheville en la Hague* 1825-27, *Teurteville Hague* vers 1826, *Teurtheville-Hague* 1835. L'anthroponyme initial était en norrois *Þórr*, le premier graphème transcrivant le phonème [θ], consonne post ou inter-dentale constrictive sourde. Ce phonème ayant disparu lors de la constitution du français, il fut réalisé par les locuteurs non-scandinaves comme un [t], consonne dentale occlusive correspondant à cette constrictive.[5] Le *o* initial, accentué en norrois mais entravé, évolua de la même façon que dans les mots d'origine latine et aboutit donc à [u] au XIIe s. Les graphies *o*, *ou* et *u* des attestations mentionnées précédemment notent vraisemblablement cette prononciation. Le [i] final de l'anthroponyme, devenu prétonique interne lors de la composition du toponyme, s'est ouvert d'un degré, peut-être par dissimilation avec la voyelle subséquente. Nous pouvons donc supposer que les attestations *Torquetelvilla* correspondent à une prononciation [turkətelvil]. De manière anachronique – mais les phénomènes phonétiques qui ont affecté les mots empruntés à la langue scandinave aux Xe-XIe siècles ont souvent été anachroniques et de toute façon beaucoup de phénomènes phonétiques sont régis par des lois mécaniques qui peuvent intervenir quelle que soit l'époque – la consonne implosive [l] précédée de la voyelle [e] semble s'être ensuite vocalisée, produisant une diphtongue de coalescence [eu] qui se monophtongue au début du XIIe siècle en [ø].[6] Les graphies *Torquetevilla*, *Torqueteville*, *Tourqueteville*, *Tourquetheville* ou *Turqueteville* seraient des variantes pour tenter d'indiquer une prononciation [turkətøvil]. Au XIVe siècle, le [ə] central se labialise en [œ] moyen, puis il devient caduc. Dès lors, au XVIe siècle, les graphies *Torqueteville*, *Tourqueteville*, *Turqueteville* ou *Turquetheuuille* transcrivent une prononciation [turktøvil]. Le groupe consonantique [rkt] n'est pas aisé à articuler, en particulier l'enchaînement des deux consonnes occlusives sourdes, la dorsovélaire [k] et la dentale [t]. La première de ces deux consonnes va donc être totalement assimilée par la seconde, au début du XVIIe siècle semble-t-il, sous l'influence conjointe de la consonne initiale peut-être. Sensiblement à la même époque, la réforme érasmienne provoque une ouverture de la voyelle initiale [u] en [ɔ], bien que l'étymologie du toponyme ne soit pas latine. Ce qui est plus étonnant, c'est que l'évolution ne s'est pas arrêtée à [ɔ]. Elle semble s'être poursuivie par une antériorisation de la voyelle, peut-être sous l'influence des consonnes environnantes ou de la voyelle subséquente, et par son passage à [œ]. Les deux premières syllabes du mot comportaient maintenant deux voyelles antérieures labialisées : [tœrtøvil]. Cette proximité des voyelles, différenciées par un seul degré d'aperture, semble avoir provoqué, au milieu du XVIIe siècle si l'on se fie à la forme rencontrée sur une carte de Blaeu, une dissimilation de la deuxième voyelle, plus fermée et donc plus fragile. Comme la voyelle antécédente auparavant, elle s'est antériorisée sans changer d'aperture, devenant [e] : [tœrtevil]. Ce sont ces deux dernières prononciations, [tœrtøvil] et [tœrtevil], modifiées seulement par une articulation de la consonne [r] apico-alvéolaire devenue dorso-vélaire [ʀ] à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, qui sont aujourd'hui majoritaires (Laîné 2006: 118-121).

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[5] Le *h* de la graphie moderne, apparu semble-t-il au début du XVe siècle mais généralisé au XIXe siècle, est placé de manière aberrante. S'il devait avoir une justification étymologique, il devrait succéder au *t* initial, puisque la graphie *th* est celle qui tentait de rendre compte dans certains manuscrits médiévaux du phonème [θ] et que l'on retrouve encore aujourd'hui en anglais.

[6] Nous ne revenons pas ici sur le processus qui explique cette évolution, nous renvoyons le lecteur aux ouvrages de phonétique historique.

Les deux occurrences '*li prestres de Toulavile*' et '*au malade de Toulavile*' dans l'enquête contre Guillaume de Bohon sont intéressantes car elles confirment un amuïssement dialectal de [r] devant [l], déjà mentionné dans le cadre de ce travail. Tourlaville (Manche, chef-lieu de canton) repose sur un anthroponyme scandinave *Thorlakr*, associé au terme latin *villa* 'domaine'. Parmi les attestations anciennes, fort nombreuses, nous relèverons *Torlavilla* 1056, *Torlachvilla* 1063-1066… Nous avions trouvé précédemment dans nos recherches trois autres occurrences attestant le même phénomène phonétique : *Toullaville* 1398-1402, *Tholauille* 1650, *Thoulauille* 1688 (Laîné 2006: 118-121).

L'enquête contre Guillaume de Bohon comporte enfin une série de mentions qui relèvent du même phénomène phonétique : une fermeture de la voyelle [ɑ] dans quelques toponymes formé avec le latin *vastum*,[7] au sens d''essart', ainsi que dans un adverbe de lieu : '*Tholevaut*', '*Sotevaut*' mais '*Martival*' ; '*il dit qu'il fu lau où Guillaume li otroia les II fous, c'et à savoir à Beeville en la maison au prestre, lau où il mengoit*'. Nous n'avions pas précédemment rencontré ce phénomène dans les recherches déjà effectuées relativement à ces toponymes. Le fait que la voyelle accentuée soit entravée dans *vastum* nous incite à penser que la graphie -au- correspond davantage à une fermeture de [ɑ] en [o] que du résultat d'une diphtongaison, qui n'aurait de toute façon pas produit un tel résultat.

'*Henri de Tholvaut*' réfère à Tollevast (Manche, canton d'Octeville). Ce toponyme a probablement pour étymologie un anthroponyme scandinave *Tolir*, suivi du mot latin *vastum* 'essart, défrichement' ; les attestations anciennes sont *Tolerwast* vers 1000, *Tolewast* XIIe siècle, *Tholevasto* 1221, *Tolevast* 1278-1279, *Tholevast* 1323, *Thollevast* 1395 (Beaurepaire 1986: 224-225).

'*R. de Sotevaut*' réfère à Sottevast (Manche, canton de Bricquebec). Ce toponyme est formé avec un anthroponyme scandinave *Soti* et le terme latin *vastum* 'essart, défrichement' ; ses attestations anciennes sont *Sotewast* 996-1008, *Sotevast* vers 1135, *Sotewast* XIIe siècle... (Beaurepaire 1986: 220).

Les occurrences '*son pont de Martival*' et '*le pont de Martival*' concernent Martinvast (Manche, canton d'Octeville). Ce toponyme repose sur un anthroponyme roman *Martinus*, suivi du mot latin *vastum* 'essart, défrichement' ; les attestations anciennes sont *Martinvast* vers 1150, *de Martin wasto* vers 1210, *de Martini Wasto* 1283 (Beaurepaire 1986: 150). Rien ne permet de comprendre pourquoi la voyelle [ĩ] ne se serait pas ouverte après sa nasalisation en [ẽ], ni pourquoi elle se serait dénasalisée… Ces formes sont à notre sens un hapax et relèvent vraisemblablement d'une cacographie.

'Enquête faite contre Jean de Carcassonne'

Domfront est un toponyme de formation ancienne, peut-être d'époque carolingienne, reposant sur le latin *dominum* 'seigneur', au sens de 'saint' (Lejeune 2002) et sur *Front*, le nom du saint. En toponymie, au moins, peut-être en raison de sa position forte à l'initiale des hagiotoponymes composés, la voyelle [ɔ] de *dom* s'est fréquemment ouverte en [ɑ], d'où *dam*. Les deux réalisations coexistent dans l'enquête contre Jean de Carcassonne : '*Danfront en Passais*' ; '*Danfront*' ; '*Donfront*'.

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[7] Nous avons étudié plus précisément ces toponymes dans un article : Laîné (2013: 204-207).

Il paraissait difficile d'identifier le toponyme figurant sous les formes '*Chastelnief*' et '*Chastelnief sur Coumont*', car il n'existe plus sous cette forme aujourd'hui. Dans ces mentions, il s'agit d'une composition romane reposant sur deux termes latins : *castellum* 'château' et *novum* 'neuf, nouveau'. Il nous semble que ces dénominations correspondent à l'actuel Châtillon-sur-Colmont (Mayenne, canton de Gorron) : *châtillon* est en effet une forme diminutive de *château*, et les deux toponymes sont déterminés par le complément locatif '*sur Coumont*' ou '*-sur-Colmont*' (voir *infra*). De plus, à trois kilomètres de Châtillon-sur-Colmont environ subsiste sur la commune de Saint-Mars-sur-Colmont un microtoponyme *Le Vieux Château*, qui accrédite l'hypothèse d'un château neuf construit à proximité avant la fin du XIIIe siècle.

'*Comont*' est une forme concurrente de '*Coumont*', figurant dans l'enquête également. Il s'agit d'une rivière. La première forme possède un timbre ouvert [o] de la voyelle initiale, mais correspond certainement à une graphie archaïque ; la deuxième forme a une voyelle initiale de timbre plus fermé, [u], qui est le résultat d'une évolution réalisée au cours du XIIIe siècle. La forme moderne, *Colmont*, est savante : elle restitue, graphiquement et phonétiquement, le [l], sans doute étymologique, qui s'est pourtant vocalisé en [u] entre voyelle et consonne entre le VIIe siècle et le XIIe siècle.

Un anthroponyme comportant un toponyme figure à plusieurs reprises dans le texte de l'enquête : '*Guillaume de la Fontaine ossenne*' ; '*Guillaume de la Fontaine-Ossenne*'. Il correspond à *La Fontaine-Osanne*, sur la commune de Champsecret (Orne, canton de Domfront), dont les dîmes revenaient à l'abbaye de Lonlay. La forme *Ossenne* comporte deux phénomènes phonétiques : tout d'abord un assourdissement de la consonne constrictive alvéolaire sifflante [z] en position intervocalique (ou une absence de sonorisation antérieurement, au IVe siècle), phénomène très présent dans le document et qui pourrait être plus particulièrement picard, même s'il est aussi faiblement présent dans les enquêtes de Pont-Audemer et du Cotentin (il est donc possible que le texte de l'enquête contre Jean de Carcassonne ait été rédigé par un scribe originaire du nord de la France, au service du comte d'Artois) ; ensuite une fermeture (ou peut-être plutôt une absence d'ouverture) de la voyelle [ɛ] nasalisée. *Osanne* est un nom de baptême assez fréquent au Moyen Âge, issu de l'hébreu *hosanna* ; il désignait la fête des Rameaux, d'après l'acclamation liturgique.

La mention '*le prestre de Saint Gelien le Lerrons*' est assez problématique. Nous suggérons de l'identifier comme étant Saint-Julien-du-Terroux (Mayenne, canton de Lassay-les-Châteaux), paroisse attestée sous la forme *S. Julianus de Terreto* en 1197. Le déterminatif *Terrous* pourrait avoir été mal lu, *t/l* et *u/n* se prêtant facilement à des confusions, ou assimilé au nom commun *lerre/larron* 'voleur'.

La mention '*une piece de terre qui siest en la paroysse de St Marc des grenne ou fey Baudot*' se rapporte au feu ou au fief Baudot à Saint-Mars-d'Égrenne. L'Égrenne est la rivière qui passe dans la paroisse, mais le scribe a mal interprété le nom et fait une déglutination. Les consonnes finales étant amuïes à cette époque, il a de même été facile d'assimiler saint Mars à saint Marc.

D'une façon générale, les formes toponymiques relevées dans les trois enquêtes ne diffèrent pas fondamentalement de celles qui ont été recueillies dans d'autres types de documents : chartes, pouillés, vies de saints… Les graphies sont assez souvent conservatrices, elles comportent volontiers des lettres muettes et des états anciens de diphtongues ou de triphtongues, elles hésitent aussi sur des phénomènes contemporains de la rédaction, comme la fermeture de [o] en [u], l'effacement des hiatus et celui des consonnes finales. La syntaxe des textes permet aussi de remarquer que des toponymes composés ne sont pas encore lexicalisés, les éléments du nom de lieu conservant leur sémantisme initial et quasiment leur autonomie ; c'est particulièrement vrai dans l'enquête contre le vicomte de Pont-Audemer. Les différences ne sont pas tellement marquées d'une région de la Normandie à l'autre : seul un assourdissement de consonne intervocalique pourrait laisser supposer que le scribe de l'enquête de Domfront n'était peut-être pas indigène, mais originaire du domaine picard. Enfin, quant à savoir si les enquêtes peuvent comporter des réalisations orales que nous ne trouverions pas ailleurs, la réponse est positive, mais modérée : quelques exemples comme '*Bosc Geet*', '*Breetot*', '*Kilebo*', '*Beeville*', '*Tholevaut*', '*Sotevaut*' ou '*Saint Gelien le Lerrons*' peuvent correspondre, en raison de leur originalité ou de leur rareté, à des prononciations locales ou populaires. Il faudra d'autres études engagées sur des documents judiciaires similaires pour confirmer ou infirmer ces hypothèses.

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Risking One's Life for a Place Name: The Case of Surtsey Island

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Abstract

On the 14th of November 1963 a volcanic eruption broke out on the sea-floor south-west of the Vestmanna-Islands, south of Iceland. In the following days a new island was formed, black as charcoal, without any signs of life: *tabula rasa*. In the following days it was clear that a new name was needed for the island and over the next weeks many name suggestions appeared in the local newspapers. In the end the Icelandic place name committee was called together and soon announced a name which caused a stir among some locals, leading to a life-dangerous boat trip to the island in order to protest and set up a sign-post with a different name.

The story presented on the poster is an unusually dramatic and well recorded example of a naming process in Iceland, raising questions about the ideas that lie behind names, why people find some names appropriate and others absurd not to mention the dynamics, namely power struggles underlying the case.

This case-study forms a part of a broader research theme which investigates naming processes in Iceland.

Naming Metro Stations in Helsinki and Espoo, Finland

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Abstract

The first metro line in Helsinki was opened in 1982. Today the metro has 17 stations, and the metro system is being expanded to the west in the city of Espoo with eight new stations that will open in 2016.

The metro stations are traditionally named after surrounding districts or neighbourhoods or other well-known toponyms. The name planners have considered this type of station names to be informative, neutral and well-fitting in the environment. The stations are named in the official languages, Finnish and Swedish.

The established principles of giving names to metro stations have lately been challenged by other kinds of naming motivations. In Espoo, the future metro station in the district of *Otaniemi* been renamed trilingually *Aalto-yliopisto – Aalto-universitetet – Aalto University* in 2013 after the university that has its main campus in Otaniemi. Similarly, University of Helsinki wants to change the traditional name of *Kaisaniemi* metro station into *Helsingin yliopisto.* In addition, a private corporation has made a proposal to name the nearby metro station after the company name.

As in all name planning, the two viewpoints of guiding and branding are to be considered. The decision-makers choose which one they want to emphasize.

* * *

Naming Metro Stations in Helsinki and Espoo, Finland

Helsinki and Espoo are the two largest cities in Finland. Both municipalities have two official languages − Finnish and Swedish. In the whole metropolitan area there are 1.2 million residents and 660,000 jobs. Each year approximately 350 million trips are made on the region's public transport network. Public transport is provided by buses, trams, underground metro and trains. Last year there were 62 million trips made on the metro line.

The first metro line in Helsinki was opened in 1982. Today the metro line has 17 stations in the City of Helsinki, and the network is being expanded westwards into the City of Espoo with eight new stations (two in Helsinki, six in Espoo) that will open in 2016. The stations are named in Finnish and Swedish (in this paper, the Finnish-language names are used).

An important aim of naming places is to separate places from each other and to help people identify where they are. Consequently naming places that will have many users and that are located in central areas should be done with particular care. Metro stations are a perfect example of such places as they serve daily a large amount of people from a broad area.

The best station names are given after traditional, well-established and well-known area names. In Helsinki and Espoo, stations are quite spaced out so area names are usually

appropriate. Therefore, metro stations are traditionally named after district names or other well-known toponyms. The place name administrators consider these type of station names to be informative, neutral and well-fitting within the environment.

However, construction companies and other businesses consider the task of place naming in a different way: the name should be more about selling a product than locating a place. Developers often try to influence names at the early stages of the planning process so that they could better sell and brand an area.

In the naming of metro stations, however, new factors have become apparent − from surprising sources. Two universities have wanted to have their names used as a metro station name, at the expense of two well established area names of which one has been used as a metro station name for decades. Education establishments have, in the same way as commercial enterprises, wanted to achieve visibility and promote their activities, and the city governing bodies have wanted to promote the university town image. Most of all, metro users expect that official names help them find their destination as easily as possible. That is the primary task of a name.

Metro Stations in Helsinki

The metro stations in Helsinki are typically tightly bonded with the district centre, and in most cases, the station has been named after the area (e.g. district *name Herttoniemi* > metro station name *Herttoniemi*). These names support each other. Well-known macrotoponyms make orientation easier for both city dwellers and occasional visitors.

Fig. 1. Metro stations in Helsinki

Kaisaniemi or Helsingin yliopisto Station

A much discussed name change has recently occurred in Helsinki. This happened when the metro station of Kaisaniemi was renamed to *Helsingin yliopisto* ('University of Helsinki'). The initiative to change the name had originally come from the vice-chancellor's office of the University of Helsinki in March 2012. The City Name Committee objected to this proposal, and so did the joint-stock property company who administers the property (Kiinteistö Oy Kaisaniemen Metrohalli):

> Changing the name of the metro station cannot bring any benefits. On the contrary; changing the name of the station will mean a long-term learning process and can cause many kinds of cost effects on the area; especially on the companies and enterprises in Kaisaniemi, as well as on potential customers and passengers. (Helsingin kaupunginhallitus 2014)

The name change was suddenly on the agenda of the Helsinki City Board in April 2014 and a unanimous decision was made. The public's opinions diverged dramatically when the name change was made official.

The newly opened main library of the university is located in Kaisa-talo building alongside the former Kaisaniemi metro station. The name of the Kaisaniemi metro station came from the neighbourhood name *Kaisaniemi*, which originally was a name of a public park (Helsingin kadunnimet 1992: 105). The park was named after a well-known restaurant keeper Catharina (Kajsa) Wahllund (1771-1843) in the 1830s (Haggrén 2007). She was very popular with the students of University of Helsinki and is part of university history.

University of Helsinki has had an impact on street naming before. One of the oldest official street names in Helsinki, *Hallituskatu*, was partly changed in 1995 to *Yliopistonkatu* (University Street) (Helsingin kadunnimet 3 1999: 174). There was already a street name referring to the university before, *Aleksanterinkatu*, which was named after the former name of the University of Helsinki (Imperial Alexander University) in 1833 (Helsingin kadunnimet 1992: 90). Some of the reasons why naming a metro station had become a fairly topical issue must have been the need to make the most of the university brand, the coverage in the cityscape and rivalry with Aalto University, who had made its metro station public a little earlier.

University of Helsinki has four campuses. The metro station in question does not only serve the university and its staff, students and visitors. It is located in a central and busy part of the business centre. The new name signs will be on display in January 2015. It is interesting to see the development in the future. How long will it take for the new station name to become firmly established? How long will it take to forget the old name? Or will the name of Kaisaniemi metro station survive after all?

Metro Stations in Espoo

In Espoo, there were six metro stations under construction in 2014. In this phase, the end station of the metro line in Espoo will be Matinkylä, but in the future, the line will continue to Kivenlahti in South West Espoo with five more stations.

The final resolution of the locations of the stations was made in 2008. Between 2005 and 2008, the name planners in Espoo town planning department made a name plan for the 11 projected metro stations. These names were brought into use in communication by the city of Espoo and the metro constructing company owned by the cities of Espoo and Helsinki.

As most stations will be located right under the centre of an area, they were easy to name after the area. This applies to the stations in *Matinkylä*, *Niittykumpu*, *Tapiola*, *Otaniemi* and *Keilaniemi*, and to the five stations to be constructed west of Matinkylä as well.

Fig. 2. Metro stations in Espoo

Jousenpuisto or Urheilupuisto Station

One station will be located almost on the boundary of Niittykumpu and Tapiola districts. It proved to be a more challenging case to name. The names of the surrounding residential areas, such as *Tontunmäki*, would have given a wrong idea of the location, and the name of the adjacent sports park, *Tapiolan urheilupuisto*, was unsuitable for station as it is rather long and would cause confusion with the station name *Tapiola*. The unofficial elliptic name *Urheilupuisto* was considered unsuitable as a station name by the name planners because it

consists of simply the generic *urheilupuisto* meaning 'sports park'. A station name should refer to one specific place in Espoo and the whole Helsinki region, but there are many other sports parks in Espoo only.

The name planners proposed the name *Jousenpuisto* to the metro station, after a park and a residential block next to the station entrance. Previously, the name was not known widely, but the name planners supposed that as a station name, it would soon become well-known anyway.

However, in 2010, the board of the metro construction company dealt with the name *Jousenpuisto* and made a decision that it would be changed to *Urheilupuisto*. According to the company board, 'the name describes the services of the area' (Länsimetro 2010). That is perfectly correct. However, the company did not consider as a disadvantage that the same name is used to refer to other places in Espoo (e.g. the sports park in Leppävaara, Espoo). In late 2010, Espoo city planning board decided as well that the station name shall be *Urheilupuisto*.

Otaniemi or Aalto-yliopisto Station

A large part of the district of Otaniemi is a campus area. The university that operates there is called *Aalto university*, in Finnish *Aalto-yliopisto*. In 2013, the university made a proposition that the *Otaniemi* metro station should be named after the university, and the Espoo City Board decided to name the station *Aalto-yliopisto*. The reasoning was that this station name would 'support the importance of the main campus of Aalto university' and 'the development of the university town image of Espoo' (Espoon kaupunginhallitus 2013). Nothing was said about how this station name would serve the passengers in their daily movement.

It can be assumed that in any case, many people will spontaneously call the station *Otaniemi*. Such a situation where the official name and the popular name are not compatible makes the government more distant from the residents.

Root Names in Other Metro Systems

The station names in the metro systems of Stockholm, Paris and Glasgow were studied. The root names of the station names in these cities are often area names (e.g. *Hillhead*, Glasgow) and, especially in central areas where the distance between stations is relatively short, other names, often names of squares (*Odenplan*, Stockholm) and streets. In Paris, many station names are elliptic (street name *avenue George-V* > station name *George V*). The metro station names in all these cities are also rather stable: it seems that they have been changed only for informative reasons, e.g. when the original root name has been changed.

Two metro station names in Stockholm have root names referring to universities (university name *Stockholms universitet ~ Universitetet* > station name *Universitetet*, university name *Kungliga Tekniska högskolan ~ Tekniska högskolan* > station name *Tekniska högskolan*). The station name *Tekniska högskolan* was presented as the reason of the name *Aalto-yliopisto* in Espoo (Espoon kaupunginhallitus 2013). However, in these two cases in Stockholm, there were no area names available that would have been exactly suitable for the metro stations.

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The Meends of the Forest of Dean: Long-term Continuity as Liminal Space

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Abstract

The Forest of Dean lies in the confluence of the Rivers Severn and Wye on the borders of England and Wales. As a place on the fringes of many things it has a strong sense of identity with a streak of independence embedded in the local character.

The incidence of the field name *meend* is locally significant, but has thus far received little systematic study. A national rarity in this form, there is a concentration around the forest extending along the Welsh borders. Since the publication of the *Place Names of Gloucestershire* by the EPNS in the 1960s it has been attributed to a Brittonic origin deriving from Old Welsh *minid* meaning 'mountain' or 'moorland'.

Spatial analysis of the distribution of the field name in the historic record suggests a strong correspondence with poor soil types, manorial and forest boundaries. This paper questions the Brittonic derivation and proposes an Old English origin based on *ge-mǽne* meaning 'common' or 'mutual'. It is posited that meends represented liminal spaces between communities in the pre-conquest landscape of the Dean. Whilst many of these have been lost, some meends still retain that liminality albeit in a sense that reflects a dynamic culture.

Place Names as a Key to the Analysis of Human-Induced Changes in Natural Vegetation. A Case Study: The District of Els Ports in Valencia (Spain)

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Abstract

Place names provide us with significant information about the environmental changes attributable to traditional rural activities and, especially, their impact on the natural vegetation. In this paper our purpose is to examine these changes by presenting the results of an analysis of roughly 2,000 place names recorded in a cadastral survey conducted in the district (or *comarca*) of Els Ports, in the northwest corner of the Valencian Community (Spain). This district represents a transition between the inland areas of the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean coastal domains. As such it presents a mixed plant cover that is of great interest from a biological perspective. Additionally, Els Ports is a mountainous region with large areas dedicated to pasture for cattle, which historically have been turned over to numerous transhumant flocks of sheep in the summer. Against this backdrop, an onomastic analysis reveals a significant number of *phytotoponyms* here, while a study of the occurrence of the plant communities to which they allude reveals that some are currently marginal in the area's biogeography. Likewise, over the centuries, the landscape of the *comarca* has been shaped by seasonal grazing and sheep husbandry, and these practices are also evident in the place names.

* * *

Introduction. Els Ports (Morella, Valencia) as a Case Study: the Geographical and Historical Background

The district constituting our case study here is Els Ports, located in the extreme northwest corner of the Valencian Community, in the province of Castelló, and sharing a border with another of Spain's autonomous communities, namely Aragon. In terms of the State's territorial organisation, Els Ports is considered a *comarca*, as are various neighbouring areas, including the Matarranya to the north, which is a natural geographical extension of Els Ports, Baix Maestrat (Bajo Maestrazgo) to the east, and Alt Maestrat (Alto Maestrazgo) to the south.

Within the Valencian Community, Els Ports constitutes a fairly large *comarca* (907 km^2), but one that is very sparsely populated (4,997 inhabitants in 2013), giving it one of the lowest population densities in the whole of the autonomous community (5.5 inhabs/km^2).

Yet, its highly mountainous character (with peaks reaching altitudes of between 1,200 and 1,300 m), the traditional importance played in the *comarca* by agro-livestock practices and forestry activities, and its largely homogenous pattern of population, despite the weak

demographics (with a remarkable balance between the concentration and dispersion of its settlements), give the district a highly marked geographical personality, which finds in its onomastic heritage (and above all in its place names) one of its most outstanding historical qualities.

Most of the *comarca* lies within the mountainous terrain known as Els Ports de Morella, which constitutes the northern foothills of the Valencian *Sistema Ibérico*. This fact largely explains the internal complexity of the district and its predominantly precipitous, rugged character. A good example of this complexity is the widespread presence of singularly dynamic relief features, such as the *moles* (local mountain forms) and a large diversity of anticlines, which alternate with small depressions or valleys opened up by erosion (and which, in places, are deeply embedded).

With the sole exception of a few small areas in the east and south, the *comarca* forms part of the Ebro basin, thanks to its main waterway, the Bergantes (or the Morella river). Its climate is Mediterranean, tempered by its inland location and the altitudinal factor. The average rainfall is between 500 and 600 mm per year (with spring and autumn maxima), and the average annual temperature is between 8 and 10 ºC (often falling below zero between December and February, and with an average between 21 and 23 ºC in the summer months).

The zonal and structural type of vegetation throughout most of Els Ports is subsclerophyllous, represented by the 'carrascal' (*Quercus ilex*) or the holm oak forest and, above altitudes of 900-1,000 m (or even lower on shady hillslopes), by the sub-Mediterranean semi-deciduous oak (*Quercus faginea*) and the pine *Pinus nigra.* Intermediate stages in dynamic evolution may be dominated by the more xerophilous pine, *Pinus halepensis*, which also tolerates warmer locations and incipient soils. The historical degradation of the 'carrascal' has favoured the spread of a calcicole scrub, mostly 'tomillares' with gorse (*Genista scorpius*), juniper communities and subxerophilous grasslands. In higher altitudes (up to 1,200 m), the structural type corresponds to mountain needle-leaved forests of *Pinus sylvestris*. Along the valleys and riverbanks, species such as the willow (*Salix*), poplar (*Populus*), ash (*Fraxinus*), and elm (*Ulmus*) are to be found, while in the seasonal, dry riverbeds of the ravines and gullies rushes (*Juncus*), canes (*Arundo*) and other forbs grow.

The historically low population densities of Els Ports have not prevented the *comarca* from enjoying, at various times in its past, levels of economic prosperity well above those encountered today and, in all circumstances, a much more homogeneous wealth. The following facts express this state of affairs quite clearly: compared to the 20,010 inhabitants on the 1860 census, the figure for 2013 stands at just 4,997 (or barely 25%). Similarly, in 1860, the number of inhabitants (6,563) living in the capital, Morella, represented barely a third of the total population; today the figure has been reduced to 2,742 inhabitants, but the weight of the capital relative to the rest of the *comarca* is now 54.4%. The importance of Morella within the municipal structure of Els Ports needs to be supplemented with other data. Note, for example, that only two other municipalities have more than 500 inhabitants (El Forcall with 558 and Cinctorres with 520), and the others (a total of 13) present progressively lower figures, the most extreme being Palanques, Villores, Herbés and Vallibona, with fewer than 100 inhabitants.

Fig. 1. *Left:* Morella is located around a conspicuous hill dominated by a castle and the capital town of the *comarca*, with almost 3,000 inhabitants. The rest of villages are much less populated. *Right:* The human landscape is characterized by scattered farmhouses, called – like in Catalonia and other parts of Valencia – *masos*, being a *mas* the production unit and center of soil use, especially in the past when livestock grazing was a significant activity (Photo: C. López-Leiva, June 2014)

Human-Induced Land Changes in Els Ports and Their Reflection in Microtoponyms

In common with most areas of Mediterranean vegetation, the landscape of Els Ports bears all the hallmarks of centuries-long human influence: the complex distribution of the pieces that make up the intricate mosaic of its vegetation; the simplification of some of its woodland areas due to constant felling to satisfy the demand for wood (coppice forests); and the stabilization of its intermediate vegetation cover (*matorral* or shrubland) and woody pasture) as a direct consequence of livestock grazing and, indirectly, as a result of having to adapt to the recurrent fires used as a tool for rejuvenating these meadowlands. In many enclaves, in the absence of cover from vegetation at the highest levels of the canopy (which should provide protection of the substrate), we see slopes of incipient or degraded soils. There has been a general colonization of groundcovers that mask the potential of more mature species or those with greater requirements as regards water and nutrients – there being no indicators of the presence, nor of the abundance of the latter other than occasional references in the toponymy: *Bosc* (wood), *Roureda* (oakwood), etc.

Fig. 2. *Quercus ilex* forests (*left*), along with *Q. faginea* stands (*right*) represent the main broadleaved arboreous woodstands (*boscs*), often in combination with pine forests. Traditional soil use promoting grasslands for sheep grazing and fuel extraction within coppice forests involved the fragmentation of landscape into a mosaic of different patches. Nowadays, after the decrease of human influence on vegetation, trees are recovering their potential areas of distribution. (Photos: C. López-Leiva, June 2014)

Reductions in intensity or the suppression of farming activities following rural depopulation have activated the vegetation dynamics and the transformation of the *comarca's* land cover. Recent decades have seen the densification of the wooded shrublands, including the diversification of the dominant species, as well as colonization by trees and shrubs of the centuries-old shrublands and the frequent presence of marginal dry crops on terraced hills and steep slopes. The increase in the area of shrubland with larger and denser vegetation types has permitted the gradual reconstruction of a land cover more similar to that of the *comarca's* natural optimal and stable vegetation.

The data for this analysis have been drawn from two sources: the place names on the cadastral map, which records more than 7,000 toponyms (Dirección General del Catastro 2014) and the toponymy included in the Spatial Data Infrastructure of Valencia (Generalitat Valenciana 2014). The former has the advantage of providing precision in the contour of the polygons associated with a name, but the drawback is that the transcription of the names has not yet been reviewed systematically, with the resulting frequent lexical and orthographic inaccuracies. In contrast, the Terrasit database allows us to access names with greater reliability, albeit they refer only to points (and as such the source provides less precision with regard to areas and boundaries). As in all studies, a number of place names (around 150) have an etymology of uncertain origin, or with a probable, yet indirect, relationship with the *comarca's* vegetation.

The combination of the two data sets and their subsequent cleansing allows us to cross-reference our data with those from the forestry thematic maps, thereby facilitating the analysis of the correspondences of the toponymic locations with current vegetation cover, as we have done elsewhere (López-Leiva 2013). In this study, moreover, we also undertake field surveys to verify *in situ* the *phytotoponyms* associated with specific places.

The high number of place names in the *comarca* reflects the ancient settlement pattern, which was largely homogeneous in its distribution and centred on the working farms

(*masos*) and the small villages – with the exception of Morella and, to a lesser degree, Forcall – the main towns in their respective municipalities.

We have assigned the place names referring to vegetation or forests to seven semantic categories. These are listed below and in each case include the most significant toponyms.

The selection and classification of geographical names (almost 2,400 from the Terrasit) allows us to highlight the toponymic principles of *representativeness* and of *exceptionality* (Tort 2006), used in this instance as indicators of the *comarca's* geobotany: while there are a number of 'trivial' names alluding to common plants or plant communities whose presence is obvious in the landscape, others refer to quite unique individuals or populations, given their rarity or the small area that they currently occupy. Whatever the case, the location of the place names allows us to detect changes in the vegetation cover in the *comarca's* environment by conducting a comparison with current vegetation patterns.

Group 1 (Tree Species and/or Communities)

In the case of the more abundant, collective toponyms referring to tree species, our interest lies in their value as indicators of mature land cover, offering clues to the potential vegetation. In Els Ports, the naturally dominant structures are the more mesophilic, mountain conifers with needle-like leaves (*Pinus sylvestris*) (occupying more inland areas and on slopes over 1,200 m high) and the sub-Mediterranean forests with a predominance of deciduous species or those with marcescent leaves (primarily, *Quercus faginea*), as well as some evergreens, such as *Q. ilex ballota*. These 'climax communities' are alluded to by the 118 references to *Bosc(os)* (woods), representative of the idealized conception of a densely wooded hills as opposed to open ground cover of low growing plants.

References to the semi-deciduous forests of *Q. faginea* (*roure*) occur in 84 sites, 57 of which are collective (*Roureda* or oakwood) and refer to units of vegetation cover. The forests of this species constitute the theoretically optimal (or 'climax') vegetation, often with mixed stands comprising other species (*Quercus ilex* and subxerophilic *Pinus*). References to the predominant *Quercus ilex* occur in 82 toponyms (39 of them collective or *synphytonyms*, *Carrascal(s)* and the diminutive *Carrascalet*; while the others refer to single trees, as in *Carrasca*). In the case of the pine, we identify 74 geographical names (57 appearing in abundance). Hypotheses about the potential vegetation are, however, often illusory, with monospecific forests being considered the leaders of evolutionary complexes. The toponymy appears to demonstrate the long-standing inclusion of pine tree stands (*Pinus nigra, P. halepensis,* in descending order of hygrophylicity, as natural elements of the *comarca's* landscape, both in pure and mixed stands with a sub-storey made up of the two main broadleaved trees (*Q. faginea* and *Q. ilex*), where the soils are least favourable for the installation of these broadleaved species. Among the toponyms derived from *pi* ('pine') we find 41 collective forms, *Pinar*, including the diminutive *Pinaret*, and an abundantial name of *Pinada*. Other toponyms refer to a single tree or a stand of trees, probably because they are unique in size (three *Pi Gros*) or because they constitute a point of reference in the landscape (*Barranc dels dos Pins*). A number of *Pimpollar* refer to regenerated, young pines (*Pinus pollus*). The most microtherm and mesophilous of the pines (*P. sylvestris*) is referred to by adjectival toponyms (*Pinar Rojal* in Morella), in large areas where this species is dominant

owing to the limitations that the cold and the effects of continentality impose on angiosperm trees.

Highly indicative are the toponyms referring to secondary trees, accompanying the main species. There is only one group reference to the other gymnosperm tree in Els Ports, *Taxus baccata* (*el Teixal* in Vallibona), while the remaining 20 toponyms refer to single trees (*Font del Teix, els Teixos*, *el Teixet*). This is in keeping with the biogeographic history of this species, which finds itself in regression in Mediterranean mountain areas, often being confined to less accessible rocks and ravines, and destroyed by farmers given that it can be toxic for sheep and horses. An evergreen, tree-like shrub, found in these woods and of broad ecological significance, which shows no restrictions on its ability to share a habitat with the most mesophilic of species, is the holly or *grévol* (*Ilex aquifolium*). It contributes the following toponyms: seven place names referring to *el Grévol* and ten to *Grevolar*. One of the latter refers to a ravine in which a small population of this species takes refuge, seeking water within the transition vegetation between that of the sub-Mediterranean and sclerophyllous woodlands.

A strictly deciduous tree of anemophilous dissemination is the maple or *oró* (*Acer opalus*, *A. monspessulanum*), an occasional addition to sub-sclerophyllous woods and a significant contributor to the autumn landscape thanks to its brightly coloured leaves in the marcescent woodlands. Besides names alluding to the presence of single trees (*font de l'Oró, foia de l'Oró*), an interesting toponymic reference is found in the *l'Oronal* (a farmhouse and shady hillslopes), an enclosed pasture of woody calcicole plants under the cover of the maple tree, close to Llivis (Morella), where it replaces the main species of *Quercus* as the dominant tree in the canopy (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. A highly singular, remnant thicket of *Acer* ('oró') in Llivis (Morella) whose Valencian collective denomination has given name to the area: *L'Oronal*. The place name has significant value as the indicator of the location of this grazing land (*devesa),* and is a good example of the *Representativeness Principle* in Toponymy, despite its limited area (Photo: C. López-Leiva, June 2014)

Other wild shrubs or trees, found alongside the dominant species, are the linden or *tell* (*Tilia platyphyllos*) (found in the place name *Barranc del Tell*); the hazel or *avellà* (*Corylus avellana*) (as in *barranc de l'Avellà, el clot dels Avellaners* and four other names) and the whitebeam or *moixera* (*Sorbus aria*) (appearing in the hill toponym of *la Moixera*). Phreatophytic trees, which take root next to streams or on river terraces, are alluded to in the following toponyms: *font del Poll* (linked to running water), *Xop de Nadal* and several *Alameda* or poplar groves (all associated with the *Populus nigra*); *Freixinet* and *Freixeres* (*Fraxinus angustifolia*, the ash or *freix(e)*); as well as others that refer to the field elm or *Ulmus minor*: *font de l'Om, Om de la Bassa, racó de l'Om, Oms de Salvassòria*. These individuals and populations are worth cataloguing to verify the persistence of this species, which has been decimated throughout Europe by Dutch elm disease. The hydrophilic and somewhat nitrophilous *Sambucus nigra* (very common near built-up areas and farmed land) has contributed to two place names referring to *Sauquer* (just one tree). Other riparian species, albeit growing much closer to the river's course, are the tree and shrub species of the willow or *Salix*, which has given rise to four place names originating from the Valencian word *salz* (*barranc del Salzeral*), two from *sarga* (*els Sarguerals, Toll de la Sarga)* and three from *gatell* (*barranc de la Gatellera*).

References to trees cultivated historically, or indeed more recently, are found in a number of place names: for example, the almond tree or *Prunus dulcis* (the trees of *l'Ametla* in Morella) and the service tree or *Sorbus domestica* (*Servera, Serveretes*), a species that today grows wild in rural areas, a testimony to its past as a highly prized fruit tree.

Group 2 (Shrubs, Bushes and Matorrales of Different Sizes)

In the domain of the more orophilous, microthermic pine groves in the inland moor lands of Els Ports, we find 46 toponyms related to *Buxus sempervirens* (boxwood) (*les Boixeres, el Boixadet, les Boixarelles* etc.) in zones where it is the dominant shrub in the intermediate evolutionary stages.

Alongside this plant, we find the gymnosperm shrub of *Juniperus communis*, alluded to in more than 12 separate toponyms *(barranc del Ginebre, Ginebres de la Basseta),* many terminating in *-osa* (i.e., abundantial suffix) (*La Ginebrosa*) or referring to plant communities (*Ginebral*). Outside the coldest zones and mixed with these shrubs, we also note the presence of plants of the same genus, *J. oxycedrus* and *J. phoenicea*, typically on rocky sunny slopes. They are found in more than 18 collective names (*Savinar*) and in some that point to the presence of smaller shrubs (*Savineta*). Notable is the traditional stabilization of different species of juniper as a result of livestock grazing. From the abundant moor lands covered with these plant communities (generally quite open in structure) the dominant species has expanded into abandoned fields and areas of shrubland as a result of the dispersal of seeds by birds. At the same time, the ancient juniper groves bounded by stonewalls are recruiting more ombrophilous trees: different oak species.

Likewise, in the areas most suited to a sub-Mediterranean vegetation we find *Quercus coccifera*, a species alluded to in six toponyms (*Coscoll Roig, el Coscollar*).

The borders and hedges of the area are typically covered with mosaics of deciduous shrubs with spiny branches (*Crataegus monogyna, Prunus spinosa, Rubus sp.*), reflected in a

number of *Espinals* (thorns) and in names with *Bardissa* (brambles), derivatives of *aranyó* (blackthorn), such as *mas dels Aranyons*, and of *esbarzer* (blackberry) (*forat de l'Esbarzer*).

Other toponyms reflect polyvalent vernacular names: for example *marfull* (laurestine) (*barranc of Marfullar*) and *aladern* (meditteranean buckthorn) (barranc de l'Aladern), associated in all probability with *Viburnum tinus* and *Rhamnus alatarnus*, respectively, or at least with typical species of Mediterranean woodlands.

Among the lower *matorral* plant species (*tomillares* or shrubs), we find some *Espigolar* (from lavender, *Lavandula lafitfolia*) and *Romeral* (from rosemary, *Rosmarinus officinalis*). What is striking is the absence of place names incorporating *argelaga* (thorny broom) (*Genista scorpius*), a dominant element in all calcicole communities throughout the *comarca*.

Group 3 (Herbaceous Cover)

Geographical names containing references to *prat* (*pratus* or meadow) and *el(s) Prat(s)*, perennial herbaceous communities, are especially common (more than 29). Most are grasses of the *Brachypodium* genus and manifest themselves in this *comarca* as dry meadows or seasonal pastures, with a considerable presence of low woody plants. Less common names include those derived from *fenàs* (*bancal del Fenassal, bancal dels Fenassos*), terraces of *Brachypodium* tussock grasses. Reference to hydrophilic herbaceous plants are reflected in the more than 20 *Juncar/ Juncaret, Juncosa/Juncoses* (reed beds) present in the *comarca* in reference to communities associated with water courses or wetlands.

Group 4 (Soils and Special Enclaves of Scant Vegetation Cover due to A- or Intrazonality)

Almost 400 names allude to specific qualities of the substrate, which restrict the vegetation cover. These include the following references to rocky outcrops and scree slopes: *Molar, Tossal, Roca, Cingle, Cantallops; Clapisses, Pedrera;* and *Argilar, Terrers, Toll,* which refer to the presence and possible mining of mineral materials, which then appear in the frequent occurrence of *Teuleries* or brick and tile yards (around five in the *comarca's* place names).

Group 5 (Elements Related to Livestock Farming)

Here we highlight the *devesa*, a property with a legally marked boundary, used primarily for grazing and the *bovalar*, which served as places for the shelter and repose of cattle. Both names appear widely in the municipalities of the *comarca*: with 33 and 18 references, respectively. This group also includes toponyms referring to associated elements (enclosed meadows; animal folds and pens; places where flocks were gathered; drovers' roads, etc.). Together with the above, they constitute an important indicator of farming practices, totalling almost 300 names. To these we can add the dry stonewalls separating properties (142 *Mitgera/es*), animal pens (27 *Assester(s)*) and the drovers' roads (120 *Assegador(s)*).

Group 6 (Plant Products and Their Exploitation)

In the study we have recorded geographical names, sometimes derived from patronymics, alluding to plant products or the various trades that use them or the facilities in which they are handled: *Carbó* (coal)*, Carboneres* (charcoal kilns)*, Tronquets* (tree trunks)*, Palanques* (poles) and also *Ferreries* (blacksmiths)*, Fuster* (carpenter)*, Forn(s)* (kilns) etc.

The use of fire also gives rise to a number of eloquent names, including *l'Ombria Cremada* (the burned shadow) of Morella.

Group 7 (Agricultural Crops)

This group includes 143 *Bancales* (terraces) (Fig. 4) and a number of *L(l)inar* (= 'orchard/garden'), many of which, as mentioned before, have recently (or indeed for some time) been abandoned and are being colonized by the spontaneous vegetation (primarily *Brachypodium* grasses, thyme, gorse and juniper), representing an 'evolutionary leap' in the landscape dynamics. A total of nearly 400 names refer to agricultural activity, some of special interest, as they allude to land devoted to arable farming (*Artigues, Freginals*), marginal land (*Eres, Eretes*) or orchards/gardens (*Hort(s)*). Evidence of the ancient use of plants for textiles includes *Canyamars* and the metonymic *Llinar*.

Fig. 4. (Left and right). Terraced agricultural land and pasture used to be very frequent features of the landscapes of Els Ports. After their abandonment, most are today covered by scrub, junipers and even incipient forests, presenting a dynamic trend of progression that has no direct human influence. The toponymy often reflects this ancient uses (e.g. *Bancal, Freginals* etc.) (Photos: C. López-Leiva, June 2014)

Main Conclusions

The main findings of our study can be summarised as follows:

1. The place names of Els Ports present a harmonic picture of recent landscapes and soil uses, especially of its centuries-old grazing activities.
2. The significant array of place names associated with livestock grazing reveals the traditional importance of sites and drovers' ways for sheep flocks.
3. The microtoponymy constitutes a set of data that is highly indicative of either the dominant plant covers (*representativeness*) or the singular, scarcer populations.
4. Changes in recent decades (primarily the abandonment of marginal agricultural lands – mostly terraced – and the decline in extensive, transhumant sheep husbandry account for the expansion of certain plant communities, such as gorse scrublands (*Genista scorpius*) and scattered juniper covers.

Acknowledgements

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La base de données toponymiques du CESIT Corsica

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Résumé

S'appuyant sur le constant d'une carence de données fiables pour mener des études de toponymie corse, et de la perte croissante du patrimoine onomastique traditionnel de l'île, le CESIT Corsica a créé une base de données mise en ligne en juillet 2011 (http://www.cesitcorsica.org). Cette base accueille en son sein le fruit d'enquêtes de terrains réalisées auprès de locuteurs natifs, et d'investigation en archives. Elle espère offrir le materiau d'analyses des toponymes recueillis. Si la structure interne de la base propose des fiches complexes, le grand public peut accéder aux toponymes géolocalisés mis en ligne. Le poster présente donc la base de données et ses principales fonctionnalités ainsi que des applications possibles pour la connaissance théorique et pratique de la toponymie insulaire.

Abstract

Building on a constant of a lack of reliable data to conduct Corsican toponomastic studies, and of the increasing loss of traditional onomastic heritage of the island, the CESIT Corsica created a database available online since July 2011 (htttp://www.cesitcorsica.org). This database collects the results of field surveys conducted with native speakers, and the investigation of archives. Through its database the association is expecting to offer the material for analyses of collected toponyms. If the internal structure of the database offers complex records, the general public can access geolocation-based toponyms online. The poster presents the database and its main functionalities and some applications to the theoretical and practical knowledge of the toponymy on the island.

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Contexte

Le *Comité d'Études Scientifiques et Informatiques de la Toponymie Corse* (CESIT Corsica), a été fondé en 2009. Ses membres fondateurs, chercheurs, universitaires de plusieurs champs disciplinaires et amateurs éclairés de toponymie corse, se sont rassemblés en association loi 1901, reconnue d'utilité publique, sur la base d'un double constat :

- la carence, pour les études de toponymie corse, d'un outil offrant des données fiables pour la connaissance pratique et scientifique de la toponymie corse (Medori 2009);
- la perte irrémédiable du patrimoine onomastique de l'île qui est en cours, perte liée au recul de la pratique linguistique du corse, phénomène accru par l'abandon des territoires ruraux de la Corse.

L'association, afin d'assurer la qualité de sa démarche, s'est dotée d'un Conseil Scientifique composé de chercheurs et d'universitaires français et italiens. L'association a œuvré, dès sa création, à la réalisation d'une base de données au service de la toponymie insulaire.

Répondant à un besoin identifié dans le cadre de la politique linguistique impulsée par la *Collectivité Territoriale de Corse* en faveur de la langue corse, le projet de création de base de données a reçu un soutien financier de cette collectivité. Conçue à partir de 2009, la base de données est ainsi en ligne depuis l'année 2011.

La base de données: structure, contenu

Les catégories de toponymes

Cinq catégories de toponymes ont été définies pour la base. Il y a tout d'abord les microtoponymes, qui sont les plus abondants, jalonnant particulièrement l'espace rural. Il y a ensuite les macrotoponymes pour l'ensemble des lieux habités : écarts, hameaux, villes. Ne sont bien entendu pas pris en considération dans cette catégorie les hameaux disparus ; il en est de même pour les zones d'urbanisation récente ne présentant pas une structure urbaine cohérente et stable. Les noms de communes ont des fiches spécifiques, ainsi que les choronymes. Nous avons décidé de déterminer une catégorie «petit choronyme» pour certaines unités géographiques relativement importante au niveau spatial sans atteindre le niveau de la région (choronymes); il peut s'agir par exemple d'une chaîne montagneuse ou d'une baie.

Pour des raisons pratiques, liées à l'outil informatique dont nous disposons, les macrotoponymes, les choronymes et les petits choronymes sont actuellement matérialisés par des polygones tandis que les microtoponymes sont matérialisés par des points. Les quartiers de village ou de villes sont aussi représentés par des points pour permettre une lecture de carte plus aisée.

Grâce à une convention avec l'*Office de l'Environnement de la Corse*, les toponymes sont placés sur trois couches vectorielles : le Top 25 (IGN), la photographie aérienne de 2002, le cadastre rénové.

Méthodologie d'enquête

Chaque commune de l'île fait l'objet d'une enquête menée selon une méthode semblable. La première étape consiste en un inventaire des toponymes sur les cahiers d'état de sections du cadastre napoléonien ainsi que des références cadastrales de chaque toponyme recensé. Les noms sont ensuite placés sur les cartes du cadastre.[1] Une enquête orale est ensuite réalisée, à l'aide du cadastre napoléonien et de la carte IGN, auprès de locuteurs natifs, dépositaires du patrimoine toponymique de leur région.

L'enquête enregistrée fait ensuite l'objet d'un dépouillement des toponymes recueillis, transcrits en forme phonique et en forme graphique, la forme graphique tâchant de représenter fidèlement la forme phonique, prenant en considération le plan phonologique et la

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[1] Plans accessibles en archives ou sur le site du Conseil Général de Haute-Corse à l'adresse: http://www.haute-corse.fr/site/index.php?page=le-cadastre-en-ligne.

variation phonétique des localités enquêtées. Des contrôles (forme et positionnement des toponymes) sont réalisés si nécessaire auprès des témoins.

Structure des fiches

Accès public

Pour l'heure, le grand public a accès à des fiches simplifiées. N'y sont en effet visibles que la forme graphique corse, le nom de lieu et de la commune INSEE ainsi que le nom du cadastre napoléonien. La forme graphique corse, pour des raisons d'ordre pédagogique, note l'accent tonique lorsque le nom est accentué sur la dernière syllabe ou sur l'antépénultième, par exemple pour les toponymes *Aculò* ou *Petra Fràbbica* [p'eɖʐa vr'abbiga]. Lorsqu'un toponyme n'est présent que sur le cadastre napoléonien, sans forme orale correspondante, c'est celui-ci qui est représenté sur la carte; il est alors précédé du symbole * (par exemple: **Costa di Piano*)

Les macrotoponymes, et les microtoponymes qui correspondent à des quartiers ainsi que les communes ont aussi des champs réservés aux noms des habitants: ethnonymes.

Il est prévu à terme de développer l'accès de données au public, notamment de la forme phonique, mais aussi de modules de recherches comme nous l'évoquerons *infra*.

Structure interne

Pour chaque toponyme saisi, en accès interne,[2] les informations consignées sur les fiches sont les suivantes:

    a. forme phonique et orthographique ;
    b. ethnonyme corse pour les lieux habités (régions, communes, hameaux, quartiers) ;
    c. informations INSEE (nom de commune et référence) ;
    d. métadonnées : noms de l'enquêteur, de l'informateur, et du collecteur pour les sources écrites (cadastres, archives), dates ;
    e. données cadastrales et du Plan terrier de la Corse (formes et références dont numéros de parcelles ou de rouleau) ;
    f. données d'archives (publiées et inédites) ;
    g. analyse linguistique (classification, étymologie, reconstruction du lemme et du signifié originels) ;
    h. référent ;
    i. documents sonores, textuels, iconographiques.

Les enquêteurs et collecteurs et agents de saisie remplissent les champs a, b, c, d, e, f, h, i de la liste. L'analyse linguistique est réservée à la direction scientifique de la base de données (S. Retali-Medori). En effet, l'analyse des toponymes requiert des compétences spécifiques et elle n'est pas sans poser problèmes. Ainsi, la classification fait toujours l'objet de réflexions. Elle est conçue hiérarchiquement, selon cinq niveaux possibles:

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[2] L'accès interne offre trois niveaux de confidentialité : public, agents de saisie et membres, administrateurs.

a. classification générale
b. thème général
c. thème
d. sous-thème
e. type de *signifié.

Par exemple, le toponyme *Castagnetu* peut être analysé ainsi :

a. classification générale: agrotoponyme
b. thème général: agriculture
c. thème: arboriculture
d. sous-thème: castanéiculture
e. *signifié: châtaigneraie.

Le fait que le signifié soit reconstruit est mentionné par l'astérisque. Pour l'heure, seul le premier élément des syntagmes fait l'objet d'une classification. Il faut souligner que lorsque le nom commun correspondant au nom propre a disparu mais que l'appellatif originel est identifiable, la notation du signifié se fait en doublant l'astérisque. On opposera ainsi le signifié 'forêt' des toponymes de type *Valdu* noté «*signifié: forêt» de celui des toponymes de type *Selva* noté «*signifié: *forêt». En effet, si *Valdu* est toujours en usage dans certains dialectes insulaires, il n'en est pas de même pour *Selva* qui n'est conservé que dans la toponymie (Dalbera-Stefanaggi *et* Retali-Medori 2013 et Retali-Medori *et* Luneschi, à paraître).

Notons que la classification donne aussi sa part aux idéotoponymes, qui s'avèrent, à l'épreuve de l'enquête, assez nombreux et aux métaphores qui sont parfois révélées par la confrontation avec la nature du référent. Nous pouvons citer l'exemple de *Manghja Cane* qui pourrait être traduit littéralement par «mange-chien» et que nous avons choisi de classifier parmi les idéotoponymes, le nom composé évoquant un trait de comportement. Si l'on pourrait penser à un surnom ayant donné naissance au toponyme, la zone très escarpée dans laquelle celui-ci se trouve, laisse envisager qu'il s'agit d'une métaphore, qui dans le cas présent se trouve au niveau trois de la classification.

Résultats et perspectives

Quelques chiffres

Depuis la mise en ligne de la base de données en 2011, plus 9000 toponymes ont été saisis, ce qui représente une moyenne de 3000 toponymes saisis par an, chiffre qui doit être majoré pour le recueil lui-même. La mise en ligne est progressive, chaque toponyme étant soumis à une correction des transcriptions par la responsable scientifique de la base de données. Le CESIT Corsica a couvert, depuis sa création, presque un tiers des communes corses.

Outil pratique

La base de données du CESIT Corsica répond, comme nous l'avons dit précédemment, à un besoin pour les collectivités corses et pour le grand public. Des applications pratiques sont en effet possibles dans le domaine de l'adressage, des révisions cartographiques, ou encore des documents d'urbanisme. Des communes montrent déjà un intérêt pour les relevés effectués sur leur territoire

Outil scientifique

D'un point de vue scientifique, la base de données du CESIT est déjà exploitée dans des travaux linguistiques faisant référence à la toponymie corse.[3] En effet, cette base de données est conçue pour devenir un outil scientifique.

Formes lexicales figées dans la toponymie

Bien entendu, l'interrogation simple de recherche de toponymes montre déjà des résultats intéressants pour la recherche d'éléments lexicaux disparus de l'usage mais figés dans la toponymie, comme nous avons pu le mettre en évidence par ailleurs,[4] par exemple pour le type lexical *salettu*, qui a été substitué, au Moyen-Âge, par *salicetu* 'saulaie', en Corse comme dans le reste de l'Italoromania, mais qui s'est figé dans la toponymie (Aebischer 1963, Medori 2012 et Retali-Medori à paraître).

L'interrogation depuis le signifié reconstruit (seulement en accès privé pour l'instant), permet également de mettre en évidence des formes lexicales dont seule la toponymie peut témoigner. Ainsi en est-il par exemple de 'châtaigneraie' pour lequel on obtient les réponses *Castagnetu*, *Castagniccia* ou *Pulluniccia* qui répondent à des noms communs circulant toujours dans la langue, mais aussi *Castineta*, semblant ainsi attester de la présence en Corse, en des temps reculés, de *castina* 'châtaigne' < CASTINA, emprunt tardif du latin au grec, attesté dans l'Oribase Latin et dont ne sont conservés que quelques continuateurs de la variante CASTINEA dans certains dialectes gallo-italiens.[5]

Toponymie et reconstruction étymologique

D'un point de vue diachronique, les recueils toponymiques ont aussi permis de conforter des reconstructions étymologiques et d'attester de strates d'évolution que les dialectes insulaires ne documentent plus. Ainsi en est-il de l'étymologie du corse *piopa* ou *piova* 'canal qui amène l'eau au moulin', qui a été rattaché à l'étymon *PLŬBĬCUS, variante méthatétique de PŬBLĬCUS REW 6805 dont Aebischer (1937) a inventorié des attestations italoromanes entre le IXe et le XIIIe siècle. La toponymie corse atteste de variantes de *Piùbbica* et de formes apocopées de type *Piobba*, permettant de reconstruire une strate intermédiaire, médiévale, conduisant de *PLŬBĬCUS, ou plus exactement de *(AQUA) PLŬBĬCA à *piopa*. Les référents

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[3] Cf. notamment Medori (2013).
[4] (Dalbera-Stefanaggi *et* Retali-Medori 2013) ou encore Medori (à paraître).
[5] Cf. DÉRom s.v. */kas'tania/ ~ */kas'tInia/, LEI s.v. CASTANEA, *CASTENEA, CASTINEA, et pour *Castineta* en Corse (Dalbera-Stefanaggi *et* Retali-Medori 2013).

des toponymes mettent en outre en évidence le signifié originel '(ouvrage) public' du type lexical *piùbbica* puisque les lieux désignés par *Piùbbica* sont des canaux et des voies (voir Medori, à paraître).

Toponymie et géolinguistique

La géolocalisation des données et le développement à venir de modules de symbolisation devraient permettre d'appréhender la base de données comme un outil géolinguistique. Il devrait être possible, ainsi, d'établir par les traces toponymiques,[6] l'ancienne extension d'une unité lexicale par comparaison avec des cartes d'atlas linguistiques.[7] Ainsi en est-il des variantes et dérivés de *Valdu*, que nous avons évoqué supra, et qui est aujourd'hui restreint, dans l'usage, à une aire dialectale située dans le centre-ouest de la Corse, alors que la toponymie et la documentation médiévale permettent d'en attester l'extension sur l'ensemble du territoire insulaire.[8]

Polysémie

La polysémie des appellatifs que les toponymes est une problématique intéressante, bien que parfois ardue à résoudre. Pour certaines formes, il est évident que la possibilité d'accéder au référent, soit par la case renseignée à cet effet, soit par le géoréférencement du toponyme, permet de reconstruite certains signifiés pour des noms communs devenus monosémiques. Le cas des toponymes de type *Lama* et son dérivé *Lamaghju* ainsi que *Prunu*, sont, à ce titre, significatifs. En effet, les noms communs correspondants *lamaghju*, ainsi que *prunu* désignent, dans les parlers corses, des plantes à épine, soit la 'ronce' pour les deux, le 'prunellier' et l''aubépine' pour *prunu* (BDLC, NALC 3). Or, les référents des toponymes *Prunu* et *Lama* ainsi que *Lamaghju* sont régulièrement des sources, des zones où l'on trouve des ruisseaux ou à proximité des fleuves. Cela peut laisser sous entendre, comme nous l'avions déjà mis en évidence pour le toponyme *Prunu* en lien avec l'appellatif *ochju* (Medori 2008), que *prunu* et *lama* ont été antérieurement polysémiques.

Conclusion

La base de données du CESIT Corsica, qui devrait s'enrichir et connaître de nouveaux développements dans les années à venir, est déjà un outil opérationnel pour la connaissance de la toponymie insulaire et démontre aussi son utilité dans le cadre de la recherche scientifique, particulièrement linguistique.

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[6] Dans cette perspective voir Pfister (1999).
[7] Pour la Corse, cartes du NALC et de la BDLC.
[8] Voir Dalbera-Stefanaggi *et* Retali-Medori (2013).

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A Megalopolis as a Factor of Urbanonyms Forming (on the Base of Restaurant Names in Moscow, Saint Petersburg and Kazan)

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Abstract

Moscow, Saint Petersburg and Kazan as the biggest Russian megalopolises give unique material for studying naming. The report deals with a certain group of urbanonyms – restaurant names.

Owners need to attract as many clients as possible, including natives and foreigners. One of the most important goals in naming is a search of balance between national (connected with exact culture) and international components of a name meaning.

The report says the urbanonyms in three megalopolises are different while their functions are similar.

The shift towards national components is typical for Kazan, where the majority of citizens speak Russian and Tatar and exist in two cultures. Restaurant names here exploit Tatar words and cultural realia.

In Saint Petersburg restaurant names are often targeted at an educated guest who is able to reveal connotations in the name. Here you can see names formed via language games, exploiting precedent names.

If a megalopolis is a capital (as Moscow), the aim of attracting both native and foreign clients becomes more difficult to achieve. Not only precedent phenomena are used in this case, but also graphic hybridization and other linguistic devices.

The names are given linguistic, ethic and aesthetic accounts in the report.

Toponymy Comparison on One Millionth Map of Rio de Janeiro State – Brazil

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Brazil

Abstract

This paper aims to present a comparison of the existent place names in the one millionth scale map of Brazil in three different moments. The first moment dates from 1922, when the first map was developed as a celebration of the centennial of the independence of Brazil. The second moment was established in 1962, relating to the first great updating of the sheets of the one Millionth Map. The third moment dates from 2008, when the release of the one Millionth Digital Map and the incorporation of their place names to the National Database of Geographical Names. The applied methodology was developed with the extraction of the geographical names of the paper sheets of 1922 map, separating by features, digitizing and incorporate into a database. The place names of the 1962 map were digitized and incorporated into the database, once all were available in a thesaurus. The geographical names of 2008 were just incorporated into the database, because they were already available in digital media. The basic aspects of the research were defined for the qualitative and quantitative comparison among the three time points, maintenance and toponymy changes, as well as comparative studies by sampling in different areas of Brazil.

Locating the Saint of Derryloran, Mid-Ulster

Kay Muhr

United Kingdom

Abstract

Two parishes in the north of Ireland, Maghera and Derryloran, were dedicated to a holy man called Lúrach or Luaran, a member of the local royal lineage circa 700 AD. These parishes later became the basis of the modern towns of Maghera and Cookstown. Because of later religious and political changes, little survives of the saint's cult, but documentary and field research has located several further sites associated with him in the same general area, centred on the plain east of Lough Neagh and the lower Bann in mid-Ulster.

Die Verdumpfung von mittelhochdeutsch *â* aufgrund der Sammlung 'Luzerner Namenbuch'

Peter Mulle
Schweiz

Zusammenfassung

In den meisten hochdeutschen Mundarten hat der Langvokal alt-/mittelhochdeutsch /ā/ einen Wandel zu offenem oder geschlossenem /ō/ erfahren. Der Schweizer Kanton Luzern ist heute bezüglich dieser /ā/-Verdumpfung ein Grenzraum. Das Entlebuch und das Rigigebiet gehören mit bewahrtem /ā/ zum nichtverdumpfenden Reliktgebiet, während das nördliche Kantonsgebiet die Neuerung vollzog und /ā/ zu offenem /ō/ verdumpft. Aufgrund der Sammlung der Forschungsstelle 'Luzerner Namenbuch' wird gezeigt, wie sich dieser dialektgeographische Unterschied in den Siedlungs- und Flurnamen darstellt. Die diachrone Untersuchung der luzernischen Schreibungen für mittelhochdeutsch *strâze* weist nach, dass die ersten mundartlich geprägten ‹o›-Graphien für altlanges /ā/ nach der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts auftreten. Auf den frühesten Namenbeleg überhaupt, der ‹o›-Schreibung aufweist, stossen wir jedoch schon im Jahr 1380. Da er von einem auswärtigen Schreiber stammt, ist zu diskutieren, ob bereits für das Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts mit Verdumpfung in der gesprochenen Luzerner Mundart gerechnet werden darf.

Abstract

In most High German dialects the Old and Middle High German vowel long /ā/ developed into /ō/. This change is called 'Verdumpfung' (dulling as a consequence of raising and rounding). Regarding the 'Verdumpfung', the Swiss canton Lucerne is divided into two parts. The Entlebuch district and the region of the Rigi-mountain are part of the relict area, where /ā/ is preserved. By contrast in the northern part of the canton Lucerne the innovation prevailed and historic /ā/ developed into open /ō/. Based on the corpus of the research centre 'Lucerne name book' it is shown that this isogloss is reflected in the dialect pronunciations of the current place and field names. Our diachronic study of the historic spelling of the Middle High German word *strâze* shows that the earliest ‹o›-graphs for /ā/, which are most certainly dialectally influenced, arise after the mid-16th century. However, we find the earliest name spelling that has ‹o› already in a document from the year 1380. This document has been written by a foreign clerk. It is therefore essential to critically discuss, whether the 'Verdumpfung' has changed the spoken Lucerne dialect already at the end of the 14th century.

* * *

Lautgeographische Situation

In weiten Teilen des hochdeutschen Mundartgebietes ist der alt-/mittelhochdeutsche Langvokal /ā/ durch Hebung und Rundung zu offenem oder geschlossenem /ō/ verdumpft. In den verdumpfenden Mundarten werden beispielsweise die Verben mittelhochdeutsch *râten* und *slâfen* als *rōte(n)* und *schlōfe(n)* ausgesprochen, mit unterschiedlichen Öffnungsgraden des /ō/. Ausnahmen im hochdeutschen Verdumpfungsgebiet bilden vor allem das

Ostschwäbische mit Diphthongierung */ao/* und der südlichste Teil des Alemannischen, der den mittelhochdeutschen Lautwert */ā/* bewahrt.[1]

Die schweizerdeutsche Mundartlandschaft weist hinsichtlich der */ā/*-Verdumpfung einen Nord-Süd-Gegensatz auf. Das Höchstalemannische und der anschliessende südliche Rand des Hochalemannischen bewahren den Vokal */ā/*. Nördlich davon gilt normalverdumpftes offenes */ō/,* weiter im Nordwesten extremverdumpftes geschlossenes */ō/*.[2]

Die Grenze der */ā/*-Verdumpfung verläuft durch den Kanton Luzern. Dieser wird administrativ in die fünf Ämter Entlebuch, Hochdorf, Luzern, Sursee und Willisau eingeteilt.[3] Im Folgenden betrachten wir die Situation im südlichen Kantonsgebiet, nämlich im Amt Entlebuch und im Amt Luzern. Das Entlebuch und das Rigigebiet, das administrativ einen Teil des Amtes Luzern bildet, gehören dialektgeographisch zum nichtverdumpfenden Reliktraum. Der Hauptteil des Amtes Luzern dagegen hat gemeinsam mit dem nördlichen Kantonsgebiet und mit der nördlichen Deutschschweiz die lautliche Neuerung vollzogen und verdumpft den alten Langvokal */ā/* zu [ǭ] *(Fischer 1960: 23, 55; Schmid 1915: 59-60).*
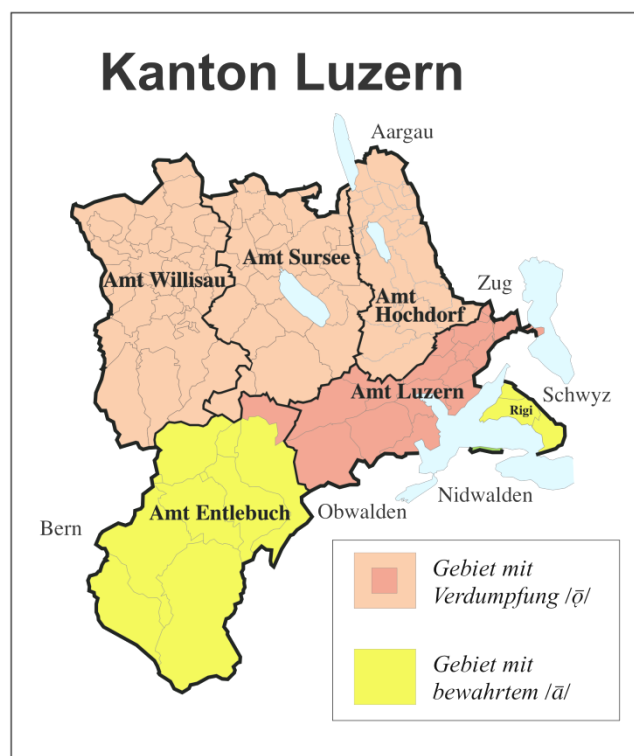
Fig. 1. Die Verdumpfung im Kanton Luzern

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[1] Eine umfassende Übersicht gibt Wiesinger (1970a: 288-355) und (1970b: Karte 10). Die älteste Gesamtuntersuchung stammt von Bohnenberger (1895). Zusammenfassungen bringen Reichmann und Wegera (1993: 54-55) sowie Paul (2007: 96).

[2] Vgl. SDS (I: Karten 61-70, 82-89, 92-93), Hotzenköcherle (1984: 30-33), Siebenhaar (2000: 69-70). Phonologische Untersuchung bei Haas (1978: 198-226). Der Kanton Zürich gehörte früher zum verdumpfenden Gebiet; der heutige */ā/*-Laut ist eine jüngere Überlagerung (Hotzenköcherle 1984: 30-32; Haas 1978: 204-212; Siebenhaar 2000:70). Zu den historischen Ausstrahlungsräumen für die Verdumpfung im Schweizerdeutschen siehe Hotzenköcherle (1984: 32-33) und Haas (1978: 337). Ein historisch-phonologisches Erklärungsmodell für den unterschiedlichen Wandel von altem */ā/* bringt Haas (1978: 330-337).

[3] Die Ämter (Bezirke) werden seit 2013 offiziell 'Wahlkreise' genannt. Die Stadtgemeinde Luzern bildet seither einen eigenen Wahlkreis.

Der lautgeographische Gegensatz zeigt sich, wie zu erwarten ist, in den Mundartlautungen der Siedlungs- und Flurnamen. Die Sammlung der Forschungsstelle 'Luzerner Namenbuch' umfasst für die Ämter Entlebuch und Luzern über 19'000 Namen. Rund 10'000 davon sind rezente Namen. Dazu kommen über 98'000 historische Belege.[4] Gegen 2 % aller Namen im Untersuchungsgebiet sind mit einem Etymon gebildet, das altlanges /ā/ enthält. Im Rigigebiet begegnen uns keine verdumpften Namenformen. So heisst beispielsweise der Berggrat oberhalb Rigi Kaltbad [*grāthȫxi*] 'Grathöhe' und nicht [*grǭthȫxi*] (LNB 2: 177). Auch im Entlebuch bewahren die rund 100 rezenten Namen mit altlangem /ā/ den ursprünglichen Lautwert. Einzig in der Gemeinde Werthenstein, die dialektgeographisch zum nördlichen Gebiet zählt,[5] waren von den Gewährspersonen verdumpfte Lautungen zu hören: zum Beispiel [*šǭfweydli*] 'kleine Schafweide' und nicht [*šāfweydli*] wie in der Gemeinde Romoos.[6]

Bei den Feldaufnahmen im Amt Luzern (ohne Rigigebiet) haben wir dagegen fast alle der etwa 35 rezenten Namen, die altes /ā/ enthalten, mit [*ǭ*]- und [*ō*]-Transkriptionen aufgezeichnet. Seltene Abweichungen sind meist durch auswärtige Herkunft der Gewährsperson zu erklären.[7]

Lauthistorischer Befund

Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts tauchen in den schriftlichen Quellen des oberrheinischen Mundartraums erste vereinzelte ‹o›-Schreibungen für altlanges /ā/ auf. Bereits etwas früher sind im Schwäbischen die Diphthong-Schreibungen ‹au› beziehungsweise Graphien mit Diakritikum ‹ă, å› oder ähnlich bezeugt.[8] Im schweizerdeutschen Sprachraum zeigt sich der Wandel von /ā/ zuerst in Basler Schriftzeugnissen. Ernst Erhard Müller stellt fest, 'daß nach der Mitte des 14. Jhs. *o-* und auch *au-*Schreibungen in den Bereich der Stadt gekommen sind' (1953: 23). Müller beobachtet solche Graphien zunächst nur bei einzelnen Schreibern, über deren Herkunft nichts bekannt ist. Um 1400 mehren sich die Anzeichen dafür, dass in Basel mundartlich /ō/ gilt. Zur Diachronie der luzernischen Verdumpfung liegt noch keine Studie vor. Auf Renward Brandstetters (1890, 1891 und 1892) Beobachtungen zu den Luzerner Verhältnissen gehen wir unten bei der Interpretation der Namenbelege ein.

Verschiedene Beiträge zur Datierungsfrage der Verdumpfung liefert die Ortsnamenforschung. Hervorzuheben sind beispielsweise das 'Dialekthistorische Register' zum zentralschwäbischen Mundartraum von Lutz Reichardt (2004: 16-18) oder die Arbeiten

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[4] Das Material ist noch nicht vollständig publiziert. Bisher erschienen sind LNB 1, LNB 2 und LNB 3.

[5] Siehe Schmid (1915: 3) und Fischer (1960: 22).

[6] LNB 1: 870. Die ganz vereinzelten verdumpften Lautungen in anderen Entlebucher Gemeinden (Flurnamen mit mhd. *kaplân* und mit dem Familiennamen *Wobmann,* aus mhd. *wâtman* 'Tuchhändler') sind überregionalem Einfluss beim Lehnwort und Namenimport zuzuschreiben (LNB 1: 506, 1188). Zu den Ausnahmen bei Appellativen siehe Schmid (1915: 60).

[7] LNB 3; LNB Mat. Ein Beispiel: Die unverdumpfte Lautung des Fischerflurnamens *Hagge* /hākᵆ/ 'Haken' (LNB 3: 363) wurde uns von einem Berufsfischer, der aus dem nichtverdumpfenden Teil des Kantons Zug stammt, mitgeteilt.

[8] Zusammenfassung bei Paul (2007: 40, 96). Untersuchungen, die urkundliches Material beiziehen, sind Bohnenberger (1895), Maurer (1942: 225-228, 304-308), Boesch (1946: 72-75), Kleiber *et al.* (1979a: 131-140) und (1979b: Karten 38-41).

der oberrheinischen Flurnamenforschung.[9] Von Stefan Sonderegger (1958: 121-127) stammt eine Darstellung zum Appenzellerland in der Nordostschweiz. Namenbelege mit ‹o›-Graphie sind dort seit dem 15. Jahrhundert bezeugt.[10] Auch die Siedlungs- und Flurnamenbücher der Zentralschweizer Kantone Schwyz und Zug, die als Vergleich für den Luzerner Raum interessant sind, erwähnen historische Belege, die auf Verdumpfung weisen. Das Schwyzer Namenbuch bringt für den äusseren Kantonsteil erste Belege mit ‹o›-Graphie in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts.[11] Hyperkorrekte Schreibungen mit falschem ‹a› anstelle von ursprünglichem /ō/ bestätigen das Eintreten der Verdumpfung vor 1500.[12] Im Kanton Zug, der östlich an Luzern grenzt, sind verdumpfte Namenbelege seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts bezeugt.[13] Einzig der Gemeindename *Cham,* mundartlich [xǭm], zeigt bereits seit dem 15. Jahrhundert ‹o›-Graphien.[14] Es handelt sich um einen vordeutschen, verdunkelten Namen. Es ist daher nicht auszuschliessen, dass in diesem speziellen Fall ein in der Mundart vollzogener Lautwandel früher in die Schreibung Eingang finden konnte, als bei deutschen, insbesondere etymologisch durchsichtigen Namen, die stärker den Verschriftlichungsnormen der Kanzleien unterlagen.

Kehren wir zum Luzerner Untersuchungsraum zurück. Zunächst untersuchen wir in der historischen Belegsammlung des 'Luzerner Namenbuches' die Graphien des gut belegten Lemmas mittelhochdeutsch *strâze,* schweizerdeutsch *Strāss* 'Strasse'.[15] Wir berücksichtigen dabei neben den Namen und Namenkomposita auch appellativische Belege.

Im historischen Belegmaterial zu den Entlebucher Namen ist keine Schreibung mit ‹o› belegt. Im Material des Rigigebietes treten zwischen 1671 und 1768 zwar vier ‹stross›-Schreibungen auf, die Schreibung mit ‹a› ist jedoch etwa hundert mal häufiger. Wie sieht es im historischen Belegmaterial des heute verdumpfenden Amtes Luzern aus? In einem Sample von rund 780 schriftlichen Belegen aus dem Zeitraum von 1308 bis ins Jahr 2002 zählen wir über 15 % ‹o›-Schreibungen für das Lemma *strāze, Strāss.* Damit ist erwiesen, dass unseren historischen Belegen einige Aussagekraft für die Geschichte des Lautwandels /ā/ > [ǭ] zukommt.

Die Auswertung dieser 780 *Strāss*-Belege erlaubt uns, die graphematische Umsetzung von altem /ā/ durch die Jahrhunderte zu verfolgen. Solange /ā/ unverdumpft erscheint, wird es mit dem Buchstaben ‹a› bezeichnet. Diese Graphie dominiert auch später in unterschiedlichem Umfang. Die ‹a›-Schreibung entspricht dem Standard der luzernischen Kanzleisprache und seit dem 17. Jahrhundert der sich langsam durchsetzenden neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache.[16] Vom 15. bis gegen die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts wird ‹a› vereinzelt mit einem Diakritikum ‹u›, ‹v› oder ähnlich überschrieben, ganz selten finden

[9] Siehe Kleiber (1957: 184), Richter (1962: 288-290), Fischer (1964: 245-246).
[10] Siehe auch Sonderegger (2013).
[11] Weibel (2012: Bd. 1, 375; Bd. 5, 54) und weitere (siehe das Namenregister zur Verdumpfung in Bd. 6, 625-626). Der innere Kantonsteil verdumpft nicht.
[12] Weibel (2012: Bd. 3, 494) und (2012: Bd. 4, 160, 166).
[13] Siehe Dittli (2007: Bd. 1, 119, 219) und weitere.
[14] Siehe Dittli (2007: Bd. 1, 357-359).
[15] Dieses Lexem wurde auch im 'Historischen Südwestdeutschen Sprachatlas' untersucht (Kleiber, 1979a: 131-140 und 1979b: Karten 39-40).
[16] Zur Graphie von /ā/ siehe auch Brandstetter (1892: 248-249, 260-261, 274, 277, 282). Zur Kanzleisprache allgemein und zum Neuhochdeutschen siehe Brandstetter (1892: 229) und Brandstetter (1891).

wir auch ‹au›.[17] Die diphthongische Graphie entstammt der schwäbischen Kanzleisprache, die durch auswärtige Schreiber und wohl auch durch weiträumige Vorbildfunktion nach Luzern getragen wurde.[18] Eine diphthongische Qualität des /ā/ in der damaligen Luzerner Mundart darf man aus diesen Graphien keinesfalls ableiten. Im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert mit einem Auslaufen im 18. Jahrhundert wird die Vokallänge häufig mit Doppelsetzung ‹aa› markiert,[19] im Jahr 1660 einmal mit ‹h› als Dehnungszeichen.

Nach der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts erscheinen schliesslich ‹o›-Schreibungen. Der erste genau datierte Beleg stammt aus dem Jahr 1576: *'an die stross so gen horw gath'*.[20] Auffällig ist die fehlende Verdumpfungsbezeichnung bei *gath* 'geht'. Solche Inkonsequenzen sind häufig. Wir stossen auch auf umgekehrte Beispiele, wie *'an die vnder straass so Vff dass oberfeld goht'*.[21] Der Anteil der ‹o›-Schreibungen für *Strass* präsentiert sich in Halbjahrhundertschritten folgendermassen:

bis 1550:	0%
1550-1600:	ca. 5 %
1601-1650:	ca. 7 %
1651-1700:	ca. 30 %
1701-1750:	ca. 50 %
1751-1800:	ca. 20 %
1801-2002:	0 %

Diese Zahlen sind natürlich auch von unserer Quellen- und Belegauswahl abhängig, die sich an namenkundlichen und nicht primär an dialektologischen Zielen orientiert, aber es zeichnet sich eine deutliche Tendenz ab. Nach der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts erscheinen ‹o›-Schreibungen für *Strass*. Diese nehmen zunächst langsam, nach 1650 dann sprunghaft zu, um nach einem Höhepunkt in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts gegen 1800 hin allmählich wieder zu verschwinden. Für die Verdumpfung /ā/ > [ǭ] im Amt Luzern dürfen wir vorläufig den Terminus ante quem 1550 ansetzen.[22]

Da unsere Statistik auch die Geschichte des luzernischen Kanzleiwesens spiegelt, ist eine Bemerkung zu den Schreibern und zu ihrer Herkunft notwendig. Wir können hier nur einige Hinweise zu den Verhältnissen in der stadtluzernischen Kanzlei geben, dem wichtigsten Schriftgutproduzenten im untersuchten Gebiet. Wie andernorts waren auch in Luzern die Schreiber meist hochgebildete Spezialisten. Fast alle hatten eine Universität

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[17] In anderen Wörtern und Namen treten diphthongische Graphien schon ab der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts auf. Besonders häufig scheinen sie bei mhd. *rât* 'Rat' zu sein (vgl. das Register bei Wanner (1998: 478-479)). Zuweilen ist das Diakritikum so unspezifisch, dass wir in unserer Sammlung mit ‹á› transkribiert haben. Unsere Beobachtungen entsprechen weitgehend denen von Brandstetter (1892: 258-259, 260-261).

[18] Siehe Sonderegger (1958: 124-125), Boesch (1946: 73-74), Richter (1962: 289-290) und Haas (1978: 335-336). Zu den Basler Graphien siehe Müller (1953: 17-27).

[19] Dies entspricht den Beobachtungen von Brandstetter 1891: 208 und 1892: 283.

[20] LNB Mat.

[21] Beleg aus dem Jahr 1654 (LNB 3: 982).

[22] Brandstetter (1892: 262) behauptet, dass in der Luzerner Kanzleisprache um 1400 häufig ‹o›-Schreibungen für /ā/ aufträten. Diese Aussage ist abzulehnen. Es gibt zwar ganz vereinzelt solche Frühbelege, sie stammen aber von auswärtiger Schreiberhand (siehe dazu den nächsten Abschnitt und die Hinweise zum Namen *Rathausen* weiter unten). Auch die Belege aus dem Jahr 1470, die Brandstetter (1890: 262) erwähnt, sind bezüglich Schreiberherkunft zu hinterfragen.

besucht (Glauser 1961: 89, 96-97). Im Zeitraum von 1321 bis 1460 kamen alle Stadtschreiber von auswärts, beispielsweise aus Zürich, aus Brugg im Kanton Aargau oder auch aus Strassburg. Danach sind die Stadtschreiber mit zwei Ausnahmen geborene Luzerner Bürger. Die untergeordneten Schreiber jedoch waren bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts meist Fremde. Erst als Folge einer Abschottung des luzernischen Staatswesens im Verlauf des 16. Jahrhunderts verengte sich der Kreis, aus dem die Kanzleibeamten rekrutiert wurden, auf das luzernische Patriziat (Weber 1924: 10-17, Glauser 1961: 89-91). Die untergeordneten Schreiberstellen mussten nun mit einheimischen, zum Teil weniger gebildeten Kräften besetzt werden (Glauser 1961: 90-91).

Es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass die mundartlich geprägten ‹o›-Schreibungen für *Strass* im selben Zeitraum auftauchen, in dem vermehrt einheimische Schreiber für die Aufzeichnungen verantwortlich werden.[23] Der sprunghafte Anstieg an ‹o›-Schreibungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts schliesslich ist auf eine weitere neue Schreiberschicht zurückzuführen. Gemeint sind die Schreiber in den Dörfern. Das von ihnen produzierte Schriftgut nimmt in der historischen Dokumentation des 'Luzerner Namenbuches' einen bedeutenden Platz ein. Dass die ‹o›-Schreibungen für *Strasse* dann nach 1800 verschwinden, hängt mit der vollständigen Durchsetzung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache zusammen.

An dieser Stelle ist der Hinweis auf eine phonologische Überlegung von Walter Haas notwendig. Haas führt aus, dass in Mundarträumen, in denen nur Normalverdumpfung zu [ǭ] – und nicht Extremverdumpfung zu [ǭ] – eintrat, zunächst keine Veranlassung bestand, den neuen Laut mit dem Graph ‹o› zu schreiben. Denn der Lautstand der Mundart 'erlaubte es weiterhin, etymologische *â* und *ô* zu unterscheiden' (1978: 334).[24] In unserem normalverdumpfenden Luzerner Untersuchungsraum darf diese Unterscheidungsfähigkeit bei den gelehrten Schreibern der älteren Zeit vorausgesetzt werden. Es ist also damit zu rechnen, dass in der gesprochenen Sprache bereits eine unbestimmte Zeit vor unserem bisherigen Terminus ante quem 1550 altlanges /ā/ zu [ǭ] verdumpft wurde.

Im letzten Teil dieses Beitrages weiten wir die Untersuchung zur Diachronie der Verdumpfung im Amt Luzern auf das gesamte historische Namenmaterial aus. Die folgende Übersicht gibt eine Auswahl von Ortsnamen mit altlangem /ā/, die vor dem Jahr 1900 eine verdumpfte Belegform aufweisen.[25] Bis auf den Namen *Brööch* stammen alle Beispiele aus dem Gebiet nordöstlich der Stadt Luzern.[26] Es werden der normalisierte Namenansatz,[27] die Mundartlautung (bei rezenten Namen), eine Objektbeschreibung, die Gemeindezugehörigkeit, etymologische Angaben sowie ausgewählte historische Belege aufgelistet. Aufgeführt sind jeweils mindestens der Erstbeleg und der älteste verdumpfte Beleg. In mehreren Fällen zeigt bereits der Erstbeleg Verdumpfung an.

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[23] Brandstetter (1892: 274, 279, 282) unterscheidet in der Amtszeit (1575-1614) des bedeutenden Luzerner Stadtschreibers Renward Cysats eine gehobene Kanzleisprache, die bei ‹a› bleibt, und eine 'Halbkanzleisprache', die willkürlich zwischen ‹a› und ‹o› wechselt.

[24] Veranlassung zu ‹o›-Schreibungen gab vermutlich erst die Entstehung eines neuen Langvokals /ā/ als Folge der Vokaldehnung (siehe dazu Haas 1978: 333). Schreibungen, die auf mundartliche Dehnungen /a/ > /ā/ weisen, erscheinen in unserem Belegmaterial ebenfalls seit der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts (LNB Mat.; Brandstetter 1890: 260 und 1892: 283).

[25] Weggelassen wurden hier u. a. die mit *Strass* gebildeten Namen, da diese bei der vorhergehenden Übersicht schon berücksichtigt wurden.

[26] Siehe LNB 3 für die vollständige Dokumentation der Namen; für *Brööch* siehe LNB Mat.

[27] Im normalisierten Namenansatz wird die Verdumpfung nicht wiedergegeben.

Schwabeheim n., [*ts šwōbəhẹym*]*,* kleiner Hof in der Gemeinde Honau.
Zu mhd. *swâp* m. 'Schwabe'.
1842 *Kaspar Knüsel, Schwoben*

Brööch f. (Pl.), [*i də brȫx̄*]*,* Landstück in der Gemeinde Kriens.
Zu ahd. *brâhha,* mhd. *brâche* f.
Die aktuelle Mundartform zeigt analogischen Pluralumlaut.
um 1810 *die Broch*

Schafweid †, Weideland in der Gemeinde Dierikon.
Zu ahd. *scâf,* mhd. *schâf* n.
1715 *ein madt die schof weid genandt*

Walhalten †, Weideland in der Gemeinde Udligenswil.
Zu mhd. *wal* m. 'Wallen, Wogen', Verdumpfung nach Dehnung *waal-.*
1577 *Die waalhalden, ein weid*
1695 *wohlhalten weid*

Dahinden †, Hof und Familienbeiname in der Gemeinde Root.
Zum Adverb schwzdt. *dā-hinde(n)* 'hinten (gelegen)'.
1688 *Hanss Jacob Peterman do hinden*

Wagmatt f., [*i də wōgmaī, i dᵃᵉ wagmaī ænᵃᵉ*]*,*[28] Hof in der Gemeinde Root.
Zu ahd. *wâg* m., mhd. *wâc* m. 'wogendes Wasser'.
1631 *an dÿe wogmaten*

Ron f., [*t rōn, d rọ̄n*]*,* Bach durch ein Nebental der Reuss.
1470 *vntz an dz wasser, genant die a*
1583 *and Aa*
1588 *ann Rohnbach*
Mitte 17. Jh.... *stosst ... and onbach*
1668 *an die Roon*
1676 *an die Ohn*
1678 *bÿ der Ronn*

Der Gewässername *Ron* wurde früher auf ahd. *run* m. 'Lauf, Bahn' zurückgeführt. Erika Waser hat den Namen neu gedeutet. Vor dem 16. und noch bis ins 18. Jahrhundert ist die *Ron* als *Aa* oder *Aabach, zu* mhd. *ahe,* ahd. *aha* f. 'Wasser, Fluss', belegt. Die Entwicklung von *Aa > Ron* erfolgte durch Verdumpfung *Aa > *Oo* und Agglutination des Artikels im obliquen Kasus. Zum Wechsel von *Aa > Ron* gibt es in der Luzerner Namenlandschaft mehrere Parallelen (LNB 3: 49, 765-767).

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[28] Die zweite aktuelle Mundartlautung ist vielleicht beeinflusst durch jüngere Schreibweisen. Oder es ist eine Nebenform, bei der infolge Reduzierung des Erstgliedes die Verdumpfung unterblieb.

Bis jetzt konnten wir den Terminus ante quem 1550 noch nicht weiter in die Vergangenheit verschieben. Wir finden einen letzten Namen, der uns weiter zurückführt, nämlich um 170 Jahre.

Rathausen, [*ts rodhūs^æ*]*,* Zisterzienserinnenkloster in der Gemeinde Ebikon.

1251 *in loco, qui ex nunc Domus Consilii dici debet*

1259 *Abbatisse et Conuentui Monasterii in Rathusen*

1380 *in der swestern gůt von Rothusen*

1380 Kopie Ende 16. Jh. *in der schwösteren gůt Von Rhaathusen*

1424 *von rathusen*

1426 *ze Rᷣthusen bim kloster*

1456 *ze rothusen*

1470 *die frowen von Rothusen*

1472 *der conuent gemeinlich des frowen Closters zů Rathusen*

1493 *die Strass von radhusen*

um 1540 *des Gotts huses Rad husen brieff*

1681 *gen Rod husen*

Rathausen ist ein Klostergründungsname. Mit der bischöflichen Bewilligung zur Gründung im Jahr 1251 erhielt das Kloster den Namen *Domus Consilii* 'Haus des (guten) Rates'. Im Jahre 1259 ist die deutsche Übersetzung *Rathusen* belegt und 1380 die Schreibung *Rothusen* (LNB 3: 731-734).[29] Der Beleg von 1380 stammt aus einer Zeugenaussage über eine Grenzbegehung, die vom Luzerner Stadtschreiber Nikolaus Schulmeister aufgezeichnet wurde.[30] Schulmeister bezeichnete sich als Kleriker der Diözese Strassburg und als päpstlicher und kaiserlicher Notar. Vor seiner Luzerner Tätigkeit war er Notar der Basler Kurie gewesen (Wanner 1998: XLVI). Er hatte also in jenem geographischen Raum gelebt und gearbeitet, in dem die Verdumpfung sich früh vollzog und ‹o›-Schreibungen um 1380 bereits üblich waren, wie wir weiter oben angedeutet haben. Ob Schulmeister das Namenglied *Rat-* nur (versehentlich) gemäss seiner oberrheinischen Mundart und Schreibgewohnheit als ‹Rot-› verschriftlichte oder ob der Beleg von einem Lautwandel in der Luzerner Mundart zeugt, ist nach dem gegenwärtigen Kenntnisstand kaum zu entscheiden.[31] Immerhin stossen wir dann bereits wieder in Urkunden von 1456 und 1470 auf verdumpfte Belege *Rothusen.* Die Schreiberhände dieser beiden Urkunden waren nicht zu identifizieren, weshalb auch diese Belege keine Beweiskraft für mundartliche Verdumpfung haben. Ein interessanter Beleg ist 1493 *radhusen*. Die Lenis im Erstglied kann auf Reduzierung mit Vokalkürzung hinweisen,[32] die auch in späteren Schreibungen bezeugt ist und bis in die heutige Mundartlautung gilt. Wenn dies zutrifft, dann muss das erste Namenglied in der

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[29] Vgl. auch die komplexe Belegreihe des Entlebucher Alpnamens *Rathuse* (LNB 1: 779-780).

[30] Ediert in Wanner (1998: 126-128).

[31] Die Appellative *grat* 'Grat' und *gat* 'geht' (Wanner 1998: 127) schreibt Schulmeister in diesem Aktenstück unverdumpft. In anderen luzernischen Aufzeichnungen gebraucht Schulmeister für das Appellativ *Rat* meist die Schreibform *rat* und nur selten *rot* (Wanner 1998: 130 und weitere). Wir finden auch eine Schreibung *stot* 'steht' (Wanner 1998: 128).

[32] Nach Brandstetters Akzentgesetz (LNB 3: 1152).

gesprochenen Mundart schon vor 1493 zu *[rǭt-]* verdumpft worden sein, denn Kürzung der Lautqualität */ā/* hätte ja die Verdumpfung verhindert.[33]

Fazit

Orts- und Flurnamensammlungen bilden eine unverzichtbare Quelle für die historische Dialektologie. Die Auswertung der historischen Belege ist jedoch aufwendig, wie unsere Kleinraumstudie zur Verdumpfung im südlichen Kanton Luzern gezeigt hat. Besondere Schwierigkeiten bereiten uns die Schreiber. In der Zeit, in welcher der hier untersuchte Lautwandel stattgefunden haben muss, waren gebildete Schreib- und Sprachspezialisten tätig. Sie waren oftmals örtlich ungebunden und stammten aus fremden Mundartgebieten. Bevor den schriftlichen Zeugnissen Aussagekraft für die autochthone gesprochene Mundart attestiert werden kann, müssen sie deshalb kritisch hinsichtlich Schreiberherkunft und im Rahmen der damaligen regionalen Schreibnormen befragt werden.

Unsere Untersuchung aufgrund der Sammlung der Forschungsstelle 'Luzerner Namenbuch' führt zu folgendem Ergebnis: Im Amt Luzern, am Südrand des heutigen Verdumpfungsgebietes, wurde der Langvokal alt-/mittelhochdeutsch */ā/* sicher vor der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts zu offenem */ō/* verdumpft. Mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit dürfen wir die Verdumpfung schon für das 15. Jahrhundert annehmen. Ob bereits der singuläre Frühbeleg *Rothusen* für *Rathusen* aus dem Jahr 1380 die Verdumpfung für das Luzernische anzeigt oder ob er bloss elsässische Schreibergewohnheit verrät, lässt sich beim gegenwärtigen Erkenntnisstand nicht entscheiden.

<div align="right">

Peter Mulle
Luzerner Namenbuch
Schweiz

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[33] Zum Unterbleiben der Verdumpfung bei früher Kürzung siehe Sonderegger (1958: 127-128).

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Guided by Gelling: Topographical Element Analysis in Irish Place Names Research

Liam Ó hAisibéil

Ireland

Abstract

This paper will present a brief outline of the research and analytical methodologies, widely employed in scholarly place names research in Ireland. The main body of the paper will focus on the applicability in an Irish context of the research methodologies proposed by Gelling and Cole (2000) in Great Britain. The paper will look in particular at the analysis of topographical place name elements using soil type data and Geographical Information Systems (GIS). Discussion will follow on the possibilities for further applications of GIS mapping in the analysis of topographical place name elements and the presentation of place name data to the general public. While examples used are topographical elements from northern County Roscommon, the methodology may be replicated across all of the 62,205 townland names on the island of Ireland.

Using Placenames as Bioindicators

Huia Pacey
New Zealand

Abstract

Wahi ingoa (indigenous place names) can be described as an ancestral connection which commemorates people, place, events, and resources that are found on the landscape.

An idle conversation with a plant ecologist friend raised a question – if a place name commemorates or indicates a resource – what does that tell you about its location? Could you draw the conclusion that the resource therefore had some special attribute? Could you extrapolate further that there may have been a certain biological environment in place? Could that place name be used as a bioindicator for restoration project planning?

The 2013 New Zealand gazetteer contains 40 place names with the word *kiekie* and 53 with the word *harakeke*. Both Kiekie (*Freycinetia banksii*) and Harakeke (*Phormium tenax*) are names of plants that Maori have used for multiple generations as a food, medicine and textile. These names are attached to physical localities such as coves, streams, islands, rocks, hills, lakes and even a mountain.

Spatial analysis of the distribution of these place names and the underlying ecological features may provide some of the answers to the questions posed during this random conversation, or not. This paper will provide the initial results of this research.

Toponyms in the City –
Or Are These 'Other Names'?

Peeter Päll

Estonia

Abstract

The paper will discuss problems faced by toponymists in cities. The traditional understanding of toponyms is well suited for the research in rural areas, but delimiting toponyms from 'other names' in cities is quite problematic. Characteristic of city toponyms is their utmost diversity (named features vary from streets, parks, named houses to shops, schools, kindergartens, companies and institutions), instability (the features frequently move or change their names) and linguistic cosmopolitanism (a variety of 'international' or otherwise untypical toponyms). The most difficult question is: are some of these toponyms at all? To address this complexity in a feature-based toponymic database is a challenge, if one needs to include the chronological dimension: either follow the logic of the immovable topos, or the 'legal' succession of different named features (regardless of their location). As an example, the paper will look at problems of updating the database records on Soviet-times onomastic landscape of the capital of Estonia, Tallinn.

Wenglish? A Study of Borrowings in the Field Names of the English-Welsh Border Region

Emily Pennifold
United Kingdom

Abstract

This paper will look at the relationship between the English and Welsh naming vocabulary on both sides of the border, with a particular focus on the hundred of Oswestry in Shropshire and the north-east of the historic county of Radnorshire in Wales. The data analysed is drawn from mid-19th-century tithe documents and earlier estate records held in the National Library of Wales.

The nature of language contact in these regions will be investigated in this paper through a number of in-depth element case studies, analysing commonly occuring English and Welsh borrowings and transfers. The process of element borrowing is complex and fascinating in the border areas, showing how both languages strongly influence each other sometimes regardless of their status as minority or dominant language. Each study places the element in its wider geographical context in the border region using published field name corpora in Herefordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire. The studies are supported by evidence gained by field-walking and digital presentation (ArcGIS) where data can be mapped and manipulated to produce clear and interesting distribution maps.

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Although short and snappy, the term 'Wenglish' does not quite describe the aims of this paper as it tends to be used to describe the dialects of English-speaking Welsh people. This paper is not about the distinction between the language of Welsh and English speakers, but about the impact of the contact between the two languages on the onomasticon in the border region. 'Wenglish' in the context of this paper refers to the category of place name elements which cannot be comfortably categorised as English or Welsh.

The data used for this study is a corpus of about 20,000 field names collected from the tithe records of Oswestry Hundred and Radnorshire, both situated along the national border between England and Wales. The tithe records are a comprehensive collection of mid-19th-century names collected by surveyors across the whole of England and Wales. Oswestry Hundred, in the west of Shropshire, is part of England and Radnorshire part of Wales. Radnorshire is characterised by large swathes of open land, commonly used for sheep farming, larger field enclosures, small nucleated settlements and a very small population. In comparison, Oswestry Hundred has a much larger population, the large market town of Oswestry, smaller field enclosures and a higher level of arable farming.

Throughout the post-medieval period the Welsh language was being pushed westwards into the heartland of Wales. The English language steadily took control of most domains, including the economy, education and law. Though, fortunately, this situation has begun to reverse in the last twenty or thirty years. In both Radnorshire and Oswestry Hundred

the Welsh language began to decline in the post-medieval period, though it does remain in the western upland regions in both areas. The Welsh language, however, still survives on the ground in place names and minor names in the east and west of both regions. The expected influence of the incoming dominant language, English, on the native minority language, Welsh, can be seen in minor-names and field names in borrowings such as *clos* 'close', *betws* 'house of prayer, chapel of ease' (from OE *bed-hūs*), *bonc*/*bank* 'hillock, hill, rising ground, ridge, bank' (from ME *bonk*), *parc* 'park, field' (from OFr *parc*, possibly through ME), *cocksut* 'cockshoot, glade' (from E *cockshoot*), *stabl* 'stable' (from ME *stable*), etc. However, the borrowings are not always from the dominant to the minor language as we also see evidence of loans and influence from the Welsh language into the English onomasticon. This paper will focus on three elements which reflect this complex relationship.

Rhos

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) states that the original sense of the word is 'promontory, wooded upland or woodland'. The sense of promontory appears to have survived in Pembrokeshire (south-west Wales), as Charles (1992: 810) glosses the term as 'sometimes "promontory"'. Padel (1985: 200) also explains that the 'promontory' sense survives in some Cornish, Welsh and Scottish place names, but that these are rare, and, in the case of the Cornish names, probably coined in the Old Cornish period or earlier. The *English Dialect Dictionary* (*EDD*) glosses English *ros(s)* as a term found in Herefordshire meaning 'marsh' or 'morass'. Smith (1956: 87) derives the element from Old Welsh *ros*, referring to a moor or heath, and suggests the word may have been borrowed into Old English as an appellative, surviving as *ross* in certain dialects. The element is found in the tithe field names of Radnorshire and Oswestry. It is found in 256 names in Radnorshire and 32 in Oswestry. The element commonly appears in clusters, for example the *rhos* names, which could possibly be simplex appellatives, just north of Bwlch-y-sarnau in Radnorshire. The modern Ordnance Survey name *Bailey Bog* that can be seen on the map suggests a characteristically marshy area, suggestive of a moor or marsh rather than a promontory. The element also survives into the tithe records in the names of large swathes of moorland, for example the area still known as *Rhos Fallog*, just north-east of Llanbister village, Radnorshire.
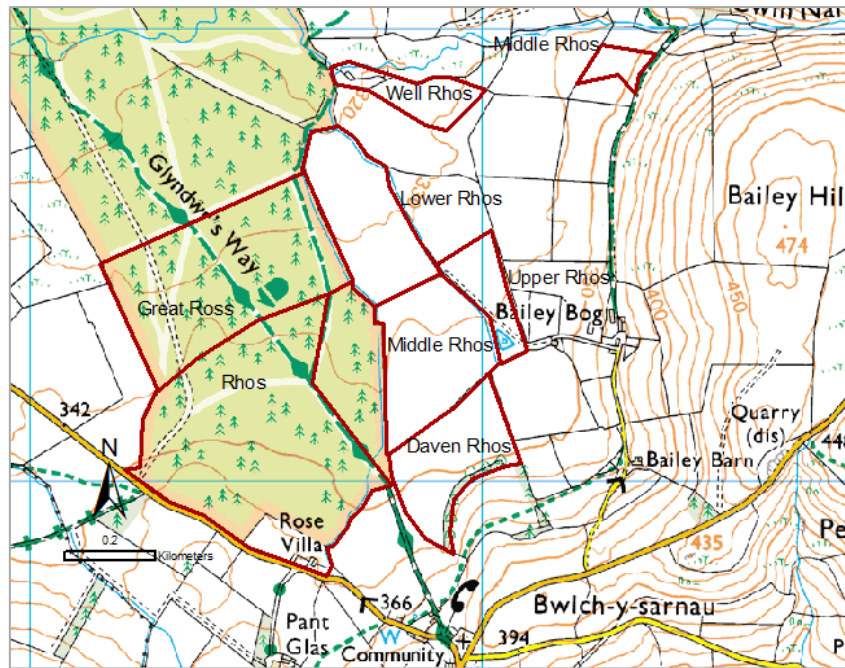
Fig. 1. Map of *Rhos* Names in Radnorshire. OS 1:25 000, Tile SO07NW, updated August 2014, Ordnance Survey, GB. Using: EDINA Digimap Ordnance Survey Service, <http://edina.ac.uk/digimap>, downloaded: September 2014.

In Radnorshire just under half (123) of the *rhos* names appear in English constructions, following the standard pattern of specific preceding generic, for example *Far Rhos* (Llanbadarn Fynydd, Llanfihangel Rhydithon, Llanbister), *Hay Rhos* (Llanbister), *Long Rhos* (Llanfihangel Rhydithon), *Price's Rhos* (Llanbister: Golon and Cefn-pawl townships). The rest of the names are Welsh constructions or simplex names, for example *Rhos Bach* (Llanbister: Golon and Cefn-pawl townships), *Rhos Yscybor* (Llanbadarn Fynydd), *Tynyrhos* (Llanbister). The term 'Welsh construction' refers to the common modern Celtic name structure of generic preceding specific.[49] The presence of the element in Radnorshire in both English and Welsh constructions suggests that it was active in the onomasticon of both languages at the time the names were coined. The large number of simplex instances of the element would suggest that could have been used as an appellative in the same way elements like *field* and *meadow* were used by surveyors to fill the gaps in the tithe schedules. If this is the case the element must have been very well-established in the local English dialect. In comparison, in Oswestry Hundred, *rhos* appears only in Welsh constructions. This would suggest that in this area at this time, the element was not active in the English onomasticon.

What is perhaps more interesting is what happens to the element in development. The element appears to develop an English adjectival sense in the field names of Radnorshire and Oswestry Hundred, in the form *rhossy*. The element is most commonly compounded with the English generic *meadow*, which makes sense as the lower quality marshy land would be used as grassland. The element occurs most commonly in Radnorshire, in 23 names, and possibly

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[49] Taylor (2012: 168-169) and Padel (1985: xv) discuss the older Celtic compound structure of specific preceding generic in reference to Scottish and Cornish syntax respectively. Padel states that this structural reverse occurred some time from the beginning of the 5th century onwards, with Taylor suggesting c.600 AD as the approximate date.

in 2 names in Oswestry Hundred. The frequency of this element in the central borderlands suggests that it had become an established part of the naming vocabulary there.

Grug

The addition of the English adjectival ending -*y* can also be seen in the development of the borrowing E *grig* from W *grug*, meaning 'heather' or 'heath'. The element *grug* was borrowed into English before 1691, the date of the first attestation recorded in the *OED* and, according to the *English Dialect Dictionary*, the English borrowing is geographically limited to Wales, Cheshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Cornwall, and oddly, Norfolk. In the Oswestry and Radnorshire corpus, the borrowing is only found in Oswestry Hundred. The adjective *griggy* is glossed in the *OED* and the *EDD*, though the *OED* questions its relationship with *grig* as the attestations for *griggy* pre-date those for *grig*. In Oswestry Hundred both *grig* and *griggy* are only found in English constructions, such as *Grig Field* (Selattyn), *Big Griggy Hill* (Knockin), *Griggy Leasow* (Shotatton). What is interesting to note about this borrowing is the fact that the Welsh element *grug* does not appear in the tithe field names in the same area. This could suggest that at some point the element existed in the area in both languages in order for the borrowing to occur, and that, for some reason, the element only continued to be used in its borrowed form.

Why?

A question interesting to ask and difficult to answer is: why were these elements borrowed into the English language? Owen (2013: 332) suggests that certain English elements such as *frith*, *acre*, *outrake* were taken into Welsh to describe new agrarian practices or came to replace Welsh elements, probably reflecting the process of anglicization. However, these explanations do not explain the borrowing of Welsh elements into English. Elements such as *rhos* could have been borrowed into English due to their semantic precision: although semantically similar elements like *heath* and *marsh* exist in Radnorshire and Oswestry, it could be the case that *rhos* denotes a particular type of marsh, heath or moorland – upland, sheep land perhaps. The borrowing of terminology such as this could also have something to do with the survival of earlier names. If names of large swathes of common land such as *Rhos Fallog* survive into use by a number of English farmers, it is quite conceivable that the element, known to denote moorland, could be taken into the English naming vocabulary to describe land with similar characteristics elsewhere in the area.

Dôl/dole

This element is not necessarily a borrowing, but may possibly show a relationship between English and Welsh in the region. The elements W *dôl* and E *dole* are etymologically different. Welsh *dôl* refers to 'meadow, dale, pasture or valley', usually beside a river and in both Radnorshire and Shropshire the Welsh element appears to be most commonly used to denote meadowlands. In comparison, English *dole* denotes a division or share of a common

field, derived from OE *dāl*. The element is commonest in Radnorshire and appears in that area in English constructions, Welsh constructions and quite a high number of simplex names (47). It could be possible that the English constructions contain the English element and the Welsh constructions contain the Welsh element, however, it seems unlikely that both elements would exist independently in the same geographical area given their almost identical phonology. It is therefore necessary to look at other characteristics of the *dôl*/*dole* enclosures to ascertain whether the Welsh or English meaning defines the element in this area.

A number of names containing the element in Radnorshire have been mapped, which highlights some clear patterns. The map below shows that names containing the element in Llanbister parish (Radnorshire) are commonly found along watercourses; including major rivers and smaller tributaries and streams. It would appear that the element in both English and Welsh constructions denotes land near water, suggesting that the element in this area has the Welsh meaning 'pasture or meadow near a river'. However, this is not necessarily the case as commonly fields of 'meadow' or 'pasture' which could contain doles or strips would also normally be beside rivers or waterbodies.
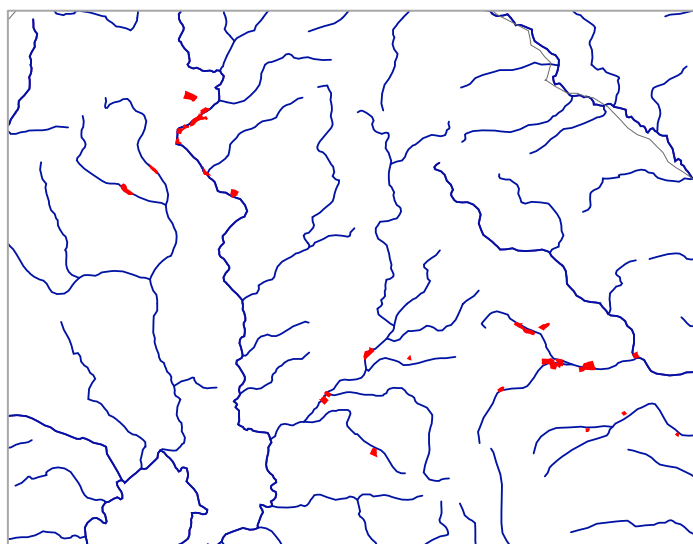
Fig. 2. *Dôl/dole* names along major watercourses in Llanbister Parish (Radnorshire), the red dots are the *dôl/dole* fields

Mapping also revealed other patterns, for example the presence of two neighbouring fields; one with the English name, *Long Dole*, and the other with the Welsh name, *Dol Owen*. It is unlikely that the English name contains the English element, whilst the neighbouring field contains the Welsh. It would seem to me that in this example, the word *dole* has been taken to mean 'meadow' in both cases. Furthermore, whether this is a distinctive enough characteristic or not, it is possibly significant that none of the *dôl*/*dole* names that have been mapped are strip-shaped fields; most of them are small, irregularly shaped enclosures. It is likely that fields with a name containing English *dole* would be more regularly shaped.

Some of the evidence suggests that the English element may be semantically influenced by the Welsh element, particularly in Radnorshire, and that both refer typically to

small enclosures of meadowland, characteristically alongside watercourses. However, to fully prove this hypothesis, it will probably be necessary to look into the past use of the land in the area – were these English *dole* fields on land that was previously open common land? This will involve finding maps and documents that pre-date parliamentary enclosure in the area. It is also interesting to consider the wider use of this element. If it refers to enclosures of meadowland in Radnorshire, is this the case in the neighbouring English parish of Herefordshire? What is the situation in the rest of Shropshire? Where is the boundary between the use of the element to denote a meadow and that used to denote a strip of common land? Hopefully some of these questions can be answered in future work.

Conclusion

These studies suggest that the contact between English and Welsh in the border region between the two countries has impacted the languages in both directions. Elements like *rhos* and *grug* have been taken into the English language in the border region and become so established that adjectival forms like *rhossy* and *griggy* are commonly found. In other cases the English onomasticon appears to have been influenced semantically by Welsh terminology and vice versa, as may be the case with *dole*, to the point where the ability to categorise elements as 'English' or 'Welsh' frequently becomes almost impossible. This work is focussed on in much greater detail in my forthcoming PhD thesis.

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Developing a Gramscian Approach to Toponymy

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Abstract

Power and place naming are intimately linked, as recognised by the growth of critical approaches to toponomastics, examining the effects of unequal power relations on place names and place naming practices.

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) is best known as a philosopher and politician whose original treatment of hegemony has been extremely influential. Less generally known is how profoundly Gramsci's strong interest in linguistics defined his more general political thought. Of particular relevance to the present study is Gramsci's understanding of the cultural roots of power and the processes of coercion and consent that determine, in this case, the struggles between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic toponymies. In 1917, Gramsci also wrote a harsh critique of changes to street names in Turin, which makes a compelling direct link between his promotion of a more 'organic' form of progress and a critical approach to toponymy.

This paper discusses the advantages of Gramsci's perspectives for the enrichment and further development of critical toponomastic theory. Gramscian thought is used here as a lens through which to view such onomastic phenomena as toponymic de- and re-commemorations after regime changes, tensions related to place names in minority-majority language situations, and recent attempts to commodify names.

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Introduction

Since the 1990s, a new politically-oriented turn has characterised place name research in disciplines from human geography to political sciences, with a strong focus on toponymy-related cultural conflicts and ideological strategies (e.g. Berg and Vuolteenaho 2009, Rose-Redwood *et al.* 2010). The key concern in this literature has been overtly political acts of naming, and above all the toponymic rhetoric of de- and re-commemoration processes that comply with dominant ideological worldviews and the established interpretations of the past, and that bolster hierarchical power structures and political elites in a given society. Especially with case studies conducted in varying historical and geographical contexts, the new power-sensitised toponomastics has facilitated understanding of the interconnectedness of place naming and the symbolic construction and consolidation of power structures through linguistic means (Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009, Vuolteenaho *et al.* 2012: 12).

In this paper, we will attempt to advance the development of this research field with theoretical and empirical perspectives inspired by the work of Antonio Gramsci. In a sense, our intervention can be viewed as a response to the criticism by Reuben Rose-Redwood *et al.* (2010: 14) of the risk that critical toponymic studies may become 'a bit too predictable' in their 'repetitive invocations of toponymic domination and resistance' (see also Azaryahu 2011, Light and Young 2014: 669-672). Indeed, it seems to us that many recent case studies on the politics of place naming have focused too one-sidedly on 'top-down' dimensions of

de- and re-commemoration, and for the most part turned a blind eye to one of the pivotal insights in the Gramscian theory of hegemony, namely the reciprocal relationship between the rulers and the ruled. In starting to tackle this bias, we will shed light on how the coercive nature of street and place naming has been complemented in various historical circumstances by popular and legitimising aspects.

Our selection of examples from post-Risorgimento Italy and the Soviet Union to contemporary branded urban places exposes that – besides unmistakeably elitist 'medal names' (Gramsci 1982 [1917]: 183) – toponymic evocations of 'organic' local traditions, folk heroes, 'ordinary' people's role in history and other vernacular symbols have frequently been adopted into the ingredients of official toponymy. While this paper will also discuss several cases that are overtly political, our key aim in the following is to show that the Gramscian theoretical model outlined below can inform an approach to power and place naming whether that power is being used overtly or covertly.

Antonio Gramsci and Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) is best known as a philosopher, as one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party, and as a victim of Fascist political imprisonment. The main contribution of his political thought is widely considered to be his original treatment of the concept of hegemony, which has been extremely influential.[1] Before Gramsci, hegemony had mainly been used to refer to 'hard' political domination, but one of the innovations of Gramsci's approach was that he sought to explore dominant influences 'not limited to matters of direct political control but [instead describing] a more general predominance which includes, as one of its key features, a particular way of seeing the world and human nature and relationships' (Williams 1983: 145). In this way, the Gramscian approach facilitates the analysis of power relations throughout culture and society.

As Gramsci outlined, the influence of cultural hegemony derives not only from coercion or force, but also from popular consensus consent:

> L'esercizio 'normale' dell'egemonia nel terreno diventato classico del regime parlamentare, è caratterizzato dalla combinazione della forza e del consenso che si equilibrano variamente, senza che la forza soverchi di troppo il consenso, anzi cercando di ottenere che la forza appaia appoggiata sul consenso della maggioranza, espresso dai così detti organi dell'opinione pubblica – giornali e associazioni – i quali, perciò, in certe situazioni, vengono moltiplicati artificiosamente. (Gramsci 2007: 1638)

> The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary régime is characterised by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the

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[1] It is also important to note that Gramsci's thought was heavily influenced by his interest in linguistics and his personal experience of power relations between languages (see e.g. Carlucci (2013), Ives (2004), Puzey (2011, 2016)).

attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion – newspapers and associations – which, therefore, in certain situations, are artificially multiplied. (Translation in Gramsci 1971: 80)

Popular consent for hegemony may appear 'spontaneous', but it is the result of a 'prestige' born historically from the position of the ruling classes (Gramsci 2007: 1519). This notion of consent is constructed in public opinion and is seen to legitimise the use of coercion by the hegemon. Importantly, the power of a hegemon can be so strong that aspects of the system it promotes are internalised among a population as 'common sense'. Through combined processes of coercion and consent, a hegemon is able to exert a profound influence on individual world views.

When reading Gramsci, doubt can occasionally arise as to whether he is seeking to criticise cultural hegemony as a form of domination or whether he is suggesting it as the method by which communists should assume power. In fact, he does both, but, valuably for analytic purposes, he also discusses different forms of hegemony. Joseph Femia (1981) outlines three main kinds of hegemony present in Gramsci's writings. Firstly, Gramsci encourages integral hegemonies, which are democratic and organically representative of society. Secondly, there are decadent hegemonies, which Gramsci criticises: these are corroded integral hegemonies that are no longer representative of society and no longer satisfy all of society, so have lost support. Thirdly, minimal hegemonies are those which only cater for elites, and these are criticised heavily by Gramsci.

Other research has shown the utility of Gramscian frameworks for exploring the nature of everyday power structures and understanding the role of language and toponymy in building, maintaining or challenging popular consent for hegemony (Puzey 2011, 2016). An emerging hegemon's efforts to name or to rename can be an important part of constructing a new 'common sense' hegemonic narrative. We can see this in the politics of place naming, which is so often a key part of struggles against previous linguistic and cultural hegemonies. For example, in Graeme Gill's discussion of a key rationale behind place name changes in various phases of societal and urban development in Moscow:

> […] the reworking of language (through the injection of new words, the changing of the meaning of existing terms, and the elimination of some words) in order to invest it with a new ethos [is] important to the creation of a new regime's symbolic culture. (Gill 2005: 480)

A principally similar spirit can be seen operating in many contemporary post-colonial contexts, such as with the increasingly widespread use of the dual name *Aotearoa / New Zealand*, giving a name that is more organically representative of other social groups previously under-represented in power structures. Evidence of these processes can also be seen in connection with regime change, as in Iraq, when *Saddam Hussein International*

Airport was renamed *Baghdad International Airport* (Woznicki 2003).[2] The following section will explore evidence of Gramsci's own thoughts specifically in relation to renaming.

Gramsci on Toponymic 'Progress' in Turin

Gramsci was an advocate of quite specific forms of revolution, change and progress. There is even specific evidence on what Gramsci made of changes to the namescape. In 1917, he wrote about changes that were happening with street names in Turin, where he was living at the time. The article in question, originally published in the newspaper *Avanti!* on 1 June 1917 under the title 'Il progresso nello stradario' ('Progress on the street map'), makes a compelling direct link between a critical approach to toponymy and the more organic form of progress advocated by Gramsci. Furthermore, it offers a useful framework for the criticism of non-authentic, non-organic renaming:

> Armata di enciclopedia e di scure [la Commissione municipale per la denominazione delle vie] procede allo sventramento della vecchia Torino. Cadono i vecchi nomi, i nomi tradizionali che ricordano la vita fervida del vecchio comune medioevale, la fantasia esuberante e originale degli artigiani del rinascimento, meno enciclopedici ma più pratici e di buon gusto dei mercanti odierni. Si sostituiscono i nomi-medaglia. Lo stradario diventa un medagliere. (Gramsci 1982 [1917]: 183)

> Armed with an encyclopedia and an axe, [the municipal street naming committee] is proceeding with the evisceration of the old Turin. Down come the old names, the traditional names of popular Turin that record the fervent life of the old medieval commune, the exuberant and original imagination of the Renaissance artisans, less encyclopaedic but more practical and with better taste than the merchants of today. They are replaced with medal names. The street map is becoming a medal showcase. (Translation in Puzey 2016: 168)

Turin was once the capital of the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia and was the first capital of Italy from unification in 1861 until 1865, when the capital moved to Florence. In the immediate post-unification period, there were a number of street name changes that saw the memorialisation of the House of Savoy and of heroes and symbols of the Risorgimento. For example, the street once known variously as *via del Re*, *viale del Re* or *corso del Re* (meaning 'King Street') was renamed *corso Vittorio Emanuele II* in 1878, thereby commemorating one specific king. The former *via Nuova* ('New Street') became *via Roma* in 1871, the same year that the Italian capital moved from Florence to Rome, and *via Dora Grossa*, formerly named after a river, became *via Giuseppe Garibaldi* in 1882, the year in which this protagonist of the Italian Risorgimento died.

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[2] Even in airports, old names can live on, for example in the three-letter International Air Transport Association airport codes seen on baggage labels, such as *LED* for Pulkovo Airport in Saint Petersburg (formerly Leningrad), or *TGD* for the airport serving Podgorica, formerly Titograd.

There was also an increasing gentrification of street names in this period and in the time that Gramsci was writing, so *via del Fieno* ('Hay Street') was renamed *via Giovanni Botero*, after a political philosopher who died in Turin in 1617, and *via Gasometro* ('Gasometer Street') became *via Giovanni Camerana*, after a poet.

On 1 June 1917, in the very same issue of *Avanti!* in which Gramsci's article on street names was published, another piece announced a proposal to be discussed by the city council that day to change a number of street names in the city centre (see Table 1). Further research into city records is needed but, based on later maps, it would appear that not all of these changes were approved.

Existing name	Translation	Proposed change (June 1917)
via dei Carrozzai	Coachmakers' Street	via Domenico Berti [politician, 1820-1897]
via del Deposito	Warehouse Street	via Quinto Agricola [Roman general]
via dell'Ospedale	Hospital Street	via Galileo Ferraris [engineer and physicist, 1847-1897]
via dei Quartieri	Barracks Street	via Elvio Pertinace [Roman emperor]
via della Zecca	Mint Street [in the sense of coin manufacturing]	via Giuseppe Verdi [composer, 1813-1901]

Table 1. Proposed street name changes, 1 June 1917 (see Gramsci, 1982 [1917]: 184)

Gramsci complained about the decorative function of these new names, void of any real meaning connected to the places in question:

Ogni nome [nella città degli artigiani] era un brano di vita, era il ricordo di un momento di vita collettiva. Lo stradario era come un patrimonio commune di ricordi, di affetti, che univa più strettamente i singoli coi vincoli della solidarietà del ricordo. La borghesia bottegaia ha distrutto questo patrimonio […]. Tutti i principi, i regnanti, i ministri, i generali di casa Savoia hanno avuto la loro nicchia […]. L'enciclopedia ha dato il resto. Cosmopoli è la città borghese, cioè una falsa internazionale, una falsa universalità […]. Cosmopoli incolore e insapore trionfa. (Gramsci 1982 [1917]: 184)

Every name [in the artisans' city] was a branch of life, it was the memory of a moment of collective life. The street map was like a common patrimony of memories, of affection, binding individuals together more strongly with the ties of solidarity through memory. The shop-keeping bourgeoisie has destroyed this heritage […]. All the princes, regents, ministers and generals of the House of Savoy have been given their niche […]. The encyclopedia has provided the rest. The bourgeois city is cosmopolitan, in other words a false international, a false universality […]. It is the triumph of the colourless and tasteless cosmopolis.

It is perhaps not surprising that a Marxist philosopher would criticise bourgeois naming practices, but Gramsci was also criticising the 'evisceration of the old Turin'. This is entirely in keeping with his approach to organicity: the notion that there should be an organic link of ideas between political and intellectual power structures and the social groups they seek to represent. Gramsci was calling for more sensitive, considered and authentic naming, with a sense for the real social history of a place and not only the history represented by encyclopedias or elites. In essence, he saw benefits of street naming practices that would be more consistent with 'solidarity through memory'.

Further large-scale changes to the street names of Turin would come at other critical junctures after 1917, in particular after the First World War, during the Fascist period, and in the wake of the Second World War. One of the most significant changes of the Fascist era was the renaming of the *nuova barriera di Nizza* as *piazza Bengasi*, after the Libyan city of Benghazi, an Italian colonial possession. This name remains to this day.

Among street names in Italy commemorating certain dates, one of the most ubiquitous is *via XXV aprile*, after Italy's liberation day on 25 April 1945. Three important roads in Turin were renamed after the largest Allied powers, so there was a new *corso Inghilterra* (formed from part of *corso Principe Oddone*), *corso Stati Uniti* (formerly *corso Ferdinando Duca di Genova*) and *corso Unione Sovietica* (formerly *corso Stupinigi*). The latter has survived the end of the political union it was named after and is the site of Turin's Olympic Stadium. The stadium itself acquired its current name from hosting the Winter Olympics in 2006, but it was originally opened in 1933 under a very different commemorative name, as the *Stadio Municipale Benito Mussolini*.

Gramsci himself is a major subject of commemorative street names in Italy, and Turin is no exception, even though his own criticism of 'medal names' suggests he would not have approved. The street in question previously bore the name *via dei Carrozzai* ('Coachmakers' Street'), an artisan name of the sort to which Gramsci was referring in 1917; indeed this was one of the very street names he was directly discussing. Part of the street was renamed in 1860, in the encyclopaedic fashion typical of the age and of later eras, as *via Andrea Doria*, after a 17th-century Genoese admiral. In the period following the Second World War, a section of the street was renamed after *via Antonio Gramsci*.

Saint Petersburg/Petrograd/Leningrad: A Cradle of Revolutions

Saint Petersburg was founded in the 18th century as Russia's window to Europe. In 1914, the potentially German-sounding name was changed to *Петроград* (*Petrograd*), and after the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924, the name was changed again to *Ленинград* (*Leningrad*), most recently reverting to *Санкт-Петербург* (*Saint Petersburg*) in 1991. Before the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, the street toponymy of the central parts of the city abounded with imperial, military and religious commemorations (Nikitenko n.d.), but by 1924, roughly one third of the city's street names had been changed (Marin 2012: 198).

One prominent characteristic of early Bolshevik commemorative naming was to stress the heroic role of the working classes and poor rural people in overthrowing the capitalist and imperialist oppressors, for example with the change of name from *Большая Дворянская*

улица ('Great Nobility Street') to *улица Деревенской Бедноты* ('Street of the Rural Poor'). Not all national heroes inherited from the Tsarist era were removed from the city's namescape though: writers such as Pushkin and Dostoevsky could be associated with anti-Tsarist attitudes or making a case for the poor, so they remained untouchable. Many historical dissidents were also commemorated, as in the renaming of *Сенатская площадь* ('Senate Square') to *площадь Декабристов* ('Decembrists' Square'), after the early-19th-century anti-monarchist uprising.

By the mid-1920s, however, the most prolific new name category in Leningrad were names that heralded the Bolshevik revolution and new Soviet society as historical culminations of working people's empowerment. A case in point was the renaming of the city's main artery *Невский проспект* ('Nevsky Prospect'), named after the 13th-century Prince Alexander Nevsky, which became *проспект 25 Октября* ('25 October Prospect') in memory of the Bolshevik revolution itself. The new name was not universally liked and failed to be adopted in daily usage by most locals. In multiple ways, the initial focus of the new naming policy in Leningrad, and in other Soviet cities, was to equate the new Bolshevik rule with the rule of the people, in an attempt to fuel the people's engagement and revolutionary enthusiasm. The central paradox was that the rulers otherwise acted in openly coercive ways as the self-proclaimed representatives of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Many contemporaries, even among progressives, were under few illusions as to the actual success of the attempts by Soviet rulers to root their power in inherited cultural forms of expression and existing popular mindsets. Rosa Luxemburg, for example, attacked the Bolshevik leaders for their 'cool contempt' for the freedom of the press and free assembly (1961 [1918]: 48), as well as for turning the revolutionary cause into a brutalisation and bureaucratisation of public life and a clique affair, 'a dictatorship, to be sure, not the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, but only the dictatorship of a handful of politicians' (Luxemburg 1961 [1918]: 72). In the Gramscian terminology, it could perhaps be called a decadent, or even a minimal hegemony, not sufficiently 'organic' to represent the people.

After Lenin's death, and especially with the rise of Stalinism, the coercive nature of the Soviet state became increasingly evident in toponymic terms, despite the lip-service paid to the noble ideals of the equality of people and the autonomous status of Soviet republics. The coercive official rhetoric of the personality cult became visible in all kinds of place naming, with practically every Soviet city and village dotted with the names of leaders intended to embody the party and therefore all of the people. Part and parcel of the Stalinist 'cult model' (Murray 2000: 17) was that the increasingly paranoid political system became obsessed with outing formerly respected communists as 'enemies of the people', declaring them 'persona non grata' and liquidating them from the streetscape. An extreme, but by no means unique, example, comes from Magadan, in the far east of Russia:

> […] the chiefs of the NKVD gave their names to cities, squares, factories, schools, until a veritable NKVD-land had come into being. In 1935 Berzin opened in Magadan a park of culture, giving it the name of his superior, the chief of the NKVD, Yagoda. Three years later Berzin and Yagoda were shot. Berzin Street was renamed Stalin Street, and Yagoda Park was renamed after the new chief of the NKVD, Yezov. A year later they shot Yezov, and the park received the name of Stalin. In 1956 Stalin

Street was changed into Marx Street, and Stalin Park was renamed Lenin Park. For how long – no one knows. Eventually, the town council hit on a good idea, and is now giving streets apolitical names. So there is Gazetnaya, Pochtovoya, Garaznaya, Nabierzhaya. After all, newspapers, post offices, garages, and shorelines will always be around. (Kapuściński 1994: 209)

Another tendency with consent-seeking overtones that gradually emerged in the street toponymy of Soviet cities was that the insistence on making a clear break with the pre-socialist past decreased somewhat over the decades. The blessings of internationalism and supra-ethnic proletarian Sovietism were still to be seen in the streetscape, but selective ethno-national ingredients were also elevated into the established urban iconography. In the case of Leningrad, efforts to boost the citizens' morale led to a number of cases of name restoration. On 15 January 1944, with the 900-day Siege of Leningrad nearing its conclusion, twenty street names with monarchist or religious themes were reinstated in the city centre, with perhaps the most significant case of pre-post-communist 'de-Sovietisation' being *проспект 25 Октября* ('25 October Prospect'), a name which apparently few ordinary Leningraders ever adopted in day-to-day life (Marin 2012: 200, Salisbury 1969: 740). The street's ur-Russian maiden name of *Невский проспект* ('Nevsky Prospect') was restored. Seen through a Gramscian lens, the muting of the former official street name by locals was a revealing instance of how the commemorative naming policy adopted even during the early Bolshevik years was not organically representative of the proletariat, in spite of the rulers' emphasis on the popular element as the cornerstone of the commemorative rhetoric.

Toponymic Changes in the Gorbachev Era

In more recent times, a stronger wave of ethno-nationalist place and street naming was experienced in the wake of Mikhail Gorbachev's reform initiatives. The agenda of glasnost relaxed restrictions on public discourses in the mid- and late 1980s, also giving rise to a surge of protests against the toponymic policies that had been pursued up to that point in the Soviet Union, as detailed by John Murray (2000: 87-92). In 1989, for instance, there was an outspoken plea from some Armenian linguists – whom we might perhaps call 'organic intellectuals' in this case – pointing to 'numerous scandalous facts of the most flagrant violations and arbitrariness in conferring and changing geographic names' (Grigoryan and Grigoryan 1989, cited in Murray 2000: 92-93).

There are some remarkable parallels between Gramsci's thoughts and the 'new thinking' of Gorbachev's reform agenda, which appears to have drawn some inspiration from the Eurocommunist approach taken by the Italian Communist Party in the 1970s and 1980s, under Enrico Berlinguer. The Eurocommunist approach sought to implement communist policies not through armed revolution but through the democratic process and civil society. The Italian approach to consent-seeking communism had been viewed with suspicion in the Soviet Union for being unorthodox, but both the Italian party and Gramsci were rehabilitated in the 1980s (Kubálková 2001: 137). As Gramsci sees it, an active relationship between an individual's thought and their global, international cultural environment forces them into a

constant process of self-criticism (2007: 1331). Gorbachev's agenda of 'new thinking' and reform were forms of self-criticism, and perhaps this is where Gorbachev's link with Gramsci is strongest. The apparently Gramscian-inspired perestroika and democratisation implied reconstructing the Soviet system, and for some in the Soviet republics, this legitimised campaigns to reassess street toponymies from a national, less Russocentric point of view, all of which contributed in its own way to the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Privatisation and Commodification

In order to illustrate briefly the relevance of a Gramscian framework in other naming contexts, we will finally turn our attention elsewhere to see how market-driven economics are currently raising other naming problems related to hegemony and the 'organicity' of names. With the privatisation of formerly state-owned bodies, private enterprises play an increasingly important role in naming public spaces, often including stations, airports and other transport nodes. From a Gramscian perspective, there are several non-democratic and deeply problematic aspects to marketing-oriented naming (see also Vuolteenaho and Ainiala 2009, Berg 2011, Vuolteenaho and Kolamo 2012, Medway and Warnaby 2014). There is, for example, a growing role of sponsorship in public-private partnerships, as seen in London with the cable car over the River Thames that opened in 2012 and was sponsored by the airline Emirates for £36 million, meaning that the iconic London Underground map now features advertising in the names of the cable car termini *Emirates Greenwich Peninsula* and *Emirates Royal Docks*.

Another case of name commodification, in Turin, was directly related to the name of Gramsci himself. A building where Antonio Gramsci lived from 1919 to 1921 was recently renovated as a luxury hotel. The developers' first choice of name for the hotel was reportedly *Hotel Gramsci* (Andruetto 2014). This controversial idea led to protests (Montanari 2014), with some pointing out that it was maybe inappropriate to name a luxury hotel after a man who wrote that 'complete and perfect political equality cannot exist without economic equality' (Gramsci 1971: 258). A Spanish partner company in the project, NH Hoteles, was keen to adopt a name that was a little more '*neutro*' [neutral] (Andruetto 2014). The developers, meanwhile, thought that they were honouring Gramsci by turning the building into a space for what they called '*una clientela di fascia alta*' [a high-class clientele] (ibid.). Petitions were signed against the name, with some academics comparing it to naming a fashion boutique in Amsterdam after Anne Frank, dedicating a shooting range in Delhi to Mahatma Gandhi or naming an investment bank in Bethlehem *Gesù S.p.A.* [Jesus plc] (*Eddyburg* 2014, Montanari 2014).

Although some saw this as the ultimate insult, the name seemed to have the support of the Istituto Piemontese Antonio Gramsci, a local educational foundation in Turin that stood to be given a space inside the building with the opportunity to organise '*piccole riunioni*' [small meetings] (Andruetto 2014). The developers eventually relented, and the hotel was named *Piazza Carlina*, after the square where it is situated, although the hotel restaurant has been named *Antonio* (Guccione 2014).

Conclusion

A Gramscian approach to naming, drawn from Gramsci's more general writings and his specific criticism of changes to the place names of Turin, shows us that toponymic change is certainly possible, but it stands a much greater chance of success if it is rooted in historical authenticity and in an organicity with representation of all social groups.

In Gramscian terms, the cases drawn from Soviet history are, in part, examples of the official toponymy trying to strike a balance between coercion and consent-seeking processes. Generally, we can see that specific language policies, from language education to schoolbooks and official names, are used as tools in an attempt to forge an educational relationship between the rulers and the ruled, but also a cultural and linguistic relationship.

> Ogni rapporto di 'egemonia' è necessariamente un rapporto pegagogico e si verifica non solo nell'interno di una nazione, tra le diverse forze che la compongono, ma nell'intero campo internazionale e mondiale, tra complessi di civiltà nazionali e continentali. (Gramsci 2007: 1331)

> Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world-wide field, between complexes of national and continental civilisations. (Translation in Gramsci 1971: 350)

These relationships can be two-way: on the one hand, rulers mobilise intellectual-linguistic labour to impose their ideological world view as unquestioned common sense, but on the other hand, so-called 'organic intellectuals' act as crucial cultural mediators. This bi-directionality is not necessarily always the case: a ruling ideology can remain merely coercive and one-sided, and then its hegemony is not effective and will remain 'minimal'.

Recent examples of the commodification of names highlight the growing interest of financial capital in (re)naming public spaces, especially in connection with the privatisation of former state enterprises. Names are a cultural element of shared public capital and infrastructure, so these developments call for further scrutiny to be given to such processes in order to guard against the misappropriation of names for profit.

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Extension of English Onomastics:
The Case of the Anglo-French Province of Aquitaine During the Middle Ages and its Toponyms of English Origin

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to introduce a subject that well deserves to be better known. After a succinct but necessary historical background, several toponymic groups will be explained. Thus, the municipal toponym *Libourne* reminds us of Roger de Leyburn, founder of the fortified English bastide bearing his name from 1271. The town of *Hastingues* refers to John Hastings, seneschal of Gascony, founder of the bastide in 1289. The inhabited village of patronymic origin, *Chandos* commemorates John *Chandos*, a famous 100 Years War English general, while *Coin* corresponds to *Queen*, the royal title. Place names of ethnic origin have survived in toponyms such as *Langles* < Oc *l'Anglès* (the Englishman), (*L'*)*Anglois* < Old French, (*L'*)*Anglais* (French)… Uninhabited Nanotoponyms are also part of the toponymic landscape, with the *Monument de Chandos*, the *Chapelle Notre-Dame de Talbot* < John Talbot, a valorous English general of Anglo-Normand descent, fallen at the battle of Castillon (-la-Bataille, 33). A rare hydronym such as *L'Anse des Anglois* requires some archaeotopographical research while quite a few odonyms can be found on urban maps. Finally, interesting commercial places complete the picture in many pleasant ways.

* * *

To explain and clarify some of the main reasons why there are such onomastic and historical links between England and the duchy of Aquitaine (1152-2014), why there has been such a Plantagenêt presence in the said duchy (1152-1453) and why there are, still today, several toponymic landmarks, it is needed to wind up the film of history back to the last centuries of the first millenium. This first part of our paper also intends to help identify most of the name-givers as well as most of their various approximately dated (years) motivations. The second part will present exemples of toponymic creations of 'English' origin, from the 13th to the 21st century.

Historical Background

We are now back to the period of time when the *Nortmannus* (Medieval Latin), an ethnonym derived from *Nortmann* (Old Frankish) meaning *Men*-(of- / who-came)-*from-the-North*, the Norsemen (meaning those who spoke the (Old) Norse language), later named *Normans*, *Normanz*, *Normands* (Old, Middle and Modern French), all of Scandinavian stock, who started invading the Anglo-Saxon coasts of Eastern, Southern and Western England as well as, on the continental shores, the Frankish coasts of Neustria, Aquitaine and Vasconia

(*Gascogne* / Gascony), the three last ones then belonging to the Carolingian Empire. In those years, the Anglo-Saxons called them *Danes*. The following succinct but necessary retrospective will also show how much, sometimes at least, onomastics is closely linked to history.

In *Britain* of those times, Edgar of England or Edgar I (959-975), *the Peacefull*, crowned at Bath (officially in 973), marries (964) Elfrida (*Elfthryth*, ca. 945-ca. 1000). She gives him Æthelred who is King of England (978-1013) after his father, under the name and nickname of *Æþelræd Unræd* (*Alfred the Unready*) or Æthelred II. In 1002, this later king orders the massacre of the Danish settlers, and in 1003 King Swen of Denmark invades England. This warlike action forces Æthelred to flee into exile, to Normandy, yet for only a short while for he returns the following year. In 1002, he marries Emma of Normandy, Richard II (*The Good*)'s sister, Count of Normandy (996-1026). Emma and Richard descend from the Viking *jarl* (= chief) Rollon (also Rollo, later Robert I *le Riche* of Normandy, after his baptism).

After the complicated 'Danish domination' (911-1042), the Anglo-Saxon dynasty returns to power under Edward *the Confessor* (1042-1066), last king of the House of Wessex, son of Emma and Æthelred II, and Richard II of Normandy' nephew. The king favours his Norman entourage and, soon after, the noble Danes and Saxons of England create an anti-Norman parti around Godwin of Wessex. Edward dies without heir, a situation that generates a most confusing succession crisis to the throne of England, for the various peripeties that follow put Harold Godwinson and the Normand *Guillaume le Bastard* in royal competition. Edward is immediately succeeded by Harold, who, the same year, is defeated by the Franco-Norman speaking William the Conqueror ('ex-*Bastard*'), Duke of Normandy, at the place subsequently named *Battle* (an obvious onomastic reference to this event), where the *Battle of Hastings* took place, at Santlache Hill, Sussex (1066).

Across the Channel, in what is to become *Normandy*, the Vikings also conquer vast territories. This includes the North-West of Neustria which, soon after, is all theirs, after the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, passed between Charles III *Le Simple*, the Carolingian King of Occidental Francia (893-922), and Rollo, in 911. Rollon, *jarl* of the *Nortmanni*, becomes the founder of *Normandy*. His son, *Guillaume* I (ca. 893-942), named 'of Normandy', nicknamed *Guillaume Longue-Épée* (Old Norse: *Vilhjálmr Langaspjót* or *Longsword*,) as well as his great-son, Richard I (942-997) or Richard *Sans-Peur* (*Fearless*), inherits his possessions and his title. We may note, here, that the province of Anjou is integrated into Normandy as soon as 933, during Guillaume I's days.

The state of affairs becomes even more intricate, if not confusing, when in 935 Guillaume I gives his sister Adela (*Gerloc*, who died in 962) in marriage to *Guillaume Tête-d'Étoupe* (William III *Towhead*) (915-963), Count of the Duchy of Aquitaine, from 959, and Duke of this province, from 962 to his death. Also in 935, he becomes Count of Poitou as Guillaume I. They were also titled and named 'Counts de Poitiers', after the capital city's name. Adela's daughter, Princess Adelaïde d'Aquitaine, marries Hugues Capet, a Frank and the first Capetian King. The Poitou had already been attached once, for a century, to the kingdom of Aquitaine by the Visigoths.

His son, Richard II (996-1026) is the first *Normand* to take up the title of Duke of Normandy. His great-great-son is *Guillaume le Bâtard* (1028-1087) or Guillaume II de

Normandy (1035), later nickednamed *le Conquérant*, after winning the battle of Hastings. He becomes the first King of England, as William I d'Angleterre (1066-1087), to be as well, Duke of Normandy. He is the first 'King-duke' of the Anglo-French history. The filiation of power as duke of Normandy takes us to the fith following generation downwards when Henri II *Plantagenêt* is also King of England, Count of Anjou and of the Maine.

In the South-West of France, *Aliénor* or *Éléonore* (*Eleanor/ Elinor* in English), Duchess of Aquitaine (1122-1204), Countess of Poitiers, marries at Bordeaux, in 1137, Louis VII (1120-1180) *le Jeune* (*the Young*), *Roi des Francs* (*Rex francorum /* 'King of the Franks', 1137-1180). She is the daughter of Guillaume VII, Count of Poitiers, also known as Guillaume X, Duke of Aquitaine. With her dowry, she brings in the vast provinces of Guyenne (prefered form of the name of Aquitaine as from 1229), Gascogne, Poitou, Limousin, Saintonge and Périgord. At that time, all these possessions belong to the duchy of Aquitaine and therefore, to Eleanor who, in fact, is the only suzerain (lord) recognized by Aquitaine vassals and populations. From the wedding day, the King of France also becomes Duke of Aquitaine. Yet, after some 'misunderstandings' with her royal husband, a cancellation of this union is obtained thanks to Pope Eugene III's 'obliging' decision (1152). And Eleanor recovers entirely her considerable dowry, much to the French king's unfortunate displeasure. Some fifty-eight days later, she maries Henry II *Plantagenêt* who, at his turn, becomes king-duke, this time, King of England and Duke of Aquitaine as well as of Normandy.

Originally, *Aquitaine* was the name, already existing, of the Roman province created by the Emperor Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.). The feudal toponym *Guyenne* (*Guiana*, in Oc / Occitan) is its popular corruption, widely prefered and used during the 13th and 14th centuries. Its evolution corresponds to the following continuation: *l'Aquitania > L'Aquiania > l'Aguiaina* (11th-12th century), slowly producing, after agglutination, *Laguiaina > Laguiaine > la Guiaine / la Guiana > la Guyenne*, today still used for history and tourism matters.

The following Kings of England or their kin have been 'king-dukes' and some of them have also been at the origin of some motivations and denominations, as name-givers, of Aquitaine place names, of 'English origin' simply because they were 'Kings of England'. These king-dukes have been: Henry II *Plantagenêt* (1152-1169) nicknamed *Court Manteau / Curtmantle* or *Henry FitzEmpress*; duke at the same time (and also after her death) as Eleanor, his wife, Duchess of Aquitaine (1137-1204), also duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou; Henry *the Young King* as 'junior duke (1170-1183); the very Franco-Normand speaking Richard I *Lionheart* (1169-1199); Otto von Brunswick (1196-1198), his nephew; Richard I, once more 1198-1199); John I *Lackland* (*Jean Sanz Terre*, in Old Norman, 1199-1216); Henry III d'Aquitaine (1216-1272); Edward I (1272-1307) *Longshanks* and *Malleus Scottorum*; Edward II (1307-1325); Edward III (1325-1362): King of England in 1327; in 1325, he institues Aquitaine as a principality for his son, Edward IV Plantagenêt (1330-1376); Edward IV (1362-1372) or Edward *of Woodstock*, after his birth-place name, Prince of Wales, later (at least as from 1568), nicknamed the *Black Prince / le Prince Noir / Princi Negue*, in Gascon; Edward III, again (1372-1377), after his son's death; Richard II *of Bordeaux* (1377-1390), after the name of his birth-place; he is the *Black Prince*'s son; Jean de Gand *d'Aquitaine*, his nephew, made Duke of Aquitaine (1390-1399); Henry IV *d'Aquitaine*

(1399-1400), Jean's son; Henry V *d'Aquitaine* (1400-1422); Henri VI *d'Aquitaine* (1422-1453), loses Aquitaine in 1453, after the Battle of Castillon (Gironde Department, 33), East of Bordeaux (33), definitively conquered by the King of France's troops, after general John Talbot's heroic death on the battlefield.

Onomastic Observations

This second part of our article is more directly devoted to toponymy, in general, and more specifically to a selection of examples of municipal toponymy, microtoponymy, nanotoponymy, maritime hydronyms, odonyms and commercial place names, all of anthroponymic or toponymic origin.

In 1152, Aliénor and Henri's marriage causes the making of the Plantagenêt Angevine Empire which will last, in Aquitaine, until 1453. The 'English' (Anglo-Normans and Anglo-Saxons) do not behave as colonizers, which they are not; they never 'occupy' Gascony', nor Aquitaine. On the contrary, at least at the begining, they are entirely in their full feudal rights. Yet, in those agitated days, wars and treaties such the Hundred Year War (1337-1453, a Franco-French war), battles (1335, Bayonne, Bergerac, Auberoche, Angoulême, the Black Prince in Bordeaux, 1355, at Poitiers, 1356), warlike raids (1346, 1356), conflicts of all kinds, Edward III's pretentions (1337…) to the French throne and crown, quarreling, intrigues, perfidy, treachery, crimes, murders, looting, pillages, ransackings… are parts of most people daily menu.

Municipal Toponyms

Around the year 1000, in some European countries, a new trend in urbanisation launches the begining of the establishment of a large number (more than 300) of some sorts of 'topographically pre-organised new places where to settle, to dwell'. In the large South-West of France, *villes neuves* emerged (= new towns > *Villeneuve*, in toponymy), as well as *villes franches* (= free towns < Oc *villa franca* > *Villefranche*, in toponymy), *castelnau(d)s* (= new castels < Oc *castèlnòu* > *Castelnau(d)*, in toponymy), *salvetats / sauvetats* (= safe new religious villages, in Oc, *sauveté* in French; *La Sauvetat* in toponymy), as well as *sauves terres* (= synonym of *salvetat* < Oc *salva terra*; *Sauveterre* in toponymy), and, finally, the usually walled cities known under the architectural term of *bastide* (< Oc *bastida*, meaning 'built', (*La*) *Bastide* in toponymy). Usually, *Villeneuve*, *Villefranche*, *Castelnau(d)*, *La Sauvetat, Sauveterre* and *La Bastide* are completed by some other onomastic elements (anthroponyms, hagionyms, toponyms, hydronyms, oronyms, adjectives, prepositions, etc.). They are the equivalents to the Catalan *villasnovas*, of the German *Gründungstädte*, of the Italian *borghi franchi, terre nuove*, etc. In England (see also Beresford 1967), one may also compare with the *Anglo-Saxon Charter of Worcester* (884-901) or the *Domesday Book* (1086) which records 112 boroughs.

Three English king-dukes launched the foundations of bastides: Edward I (40 new towns), Edward II (10), Edward III (3). As we can observe, these king-dukes had to superwise the construction, continuation, development or repairs of the bastides created by a

predecessor. Out of 53 of their cities, only Edward I played the decisive part as a name-giver for municipalities bearing a name of 'Saxon' or 'English' origin. We also note that French, Gascon or Oc terms have never been translated by these English king-dukes, nor by their administrations as their language was Franco-Norman. Today, *bastide* is also an English word borrowed from Oc / Gascon *bastida* and then from French, *bastide*, during the 13th century. The Occitan language in construction possibly borrowed it from one or several Germanic dialects, such as, in the South-West of France, Visigothic. See the Frankish verb *bastjan*, and the German *bauen*, meaning to 'built'; compare it with 'baste' and 'build / built / building', in English, sharing the same etymology).

Chronologically:

Libourne (33), [libu:rn]: with the construction already begun, this bastide received its charter (similar to John Lackland's *Magna C(h)arta Libertatum*, dated 1215) in 1270, from Prince Edward, future Edward I, *rex et bastidor*. We know the evolution of its name from numerous French and English archives documents: *Leyburn* (1270) > *Leyburnia* (Latin, *Gascon Rolls*, II, 560) > *Liburnia* > *Liborne* > *Libourne* The king-duke's motivation was to render homage to the name of the last superviser of the construction (29.11.1269 to December 1270; he died in 1271), Roger *de Leyburn* (*Leybourne*, *Lemburn*, *Leeburn*), from *Leyburn*, Kent, the well-known lieutenant, son of Roger *de Leybourne*, lord of this place, and his wife *Eleanor*. His ancestors are presumed to have come from France 'with' (or after…) William the Conqueror, but it has not been clearly demonstrated nor is the exact spelling of their eventual original Norman name known.

Baa (33), [bɑː]: is the Gascon form of *Bath*. In this Occitan regional variation, the *-aa-* suffix is inherited from the medieval Béarnais (from the neighbouring Province of Béarn) system of pronunciation which aimed to reprensent the lengthening of a vowel by mutisation (*amuïssement*, in French phonetics), by dropping the final consonant: in *Bath* ([bɑːθ]), *-th-* was considered as a single consonant or sound, as it was and still is pronounced [θ]. In 1286, Edward I signed his authorisation for the construction of a new bastide in a royal forest located to the immediate South-West of Bordeaux, today in the small suburb municipality of Talence. The original plan was to give it the religious title name of Robert Burnell (ca. 1239-1292), royal chancellor in Aquitaine, bishop of *Bath* and Wells (Canterbury province, England), for the long and dedicated services he rendered to the above-mentionned Prince Edward. Yet, the frequentation of a new Route to Santiago de Compostela (Galicia, Spain) meant that the building of this new town was abandoned and today it has totally disappeared. The houses already built were in wood and eventually they were desassembled and re-used somewhere else.

Hastingues (Landes, 40) [astɛ̃g]: in 1289, the Abbot of Arthous accepted to sign a contract of feudal rights of equality with Edward I, at a place called *Auria Mala*. Yet, its construction was interrupted due to the Franco-English war and started again in 1303, under the direction of the seneschal John of *Hastings* after whom it was later named. It is a French municipal toponym derived from an English family name issued from the English toponym of the place where one of the most important battle between France and England was held in 1066. The spelling continuation runs as follows: *Hastyngges* (1370, *Gascon Rolls*), *Fastingues* (1461; an erroneous spelling for a Latin or French author, for *-f-* turns into *-h-* in Gascon, and not the other way round. Also, the French as well as the Gascon pronunciations

needed the addition of an intercalary -*u*- between the final English -*g*- and -*s*-), *Hastingues* (from 1638 untill today, with one exception in 1733). As an odonymic derivation, one notes that a *Route d'Hastingues* exists today, in the neighbouring town of Peyrehorade (40).

   Nicole (Lot-et-Garonne, 47) [nikəl]: it was founded by Edward I, in 1291, and named after the bishop of *Lincoln*, Lincolnshire, who served in Aquitaine. Not even two years after its construction was finished, *Lincoln* ([ˈlɪn.kʊn]) was soon phonetically replaced by a Frenchised approximative pronounciation (*[ˈni.kʊl]) and graphically changed into *Nicola* (Oc) by the local inhabitants. Generated by metathesis, it is known with the continuation: *Lincoln* > *Nilcol*(*n*) > *Nicol* by dissimilation of the first -*l*- and by attraction of *Nicola*, an already well used girl's first name, *Nicole*, of Greek origin (*Νικόλαος*).

Microtoponyms

In French, *lieu-dit* ([ljødi]) means 'place that is named…' or 'named place'. It is often used as an administrative generic element, but it is not considered as part of the toponym. When it is used, it always precedes the proper name. It may designate inhabited places, when uninhabited ones are rather classified as nanotoponyms.

   During his famous *Chevauchée* ('long ride'; September 1361-March 1362), *John Chandos* crossed the continental country from Northern France to Aquitaine and it is on his itinerary, both ways, that we register several commemorative toponymic marks of high consideration through out the country. *Chandos* knows two pronunciations : [ʃãdo], in French, [ʃãdɔs], in Oc. It refers to *John Chandos* (1320-1370) who was the bravest of King Edward III's captains. During the Hundred Years War (1337-1453), he was appointed Seneschal of Poitou, High Constable of Aquitaine in 1361 as well as Lieutenant-General for all the Angevine Empire territories in France. He was a close companion to the Black Prince. Usually, his first ancestor in England, Robert or Roger *Chandos*, is said to have ridden along with William the Conqueror (*Dives-sur-Mer List*) and that he came from a Norman place named *Candos*, in the Eure or in the Seine-Maritime (76) Department. Several *lieux-dits* have received this name from the inhabitants of the part of the Empire, reminding us of the military passage or sojourn of this very popular (by both parties) military man. There is no confusion to be made with another *Chandos Herald*, a poet in Anglo-Norman, herald or king of arms to John / Jean Chandos in 1363.

   Hereafter follow some exemples: at Champsac parish (87), on a birth certificate, dated 1650, a *lieu-dit* still named *Chandos* today is cited; not far away, we can find *Les Landes de Chandos*. In the same area, at Saint-Sylvestre (87), there is also a place named *Chez Chandos*, which means **At Chandos's*. It could indicate that, once, a Chandos family lived there or, at least, possessed the place, unless Chandos had never owned the place. In the Dordogne (24), at Montpon-Ménestérol, there is a well-located site of a camp where the general and his army stayed over for a few days, on the right bank of the L'Isle River. Today, it is the name of a water resort site for children. Another comparable site is *Chandos*, at Saint-Médard-de-Mussidan (24), on the left bank of the river.

   Couin ([kwiːn]): this small *lieu-dit* is located in Saint-Étienne-de-Villeréal (47). In 1731, before the French Revolution (1789), it was still spelled and pronounced as it originally

was when it was created: *Queen*. The place name attributed by the Oc-speaking neighbouring inhabitants of this village in Aquitaine still reminds us of their motivation: the good memories they kept of Philippa de Hainaut (1315-1369), who had sojourned in a noble glassmaker's mansion of the days, today entirely reconstructed. She was King-Duke Edward III's wife and the mother of the (future) Black Prince as well as of Marguerite's, who married Jean de Hastings (1347-1375), 2nd Count of Pembroke (3rd creation), great-son of John de Hastings, the last supervisor of the building of the bastide of *Hastingues*. She also enjoyed much advantage to have *Sire* Jehan Foissart (ca. 1337-after 1404), the French poet and prominent chronicler, as her official court historian. If *Coin* lost its original English form, its pronunciation has, until today, remained unchanged, although, according to French phonetic rules, the Frenchised form, spelt *Coin*, should be pronounced [kwɛ̃]. Later, during the following centuries, the newly constructed places *Coin-Bas* (= *Lower-Coin*), *Coin-Haut* (= *Upper-Coin*) where created, as well as (*La*) *Vigne de Coin* (**The Coin Vinyard*).

Another unusual phonetic and spelling evolution is found in the name of the Occitan microtoponym *Langles* ([lãglɛs]), when, more locally, in the village Saint-Martin-de-Villeréal (47) where it is located, one says [long:lé]. It is probably the local French speakers who opened this vowel under the influence of the regional pronunciation of the French suffix *-ais*; e.g. *Anglais* = inhabitant of England, *Bordelais* = inhabitant of Bordeaux. If it had been a French toponym, its theoretical pronunciation would have been [lã:gl], knowing that, in this case, the final *-e-* as well as the grammatical plural suffix *-s-* remain silent. Semantically as well as grammatically, there would not have been any agreement between the initial *L'-* (for the elided forme of *le*, the masculine singular definite article) and an eventual final *-s*, marking the plural. According to aging local inhabitants, it has always been pronounced the Occitan way. *Langles* means 'the Englishman'. The typical Occitan gentilic suffix *-és* ([-ɛs]) indicates the way to designate the 'inhabitant of… (a place, town, if not a region, country or continent)', e.g. *bordalés* = Bordeaux inhabitant; *anglés* = the ethnonym for an Englishman / Englishmen. The dropping of the grave accent probably shows, over the centuries, some gallicization of the spelling under the influence of other, more common, regional toponyms such as *Angle*, *Langle*, naming 'a piece of ground with a salient angle'. Yet, the pronunciation of *-es* as ([ɛs]) confirms that it is an Occitan word. Regarding the initial *a-*, Occitan has suffered a long fluctuation: *inglis*, *inglès*, *englès* (also in French, in 1371), etc. It also possibly fell under the influence of the French lexical words: *anglais* / *Anglais* (English / adjective; Englishman / -men, nouns).

Such places as *Anglais*, *Anglois* (Old and Middle French), *Langlais*, *Langlois*, *Les Anglais*, *Les Anglois*, etc. designate place names after the presence of a man / men of this nationality, his / their geographical origin, the party he / they choose during the Hundred Years War, opposing the *francès* (French, Bretons, or others) to the *inglès* (Anglo-Normans, Anglo-Saxons, Gascons, loyal to the duchess or the duke of Aquitaine). Some were already bearing this type of family name under Edward II or III (Jean *Langlois,* Gascon Rolls, C61/74 : 96-1). These microtoponyms are of anthroponymic origin and, previously, they were from demonymic or politico-partisan nicknames.

Nanotoponyms (Uninhabited Places)

These places may be plots, pieces of land, ditches or even monuments. Two exemples commemorate the two Anglo-Norman heroes. In the Haute-Vienne (87), we find the *Monument de Chandos*, at Mazerolles (86), commemorating his death. At Lamothe-Montravel, a few miles away from the Battle of Castillon, one can still visit the humble monument erected in 1953 (5th centenary celebrations), in place of the ruins of a 12th-century chapel. Yet, the cadasters, as well as modern maps, still indicate Le Monument de Talbot as well as La Chapelle de Talbot, in respectful remembrance of this glorious English general who, with his dear son, died on the battlefield. J. Talbot (1384/1390-1453), first Count of Shrewsbury, descending from a Normand family from the Pays de Caux, in Normandy (Battle Abbey Roll), is, still today locally recognized as an honored English war chief.

Hydronyms

The hydronyms (*L'*)*Écluse-de-Chandos*, *Barrage de Chandos* and *Canal de Chandos* are located on the Monpon-Ménestérol (24) side (right bank) of the river (Rateau 2008: 18-50). This long lock or sluice dates from the 18th century. Yet, its name only appears on cadaster maps in the course of the 19th century. It is named after the above-mentioned *lieu-dit Chandos*, located on the other river bank, thanks to an everlasting local memory. From this hydronym derives (*La*) *Maison de l'Écluse de Chandos* or the 'lock' or 'sluice-house'.

   L'Anse des Anglois (Old French for *Anglais*) used to be a sort of small cove or bay located on today's municipality of Grayan-L'Hôpital, in Northern Médoc (33), which has nowadays totally disappeared due to the Atlantic Ocean's litoral progression, bringing sand into the medieval arm of sea water and eroding the surrounding sandhills. At first, it might have been named in Oc by the local fishermen, but no documentary track is available in the archives. It has been orally transmitted until an 18th-century publication mentions that in 1452 Bordeaux being once more taken by the French King's army, the capital of Aquitain's Gascon lords urgently sent a messenger to London to obtain help and protection. Soon after, John Talbot landed with a small fleet of seventy English round ships full of brave soldiers, North of Grayan and rushed South to deliver Bordeaux.

Odonymy

This specialization is the most productive one in this toponymic field: streets, avenues, etc., which are also place names. Lack of space does not permit to develop each example, but a selection will show an overall richness.

   Chandos: in Montpon-Ménestérol (24), *Rue* ('street') as well as *Impasse* ('blind alley') *Chandos*, in Valdivienne (86), in Auray (Morbihan, 56), *Rue Chandos*, in Mazerolles (86), *Rue John Chandos* and *Rue du Connetable Chandos*. Note that his first name is remembered in its English form.

   Talbot: in Castillon-la-Bataille (33), Avenue John Talbot, also with his English first name, in Lamothe-Montravel (24), *Chemin de Talbot* and *Route du Monument de Talbot*.

Prince Noir: as already mentioned, it refers Prince Edward, King Edward III who, in 1325, instituted Aquitaine as a principality. He bore many names, nicknames and titles: Édouard/ Edward (IV) Plantagenêt (1362-1372), Edward *of Woodstock*, after his birth-place name, Prince of Wales, Count of Chester, Duke of Cornwalls and as from at least 1568, the *Black Prince / le Prince Noir / Princi Negue*, in Gascon. Sometimes, he appears on documents as *Édouard Le Noir* (*the* Black). In French onomastics, during the 20th century and the 21st century, it is under (le) Prince Noir that he is commemorated: in Lomont (33), *Rue du Prince Noir* and *Rue du Château du Prince Noir*;

Édouard 1er: at Bordeaux, *Rue Edouard Ier*.

Libourne / Leyburn: in Bordeaux as well as in Paris (12th arrondissement), *Rue de Libourne*.

Commercial Names and Microtoponyms

In general, authors in onomastics who study 'commercial names' classify them only as such and never as microtoponyms. Yet, commercial places (as opposed to official and legalised commercial names) are also directing landmarks in the ever increasing urban magma in which we live. This is the reason why these place names are included in this short study. Most of them belong to the tourism world of commerce.

The bastide of Monpazier (24) was erected in 1284, under the order of Edward I Plantagenêt. In the 21st century, in 2003, Arjan and Marije Capelle, a young Dutch couple, created a luxury hôtel-restaurant which they named *Hôtel-restaurant Edward 1er*. That *hôtel-restaurant*, the onomastic (double) generic touristic element, correctly spelled, with its cicumflex accent on the *-ô-*, is quite a normal use in France. Yet, the fact that *Edward*, the English spelling for *Édouard* (the only and local correct form when he was the king-duke of Aquitaine) is used, seems strange, specially when it is followed by a French abreviation '*1er*', which one should read *Premier* (= (the) first). After investigation near the owners, we discover the clever commercial motivation put on stage: *Edward* is for the English customers; *1er* is dedicated to the French. Also in 2003, Marije opened *L'Éléonor*, the restaurant itself, borrowing this famous name from Eleanor of Aquitaine, who was Queen of England but, before anything else, Duchess of Aquitaine. This time, the French form has been chosen because there are more French customers frequenting the restaurant. In 2007, the owners aquired a nearby ancient hotel, named *Hôtel de Londres* (= **Hotel of London*) where well-known British customers (Thomas Edward Laurence, 1888-1935 / Lawrence of Arabie…) and celebrated actors used to go before World War II. It is now *Le Bistrot 2*… But that is another onomastic story…

The old village of Sérignac d'Agenois, today Sérignac-sur-Garonne (47), at first a French bastide built in 1273, keeps only one official recollection of those days, thanks to one odonym: *Rue de la Bastide* (**Bastide Street*). But in the long lasting traditional memory, one remembers that Edward of Woodstock, not yet nicknamed the Black Prince, stopped over, perhaps several times, in this walled town. And this is the reason why, some eight centuries later, the 21st-century owners of one of the nicest *hôtel-restaurant* of the area gave it a commercial name of historical origin that of *Le Prince Noir*. It is located in a 17th-century

mansion, where, most evidently, Edward of Woodstock never stopped over, not even for a night! Its restaurant menu is tited *La Table du Prince Noir*… A legend is born…

This well-celebrated prince enjoys more signs of consideration with the *Château du Prince Noir*, a well-known restaurant, in Lormont (33), where this prince stayed for a while. At Montflanquin (47), the local legend recalls that he rested some time (a night?) in one of the oldest houses of this very beautiful bastide, in *La Maison* ('the house') *du Prince Noir*… And, subsequently, the restaurant across the nicely shaded square is *Le Bistrot du Prince Noir*. At Pons, is another hôtel-restaurant *Le Prince Noir*…

Conclusion

As the 'English' king-dukes were not invaders, colonizers, nor enemies to the Aquitaine population, only a few toponyms of 'English' (Anglo-Saxon / Anglo-Norman) origin were created. When they did 'colonize' spaces, it was to found walled bastides to the benefit and the protection of the Aquitaine population. French and Anglo-Norman languages (Oc to a lesser extent) were in royal use until 1399, when English took over definitely in England. Military heroes such as Chandos, Talbot or the Black Prince are all well commemorated, a fact that shows a faithful memory of the times when the King-Dukes of England were preferred to the King of France. The quantity of onomastic references is scarce but the quality of legendary personages reflects an everlasting commemorative memory which well deserves to be remembered.

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Cognitive Description of Multilingual Toponym Pairs

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Abstract

My paper gives an overview of how multilingual toponym pairs may be represented in the mind and mental lexicon of speakers familiar with both name forms. The emergence and continuous development of name usage is examined from three different aspects: firstly, I look at the names from the aspect of the name users and the community, secondly, from the aspect of the places, i.e. that of the mental map, and thirdly, from the aspect of the toponymic system. The connectionist holistic model will be applied with respect to internal mental processes. Apart from providing an overview of the existing knowledge and its extension from a cognitive perspective, I intend to draw attention to the need for research in this area. These results may not only help answer the questions raised here, but they might bring us closer to the understanding of the essence and functioning of proper names as well.

* * *

Introduction

In a bilingual environment, as a rule, different places and objects have names in both languages (e.g. Hungarian *Kolozsvár* – Romanian *Cluj-Napoca,* Hungarian *Kassa* – Slovakian *Košice,* Hungarian *Duna* – Slovakian *Dunaj* – German *Donau;* besides macro-toponyms, we could list here also a large number of micro-names). These corresponding names may emerge independently from each other, or through the translation or changing of the name. My paper gives an overview of how these names and name pairs may be represented in the mind and mental lexicon of speakers familiar with both name forms. The emergence and continuous development of name usage is examined from three different perspectives, which are closely related, in fact they belong together and are distinguished merely for the purpose of the study. Firstly, I look at the names from the perspective of the name users and the community, secondly, from the perspective of the places, i.e. that of the mental map, and thirdly, from the perspective of the toponymic system. The connectionist holistic model will be applied with respect to internal mental processes. According to this model, different cognitive processes are not independent of each other in the mind, and—like most representations of a somewhat higher complexity—toponyms are also represented as a network of different elements of knowledge (cf. Reszegi 2009: 10-11).

Name Community

First, I will explore the issue of name usage, concentrating on the community using the names. Toponyms are inseparable from the members of the speech community since the speakers operate the rules of use between the name and the object denoted by it and in certain

situations, they refer to places using their proper names. The individual acquires the knowledge of names and develops his or her language use within the community while he or she also influences the language use of the community (Reszegi 2012: 96-97). However, not only does the individual learn the names within this context, but it is the community where he or she also develops a knowledge of the world as well. Thus, the way of thinking, behaviour and communication of the community influences the individual's developing cognitive system. Therefore, it is this environment that constitutes the socio-cultural criteria for the individual's knowledge, and within that, his/her knowledge of names (Hoffmann 2012: 15).

The knowledge of toponyms and local knowledge of each individual within the community—due to the variety of socio-cultural backgrounds—may be significantly different (cf. e.g. Heinrich 2000: 11) while they share some common features as well. The group of those with a similar toponymic knowledge can be referred to as the name community. A name community can be defined as the network of these smaller name communities loosely or more closely connected to each other (Hoffmann 2012: 15). Where to draw the boundaries of the different smaller name communities is, of course, a matter of debate. For instance, the inhabitants of a smaller settlement may be regarded as the members of one name community; however, in the case of bigger cities, there may be several smaller name communities which, at the same time, are not strictly independent of one another (Reszegi 2015).

Bilingual communities further complicate the situation. Namely, the language knowledge of the individuals living in bilingual communities may be different. Some use both of their languages in their everyday life. Others speak only one language but know certain frequently used elements of the other language as well. As for the scale between the two types mentioned, it contains countless other variations and transitions. At the same time, in the context of minority bilingualism, even those who do not know both languages can be considered bilingual to some extent since their native language—due to the unique situation of language policy—carries the signs of bilingualism. Thus, this circumstance influences the use of toponyms as well.

Those who speak both languages interact with the members of both language communities, and through the act of speaking, they encounter the toponymic forms of both languages. Thus, they know and use the proper name denominations of places in both languages. This is supported by Teodóra Tóth's studies (2014). Barkaszó and Izsnyéte are two Hungarian-Ukrainian bilingual settlements in the Ukraine where bilingualism is so prevalent that it allows two conversing people with the same native language (Hungarian-Hungarian or Ukrainian-Ukrainian) to switch back and forth between language codes freely. During each conversation, these speakers use different versions of toponyms, they combine parts of the names from different languages and do not rely on one single linguistic system. Therefore, when studying bilingual communities which emerge through the close co-existence of their members, the researcher cannot necessarily link the toponyms to specific languages and language communities, and in these settlements, the two name communities can hardly be distinguished.

Monolingual people living in a bilingual environment—the speakers in a minority bilingual environment in particular—mostly also know the majority forms of toponyms used frequently. However, due to the lack of language knowledge, these name forms are often not

transparent to them. At the same time, on the basis of their sound and some characteristic name segments, these names are also organised and may serve as pillars in monolingual people's mental system for processing new names and judging the name-like nature of words. In bilingual communities, speakers of the majority language are less likely to be aware of the toponymic forms of the minority language. (This hypothesis has not been proven by specific studies yet. Research in this area has to take into consideration the fact that the majority language of a given country may be in a minority position in one or more settlements. In this case, the majority/minority relations may manifest themselves differently.) On the basis of the above, it is possible that the otherwise malleable theoretical boundaries of the name community within a bilingual environment do not correspond to the changeable boundaries of the linguistic community which are also only theoretical in nature, in spite of the fact that toponyms themselves are linguistic elements as well. This hypothesis needs to be the subject of future research.

Cognitive Map

More research results and theoretical backgrounds are available for the process of bilingual name usage. First, let us have a look at the relationship between the representation of places and toponym usage.

The meaning of toponyms is inseparable from the place denoted by the name, that is, the representation of the place; therefore, the comprehensive study of toponyms must also consider the 'world of places'. Cognitive psychology refers to this as the cognitive map. The mental or cognitive map is the representation of our knowledge of our spatial environment, which—in the form of spatial expressions and toponyms—contains linguistic knowledge as well. This means that because of toponyms—among others—the mental map and the network of the mental lexicon partly overlap (Reszegi 2012: 96; 2013).

The individual's mental map emerges as part of acquiring knowledge of the world—often not by direct experience but through the act of speaking. On the other hand, the mental map as a conceptual framework determines the linguistic form as well. Two identical names, for instance, cannot be placed on one map as denotations for places close to each other. In case they are, the confusion of identification is resolved by the 'closeness rule': this occurs when a name like *Sáros-patak* 'muddy creek' refers to a creek as well as the settlement next to it (Hoffmann 2012: 17). The need for identification may also be superseded by the need for representing one's interests and ownership: therefore, in Medieval Hungary, it was quite frequent for several villages close to each other and owned by the same person to have the same name: the owner's name.

In the case of the knowledge of name pairs of different languages in a bilingual community, the information referring to a certain place on the individual's mental map contains several elements of proper names. Obviously, different name variants and synonymous names may emerge within one language as well; however, in this case, the elements of toponyms belong to a single mental lexicon. In contrast, the forms of toponyms of different languages within the bilingual's mental system are integrated in different linguistic networks (Reszegi 2014a: 21). At the same time, the connectionist holistic model

considers these linguistic systems as not independent from each other; we can assume a close connection between the linguistic elements of different languages. In addition, language interference further strengthens these connections.

We can assume a close connection between the representations of the members of different name pairs as well, which means that the elements of knowledge constituting the representations are closely associated with each other. The representations of both members of a given name pair include the elements of knowledge describing the information referring to the place, the object. Through these, the representations of the toponyms referring to the same object also partly overlap. The close connections between toponymic representations are demonstrated by the interference affecting toponyms as well. The following example is from a Csango Hungarian man's speech: '[Hungarian] én románul tanultam a skólában... én [Romanian] *Kluzs*ban végeztem...' ('I learned Romanian at school… I graduated in [Romanian] *Cluj...*') (Szabó 1995: 112-113). The following examples are from the ethnic German language area in Hungary: '*Leipzig*ból jött.' '[Hungarian] He came from [German] *Leipzig.*'; '*St. Martin* [Hungarian] elbújt a *Gansenstahl*ban*.*' '[German] *St. Martin* [Hungarian] hid in [German] *Gansenstahl*.' (Navracsics 1999: 141). In this utterance, only the names are German, even their suffixation is Hungarian.

On the basis of the above, the mental map of bilingual speakers is different from that of monolingual speakers only in terms of the extent of their relational network. Thus since, to some extent, the mental maps of individuals within the same community develop in a similar way and as a result, through the act of speaking, the new places and names on the individual's map can easily integrate into others' mental maps in a bilingual environment.

On the other hand, cognitive psychology suggests that in addition to the mental map, the 'affective component' is also an integral part of environmental competence and it is inherently connected to spatial representations. This subnetwork includes the emotional and motivational response to environmental elements (Dúll 2007: 120). Thus, the holistic representation of names does not only consist of the reference to the object but the emotional content and subjective value judgements related to certain name forms as well. Part of this content is mostly known by the members of the community, and their representation is created through the act of speaking. For those who know the name forms of various languages, these elements of knowledge are also activated when they process or recall a given name form. As a result, the members of the name pairs with different emotional and socio-cultural content may refer to the same object—however, they cannot be regarded as the perfect equivalent of each other. For instance, linguistically, both the name forms *Kassa* and *Košice* make sense for a Hungarian speaker in Slovakia and, depending on the situation, he or she may use either the Hungarian or the Slovakian version for the same referent. The choice may be based on the stylistic character associated with the name forms or the ethnically related content of the name (Hizsnyai Tóth 2003: 143).

Name System

So far, we have had an overview of the way toponyms function in a community as well as the relationship between the representation of names and the mental map; in the following part of my paper, I will analyse name usage by focusing on the name system.

In the connectionist holistic model, the mental lexicon is not an independent module, and the representation of words is not independent from the concepts and conceptual categories. Furthermore, the world of words, the name system, is not an autonomous system within the mental system either. Nevertheless, the representation of the known name stock can be illustrated as a subnetwork developing on the basis of a prototypical principle within the individual's mental system: it is based on the elements of knowledge representing the specific ways of use and the identifying function of names. In addition, the names corresponding to the various name types—such as anthroponyms, toponyms, etc.—are organised in a similar way within this subnetwork. Furthermore, within the category of toponyms, organisation is based on the different types of objects.

Even though cognitive semantics suggests that the name forms constituted by several elements—due to their frequent co-occurrence—are likely to be stored in a holistic way, that is, we regard names as linguistic units (Tolcsvai Nagy 2008, Reszegi 2013), we may assume an analytical, morphology-based processing governed by an analogical principle when interpreting unknown name forms. This means that first the type of object is determined during the processing of new names. In this process, the speaker is assisted by the actual environment or the information which can be retrieved from the linguistic context. In addition, the analysis of the name form takes place.

The names already acquired—in accordance with the frequency of their types and elements—serve as models for the processing and creation of new names. These name models are organised on the basis of semantic and structural characteristics, and they are slightly different for each individual, while showing similar features at the level of the community. Rudolf Šramek (1978: 392-393) suggests that these models determine the linguistic profile of loanwords as well: speakers usually add name formants of their own language to the forms borrowed from a community of a different language so that they can create the toponymic function of these words in their own language.

The Word as an Element of the Relevant Linguistic System

In a bilingual environment, the proper name denominations of places in both languages may be integrated into the individual's mental system—on the basis of the linguistic context containing the word and as an element of the relevant linguistic system. In the case of semantically transparent names, we can assume the organising role of the recognisable common word elements as well. As a result of processing a new toponym, its representation emerges and the name is integrated into not only the cognitive map but into one of the linguistic networks formed on the basis of linguistic experience. Apart from this, however, the encounter with and processing of toponyms are similar to the way these occur within bilingual speakers' mental systems: namely, the analysis of the lexical content based on the

analogical principle and the exploration of information related to the type of place occur simultaneously (cf. Hoffmann 2012: 21).

In the case of bilingual speakers, two linguistic systems connected to each other in several respects can be assumed. In addition, there is a strong connection between the name pairs referring to the same object. An even closer link can be observed between homonymic names. Bilingual speakers represent homonymic names as largely, albeit not entirely overlapping elements of the two linguistic networks. However, they usually utter these names in accordance with the phonological characteristics of the actual spoken language. Obviously, the phonetic features may be mixed. Research focusing on this subject has only been made with regard to anthroponyms[1] (cf. Grosjean and Miller 1994); however, the same organisation and behaviour may be assumed regarding toponyms as well. The proper names of both languages with identical or very similar forms often trigger a code switch, for instance 'Bei uns ware viele Mar/ äh fünf Marschall, (-) Marschall. Jüngster Tuchačevskij, Bljucher (-) Bljucher, Vorašilov, Budenyj i Egorov. Und der'; 'Es war Mr Fred Burger, der wohnte da in Gnadenthal and he went out there one day and Mrs Roehr said to him: Wer sind denn die Männer do her?' (Riehl 2005: 1947). This further demonstrates the integral connection between the representations of names.

In the mental system of monolingual speakers living in a bilingual environment, the toponymic elements of the other language—as mentioned before—are integrated into the mental lexicon as the element of the native language system; as a name variant about which the individual stores the information that it is the equivalent of the specific name in the other language as well. On the basis of this information, these foreign names may be connected to each other, and due to their phonotactic patterns, they help assess the name-like nature of new forms. However, these name forms are integrated in the linguistic system with strong connections only if they are also frequently used in speaking the native language in the given community.

Name Models

For bilingual speakers, the known names are organised by languages, thus, these speakers have information stored about the name giving traditions of both of their languages, which means that bilingual speakers have two name models. However, these models may influence each other in multilingual communities. The reason for this is that on the basis of the name representations belonging to the two linguistic networks, it is possible for certain features of the name model in one language to become dominant in one or more speakers' mental systems and to affect the creation of names in other languages as well. Through the act of speaking, these patterns influence others' name models as well.

When studying the Hungarian, Slovenian and German onomastic corpus of the Vend region in western Hungary, Eszter Ditrói pointed out that the influence of the Slavic name model can be observed in some Hungarian road names. The direction in road names in the Hungarian-speaking area is usually expressed by a toponymic element containing

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[1] In their research, Grosjean and Miller (1994) analysed the phonetic characteristics of code switches (e.g. the names Paul, Tom and Carl during telling a story), and they found that switching from one language to the other in speech means a comprehensive switch including the phonetic level as well.

the *-i* adjective formant (*Dorogi út* > the name of the settlement *Dorog* + formant *-i* + 'road', that is, 'the road that leads to the place *Dorog*'). However, the antecedent of *Celina út* and *Trejbes út* are settlement names without a formant, which is the same as in Slovenian (*Trejbes paut, Celina paut* (Ditrói 2013: 96-97).

It is possible that the cross-influence of name models is also responsible for the difference observed during my research of the mountain names of the Carpathian Basin in the Middle Ages (Reszegi 2006, 2014b). I made a comparison of the name of the mountain range on the northern part of today's Hungary (Északi-középhegység – The Northern Middle Mountain Range) as well as the names of the mountain ranges in the south of today's Slovakia (Selmeci-hegység, Jávoros, and Szlovák-érchegység, that is, the Štiavnica Mountain, Javorja, and the Slovak Ore Mountains) in terms of their name structure and genesis, and I concluded that in the northern range, where the larger population of Slavic people had lived at the time, Slavic names remained unaltered after being transferred to the Hungarian name system. This may have been influenced by the interaction of the traditions of name usage as well: the Slavic name system mainly contains one-part names. In contrast, the names of the southern range of Slavic origin were more adjusted to the Hungarian name system: a greater part of them became two-part names due to the addition of a geographical common name. This is explained by the fact that syntagmatic construction was the most typical way of name giving among the speakers of Hungarian. There are some differences in the use of name formants within the name stocks of Slavic origin referring to the two ranges: in the south, only a quarter of the names were created with the use of name formants while in the north, this process affected half of the names. This may be due to the fact that the traditions of Hungarian name usage had a greater impact among Slavic name users in the southern range, while in the north the Slavic norm for name creation was dominant.

Similarly, the secondary names created with the addition of formants which were documented in the Middle Ages (*Batár* > *Batarcs, Túr* > *Túrc*) can be attributed to linguistic interference. Such names can only be found in the north-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin, where, apart from Hungarians, Slavic, Romanian and German-speaking populations used to live at the time. Therefore, the influence of the model of toponym formation active in the stratum of Slavic names can be assumed as the basis for this type of name formation (Kocán 2013: 236-237).[2]

Speakers' Knowledge

On the basis of the cognitive approach, we must take into account the fact that the speakers' knowledge of the motivation and structure of names is often incongruent with the information explored by onomastic researchers. However, since the names function and change within the community, it is the speakers' knowledge that is significant in this regard. The reason for this is that when an individual acquires names, in reality, he or she recreates them semantically,

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[2] Due to the interference of languages, we may assume the borrowing of certain topoformants as well. The names formed by borrowing the *-ovce* name formant which is of Slovakian origin have a typical *-óc* ending in Hungarian. As a result, in the northern part of the Hungarian-speaking area, where Slovakian and Hungarian communities used to live together, a large number of formerly two-part Hungarian names became one-part names with the ending *-óc* (cf. Kenyhercz 2014).

and the representation of names may be modified later during name usage as well. Thus, the meanings of toponyms contain characteristics we attribute to them. This means that it is not the world but our knowledge of the world that is reflected in the semantic content expressed in names (Hoffmann 2012: 22-24).

We may assume similar processes during the creation of the elements of name pairs in multilingual areas. This can be demonstrated by a German-Hungarian example. In the Hungarian Vas/malom with an anthroponym as its antecedent [Hungarian *vas* 'iron' + Hungarian *malom* 'mill'] ~ German Vas/Mühle [Hungarian *vas* 'iron' + German *Mühle* 'mill'], bilingual language users had incorrectly identified the antecedent as the root of the German verb *waschen* 'wash'; therefore, the version Mosó/malom [Hungarian *mosó* 'washing' + *malom* 'mill'] could appear in Hungarian (cf. Póczos 2010: 191). What is called incorrect identification in the traditional onomastic literature is, in reality, the process of name acquisition and thus, the semantic recreation of names. From a cognitive perspective, the fact that it results in an interpretation of the name which is different from the etymology of the name is of no significance. At the same time, this example also demonstrates that during this process, bilingual speakers may activate their knowledge of both languages and take into consideration the lexical as well as the functional name models.

The Way Name Pairs Are Created

The example mentioned above also points out the way name pairs are created. Regarding the name equivalents in different languages, it is well-known that they may be created independently from each other, or by translating or changing the name. In his theory, István Kniezsa suggests that in the case where two toponyms are semantic equivalents of each other and the first data related to the names are of roughly the same age – a case of parallel name giving (1944: 3). This means that the members of name pairs are not translations of each other but they might have been created at the same time, independently from each other. This view was dominant from the mid-20th century in Hungarian onomastic research; however, it has been debated recently. From a cognitive perspective, it is possible that the same attribute of an object characterised by several attributes and relations is chosen as the basis for name giving in two different communities, and even the structure of the name will be similar; however, in reality, we may only assume this possibility in the case of toponyms formed from geographical common names. When numerous examples occur—regarding the names with a more complex structure and semantic content in particular—the creation of name pairs by translation seems more likely in the majority of cases.

Conclusions

As my paper suggests, there are still numerous questions about the name usage of bilingual speakers as well as the mental representation of name pairs. Thus, apart from providing an overview of the existing knowledge and its extension from a cognitive perspective, I intended to draw attention to the need for research in this area. These results may not only help answer the questions raised here but they might bring us closer to the understanding of the essence and functioning of proper names as well.

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Namenwechsel und Namenwandel in der Nordsee

Ludwig Rübekeil
Schweiz

Zusamenfassung

Der folgende Aufsatz beschäftigt sich mit dem onomastischen Abbild des Nordmeeres (Nordsee und Ostsee) und dessen Wandel während der Antike und dem Mittelalter, wobei Pytheas von Massilia und Adam von Bremen den Anfangs- resp. Endpunkt der vorliegenden Darstellung bilden. Es soll insbesondere gezeigt werden, dass Namen und ihre Dynamik zentrale Bedeutung für die mentale Landkarte haben. Im Zentrum stehen dabei die frühgeschichtliche Inselnamen *Thule*, *Scandiae* und *Scadinavia*, deren Metamorphose teilweise so deutlich mit einem Wandel der kartographischen Vorstellungen korreliert, dass sich die Frage nach einem kausalen Nexus stellt. Besonders die Geschichte des Inselnamens *Scandia* erscheint vor dem Hintergrund der ptolemaischen Kartographie Britanniens in einem neuen Licht.

Abstract

This paper deals with the onomastic representation of the Northern Ocean (encompassing the North Sea as well as the Baltic Sea) and its development during Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the present account, Pytheas and Adam of Bremen will serve as beginning and end points, respectively. It will be demonstrated that names and their dynamics play a central role in the shaping of the mental landscape. The article focuses on the early island names *Thule*, *Scandiae* and *Scadinavia*, whose metamorphosis clearly coincides with a change of cartographic perception. This raises the question of a causal connection. In particular, the history of the island name *Scandia* appears in a new light against the background of Ptolemy's cartography of Britain.

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Adam von Bremen und die Inseln des Nordens

Ungefähr um das Jahr 1075 vollendete Adam von Bremen seine 'Geschichte der Hamburger Kirche', die in den ersten 3 Büchern das Leben und die Taten der Hamburger Bischöfe beschreibt. Für die Geographie ist jedoch das 4. Buch von besonderem Interesse, das sich vom restlichen Werk deutlich abhebt und fast den Charakter eines Exkurses oder Anhangs hat. Es trägt den Titel *Descriptio insularum aquilonis* 'Beschreibung der Inseln des Nordens' und handelt im Wesentlichen von Skandinavien, der Ostsee und dem Nordatlantik. Das Bild, das Adam von diesen Regionen zeichnet, entspricht freilich nicht ganz den heutigen kartographischen Vorstellungen. Passend zum Titel wird der gesamte europäische Norden als eine Inselwelt dargestellt, und auch die skandinavische Halbinsel erscheint, zumindest in der expliziten Darstellung, als eine Ansammlung von Inseln.

Insgesamt zeigt sich Adam in diesem 4. Buch allerdings ausgesprochen informiert, er erwähnt viele Namen, die zuvor nicht oder nur unvollständig in den historischen Quellen erscheinen. Viele dieser Informationen sind von außerordentlicher Aktualität, und Adam dürfte sich dessen auch bewusst gewesen sein. In einem Fall am Ende des Buches muss man

geradezu von einer Sensation sprechen: Im 39. Kapitel kommt eine Insel im hohen Norden des Nordmeeres zur Sprache, die angeblich den Namen *Winland* trägt und diesen Namen wegen der Weinreben bekommen hat, die dort wachsen. Heute ist klar, dass sich dieser Name auf einen Teil Nordamerikas bezieht, das grönländische Wikinger am Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts entdeckt hatten. Leif, dem Sohn Eriks des Roten, war eine kurze Ansiedlung auf dem neu entdeckten Land gelungen, das aber bald wieder in Vergessenheit geriet, nachdem die grönländischen Siedlungen während der 'kleinen Eiszeit' aufgegeben worden waren. Die Entdeckung der Neuen Welt ist sonst nur in den ungefähr 200 Jahre später entstandenen 'Vinland-Sagas' beschrieben, deutlich später als Adams Erstbeleg. Wenn wir vergleichen, wie rasch 500 Jahre später die Entdeckung Amerikas durch Kolumbus von den Zeitgenossen aufgenommen wurde, dann erstaunt die Beiläufigkeit, mit der die Neue Welt bei Adam ihre früheste Erwähnung findet.

Nicht nur der Bericht über Vinland, auch die Kapitel vorher und nachher sind sehr aktuell. Zuvor hatte Adam bereits die Inseln Island und Grönland erwähnt, die ebenfalls durch wikingische Expeditionen in den europäischen Horizont geraten waren. Nach dem Vinland-Kapitel beschreibt Adam eine friesische Expedition nach Norden bis über Island hinaus, die verschiedene wundersame und grauenerregende Abenteuer bestehen musste. Zwar sind diese Berichte immer wieder mit fabulösen Elementen durchsetzt, doch das tut ihrer Aktualität keinen Abbruch. Für einige dieser Berichte gibt Adam konkrete Gewährspersonen an. Eine wichtige Rolle spielt der Hamburger Erzbischof Adalbert I., auf den etwa die Geschichte von der Fahrt der Friesen zurückgeht. Ein anderer wichtiger Informant war der dänische König Sven Estridsson, ein zum Christentum bekehrter Wikinger, dem die genauen Angaben über die Ostsee und Schweden zu verdanken sind; als literarische Quelle wird auch Karls Biograph Einhard erwähnt.

Adams Weltbild zeigt aber immer wieder Brüche. Zum einen scheint er eine (teils sogar im Wortsinn) 'verdrehte' Karte im Kopf gehabt zu haben. Darin ist Winland nur eine Insel unter vielen und außerdem im hohen Norden statt im Westen lokalisiert. Skandinavien wiederum erstreckt sich nicht in Nord-Süd-Richtung sondern von Westen nach Osten. Die Längen- und Breitenkoordinaten erscheinen also in mehreren Fällen um 90° gekippt (Nyberg 1986: 32f.). Auffällig ist darüber hinaus die Produktivität des Inselkonzepts. Auch Helgeland in Nordnorwegen, hier *Halagland* genannt, gilt als große Insel mit einer ähnlichen Ausdehnung wie Island oder Grönland, die lediglich von der Küste der Nordmänner weniger weit entfernt ist. Diese Beschreibung erstaunt deshalb, weil von Helgeland einer der berühmtesten Seefahrer des Mittelalters stammt, nämlich Ohthere (Óttar), dessen Reisebericht 2 Jahrhunderte vor Adam in die Orosiusübersetzung Alfreds des Großen und damit in die europäische Literatur Einzug hielt. Dass Helgeland keine Insel ist, hätte Adam bei genauerer Recherche in Erfahrung bringen können. Doch sogar das südschwedische Schonen, das im Herrschaftsbereich von Adams Hauptinformanten Sven Estridsson liegt, wird als 'fast eine Insel' beschrieben, 'die bis auf einen Landarm rings von Meer umgeben ist' (4,7: *fere insula ... cincta est mari, preter unum terrae brachium*). Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass der dänische König für dieses Bild verantwortlich war; die Ursachen müssen anderswo liegen.

Tatsächlich hat die Sicht auf das Nordmeer als exotische und zivilisationsferne Inselwelt eine alte Tradition. Sie ist letztlich den geographischen und kartographischen

Vorstellungen der Antike zu verdanken, welcher Tradition zufolge nicht nur zahllose kleinere Inseln im Nordmeer zu verzeichnen, sondern auch die großen Landmassen Skandinaviens (Norwegen, Schweden, Finnland) als Inseln aufzufassen sind. Die Ostsee muss demnach als Bucht des Weltmeeres gesehen werden, die nach Norden geöffnet war. Dieses kartographische Bild hat Adams 4. Buch offenbar vorgeprägt, auch wenn er es nicht konsistent umgesetzt hat. Zwar bezeichnet Adam Norwegen und Schweden als Inseln (4,38: *in Suedia et in Norvegia et in ceteris, quae ibi sunt, insulis*), dennoch versteht er die Ostsee korrekt als Binnenmeer, das lediglich bei Jütland mit dem Ozean verbunden ist: Dies geht aus Kapitel 4,15 hervor, in welchem er beschreibt, dass man Griechenland von Schweden aus auf dem reinen Landweg erreichen kann. Verantwortlich für diese widersprüchlichen Positionen ist offenkundig der Spagat zwischen antiker Tradition und aktueller Information. Der Einfluss der Antike ist bei Adam unübersehbar; nicht nur geographische, auch mythologische Namen schmücken seine Darstellung. Die Schweden setzt er mit den Hyperboreern gleich (4,21; ähnlich 4,12). Beim norwegischen Hochgebirge spricht er von den riphäischen Bergen, also den Bergen, hinter denen in der griechischen Mythologie die Sonne um die Erde läuft. Die Umgebung der riphäischen Berge bevölkern Fabelwesen, die schon in der antiken Literatur das Ende der bewohnten Welt signalisieren: Amazonen, Hundsköpfe, einäugige Zyklopen sowie auf einem einzigen Bein hüpfende Himantopoden. Diese Namen kommen mit großer Selbstverständlichkeit zur Sprache; lediglich für die Himantopoden verweist Adam auf Solinus, einen Populärgelehrten, der um oder nach 300 vor allem Plinius exzerpiert hatte (4,25: *ab oriente autem Ripheos montes attingit … ibi sunt Amazones, ibi Cynocephali, ibi Ciclopes, qui unum in fronte habent oculum, ibi sunt hii, quos Solinus dicit Ymantopodes uno pede salientes*).

Im Zusammenhang mit diesen antiken Versatzstücken bleibt es nicht aus, dass auch der berüchtigste Inselname des Nordens überhaupt zur Sprache kommt, nämlich Thule. Pytheas von Massilia, ein griechischer Seefahrer, hatte diese Insel im 4. Jahrhundert vor Chr. entdeckt und ihren Namen in die antike Welt eingeführt. In der römischen Literatur wurde ihr Name zu einem Symbol für das Ende der Welt, nachdem Vergil ihn als *ultima Thule* dichterisch mythisiert hatte (Georgica 1, 30, vgl. See 2006). Adams Namenform *Thyle, Thile* verrät die griechische Urheberschaft; in der Folge holt Adam allerdings weiter aus. Einige zentrale Sätze über Thule bezieht Adam fast wörtlich von Beda Venerabilis, der in diesem Zusammenhang auch namentlich erwähnt wird. Kurz danach folgt die einzige Erwähnung des Pytheas. Adam selbst ergänzt das antike Wissen jedoch mit den Worten 'dies Thule wird nun Island genannt wegen des Eises, das den Ozean einbindet' (4,26: *haec itaque Thyle nunc Island appellatur a glacie quae oceanum astringit*). Anders als in der Vergiltradition ist Thule also keine unbestimmbare, ferne Größe oder gar das Ende der Welt, sondern ein gesicherter Referenzpunkt für den zeitgenössischen Horizont. Adam betont diesen Gegensatz deutlich. Etwas plakativ könnte man sagen, dass er mit dem Mythos auch den Namen *Thule* aus der mythologischen Metadiskussion streicht und ihn zugleich für den geographischen Diskurs entbehrlich macht.

Adams kartographischer Horizont wird somit durch Referenzpunkte sowohl der antiken Tradition (Riphäen, Thule, Orchaden) wie auch der aktuellen Geographie (Winland, Grönland, Island) begrenzt. Auch wenn beide Referenzwelten auf den ersten Blick widersprüchlich erscheinen, greifen sie doch immer wieder ineinander. Die Tendenz,

mythologische Namen zu eindeutigen Referenzpunkten zu machen, zeigt sich nicht nur bei der Gleichsetzung Thules mit Island; ein anderes Beispiel ist das Amazonenland, das Adam nach Nordschweden verlegt. Auslöser ist diesmal eine Volksetymologie, denn in Nordschweden siedelt nach Ausweis anderer Quellen ein Volksstamm namens Kvänen. Diesen Namen setzte Adam oder eine seiner Quellen mit dem germanischen Wort für 'Frau', *kwēniz (vgl. got. *qens*, anord. *kván, kvæn*, aengl. *cwēn,* asächs *quān* '(Ehe-) Frau'), gleich und macht aus *Kwenland* ein 'Frauenland'. Tatsächlich handelte es sich bei den Kvänen um eine finnischsprachige Gruppe, deren Name auf einen Ländernamen zurückgeht (Eggers 2000). Sowohl im Fall von Thule wie auch von Kvenland werden tradierte Schemata korrigiert, sei es durch empirisches Wissen oder durch etymologische Spekulation; allerdings wird dabei gewichtet: Die kartographische Referenzierung des Amazonenlandes oder der Riphäen scheint für Adam wesentlich weniger wichtig zu sein als die von *Thule*. Dessen Gleichsetzung mit *Island* fungiert zugleich als Nukleus eines Systems von übereinstimmenden Namenkomposita, die das antike Bild vom Inselreich erweiterten und onomastisch stützten. Außer *Island*, dessen Inselcharakter frisch bestätigt war, handelte es sich um *Grönland*, von dessen Inselcharakter noch niemand wusste; um *Winland*, das keine Insel ist (was Adam nicht wissen konnte); und um *Halagland*, das ebenfalls keine Insel ist (was Adam hätte wissen können).

Angesichts Adams engagierter Vermischung von Realgeographie und antiker Tradition fällt auf, dass ausgerechnet die wichtigsten antiken Namen für das skandinavische Festland fehlen. Es handelt sich um *Scandia* und *Scadinavia*, die seit der spätantiken Literatur in Konkurrenz zueinander stehen. Dass ihm die klassischen Namen bekannt waren, ist anzunehmen; sie finden sich in einem Scholion, das aber vermutlich nicht von Adam stammt.[1] Offenbar hielt Adam die Namen nicht für wichtig oder – eher – nicht für zutreffend genug, um sie in der *Descriptio* selbst aufzuführen. Es scheint mir am plausibelsten, dass er diese Namen mit ihrer Variantenvielfalt als irreführend empfand und bewusst weg ließ, sich aber seiner Sache weniger sicher war als im Fall von Thule. Adam erwähnt stattdessen den Namen *Sconia* für Skåne (Schonen) in Südschweden und motiviert diese Namenform mit dem deutschen Wort für 'schön': 'Sconia ist vom Anblick her die schönste Provinz Dänemarks, deshalb heißt sie auch so' (4,7: *Sconia est pulcherrima visu Daniae provintia, unde et dicitur*).

Spuren ins Frühmittelalter: Dicuil und Isidor

Um Geschichte und Geltungsbereich der Namen *Scandia* und *Scadinavia* zu beleuchten, ist es sinnvoll, sich der Antike zuzuwenden und dabei einen kurzen Umweg über das Frühmittelalter zu machen, und zwar zu dem Punkt, an dem sich Antikerezeption, akademische Spekulation und frühmittelalterlicher Erfahrungshorizont berühren. Isidor von Sevilla erwähnt in seiner Abhandlung über die Inseln (Etymologiae 14,6) zwar nicht *Scandia* oder *Scadinavia*, wohl aber *Thyle ultima*, das im Nordwesten hinter Britannien liegt. Den

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[1] Scholion 111: Ab hac insula primum egressi sunt Longobardi vel Gothi, et vocatur ab historicis Romanorum Scantia vel Gangavia sive Scandinavia 'von dieser Insel sind zuerst die Langobarden und Goten ausgewandert, und die römischen Historiker nennen sie Scantia oder Gangavia oder Scandinavia'.

Namen erklärt er mit der Sonne, die an diesem Ort ihren Wendepunkt haben soll, und er vergisst auch nicht, das 'träge und geronnene Meer' zu erwähnen, das in der antiken Literatur untrennbar mit Thule verbunden ist.[2] Isidor, einer der wichtigsten frühmittelalterlichen Vermittler antiker Traditionen, bleibt hier ganz der akademischen Spekulation verhaftet. Seine Namenerklärung speist sich nicht einmal aus dem Eigennamen *Thyle* selbst, sondern aus dem fest verbundenen Attribut *ultima*, das mit dem 'fernsten Sonnenstand' in Korrelation gebracht wird.

Die Sicht auf den Norden verändert sich erst bei den Autoren, die mit dem Nordmeer in engerem geographischen Kontakt standen, als dies bei Isidor der Fall war. *Dicuil*, ein irischer Mönch, der im Frankenreich des frühen 9. Jahrhunderts als Gelehrter wirkte, war einerseits in der klassischen Literatur belesen, kannte aber andererseits Teile der britischen Inselwelt aus eigenem Augenschein. Sein Buch *De mensura orbis terrae*, im Prinzip ein Vertreter der für diese Zeit üblichen kompilatorischen Literatur, führt das onomastische Material aus der antiken Beschreibung der Nordsee *in extenso* auf, er tut das – ausführlicher als etwa Adam – mit namentlicher Nennung seiner Quellen und oft sogar wortwörtlich. Allerdings bietet Dicuil gerade im Zusammenhang mit dem Nordmeer auch eigene Einsichten an, vor allem ist er es, der den Namen Thule wieder in reale Sphären holt und plastisch werden lässt. Seiner Information zufolge haben irische Mönche kurz zuvor Thule entdeckt, wo es im Sommer um Mitternacht so hell sein soll, dass man noch ganz alltäglichen Tätigkeiten nachgehen kann (etwa sich gegenseitig die Läuse aus den Hemden fangen; 7, 11). Bei Thule handelt es sich offenkundig um Island, dessen Namen Dicuil aber noch nicht kannte, weshalb wie gesagt Adam die letztliche Gleichsetzung vornahm. Dagegen ist Dicuil mit den bei Adam fehlenden antiken Namenformen für Schweden oder Skandinavien vertraut und verwendet sie auch zwei Mal. Und zwar erwähnt er einmal *Candavia* als die größte aller germanischen Inseln und kurz darauf die Insel *Scadinavia*, diese im Wortlaut des Plinius und mit explizitem Verweis auf diesen (7, 18. 22).

Antike

Bevor das Nordmeer in der antiken Literatur zum Inselreich mit einer Vielzahl exotischer Inselnamen wurde, konstruierte die Mythologie ein sehr viel einfacheres Bild vom Norden und vom nördlichen Weltrand. Hier dominierte die Vorstellung der riphäischen Berge, aus deren Umgebung Luxuswaren wie Bernstein und Zinn stammten. Der Suche nach dem Ursprung dieser Waren scheinen die frühen Entdeckerfahrten gegolten zu haben, von denen die bereits erwähnte Expedition des Pytheas die bekannteste war. Mit Pytheas und seinen Nachfolgern kamen die ersten neuen Namen nach Süden, und diese Namen waren es wiederum, durch die sich das Bild vom Norden veränderte. Die Namen von Inseln waren konkrete Orientierungspunkte in einem sonst bestenfalls auf einem abstrakten astronomischen Koordinatensystem abgebildeten amorphen Ozean, und sie waren aufs

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[2] Thyle ultima insula Oceani inter septentrionalem et occidentalem plagam ultra Brittaniam, a sole nomen habens, quia in ea aestivum solstitium sol facit, et nullus ultra eam dies est 'Thyle ultima ist eine Insel zwischen dem nördlichen und westlichen Gebiet jenseits von Britannien, das seinen Namen von der Sonne hat, weil die Sonne dort ihren Sommerwendepunkt beschreibt und dahinter kein Tag[eslicht] ist'.

Engste mit den Bestrebungen verknüpft, diese Welt kartographisch zu erfassen und abzubilden.

Die frühe Kaiserzeit: Strabo, Mela und Plinius

Einer der wichtigen Zeugen der Pytheas-Überlieferung ist Strabo (um die Zeitenwende), der Pytheas freilich als Schwindler und seine Berichte als Phantastereien darstellt. Strabo konzentriert sich bei seiner Beschreibung des Nordmeeres auf Thule (Θούλη) als nördlichste der britischen Inseln, seine Lage, seine Bewohner und, als Kuriosität, einen quallenartigen Aggregatzustand des umgebenden Ozeans, der weder Land noch Meer noch Luft sei (2,4,1) und der von der Forschung bisweilen mit dem 'geronnenen Meer' bei anderen Autoren gleichgesetzt wird. Allerdings könnte Strabos pittoreske Wortwahl auch daher rühren, dass er den ganzen Bericht ohnehin als Hirngespinst beurteilt. Strabo betont, dass das Gebiet östlich (und nördlich) der Elbe vollkommen unerforscht ist; sein Konzept kennt noch keine skandinavische Halbinsel oder Insel, sondern er geht davon aus, dass die nördliche Ozeanküste östlich von Britannien ohne nennenswerte Hindernisse bis an die Mündung des Kaspischen Meeres verläuft, welches in der älteren griechischen Geographie als eine der großen Buchten des nördlichen Ozeans angesehen wurde (7,2,4). Diese Sicht der Dinge erstaunt deshalb, weil Jütland mit seiner Entdeckung bei einer Flottenfahrt 5 n. Chr. (und somit zu Strabos Lebzeiten) zu einem wichtigen geographischen und kartographischen Referenzpunkt östlich Britanniens geworden war.

Kurz nach Strabo, um die Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts, zeichnet Pomponius Mela bereits ein deutlich differenzierteres, wenn auch immer noch rudimentäres Bild. Er beschreibt nördlich der Elbe, und zwar in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der 30 Orkney-Inseln (*Orcades*), eine mit Inseln und Inselgruppen gefüllte, riesige Meeresbucht namens *Codanus* (3,31. 54). Unter den Inseln dieser Bucht hebt er wegen ihrer Fruchtbarkeit und Größe *Codannovia* hervor, auf der er die Teutonen ansiedelt. Nach der Beschreibung einiger Fabelwesen kommt Mela auf die 'vor der Küste der Belken gelegene' Insel *Thyle* zu sprechen (3,57: *Thyle Belcarum litori adposita est*), die durch lange Sommertage und Winternächte gekennzeichnet ist. Er beruft sich dabei explizit auf ältere griechische und römische Quellen. Es scheint auf den ersten Blick, dass Mela mit *Codanus* die Ostsee und mit *Codannovia* Schweden meint. Die Ähnlichkeit der beiden Namen sticht allerdings ins Auge, deshalb wird der Name der Insel *Codannovia* oft als versehentliche Angleichung an den Namen der Bucht *Codanus* erklärt. An Melas Darstellung fällt auf, dass die Entfernungen zwischen den verschiedenen Inseln und Inselgruppen (bzw. ihren Namen) zusammengeschrumpft sind und distanzgebende geographische Referenzpunkte immer noch fehlen. Die Frage, ob Melas *sinus Codanus* Ost- oder Nordsee bezeichnet, lässt Melas kartographische Vorstellung vom Norden außer Acht, in der diese Trennung nicht existierte: *Codannovia* war vielmehr die größte Insel in *einer* Bucht, die nach heutiger Geographie sowohl Ost- wie auch Nordsee umfasste.

Nur wenige Jahre nach Pomponius Mela beschreibt Plinius ein ähnliches Szenario. Beide Autoren greifen offenbar auf die gleichen Quellen zurück; jedoch hat Plinius mehr Korrekturen vorgenommen als Mela, wahrscheinlich, weil er selber in Germanien als Offizier diente und über direktere Informationen verfügte. Die gesamte Beschreibung des Nordens ist bei Plinius ausführlicher und detaillierter; insbesondere finden sich bei ihm auch mehr

Namen. Die Beschreibung des Nordmeeres bei Plinius (Naturalis Historia 4, 94-97) beginnt mit expliziten Anlehnungen an die Pytheas-Tradition und die jüngere griechische Geographie einschließlich der schon bei Mela beschriebenen Fabelwesen (4, 94f.). Wie Mela erwähnt Plinius eine riesige Bucht namens *Codanus*, in deren Umgebung alles unermesslich ist. Die Bucht beginnt bei einem ungeheuren Gebirge namens *Sevo*, so groß wie die riphäischen Berge, und erstreckt sich bis Jütland, das Plinius als *Cimbrorum promunturium* 'kimbrisches Vorgebirge' bezeichnet. Auch bei Plinius enthält diese Bucht eine Art Hauptinsel, die jedoch nicht *Codannovia*, sondern *Scatinavia* bzw. *Scadinavia* heißt. *Scatinavia* selbst ist grenzenlos und wird vom großen Volk der Suionen bewohnt. Neben *Scatinavia* gibt es eine ähnlich große Insel mit Namen *Aeningia* (vermutlich als *Feningia* 'Finnland' zu lesen: Svennung 1974: 67ff.). Dieser Absatz handelt unbestreitbar von der Ostsee sowie von Schweden und wahrscheinlich Finnland. Da Melas *Codannovia* und Plinius' *Scatinavia*/*Scadinavia* in ihrer Lokalisierung und Charakteristik sehr ähnlich sind, ist für beide wohl dieselbe geographische Referenz und dieselbe Ausgangsnamenform anzunehmen. Dabei ist *Scatinavia*/*Scadinavia* gegenüber *Codannovia* als ursprünglicher Name vorzuziehen, weil er etymologisch durchsichtiger ist. Zum andern zeigt Plinius' *Scadinavia* aber auch in anderen Überlieferungen die Tendenz zu Interferenzvarianten; bereits die handschriftliche Überlieferung des Plinius-Exzerptors Solinus schreibt stattdessen *Gangavia* sowie – wie später Dicuil – *Candavia* (20,7f.).

Der vom Pytheaskapitel überleitende Satz 'ab hier werden die Nachrichten klarer' (4,96: *incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama*) verrät, dass sich Plinius seiner Sache recht sicher ist und wohl über aktuelle Informationen verfügt. Hier sind offenkundig die Erkenntnisse der bereits erwähnten römischen Flottenexpedition im Jahr 5 n. Chr. eingeflossen.

Nur wenige Kapitel später (4,104) kommt Plinius auf die Umgebung Britanniens zu sprechen, wobei er weitere Inselnamen erwähnt. Zunächst erwähnt er die eher südlich gelegene 'Zinninsel' namens *Ictis*. Mit den Worten *sunt qui et alias prodant* 'einige überliefern auch weitere (Namen)' leitet er dann zu (Akk.) *Scandias*, *Dumnam*, *Bergos* und *Berrice* über, die beiden letzten mit den Überlieferungsvarianten *Vergos* und *Ver(i)gon*. Dem Wortlaut nach zu urteilen, schwankt Plinius offenbar zwischen verschiedenen Quellen mit unterschiedlichen Informationen. Griechische Flexionsformen wie *Tylen* oder *Berricen* weisen auch hier auf die griechische Tradition. Aus dem Text geht nicht hervor, ob *Scandiae* als Sammelbegriff für die nachfolgenden Namen fungiert oder eine Inselgruppe neben den anderen Inseln ist. Die größte dieser Inseln heißt *Berrice*, sie bildet den Ausgangspunkt für die sechstägige Fahrt nach Thule und ist somit im Norden Britanniens zu suchen. Sollte die Gruppierung der Namen bei Plinius kein Zufall sein, müsste das auch für die anderen Namen gelten.

Ptolemaios

100 Jahre nach Plinius zeichnet Ptolemaios, der bedeutendste Geograph und Kartograph der römischen Kaiserzeit, eine Inselwelt, die der von Mela und Plinius nicht unähnlich ist. Doch unterscheidet sie sich in einigen wesentlichen Punkten. Die Besonderheit bei Ptolemaios ist, dass er stets genaue Längen- und Breitenangaben macht, die allerdings aufgrund falscher Prämissen, Messungen oder Berechnungen immer wieder vom modernen Kartenbild

abweichen. Ptolemaios hatte eine verhältnismäßig präzise Methodik der geographischen Weltdarstellung auf astronomischer Grundlage entwickelt. Ebenso hatte er seine Listen geographischer Fixpunkte in Form von Orts-, Gewässer-, Flur- und Völkernamen mit geographischen Koordinaten versehen, damit allfällige abgezeichnete Karten beim Kopieren nicht verändert werden konnten (Stückelberger und Graßhoff 2006: 13ff.). Allerdings stand er vor dem großen Problem, dass er für die Darstellung der gesamten Welt auf sehr viele und damit sehr divergente Quellen zurückgreifen musste. Dazu gehörten einzelne Ortspunkte, für die exakte Vermessungen vorlagen, ebenso wie Küstenbeschreibungen, Itinerare, Militärverzeichnisse und Berichte von Händlerreisen, um nur einige zu nennen. Diese Quellen musste Ptolemaios zu einem stimmigen Bild vereinen und war dazu auf Rundungen, Schätzungen und Interpolationen angewiesen; im Vergleich mit modernen Karten erscheinen seine Darstellungen daher oft verzerrt. Ein solcher Fall liegt in Schottland vor, das bei Ptolemaios um 90° nach Osten in Richtung Jütland abgebogen erscheint. Dieser merkwürdige Knick ist nicht zuletzt den besagten Berechnungsverfahren des Ptolemaios sowie seinen Prämissen über Gestalt und Umfang der Erde anzulasten (genauer hierzu Jones und Keillar 1996, Strang 1997, Marx 2014).

Ptolemaios zählt in der Umgebung Schottlands einige Inselnamen auf, und zwar handelt es sich um 'die Insel Scitis, die Insel Dumna, nördlich von ihr die Orkaden, ungefähr dreißig an der Zahl, und noch jenseits von diesen Thule' (Ptolemaios, Geographie 2,3,31f. Σκιτὶς νῆσος, Δοῦμνα νῆσος, ὑπὲρ ἣν αἱ Ὀρκάδες, περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἡ Θούλη). Die Konstellation mit den Orkneys und Thule erinnert an Pomponius Mela, die Gruppierung und der Inselname Δοῦμνα an Plinius. Allerdings fehlt bei Plinius *Scitis*, an der Ptolemaiosstelle die *Scandiae* sowie die *Bergi* und *Berrice*. Unter Berücksichtigung der plinianischen Überlieferungsvarianten *Verigon* finden sich aber auch letztere bei Ptolemaios wieder, und zwar als Name des 'Vergivischen Ozeans' in der Nachbarschaft der Irischen See (2,3,2 Ὠκεανὸς … ὁ Οὐεργιούιος; ähnlich 2,2,6 und 8,3,2). Die Inselnamen sind gutenteils keltisch etymologisierbar, einige Inselnamen wie *Scitis* (Sky) oder *Dumna* (Lewis) lassen sich darüber hinaus genauer lokalisieren (vgl. Broderick 2013). Die Indizien für eine Gruppierung dieser Namen im Norden der britischen Inseln sind also bis hierher stark.

Das ändert sich bei der Inselgruppe namens *Scandiae*, die Ptolemaios ebenfalls kennt, bei ihm aber bekanntlich weit nach Osten gerutscht ist (2,11,33ff.). Östlich Jütlands erwähnt Ptolemaios nämlich vier Inseln namens Σκανδίαι, von denen drei klein sind. Die größte und östlichste Insel liegt genau gegenüber der Weichselmündung und ist Ptolemaios zufolge auch eigentliche Trägerin des Namens Σκανδία (2,11,35: καλεῖται δὲ ἰδίως καὶ αὐτὴ Σκανδία). Die Ortsangaben legen wieder den Gedanken an Südschweden nahe. Die auf dieser Insel aufgelisteten Völkernamen umfassen unter anderm Φίννοι und Γοῦται, also Finnen und (vermutlich) Gauten, was sogar an Ostskandinavien als Ganzes denken lässt. In jedem Fall passt die Lokalisierung der Σκανδία αὐτή für einen Zufall zu gut zu jener der Insel *Scadinavia* bei Plinius. Auch die Ähnlichkeit der Namen *Scandia* und *Scadinavia* ist verblüffend. Zusammen mit der referentiellen Gleichsetzung in der späteren Antike seit Ptolemaios hat dies dazu geführt, dass beide meist als Varianten ein- und desselben Namens betrachtet wurden (ein Überblick bei Scheungraber und Grünzweig 2014: 293-301). Im Vergleich beider Namen ist festzuhalten, dass im Kontext germanischer Etymologie *Scadinavia* der durchsichtigere und *Scandia* der weniger durchsichtige Name ist. Ein

einfacher Weg von der etymologisch durchsichtigeren zur weniger durchsichtigen Namenform existiert nicht. Alle einschlägigen Erklärungen – etwa einer lateinischen Adaptionsform oder sogar einer lautgesetzlichen Variation – müssen mit linguistischen Zusatzannahmen operieren (Svennung 1963: 34ff., Rübekeil 1992: 102ff.). Auch andere Beobachtungen sprechen dagegen, *Scandia* und *Scadinavia* monogenetisch zu erklären: etwa die Tatsache, dass beide auf unterschiedliche Überlieferungstraditionen verteilt sind, *Scandia* auf die griechische und *Scadinavia* auf die lateinische (Rübekeil 1992: 105f.); oder dass *Scandia* zu Beginn klar eine Inselgruppe bezeichnet und *Scadinavia* eine einzelne Insel. Aus diesem Grund liegt es in meinen Augen näher, die Namengeschichte von *Scadinavia* und *Scandia* nicht als Divergenz einer Namenform, sondern eher als Konvergenz unterschiedlicher geographischer Referenzpunkte zu erklären.

Kartographische Vorstellung, Namenwanderung und Namenwechsel

In der Beschreibung der Nordsee vor allem durch Plinius, aber auch durch andere antike Autoren, vermischen sich Namen aus verschiedenen historischen Schichten. Unter den bedeutenderen Inselnamen des Nordmeeres ist vor allem *Scatinavia* / *Scadinavia* jüngeren Informationen zu verdanken, welche den Römern im Rahmen der augusteischen Germanenkriege und Nordseeexpeditionen direkt zur Ohren gekommen sein dürften. Dagegen gehören *Thule / Tyle* sowie *Scandia* einer älteren Schicht an, die im Wesentlichen griechischen Überlieferungen entstammen und in dem Maße ins Halbdunkel abtauchten, wie die durch die Römer in Erfahrung gebrachten Namen sich durchsetzten. Die Etymologie stützt diese Annahme: Der Name *Scatinavia* / *Scadinavia* ist, was sein Vorderglied angeht, nicht unumstritten, aber auf jeden Fall germanisch und in seiner Bildeweise als Determinativkompositum mit dem Hinterglied *awjō 'Land am Wasser; Insel' durchsichtig (zur Diskussion Reichert 2006; Nyman 2007; Scheungraber und Grünzweig 2014: 293ff.). Der Name *Thule / Tyle* findet dagegen gar keine allgemein anerkannte Erklärung. Für *Scandia* wiederum wäre eine Anlehnung an griechische Vorbilder denkbar (Rübekeil 1992: 106ff.), im Zweifel könnte es sich aber auch um einen keltischen Namen handeln (vgl. air. *skeinnid* 'springt'), nur aus dem Germanischen lässt sich der Name nicht zufriedenstellend deuten. Die oben beschriebene Konvergenz hat verschiedene Ursachen. Die Inseln der älteren Namenschicht waren in der kaiserzeitlichen Rezeption eher abstrakt und gesichtslos. *Thule / Tyle* wurde aufgrund dieser mythischen Ferne zum virtuellen Referenzpunkt im äußersten Norden. *Scandia* hatte nicht dieselbe Ausstrahlung und konnte nur überleben, indem es sich an ein konkreteres Vorbild anlehnte, das zufällig entfernt ähnlich aussah, nämlich *Scadinavia*. Beide Namen bezeichnen bei Plinius noch ganz unterschiedliche Dinge in unterschiedlichen Regionen; die bei Plinius im Kontext genannten Namen können weitgehend im Umfeld von Schottland verortet werden, und sie erscheinen auch bei Ptolemaios dort – bis auf die *Scandiae*, die an die Stelle von *Scadinavia* gerutscht sind und Ansätze einer Entwicklung von einer Inselgruppe zu einer einzelnen Insel zeigen. Diese Entwicklung ist spätestens im 6. Jahrhundert abgeschlossen, wiederum bei Autoren, die sich überwiegend auf Ptolemaios berufen; bei Prokop gerät sogar der Inselname *Thule* in diesen Sog (Rübekeil 2002: 601).

Somit war Ptolemaios vermutlich sowohl für die Verschiebung der *Scandiae* nach Osten verantwortlich wie auch für die Entwicklung einer Inselgruppe zur einzelnen Insel.

Es stellt sich allerdings die Frage, ob die Anziehungskraft von *Scadinavia* selbst genügte, um die Inselnamen auf Wanderschaft zu schicken, oder ob hier nicht auch kartographische Vorstellungen mitspielten. Denken wir daran, dass die *Scandiae* auf ihrer Ostbewegung nicht allein waren, sondern dass Ptolemaios' Kartographie ganz Schottland nach Osten abknickte. Wenn Schottlands Nordküste in Richtung Jütland abgebogen wurde, mussten auch die vorgelagerten Inseln nach Skandinavien rutschen.

Offen bleiben muss, in welchen Schritten dieser Prozess abgelaufen ist. Unter onomastischen Gesichtspunkten wäre zwar die Vorstellung am spannendsten, dass es der Name *Scandiae* selbst war, der den Prozess angestoßen hat, weil Ptolemaios ihn mit der *Scadinavia* des Plinius gleichsetzen wollte. Das ist allerdings eine gewagte Hypothese. Was man aber feststellen kann ist, dass sich bei Ptolemaios kartographisches Weltbild und onomastische Referenzpunkte so weit verschränkten, dass auch kausale Verknüpfungen daraus entstehen konnten, und dass diese Sicht auf die Inselwelt des Nordens weitreichende Folgen bei den spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Geographen hatte. Interferierende Namenformen wie *Gangavia, Candavia* und zu guter Letzt wohl auch *Scandinavia* waren eine Folge der Unsicherheit über den korrekten Namen für die skandinavische 'Insel'. Erst Adam von Bremen scheint klar gesehen zu haben, dass in seiner Zeit nicht nur der Name *Thule*/*Tyle* überholt war, sondern auch *Scandia* und *Scadinavia*. Auch hier zog er den aktuellen Namen *Skáney* / *Skánø* vor, das er als *Sconia* 'die Schöne' interpretierte. Diese betrachtete er allerdings immer noch, zumindest fast, als Insel.

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Quantifying the Scandinavian Contribution to the Vocabulary of Middle English Minor Names

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Abstract

The survival of microtoponyms in substantial numbers from the later medieval period is fundamental for the purposes of my PhD research, which aims to select a technique which can be used to quantify and compare relative levels of Scandinavian influence on the vocabulary of late-medieval English minor names.

This paper discusses the technique I am using to calculate relative levels of borrowings from Scandinavian in the toponymicon and will then present findings from areas of Northwest England. I will also consider how the results obtained by this method relate to evidence for non-lexical borrowings such as the borrowing (or otherwise) of distinctively Scandinavian phonological features and inflexional material.

In recent years, scholars have asked whether the elements used in place and personal names should be viewed as distinct from those of the wider lexicon. This raises an important methodological issue for my research: am I justified in using minor place names as a proxy for medieval dialects? In order to consider whether toponymica in contact behave like lexica in contact, I will consider whether the medieval minor name material demonstrates similarities in the types of material borrowed to those observed in other studies of language contact.

Anthroponyms in Basque Toponymy

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Abstract

In this paper we deal with Basque place names that are based on personal names. We first deal briefly with the origin of such toponyms, in addition to putting forth the claim that in most cases these are of Basque or of Latin-Romance origin, even though a handful of toponyms come from Celtic and a couple from Arabic. Furthermore, among anthroponym-based toponyms there exists a small group of place names which originate not in personal names, but in deity names. Moreover, we believe that often the noun *villa* 'property' was found in the place name, which in most cases has been dropped across time (not always though; cf. **villa bitiana > Villabezana*, *Luni villa* 'Luno's property' *> Nuvilla*): **villa paterniana > Paterniana* (Romance), *Baternia* (Basque). The Basque equivalent to said Latin-Romance noun *villa* is western *huri* (eastern-central *hiri*): *Aberasturi*, *Maruri*, *Obekuri*. We finally present a list of suffixes that appear in deanthroponymic toponyms, in addition to a number of place names, as an illustration. There are, all in all, thirteen suffixes, although we believe that numbers ten and thirteen have a common origin, e.g. that both come from the Latin genitive.

* * *

Basque village names can be divided into two main groups: a) toponyms that are based on anthroponyms, theonyms and hagionyms included, and b) toponyms that are descriptive or refer to the place where the village or town in question is found. There are, moreover, some other place names that are obscure and/or can not be classified so easily. Future research should focus on finding out, in such cases, whether they go in the first group or in the second.

A different matter is the origin of the toponyms, in both cases. Most of the toponyms of the Basque Country (this term is used here in the broad sense, that is to say, it refers to the territory where Basque is or has been spoken) are either of Basque or of Latin-Romance origin, but there are, nevertheless, some toponyms that are of Celtic descent.

A toponym from this last group is *Ultzama* (< *Utzama*), the name of a valley in Navarre, from **uksama- < *ups-ama-* 'the highest one' (Gorrotxategi 2002: 107), cognate of *Osma*, the name of a village in the Alavese valley of Valdegovía, which has evolved according to the phonological rules of Castilian Spanish. Some other village names that bear the superlative ending *-ama* are or may be related, as well, to Celtic: *Sesma* in Navarre (< **segisama*), like *Zegama* (< **segama*) in Gipuzkoa, probably from the root **seg(h)-* 'victory', *Arama* (G), *Beizama* (G), *Berama* (N) and *Lezama* (B) (see Gorrotxategi 2002: 107 and 114).

Arga (a river, N) is also of Celtic origin: it was related by Krahe to **arg-* 'klar, glänzend, weiß' (1964: 53). In the same way, *Kanbo* (L) apparently comes from Celtic *cambo* 'courbe, méandre' (Delamarre 2003: 99), which is present in Gaulish *Cambo-ritum > Chambord* 'le gué courbe' (Lambert 2003: 48) and others.

On the other hand, there are only two village names that can seemingly be related to Arabic (García Sánchez 2007: 63, 150, 153), and which have no relation to anthroponymy.

One of them is in the middle part of Navarre and the second one in the south: *Tafalla,* perhaps 'a portion of terrain', 'a cultivated land', and *Azagra*, from the word meaning 'rock'.

Apart from those, the other toponyms are, as we have said, of Basque descent: *Ametzaga* (A), *Atxondo* (B), *Buztintze* (NB), *Elizondo* (N), *Larrabile / Larrabieu* (Z), *Oiartzun* (G), *Ziburu / Ciboure* (L), etc., or of Latin-Romance origin: *Angelu / Anglet* (L), *Bithiriña / Beyrie-sur-Joyeuse* (L), *Espejo* (A), *Fitero* (N), *Ospitalepea / Hôpital-Saint-Blaise* (Z), *Sopuerta* (B), *Villabona* (G) and so on. Nevertheless, these toponyms are not based on anthroponyms and will not be examined here.

Among the deanthroponymic toponyms in use there are some that are based not on a personal name, but on a theonym. There are a handful: *Deba* (G), a village located where the homonymous river flows into the sea, and whose etymon is related to the feminine form of Latin *divus < *deivos*. It is probably a theotoponym (applied to a river) of Indo-European and perhaps Celtic origin (see Hubschmid 1960: 488, Albertos 2004: 260; García Arias 2005: 753, 781, Villar and Prósper 2005: 237-238, Delamarre 2012: 136). Another one is *Baigorri* (NB), which is related to the theonym *Baicor[r]ixo*, *Baigorixo*, *Bvaigorixe* (see Mitxelena 1954: 416, 438, Lafon 1956: 56, Gorrotxategi 1984: 312-313). A third one is *Larragoa / Larraona* (< *Larrahona*, N), where the underlying theonym appears to be *Larrahe* (Salaberri 2007). A fourth one is *Tutera / Tudela* (N), from *Tutela* (a goddess), which gave rise to several toponyms (see Irigoien 1974: 224-225; Velaza thinks that the root can be the Celtic **tout / teut* 'so productive in the whole Hispania' (1991: 81)). Another one is *Garde* (N, documented as such in 1085), which could be, partially at least, a toponym coming from the Aquitanian theonym *Garre deo*, *d[eo] Garri*, whose base is *Garr-* (Gorrotxategi 1984: 327-328). In the case of the Navarrese toponym, the ending could be the locative suffix *-te*, which can become *-de* after a sonorant (Salaberri 2005: 113). Hamlin (1997: 62) sees this topic differently.

The hagiotoponyms or toponyms based on saints' names abound, as in many other regions in Europe, and a village or town can have a double denomination, depending on the language or languages spoken there. For example we have *Donamartiri / Saint-Martin d'Arbéroue* (NB)*, Donapaleu / Saint-Palais* (NB), *Donostia / San Sebastián* (G), *Donibane Lohizune / Saint-Jean-de-Luz* (L), *Doneztebe / Santesteban* (N), *Doneztebe / Saint-Etienne* (Z), *Durruma / San Román* (A), etc. All the Basque versions of these hagiotoponyms are based on *done*, coming from Latin *domine*, a word that, apparently due to the pressure of the neighbouring languages, is almost completely left aside in common speech. As a consequence, many hagiotoponyms of the Basque-speaking area bear the component *san*, *santo, santa*, instead of *done* or its feminine version *dona*, from Latin *domina*: *San Martín*, *San Isidro*, *San Kristobal*, *Santa Ana*, *Santa Marina*, etc. There is, nevertheless, a hagiotoponym that is used only in its Basque version, that is to say, it does not have a Romance equivalent, perhaps because it is the name of a little village: *Donamaria* (N).

I am focusing now on the village names that have a personal name in the base. Almost all of them are derived by means of a suffix of Latin origin, the exception being *-egi*, of Basque origin (see below). This does not mean that all the toponyms provided with one of those suffixes date back to the Roman period. It must be taken into account that many of them could be used with autochthonous bases, which shows clearly that they had gained autonomy. It is important, as well, to bear in mind that although the origin is Latin, the

evolution has often been only Basque (*Gamarra*, A), or the toponym presents a double form, one Basque and the other Romance (*Audika / Audicana*, A).

Some of the village names, on the other hand, have been formed using the Latin name *uilla* that here, I believe, must be understood in a very broad sense as 'property', 'a bit of land' or the like. This *villa* can be found in the beginning of the toponym (*Villamaderne*, A) or in its end (*Berantevilla*, A), and the personal name that goes with it can be originally declined and be a genitive or a genitive-like form (*Liceri uilla* > *Lacervilla*, *Luni uilla* > *Nuvilla*, A), once the declension of Latin collapsed. Sometimes the personal name that goes with the noun *villa* itself contains a suffix (**villa bitiana* > *Villabezana*, A). This toponym shows us that the noun *villa* and the ending *-ana* can appear together and that, therefore, the etymological proposals that we make later are not 'wishful thinking', but are based on real data.

The Basque equivalent of this *villa* is the western *huri* (central-oriental *hiri*), which always comes in final position, after the personal name: *Aberasturi, Erremelluri, Giputzuri, Imiruri, Marauri, Maruri, Mutilluri, Nunuri, Obekuri, Okerruri*, etc. This and the fact that *villa* in other regions is found usually (but not always) in the beginning of the toponym allow us to conclude that Basque exerted influence on Romance toponyms of this area, in regard to the order of their components.

Very often the original and non-attested *villa* disappeared and did not leave any documental clues. For example, that is the case of *Paterniana*, an ancient little village now empty and found near Araia (A), called *Baternia* in Basque, whose etymon must be **(uilla) paterniana*, that is to say, 'the property of the so-called Paternius'. The lack of any documental attestation of the mentioned noun *uilla* and the Basque evolution *-ana* > *-a* of the suffix have been the reasons why the authors who have worked within the field of Basque onomastics have not seen that many of the names ending in *-a* were de-anthroponymic: *Abezia* or **Abetzia* (from *Avitius*) (A), *Bera* (from *Verus*) (N), *Etura* (< *Betura*, from *Vetulo* probably) (A), *Oreitia* (< *Oretia*, from *Olitius*) (A), etc.

To tell the truth, there are, once again, some phonetic changes that make things more obscure, for instance the evolution *-tjV-* > *-txV-* present in *Aletxa* (A) (< **(uilla) alletiana*, based on the male name *Alletius*), *Andetxa* (< **(uilla) antistiana*, with *Antistius, Antestius* as a base) or *Gometxa* (**(uilla) comitiana*, from the personal name *Comitius*) (A), among others. Another possible change that we see in these toponyms is the fortition or strengthening of the *lenis* nasal of the base, caused by the nasalization of the vowels of the suffix, due to the loss of the *lenis* nasal of the latter, this being regular in Basque. For instance, the toponym *Garona* that designates an empty village (A) and is attested in 1025 as *Garonna*, with <nn> that expresses the *fortis* character of the nasal, comes in our judgement from **(uilla) caronana*, based on the anthroponym *Caron(i)us* (cf. *Velegeno Caroni f[ilio]* of an inscription found in Rome), its evolution having been this: **(uilla) caronana* >**GaroNââ* (as it can be seen, the toponym displays, as well, the regular voicing of the initial voiceless velar plosive typical of Basque) > *Garona* (as a result of the lenition of the *fortis* nasal and the regular reduction *-ââ* > *-a*, after the vowels lost their nasality).

In several cases, on the other hand, only the Romance version of the toponym is known: *Antoñana* (A), *Berbinzana* (N), *Bitoriano* (A), *Escanzana* (A), *Fustiñana* (N), for example, which in Basque ought to be something like **Andoña, *Berbintza, *Bitorio*,

Ezkantza, *Buztiña*. Sometimes the personal name underlying the toponym is not completely clear: for instance, with regard to the mentioned Navarrese place names, we know only *Verbicius* and *Fustius*, although we need *Verbincius* and *Fustinius* to explain them adequately. In any event, it is possible to derive *Berbinzana* from *Verbicius*, in the same way that the aforementioned *Ultzama* arose, via dissimilation, from the older presumed *Untzama*, and this, in its turn, from *Utzama*. That is to say, we can suppose that *(uilla) verbiciana* 'the property of Verbicius' became *Verbinciana* and then *Berbintçana > Berbinzana.*

In several cases two toponyms that name two different places come from the same basic anthroponym, but the evolution has been different, due to the language (Basque vs. Romance) spoken in the region: *Ania / (Salinas de) Añana*, both from *(villa) anniana*, based on the personal name *Annius* attested some kilometres to the south, in Logroño. The aforementioned *Andetxa*'s Romance name is *Antezana* (*de Foronda*) (A), which coincides with *Antezana* (*de la Ribera*) (A), of the same origin.

On the other hand, it is possible for the same anthroponym to have produced two (usually) or three (seldom) different place names, depending on the suffix: *Antsoain* (N), *Santsoain* (N) - *Santsoeta* (A) (*Santso*), *Araiko* (A) - *Araitz* (N) (*Araius*), *Auritz* (N) - *Auriain*, *Aurino* (N) (*Auri, Aurio*), *Barañain* (N) - *Barañao / Barañano* (B) (*Varanius*), *Baternia / Paterniana* (A) - *Paternain* (with a variant *Baternain*) (N) (*Paternus*), *Bera* (N) - *Beroitz* (N) (*Verus*), *Beraskoain / Belascoáin* (N) - *Beraskoitz* (L) (*Belasko > Berasko*), *Gardelain* (A, N) - *Gardelegi* (A) (*Gardele*), *Gerrika* (B) - *Gerriau* (A) (*Gerrius* or *Cerrius*), *Gorozika* (B) - *Grozin* (N) (*Crosius*), *Gorritz* (N) - *Gorrio* (N) (*Gorri < gorri* 'red'), *Lazkao / Lazcano* (G) - *Lazkotz* (N) (*Lascius*, *Lascus*), *Urdaitz / Urdániz* (N) - *Urdotz / Urdánoz* (N) (*Urdan- < *urdani*; *urdaina* 'pig farmer'), *Urdiain* (N) - *Urdoze / Urdos* (NB) (*Urde < urde* 'pig'), *Zangio* (G) - *Zangitu* (N) (*Sancius*), etc.

Even if the suffix and the language used are the same, the results can be different: *Arroi(t)z / Arróniz* (N) - *Arruitz* (< *Arroitz < Arronitz*) (N) - *Arroze / Arros* (NB) (*Arro*, *Arrus*); *Zerio - Zirao / Ciriano* (*Celius, Serius*) (A). In the last case, the difference is due to assimilation and dissimilation, which happened in *Zirao* (*Ceriano > Ciriano > Zirjano > *Zirjâô > Zirjao > Zirao*), but not in *Zerio* (*Ceriano > *Zeriâô > Zerjo*).

Every once in a while, the suffix is the same, but the personal names underlying the toponyms present a slightly different form, that is to say, they are variants of the same anthroponym: *Allotz / Alloz* (N), *Aloze / - Alos* (Z) / *Alotz* (N), (*Allius*, *Allus*); *Arrio / Arriano* (A) - *Arroa / Arrona* (G) - *Arroi(t)z / Arróniz* (N) - *Arroze / Arros* (NB) (*Arrius, Arrus* or *Arro*), *Gartzain* (N) - *Gastiain* (N) (*Gartze, Gaste*; cf. *Gasteiz*, A), *Garindaine / Garindein* (Z) - *Garinoain* (N) (*Garindo, Garino*), *Indurain* (N) - *Ündüreine / Undurein* (Z) (*Indura-* and *Undura-*, from *Endura*), and so on.

There is a known suffix that has been analysed by many onomasticians: *-o(t)z*, *-oze*, which has been traditionally considered as a Pyrenean suffix related to Gascon *-òs* (*-ossa*) and Aragonese *-ués* (*-uesa*). Without denying completely its Pyrenean origin, I pointed out (Salaberri 2011) that quite often the 'obscure bases' of the toponyms that carry this suffix can be explained by means of anthroponyms, most of them used in the Roman period, but some others unknown, and probably autochthonous.

There is no doubt that toponyms like the Aragonese *Biscarrués*, attested as *Biscarruese*, *Biscarrose* in the 11th century, and *Biscarrosse* in Gascony are related and share

the same base, which seems to be modern Basque *bizkar*, *bixkar* 'ridge', a common and spread toponymical noun, a metaphor based on *bizkar* 'back' (of the human body), in the same way as *buru* 'head, peak', or *lepo* 'neck, mountain-pass'. The suffix in this case seems to be autochthonous, and it is the same perhaps that is found in Aquitanian personal names ending in *-ox* (Mitxelena 1954: 422).

On the other hand, many place names that carry the aforementioned suffix cannot be explained on account of any known root or word, Basque or otherwise, but they have, on the contrary, a quite easy explanation by means of anthroponymy. This is especially clear with toponyms that occasionally present a final *-oi(t)z*, instead of the mentioned *-o(t)z*, whether they name the same village: *Azotz* (*Açoiz* in 1280, N), *Bidankoze* (*Bidangoiz* in 1120 and 1178, N), or whether they are two or three different village names based on the same personal name: *Arroi(t)z / Arróniz* (N) - *Arruitz* (< *Arroitz* < *Arronitz*) (N) - *Arroze / Arros* (NB).

In my judgement, these toponyms are composed of an anthropomym and a suffix coming from Latin, from the genitive of nouns ending in *-o*, *-onis*, exactly like the spread patronymics that one finds so often in medieval documents. That is to say, the genitive expressed property: in one case, in patronymics, the family name expressed that, for example, the so-called *Auria Enneconnis*, *Garcia Enecoitç*, *Lope Enecotz* (Middle Ages) were the daughter and sons of *Enneco* and, in toponyms, that the field or ground in question belonged originally to the person whose name appears in the base: *Ilurdotz* (attested also written with <ll>) (N) 'Ilurdo's field or house' first, and then the name of a village, like *Beila Illurdotz* 'Beila the son of *Illurdo*'.

Finally, I will list the different suffixes that have been used with anthroponymical bases. Most of them (the exception being *-egi-*) are in my view of Latin origin, but two of them are rather difficult to analyse. First, the suffix *-eta*, present also in Basque declension (in the so-called 'place cases'), and second the Pyrenean *-otz*, *-oze*, in which a convergence of more than one source seems to have taken place, as we have seen. We find the following suffixes, in alphabetical ordering (the option behind the slash, when any, indicates that it is the variant used in Romance):

1. *-a / -ana: Bera* (*Verus*) (N), *Dura / Durana* (*Durus*) (A), *Etura* (*Vetulo*) (A), *Foronda* (*Fronto*) (A).
2. *-ain(e) / -ein: Andrekiain* (*Andreki*) (N), *Garindaine / Gerindein* (*Garindo*) (Z), *Gerendiain* (*Terentius*) (N), *Zerain* (*Celius, Serius...*) (G), *Zuriain* (*Zuri* or *Zuria*) (N).
3. *-ao, -au / -ano, -io / -iano: Arrio / Arriano* (*Arrius*) (A), *Bilbo / Bilbao* (*Vilbius, *Vilbus*) (B), *Dorrao / Torrano* (*Torrius, *Torrus*) (N), *Erandio* (*Elandus, *Elandius*) (B), *Labio / Labiano* (*Labio, Labius*) (N), *Otxandio / Ochandiano* (B) (*Otxande*), *Zamudio* (*Samuntius*) (B).
4. *-egi: Aperregi* (*Aper*) (A), *Gardelegi* (*Gardele*) (A).
5. *-eta: Marieta* (*Maria*) (A), *Santsoeta* (*Santso*) (A).
6. *-ika, -ga / -ega, -iga, -ca: Gernika* (*Cernius*) (A, B), *Cábrega* (*Caprius*) (N), *Caranca* (*Caranius*) (A), *Sondika* (*Sontius*) (B), *Tertanga* (*Tertianus*) (A), *Zúñiga* (*Vestinius, *Bestunnius*) (N).
7. *-iko (-iku), -go: Abetxuko* (*Aventin(i)us*) (A), *Araiko* (*Araius*) (A), *Berango* (*Veran(n)(i)us*) (B), *Durango* (*Turannius*) (B).

8. *-ia / -ina*, *-iu /*-inu: Andollu* (< **Antolinu* < **Antoninu*, from *Antonius*) (A), *Azilu* (*Acilius*) (A), *Gulia / Gulina* (*Gullius*, *Bullius* or *Fullius*) (N), *Okia / Oquina* (*Occius*) (A), *Zolia / Zolina* (*Sollius*) (N).

9. *-ita*, *-itu: Jungitu* (*Iuncius*, *Iuncus*) (A), *Mandaita / Montevite* (*Mantonius*) (A), *Zangitu* (*Sancius*) (N).

10. *-(i)tz*, *-(i)z / -ez*, *-iniz: Agoitz / Aoiz* (*Aio*) (N), *Ariz / Aríñez* (*Arius*) (A), *Auritz* (**Auri*, *Aurio*) (N), *Armendaritze / Armendarits* (*Armentari*) (NB), *Markiz / Marquínez* (*Marcius*) (A).

11. *-o(a) / -ona: Abitoa / Abitona* (*Abitus*) (A), *Leioa / Lejona* (*Laedius, Laegius, Leius*) (B), *Zestoa / Cestona* (*Cestius*, **Cestus*) (G).

12. *-ón (< -oni): Arganzón* (*Argentius*) (A), *Comunión* (*Communio*) (A), *Marañón* (*Maranius*) (N).

13. *-otz / -oz*, *-oze / -oz, -os: Almandoz* (*Alemanto*) (N), *Aloze / Alos* (*Allus*) (Z), *Arzotz / Arzoz* (*Artius*) (N), *Azotz / Azoz* (*Attio*) (N), *Bidankoze / Vidángoz* (*Vindacius*, **Vindacus*) (N), *Estenotz / Esténoz* (*Stennius*, **Stennus*) (N). This one is, in the majority of cases, a mere variant of the suffix(es) seen in (10). The difference lies in the fact that in this case there was a reduction *-o(i)(t)z > -o(t)z*, which often is not attested. The final *-e* is many times a paragogic sound, although this is not always completely clear.

Briefly summarized, we can reasonably affirm that anthroponyms are in the base of many village names of the Basque Country, more often than people (and even some onomasticians) usually believe. Many times, the toponyms are composed of a personal name and a suffix borrowed from Latin, but which, after a time, gained independence and was used, as well, with autochthonous bases.

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Abbreviations

A: Araba / Álava
B: Bizkaia / Biscay
NB: Nafarroa Beherea / Basse-Navarre, Low Navarre
G: Gipuzkoa
L: Lapurdi / Labourd, Labort
N: Nafarroa / Navarre
Z: Zuberoa / Soule

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Linguistically Mixed Names

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Abstract

The article explores how linguistically mixed names are formed. The idea of hybrid formation is dismissed. Many linguistically mixed names include borrowed place names or loanwords, and these are regular formations. Other names have become linguistically mixed after they have been borrowed. As a part of the adaptation process, non-native elements may be translated or reinterpreted.

Studies from various contact linguistic areas suggest that generics are more frequently translated than specifics. This indicates that generics and specifics play different roles in names. The specific individuates and is most important for identification. The role of the generic is to give a rough classification of the locality, which means that the generic needs to be intelligible, i.e. in the living language. This also means that the generic is the best indication of formation language when linguistically mixed names are analysed.

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Linguistically Mixed Names

Contact names reveal some interesting aspects of place names that may be less obvious in monolingual areas. For this reason, contact onomastics is important also for what it can tell us about names in general. My specific area of study has been place names of Norse origin in Orkney.[1] In Scotland's Northern Isles, the Norse language survived into the 18th century, though it was gradually superseded by Scots English from the 14th century onwards. There are very good surveys of place names and dialect words from Orkney and Shetland, but being early works, these are not at all concerned with the contact aspect. To Jakobsen, who studied Shetland names around 1900, any name with one Norse element is a Norse name. Hugh Marwick, who published Orkney Farm-names in 1952, does not really question this view. In a modern approach, linguistically mixed names should be analysed as products of the bilingual or multi-lingual societies in which they were formed. Here the main emphasis will be on the formation of linguistically mixed place names, with examples from different contact areas.

Formations Including Existing Names of a Different Origin

The fact that place names are easily borrowed in contact situations and often survive language shifts can be observed in contact areas across the world. One obvious reason is that place names are so closely linked to the locations they refer to. Names are efficient signposts to places, and it makes sense for different linguistic groups to identify places by the same names. The large number of surviving names of Norse origin in the Northern Isles proves that the incoming Scots took over the Norse name instead of coining their own. Such loan names

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[1] I use Norse as a common term for the original Old Norse language brought to the isles by Viking Age settlers and the local dialect that developed from Old Norse, usually called Norn.

become part of the recipient group's onomasticon. This means that they may be adapted to suit the recipient language, and that they may enter in new name formations just like other names: *Scapa > Scapa Bay*. Formations including such loan names are probably the most common form of linguistically mixed names.

The fact that Scots is the only living language in Orkney and has been so for centuries, means that there are no Old Norse (ON) names as such, but a large number of loan names of ON origin that have become a part of the local Scots onomasticon. *Swanbister Bay*, *Bay of Houseby* and *Loch of Loomachun* are typical examples. The two former are Scots English formations including farm names of ON origin. Farm names in *-bister < bólstaðr* 'settlement' are frequent in Norse Scotland. *Houseby* reflects *húsabýr* (literally 'house farm'), a widespread name much discussed in Scandinavia, as they often refer to administrative centres. Whereas *Swanbister Bay* and *Bay of Houseby* are names of bays next to the farms, the generic 'lake' in *Loch of Loomachun* refers to the same locality as the Norse name *lómtjörn* 'red throated diver lake'.

Similar examples can be found in other contact areas. Cox (1989: 3) gives the example *Loch Lacsabhat*, in which the specific is an ON name *Laxavatn* 'Salmon lake'. Here too the Gaelic generic that is added means the same as the generic of the ON name. A parallel example from the Finnish-Swedish contact area is *Markjärvsjö* (Huldén 1962). *Järv* is a Swedish adaptation of Finnish *järvi* 'lake', whereas *sjö* is the Swedish synonym. When onomasts comment that the name *Ardtornish Point* contains the word for headland in three languages (Nicolaisen 2001: 72), it shows our focus on etymology. For the persons who coined the names, it was probably a matter of increasing the descriptive value of the names. These names should be classified as new formations in the new language. The ON name that started out as **Tor(f)nes* later entered as the specific in a Gaelic formation *Àird Tòranais,* with the Gaelic word for headland as its generic. The Gaelic name in its turn enters into a Scots English formation in the name *Ardtornish Point*.

As we see, more than two languages may be involved. Another multilingual example is the short-lived New Sweden colony in America (1638-1655), where the Swedes met Native Americans as well as Dutch immigrants. They adopted quite a lot of Indian names, sometimes adding Swedish generics: *Mechansio Berg, Penichpaska kil*. *Berg* is the Swedish word for 'hill', whereas *kil* in the sense 'stream' is actually a local loan from Dutch. This leads us over to another common kind of linguistically mixed names.

Formations with Loan Words

The New Sweden examples illustrate how easily words are borrowed in contact situations. From an etymological point of view, *Penichpaska kil* is Indian and Dutch. The formation is Swedish, though, including a loan name and a loan word. We saw above that the colony lasted for less than twenty years, which means that the words and names were exchanged within a very short period. The colony was later conquered by the Dutch and the names disappeared.

In Orkney, the transmission period was much longer. The bilingual period lasted for more than three centuries, and a large number of Norse words were borrowed, of which some still survive. A number of the loan words are very productive in place name formation, such

as *geo* < ON *gjá* 'narrow inlet' and *quoy* < ON *kví* 'enclosure'. From an etymological point of view, names such as *Clay Geo*, *Heatherquoy* are of mixed origin. From a formation point of view, they are regular Scots formations including loan words.

The genesis of a name is when it is formed. The speakers coining names can use the total lexicon and onomasticon available to them at that point. This means that none of the examples so far, i.e. names including loan words or loan names, are irregular from a formation point of view. They are formed of the current word stock and name stock.

Part Translations and Reinterpretations

A loan name has to fit into the phonological and morphological system of the recipient language. Phonological adjustment seems to be compulsory where the phonological systems do not match, and morphemes of the recipient language can be added. In some cases, adaptation goes further and elements are translated or replaced by words that make sense in the recipient language. I have very little evidence for translation in the Orkney material, but German and Finnish contact onomasts agree that translation of the generic is more common, whereas phonological adaptation is the rule for the specific. For instance, most languages have name for the *Atlantic Ocean* < Greek *Atlantis thalassa* 'Sea of Atlas', in which the Greek origin of the specific is preserved and the generic is translated into the local language.

In some cases, the new elements are reinterpretations rather than translations, i.e. opaque elements are replaced by words from the living lexicon. Examples include *Kirkwall* 'church wall' < ON *kirkjuvág* 'church bay', and Norwegian *luft* 'air' as an adaptation for Sámi dialect *loufta* 'fjord' in names such as *Hjemmeluft* and *Tappeluft*. Part translations and lexical adaptations may result in linguistically mixed names. We should note that phonological adaptations occur regularly, whereas translations and reinterpretations are sporadic, depending on individual initiative.

Hybrid Formations?

We have seen that adaptation processes may result in linguistically mixed names, but can we envisage names being coined with elements from two different languages from the beginning? The idea of such hybrid formations is dismissed by most contact onomasts. It is not totally rejected in British tradition, however. As late as 1991, Sandred (1991: 120) suggests a mixed origin for the name *Conesford* in Norwich. He suggests that the name could be compounded of Scandinavian *konungs* 'king's' + English *ford*.

The Finnish onomast Huldén (1962: 129) expresses the generally held view, when stating that mixed formations are not coined under normal circumstances. As an example of non-normal formation, he mentions *Morokulien*, created by Swedish and Norwegian broadcasting companies for a place on the border where entertainment programmes were co-produced in the early days of television. The name contains the Norwegian and Swedish word for 'fun', and is now on official maps. It is not normally stated why hybrid formation should be dismissed, but fundamentally, it rests on the insight that bilingual speakers normally use a certain language in a certain context. Code-shift is unlikely within a linguistic

unit such as a name, if one does not want to make a special statement, such as the joint Norwegian–Swedish project at *Morokulien*.

Identifying the Formation Language of Linguistically Mixed Names

Since onomastics is the study names rather than words, our primary concern should be with the origin of the name, the formation. So how do we identify the linguistic origin of contact names that contain elements from different languages? This was one of the focal questions of my Orkney studies (Sandnes 2010: 265). The indicators found here are likely to be relevant in other contact areas as well.

Generics Should Have Priority

Three names *Boat Meadow, Boats Hellia* and *Boat Geo* may serve as examples. Their common specific is either Scots 'boat' or ON *bátr*. If we look at the specifics first, we realise that a competence of Scots is required to name a meadow 'meadow'. The ON word is *eng*. This means that *Boat Meadow* has to be a Scots formation. The generic of *Boats Hellia* is an ON word *hella*, denoting flat rock near the sea. This word is unknown in Scots, and we can safely conclude that the name is an Old Norse formation. *Boat Geo* is more problematic. *Gjá* 'ravine' is originally an ON word, but it was borrowed into the dialect in the form *geo*, which is still the standard word for a narrow inlet of the sea. In many of the ambiguous cases, the specifics may help us determine the origin, for instance the clearly Scots specific of *Clay Geo*. In *Boat Geo*, however, both elements are ambiguous, and we have to leave the formation open.

In Normandy, the Scandinavian colonisation never replaced the native language, but it resulted in a large number of mixed names. One large group is names combining a Scandinavian personal name and the French generic *ville* 'farm; village', e.g. *Osmonville* (Osmondi villam 1137). These are often labelled Scandinavian names, but are they really? Considering the generic, they are more likely to be French formations. This raises another classical question in onomastics: Who coins the names – the owners themselves or their neighbours? From a formation point of view, the mixed *ville*-names are unproblematic if coined by the neighbours, possibly administrators who needed names for tax roll and other records.

Morphology

Morphology of a dead language is a definitive proof of a name's origin. If a name in Orkney or Normandy contains reflexes of Norse morphology, it must have been formed when Norse was still a living language with its morphology intact. There is an interesting difference between Normandy and Orkney in this respect. In Norman names, there are no certain instances of ON morphology. We only see Latin case marking from the written language, cf. *Osmundi villam* above.

Many Orkney names, on the other hand, contain reflexes of ON morphology. For instance, *Queena*, *Leean* and *Quear* contain the remains of the post-positioned definite and

plural articles. (ON *kvína* 'the enclosure', *hlíðin* 'the slope' *kvíar* 'the enclosures'). *Lamaquoy* ('lambs' enclosure') has genitive plural marking of the specific. Reflexes of definite articles are the most common morphological indication of Old Norse formation in Orkney. In other contact areas, there will be other grammatical differences, e.g. different word order in Celtic – English language contact areas.

Morphology of the living language can be added to any name. In the rather unusual form *The Leeans*, *Leean* is a Norse definite form, to which Scots definite and plural marking has subsequently been added. In Orkney, *of*-periphrasis is a very common way of forming secondary names: *Bay of Houseby, Hills of Heddle, Bu of Rendall* ('manor of Rendall'). The present forms are all Scots formations; there is no similar formation pattern in Scandinavian languages.

Generic and Specific

As stated in the introduction, contact names are interesting for what they tell us about place name formation in general. The number of borrowed names underline that the deictic function of place names is most important; they point out locations whether we understand them or not. There is a significant difference between generics and specifics in this respect, however. It is more important to understand the generic. If we start with formation, names are always formed with understandable generics, i.e. in the living language. This is not a requirement for the specific in secondary names: It may well be an opaque name, like Indian *Penichpaska* in the Swedish formation *Penichpaska kil*. Also, research in different contact areas show that generics are more often translated in borrowed names than specifics, i.e. a stronger tendency to make generics intelligible in the new language. Finally, explicit generics are often added if the user does not perceive one. We have seen examples such as *Ardtornish Point*, but similar epexegesis also takes place in monolingual areas. This is well attested in Scandinavia, where Proto-Norse names were often coined by derivation, with a suffix that carries no separate meaning. At a later stage, an explicit generic is often added, so that they become regular compounded names: *Sams > Samsø* (Danish *ø* 'island').

Translations and additions of elements cannot be explained by the language system as such. Rather, they reflect the fact that names are coined and used by people who do not merely see them as labels, and who try to make sense of the names. Users may interpret names different from the etymological meaning and change the names accordingly. The fact that generics and specifics are treated differently probably reflects that the elements play different roles in names.

The role of the specific is individuation, i.e. the same as the name as a whole. For identification purposes, it makes sense to preserve an established name and reuse it, even if we do not grasp a meaning in it. Lakoff says that we perceive meaning, and this is true for our conception of names. We not only know, we experience and feel that places bear specific names. This is demonstrated when name changes are suggested, it tends to stir up feelings.

The role of the generic is to classify. The cognitive sciences tell us that categorising is fundamental for our understanding the world. Categorisation can only take place if we understand the elements, however. There is another factor involved as well: Many of the

generics are easily observed – a lake, a farm or a road. In these cases, the connection between the generic and the lexicon is more likely to be maintained. The categorising role of the generics can also be observed in other ways. Staffan Nyström has compared the words that can denote slopes and depressions in the landscape with the elements used to denote these features in place names. The interesting result is that only part of the possible lexical items are actually used in names (Nyström 1988: 171). This indicates some kind of implicit categorisation in place name generics. Categorisation means simplification, so unlimited variation is not desirable.

In the eastern parts of Trøndelag, some of the names in the mountains are South Sámi. Adapted forms of these names are also used by Norwegian speakers, e.g. lake names *Gereke* < Sámi *Gierkiejaevrie*, *Bilnen* < Sámi *Bielnienjaevrie* and *Garkstjerv* < Sámi *Gaarkestjaerhvienjaevrie*. We notice that the specifics are phonetically adapted, for instance all the falling diphthongs are replaced. More notably, the generics are systematically omitted. This is not because local Norwegian speakers do not know that *jaevrie* means lake, but perhaps because it does not convey a spontaneously felt meaning. The examples indicate that a generic that does not fulfil its classifying function is of no use, and can be omitted. The specific is sufficient to point out the name

To sum up: names are formed from the total word and name stock available to the speaker. Although the function of names is to point out localities, this does not prevent the users of names from a) making the connection between the name and the place, b) trying to identify parts of names, and c) trying to clarify names not immediately understandable. The genesis of a name is when it was formed, but its present form may be the result of regular language change as well as adaptation processes by speakers trying to analyse the names. Onomastics should analyse all these processes.

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The Onomastic Landscape of Copenhagen – Meaning Formation, Rewriting History and Onomastic Scale Reduction

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Abstract

This article provides an insight into urban toponyms in Copenhagen from a stylistic-rhetorical discourse analysis perspective. The findings originate from empirical collected names, which are further examined in my coming PhD thesis. I investigate all urban toponyms across onomastic categories within three study areas. The study areas are defined by rather different linguistic and rhetorical paradigms and consequently I am investigating each area from a slightly different theoretical and analytic approach.

 The City Centre study area is defined by many commercial names. Often the meanings of commercial names are complex because multimodal meaning construction strategies have been applied to the names. The multimodal meaning construction strategy delays the shift from appellative to proper name.

 In *the development area* (*Carlsberg City District*) I investigate the motives behind naming comparing the official chosen names to the actual in-use but unofficial names in the district.

 The residential area (Nørrebro) is, in my opinion, defined by different kinds of 'places'. In the following I present my own term *onomastic scale reduction* as a tool for the naming authorities in Copenhagen to construct a sense of *place* in a vast and otherwise linguistically disorganized city.

* * *

Introduction

The connection between language and the physical world is not a simple one. Name givers may name the landscape using tropes and figurative language and sometimes folk etymologies are tied to the places too. These are ways in which to add more meaning to the real world than if you name the world in a literal manner.

 Tangling with people's perception of reality as a rhetorical strategy becomes even more obvious when we look at the toponyms in big cities from a synchronic viewpoint. Street names, names of squares and shops have often been invented by official naming authorities or the shop keepers themselves. Often these name givers have an economic interest. Thus it becomes important to the name givers to both invent names that people can relate to in a positive manner and to create names people will remember.

 This article investigates three different rhetorical strategies used for naming in Copenhagen. I aim to show how these rhetorical strategies have an impact on proper names and how we perceive them. By applying multimodal meaning construction strategies many commercial names point back at their appellative origin and the shift from appellative to proper name gets delayed. This rhetorical strategy aims at keeping the name as open to interpretations, associations and connotations as possible.

When developing a district the naming authorities can choose other names than the ones already in use at the site. By fitting the chosen official names into an overall branding strategy, the language users' perception of reality can be tampered with.

I also present my very own term *onomastic scale reduction* as a tool for the naming authorities in Copenhagen to construct the notion of *place* in a vast and otherwise linguistically disorganized city simply by tangling with urban toponyms in a rhetorical manner.

Material, Method and Premise

Copenhagen is the capital city of Denmark. Approximately 22% of the Danish population live in the Region of Copenhagen today, in round figures 1.2 million people.

During the industrialization in the 18th century large numbers of people moved to Copenhagen and the city expanded rapidly. This called for a great deal of city planning, and new streets and squares needed names too. Thus, the City of Copenhagen formed an official naming authority, now called The Copenhagen Naming Board. The board consists of five politicians appointed internally among their fellow party members, all for election every four years. The Copenhagen Naming Board suggests names for all new streets and squares being developed in Copenhagen and the board members are otherwise involved in The Technical and Environmental Administration at City Hall.

My data consists of all the urban toponyms from within the three study areas. I have collected the visual place names by physical field trips, but I have also excerpted from maps and other written sources.

I deal with street names, names of squares, churches and houses, names of institutions and commercial names, albeit mainly official names. I have, however, collected unofficial names in the study area defined as 'development area', because I am investigating how many unofficial names are now made official.

Each of the study areas is a quarter of a square kilometre and has been carefully chosen from a selection of similar possible study areas. I have conducted pilot projects previous to my actual decisions to make sure the chosen study areas would contain a sufficient amount of toponyms of linguistic and figurative variation.

Because I am interested in linguistic variation and figurative language, I wanted my study areas to be in different parts of the city in order to get as many different types of urban toponyms as possible. I wanted some of the oldest names in Copenhagen, and therefore I chose to study an area in the City Centre. But I also wanted some of the youngest names in Copenhagen, which led me to pick a study area in a development area. My third and final study area is in a district that classifies as 'residential area', but the space is characterised by a number of features distinctive to the study area district. It is impossible to avoid area-specific characteristics in the study areas, because every district has its own distinctive features (Stensgaard 2002).

As a result, my study areas are very different from each other, which is why I am conducting stylistic-rhetorical discourse analysis in a slightly different manner in each area. Nonetheless, I share a premise of the toponyms as mainly textual figures and the overall

stylistic-rhetorical analysis. But respecting the unique and distinctive features defining each area, I simply needed a slightly different approach for analysis in each study area.

I mainly investigate urban toponyms from written sources (maps, signs and official documents). Therefore I regard the urban names I deal with to be small pieces of texts, which is why I apply an analysis that originates from literary theory to the etymological interpretations too. As a result my analysis' has two end results: the etymological interpret and a characteristic of the rhetorical-stylistic nature of the name.

In my opinion this approach becomes even more fruitful when the urban names are to be understood figuratively. Literary theory has dealt with the variety of different understandings of tropes for a decade, and I am now applying some of these theories to my material. As I see it 'a metaphor' is more than just 'a metaphor' because the nature of what constitutes 'a metaphor' varies depending on viewpoint. In this sense it gets limiting to define 'a metaphor' in as narrow terms as e.g. 'a metaphor = the cognitive metaphor', because one could easily exclude viewpoints that might be more adequate in given circumstances.

Copenhagen City Centre – The Problem of Meaning Formation

Like the majority of capital city centres in the world, the Copenhagen City Centre has a rather big shopping area for pedestrians, and therefore the study area contains a vast number of commercial names. Many of these names are visible on signs at street level. Apart from the proper names the linguistic landscape also contains appellatives, logos and texts, and sometimes it is hard to tell the difference between the linguistic and grammatical categories.

This is hardly a problem for the potential customers. As long as 'some kind of text' is communicating what the shops are selling, the customers are able to choose to either go inside or past the door. The communication is doing what it is supposed to do: it communicates. Yet, I could not stop to wonder: how much of the context do we need to take into consideration in order to understand a commercial proper name? And how do we distinguish the proper name from appellative, logo and linguistic landscape?

Take the name *Paradis* (*Paradise*). The last two letters (-*is*) are written in a different colour and these particular two letters spell the Danish word for 'ice cream'. Futhermore –*is* is written in blue letters, and the colour blue often symbolises something cold. Not surprisingly the shop sells ice cream. If I had only written down the name, and not taken the visuals (the colours) into consideration, I would have missed this piece of information.

Fig. 1. The shop Paradis ('Paradise') sells *is* ('ice cream')

Of course there is more to the name than the colourful visualisation of the fact that the shop sells ice cream. The name itself meaning 'paradise' gives all potential costumers associations with 'something divine'. Adding this association to the word 'ice cream' we expect a divine, tasteful quality ice cream. Additionally, the first five letters 'parad' are pronounced just like the Danish word *parat*, 'ready', and this association too blends in with the association of the divine. The ice cream not only tastes heavenly, you can get it right away.

The name *Paradis* is very different to the text: *Gormsgade 23 Købmand*.

Fig. 2. Gormsgade 23 Købmand (Gorm's Street 23 Grocer)

'Gormsgade 23' is the actual address of the shop. *Købmand* means 'grocer' and is nothing more than an appellative. From a name research perspective *Gormsgade 23 Købmand* is hardly even a proper name. Yet it communicates exactly the information potential customers are interested in knowing, namely that this particular place is a grocery shop. And I do believe that the prevailing majority of people would consider *Gormsgade 23 Købmand* to be a proper commercial name, because (1) it communicates and (2) the text is placed above the entrance door, where shop names are usually located.

Though the name does not resemble a classic proper (commercial) name, there is a powerful discourse in play for where the physical visualization of commercial names are usually found in the cityscape. The strong discourse compensates for the fact that *Gormsgade 23 Købmand* (*Gorm's Street 23 Grocer*) from a grammatical point of view is an address and an appellative – not a proper name.

The point I am trying to make is not whether *Gormsgade 23 Købmand* is in fact a proper name or not, but to point out the variety of commercial names in the cityscape. Some of the names resemble appellatives and others communicate a lot of meaning using multiple communication strategies, which relate to the proper name but are not *in* form of a proper name itself.

I do however think the multiple meaning construction strategy is a very deliberate communication strategy from the name givers' perspective, and something name researchers should take into consideration when interpreting commercial names. In this respect commercial names are very different from place names and other toponyms. Since the vast

majority of commercial names live a life as written forms on signs and texts above the shops' entrance doors, they are able to communicate via text as medium. Therefore the commercial names have the ability to communicate a number of simultaneous multiple meanings, in a way that often makes the names complex and impossible to define as carriers of merely one specific 'proper' meaning.

Carlsberg – How to Rewrite History

Carlsberg Byen (*Carlsberg City District*) is a development area. But the name *Carlsberg* is also the product name of the renowned Danish beer that had been brewed at this particular site from 1847. In late 2008 the beer production moved outside Copenhagen and the Carlsberg brewery sold off 75% of the 600,000 m^2 industrial area to four other shareholders. Now the shareholders have to agree on the future of the site, although they do not necessarily share the same visions.

Over the next 10-15 years the industrial area will be developed into a new district containing private residences, retail, business premises, a new station, streets and squares. Some of the old industrial buildings are listed heritage buildings so the new district will be a mix of old and new.

Strategies of around-the-clock urban living play an important role in the Carlsberg City District development strategy. This means the site is far from desolate, even under construction. The Carlsberg brewery still has administrative offices at the site and private traders and institutions have rented spaces for their trades in the buildings formerly used for beer production. In this sense the area is diverse and contains a lot of urban names differing in time and type.

In the 1970s-80s up to 7,000 people worked at the brewery. Some of these people are still working for Carlsberg at the site and they carry knowledge of the in-use unofficial names tied to the site, some of which may well date back to 1847.

On the 1st of August 2014 twelve squares and streets in the new *Carlsberg City District* were named. The vast majority of the streets and squares do not yet exist. The city planners want to brand 'the Carlsberg story' and preserve the area's history, so they prefer street names that relate to the Carlsberg brewery activity. Spokesmen from the Carlsberg brewery agree to this branding strategy.

When the names got published several Danish newspapers wrote about the twelve names emphasizing them as *historic*. This is obviously a qualified truth since the official names were just published (1st of August 2014) and became known to the actual name users. Furthermore many of the names do not even have a denotata yet, so the names are rarely used. The historic origin of the chosen names becomes even more questionable when comparing them to the place name recordings I conducted among the Carlsberg employees that have worked at the site the longest. Thus, the historic reputation of the twelve chosen names is part of a clever branding strategy. Let us take a look at the misunderstanding.

When looking at the official documents explaining the background and motives behind the twelve chosen names, it becomes clear that the name givers have worked on the basis of themes. The twelve names fall into five different categories of name motive, defined

by the name givers themselves. The chosen themes are: beer production, the area's history, people related to Carlsberg and artists. The latter name motive does not relate to 'the Carlsberg story', but is a result of The Copenhagen Naming Board's private interest in naming streets after famous Danish artists (in this specific case the painters Franciska Clausen and Christen Købke), which has been a popular name motive for many years.

Two streets are named after people related to Carlsberg one way or the other. *Johanne Møllers Passage* (*Johanne Møller's Alley*) is named after the woman, who worked at Carlsberg the longest (65 years) and *Bohrs Gade* (*Bohr's Street*) is named after the physicist Niels Bohr, who lived at the Carlsberg honorary residence 1931-1962. Originally the honorary residence was the home of Carlsberg's founder, but it functioned as honorary residence for scientists or artists from 1914-1995.

The two street names are not historic in the sense of being old and original, neither are Niels Bohr and Johanne Møller a random choice of people after whom to name the streets. Yet one should bear in mind that these people are carefully singled out from other options. In the function of street names Niels Bohr and Johanne Møller put Carlsberg in a certain light connecting Carlsberg to (1) the world famous Niels Bohr and thus an interest in science (2) an employed *woman*, which brand Carlsberg as an enterprise with a seemingly long interest in women's equal rights.

Many Carlsberg employees did in fact prefer the latter street named after *the person*, who had worked the longest at Carlsberg. But since that person turned out to be a man the naming authorities decided to name the street after *the woman*, who had worked the longest at the brewery, despite the fact that she had had colleagues with longer seniority. Although this final decision might be controversial, The Copenhagen Naming Board has made the decision to name more streets and squares after women since a survey in 2008 concluded that a lot more streets are named after men than women in Copenhagen.

The name motives 'beer production' and 'the area's history' also have the potential to be 'historically misleading' depending on how you define 'historic' in this onomastic framework. Eight names are categorized as belonging to these categories, but in reality they mainly resemble a *modern day conception* of what 'beer production' and 'the area's history' looked like in the late 1800s and through the 1900s.

The street names *Lagergade* (*Warehouse Street*), *Flaskegade* (*Bottle Street*), *Flaskehalsen* (*The Bottleneck*) and *Kuskenes Gade* (*Drayman Street*) are all made up names and part of 'the area's history'. However, it would be fruitful to ask in what sense the names relate to the area's history?

When comparing the above-mentioned names to the names I collected by name recordings the chosen names are very different from the actual in-use urban place names. According to my place names recordings only a few streets have names at the Carlsberg site, as opposed to a vast number of buildings and squares. Yet, the square names are generally much more specific than the appellative 'bottle' or 'warehouse'. In reality there were many warehouses spread all over the site, not to mention the numbers of bottles going in and out the site on a daily basis. Names like the above-mentioned ones would simply be too unspecific.

If you wanted to mention a warehouse, you would rather say *DC'eren*, a derivative, definite form and acronym of the appellative *distributionscenter* 'distribution center'. Being

the 'distribution center' would be the most distinctive usage of the building and an information you would need to specify in order to distinguish that particular warehouse from *Rød Lagerbygning* (*Red Warehouse*), *Halmlageret* (*The Straw Storage*), *Lagerkælder 3A* and *Lagerkælder 3B* (*Storage Cellar 3A* and *Storage Cellar 3B*). A name like *Warehouse Street* simply would not act as the motivation in the time span it takes for a word to become a proper name. *Warehouse Street* designates too many potential road sections and you would have to present an additional piece of information every time you were to use the name. Consequently the proper name would get fixed in the form including the additional piece of information, for instance as *Straw Storage Street*.

On the other hand, several warehouses could in theory have been gathered at the same stretch of road, making the name a lot more plausible. But in reality the warehouses were spread over the 600,000 m^2 site, the *Straw Storage* was near the stables and pen and not next to the *DC'eren*, for example, ultimately making the name of *Warehouse Street* unlikely as a naturally composed street name.

The naming authorities themselves say that *Warehouse Street* and *Bottle Street* will be established close to a former warehouse containing bottles. In this sense the names *do* relate to the former buildings and activities at the specific place, but the names are hardly what one would find at an old brewery site.

Four squares are named according to a 'beer production' theme: *Gærtorvet* (*The Yeast Square*), *Kildepladsen* (*The Spring Square*), *Humletorvet* (*The Hop Square*) and *Tapperitorvet* (*The Bottling Square*). All of these names are created on a highly associative basis naming the main ingredients for beer making (yeast, water and hops) and a working method specific to beer production (bottling). Furthermore *Yeast Square* is actually the renamed turning square. The Carlsberg employees have called it *Køretorvet* (*The Turning Square*) for over 40 years due to the drivers who would turn their cars at this specific square in order to either drive further into the industrial site or to leave the area to go into the city.

Though *The Turning Square* may very well have been in use among the Carlsberg employees for a long time, the name does not correspond with the modern day conception of beer production in 1847-2008 that a non-specialist would have. The name simply does not leave the 'outsider' with 'the right' piece of information, if any at all. The fact is that many people drive around in varied means of transport every day, thus potentially leaving a name user not familiar with beer brewing at the actual Carlsberg site with all sorts of images or ideas of the name's meaning in the mind. And these images are likely to either be too comprehensive or simply the *wrong* picture according to the branded 'story of Carlsberg'.

Thus, the twelve historic names for the *Carlsberg City District* are not historic in the sense 'old'. They are historic in the sense of pointing out pieces of the modern day non-specialist conception of beer brewing. In this sense the urban names are rewriting (or rebranding) history. But at the same time the naming authorities are in fact turning the perception of reality upside-down. They could have chosen the names already in use at the site, designating reality as it was and partly still is. By doing so they could teach the non-specialists the (historic) everyday life at Carlsberg. But rather they chose names so unspecific they fit into any non-specialist's knowledge of beer brewing leaving the non-specialist with nothing but his or hers (idealized) ideas intact, which may not correspond

with reality. The name fits the lowest common denominator, albeit ensuring that the non-specialist is left with a *sense* of brewery activities.

Nørrebro – Onomastic Scale Reduction as a Tool to Construct a Sense of Place

The district of Nørrebro was mainly built in the late 1800s and it quickly became a slum and working class area. Over the past 30 years is has, however, been significantly renovated, and now it holds a diverse group of residents from working class people to students, artists and families with small children. But the district of Nørrebro still has a rough reputation and it is also the part of Copenhagen with the highest amount of immigrants compared to any other part of the city.

I originally thought my main investigation in this study area would be commercial names and language encounter studies, because of the high amount of, in particular, Arabic commercial names. But as I collected the urban names I noticed some of the toponyms were used to create a notion of a 'city within the city' from an onomastic point of view..

The Copenhagen districts are not perceived only as different places with individual distinctive features. Sometimes a group of street names stands out as a unit different from the rest of the city. Sometimes we even name the units: *Pisserenden* (*The Urinal*), *Kødbyen* (*The Meatpacking District*), *Det Mytologiske Kvarter* (*The Mythological Area*). The areas become self-sufficient and sometimes they direct themselves inward toward their own centre. They become cities within the city.

I am not the first one to have made this observation. Both architects and phenomenologists have dealt with similar notions. In the following analysis I am aiming at an interdisciplinary application of existing theories of how 'place' and 'cities in the city' are created in (big) cities and why. I do this to reach a greater understanding of semantically related street names and to show that naming is also a rhetorical tool. I call this: *onomastic scale reduction*.

Det Mytologiske Kvarter (The Mythological Area)

In this particular study area there is an area of streets with semantically related names named after characters of the Norse mythology. The oldest street name related to this theme is *Thorsgade* (*Thor's Street*) named so in 1863 after the thunder god Thor. Over the following years more streets were built and named according to the mythology theme.

With a theoretical background in the book *La pensée sauvage* (1962) by anthropologist and ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, Danish professor Martin Zerlang introduced the concept of scale reduction in the urban context as an attempt to make the city's tremendous development feasible (Zerlang 2002: 16). Zerlang claims that when the European cities expanded in the late 1800s, it happened at such a pace and to such an extent that they became too vast for the city dwellers to comprehend. Zerlang claims that when people get confronted with an overwhelming mass of some sort, they have an urge to spontaneously simplify it by reducing the mass into smaller entities, because only then you are able to

comprehend what you are dealing with (ibid.). To Zerlang this way of *reducing in scale* becomes a tool to create entities within a larger whole that enables people to comprehend the urban dimension once again. In order to grasp the city, the city dweller needs smaller entities that Zerlang calls *cities in the city*.

In this way cities in the city are a consequence of the modern disintegration of the city (Zerlang 2002: 19) and scale reduction is a tool to deal with the problem. Consequently one might say that cities in the city become modernity's attempt to re-establish 'place' in the distorted city.

Zerlang describes cities in the city as architectural phenomena and he lists a number of characteristics defining them. In the present context not all of the characteristics are equally important, but he accentuates that the cities in the city appear as *self-sufficient entities* and that they create an *otherness* to the surrounding cityscape. As prototypical cities in the city he mentions the zoo and amusement parks.

Based on these assumptions I claim that semantically related names in defined areas, potentially have the same dynamics – only it is linguistic. Often semantically related street names create a linguistic otherness when compared to the surrounding onomastic cityscape. In my opinion the consistent linguistic entity of a group named area often creates the *illusion* that the streets belong together and must be perceived as an entity.

The written sources from 1863 do not say anything about the motivation for the name *Thorsgade* (*Thor's Street*). But in 1892, when *Heimdalsgade* (*Heimdal's Street*) gets its name, the minutes state the name motivation as a direct consequence of the prevailing Norse mythological theme present in existing street names in that particular area. This makes us capable of deducting that the conception of the semantically related names as a *self-sufficient entity* and an *otherness* compared to the surrounding cityscape was present at this time in history.

In 2007 the City of Copenhagen decided to put up signs explaining the myths about the characters after whom the streets within the mythological theme were named. On *Baldersgade* (Balder's Street), for instance, one can read the myth of Balder (if one reads Danish) and the myth-telling signs are on every street corner of *Baldersgade* telling the same story. On *Nannasgade* (*Nanna's Street*) one can read the myth of Nanna, on *Mimersgade* (*Mimer's Street*) one can read the myth of Mimer and so on.

Fig. 3. Street sign and myth on Baldersgade (Balder's Street)

In doing so The City of Copenhagen re-brands the streets with the mythological theme as an entity. It is the only place in Copenhagen where you have actual myths as a deliberate context to street names, so it is a rather distinct linguistic strategy to create otherness. As they put up the signs, they even named the area *The Mythological Area* (*Det Mytologiske Kvarter*) and by doing so the linguistic creation of a city in a city was indeed complete.

There are two onomastic layers playing an active role in the case of *The Mythological Area*. The first onomastic layer is the one presenting the bird's eye view that is easily observed when you look at maps. From this perspective it is easy to see the semantically related street name areas as entities spread over the city, creating a notion of structure and organization.

But when walking around at street level the city might not look as organized and structured, because you are constantly confronted with different kinds of texts both street names, commercial names, appellatives, ads and logos that all together constitute a complex linguistic landscape. Often you might not be aware that you are in the middle of an area of semantically related street names. The City of Copenhagen tries to go from the bird's eye view to street level, to create the same sense of order and structure that can be observed on a city map. And they try to create order and a sense of 'place' by putting up the myth-telling signs.

In doing so they are also trying to tangle with the process of when the proper names become so grammatical that the semantics and the original meaning of the name steps into the background, as was the case to a much greater extent before the City of Copenhagen put up the signs adding a context to the proper names in *The Mythological Area*. It is a deliberate rhetorical strategy to pour meaning and associations into proper names. But it is also a constant battle between grammar and semantics.

Conclusion

I have found discourses in the urban toponyms of Copenhagen that in different ways are trying to influence our conception of the connection between language and reality.

The commercial names form a complex problem of understanding meaning and grammar itself. Applying multimodal meaning construction strategies to commercial names shows how they become more than proper names in a narrow grammatical sense, because we also need to take e.g. visuals into consideration as either the part of a name or at least as an important part of the commercial names' context. But it forms a paradox too, for what happens when the proper name becomes the proper name and the classifying and semantic meaning is suspended? Do the multimodal meaning constructing strategies in the written form of *Paradis* constantly remind us of the names' semantics, because the shop sign communicates the proper name (grammar), the connotations and what the name is denoting all at once? Is it possible to manipulate grammar using multimodal strategies to construct meaning? The positioning discourse for proper nouns in the city scape plays an important role for the language users and city dwellers to understand and distinguish grammatical categories from each other.

In the development area the Copenhagen Naming Board's and Carlsberg city planners' branding strategy on one site and the unofficial in-use names at the other site forms a potential discourse collision. Furthermore, the onomastic 'reality' that the city planners and the Copenhagen Naming Board are constructing will surely crack if you start comparing the chosen official names to the actual in-use unofficial names.

Finally, there is the question of who is controlling the onomastic cityscape at bird's eye view and at street level. How do you control and maintain the onomastic cities in the city by onomastic scale reduction as a rhetorical-stylistic strategy to create place in a vast and otherwise linguistically disorganized city?

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- Borgerrepræsentationens Forhandlinger (1855-1997)
- Minutes from Copenhagen Naming Board with recommendations and The Environment and Technology Committee's decisions (1997-2014)

Il était une fois des toponymes environnementaux qui masquaient bien leurs origines érudites

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France

Résumé

J'ai découvert un substrat toponymique latin du 4e siècle. Les noms furent créés en assemblages pour mémoriser des textes et des dessins. J'ai reconstitué, autour du Roussillon (Sud France), plus de 600 toponymes et 200 dédicaces hagionymiques.

La reconnaissance progressive du mode opératoire, des références paléochrétiennes précises, la méthode toponymique classique et la géométrie m'ont permis de rassembler plus de preuves, pour l'origine de chaque nom, que les toponymistes antérieurs.

Ces derniers avaient laissé un grand nombre d'origines obscures. Ils proposèrent souvent des origines qui s'avèrent, maintenant, être des remotivations paronymiques par des populations ayant désappris les noms érudits, avant les premières mentions au 9e siècle.

Il y a 501 remotivations pour 615 noms reconstitués. Ces remotivations furent souvent inspirées par des mots relatifs aux environnements naturels et agricoles du 5e au 13e siècle.

Dans 5 colloques (ICOS, Trends ..., SdO), j'ai illustré les premières leçons à retenir :
- Le mode de création de toponymes peut différer des modes habituels.
- Des traitements de nombreuses données (géographiques, géométriques, morphologiques) concernant les couples 'Nom + Lieu' peuvent révéler des traces de substrat érudit.
- Retrouver les origines de noms en assemblage nécessite de grouper leurs études.

L'article contient des exemples.

Abstract

I discovered a Latin toponymical substrate from the 4th century. Names which were created in groups for storing texts and designs. I restored, around the Roussillon area (South of France), more than 600 place names, and 200 dedications for places of worship.

Progressive recognition of the modus operandi, precise early-Christian references, the classic toponymical approach, and geometry have allowed me to gather more evidence for the origin of each name, than the previous toponymists did.

These left a lot of obscure origins. Often previous toponymists proposed origins I consider as paronymic remotivations by people who had unlearned scholar names before the 9th century, the period when they were first mentioned. There are 501 remotivations among the 615 reconstituted names. These remotivations were often inspired by words related to natural and agricultural environments from the 5th to the 13th century.

At five congresses (2 ICOS, 2 Trends in Toponymy, SdO), I illustrated the first lessons to be learned:
- The way of creation of scholar place names may differ from the usual way.
- The treatment of the mass of data (geographic, geometric, morphological) concerning places and their names can reveal traces of scholar substrate.
- Research of origins of names created in groups requires a similar regrouping of their studies.

The article contains many examples.

* * *

Introduction

J'ai découvert en 2006 un substrat toponymique[1]. Il a été créé en langue latine au 4e siècle, selon un mode opératoire savant ; sa sémantique est paléochrétienne.

Il est dans **l'extrême sud de la France**, dans une zone située autour de la ville de Perpignan et grande comme un 120e de la France. Cette zone sera nommée **'Zone[2]'** avec une lettre majuscule. Du 11e au 19e siècle les trois-quarts de cette 'Zone' étaient de langue catalane, et le reste de langue occitane[3].

Le sujet de fond de l'article est l'analyse statistique des caractéristiques des évolutions reconstituées pour les toponymes du substrat.

Présentation globale du substrat toponymique découvert

Ce substrat contient des **assemblages complexes** de noms de lieux (toponymes), de positions relatives de sanctuaires et de noms de saints (hagionymes d'origine de ces sanctuaires). Ainsi des lieux proches furent nommés par groupe de 3, ou multiples de 3, dans le but de mémoriser des phrases. J'ai nommé '**triade**' ce module de 3 toponymes.

De plus, pendant une période située approximativement entre les années 370 et 410, des sanctuaires chrétiens (probablement de simples oratoires) furent créés pour jalonner les nouvelles triades. Les thèmes des assemblages de cette période nécessitaient de bien positionner géographiquement les triades les unes par rapport aux autres. Pour cela, il a fallu que les concepteurs des assemblages fassent des cartes géographiques de la Zone, en utilisant le procédé topographique antique de triangulation. La trace de ces opérations de triangulation est conservée dans les nombreux alignements précis de sanctuaires (3 ou plus) et dans le fait que chaque sanctuaire est à l'intersection d'au moins 3 alignements. Suivant ce mode opératoire très singulier, les créateurs du substrat ont réussi à mémoriser :

--   une **chronique des années 305 à 360**.

--   des représentations pointillistes de **symboles chrétiens** ayant des composants longs de plusieurs dizaines kilomètres.

--   et des **scènes bibliques** sur plusieurs kilomètres carrés**.**

En conséquence le **mode opératoire de création des noms d'origine** était très différent des modes opératoires connus en toponymie. Cela explique que ce substrat n'ait pas été vu plus tôt par les toponymistes.

Les lieux qui changèrent de noms lors de cette création furent d'abord des noms de propriétés terriennes, puis des noms de lieux-dits divers, et les sommets les plus remarquables.

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[1] Ma théorie a été développée dans l'article (20 pages) publié dans les Actes du congrès ICOS de Barcelone en 2011 (Sauvant 2014). Il contient d'autres exemples que le présent article. *m*Son adresse Internet est : http://gencat.cat/llengua/BTPL/ICOS2011/296.pdf

[2] Un article à paraître dans les Actes du colloque de la 'Societat Catalana d'Onomastica' fait à Manacor en novembre 2014 montre l'identité des limites de la 'Zone' avec celles du diocèse chrétien d'Elne qui furent indiquées dans un ouvrage de Julien de Tolède (Voyage du Roi Wamba) paru vers 680.

[3] Rappelons que ces 2 langues sont plus proches du latin que le français.

A ce jour sont reconstituées les origines, les conditions de la création et de l'évolution de **plus de 600 toponymes et de plus de 200 hagionymes de sanctuaires ou d'hagiotoponymes.** De plus chaque nom a maintenant plus de preuves de son origine que celles habituellement réunies pour les toponymes pour lesquels il n'y a pas de texte citant les conditions de création. Les **preuves linguistiques** sont résumées à travers les évolutions vraisemblables des toponymes telles que celles contenues dans l'annexe 3 du présent article. Les **preuves sémantiques** sont données d'une part par la redondance d'informations dans chaque assemblage laissant peu de place au doute sur le thème de l'assemblage, d'autre part par les références à ces thèmes chrétiens bien attestées dans des ouvrages sur le paléochristianisme du 4e siècle. Les **preuves géométriques** sont données par des calculs reconstituant précisément les opérations topographiques de positionnement des sanctuaires. Ces calculs montrent une **précision d'alignement** digne des arpenteurs romains ; en effet les observations des alignements potentiels en regard de l'approche sémantique, donne des mesures de cette précision[4] inférieures ou égales à 0,6 % [5].

Sources et Méthodes ; Définitions et Sigles Utilisés

Utilisation globale des sources

Les principales sources de mentions des toponymes et des sanctuaires sont :
- Les actes et textes archivés pour la période des siècles 4 à 18, aux mentions déjà extraites.
- La Carte de Cassini (18e s.).
- Le cadastre dit "de Napoléon" (début 19e s.).

Les contenus disparates de ces sources ont eu des conséquences sur l'organisation de l'étude des origines des toponymes. De plus il est toujours délicat de faire une répartition d'un ensemble de noms entre toponymes majeurs et micro-toponymes.

De façon un peu approximative[6] pour ne pas alourdir cet article, on peut écrire ceci :
Pour les **toponymes majeurs** sont distinguées 5 phases :
- Phase 1 : **Création** des noms au 4e siècle.
- Phase 2 : **Avant** les premières mentions.
- Phase 3 : 5 siècles (9e à 13e) de **mentions médiévales** dans des sources uniquement en **latin**.

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[4] La précision d'un alignement est mesurable simplement par le rapport entre "**l'écart majeur** (égal à la somme des écarts maximaux de sanctuaires de part et d'autre de la ligne entre sanctuaires aux extrémités de l'alignement)" et la **longueur de l'alignement** (égale à la distance entre les sanctuaires aux extrémités de l'alignement).

[5] Par exemple pour un alignement long de 10 km, l'écart majeur est inférieur ou égal à 60 m.

[6] Par rapport à l'état des lieux dans le cadastre de Napoléon, on peut observer que les mentions médiévales disponibles pour la Zone concernent tous les villages, tous les hameaux, toutes les rivières, ainsi que les sommets principaux ; il y a aussi quelques demeures ('mas') isolées qui ont été les centres de grosses propriétés ; il y a très peu de lieux-dits sans habitat. L'approximation consiste à considérer que l'ensemble des lieux cités dans les mentions médiévales sont alors des toponymes majeurs, et que si un nom n'a pas de mentions médiévales, c'est que, s'il existait, il était un micro-toponyme.

- Phase 4 : **Mentions ultérieures** dans des sources **en langue locale** (catalan ou occitan).

- Phase 5 : **Mentions** du cadastre de Napoléon (19ᵉ s.).

Pour les **micro-toponymes** la phase 3 est inexistante.

N.B. Du 4ᵉ au 19ᵉ siècle inclus, il y a eu très peu d'impacts destructifs sur les noms du substrat du fait de la Grande Histoire, ou du fait d'une rupture de continuité dans la langue locale[7]. La plupart des toponymes du substrat avaient encore un 'descendant' au 19ᵉ siècle.

Pour les **sanctuaires** de type 'oratoire', les sources ne suffisent pas. Donc l'étude retient comme **traces potentielles d'anciens sanctuaires**, des oratoires existant sans mémorisation de leur origine dans les sources, ainsi que des hagio-toponymes dont les lieux pourraient avoir contenu au moins un oratoire non mentionné dans les sources.

Pour les **positions** des sanctuaires, l'étude admet que quelques sanctuaires aient pu être déplacés de quelques mètres à 200 m environ, pour une raison de force majeure crédible en leur lieu (inondation destructive, agrandissement impossible sur place, travaux de routes, construction de château) sans que ce déplacement n'ait été mentionné dans les sources.

Adaptation de la méthode classique en toponymie

Puisque les noms ont été créés en assemblages de toponymes sémantiquement liés, il a fallu adapter la méthode pour trouver les origines des noms. Voici les 5 points fondamentaux :

P1- Les **noms créés ensemble sont étudiés ensemble** dès qu'ils sont présumés tels.

P2- En raison de la quantité d'informations conceptuelles contenues dans 3 ou 6 noms supposés créés ensemble pour faire une phrase, la probabilité de trouver ainsi une **solution unique, syntaxiquement et sémantiquement valable**, est supérieure à celle de trouver une solution unique pour l'origine d'un toponyme classique étudié linguistiquement seul.

NB. Cette affirmation n'est pas évidente pour tout le monde, même s'il est admis que plus on a d'informations sur une chose cherchée, plus on approche la solution. C'est une loi utilisée par les moteurs de recherche des ordinateurs : "Plus le nombre de mots-clés donnés est grand, plus le moteur de recherche à des chances de fournir, en début de liste, la solution recherchée dans l'ensemble immense de données mémorisées dans tous les sites internet du monde".

P3- Il est donc fondé de faire la **validation sémantique** utilisant des combinaisons des étymologies possibles des noms qui sont présumés créés ensemble avant la **validation phonétique** de ces noms. En effet la première validation conduit en général à de bonnes hypothèses pour les mots latins composants les phrases mémorisées dans les noms, donc aux toponymes d'origine qui résultent du découpage en 3 ou 6 de ces phrases. Ces hypothèses sont parfois améliorées par la **validation phonétique,** phase très rigoureuse de reconstitution des évolutions phonétiques du nom vernaculaire.

P4- Plus de bonnes origines des noms ont été trouvées, mieux sont reconnues les **synchronies spéciales des modes de création** des auteurs successifs du substrat ; donc des critères de '**validation opératoire**' sont ajoutés en cours d'étude.

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[7] Dans le cadastre de Napoléon les premiers impacts sur les noms du passage du catalan au français sont évidents. Mais la forme catalane antérieure a déjà été bien reconstituée par des toponymistes.

P5- Les toponymes d'origine n'ayant un sens érudit et visible qu'en les groupant en triades, il est légitime de penser qu'ils ont perdu vite leur sens pour une population majoritairement illettrée dans les siècles avant le 14e siècle. Pouvait alors survenir une **remotivation populaire** réussissant à persister, ou une **mention écrite infidèle** due à l'idée du sens du nom que se faisait un 'administrateur' (notaire, scribe). En faisant la phase de **validation phonétique** après les autres validations, il est aussi possible de trouver les **remotivations** des noms et les **mentions infidèles au nom vernaculaire.**

Définitions utiles ; sigles associés RP, RPp, RPs, RSp, RSs, IC, ID, IDn, Dc

RP : Lors de la reconstitution de l'évolution d'un nom depuis le 4e s., l'expression **"Remotivation Populaire"**(sigle **RP**) est utilisée pour désigner un cas de rupture de l'évolution diachronique théorique avec réalisation à une période passée (à définir en référence à des évolutions connues de mots) de l'une des 2 conditions suivantes :

- il y avait alors toutes les caractéristiques d'une **proximité paronymique** entre le nom vernaculaire supposé avant la remotivation et le nouveau nom issu du vocabulaire populaire ;

- il y avait alors **synonymie** entre tout ou partie du nom vernaculaire supposé avant la remotivation, et tout ou partie du nouveau nom issu du vocabulaire populaire.

Les **Remotivations populaires par paronymie** (sigle **RPp**) sont bien plus fréquentes que celles **par synonymie** (sigle **RPs**), et que les **Remotivations seigneuriales par paronymie (RSp)** ou **synonymie (RSs)** ; en première approximation le sigle **RP** couvrira tous ces cas.

IC et ID : Pour la phase 3, celle des 5 siècles d'actes uniquement en latin, l'étude introduit le concept d'**interprétation** pour dénommer toute mention de nom à cette époque ; car un tel nom dans un texte en latin est présumé être plus un exonyme qu'un endonyme.

Deux types d'interprétations sont distingués selon l'hypothèse de leur grande ou petite proximité phonétique par rapport au nom vernaculaire supposé :

Une **Interprétation est Correcte** (sigle **IC**) si la mention correspondante s'avère phonétiquement proche du nom vernaculaire ; une **Interprétation est Déviante** (sigle **ID**) dans le cas opposé.

IDn : Un cas particulier important d'interprétation déviante, est **le cas d'ajout de suffixe '–ana' ou '–anum'** (sigle **IDn**) au 9e s. par les administrateurs nommés par le pouvoir carolingien de la Marche d'Espagne. Le nom devint épithète d'un nom générique tel 'villa' ou 'villare', puis il fut re-substantivé ; il perdit le suffixe quand les textes ne furent plus en latin.

Dc : ce sigle est utilisé dans l'étude pour marquer une **évolution** ayant très probablement suivi les **règles de diachronie régionale** proposées par des linguistes pour la période du 4e au 19e s.

Conséquences des définitions

Voici des **indices** permettant de présupposer un type d'interprétation dans la phase d'analyse des mentions anciennes d'un nom :

- Les **interprétations correctes** sont en général sans signification en latin médiéval, même si elles ont parfois une terminaison latine ; de plus elles sont peu perpétuées d'actes en actes.

- Par contre **les interprétations déviantes** sont en général des noms de forme latine ayant un sens identifiable en latin médiéval ; après étude de centaines de noms il apparaît qu'elles étaient des traductions en latin des sens des noms vernaculaires tels que les reconstituaient les auteurs des mentions ; de plus elles sont souvent perpétuées d'actes en actes.

Enfin les **interprétations déviantes se trouvent en contradiction phonétique forte avec les mentions de la phase 4** dans les textes en langue locale, alors qu'il n'en est en général pas de même pour les interprétations correctes.

Comme conséquence des définitions précédentes une **remotivation change pour très longtemps le toponyme vernaculaire,** sinon la méthode ne permettrait pas de la percevoir. Par contre une **interprétation n'a en principe aucune action sur le nom vernaculaire**, puisque c'est seulement un témoignage plus ou moins fidèle au nom cité. Mais à ce titre il reste un problème non résolu : des interprétations déviantes de type IDn, pourraient avoir provoqué une remotivation du nom ; car parmi les noms ayant subi l'ajout de suffixe '-ana' ou '-anum', certains ont un accent nouveau sur leur 'a' final après disparition du suffixe. Au stade actuel de l'étude ceci est pris comme cas d'influence de l'interprétation IDn.

Quatre Exemples Comportant 45 Toponymes

Voici la présentation de 4 exemples concrétisant les caractéristiques de ce substrat complexe à étudier, car probablement unique dans ses modes opératoires de création.

Les 3 premiers exemples (**18 toponymes majeurs**) sont extraits de la chronique des années 305 à 360 contenue dans 123 noms de lieux devenus noms de villages médiévaux. Il y a 2 triades par exemple. Le 4e exemple contient **27 toponymes,** dont **23 micro-toponymes**.

La présentation des exemples est faite en 2 parties :

1ère partie : Dans les tableaux de ce chapitre les 3 noms d'une triade sont traités dans chaque ligne. Les noms sont mis dans l'ordre le plus commode pour la présentation des traductions.

La 1ère ligne contient la phrase latine reconstituée, pas toujours dans l'ordre normal en latin.

La 2e ligne (absente dans le 4e exemple) contient un extrait des mentions les plus anciennes.

La 3e ligne contient les noms actuels (catalan ou occitan / français) et les distances entre lieux.

Les 4e, 5e et 6e lignes contiennent les traductions du latin en français, anglais et catalan.

Ces traductions sont en mot à mot avec ajout des petits mots évidents à retrouver mais qui ont été sous-entendus par les auteurs qui n'avaient pas toujours assez de place dans les noms créés. Si un mot le nécessite une parenthèse le suit pour l'expliquer en mots actuels.

2ᵉ partie : Les résumés des évolutions phonétiques reconstituées pour chaque nom sont en annexe 3 ; les noms y sont dans l'ordre des exemples et selon les normes de l'annexe 2.

Exemple 1 en fig.1 : Deux triades extraites du bilan des 123 premiers noms créés.

Dans la 1ᵉʳᵉ triade, le toponyme latin ***Covietria*** ou ***Co-vi-et-tria*** a été créé à partir des premières syllabes des composants de l'expression du nombre 123 en latin. Au moins 3 autres nombres dans des phrases du substrat sont transcrits suivant cette convention.

Fig.1 - Triades du bilan des noms changés avant 360   codification de *conto-vigenti-et-tria* = *CXXIII* localement

Dans la 2ᵉ triade il était mémorisé "***Les enseignes sont liées par trois par leurs pieds***" ou peut-être plus simplement "***Trois enseignes sont liées à leur pied''.*** C'était une façon imagée d'indiquer la convention des noms en triades, à savoir "***Les noms des propriétés terriennes*** (cf. la triade précédente) ***ont été volontairement groupés par trois dès leur création''.***

Exemple 2 en fig.2 : Citation bien connue du livre de la Genèse dans la Bible.

La référence au texte d'origine est rappelée en bas du tableau.

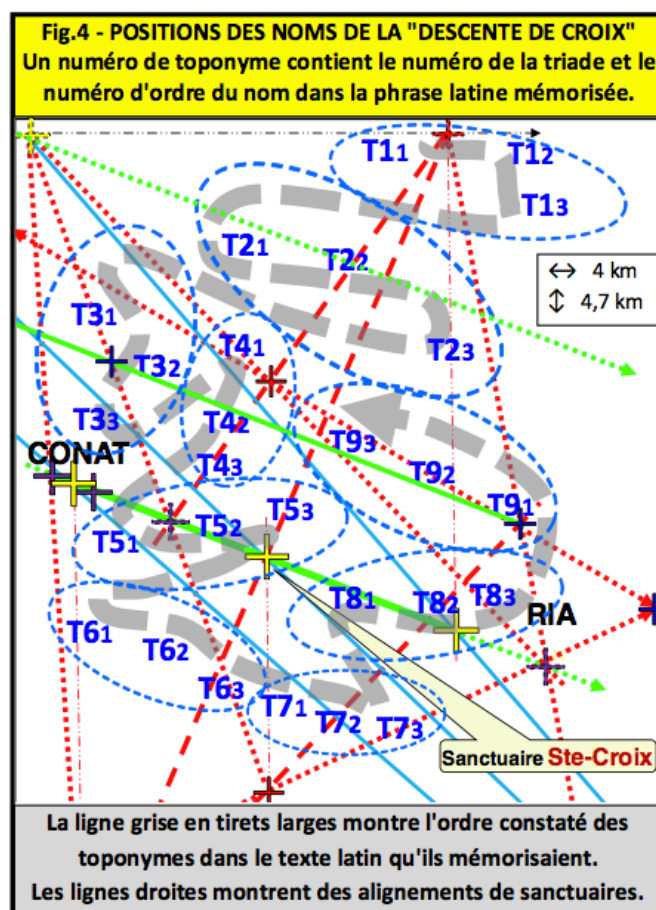Fig.2 - Triades de l'extrait de la Genèse (ca.350)   Torah = 5 premiers livres de la Bible.

Exemple 3 en fig.3 : Citation de la Bible extraite du livre de l'Exode.

La référence au texte d'origine est rappelée en bas du tableau.

N.B. Les exemples 2 et 3 reconstituent 2 citations de la Bible en 3 parties : le mot 'evolue', puis le nom de la partie de la Bible concernée, enfin une paraphrase du texte cité. Deux autres citations de la Bible furent créées par le même auteur de toponymes ; elles comportaient le même mot '**evolue**' associé dans un toponyme au nom d'un livre de la Bible.

Fig.3 – Triades de l'extrait de la Bible sur l'usage de l'encens

s.IV Te	*Evolue...	*Sancta...	*Tabulatio :...
	Villa Evolo (957) IC	Santiano (1067) IDn Sansiano (s.13) IDn	Talatio (874) IC Talazo (s.10)
s.XIX	village Evol / Évol <7500m>	village Sansà / Sansa <4500m>	village Talau / Talau <5000m>
fra.	Lis...	la Sainte...	Ecriture (= l'Ancien Testament)...
eng.	Read ...	the Holy...	Scripture (= the Old Testament): ...
cat.	Llegeix...	la Sagrada...	Escriptura (= lel Vell Testament):...

s.IV Tf	... *aralam *adde,...	*turibulum *calens,...	*turi-odores (sunt).
	Araled (s.11) IC Araleu (s.14)	Tobecale (864) ID	Tovese (878) IC Tobes (1011) IC
s.XIX	village Ralleu / Railleu <4500m>	Roc de Toèvol / Tuévol <4000m>	village Toès / Thuès
fra.	...ajoute un petit autel,...	l'encensoir y chauffant,...	il y a les senteurs de l'encens.
eng.	...let's add a small altar,...	thurible heating on it,...	there are fragrances of incense.
cat.	afegeix un petit altar,...	l'encenser s'hi estan escalfat,...	seran els perfums de l'encens.

Référence : Exode 30 : 1 - 10 : Yaweh dit à Moïse : «...Tu feras un autel, pour faire brûler l'encens, ... puis l'autel est décrit. Et là Aaron (= frère de Moïse) fera fumer l'encens pour parfum tous les matins ».

Fig.4 - POSITIONS DES NOMS DE LA "DESCENTE DE CROIX"
Un numéro de toponyme contient le numéro de la triade et le numéro d'ordre du nom dans la phrase latine mémorisée.

La ligne grise en tirets larges montre l'ordre constaté des toponymes dans le texte latin qu'ils mémorisaient. Les lignes droites montrent des alignements de sanctuaires.

Exemple 4 : Grand assemblage d'au moins 27 noms de lieux et 18 sanctuaires.

Cet exemple se focalise sur le sous-assemblage résumant clairement les textes des 4 évangiles traitant de la **'Descente de Croix'**[8]. Il est extrait d'un plus grand assemblage de noms résumant toute la Crucifixion de Jésus-Christ. Mais pour la partie "sanctuaires" il ne sera parfois pas possible de se limiter à la présentation des sanctuaires du sous-assemblage, car le réseau des sanctuaires de l'assemblage de la crucifixion forme un tout.

Figure 4 : Elle présente le schéma à l'échelle de la zone de 19 km² où sont les 27 toponymes du sous-assemblage de la Descente de Croix. Des ellipses entourent approximativement l'ensemble des 3 lieux de chaque triade. Dans ces ellipses les centres des 27 lieux sont représentés par un identifiant court contenant T suivi de 2 nombres : le numéro de triade et le numéro d'ordre dans la triade en référence à l'ordre probable en latin.

La ligne en tirets larges montre l'ordre des nombres attachés aux identifiants des 27 noms. C'est l'ordre du texte mémorisé en latin dans les 27 noms.

Les lignes droites en fond de la fig.4 montrent certains des alignements de l'assemblage de la Crucifixion qui seront partiellement présentés plus loin. Seul le sanctuaire le plus important, celui de la Sainte-Croix est indiqué pour montrer que le texte des toponymes en fait le tour probablement volontairement.

Figures 5 et 5 bis (haut page suivante) : Elles contiennent les 9 tableaux de présentation des 9 triades de la Descente de Croix dans l'ordre de la lecture du texte.

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[8] Références : Evangiles : St-Jean 19, 38[+], Luc 23,50[+], Marc 15,43[+], Mathieu 27,57[+].

Pour illustrer les définitions données en §. 3.3, voici quelques commentaires sur l'étude de l'origine du nom de **Fornols** le premier des 27 noms :

Le nom latin **Funerales** a pu devenir durant les siècles 5 et 6, ***Funrals*** par évolution diachronique, puis ***Furnuls*** (fra. = 'fours petits') par <u>remotivation populaire</u> avant le siècle 9. Cette hypothèse est confortée par 3 arguments : a1/ L'évolution possible du pluriel du diminutif latin **furnulus** du mot **furnus** (fra.= 'four') ; a2/ La présence de la mention **Furnulos** de 901, interprétable comme la remise en latin du nom compris par le notaire de

Fig.5 – Triades de la Descente de Croix	*Références :* Evangiles : St-Jean 19, 38⁺, Luc 23,50⁺, Marc 15,43⁺, Mathieu 27,57⁺	

Fig.5 – Triades de la Descente de Croix Références : Evangiles : St-Jean 19, 38[+], Luc 23,50[+], Marc 15,43[+], Mathieu 27,57[+]

T1 s.IV *Funerales* …$_2$ — *deonerati* *Iesu*…$_1$ — *in *cara *fossa $_3$…

s.XIX hameau **Fornols** [Furnulos(901)*ID*]<1200m>La **Darnossa**/La **Darnousse**<500m>Bac d'**en Carafou**<1600m>

fra. (Voici) **Les funérailles** … de Jésus, déposé … dans sa propre fosse…

eng. (Here presented) **The funeral**… of Jesus, discharged … in his own grave…

cat. (Aquí) **el funeral**… de Jesús, dipositat … en la seva pròpia fossa…

T2 s.IV (quas) *Valens *Iosephus …$_2$ — *Arimathianus…$_1$ — *invenerat.$_3$

s.XIX Pla de **Valensó** / **Balençou** <1100m> **Foun de l'Aram** <2200m> la Creu d'**en Barina**

fra. (que) le **vaillant Joseph**… d'Arimathie… avait imaginées.

eng. (that) **the valiant Joseph**… of Arimathea… had imagined.

cat. (el qual) **el valerós Josep**… d'Arimatea … havia imaginat.

T3 s.IV *Luculus…$_1$ — *nobilis…$_2$ — *illa positura …$_3$

s.XIX hameau **Llúgols** [Luguls(977)*IC*]<300m> hameau **Nabilles** [Nabilles(1266)*IC*]<500m>**L'Apousador**<900m>

fra. Le petit bois… du noble :… à cet emplacement…

eng. The small wood … of the nobleman :… at this position…

cat. El bosquet … del noble home :… a la qual posició…

T4 s.IV …*militares…$_1$ — *Herodolis…$_2$ — * laxare *tectus *norant $_3$

s.XIX **Millares** <550m> **Eroles** [Erolis(1375)*IC*] <700m> **Las Teixoneres / Les Tissounères** <550m>

fra. …les soldats… du fils d'Hérode… avaient admis son droit de (le) déposer.

eng. … the soldiers … of the son of Herod … have admitted his right to move (him) down.

cat. … els soldats… del fill d'Herodes… havia admès el seu dret a deposar (-le).

T5 s.IV (Ut) *Ille terra *manaret …$_1$ — *Iesum, *cautiose…$_3$ — *funi *tenso *ligatus,…$_2$

s.XIX **La Termenera**/LaTermenère <900m>**Els Cotius**/Els Coutious <500m>**Fontanelles**/Fontaneilles <400m>

fra. Pour que **celui-ci mène à terre**…Jésus, avec précaution…retenu par une corde tendue,…

eng. So that **this bears on the ground**… Jesus, cautiously… held back by a tense rope,…

cat. A fi que **ell menat a terra** … Jesús, amb precaució… lligat a una tensa corda,…

T6 s.IV …*funiculus…$_1$ — *tornans *furcam…$_2$ — *scala *pensus (est)$_3$

s.XIX **La Fenelle**/La Feneille <900m> **Torrent fosc** <400m> **Pas de l'Escale** <900m>

fra. …**une courte corde**,…passant autour de la fourche (= haut de croix),…fut **attachée à l'échelle**.

eng. …**a short rope**,… turning back around the fork (=top of cross),… was **attached at the scale**.

cat. …**una cordeta**,… voltant la forca (part superior de creu),… va ser **penjada a l'escala**.
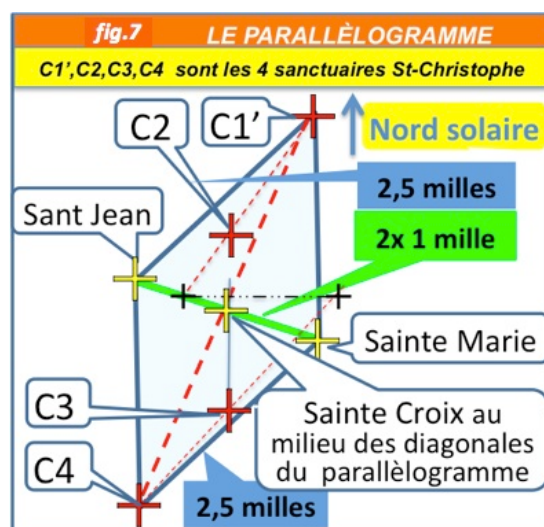
Fig. 5bis – Suite de la fig.5 Triades de la Descente de Croix

T7 (s.IV) *Jesus *pallens...₁ *manu *egeratur...₃ *angore *nervo. ₂
(s.XIX) Els Pallers/ Paillès <800m> Roca Manera/Roquemanere <300m> en Gorner/en Gorné <500m>
fra. Le corps de **Jésus palissant...** a dû être déplacé à la main... avec chagrin et effort.
eng. Body of **Jesus turning pale...** had to be moved by hand... with sorrow and effort.
cat. El cos de **Jesús empal·lidint ...**va haver de ser traslladat a mà ,... amb angoixa i esforç.

T8 (s.IV) *Solemne *pie, *Ille, ...₁ in capsa... ₂ *laxus (est) *linteatus ...₃
(s.XIX) El Solempi / El Soulempy <500m> en Caçà / en Cassa <400m> La Lliça / La Llisse <850m>
fra. Avec solennité et piété, 'Lui',... dans le tombeau,... fut allongé en une toile de lin...
eng. With solemnity and piety, 'He' ... in the tomb... have been **lyed in a linen ...**
cat. Amb solemnitat i pietat, 'Ell'... en la tomba,... va estar **ajagut en una llenç de lli,**

T9 (s.IV) ...*coagulans... ₁ *sparsos *naevulos... ₂ *sale *veretri. ₃
(s.XIX) Callan / Caillan <830m> Esparnals <420m> Salabert <500m>
fra. ...coagulant... les marques sanglantes... faites **par la pointe des verges.**
eng. ...coagulating... the bloody marks... made **by the tip of birches.**
cat. ...coagulant... les marques sagnantes de Jesus... fetes **per les puntes de vergues.**

l'acte (c'est donc une <u>interprétation déviante</u>) ; a3/ l'existence actuelle en catalan des mots **forn** et **fornell**, résultat de l'évolution diachronique des mots latins **furnus** et **fornulus.** La mention **Fornols** de 1035 est par contre une **interprétation correcte** identique au nom d'aujourd'hui et prononcée probablement ['furnuls], car c'est la prononciation attestée aujourd'hui malgré les 2 **'o'**, et aussi parce que c'était la plus proche du début du nom ***furnuls*** du fait de l'origine présentée ci-dessus pour cette remotivation.

Figures 6 et 7 : Elles montrent jusqu'où a pu conduire la compétence de géomètre[9] de l'auteur de l'assemblage :

- Deux alignements de sanctuaires sémantiquement jumeaux (liés à la Crucifixion) et se trouvant parallèles et homothétiques ; le centre d'homothétie a même un nom!

- Entre les deux il y a un alignement de 3 sanctuaires dédiés respectivement à St-Jacques (demi-frère du Christ qui prit une certaine relève vis à vis du peuple de Canaan), à St-Sébastien, et à Ste-Marguerite, saints qui ont été mis en avant par les chrétiens pour symboliser le sacrifice de soi pour sa foi, et les très grandes douleurs infligées à ces martyrs.

fig.7 LE PARALLÈLOGRAMME
C1',C2,C3,C4 sont les 4 sanctuaires St-Christophe
Nord solaire
2,5 milles
2x 1 mille
Sant Jean
Sainte Marie
Sainte Croix au milieu des diagonales du parallèlogramme
2,5 milles

---

[9] Le propos n'est pas ici de donner des démonstrations géométriques, mais de souligner qu'elles existent, et qu'elles seront publiées.

fig.6 ASSEMBLAGE DE LA 'CRUCIFIXION' Principaux hagionymes et distances entre sanctuaires
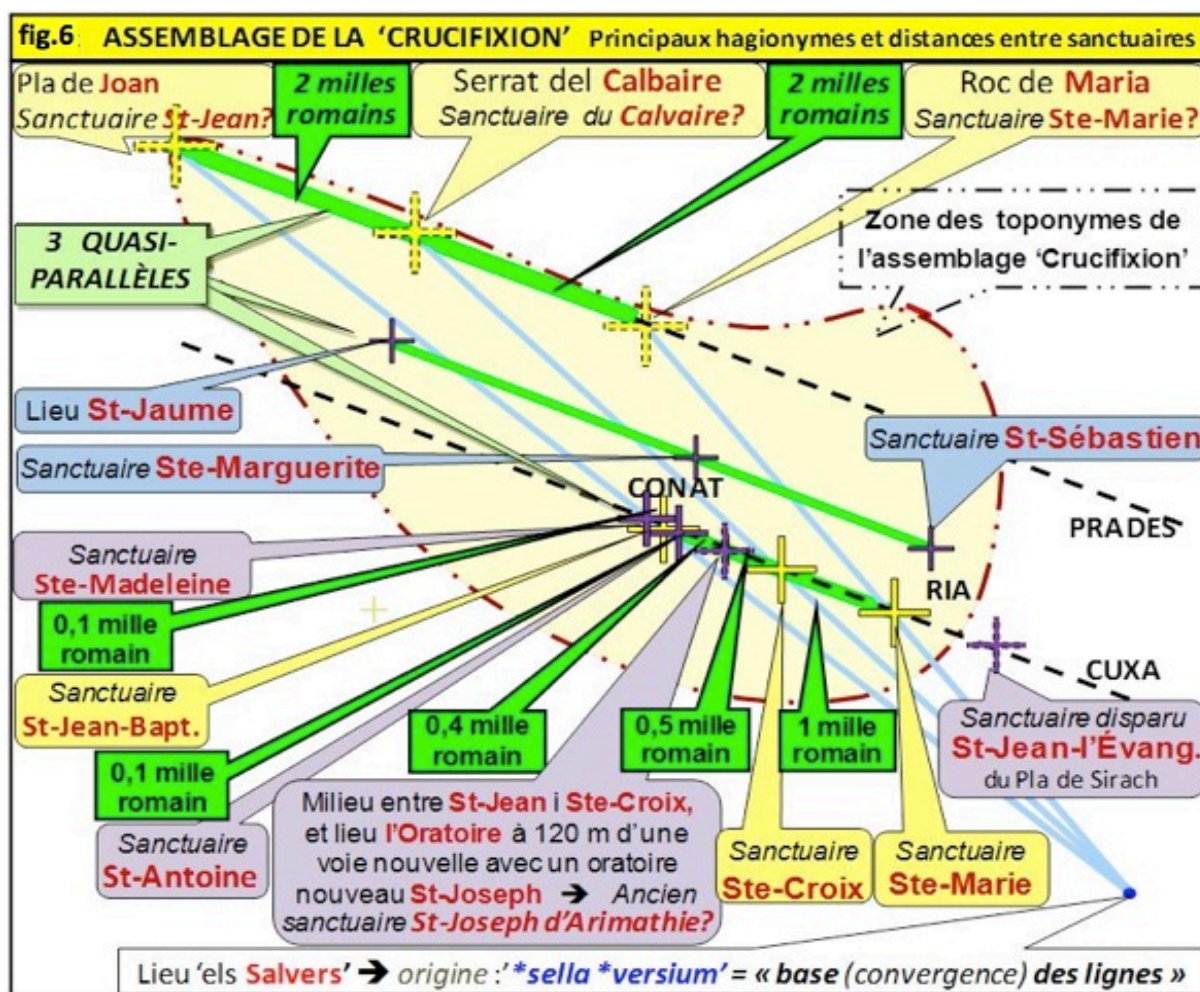
- Il y a aussi 4 autres sanctuaires. Parmi leurs dédicaces il y a 3 personnages de la Crucifixion : Madeleine, Joseph d'Arimathie, et Jean l'Evangéliste ; et le 4e est St-Antoine le Grand, mort vers 360, symbole chrétien de la grande compassion face à la souffrance.

- Des distances rondes en milles romains.

- Un sanctuaire dédié à l'origine à Joseph d'Arimathie et 4 sanctuaires dédiés à St-Christophe au sein de l'espace dédié à la "Descente de Croix". Rappelons que l'étymologie de Christophe est "porteur du Christ".

- Un parallélogramme ayant pour sommets 2 sanctuaires St-Christophe, et les sanctuaires principaux dédiés à St-Jean et Ste-Marie, et dont les diagonales se croisent au sanctuaire Ste-Croix.

Statistiques Sur Les Évolutions Des 615 Toponymes Reconstitués

Commentaires de la figure n° 8 :

Le fait qu'il y ait **3 fois plus de micro-toponymes que de toponymes majeurs** est encore peu signifiant. En effet la proportion majeurs/micros dépend toujours des définitions de ces 2 notions et de leur application concrète. De plus l'étude fait en général apparaître les noms majeurs d'un territoire avant les micros. Il faut aussi ajouter 2 informations liées à ce résultat :

Fig.8
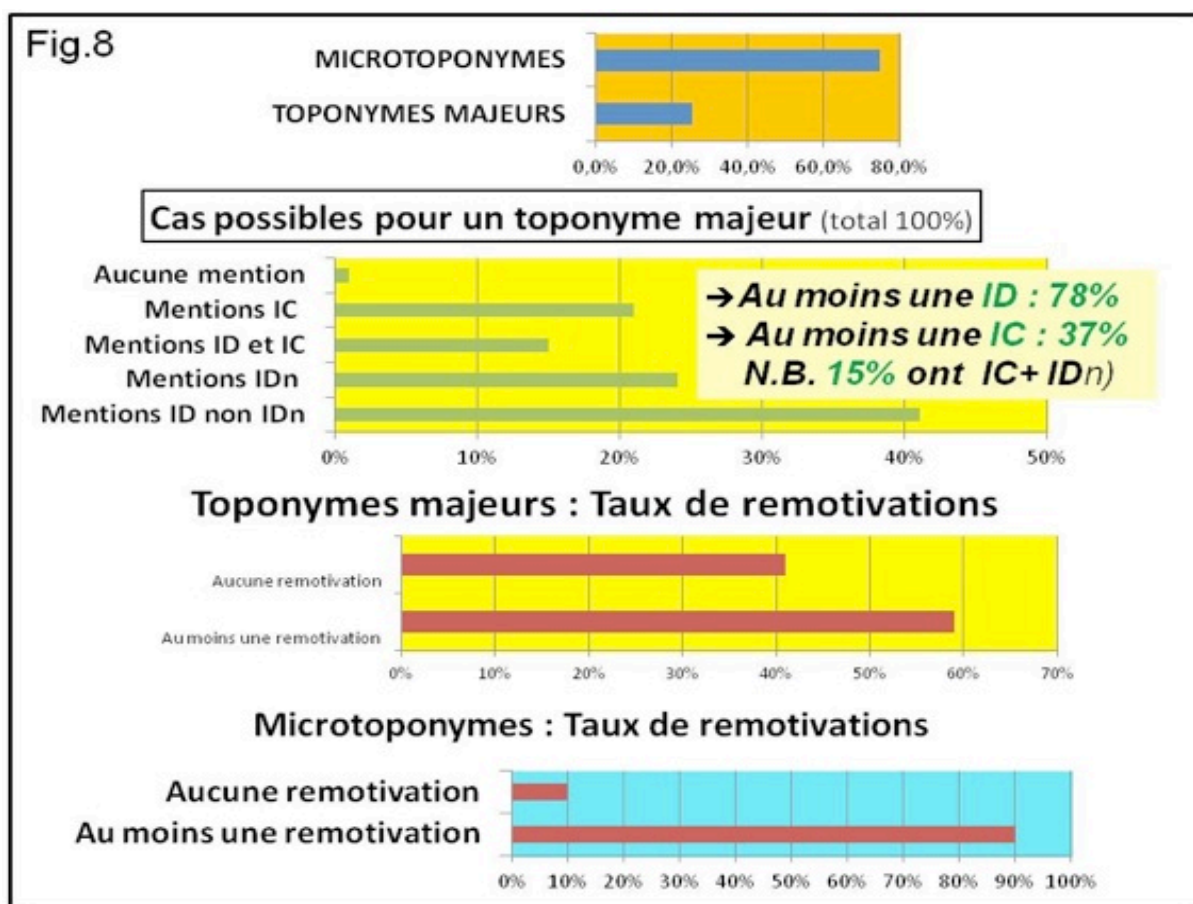
- Pour le canton de Prades, le mieux couvert par l'étude, et territoire d'habitat des auteurs du substrat, environ 95% des majeurs et 60% des micros trouvent leur origine dans le substrat.

- Pour le reste de la zone du substrat, une grande proportion des noms majeurs fait partie du substrat, mais il n'est pas encore possible de conclure sur les micros, encore mal couverts.

Les **remotivations reconstituées sont à plus de 80% datables des siècles 6 à 8 ; et la plupart se maintiennent avec leur sens jusqu'au 18ᵉ siècle au moins ;** cela tend à indiquer que le sens trop érudit engendra la perte de ce sens moins de 4 siècles après leur création.

La présence de remotivations est de 59% pour les toponymes majeurs et de 90% pour les micro-toponymes ; cette différence semble normale, car les micro-toponymes étaient plus faciles à remotiver, car connus de peu de personnes.

Il y a **2 fois plus de présence de mentions qualifiables d'interprétations déviantes, que de mentions qualifiables d'interprétations correctes.** Cela pourrait être un effet d'une volonté des administrateurs médiévaux (souvent des moines érudits) de trouver un sens à un nom pour le latiniser dans les actes ; mais pour les toponymes du substrat le sens d'origine était, sauf quelques exceptions rares, trop érudit pour le retrouver sans connaître l'appartenance à une phrase mémorisée dans une triade. Au mieux on pouvait retrouver dans les mentions la trace d'éventuelles remotivations populaires antérieures au 9ᵉ siècle.

Parmi les 615 toponymes reconstitués, 501 toponymes ont eu au moins une remotivation populaire persistante. Ces noms peuvent être ainsi considérés comme ayant deux origines : la première érudite au 4e siècle, la seconde populaire plus tard. Parmi ces 501 remotivations, 435 le furent avec un nouveau nom ayant un sens qu'on qualifierait aujourd'hui d'"environnemental"; d'où le titre plaisant donné au présent article.

La **figure 9** montre une typologie résultant de la combinaison des problématiques les plus déterminantes rencontrées quand on veut **reconstituer les évolutions des noms du substrat.** Les 12 cas ont été regroupés en 4 groupes pour en retirer quelques résultats fondamentaux et simples à présenter :

1er groupe : 13% des noms vernaculaires auraient eu **une évolution diachronique**. Cela semble peu en comparaison avec d'autres régions, mais il ne faut pas oublier qu'en toponymie classique on possède en général beaucoup moins d'informations pour reconstituer les remotivations par paronymie qui interrompent l'évolution diachronique quand ces remotivations sont intervenues avant les premières mentions.

2e groupe : 77% des noms vernaculaires ont eu **une seule remotivation**, et **aucune influence des interprétations déviantes** sur le nom vernaculaire. La forme catalane ou occitane du nom avant l'usage du français a en général gardé le sens de cette remotivation.

3e groupe : Les noms de ce groupe ne se différencient de ceux du 2e groupe que par la survenance d'une **2e remotivation** conditionnée par une nouvelle perte de sens d'un nom ; jusqu'à présent cela ne concerne que des micro-toponymes ; avec leur proportion de 4% du substrat, ces noms ne représentent qu'un 1/19e du 2e groupe ; mais cela porte à 81,9% la proportion des noms du substrat ayant eu en quelque sorte une seconde origine, voire parfois une

fig.9 - NOMBRE DE NOMS PAR CAS D'ÉVÈNEMENTS SUBIS RECONSTITUÉS

N° Cas	Dc (a)	1RP (b)	2RP (c)	nRP (d)	accent (e)	IDn' (e)	ID(n) (f)	IC (g)	aucune (h)	Total par ligne	Total par groupes de lignes	%
1	X								X	44	**79** (i)	12,8
2	X						X			17		
3	X							X		11		
4	X						X	X		7		
5		X							X	383	**472** (j)	76,7
6		X					X			50		
7		X						X		21		
8		X					X	X		18		
9			X						X	19	**24** (k)	3,9
10			X					X		5		
11					X	X				32	**37** (l)	6,0
12		X			X	X				5		
1 à 12	79	477	24	0	37	37	92	62	446	← s/tot. lignes 1 à 12		
13	Groupe des autres combinaisons possibles →									3	**3**	0,5
TOTAL DES ORIGINES DE TOPONYMES RECONSTITUÉES→										615	**615**	100

N.B. 81,9 % des noms ont eu au moins une remotivation populaire

Notes
(a) Dc= Noms à évolution complètement diachronique.
(b) 1RP= Noms à évolution contenant une remotivation.
(c) 2RP= Noms à évolution contenant deux remotivations.
(d) nRP= Noms à évolution contenant plus de 2 remotivations *(non rencontré)*.
(e) 'accent'+IDn'= 'a' final actuel accentué. Il y avait ajout d'un suffixe -anum.
(f) ID(n)= Il y a eu au moins une mention médiévale à interprétation déviante, mais sans qu'il y ait influence sur le nom vernaculaire, malgré le fait que 7 de ces noms firent l'objet d'ajout de suffixe -anum (IDn) du IXe au XIIIe s.
(g) IC= Il y a eu au moins une mention médiévale à interprétation correcte,
(h) 'aucune'= Les noms n'ont pas eu de mentions avant le XIVe s.
(i) Cellule du nombre de noms à évolution totalement diachronique.
(j) Cellule du nombre de noms ayant eu une seule remotivation et sans cas d'ajout médiéval du suffixe -anum ayant pu influencer la place de l'accent.
(k) Cellule du nombre total d'évolutions avec deux remotivations.
(l) Cellule du nombre de noms relevant de l'effet vu en (e).

3e tout en ne s'éloignant que très peu de la 'forme' de la première origine puisqu'il s'agit à 98% de remotivations paronymiques.

4e groupe : Pour les noms de ce groupe il y a eu ajout de suffixe **'-ana'** ou '**–anum'** au 9e siècle avec influence sur le '**a**' final ; c'est 6% des cas ; évidemment dans ce groupe il n'y a pas les noms, souvent en **'–as'**, qui n'ont pas du tout été influencés par l'ajout du suffixe directement sur le 'a' et pour lesquels le **'s'** est réapparu dans les actes en langue locale.

Pourquoi les origines des noms du substrat n'ont pas été retrouvées auparavant?

Une quinzaine d'origines de toponymes du substrat ayant un sens initial non érudit avaient été retrouvés par les toponymistes antérieurs. Exemple : origine de '**Llugols'** (4e exemple, T3$_2$).

Ils ont souvent présenté comme origines la plupart des mots considérés dans l'étude comme des **remotivations**. Sans avoir retrouvé les caractéristiques du substrat, ils n'avaient pas d'informations pour arriver (cf. §3.2) à remonter en amont de ces remotivations.

On peut observer que les interprétations qualifiées de 'déviantes' par l'étude se trouvent avoir été en général utilisées par les toponymistes pour proposer des origines qui n'étaient autres que les origines de noms supputées par les notaires carolingiens et re-latinisées dans leurs actes. Ce fut le cas par exemple pour les 44 noms en -anum, pris pour des noms de propriétaires antérieurs au 9e s. Il arrive que certaines soient identiques aux remotivations de l'alinéa précédent. Et quand il y avait aussi des interprétations correctes pour le nom, celles-ci ont parfois été prises pour des erreurs de copistes.

Pour les 55 cas d'évolutions diachroniques sans interprétations déviantes trompeuses les toponymistes auraient pu théoriquement trouver toutes les origines ; mais beaucoup n'ont pas dû être retenues car elles étaient hors de l'univers sémantique habituel des toponymes.

Le pourcentage important de noms difficiles à expliquer a conduit certains toponymistes à s'accrocher à la thèse des origines ibéro-basques pour ces noms, et en conséquence ils l'ont étendue à d'autres noms relevant normalement des 2 alinéas ci-dessus.

Conclusion

En conclusion il semble important d'insister sur les leçons apportées par l'étude de ce substrat qui pourraient être utiles pour permettre de retrouver d'autres substrats complexes résultant de toponymies dirigées, même s'ils relevaient de modes opératoires différents :

a- **La sémantique d'une toponymie dirigée peut être très différente** des sémantiques des toponymes classiques.

b- **Une origine populaire trouvée pour un toponyme peut en cacher une autre antérieure plus érudite** dont la mémoire a été vite perdue par une population majoritairement illettrée et non motivée à conserver des noms perçus comme complexes.

c- Quand il y a beaucoup de noms proches à origines difficiles à trouver, **il peut être utile d'essayer des hypothèses de liens sémantiques entre les noms d'origine**.

d- Si de telles liaisons sont supposées, **les origines des noms doivent être étudiées en parallèle**.

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Annexe 1 - Bibliographie Réduite

J'ai lu tous les ouvrages qui traitent des noms de lieux des territoires couverts par le substrat exposé. Les principales études sur ce sujet sont celles de **Paul Aebisher, Roger Aymard, Lluis Basseda, Joan Corominas, Henry Guiter**. En outre l'inventaire des mentions anciennes par **Pierre Ponsich** fut très utile.

ANNEXE 2 : Abréviations / Signes conventionnels (surtout pour l'annexe 3)

Tx$_y$ ● Ceci indique le début d'une évolution reconstituée pour le toponyme n°y de la triade n°x. Cette évolution commence par le nom latin d'origine reconstitué ; il est souligné. Le nom actuel le plus usuel est placé à la fin de l'évolution. Il est précédé de la dernière forme connue du nom en catalan ou en occitan, avec sa prononciation attestée.

Chaque état intermédiaire d'un nom est représenté soit par sa forme connue ou supposée et sa prononciation, soit seulement par une prononciation (formes intermédiaires).

Seule l'évolution du nom vernaculaire est présentée. Les mentions incohérentes avec l'évolution du nom vernaculaire sont mises dans une note placée après cette évolution.

➔ = signe d'une transition entre états d'un nom ; il est **suivi de la date** supposée de la transition. Cette transition suit une règle diachronique locale, sauf dans les cas où la date est suivie du sigle **RP** ou **RS**.

ca. Abréviation de '**circa**' significant 'environ', ou 'aux environs de' selon le contexte.

[ ] Entre crochets il y a les prononciations en I.P.A. (**A**lphabet **P**honétique International).

//NT// précède une prononciation donnée dans le *Nomenclàtor Toponimic de la Catalunya del Nord -2007- Institut d'Etudes Catalanes (Université de Perpignan).*

* l'astérisque précède soit un nom reconstitué dans l'étude, soit un mot reconstitué par interpolation entre des mots bien référencés.

Nom sans *, et précédé d'une date = mention attestée à cette date.

Nom précédé d'un * et en italique = nom reconstitué témoignant d'une **remotivation** du nom inspirée par le nom tel qu'il était avant la remotivation ; l'étude met de rigoureuses limites aux cas de proximités paronymiques pouvant avoir permis une remotivation.

RP : remotivation populaire ; **RS :** remotivation par le seigneur local (référencée).

IC : Ces lettres précèdent une mention de nom extraite d'un texte médiéval en latin et considérée par l'étude comme une **interprétation correcte** du nom vernaculaire supposé.

ID : Ces lettres précèdent une mention de nom extraite d'un texte médiéval en latin et considérée par l'étude comme une **interprétation déviante** du nom vernaculaire supposé.

IDn : Cas particulier du cas **ID** où il y a eu ajout d'un suffixe **-anum**, ou **-ana** au nom compris par l'auteur de la mention. Ce suffixe disparait toujours dans les mentions à partir du 14e siècle.

Cf. Abréviation de '**confere**' ; ce signe précède des informations attestées, suivies éventuellement de leur exploitation pour en tirer une explication d'un état du nom.

( ) contient une traduction précédée du sigle de la langue de traduction suivi de '='.

lat. = latin \ **b-lat.** = bas latin \ **lat.m.** latin non classique d'un texte médiéval \ **rom.** = roman \ **cat.** = catalan \ **occ.** = occitan. \ **fra.** = français \ **Fra.** = francisation.

N.B.1. Le 'e' neutre non accentué [ə] en catalan : Il est souvent orthographié 'a' ; de plus, d'autres voyelles non accentuées ont souvent abouti à un [ə] sans changement d'orthographe ; par contre il arrive souvent que des [e], orthographiés 'e' en latin, deviennent des [ə] orthographiés 'a' en catalan.

N.B.2. Orthographes médiévales : L'orthographe de la mention citée n'est jamais modifiée, même si elle paraît, compte tenu de l'évolution reconstituée, légèrement différente d'une orthographe en langue locale récente, ou même d'une bonne orthographe de l'époque. Ainsi par exemple un 's' situé entre 2 voyelles peut être, à certaines époques, prononcés [s]. De même un 'ch' peut se prononcer [k].

ANNEXE 3 : DÉTAILS DES ÉVOLUTIONS DES TOPONYMES PRÉSENTÉS

EXEMPLE 1- TRIADES DU BILAN DES NOMS CHANGÉS AVANT 360 :
*Solidatum (est) *co-vi-e-tria *campis ; *insignia per tria *pedi-ligata (sunt).

Ta₁ ● *Solidatum ['soli,datum] ➔ ['solidatʃu] ➔ ca. s.9/11. RP *soladucte[b][,sula'dutʃe] ➔1073, IC : Solatgue [sula'tʃue] ➔ ID[a]➔ [sula'tʃe] ➔1538, IC : Solatge / Solhatge [sula'tʃe] ➔ 1781, IC : Soulatgé [sula'tʃe] ➔s.19: occ. Solatge [sula'tʃe] et fra. Soulatgé [sula'tʃe].
[a] Cf. les ID : 1252, ID : Solaceium (pour solacium) // 1360,1445, ID : Solagium (fra.= impôt sur le sol) // s.14, ID Solages [su'lajǝz].
[b] Cf. lat. sola adducta (fra.= sols amenés, alluvions) ➔ *soladucte ➔ *solatgue ➔ cat. et occ. solatge (alluvion, dépôt).

Ta₂ ● *Co-vi-e-tria ['ko,vi ε 'tria] ➔ [,koβiε'ria] ➔s.19 : occ. Cubiera ['kuβi'ɛrǝ] et fra. Cubières [kubi'ɛrǝ].
— ID : 844 : Cuperia [kupɛ'riǝ] (fra. = zone en forme de cuve) // Cf. lat. cupa (fra.= vase, cuve).

Ta₃● *Campis ['kampis] ➔ s.14: Camps ['kamps] ➔s.19. : occ. Camps ['kamps] et fra. Camps.

Tb₁● *Tria ['tria] ➔ ['tria] ➔RP *Trili[b] ['triʎa] ➔ IDn[a]➔ s.14, IC : Triya [tri'ʎa] ➔s.18, IC : Trilla [tri'ʎa]➔s.19 : occ. Trilhà [tri'ʎa]\NT\ et fra. Trilla.
[a] IDn : s.9 : *villare *Trilianum [trili'anum] (cat. = llogaret de la trilla ; fra.= domaine de Trilius) ➔1011, IDn : villare Trilianum [trili'anum] ➔s.12-13, IDn : villare Triliano [trili'ano].
[b] Cf. lat. trichila (fra.= treille) ➔ cat. trilla + occ. trilha + fra.= treille.

Tb₂● *Insignia[b] ['insiɲa] ➔ [ǝn'siɲa] ➔ IDn[a]➔ s.17, IC : Ansinhan [ǝnsi'ɲa] ➔ s.18, IC : Ansignan [ǝnsi'ɲa] ➔s.19 : occ. Ansinhà [ǝnsi'ɲa]\NT\ et fra. Ansignan.
[a] IDn : ➔ s. 9 : *villare*Ansinianum [ǝnsi'ɲanum] (cat. = llogaret del home Ansinius ; fra. = domaine d'Ansinius) ➔1012 : villare Ansiniano [ǝnsi'ɲanɔ].
[b] Cf. lat. insigne,-is (pl. -ia) ➔ cat. ensenya + occ. ensenha + fra. enseigne.

Tb₃● *Pedi-ligata[b] ['pedi'ligata] ➔ [,pedzi'lihatǝ] ➔ [,pedzi'lia] ➔ IDn[a]➔ s.17, IC : Pesilla et Pezilla [pǝzi'ʎa] ➔s.19 : cat. Pezillà (-de-C.) [pǝzi'ʎa]\NT\ et fra. Pézilla-de-Conflent [c].
[a] IDn : ➔ s. 9 : IDn : *villare*Pezilianum [pǝzili'anum] (cat. = llogaret del home Pezilius ; fra. =dom. de Pezilius) ➔ 974, IDn : villare Poziliano [pozili'ano] ➔s.10, IDn : Piziliani [pozili'ani].
[b] Cf. lat. pes, pedis ➔ cat. peu + occ. pé . Cf. lat. ligatus ➔ cat. lligat + occ. ligat.
[c] N.B. L'origine de l'autre nom de village Pezillà (Pézilla-la-Rivière) est similaire dans une autre phrase du substrat.

EXEMPLE 2- TRIADES DE L'EXTRAIT DE LA GENÈSE (ca.350) :
*Evolue *monitas *compecti *Tora : *Locupleta *tugurium *terras dum.

Tc₁● *Evolue ['ewolue] ➔ ['evuluǝ] ➔ ['evulu] ➔ s.6/9 : RP bas-latin *Ebula ['eßulǝ] (=saules yèbles) ➔ 1174 + s.13., IC : Eula ['ewlǝ] ➔1393, IC : Leula ['lewlǝ] ➔s.19 : cat. l'Eula ['lewlǝ] // NT// et fra. l'Eula [lø'la].

Tc₂● *Monitas [mo'nitas] ➔ [mo'nias] ➔ [mu'ɲas] ➔ IDn[a]➔ s.19 : cat. Monyàs [mu'ɲas] et fra. Monyas
[a] 854, IDn : Villa Moniana. N.B. Le 's' final revient après la fin des actes en latin.

Tc₃● *Compecti Tora ['kompekti 'tora] ➔ ['kompǝtǝ 'torǝ] ➔ s.7/10, RP : *Camp *de *Torra ['kamp dǝ 'toRǝ] (fra.= terrain avec une tour, ou une belle demeure) ➔ s.19 : cat. Camp de la Torre[a] ['kampdǝlǝ'toRǝ] et fra.= Camp de la Torre.
[a] Cf. lat. turris, turris ➔ cat. torre.

Td₁ ● *Locupleta ['loku,pleta] ➔[lu'pletsa] ➔[lu'plessa] ➔ [lu'plǝs] ➔ RP : *Luplas [lu'plǝs] (= fra. petites louves)[b] ➔ s.8/9 : *Luplas [lu'piǝs] ou *Lupias [lu'piǝs] ➔ IDn[a]➔ s.17, IC : Llupia [ʎupi'a] ➔s.19 : Llupià [ʎupi'a]// NT// et fra. Llupia.
[a] s.9, IDn : *Villa*Lupiana [lupi'anǝ](= fra. dom. de Lupius, ou dom.des petites louves) ➔953, IDn : Lupianum [lupi'anum] (fra.= dom.de Lupius) ➔ *Llupianum [ʎupi'anum].
[b] Cf. lat. lupa (= fra. louve) + diminutif '-la'.

Td₂ ●*Tugurium* [ˈtuguɾium] ➔ [ˈtuɾiu] ➔ [ˈtuɾi] ➔ s.10, IC : **Tuir** [tuˈiɾ] ➔ID[a]➔ s.12/13 :, IC : **Tuir** [tuˈiɾ] **et Thuir** [tuˈiɾ] ➔ s.14/15 :, IC : **Tuhir** [tuˈiɾ] **et Tohir** [tuˈiɾ] ➔ s.18, IC : **Tuhi** [tuˈi] ➔ **s.19 : Tuïr** [tuˈi]// NT// et fra. **Thuir** [tuˈiɾ] .

[a] s.10, ID : **Tugurium**[b] [ˈtugurium] ➔ 953, ID : **Tecorium** ➔ 960 et s.10, ID : **Tugurio**.
[b] **Cf.** lat. **tugurium** (= fra. cabane)➔ cat. **tuguri** (= idem).

Td₃ ●*Terras-dum* [ˈteRas,ðum] ➔ [ˈteRas,ðu] ➔ RP : rom. *Terrados [teˈRaðus] (ici fra. terrasses naturelles en bord de rivière)[a] ➔ 972, IC :**Terrados** [teˈRaðos] ➔ s.16, IC **Terrats** [təˈRats] **et Tarrats** [təˈRats] ➔ **s.19 : Terrats** [təˈRats]// NT// et fra. **Terrats**.

[a] **Cf.** lat. **terratos** (= fra. plateaux) ➔*terrados ➔ cat. **terrades** (=fra. terrasses couvertes d'une maison)**.**

EXEMPLE 3 -TRIADES DE L'EXTRAIT BIBLIQUE SUR L'USAGE DE L'ENCENS
*Evolue *Sancta *Tabulatio : *aralam *adde, *turibulum *calens , *turi *odores (sunt).

Te₁ ●*evolue* [eˈwolue] ➔ [ˈevuluə] ➔ RP = *Ebolo [a] ➔957, IC : **Villa Evolo** [ˈevulu] ➔ s.15 : **Evolo** [ˈeßulu] ➔ [ˈeßuləə] ➔ s.19 : Evol [ˈeßul] // NT// et fra. **Évol**.
[a] **Cf. Lat. ebulum** > cat. **èvol / èbol** (fra.= sureau).

Te₂ ●*sancta* [ˈsaŋkta] ➔ [ˈsaŋta] ➔ [ˈsaŋtsa] ➔ IDn[a] ➔ 1392, IC : **Sansa** [sənˈsa] ➔du 15ᵉ au 18ᵉ s. : [sənˈsa] orthographié **Sansa, Sança, Sensa, Censa** ➔ s.19 : Sansà [sənˈsa] // NT// et fra. **Sansa**. -- **Cf.** lat. **Sancta** [ˈsankta]➔ cat. **santa** [ˈsantə].
[a] 1067, IDn : **Santiano** [ˈsaŋtsiano] ➔ s.13, 2 IDn : **Sansiano** [ˈsaŋsiano] et **Censiano** [ˈsaŋsiano] (N.B. Le 'i' n'est présent que dans les mentions tirées de textes en latin, il doit être fondé sur un patronyme supposé '**Santius**').

Te₃ ●*tabulatio* [ˈtabulaˈtsio] ➔ [ˌtaulaˈtsiu] ➔ [ˌtaəlaˈtsiu] ➔ [taˈlatsiu] ➔ ca.8ᵉ/9ᵉs., RP : *Talassio[a] [taˈlasiu].
➔ 874, IC : **Talatio** [təˈlasiu] ➔ s.10, IC : **Talazo** [təˈlazu] ➔ s.13, IC : **Talau** [təˈlaw] ➔ **s.19 : Talau** [təˈlaw] // NT// et fra. **Talau**.
[a] **Cf.** lat. **talassio** (fra.= panier à laine des femmes de l'Antiquité ; porteur de symboles forts liés au mariage).
[b] **Cf.** lat. **tabula** [ˈtabula] ➔ cat. **taula** [ˈtawlə].

Tf₁ ●*aralam-adde* [ˈaralam aˈðe] ➔ [ˈarəlea'ðə] ➔ [ˌarəlaˈð] ➔ s.11, IC : **Araled** [ˌarəˈleð] ➔ s.11/12, RP : *Aral *a *Deu [ˈaral a ˈðew] (=fra. petit autel à Dieu) ➔ [ˌarəˈladsew] ➔ [ˌarəˈləsew] ➔ s.14, IC : **Araleu** [ərəˈlew] ➔ s.16 : apharèse du '**a**' ➔ s.19 : Ralleu [rəˈʎew] // NT// et fra. **Railleu**.

Tf₂ ●*turibulum -calens* : l'étude des mentions montrent que le nom de ce hameau a dû rester en 2 parties pour les habitants ; elles sont donc présentées séparées :
*turibulum [ˌturiˈbulum] ➔ [ˌtuiˈbulu] ➔ [ˌtuəˈßulə] ➔ s.8/10 [tuˈəßul] ➔ s.18, IC : **Tuebol** [tuˈeßul] ➔s.19 : **Toèvol** [tuˈeßul] // NT// et Fra. **Tuévol**.
*-calens [ˈkalens] ➔ [ˈkales] ➔ RP. *cale [ˈkale] (= fra. roc isolé)[c] mis au singulier, car il y a une seule protubérence rocheuse ; sa trace se retrouve dans des mentions ID[a] ; ➔ s.15/16 :, remplacement de '**cale**' par '**roca**'.
[a] 864, ID **Tobecale** [ˌtußeˈkale][b] ➔ s.10, ID : **Tovegale** [ˌtußeˈɣalə] ➔ s.14, ID : **Tohegol** [tuˈeɣol]
[b] La prononciation du nom vernaculaire complet devait être alors [tuˈəßul ˈkale] , puisque le début du nom vernaculaire persiste ; ce nom complet fut probablement compris par les 'notaires' en un tout qu'ils contractèrent ; ceci se perpétue peut-être sous l'effet d'une continuité nécessaire des mentions pour un même bien.
[c] **Cf.** base p.i.e *kal (> fra. caillou, fra. calosité) et cat. **call** (sol dur, ou passage difficile, ou passage étroit, toujours à cause des rocs).

Tf₃ ●*turi -odores* [ˈturi oˈdores] ➔ [ˈtuioˈdzores] ➔ [ˌtuiəˈzorəs] ➔ [tuˈwezorə] ➔ s.6/8, RP en bas-latin supposé :*Toberoze [tuˈßerozə] [a] ➔ 878 IC : **Tovese** [tuˈßezə] ➔ 1011, IC : **Tobes** [tuˈßes] ➔ s.13/16, IC : **Thoes** [tuˈes] ➔ **s.19 : Toès** [tuˈes]// NT// et fra. **Thuès**.
[a] Pm. lat. **tuberosus** ➔ cat. **tuberós** (= fra. en forme de bosse) N.B. Le centre ancien du village est sur une petite bosse qui barre en partie la vallée déjà assez étroite.

EXEMPLE 4- TRIADES DE LA DESCENTE DE CROIX

Triades 1 et 2 : *Funerales *deonerati *Iesu *in *cara *fossa (quas) *valens *Iosephus *Arimathaenus *invenerat

T1₁● *Funerales* [ˈfunɛˌralɛs] ➔ [ˈfunərals] ➔ [ˈfunərals] ➔ ca. s. 6-9, RP : Furnuls [a] [ˈfurnuls][c] ➔ ID [b] ➔ 1035, IC : villa Fornols [ˈfurnuls] ➔ s.19 : Fornols [ˈfurnuls] \NT\.

[a] Cf. lat. furnus,i (cat.= forn) ➔ cat. forn [ˈforn]; fra. four [ˈfur]. Diminutif : lat. *furnulus,i* [ˈfurnulus] (fra.= four petit)➔[ˈfurnulə] ➔lat. vulgar : *furnul* [ˈfurnul] (pl.*furnuls*) ➔[ˈfurnəl] ➔cat. fornell [furˈneʎ].

[b] ➔ 901, ID : Furnulos (= re-latinisation).

T1₂● *Deonerati - Iesu* [dɛɔˈnɛrati jɛˈsu] ➔[dɛəˈnɛratsiəˈsu] ➔[ˈdəˈnɛrəsiəˈsu] ➔[ˈdəˈnɛrəsəˈsu] ➔ ca. s.8-11 : RP *dernera* [a] *usa* [b] [ˈdɛrnɛrə ˈusə] (cat.= darrera(na) óssa, fra.= la dernière ourse) ➔[ˌdɛrnɛˈusə] ➔[ˌdɛrnəˈusə] ➔s.18-19 : La Darnosa[c] [dərˈnusə] ➔s.19, Fra. 'La Darnousse' [lɑ ˈdɑrnusə].

[a] Cf. lat. retro (cat. darrere ; fra.= derrière) ➔ b.lat. *de *retro + *-anus =*deretranus (cat. El que és darrere ; fra.= celui qui est en arrière, le dernier) ➔*deretranu ➔ *dererran ➔ cat. darrer + fra. dernier.

N.B. Pour l' origine de 'derner' i 'darrer' une autre hypothèse peut être 'derenetus' participe du verbe latin 'dereneo' ; la raison: le dernier rang à faire dans un métier à tisser ou dans un tricot demande un travail spécial, ce qui a pu faire que ce participe soit devenu le symbole de toute derniere chose..

[b] Cf. lat. ursa [ˈursa] (cat.= óssa ; fra.= ourse) ➔ b.lat.*usa [ˈusə] ➔ cat. óssa[ˈɔsə] + fra.= ourse.

[c] Toponyme considéré comme étrange : certains ont proposé que l'origine soit un mot ancien signifiant "lieu divisé en beaucoup de petits champs. ; Cf. cat. derna [ˈdɛrnə] = fra. darne [ˈdɑrnə] (= cat. tros + fra. = morceau).

T1₃ ● *In - cara - fossa* [in ˈkara ˈfosa]➔ [ən ˈkaraˌfosə] ➔[ən ˈkaraˌfos] ➔ca. s. 7-10, RP : en *Carafus* [a][b] [ən ˈkarəˌfus] (cat. = roca(s) en forma de fus [c] ; fra.= rocs en forme de fuseau) ➔ ca. s. 9-14, RP : *Bac d'*en *Carafou* [d] [ənˈkarəˌfu] (cat. vall estreta i rocosa ; fra.= gorge rocheuse) ➔ s.19 : Bac d'en Carafou [ənˈkarəˌfu].

[a] Cf. Pré-indo-eur.*Kar ➔ antic 'kara' (cat. quer ; fra.= roc) atesté à 20 km (1242).

[b] Cf. lat. fusus ➔ cat. fus [fous] + fra.= fuseau.

[c] Autre preuve par les évolutions de 2 noms de lieux distants de 120m :

/1/ Bac d*en *Carafus ➔ s. 9-14, RP, RP : *Bac d'*en *Carafou [ən ˈkarəˌfu] (fra.= gorge rocheuse)[d] ➔ s.19 : Bac d'en Carafou [ən ˈkarəˌfu].

/2/ *En Carafus ➔ s.7/11, ce nom devait évoquer 'rocher en forme de fuseau'; quelqu'un a préféré corriger en 'rocher en forme d'écheveau' ; changement justifiée par la forme réelle ; c'est un cas remotivation avec proximité sémantique et non phonétique; RPs : *en*caramadeixa [ən ˈkarəməˈðɛʃə] (cat.= roca(s) en forma de madeixa[e] , fra. = roc en forme d'échevau) ➔[ən ˈkarəməˈðɛs] ➔ ca. s.20, RP Les Camarades [ˌkamərəˈðɛ] (fra.= les camarades).

[d] Cf. lat. fovea = catalan fou ; fra.= gorge étroite. N.B. Il y a une gorge au pied du lieu-dit Bac d'en Carafou.

[e] Un fuseau et un échevau (cat.= madeixa) sont des choses similaires.

T2₂ ● *Valens-Iosephus* [a] [ˈvalɛns joˈsɛpəus] ➔[ˈvalɛnsuɔˈsɛpəu] ➔ca. s. 6-7, RP : *Valensio *pio [ˌvalɛnsiu piu] (cat. = en piadòs Valentius ; fra.= chez le pieu Valentius) ➔ca. s. 14, RP : *Vall *en *So [ˌβalənˈsu] (cat. = Vall d'en So [b] ; fra. = Vallée du sieur So) ➔ ca. s.18-19, RP : *Pla de Valenso [ˈplaðəβəʎənˈsu] (fra.= Plateau de Valenso) ➔ ca. s.19 : cat. Pla de Valenso [ˈplaðəβəʎənˈsu] \NT\ et fra. Pla de Balençou.

[a] Cf. lat. Josephus ➔ *Joseps ➔ cat. Josep.

[b] Cf. Au s.14, Bernat de So est le seigneur d'Evol, à environ 20 km.

T2₁ ● *Arimathianus* [aˈrimatiˌanus] ➔ [aˈrimaˌtianu] ➔[aˈrimaˌtianə] ➔ ca. s. 6-7 , RP : *aramina [a] *tina [b] [əˈraminənˈtinə] (cat. Font amb (o de l') aram ; fra.= cuvette de couleur bronze) ➔[əˈramənətinə] ➔[əˈramətinə] ➔ ca. s. 8 -13, : *Font de l'Aram [ˈfondelaˈram] ➔s.19: Font de l'Aram [ˈfondelaˈram]\NT\.

[a] Cf. lat. æramen (cat. + fra. = bronze) ➔ cat. aram, bronze ; fra.= bronze .

[b] Cf. lat. tina ➔ cat. tina ; fra.= baquet, vasque, cuvette. N.B. L'eau de la source est de couleur orange à cause de l'oxyde de fer.

T2₃ ● *invenerat [inˈvɛnɛrat] ➔ [inˈvɛnərə] ➔ [ənˈvɛnərə] ➔ ca. s.6-9, RP : *in *varina ᵃ [ənˈvarinə] (cat. = lloc plantat de raïms de differents colors ; fra.= lieu planté en raisins de couleurs diverses) ➔ ca. s.10-15, RP : *en *Barina [ənˈβarinə] (cat.= en la propietat d'un home anomenat Barina ; fra.= 'chez Monsieur Barina').➔s.19 : Creu d'en Barina [ənˈβarinə] \NT\.

ᵃ Cf. lat. varius,-a,-um (cat.+ fra.= variable)➔ cat. vari, -a (cat.= de diversos colors ; fra.= de couleurs diverses) ; lat. varianae ➔ b.lat. varina (cat.= raïms de diversos colors ; fra.= raisins de couleurs diverses).

Triades 3 et 4 : *Luculus *nobilis *illa *positura   *militares *Herodeles * laxare *tectus *noverant.

T3₂ ● *Luculus [luˈkulus] ou [ˈlukulus] ➔ [ˈlukuls] ➔ 977, IC : Luguls[luˈɣuls] ➔ 1186, IC : Llugols [ˈʎuɣuls] ➔19: Llúgols [ˈʎuɣuls] \NT\ .

ᵃ Le sens 'le petit bois' du nom d'origine le rend d'usage très courant, qui a entraîné son évolution diachronique.

T3₂ ● *nobilis [nɔˈbilis] ➔ [nuˈbiləs] ➔ [nəˈβiləs] ➔1266 : IC Nabilles [nəˈβiʎəs] ➔s.19 : cat. Nabilles [nəˈβiʎəs] \NT\ .

T3₃ ● *Illa - positura [iˈla,pɔsiˈturə] ➔ [əˈla,pɔsəˈturə] ➔ [iˈla,pɔsəˈtur] ➔ ca. s. 6-9, RP : *l'Aposator ᵃ [la,pɔsəˈtur] (cat. aposador ; fra.= reposoir) ➔s.19 : l'Aposador [la,pɔsəˈðu] \NT\

ᵃ Cf. lat. apposatus (cat. posat al costat de… ;fra.= placé à côté de...).

T4₂ ● *Militares [ˈmili,tarɛs] ➔ [,milətarəs] ➔ [,miləarəs] ➔ ca. s. 6-8, RP :*milareas [,milarəas] (cat. àrea plantada de mill : fra.= champs à millet) ➔ca. s. 8-9:*Millares ᵃ ᵇ [miˈʎarəs] ➔s.19: Millares [miˈʎarəs].

ᵃ Cf. lat. milium (cat. mill ; fra.= millet) ➔ cat. mill ; lat. area (fra.= aire) ➔ cat. àrea.

ᵇ Cf. Des lieux nommés Millares o Millarias sont attestés dans la région.

T4₁ ● *Herodolis [ɛˈrɔdɔ,lis] ➔ ca. s. 8-12, RP :*Erolis [ɛˈrɔlis] (cat.= eroles ; fra. replats dans une zone en pente) ➔1375 IC : Erolis [ɛˈrɔlis] ➔s.19: Eroles [ɛˈrɔləs] \NT\

ᵃ Cf. lat. aratus,a,um (cat. lloc que poc ser llaurat ; fra. endroit que l'on peut labourer) + diminutif '–lus' ➔ aratulus ➔ araulu ➔ pre-cat. arol ➔ cat. erol.

T4₃ ● *Laxare - tectus - norant [ˈlaksarɛˈtɛktusnɔˈrant] ➔[ˈlasərˈtɛktunəˈrats] ➔[ˈlasəˈtɛkʃunəˈras] ➔ca. s. 7-10, RP : *las *texons *areas [las təˈkʃunsˈarəas] (cat. les teixoneres ; fra. = les zones à tanières de blaireaux). ➔ ca. s. 10-12 :*las *texoneres [ˈastəˈʃonɛ,rəs] ➔s.19 : Las Teixoneres [lastəˈʃonɛ,rəs].

ᵃ Cf. lat. taxo,-onis (fra. = blaireau) ➔ cat. teixó ; lat. area (fra.= aire) ➔ cat. àrea.

Triades 5 et 6 : (Ut)*Ille terra *mianaretur   *funi *tenso *ligatus,   *eis *cautiose, *funiculus **tornans *furca   *scala *pensus

T5₃ ● *Ille - terra - manaret [iˈlɛˈtɛramanaˈret] ➔ [əˈlɛˈtɛrəmanəˈre] ➔ [ˈlɛˈtɛrmanəˈre] ➔ ca. s.9/10, RP : *la *Termenere ᵃ [lɛ,tɛrməˈnɛrə] (cat. = la pedra termenera ; fra.= la pierre de bornage) ➔ ca. s. 18-19 : La Termenere [lɛ,tɛrməˈnɛrə] ➔s. 19-20: Fra. La Termanère.

ᵃ N.B. El lloc és al limit entre 2 pobles.

T5₂ ● *Funi - tenso - ligatus [ˈfuniˈtɛŋsoˈligatus] ➔ [ˈfunəˈtɛŋsəˈliatəs] ➔ [fun,tenəˈliats] ➔ [fun,tenəˈliəs] ➔ ca. s. 8-10, RP : *Fontanellas ᵃ [funtəˈnəʎəs] (cat.= fontanelles ; fra.= petites sources) ➔ ca. s. 11-13 : Fontanelles ➔s.19 : Fontanellas [funtəˈnəʎəs] afrancesat Fontaneilles.

ᵃ Cf. lat. fons,-tis (cat. funt) ; derivés : lat. fontanus,a,um + diminutiu –ellus,a,um (cat. funtanella).

T5₁ ● *Iesum - cautiose [ˈjesumkauˈsiɔse] ➔[ˈjesukəuˈsios] ➔ [ˈjeskuˈsios] ➔ ca. s. 7-9, RP : *els *Cotiusᵃ [əls kuˈsius] (cat. Cotius ; fra.=les jachères) ➔ s.19 : Els Cotius [əlskuˈsius], semi-francisé Els Coutious.

ᵃ Cf. lat. cultus,a,um (cat. cultivat,-da ; fra.=cultivé) ➔ b.latin *cultivum, pl.*cultiva, abl. *cultivis (cat.+ fra.= cultivable) ➔s.6-7, cat. cotiva (fra.= jachère) + cotius (fra.= friches).

T6₃ ● *Funiculus [ˌfuniˈkulus] ➔ [ˌfuniˈkulu] ➔ [funiˈkulə] ➔ca. s. 7-9, RP : *fenicula ᵃ [fəniˈkulə] (cat. fenella, escletxa; fra.= la fente) ➔ ca. s.10-12 : *la *Fenella [fəneˈʎə] ➔s.19: la Fenella [lafəneˈʎə] afrancesat la Feneille.

ᵃ Cf. lat.findere (cat.+ fra.= fendir) ➔ cat. fendir + occ. fendre ; mateix grup : occ. findilhar (fra.= fendiller) ; cat. fenella (fra.= fente) ; possible b.lat. *findicula (cat. petita escletxa ; fra.= la petite fente) ➔ *fenicula ➔ *fenila ➔cat. fenella ; possible b.lat. *findicular (fra.= fendiller) ➔ occ. findilhar + fra. fendiller.

T6₂ ● *Tornans - furcam [ˈtɔrnans ˈfurkam] ➔ [ˌtɔrnəns ˈfurkə] ➔ [ˌtɔrnəns ˈfurk] ➔ ca. s. 7-10, RP: *torrent ᵃ *fusc ᵇ [tuˈrent ˈfusk] (cat. torrent del qual la vall és fosc ; fra.= torrent sombre, ou à l'ombre) ➔s.19: Torrent Fosc [tuˈren,ˈfosk] (fra.= torrent sombre, ou à l'ombre).

ᵃ Cf. lat. torrens,-tis (cat. torrent ; fra.= cours d'eau impétueux) ➔ cat. torrent (fra.= torrent). N.B. Il y a un petit cours d'eau intermittent portant ce nom ; il est en pente forte, et parcoure un versant vers le Nord-Est. Sur le plan de l'hydrologie il est très semblable à une huitaine d'autres sur le même long versant. Ceux-ci ont tous un nom interprétable dans la Crucifixion, mais leurs noms sont tous précédés du nom commun 'ravin' ajouté au nom du lieu-dit entourant le bas du ravin près de son confluent en fond de vallée ; le mot 'torrent' semble donc bien issu d'une remotivation ; si ce n'était pas le cas, le lieu du torrent se serait appelé 'ravin fosc'.

Par ailleurs aucun nom n'a été donné directement à un cours d'eau par les 3 auteurs de noms paléochrétiens. Plus tard que le 4ᵉ s. quelques cours d'eau ont reçu le nom du lieu près de leur confluent en partie la plus basse. Le lieu près du confluent de ce torrent est le lieu 'Funi-tenso-ligatus' / 'Fontanelles' expliqué plus loin. Donc à l'origine le nom romain 'Tornans-furcam' a été donné à un lieu plus haut constitué des pentes sur les 2 côtés du ravin entourant l'actuel cours d'eau nommé actuellement 'torrent fosc' ; c'est une zone au faciès homogène, peu accessible et bien distinct des lieux l'entourent tous nommés dans le cadre de l'assemblage de la Crucifixion.

ᵇ Cf. lat. fuscus (cat. fosc ; fra.= sombre) ➔ cat. fosc (fra.= sombre).

T6₁ ● *Scala - pensus [ˈskala ˈpɛnsus] ➔ [ˈskala ˈpɛnsu] ➔ [ˈskala ˈpɛnsə] ➔ ca. s. 6-8, RP : Pas Escala ᵃ ᵇ [ˌpɑsɛ ˈskalə] (cat. Pas de l'escale ; fra. Col de l'échelle) ➔ ca. s. 9-12 : *Pas *de *l'Escala [ˈpɑsdələˈskalə] ➔s.19 : Pas de l'Escale ᶜ [ˌpɑsdələˈskalə].

ᵃ Cf. lat. passus (cat. pas, bretxe, obertura ; fra.= passage, brèche, ouverture)➔cat. pas (fra.= col, passage).

N.B. Proximité phonétique : Le verbe latin 'pandere' a 2 participes possibles : 'passus' i 'pansus'; le mot 'pensus' était le participe du verbe latin 'pendere' (cat.= penjar; fra.= pendre)

ᵇ Cf. lat. scala (cat.= escala ; fra. échelle) ➔ cat. escala.

ᶜ N.B. Cette zone est étroite et profonde entre deux rocs élevés.

Triade 7 : *Iesus *pallens *manu *ageretur *angore *nervo.

T7₁ ● *Iesus - pallens [ˈjɛsus ˈpalɛns] ➔ [ˈjɛsəs ˈpaləs] ➔ [ˈjɛs ˈpaləs] ➔ca. s. 7-8, RP: *Els *Palears ᵃ [ɛlspəˈlears] (cat. Els pallers ; fra.= les meules de paille) ➔ca. s.10-12 : *Els *Pallers [ɛlspəˈʎɛrs] (fra.= les meules de paille) ➔s.19: Els Pallers [ɛlspəˈʎəs] \NT\; Fra. Les Paillés

ᵃ Cf. lat. palea (fra.= paille) ➔ cat. palla.

T7₂ ● *manu *ageretur *[ˈmanu,aʒɛˈrɛtur] ➔ *[ˈmanə,aʒəˈrɛtur] ➔ *[ˈmanaʒəˈrɛtur] ➔ca. 7ᵉ s./ 10ᵉ s., RP.: *tur ᵃ *mena *agre ➔ [ˈtur,manaʒəˈrɛ] (fra.= proéminence avec terrains à mines) ➔ *[ˈtur,manəˈrɛ] ➔ ca. 11ᵉ s./ 14ᵉ s., RPs.: Roca Manera *[ˈrokəmaˈnɛrə] (fra.= Roc 'Manera') ➔ 19ᵉ s.: Roca Manera [rokəˈmanɛrə] ➔ francisé Roquemanere [rokəˈmanɛrə].

ᵃ Cf. lat. tufus, -oris ➔ cat. tur ou turó (fra.= butte, colline pentue souvent rocheuse).

ᵇ Cf. lat. mina (cat. mina ; fra. mine); Cf. lat. minae *area (at.= àrea havint una mina, fra.= zone minière) ➔ cat. la menera [məˈnɛrə] ➔ francisé la manere [maˈnɛrə] (fra.= la minière, zone minière); ce nom est porté par plusieurs lieux miniers de la région ; il y a eu des mines proches, mais il n'y a jamais eu de mine retrouvée à cet endroit.

T7₃ ● *angore - nervo* [aŋˈgɔrɛˈnɛrvɔ] ➔ [əŋˌgɔrəˈnɛrvə] ➔ [əŋgɔrˈnɛru] ➔ ca. s. 7-8, RP: *en *Gurg [a] Nere [b] [əŋgurˈnɛr ə] (cat. en la propietat d'un home anomenat Gornere ; fra.= chez M. Gornere)➔s.9. ID [c] ➔1298 en Gorner [əŋgurˈnɛr] ➔ s.19: en Gorner [əŋgurˈnɛ] \NT\

 [a] Cf. lat. gurges, -itis *m.* (cat.= clot pregon en el llit d'un corrent d'aigua, gorg, abisme ; fra. = creu profond dans le lit d'un cours d'eau, abîme) ➔ cat. gorg *m.* + cat. gorga *f.* + fra. gorge.

 [b] Cf. lat. niger, nigra, nigrum (cat. negre,a ; fra. noir,e) ➔ cat. negre,a + local cat. nere,a.

 [c] ID : s.9 : Vuarnaria ; s.9 : Garnerio . Ces 2 interprétations déviantes étaient probablement des latinisations d'un même patronyme supposé wisigoth par des notaires Francs

 [d] N.B. Le lieu est près de la fin d'une partie étroite de la vallée de la Têt, entre 2 versants hauts qui font de l'ombre à cet endroit plus qu'en aval.

Triades 8 et 9 : *Ille, *solemne *pie, *in *capsa *laxus (est) *linteatus   *coagulans *sparsos *naevulos *sale *veretri.

 T8₁ ● *Ille *solemne *pie* [iˈlɛsɔˈlɛmnɛˈpiɛ] ➔[əˈlɛsuˈlɛmnəˈpiə] ➔[əˌlɛsuˈlɛməpiə] ➔ ca. s. 9-13, RP: *el *sol *empit [a] [ˌəlˈsolɛmˈpit] (cat. el sòl molt inclinat ; fra.= sol ou terrain en forte pente) ➔[ˌəlsuˈlɛmpi] ➔s.19: el Solempi, semi-francisé El Soulempy [elsuˈlɛmpi] \NT\ .
 [a] Cat. empit (= vessant de muntanya molt inclinada ; fra. =versant très incliné).

 T8₂● *In *capsa* [inˈkapsa] ➔s.7-8 : *en *Cassa [a] [b] [enˈkassa] ➔ s.18 : En Cassa [c] [enˈkassa] ➔20 : semi-afrancesat en Caça.
 [a] Cf. lat. capsa ➔ cat. caixa [ˈkaʃə] + fra. caisse.
 [b] Probable remotivation sans changement phonétique parce que le mot 'caça' (= fra.=chasse) pouvait convenir à la nature ancienne du lieu.
 [c] N.B. Le sens 'en la tombe' est toujours valable familiairement.

 T8₃● *Laxus *linteatus* [ˈlaksusliŋtɛˈatus] ➔[ˈlasəsˌliŋtsəˈats] ➔[ˌˈlasˌlitsəˈas] ➔[lasˌlisəˈas] ➔ ca. s. 8-9, RP: *Las *Lissas [a] [lasˈlisas] ; mais possible mise au singulier directe, car il n'y a de possibilité d'attribuer ce nom que d'un seul côté du 'castrum' wisigothique de Rià :*La *Lissa 'la liˈsə] ➔ ca. s. 9-11: *La *Lliça [ləʎiˈsə] ➔ ca. s.19 : La Lliça [ləʎiˈsə] \NT\ ➔s.20, Fra.: la Lisse.
 [a] Cf. lat. licium, plur. licia (fra.= fil de trame). Puis le sens s'élargit : bord de tissus, puis tour d'une propriété ➔ cat. lliça (fra.= lisse de propriété).

 T9₁● *Coagulans [a] [kɔˌaguˈlaŋs] ➔[kɔˌagəˈlaŋs] ➔[kwaˈglaŋs] ➔[kəaˈʎaŋs] ➔ ca. s. 7-8, RP : *Call [b] ansa [c] [kəˈʎaŋsə] (cat.= call + ansa = ansa d'un riu en una vall encaixada ; fra.= anse d'une rivière dans une vallée encaissée ➔ nom de la rivière *El *Callans, puis El Callan ➔ s.18 : El Callan [əlkəˈʎaŋ] \NT\, Fra. Le Caillan.
 [a] Cf. latin coagulans (cat. = quallant ; fra.= coagulant) ➔ cat. quallant [kw əˈʎaŋ] + fra. caillant. N.B. En français le verbe 'cailler' est réservé au lait.
 [b] Cf. base p.i.e *kal ➔ cat. call (cat. indret on un riu passa encaixonat, pas estret i enclotat ; fra. sol dur, passage difficile, passage étroit, avec des rocs).
 [c] Cf. lat. ansa (cat. ansa d'un cistell, nansa ; fra. = anse d'un panier, poignée) ➔ cat. = ansa + fra. = anse ; le sens s'est étendu au cas d'une rive creusée par l'eau.
N.B. Le lieu 'El Callan' est près d'une anse de la rivière, mais surtout il est près du confluent avec la Têt rivière plus importante

 T9₂● *Jesu *sparsos *naevulos* [ˈiesuˈsparsɔsnɛˈvulɔs] ➔[ˈjesəsˈparsəsnəˈuləs] ➔[ˈjesəsˈparsnəˈuls] ➔ ca. s. 7-10, RP: *les*Esparses *Novales [ləsəˈsparsˈnɔvaləls] (cat. els guarets esparses ; fra.= les jachères éparses) ➔ [ləsəˌparsˈnɔals] ➔ [ləsəsparsˈnals] ➔ s.19: Las Esparnals [ləsˌspərsˈnals].
 [a] Cf. lat. novalis, is (cat.= terra recentment artigat; fra.= terre défrichée récemment.

 T9₃● *sale [a] *verberum* [ˈsalɛverˈberum] ➔[ˈsaləvɛˈberu] ➔[ˈsaləvəˈberə] ➔[ˌsaləˈber] ➔ ca. s. 7-10, RP: *Salabre [c] [ˌsaləˈβre] (cat. salabre, salabret ; fra.= intrument de pêche) ➔s.19 : Salabret [ˈsaləˈβrɛt], Fra. Salabert.
 [a] Cf. lat. sal, salis (cat.= sal, cosa donant una sensació picant ; fra.= sel, chose donnant sensation piquante.)
 [b] Cf. lat. verbera *n.pl.* (cat. vergues, fra. verges)
 [c] Cf. lat. vulg. salabrum (cat.= salabre ; fra.= outil pour secouer) ➔ cat. salabre + salabret.

Die Konstruktion Rufname + Beiname als Ortsnamentyp im nördlichen Ostpreußen

Christiane Schiller
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Abstract

In den Namen der im Zuge von Kolonisation entstandenen Siedlungen sind häufig die Personennamen der ersten Siedler enthalten. Da diese Siedlungen häufig in die Periode der Einnamigkeit datieren, reflektieren die Ortsnamen in der Regel nur den Rufnamen des Gründers.

Im nördlichen Ostpreußen, vor allem im Kreis Memel, der erst im 15 bzw. 16. Jahrhundert flächendeckend besiedelt wurde, bildeten sich auf der Basis der ehemaligen Hofnamen Ortsnamen heraus, die sowohl den Rufnamen als auch einen Beinamen des Hofbesitzers enthalten. Auf diese Weise entstanden Ortsnamen vom Typ Podszeit Stankus, Hennig Hans, Jurge Kandscheit bzw. Labatag Michel Purwin.

Der Beitrag untersucht die Struktur dieser Ortsnamen, deren Variabilität und Kontinuität in der Tradierung sowie Aspekte des Gebrauchs der deutschen und litauischen Namenformen.

Diachronic Critical Toponymy and Scottish Place Names

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Abstract

Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009) challenge 'historical-cultural' toponymists to apply a critical perspective to their work, to avoid 'naïve' accounts of history. In response to this invitation, I have sought to reinvestigate the diachronic data in Scott (2004), collected for etymological and lexicological research. Centuries-old name forms, presented as apolitical lists, can mask contested narratives of place and identity, or tacitly agree with agendas of standardisation, and risk creating new dogmas of name evolution. This paper explores primarily Scots place names through a critical lens, building in part on Scott (2012). Scott and Clark (2011) provided a critical analysis of the modern labels applied to the regenerated Salford Quays (formerly Salford Docks), illuminating aspects of local toponymic politics; the task in this paper is to examine historical toponymy critically.

Traditional name scholars do perhaps need to be more aware of their own contribution to acts of political silencing, even if the silenced have fallen out of the written history and exist only as a form of negative space. The etymologist may be forgiven for viewing toponymic data only through an etymological lens, but once his or her consciousness is raised to include a critical perspective, the genie is out of the bottle.

Topical Issues of Namegiving in New Moscow

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Abstract

The subject of our research is toponyms (names of rivers, forests, towns, villages, hamlets, farms, as well as hodonyms and the proper names of housing estates) in New Moscow – the territory, which was connected to Old Moscow in 2012. The study of the data (more than 600 units) made it possible to examine the proper names from the point of view of their structure and the principles and the patterns underlying their naming.

The first issue lies in the fact that the new area was incorporated only nominally. In fact there are two different Moscows, Old and New, with different toponymic systems.

The second issue is the existence of identical hodonyms and their elimination without violating the rights of local residents.

Another problem is connected with the active construction of new territories. The demand for names for new streets has sharply increased, which should, according to the Law of Moscow, fit into the historically established system of names.

The article contains the main principles of creating the new urban names in Moscow.

* * *

Introduction

In 2012 the territory of Moscow increased more than twofold. And now the capital of Russia consists of the so called Old Moscow and New Moscow which includes settlements: towns, villages, hamlets, farms, forests, greenland, grassland. The system of Moscow urbanonyms is on the turn now.

The aim of our study is to determine alternatives of name giving in New Moscow. The material for this research has been taken from a variety of sources: among them, Proceedings of the Session of the Municipal Inter-Departmental Committee for the Naming of Territorial Units, Streets, Metro Stations, Organizations and other Urban Features of the City of Moscow (of which the author has been a standing member since 1998), as well as from official websites of the Moscow Administration, mass media, e.g. the newspaper 'Novyje Rayony' ('The New District'), and different forums, among others, local residents' fora.[1]

We have collected the data using the method of continuous sampling (Superanskaya 2007). The principal features of the study are: all-round selection of material, synchronic and diachronic approach (including, wherever possible, etymological analysis), all seen from a sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspective.

The collected names show a mixture of languages. Names in the Russian language predominate; the article does not contain their original spelling in Cyrillic, but only their

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[1] For a full list of websites consulted, see 'Websites consulted' below.

transliteration into Latin and translations are given, e.g.: *Severnaya* ('Northern') street; English and French names are given in the original form in which they are used in the names of the Russian housing estates, for example: *Grand-Park*, *La Promenade*.

New Moscow Vs Old Moscow

The System of Old Moscow Urbanonyms

The first issue is that new land area was incorporated only nominally. In fact, there are two different Moscow – Old and New. It is a sort of opposition. New Moscow used to be a village for a weekend rest. Now it is a part of capital city with a different onomastic system.

The system of Old Moscow's urbanonyms has been evolving through centuries (since the 12th to the 21st centuries). The names of streets, lanes, parks and rivers, railway and metro stations and other urban objects are peculiar monuments of different historic periods in the creation and development of Moscow, of Russia, and reflect different periods in the development of the Russian language (Sokolova 2013), its contacts with Finno-Ugric, Baltic, Turkic and other languages. Thus, the river *Sara* originates from the Finnish *sara* 'sedge' (Ageeva *et al*. 2007: 460); the river *Setun'* originates from the Baltic *siets* 'deep end' (Ageeva *et al*. 2007: 473); *Arbat street* from the Arabic word *rabat/ribat* 'caravan-saray' (Ageeva *et al*. 2007: 36); *Balchug street* from the Turkic *balchek* 'slush, marsh' (Ageeva *et al*. 2007: 45).

Since 1922 the Committee for the Naming of Moscow streets has been working hard to normalize urbanonyms. The *Toponymic Dictionary: The Names of Moscow Streets* (Ageeva *et al*. 2007) reflects the results of that work. On the one hand this book follows in the footsteps of works dealing with Moscow toponymy, on the other hand it is an innovative dictionary, representing different urbanonyms as a system. Despite the fact that the dictionary is titled 'The Names of Moscow Streets', it includes the names not only of streets, avenues, squares, but also the names of rivers, lakes, hills and other feature names, the names of administrative and historical districts, the names of bridges, railway stations, underground railway stations, landing places etc., thereby our dictionary contains 5,778 dictionary entries. Every article contains topographic and culturological information, the history of and reasons for naming and renaming of any object, as well as its cognitive and scientific value. Thus, the toponymy of Old Moscow is multilingual, various by origin, considering its chronology. It is rich in the principles of naming and diverse in the ways of creation.

Conversely, the toponymy and urbanonymy of New Moscow have not been under study or under discussion yet.

The Principles of Old Moscow Naming

Old Moscow has a ring and radial structure. The *Kremlin* is the oldest part of Moscow and the place all Moscow roads lead to. The first wooden Kremlin was erected by Prince Yury Dolgoruky in 1156. By the 13th century it had become the centre of the Moscow principality. In the 15th century, at the order of the Tsar Ivan III, the Kremlin was surrounded with a new red-brick wall. Each side of the Kremlin was guarded by towers which have generally preserved their form from ancient days.

All Moscow rings and radial roads arise from the Kremlin. The first of Moscow rings is a semicircle round the north of the Kremlin. Then, the *Boulevard Ring* follows. The third is the *Garden Ring*. The largest is *Moscow's outer ring road* formed the city borders. But in the 1990s Moscow outstepped these borders (Sokolova 2015: 7-9).

Moscow's main radial roads spear across these rings like spokes of a wheel. More than 40 arterial highways cross Moscow's outer ring road: *Tverskaya ulitsa* ('street') (appeared as a road to Tver town), *Leningradsky prospect* (it is the beginning of the road leading to St Petersburg, in 1924-1992 Leningrad, the city of *Lenin*), *Yaroslavskoye shosse* ('highway'), *Varshavskoye shosse, Minskoye shosse* etc. Such system of street layout produced a traffic standstill in the 21st century. That is why New Moscow developed only one direction – south-west.

The Geographic and thematic principles of naming are connected with the ring and radial city structure, e.g. there is a set of 'Northern' names in the north of Old Moscow: *Severnaya* ('Northern') street, *Snyerznaya* ('Snow') street, *Polyarnaya* ('North-polar') street, *Studyonaya* ('Cold') street, *Kolskaya* street (from Kola Peninsula), and the names given in honor of polar explorers, *Amundsen street, Nansen street, Sedov street*, etc. Everybody knows that *Chernomorskiy* ('Black Sea') *boulevard* is in the south of Old Moscow, but *Karpatskiye streets* ('*Carpathians*') are south-west.

However, in the settlements of new areas of Moscow its own, local orientation system existed, under which North and South, West and East Street were named, when included in the settlement, and, what is more, in the common urban space such names turn out to be misleading. In the south-west of the city there are now more than 20 North Streets.

As it has turned out it was impossible to adhere to all the principles of Old Moscow naming for new districts.

The Problem of Identical Hodonyms

In general, a lot of identical hodonyms appeared in New Moscow. Almost every residential place has names which are connected with natural surroundings, e.g. there are forty names given after water object: *Rechnaya* ('river') street, *Ozernaya* ('lake'), *Rodnikovaya* ('spring-well'); there are a lot of streets named after plants: forty streets *Lesnaya* ('forest'), thirty streets *Sadovaya* ('garden'), eighteen streets *Beryozovaya* ('birch'), twelve streets *Sosnovaya* ('pine'), fifteen streets *Ryabinovaya* ('rowan').

There are a lot of fruit, berry and flower names: sixteen *Vishnyovaya* ('cherry') streets, seventeen *Sirenevaya* ('lilac'); fourteen *Tsvetochnaya* ('flower'). And, of course, there is *Tsentralnaya* ('central') street in every settlement (Sokolova 2015: 46-48).

There are a lot of street names with positive semantics: *Svetlaya* ('light', 'bright') street, *Solnechnaya* ('sun') street, *Vesyolaya* ('lively'), *Radurznaya* ('rainbow').

Each separate hodonym was a well-known landmark within the limits of a small settlement, but lost this function within the limits of Moscow (Sokolova 2015: 46).

How to eliminate the identical place names, without violating the rights of local residents? The Municipal Inter-Departmental Committee for the Naming of Territorial Units, Streets, Metro Stations, Organizations and other Urban Features of the City of Moscow made a decision not to rename existing identical street names and to keep the names of settlements

as guides in large Moscow, for example, *Moscow, settlement Voronovo, Lesnaya Street*; *Moscow, settlement Klyonovo, Lesnaya Street*; *Moscow, settlement Ptichnoye, Lesnaya Street*.

Namegiving of New Streets

Another problem is connected with the active construction of new territories. The demand for new street names has increased sharply, which should, according to the Law of Moscow, fit into the historically established system of names.

There are some principles of the new urban names creation (Sokolova 2015). The main principle of name giving is the following: the names of new city facilities must keep the disappearing ancient names of rivers, lakes, villages, churches. It is of particular interest to note that the name of the river *Khapilovka* originates from the anthroponym *Khapilo*, the nickname of the owner of the local dam with a water mill, derived from the verb *khapat*, i.e. 'snatch, grab' in Russian. Town *Shcherbinka* was built on the territory of an old village, first recorded in the 14th century and retains the pre-Christian, Old Russian anthroponym *Shcherbina* 'a man with a chipped spot, a missing tooth in the mouth'. Village *Shchapovo* derived from the non-canonical nick-name *Shchapa* 'dandy, fop'. *Salaryevo* village, one of the first Italian names in the Moscow region was given to the village in the 14th century after its owner, a merchant of the Solari family. And the metro station *Salaryevo* will keep the previous name (Sokolova 2014b: 356-358).

One of the key principles, in our view, should be the thematic one – the creation of systems of names, given according to the geographical and historical realities of space development. For instance, a new residential estate is in the process of construction in Aleshinskaya river-valley near the old village Nikolskoye. So the hodonym *Aleshinskaya Dolina* is a former microtoponym (*dolina* means 'river valley'), hodonyms *Bukvitsa* and *Tavolga* reflect the characteristics of plants of the valley, *Stolnik Potemkin street* leads to the temple, built by his efforts in the 17th century (*Potemkin* is a famous old noble family, the word *Stolnik* means 'a courtier rank below the boyar in Russia in 13th-17th centuries'); hodonym *Kolchevskaya* retains the name of an ancient village *Kolchevo*, known since the 15th century. *Kolchevo* originates from the pre-Christian, Old Russian anthroponym *Kolcha*, derived from the nick-name *Kolchenogiy* ('badger-legged'). The existing old *Central Street* in *Kolchevo* village, where there are only some old houses left, will gradually, in the process of reconstruction, become the continuation of *Stolnik Potemkin Street*. Thus, the coincidence will be eliminated in the future.

On the one hand, such a complex is a local system of street names reflecting the history and landscape features of the ancient village *Kolchevo* and non-recurring in modern Moscow. On the other hand, it complies with the existing urbanonymic system.

However, a new principle of naming should be noted – the names are chosen by the future residents of the apartment complex. Working out the conception of the living estate 'Pervy Moskovsky Gorod-Park' ('First Moscow City-Park') names the developers held an opinion poll. They proposed three conceptions of street names: 'nature': *Yagodnaya ulitsa* ('Berry-like' street), *Lesnaya ulitsa* ('forest' street), *Lugovaya ulitsa* ('meadow' street);

'positive emotions': *Yasnaya ulitsa* ('Bright street'), *Udobnaya ulitsa* ('Comfortable street'), *Bezoblachnaya ulitsa* ('Unclouded street'); and the conception 'Travellers and Discoverers': *Nevelskoy*, *Arsenyev*, *Potanin* streets. The majority (72%) were for the third one. Such principle is believed to be much in-demand.

The Foreign Names of Cottage Villages

One more issue is connected with the foreign names given to cottage villages in New Moscow. I have examined the names of the housing estates situated in Moscow vicinity (Sokolova 2014a) and have found a lot of foreign place names in the Moscow region, e.g. *Little Scotland, Hyde Park, Barcelona, Little Italy, Cote d'Azur*, *Grand-Park*, *La Promenade* etc.

Difficulties stem from the fact that now some of them have become a part of Moscow. But according to the Law of Moscow such foreign names cannot have an official standing. So an advertising name of residential estate *Bristol* is now only an informal one. But the residents want to live in Moscow, and at the same time in England. So they gave the names to the streets of their housing estate: *ulitsa Anny ('Anna* street'), *Victoria, Henry, Elisabeth, Richard, Georg, Churchill* streets. They want to live in England. So they chose the royal names. But the Municipal Inter-Departmental Committee for the Naming of Territorial Units, Streets, Metro Stations, Organizations and other Urban Features of the City of Moscow changed these names into *Kipling, Dickens, Shakespeare streets*. The residents of *Bristol living complex* wanted to have an official address as follows: Moscow, *Bristol, Anna street, 4,* and their property was registered this way. However, it violates the Moscow law: according to it, the urbanonym cannot repeat the name of a foreign city, country, on the one hand, and a street cannot be named after the first name only (Anna is a very popular first name for girls in Russia). Thus the official address of *Bristol living complex* is as follows: *Moscow, Lapshinka village…* etc.

The same thing happened with the housing estate *Ostrov Erin* ('*Isle of Erin',* a piece of Ireland in Moscow). *Dublinskaya ulitsa* ('*Dublin street'), Klevernaya ulitsa* ('*Clover street'*) were approved, but *Whisky street* and *Solodovaya ulitsa* ('*Malt street'*) were changed into *Jonathan Swift street* and *Bernard Shaw street*.

Commemorative Hodonyms

It is a positive trend to name streets after famous writers rather than political leaders. There are a lot of ideological urban names in Old Moscow (Sokolova 2013: 369-378). After the so-called '1917 October revolution', new, Revolution-themed names mushroomed, immortalizing glorious political and ideological figures and events: *Lenin, Marx, Engels, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, August Bebel* etc. As a result of artificial name-giving, i.e. a voluntarist decision or an act of servilism on the part of a state official, there emerged in the Moscow Region a number of streets named after leaders of International Communist and Socialist Movement, and Soviet writers. There are a lot of such identical commemorative names in New Moscow: seven *Lenin* streets; four *Engels* streets, five *Marx* streets, two *Dzierzynski* streets, four *Frunze* streets etc.

As a rule, the renaming of a street was triggered by the assassination or tragic death of a pro-Soviet politician or ideologist: thus, *Maurice Torez Embankment*, *Salvador Aliende street*, *Luigi Longo street*, *Josip Broz Tito street*, *Le Zuan Square*, *Ulof Palme street*, to quote only a few (Ageeva *et al*. 2007).

This destructive practice of turning Moscow into a sort of an 'ideological necropolis' was reconsidered by State Duma while it was preparing the bill passed in 1997: according to the Act, the name of a prominent Moscow, Russian or foreign citizen can be given to a street only ten years after his or her death. Political reasons, however, prevailed over onomastic and psycholinguistic considerations, and a ten-year period now can be ignored, provided a recommendation is made by President of the Russian Federation or the Mayor of Moscow.

A recent example of such controversial namegiving is *Ulitsa Ugo Chavesa* ('*Hugo Chavez street*'). The proposal to name a Moscow street after Chavez was put forward and submitted to Moscow authorities by the Communist Party of the RF and President of ROSSNEFT Company Igor Sechin. A session of the Inter-Departmental Committee for the Naming of Moscow Streets was divided on the issue, yet the idea was eventually supported by a majority of votes. New Venezuelan President, Nicolas Maduro, arrived in Moscow to attend the opening ceremony on 2nd July 2013. Comments posted by the forum participants (http://youtube/qXOMjqUzAWg) were very conflicting, ranging from wholeheartedly approving to bitterly critical:

- Vivat! South Americans have always supported Russia!
- What we need much less is a Pinochet Street and Kim Chen Ir street, right across the Democracy Avenue!
- Streets should be named after him in his own country, what does he have to do with Russia?
- I have nothing against the man, but why shouldn't we have streets named after our heroes of recent years instead?
- Hugo Chavez, Bashar Asad, Slobodan Miloshevic, Muammar Qaddafi – these are heroes of my epoch!
- Ugu to Hugo.[2]
- We need to have a street named after Snowden. And pass a law permitting one to live on a street named after oneself with no passport and no visa
- We'd rather name it Rayskaya ulitsa ('Paradise street'). Just think of an address: Khoroshevski (lit. Good / meaning 'good') district, Paradise str., Angel's lane.

Some extremely biting remarks are unquotable for ethical reasons. A plethora of sarcastic comments was also contributed to by mass media, e.g. 'Why does Moscow need a Hugo Chavez street?' (I'll stroll down the Hugo Chavez street (a paraphrase of and allusion to a popular song): How new street are named in Moscow (www.m24.ru/articles/20628), 'Moscow authorities will waste about 67 billion rubles to make the Chavez street a nice place to stroll down on' (http://dailynewslight.ru/?u=201220132553) 'The Chavez street: political toponymy of Moscow'; Boris Mozhayev, a well-known student of local lore and history

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[2] *Ugu* is the Russian slipshod interjection for 'Yep!'- author's note.

ironically notes: 'The Hugo Chavez street will in the course of time become *Ugovka* or something, nobody will really care how it came about. Why should they? Such a nice and old Russian name!' (https://centerforpoliticsanalysis.ru/archive/read/id/ulica-chavesa-politicheskaya-toponimika-moskvy).

What sparks the interest of both toponymists and concerned laymen is the fact that such cases are in no way common practice. In most cases, standard Russian is used for name giving, in full compliance with section 7, article 3 of the Federal Law of the Russian Federation № 53 'On the Official Language of the Russian Federation', which provides that 'when writing down names of geographical features and prescriptions on road signs' the official language of the Russian Federation must be used, including the urbanonyms derived from nonstandard anthroponyms.

We believe that the names of New Moscow should not be politicized.

Conclusion

To sum up, there are many problems in the naming of new areas of Moscow and we can solve them only gradually, taking into account the interests of the people of connected settlements, but at the same time preventing the destruction of the existing system of urbanonyms in Old Moscow.

The elimination of toponymic confrontation and the creation of a common urban space in Moscow will be gradual, with the building of new areas, during the reconstruction of the old streets which turned out to have the same names that already exist in Old Moscow.

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Emotional Expressivity in Czech Toponymy

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Abstract

The paper deals with various kinds of emotional expressivity of Czech toponyms, with respect to the specific character of proper names, whose functions and nature of meaning are distinct from common nouns. The analysed data is formed by Czech settlement names (mostly names of village parts) and especially by names of non-settlement places (mainly field names) from the territory of Bohemia. Emotionality, whose role in the individual naming act is studied, is given by the expressive character of the lexical basis, the emotional symptom of the means of name formation, or by the specific character of the naming act. Expressing the individual emotions is analysed: negative emotions strongly prevail; expressing positive emotions is rather rare in toponyms. Emotionality given by lexical elements is often connected with metaphor. Some attention is devoted also to the development of emotional symptoms of toponyms, their loss (including the suppression of negative emotionality, realised by deliberate changes of toponyms) as well as emotionality attributed to some names subsequently, on the basis of folk etymology.

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Introduction

The paper[1] deals with the issue of emotional expressivity of Czech toponyms. This topic has to date not been systematically studied in Czech onomastics; only several partial minor studies oriented on some particular problems have been published (e.g. David 2001, 2002; Lutterer 1964, 1968; Spal 1969). A study oriented on one aspect of emotional expressivity is available for Slovak toponyms (Krško 2006; this article provides some important comparative data). The data analysed in this paper are made up of Czech settlement names, especially names of village parts, individual houses and other minor settlements, and names of unsettled places (mainly field names) from the territory of Bohemia (accessible thanks to the database of non-settlement names created at the Institute of the Czech Language in Prague).

Emotional Expressivity in the Language

The term 'expressivity', traditionally used in Czech linguistics for the pragmatic part of the meaning of a linguistic means, given by the attitude of the speaker, may be rather ambiguous in English; for this reason, I use an extended term 'emotional expressivity'. If an attitude of the speaker is present, the given linguistic expression is usually evaluated as expressively/emotionally marked. The emotional symptoms of a linguistic expression, having

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a stylistic effect, can be identified on different levels of the language (phonological, lexical, grammatical, etc.).[2]

Emotional Expressivity in Proper Names

The nature of proper names differs substantially from that of common nouns. The lexical meaning of the individual lexical elements found in toponyms (as well as in other categories of proper names) is usually not relevant in communication. However, in some specific cases the lexical meaning or a specific formal device of a toponym can be foregrounded and may gain some relevance. The result of this foregrounding is that some toponyms may be perceived as emotionally marked. A name gains its emotional symptom usually by the naming act, but sometimes a secondary emotional symptom may be gained later, or the emotional markedness may be lost over time.

Emotional Expressivity in Toponyms

The emotional expressivity of toponyms is a complex phenomenon which may be influenced by three major aspects: (1) an expressive (emotional) character of the lexical basis, (2) an emotional symptom of the form of the given toponym (typically a specific means of word-formation, rarely also emotionally specific sound quality of the name), (3) specificity of the naming act – use of irony, specific use of metaphor. These three aspects are often diversely combined together in individual toponyms.

Emotionally Expressive Character of the Lexical Basis

The boundaries of the 'lexical' emotional expressivity found in toponyms are not sharply defined and it is not easy to define the criteria for its delimitation. As emotional expressivity is narrowly connected with evaluation, such names by which the namegivers express their opinion of the named object are considered to be emotionally expressive for the purpose of this paper.

Lexical bases found in toponyms may express (i) negative evaluation, (ii) derision, ridicule or mockery, which is very close to negative evaluation, or, less frequently, (iii) positive evaluation.

Negative Evaluation

The toponym *Mizerná* 'very poor, miserable, lousy' reflects the poor quality of the named meadow and its grass. The name *Škaredá cesta* 'ugly, nasty, hideous road' belongs to a stony, extremely steep and dangerous, barely passable road.

A specific subgroup of toponyms belonging to this category expresses fear or supposed danger. These names are often connected with local legends bound to the named objects. For

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[2] Towards the issue of emotionality/expressivity in the language cf., for example, Burke (2006), Daneš (1990), Volek (1987), Zima (1961).

example, the toponym *Strašná skála* 'fearful, awful rock' refers to a rock which was supposedly a retreat of highwaymen or robbers.

Derision, Ridicule or Mockery

Another category of emotionally coloured toponyms is formed by derisive, ridiculing, mocking names. As the purpose of these names was always to ridicule some people, these names usually refer to settled objects, especially minor settlements, houses, inns, or parts of villages. For example, the frequent name *Rafanda* derived from the strongly emotionally expressive verb *rafat se* 'squabble, bicker, quarrel' refers to a number of colonies of houses built usually after World War I by poorer people. This derisive name was inspired by frequent quarrels among people living in these localities. Many ridiculing names include vulgarisms or infantile expressions. These two specific groups of emotionally coloured expressions will be analysed later. Derision is also often connected with irony, which will also be dealt with later.

Positive Evaluation

Positive evaluation is less frequent in toponyms. Names of wayside inns like *Radost*, *Na Radosti* 'joy, delight, pleasure' were meant to attract travellers. Positive evaluation may be encountered also in pond names: toponyms like *Rozkoš* 'pleasure, delight' or *Potěšil* (derived from the verb *potěšit* 'to please, delight, make somebody happy') refer to ponds bringing high profits. A positive emotion may be attributed to objects named by tourists during 19th and 20th centuries; cf. the name *Půvabná vyhlídka* 'charming outlook' belonging to an outlook site in the rock labyrinth of Prachovské skály, a famous Czech tourist destination in East Bohemia.

Two specific groups of emotionally coloured lexemes found in toponyms can be delimited:

Vulgarisms

Taboo expressions, most often connected with the area of excretion, are often found among non-standardised toponyms. They are used either directly, referring to places where people often obeyed a call of nature, or – more often – metaphorically in names of small and unimportant objects, dark places or houses (typically a pub without a window), or springs characterised due to their small intensity or specific sounds. These names are often used derisively.

Infantile Expressions

Another means often used for derision is infantile expressions. For example, the inn name *Bacanda* is derived from an infantile verb *bacat* 'smack, spank; physically punish a child'. This childish expression was probably used to create a derisive name inspired by the frequent fights that took place in this pub.

Formal Devices of Emotional Expressivity

Formal devices of emotional expressivity comprise mostly processes of word formation (name formation): mostly suffixes, less often some specific types of composition.

Suffixes

In Czech toponyms, the most typical example of an emotionally coloured suffix is *-(a)nda*. This suffix is used for the formation of several different groups of common nouns, all of which have a strong symptom of emotional expressivity. In toponyms, this emotionally expressive suffix is connected with verbs that are usually emotionally coloured themselves (cf. the examples *Rafanda* and *Bacanda*, mentioned above), but also with (emotionally neutral) proper nouns, common nouns and adjectives.

For example, three streets in the town of Brandýs nad Labem (central Bohemia) are named according to nearby geographical objects. They are derived by a regular adjective suffix *-ská* from the hydronym *Labe* (river *Elbe*) and oikonyms *Zápy* and *Kostelec*. The official standardised names of these streets are thus *Labská*, *Zápská* and *Kostelecká*. Their locally used variants *Labanda*, *Zápanda* and *Kostelanda* have a strong symptom of informality and emotionality, which is given by the emotionally expressive suffix *-anda*.

Composition

In Czech (as in other Slavic languages), composition is not a dominant device used for formation of toponyms. Nevertheless, compound oikonyms form an interesting group of emotionally marked toponyms (cf. Lutterer 1964). In non-settlement names and names of village parts, forming the core of the data analysed in this paper, emotionally marked compound names are not so frequent. For example, the compound forest name *Zlamnoha*, consisting of the verb *zlámat* 'break' and the common noun *noha* 'leg', reflects the terrain situation of the given locality; it belongs to a forest full of old pits used for iron ore mining. This type of composition is not typical of non-expressive Czech lexemes.

Specificity of the Naming Act

In many toponyms emotional expressivity is connected neither with the lexical base of the name, nor with the form of the derived or compound name, but it is influenced by a specific character of the naming act, which may be based on irony or metaphor.

Irony

Ironical toponyms combine derision with negative evaluation, which is disguised as something positive. Ironical toponyms are always strongly expressive at the time of their origin. For example, poor little cottages were given ironical names like *Ve vile* 'Villa' or *Burk* (from German *Burg* 'castle').

Metaphor

As it has been already hinted, metaphor plays an important role in many toponyms based on lexemes bearing a strong emotional connotation. Moreover, the specific metaphorical character of the naming act can be the only bearer of emotional expressivity in some toponyms; that is, the lexical unit itself has no inherent emotional symptom; this symptom is gained only during the naming act by means of metaphor. This is true especially for toponyms created by a metaphorical transfer of other toponyms. For example, when an Abyssinian (Ethiopian) village was presented at the Prague Jubilee Exhibition in 1908, several colonies of new houses in Bohemia, which reportedly in a way resembled the presented Abyssinian houses, got a metaphorical, rather derisive name *Habeš* (Abyssinia).

Attitudes of the Informants towards the Emotional Expressivity of the Individual Names

Using the data of the register of minor place names in Bohemia gathered by local informants from individual localities, comments of the informants regarding the emotional expressivity, derisive symptoms or pejorative character of the individual names can be often encountered. Many of the analysed names are labelled as pejorative, derogatory, derisive or mocking by the informants. In some cases, the informants seem to be ashamed to adduce a vulgar toponym. For example, one of the streets in the town of Mnichovo Hradiště, according to the local informant, 'was always polluted, therefore it had a pejorative name *Po.....*'. The vulgar name meaning 'polluted by excrements' is indicated only by its first syllable in the local register of names.

Parallel Names and Renaming

Emotionally marked names are often not standardised and they are used unofficially. In case of field names, for example, there is usually no need to create an official parallel name of the given object because these objects are usually referred to exclusively in the local, unofficial background. Names of parts of villages represent another case: they are also used in official communication; moreover, they are usually associated with local inhabitants and therefore their use may be more problematic. For this reason, names parallel to emotionally marked names of settlement objects are often created. For example, one of the informants makes the following comment about the settlement name *Rafanda*, referring to reported quarrels among neighbours (see above): 'Its correct name is *Nová čtvrť* "new quarter", but nobody uses it.' These new 'positive' names of village parts, individual houses or streets were formed artificially and usually did not catch on in everyday communication in the given locality.

In the case of oikonyms referring to the individual communities, which must always be standardised, the strong emotional markedness may lead to an official change of the name. For example, in 1923, the toponym *Svrabov* derived from the common known *svrab* 'scabies (dermal disease)', was changed to *Svatbín*. The new formation, trying to be more positive, was inspired by the common noun *svatba* 'wedding'. A. Profous (1957: 262), the author of

the extensive dictionary of place names in Bohemia, evaluates this new name as 'absolutely incorrect'.

Change of Emotional Expressivity in Time: Folk Etymology

Sometimes the change of the toponym is influenced by a folk etymology. Not the real origin of the name, but its current perception is important in these cases. Thus the oikonym *Oselno*, derived from the old Slavic noun *osla* 'grindstone', was later misunderstood and associated with the noun *osel* 'donkey', used also as an offensive word for a person. Therefore the name was changed to *Úsilné*, evoking an association with the noun *úsilí* 'effort'.

The field name *V Ráji* is supposed to include the common noun *ráj* 'paradise'. The informant evaluates this toponym as an ironical, derisive name, because the given field is extremely wet and infertile. However, the origin of the name is probably different: more likely it is connected with the old Slavic term *raj* denoting 'mud' (cf. frequent Slavic toponyms derived from the base *raj-* referring to muddy, wet terrain, see Rymut 1980: 202; Šimunović 1981: 188). Thus, originally this toponym had no emotional or ironical connotation; it probably came into existence as a factual name of a damp, muddy place. The possible ironical perception is only secondary in this case.

Conclusion

To summarise the most important findings of the paper, it can be concluded that:

a) Three basic types of emotional expressivity of toponyms have been distinguished; they are caused by expressivity of lexemes occurring in the names, formal expressivity (concerning mostly word-formation), and the specific character of the naming act (irony, metaphor).

b) The emotionally expressive toponyms express most frequently negative evaluation or derision, ridicule; positive evaluation is found rather rarely in them.

c) The most frequent naming motives of emotionally marked toponyms include quality of the named object, its size and relative distance, or a character of the inhabitants of the place or owners (users) of the object.

d) Due to their specific character, emotionally marked toponyms are often not standardised. If the need for a standardised name arises, a new, rather artificial name is often formed, which, however, rarely catches on in everyday communication in the given locality. If a standardised toponym is regarded to be pejorative (sometimes regardless of its actual etymology), it can be officially changed. Local informants are usually aware of the emotional character of the individual names, they often comment on it, though sometimes they do not evaluate it entirely properly.

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What is to Be *Seen* in *Siena*? (Or: How to Explain the Name of Siena?)

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Abstract

In this paper I will propose an alternative explanation for the name (and city) of Siena in Tuscany (Italy). Despite many efforts a satisfactory 'meaning' for this name could not as yet be found, though certain features in the town itself may render some hints as to why this town is called the way it is. Especially, we will pay attention to the development and the history of the city itself (which is in fact a medieval town situated on the Via Francigena) and whether this can give any clues. Then we will focus on the Piazza del Campo. What is so special about this square and why is it not square but like a concave shell? Does it have anything to do with the name of the town?

Place Names and Viking Age Religion

Per Vikstrand

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Abstract

Place names with religious connotations have been used as a source of knowledge about Viking Age religion. The chronology of such names – referred to here as 'sacral place names' – is uncertain, however, and many may pre-date the Old Norse period. To assemble a corpus that can shed more definite light on this segment of time, the author attempts to identify sacral place names in areas colonised by Scandinavians during the Viking Age.

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Sacral Place Names

The subject of this paper is place names related to Old Scandinavian or pre-Christian beliefs. Examples of such names are *Ulleråker* 'the sacred field of the god Ull' or *Odense*, from an Old Danish *Othensvi* 'the sanctuary of the god Odin' (Woden), *Helgö* 'the holy island' or 'the island where religiously sanctioned peace prevails', and *Gussjö* (**Gudsjö*) 'the lake of the gods'.

We do not have a really good designation for such names. They are sometimes referred to as cultic place names, but it is rather obvious that not all of them denoted ritual places. Some of them might have done, like *Götavi* for example, probably 'the sanctuary of the god *Gaut', where a ritual platform has been excavated (Vikstrand 2010). Others, like *Torsberget* 'the hill or rock of the god Thor', may have formed part of narratives in which the gods acted in the landscape. The most common designation today is probably *sacral place names* (Holmberg 1994), which I will use in this paper.

For a long time, sacral place names have been utilised as a source of knowledge about the Old Scandinavian religion of the Viking Age. But there is a serious problem with this, and that concerns the age of these names. The main reason they have been preserved to our own day is that they have become names of settlements, of farms and hamlets. But recent research suggests that the main bulk of settlement names in the areas where we have these sacral place names, like the central part of Sweden, actually pre-date the Viking Age (Vikstrand 2013). There is thus reason to suspect that the sacral place names themselves may also be much older than we had earlier thought. Thus, they cannot automatically be expected to reflect religious aspects of the Viking Age. At least, we cannot be sure which names belong to that period and which do not. So what we need are sacral place names securely dated to the Viking Age. A rather obvious way to find such names is to turn to areas that were colonised by Scandinavians during the period, and this is the aim of my survey.

If we turn first to the east, matters are fairly simple. Swedish settlement in Finland and Estonia first took place in Christian times, so we would not expect to find much evidence of pre-Christian beliefs in the place names of these areas. There are only a few names to consider, first and foremost *Odensholm*, *Odensö* and *Viborg*. These names all have a clear

pre-Christian character and should most probably be understood as travellers' names or 'names of the road', that is, names given by Scandinavian or rather Swedish seafarers during the Viking Age.

Odensholm is an island off the Estonian coast. The name might be a reinterpretation of an Estonian toponym (Naert 1991: 255-256), but in its Swedish form it must nevertheless be understood as a compound of the god's name *Oden* 'Odin' and *holm* 'island', thus meaning 'the island of the god Odin'. There are several parallels to this name in central Sweden, so there seems to have been a connection between Odin and islands. As to what conceptions or rituals lay behind this, one can but speculate. We might, however, recall a passage in *Gautreks saga* where Odin demands a human sacrifice from King Víkarr to put an end to unfavourable headwinds. The medieval law of Uppland in central Sweden (*Upplandslagen*), moreover, tells of uninhabited islands where seafarers went ashore to await favourable winds, idling away the time with games (*skæmta sik ok wædher skodha* 'enjoying themselves and watching the weather', *Upplandslagen* 12: 7). One could very well imagine that seafarers in pre-Christian times also conducted rituals on such islands, in order to secure good sailing conditions with favourable, following winds, although maybe not always as drastic as the one undertaken by the men of King Víkarr. Perhaps names like *Odensholm* are reminiscences of such rituals, directed towards Odin as a god of winds (Vikstrand 2001: 125-126).

A similar background could be conceived for the hamlet and island of *Odensö* (*Odensöö* 1549) in Nyland, off the coast of Finland. This name has puzzled scholars, as the Swedish settlement in the area does not seem to be of pre-Christian origin (Zilliacus 1994: 88, Huldén 2001: 201, Örnmark 2003: 103). However, Odensö is situated by the inner fairway in Nyland, on the route to Russia and Novgorod. Swedish seafarers frequently used this route during the Viking Age, and important islands, straits and harbours ought to have had Swedish names. *Odensö* in Nyland may be such a name.

Viborg (*castrum Wiborg* 1295), at the far eastern end of the coast of Finland, should also be a name given by Swedish seafarers in the Viking Age. The name is clearly of Scandinavian origin, probably compounded from the words *vi* 'sanctuary, holy place' and *borg* (*burg*) 'stronghold, castle' (Andersson 2002). The first element could also be the adjective *vi* 'holy' that lurks behind the noun *vi* 'sanctuary'. We do know that hill forts or strongholds could have sacral names. Swedish examples are *Vistena* in the province of Östergötland, probably meaning 'the holy fort', and on Gotland *Torsburgen* 'the stronghold of the god Thor'. During the Middle Ages, Viborg was an important Swedish castle, guarding the realm against the Russians. The name indicates that the military function of the place stretches far back into the Viking Age. This is vividly verified by a rune stone in central Sweden (U 180), commemorating a man called Sigsten who is said to have died in Viborg (*i Viburgum*) some time during the 11th century.

Iceland

As regards Iceland, I am able to draw on a thorough investigation of sacral place names carried out by Svavar Sigmundsson (1992). When contemplating his map of theophoric place

names in Iceland, however, I think it is wise to look for what is typical and general, rather than pondering the unique and special. And what is typical is no doubt the rich occurrence of names containing *Þórr* 'Thor' and, on the other hand, the total absence of names containing *Oðinn* 'Odin'. There are also a number of toponyms that may include names of other deities besides *Þórr*, such as *Baldur*, *Njörður*, *Freyr* and *Týr*, but these interpretations have nearly always been challenged and, even if they are correct, they represent the special and unique rather than the typical. One might accept *Freyr* in place names like *Freysnes* and *Freyshólar*, but otherwise I think it is a good policy not to depend too much on these interpretations.

Another of Svavar Sigmundsson's maps shows the distribution of names containing the words *hof* and *hǫrgr*. Both these words are, in the Old Norse language, closely connected with ritual places, *hof* being some kind of building and *hǫrgr* perhaps some sort of altar-like construction. The more precise meanings of these words, however, have been discussed for more than a century without any consensus being reached (Vikstrand 2002: 132-135). In recent years there have been extensive excavations of the farm Hofstaðir in Myvatnstveit in the north of Iceland (Lucas and McGovern 2008). The name *Hofstaðr* literally means 'the place where there is a *hof*'. The excavations show beyond doubt that Hofstaðir was the scene of advanced ritual activities during the Viking Age. But, alas, I do not think that these investigations provide a definite answer to what *hof* stands for in the name. It might be the hall, it might be one of the smaller constructions, or it might be the farm in its entirety.

It is conceivable that the majority of *hof* and *hǫrgr* names in Iceland could have a ritual background, but what strikes me as a bit suspicious is the sheer number of such names. Iceland was rather sparsely populated during the Viking Age and this density of ritual place names is, at the very least, surprising. I think it is important to remember that both *hof* and *hǫrgr* also have well-testified topographical senses, *hǫrgr* meaning 'cairn, stony ground' and *hof* 'elevation, hill'. Both these meanings are without doubt represented in place names on the Scandinavian mainland (Vikstrand 2001: 214-216, 258-260; 2002: 132-135). The core of this frustrating problem is that the relationship between the topographical and the ritual meanings is still very unclear.

The Faroe Islands

When it comes to the Faroe Islands, names with religious connotations are very few. There are two names containing *Þórr*, *Tórshavn* and *Hósvík* (< **Þórsvík*) (Jakobsen 1909: 69-70), and also a *Hov* on Suðuroy (Vikstrand 2013a).[1] To this group should be added a couple of *Halgafelli* 'the holy mountain'. A corresponding *Helgafell* occurs no fewer than eight times in Iceland (Svavar Sigmundsson 1992), and on the whole there is a great resemblance between the sacral place names of Iceland and of the Faroe Islands.

Yorkshire

Finally we come to Britain. I have as yet only touched upon the vast body of Scandinavian names in Britain and have so far confined myself to Yorkshire. My gateway to the Yorkshire

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[1] The much-discussed *Velbastaður* should probably not be regarded as sacral (Vikstrand 2013a).

names has been Gillian Fellows-Jensen's fundamental work on Scandinavian settlement names in Yorkshire from 1972. The material found, however, is very sparse and uncertain. Fellows-Jensen mentions two names which might include the name of the god Thor, and these are *Torbar hundred* and *Toreshov hundred*. Regarding *Torbar hundred* (with that spelling in Domesday Book), Fellows-Jensen (1972: 106) states that the first element could be a personal name *Þórr* or *Þórir* or possibly the god's name *Þórr*. The second element is Old Norse *berg* neut. 'hill' or perhaps Old English *beorg*. The absence of a genitive marker, she argues, makes an interpretation from *Þórr* unlikely. Fellows-Jensen's main suggestion, that it is the name *Þórir*, *Þóri*, is preferable, and the name should thus be interpreted as **Þóra(r)bergh*.

Toreshov hundred is a Domesday Book division of Buckrose Wapentake. For the first element of this name, Fellows-Jensen (1972: 107) gives the same alternatives as for *Torbar hundred*: a personal name *Þórr* or *Þórir* or possibly, but less credibly, the god's name *Þórr*. The spellings in Domesday (*Toreshov hundred*, *Toreshov Wapetac*, with a two-syllable first element) seem to support that view. The second part of the name, according to Fellows-Jensen, is Old Norse *haugr* 'mound'. From a Scandinavian point of view this interpretation might seem somewhat surprising, but already A.H. Smith in *The Place-Names of Yorkshire and York* consistently interprets names written in *-hov* in Domesday Book as reflecting an Old Norse *-haugr*, cf. his assessment (in 1928) of *Howe* in the parish of Pickhill in Halikeld wapentake, written *Hov*, *Hou* in Domesday. However, if we dare to suggest that the last element in *Toreshov* could be Old Norse *hof* 'ritual building' rather than *haugr* 'mound', we could understand this name as originally an Old Norse **Þórshof* 'the *hof* of the god Thor'. Such a name has several parallels in Norway, e.g. *Torshov* in Oslo and Old Norse *Ullinshof* (today *Ullensaker*) in Akershus fylke.

As regards the word *hof*, there seems to be one certain occurrence among Scandinavian place names in England, and that is *Hoff* in Westmorland (*Hofes* 1158-66, *Houf* 1179, *Hof* 1239; Ekwall 1959: 244, Smith 1967: 97-98, Cameron 1996: 121). In a later work, Fellows-Jensen (1985: 46) recognises that the generic of the name is Old Norse *hof* and adds that 'it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the Westmorland Hoff is less than three kilometres from Appleby, the administrative centre of both the Barony and the County of Westmorland'. Nevertheless, she rejects the idea of a sacral *hof* because of 'the absence of other indications of the survival of heathen religion among the Scandinavian settlers in the North-West'. Now, as I mentioned earlier, *hof* does not necessarily have a religious meaning, but on the other hand we cannot rule that possibility out, even for the Westmorland name. It should also be pointed out that, as early as the 1960s, the discussion of the word *hof* moved away from a strict dichotomy between religious and non-religious, and it has been suggested that *hof* might be a term for the chieftain's hall or that, in place names, it may have designated his entire abode (see Olsen 1966 *passim*, Brink 1996: 260, Vikstrand 2001: 260-261, Sundqvist 2009). Although this view is far from unproblematic, it should nevertheless be mentioned, as it somewhat disarms the argument against a non-topographical interpretation.

Returning to *Toreshov hundred*, I recently had the privilege of discussing this name with Gillian Fellows-Jensen and she has convinced me that the last element is most probably Old Norse *haugr*. On the other hand, she is now inclined to construe the first element as the

god's name *Þórr* and to regard *Þórshaugr* as originally the name of the assembly place of the hundred. I find this a very plausible interpretation. In Scandinavia, there are several examples of large burial mounds being connected with *thing* assemblies and cult sites (Sundqvist 2013: 89-95), and it has even been suggested by Stefan Brink (1996: 262) that '*hög* was used as a kind of technical term for a central place during prehistoric times'. Such places are often called just *Hög* (Old Norse *Haugr*), but when the names are compounded the first element is often a man's name (e.g. *Anundshög*, *Ǫlvishaugr*, *Vemmenhög*), while theophoric names for mounds are rare and not uncommonly a result of 19th-century speculation. Perhaps, therefore, we should not rule out the possibility of *Toreshov hundred* containing the man's name *Þórir*, as the spelling in Domesday Book suggests.

In a work from 1992, Fellows-Jensen highlights another name, which she regards as the most 'reasonably certain example' of a sacral place name in the whole of the Danelaw. This is *Roseberry Topping* in Yorkshire, an impressive conical hill just on the border with County Durham. The name is written *Othenesberg* in 1199 and thus seems to be an *Odensberg* 'the hill of Odin'. But Fellows-Jensen is not convinced that this is a 'real' sacral place name. It is possible, she argues, 'that this hill-name was brought over ready-coined by the incoming Danes' (1992: 265). The original name, or model name, she suggests, is the Danish parish name *Onsbjerg* (*Othensberg* 1424) on Samsø. That name is also connected to a prominent hill (Dyret), situated near the village of Onsbjerg (Fellows-Jensen 1981: 135).

Roseberry Topping might very well be such an 'instant name'. On the other hand, it is fully conceivable that both *Roseberry Topping* and *Onsbjerg* in Denmark reflect narratives connecting the god Odin with hills. In fact, there seem to be scattered parallels to such names all over the Germanic area. Examples are *Odens kulle* 'the hill of Odin' in Västergötland in Sweden, *Woensberg* in Noord-Holland in the Netherlands (Boshouwers 2016), and **Wotansberg*, now *Bad Godesberg*, outside Bonn in the Rhine valley in Germany. There seems to be something about Odin and mountains that cannot be dismissed out of hand, and perhaps these names hint at some kind of myth or story in which Odin acts or lives on a hill. As far as I know, we have no literary evidence of such a narrative, but one could mention Hliðskjálf, Odin's seat of honour in Ásgarðr from which he gazes out over the world. The word *skjálf* shows quite clearly that this is understood as some kind of chair or scaffold, but at least it connects Odin with a vista or viewpoint. It could be mentioned that the word *skjálf* also occurs in a number of place names in Sweden (e.g. Old Swedish *Hidhinskialf*, *Gnupaskialf*, *Viskialf*, *Skialf*), where it is used metaphorically of shelf-like rock formations.

Be it as it may with Roseberry Topping, the contrast between Yorkshire and the North Atlantic area, with Iceland and the Faroe Islands, is in any case striking. The Yorkshire corpus of Scandinavian sacral place names remains meagre, no matter how generous we are in our assessment. There could be several reasons for this divergence. One might be the early conversion to Christianity of the Scandinavian settlers in Yorkshire. If the Scandinavians were converted already before the end of the 9th century (Fellows-Jensen 1972: 228, Whitelock 1941), this of course limits the period of time for the creation of pre-Christian sacral place names. It has been pointed out that such names need to be well established to survive the transition to Christianity (Cameron 1996: 114). On the other hand, the notion of an early conversion of the Danelaw has been questioned. It has been suggested that, rather than a swift conversion, one should speak of a process of Christianisation, which may have

been quite prolonged (Abrams 2001, Jesch 2004: 55-57). This could actually have a bearing on what kind of sacral names we should expect to encounter in the Danelaw, a topic that I will address briefly at the very end of this paper.

Results

If I try to summarise the results of this rather superficial survey, I would say that there is some evidence of the worship of Odin and Thor during the Viking Age, and perhaps also of Frey. The material is rather meagre, but nevertheless there are regional differences that might reflect real distinctions in rituals and beliefs. The most striking is the absence of Odin in the North Atlantic. He is present in the Baltic area and perhaps in England, but not in Iceland or the Faroe Islands. There are also a few words designating sanctuaries, and in the west these are *hof* and *hǫrgr*, with *hof* possibly represented in Britain as well as in Iceland and the Faroes. In the very sparse material from the east we do not have these words, but there is probably *vi* 'sanctuary' in *Viborg*. This word is not found in the place names of the North Atlantic islands, but it may actually appear in England. *Thoresway* in Lincolnshire is written *Toreswe* in Domesday Book and has traditionally been interpreted as a compound of the Old Norse man's name *Þórir* and Old English *weg* 'road'. But as personal names are rarely combined with *weg*, John Insley proposes that the Domesday form can be taken for an Old Danish *Þórswæ* 'the shrine dedicated to Thor' (Cameron, Field and Insley 1992: 151).

In her study of Scandinavian paganism in England from 2004, Judith Jesch argues that a kind of 'cultural paganism' may have lingered on among the newly Christianised Scandinavians. This allowed for pagan references in art and literature, e.g. that Cnut in *Knútsdrápa* could be called by a kenning based on the name of a heathen god. Jesch does not mention the existence of heathen place names, but I think that they too could be seen in the light of the notion of cultural paganism. Such an attitude would probably make a name based on pagan narratives, such as *Othensberg*, socially acceptable, while names referring to ritual places and cultic activities may have met with disapproval. Finally, I would like to point out that in future discussion of Scandinavian paganism in Britain it is important to consider the evidence of place names.

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Place Names – A Place for Cats?

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Abstract

The majority of the many names beginning in *Katt-* 'cat' in Sweden refer to small and insignificant localities, often with a derogatory meaning, or compare the localities to a cat or to different parts of the cat's body, especially the tail.

Some prehistoric settlement names, e.g. *Kättinge*, *Kattunga*, dating back to AD 1-500, have been considered to contain inhabitant designations formed from other place names containing the word *katt* referring to the wild cat or the lynx (Sw. *lo* or *lokatt*). That place names which could have been a basis for such an inhabitant designation referred to the domestic cat is of course not easy to maintain, the cat being an insignificant house pet and not a wild animal. But since the wild cat has been extinct in Sweden since at least *c.* 500 BC and there is archaeological evidence of the domestic cat in Sweden from the first century after Christ or possibly earlier, the author means that these names can contain inhabitant designations with a derogatory meaning with direct reference to the domestic cat. This interpretation implies that the word *katt*, a common European word, came to Scandinavia earlier than is evidenced by the written continental sources.

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On the official maps from the Swedish National Land Survey, some 1,400 names beginning in *Katt-*, meaning 'cat', are found, and in the place name collections at the Institute for Language and Folklore in Uppsala, around 5,000. Do these names refer to the domestic cat, and, if so, can they throw light on the existence of and views on the cat down the ages?[1]

Domestic Cat, Lynx or Stoat

The oldest archaeological find of a cat bone in Sweden, dated to the period 590-520 BC, was made in 2011 during excavations of a settlement in the province of Uppland, just north of Uppsala. The bone, which was located in the inner area of a house, most probably belonged to a domestic cat, not a wild cat, that species having been extinct in Sweden since at least *c.* 500 BC (Aspeborg and Seiler 2012: 70). A definite find of a domestic cat bone comes from a grave in the province of Västergötland in south-western Sweden, dating back to the first century after Christ. Greyhound bones were also discovered in the grave, indicating that the people buried there were of high social status. In the period AD 300-600, the domestic cat was to be found on most farms in southern and central Sweden, probably because it was a useful ally in the fight against mice (Pedersen and Widgren 1998: 376-377).

The word *cat*, OSw. *katt*, Old Norse *kattr*, *kǫttr*, referring to the domestic cat, is common Germanic and is considered to have its origin in late Latin *cattus* with the same meaning (Kluge 2002: 478, *Katze*; de Vries 1977: 343, *kǫttr*). It also occurs in Slavic languages (Vasmer 1953-1958 1: 643, кот). The word is considered to be of uncertain,

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[1] For a broader treatment of this subject, see Wahlberg (2012).

possibly North African, origin and is not known in its masculine form *cattus* until the 6th century AD (Cortelazzo and Zolli 2004: 489, *gatto*; Walde 1938-1954: 182, *cattus*). The feminine form *catta* is first known from the apocryphal book of Baruch (6: 21) in the Vulgate version of the Bible from *c*. 405, preceded by older Latin translations (Walde 1938-1954). But the word must certainly be older – it is not likely that a new, barely established word would have been used in the Vulgate. *Cattus* is thought to have succeeded the older *felis* when the domestic cat was introduced in Rome, but the real reason for this change of word and when it happened is not clear (Cortelazzi and Zolli 2004). According to the latest research findings, the wild cat is thought to have been domesticated as early as around 10,000 years ago – finds have been made in a 9,500-year-old grave in Cyprus (Driscoll *et al*. 2007). The generally accepted idea that the domestic cat was spread by the Roman expansion should perhaps be re-evaluated. An exploration of the European history of the domestic cat and how it has been denominated in different languages, however, is beyond the scope of this short paper.

Katt in Old Place Names

Relatively few old settlement names in Sweden have been considered to contain the word *katt* or its derivative. Some examples are *Kattedal*, the name of a farm in the province of Småland (*Kattadall* 1433), *Kattnäs*, a parish in Södermanland (*Kattænes* 1334), and *Kättinge*, a village in Östergötland (*Kættingge* 1413). Since it is difficult to explain why an insignificant house pet would have given rise to such names, it has mostly been argued that they refer to the wild cat or the lynx. As previously mentioned, the wild cat has been extinct in Sweden since at least 500 BC, so that is not an alternative. It is true that the lynx is a feline, a cat, that is indigenous to Sweden and that must always have been a well-known animal. The Swedish word for the lynx is *lo* or a compound with *katt*, *lokatt*. (*Lodjur*, a compound with *djur* 'animal', is also used – in modern Swedish probably the most frequent word.) But in Old Swedish only the simplex *lo* is known – the compound *lokatt* is not recorded until 1580 (*SAOB* L 1005). That the lynx could have been called *katt* in spite of that is of course theoretically possible, but there is no evidence that the simplex *katt* has ever been used for the lynx in Swedish. If the lynx was the animal referred to in these old place names, we must also assume that it was associated very early on with the domestic cat, almost immediately after the latter's introduction. It should also be mentioned that word *lo* for the male lynx and the word *göpa* for the female are quite common in both old and more recent place names (Leibring 2014: 90-93).

In *Gylfaginning* in his *Edda* from *c*. 1220, Snorri Sturluson (Jónsson 1931: 31) tells us that the chariot of the goddess Freya was drawn by two cats. The Swedish historian John Bernström (1963) has argued that *cat* here originally refers to the stoat. According to him, the tradition of Freya's two draught animals may have been reinterpreted in Iceland, where the cat was found in the 12th and 13th centuries, but not the stoat. But the British historian E.O.G. Turville-Petre takes it for granted that cats are intended, since, as he puts it, the cat 'as the Norse pagans must have known is the most lascivious of beasts' (1964: 176) – as is well

known, Freya was of easy virtue.[2] However it may be, it is worth considering whether *katt* could refer to the stoat in place names. The stoat is indigenous to Sweden and is well-known for its valuable fur. Both the Old Norse and the Swedish word for it are compounds with *cat* as their second element. The Old Norse word *hreysikattr*, the first element of which means 'mound of stones', is known from the Icelandic *Völsungasaga* from the 14th century. The Swedish word, first recorded in 1293, is *lekatt* (Schlyter 1877: 413), with an obscure first element. The two words must of course have been coined after the introduction of the domestic cat. But it must be questioned whether the simplex *katt* was ever used for the stoat. No other old word for the stoat in Swedish is known. *Hermelin*, the most common word for this animal today, is borrowed from Middle Low German and the corresponding English *ermine* from French or German.

Among some groups of old settlement names, datable with certainty to before the 11th century, namely those ending in *-hem*, *-sta* and *-vin*, several animal designations are found as specifics, but the cat is absent. Among names with the second element *vin* we find grazing animals (goose, calf, sow), among those with the second element *hem* we find wild animals (beaver, bear, crane), and among those ending in *-sta* we find domestic animals (goat, calf, ewe lamb, and possibly *hund* 'dog' – perhaps used as a man's name).

Among settlement names ending in *-inge*, *-linge* and *-unge/-unga*, though, we do find some names which have been explained as containing derivatives of the word *katt*. Place names belonging to this type date back to the period AD 0–500 (Vikstrand 2013: 52-54). Following the opinion of Carl-Ivar Ståhle (1946: 525), they are generally considered to contain inhabitant designations, formed from different words for topographical features or from place names. Ståhle explains the names we are concerned with here as incorporating inhabitant designations formed from other place names containing the word *katt*, used with reference to the lynx: *Kattunga*, parish, province of Västergötland (*Kattunge sokn* 1413), *Kattunga*, village, Västergötland (*Kattunga* 1454), *Käslinge*, village, Östergötland (*Katzlinge* 1405), *Kättinge*, village, Östergötland (*Kættingge* 1413), *Kättinge*, farm, Uppland (*Kædhinge* 1409), *Kättslinge*, village, Uppland (*Kæslinghe* 1422), and *Kättslinge*, farm, Uppland (*Ketlinge* 1368).

To prove that the domestic cat is a possible choice for these names in *-inge*, *-linge* and *-unge/-unga*, it is of course a necessary condition that both the domestic cat and the word *katt* were established when the names were coined, i.e. in the period AD *c*. 1-500. The first condition is unproblematic, in that there are physical finds of domestic cats at least from the time around the birth of Christ. We must also assume that the word was introduced in Scandinavia earlier than the oldest written records of *cat* from the continent indicate, since they date from the 5th and 6th centuries. It seems likely that the word accompanied the introduction of the cat in Scandinavia, possibly through continental Germanic languages. This means that the word must be of older origin than is generally supposed. In Swedish, the word *katt* is first recorded in the provincial law of Uppland from 1296. In Old Norse it is first attested in Snorri Sturluson's *Edda*, written around 1220. A closer investigation of place names on the continent could perhaps provide evidence of earlier occurrences of the word

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[2] François-Xavier Dillman (Snorri Sturluson 1991: 57, 166), in his French translation of *Gylfaginning*, does not question, either, that the reference is to cats.

than in the written records. Eilert Ekwall (1960: 90) assumes that Old English *catt* 'cat' in the sense 'wild cat' is probably the first element in a good many English place names beginning with *Cat-*. But he notes that the word was also used as a personal name and that the Old Scandinavian personal name *Káti* must be considered as well. The new *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, too, gives the interpretation 'wild cat' for some old place names in *Cat*, e.g. *Catford* 'wild-cat ford' (Watts 2004: 120). For several older German place names containing the word *Katze*, Adolf Bach (1953-54: § 192,2, § 320, § 324) also gives the explanation 'wild cat'. How old these English and German names are considered to be is unknown to me. As I have understood it, the wild cat is not extinct in Europe outside Scandinavia, which means that it could be the animal referred to in these English and German names.

As I have mentioned, Carl-Ivar Ståhle is of the view that the names in *-inge* etc. discussed here contain inhabitant designations derived from place names of which the word *katt* was a part. That place names which could have been a basis for such an inhabitant designation referred to the domestic cat is not easy to maintain, since the cat is a rather insignificant house pet and not a wild animal. That was of course the reason Ståhle proposed the lynx, as other scholars have done for other names containing *katt*. But for one of the names (*Kattunga*, parish, province of Västergötland, *Katunge* 1383), the domestic cat has been suggested – a high mountain with the shape of a cat arching its back could have been called **Katten* 'The Cat', from which an inhabitant designation may have been formed (Karlsson 2011: 46-47).

But there is another solution worth considering. For *-inge* names containing animal designations, Ivar Lundahl (1946: 55-56) takes a different view from Carl-Ivar Ståhle, arguing that names such as *Gettlinge*, *Gässlinge* and *Kattunga* could contain derogatory inhabitant names derived directly from the animal designations *get* 'goat', *gås* 'goose' and *katt* 'cat': *gettlingar*, *gässlingar*, *kattungar*. Such an explanation of course presupposes that, when the place names were coined, the cat had already acquired a reputation that could make such designations derogatory. The possibility of explaining *-inge* names as containing derogatory inhabitant names derived from an animal designation has lately also been suggested by Per Vikstrand (2007: 66) in his treatment of the village name *Gettlinge* on the island of Öland in Sweden, which contains the word *get* 'goat'. As a parallel, it can be mentioned that names formed from animal designations are very common among derogatory parish inhabitant names, given by neighbours.

Among more recent names ending in *-måla*, *-rum*, *-rud/-ryd/-röd* and *-torp*, coined during the Viking Age or later, there are many examples with a first element *Katt*(*e*). These names have been explained as containing a man's name **Kati*, a byname *Katt* 'The Cat' or the animal designation *katt*, referring either to the lynx or, in a disparaging sense, to the domestic cat (Wahlberg 2012: 306-306).

Katt in Recent Place Names

The majority of the place names that contain *katt* are relatively recent minor names referring to topographical features, fields, meadows and the like, some of which may have become settlement names. The majority of these names do not put the cat in a particularly favourable light, denoting something small or having a generally disparaging sense. This view of the cat is also evident in many words and expressions, such as *kattguld* 'cat gold' and *kattsilver* 'cat silver', meaning 'tinsel, cheap glittering trash', and expressions like *det är minsann inte kattskit det* 'that's certainly not cat's dung', referring to something quite valuable. The Swedish 14th-century saint Bridget wrote in her *Revelations*: 'What can be worth less in a house than a cat or a dog?' (Broberg 2004: 27). In popular belief, the cat plays an important role and is often connected with supernatural and evil powers. During the Middle Ages it was associated with those practising black magic, especially women.

I will give some examples of the many place names which contain *katt* in a disparaging sense, but also names belonging to the category of comparative names.[3] Such names are also found in other parts of Europe – for German examples, see Bach (1953-1954: §325,8, § 325,2) and Niemayer (2012: 308 *Katzenelnbogen*).

Many small lakes and pools bear the name *Katthavet* 'Cat Sea/Ocean', where the second element is ironically meant (Brevner 1942: 160-161). Names like *Kattsjön* 'Cat Lake' and *Kattgölen* 'Cat Pool' refer to very small lakes or pools. Names of marshes and springs like *Kattmossen* 'Cat Bog', *Kattkärret* 'Cat Fen', *Katthålet* 'Cat Hole' and *Kattkällan* 'Cat Spring' signify that the localities concerned are small or worthless. An explanation often given for these names is that cats were drowned or buried there, but in most cases this is probably just an attempt to explain the names – it does not seem likely that particular places would have been chosen for that purpose.

Names of hills and mountains like *Kattberget* 'Cat Mountain' and *Katthöjden* 'Cat Hill' normally do not refer to particularly impressive mountain formations. A rocky height in Stockholm, *Mariaberget* 'Mary's Mountain', which was called *Katteberget* or *Kattebergen* 'Cat Mountain(s)' in the middle of the 17th century, is quite large, and the reason for the name may well be that domestic cats used to gather there (*SG*: 254, Rosell 1979: 36).

Islands with names like *Kattön* 'Cat Island', *Kattholmen* 'Cat Islet' and *Kattskäret* 'Cat Skerry' are of modest size. A very small island bears the name *Kattsvältan*, the second element of which is formed from the word *svält* 'starvation' – it was probably considered too small to feed even a cat. The reason given for *Kattsvältan* as the name of two crofts is that one of them was a generally wretched place, while the people living in the other were so poor that even the cat starved.

That the cat is and has been very close to man is evident from the many place names that compare localities to a cat. The most common among these are *Katten* 'the Cat' and *Kattan* 'the She-Cat'. When a small island with such a name was said to look like a cat, the name giver probably thought of the characteristic shape of a cat arching its back (Ohlsson 1939: 94). But many of these names were no doubt given simply because the islands were small.

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[3] My examples are taken from the place name collections at the Institute for Language and Folklore in Uppsala (http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/namn/ortnamn/ortnamnsregistret.html).

The different parts of the cat's body are often used as place names, especially the tail, which is represented by at least four different words: *hale* 'tail', *rumpa* 'rump', *stjärt* 'tail/backside' and *svans* 'tail'. These names refer to long, narrow localities. The most common name is *Katt(e)rumpan*/*Katt(e)rompan*, referring to long and narrow fields or meadows, small and narrow protruding parts of a bog, and also hills and islands. Another word for 'tail', *hale*, for instance, is found in the village name *Kattala* (*ij Katalum* 1374), which is undoubtedly an old field name.

Other parts of the cat's body are also used, either to describe the shape or the size of the locality or for some other, unknown reason:

- The back: rocks, small islands, a field – with the shape of a cat arching its back (*Kattryggen* 'Cat's Back').
- The head or skull: rocky islets, small islands, promontories, hills (*Katthuvudet* 'Cat's Head', *Katt(e)skallen* 'Cat's Skull').
- The neck: islands, a promontory, a bay, a field (*Kattnacken* 'Cat's Neck'). It is difficult to understand how a locality can look like a cat's neck – perhaps these names are synonymous with *Katthuvudet*/*Kattskallen* 'Cat's Head/Cat's Skull'.
- The ears: a field (*Kattöronen* 'Cat's Ears').
- The eye: a very small lake, the innermost part of a bay of a river (*Kattögat* 'Cat's Eye').
- The nose: a cottage (*Kattnosen* 'Cat's Nose').
- The throat: a narrow gorge, a narrow and rapid-flowing part of a rivulet (*Kattstrupen* 'Cat's Throat').
- The feet: a marsh, a field, a wood, mine holes – probably meaning that the localities are very small; the fourth example refers to four small mine holes lying close together, looking like an impression of a cat's foot (*Katt(e)foten* 'Cat's Foot'; *Kattens fötter* 'The Cat's Feet'; *Kattfötterna* 'Cat's Feet').
- The skin: a very small field (*Kattskinnet* 'Catskin') close to a somewhat larger one called *Hundskinnet* 'Dogskin' because of its shape. This name belongs to quite a common field name type, which compares fields to different animal skins.
- The behind or, to use a more appropriate translation, the arse: two small rounded bays, coves, which may have been compared to a cat's posterior (*Kattröven* 'Cat's Arse'). One name, referring to a spring, is probably generally disparaging (*Kattröven*).

The last of the parts of the cat's body found in place names, referring to the she-cat, is:

- The cunt: springs, wells, a small, mowable marsh, a rivulet, a hollow, a cottage – names for small and worthless localities, doubly disparaging, I am afraid to say (*Katt(e)fittan* 'Cat's Cunt').

Of the different parts of the cat's body, only the chest, the belly and the legs seem to be absent from place names.

Conclusion

The Swedish settlement names *Kattunga*, *Käslinge*, *Kättinge* and *Kättslinge*, dating back to the first half of the 1st century AD, may, in my opinion, contain derogatory inhabitant designations, *kättingar* etc., that are derived from the word *katt* 'cat', referring to the domestic cat. This interpretation implies that the word *cat*, a common European word of unclear origin, came to Scandinavia earlier than is evidenced by the written continental sources. Since there is archaeological evidence of the domestic cat in Sweden at least from the 1st century after Christ, this is quite possible. It is likely that the word *katt* accompanied the introduction of the animal in Scandinavia.

Medieval settlement names, such as *Kattarp*, *Kattemåla* and *Katterud*, may contain a man's name *Kati* or *Kate* or a nickname *Katt* 'The Cat', but they may also be disparaging.

The majority of the many more recent names beginning with *Katt-* refer to small, insignificant localities, often with a derogatory meaning. A prominent group consists of names which compare the localities to a cat or to different parts of the cat's body, especially the tail.

Place names, then, are indeed a place for cats. But most of these names do not present the cat in a particularly favourable light, in spite of the fact that it must have been of great use, and probably a source of great delight, to its master and mistress – even if the cat has of course always been its own master.

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'An Leathair Mhuileach'. Gaelic *leathair*: A Coastal Place Name Generic in Mull

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Abstract

This paper will present new research on Gaelic *leathair*, a generic element historically applied to several areas of coastal land in Mull but of which there is no trace in the modern toponymy of the island; this is despite its appearance in local bardic nomenclature as recently as the 1870s. It is recorded in fiscal evaluation of the 15th century and, in addition to linguistic analysis of the historical forms of the intervening period, recorded in the fiscal evaluation, maps and local Gaelic sources. The paper will focus on the topographical contexts of these Mull examples in comparison with toponyms of similar orthography outwith this insular context. The paper will propose an etymological solution for this problematic element, previously translated simply as 'coastland', and identified elsewhere as a possible dialectal form of Gaelic *leitir* 'hillside, slope, side of hill'.

Die Kommodifizierung der urbanen Toponymie in Turin. Der Fall des Juventus Stadium

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Zussamenfassung

Die vorliegende Untersuchung behandelt die Kommodifizierung der urbanen Toponymie rund um das *Juventus Stadium* in Turin. Anders als im Falle des Verkaufs von Namensrechten an Sponsoren, wird in Turin der Stadionname selbst als Marke etabliert und das mikrotoponomastische Inventar eines Teils der Stadt an die Marketingstrategie bzw. die Corporate Identity des Fußballklubs angepasst. Neben einer ausführlichen Phänomenologie des Nameninventars bietet diese Untersuchung eine Einordnung des *Juventus Stadium* in den Kontext der italienischen und europäischen Stadionnamen und eine Interpretation der angewandten Benennungsstrategien. Hierbei wird gezeigt, wie auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen – vom Gebäudenamen bis hin zu den Namen einzelner Stadionbereiche – der öffentliche Raum durch maßgeschneiderte Benennungsprozesse, die sich sowohl aus lexikalischem Material aus dem Englischen, als auch aus Personennamen aus der Klubhistorie speisen, umgeformt wird. Auf diese Weise wird ein vormals städtisches Gelände nicht nur baulich sondern auch auf der Benennungsebene privatisiert und den Marketingvorstellungen eines Fußballklubs unterworfen.

Abstract

This study discusses the commodification of the urban toponymy in the area surrounding the *Juventus Stadium* in Turin. Differently from the cases in which naming rights are sold to sponsors, in Turin the stadium name was created as a brand. Furthermore, the micro-toponomastic inventory of a part of the city is assimilated to the marketing strategy and the corporate identity of a football club. This study offers a detailed phenomenology of the name inventory, a contextualization of *Juventus Stadium* in the reality of Italian and European stadium names and an interpretation of the applied naming strategies. Hereby, the study shows the re-shaping of public space through tailor-made naming strategies on different levels – from the stadium name itself to the names of different sectors of the stadium. This re-shaping occurs by using English lexical material as well as the names of important personalities of the club history. By this means, the privatization of a former municipal area is expressed not only through construction work but also by implementing the marketing strategy of a football club.

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Einleitung

Ein Blick auf die Schauplätze des internationalen Profisports genügt, um die fortschreitende Kommerzialisierung bestehend aus Sponsoring, Merchandise und TV-Übertragungsrechten zu entdecken: im gesamten Panorama des professionellen Sports finden sich Spielstätten – sowohl Stadien als auch Sport- bzw. Mehrzweckhallen –, deren Namensrechte an Sponsoren veräußert wurden.[1] Hierbei reicht die Spannweite von kurzfristigen Verträgen mit den daraus

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[1] Vgl. zur Situation der Stadionnamen im deutschen Profifußball Bering (2007), Bering (2011).

folgenden häufigen Umbenennungen einer Spielstätte bis zu Verträgen, die auf Jahrzehnte ausgelegt sind.[2] Neben diesem Verkauf der Namensrechte, ist eine zweite Tendenz zu beobachten, die aus der Etablierung des Stadionnamens selbst als eigene Marke besteht, entweder durch die Verwendung einer Traditionsbezeichnung (wie etwa *Anfield Road* in Liverpool oder *Old Trafford* bzw. *Theatre of Dreams* in Manchester) oder durch die Schaffung eines neuen Namens als Ausdruck der Corporate Identity der die Spielstätte bespielenden Mannschaft.[3] Letzteres ist beim hier behandelten *Juventus Stadium* in Turin der Fall.

Der Fall des Stadions in Turin betrifft unterschiedliche Phänomene der Mikrotoponymie;[4] zum einen springt die Benennung des Stadiongebäudes selbst und der anliegenden Gewerbeflächen ins Auge, zum anderen die Umgestaltung der Namen von städtischen oder ehemals städtischen Straßen und Gelände. Darüber hinaus wird die vorliegende Untersuchung die Wahl der Namen für Bereiche des Stadions und von Produkten, die mit dem Stadion in Verbindung stehen, mit einbeziehen. Ein letzter Punkt der Betrachtung widmet sich der Verknüpfung der Namen von ehemaligen Spielern und von Fans mit dem neuen Stadionkomplex. Die Analyse dieser drei Themengebiete basiert auf einer detaillierten Phänomenologie des Nameninventars und bedient sich für die Interpretation der Ansätze der kritischen Toponomastik, die sich hauptsächlich mit der Verbindung von Macht und Namens-gebung, mit organisierten Namensgebungskampagnen und mit der Kommerzialisierung der Namenswelt befasst.[5]

Hintergrund

Die Situation des italienischen Profifußballs im europäischen Vergleich

In den letzten Jahren verliert der italienische Profifußball im europäischen Vergleich sowohl sportlich als auch ökonomisch stetig Boden auf andere große Fußballnationen wie Deutschland, England oder Spanien. Neben den, hier unerheblichen, sportlichen Schwierigkeiten, hat der Profifußball in Italien mit unterschiedlichen Problemen zu kämpfen,

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[2] Die unterschiedlichen Strategien beim Verkauf von Namensrechten an Sponsoren lassen sich an zwei Beispielen illustrieren: dem ehemaligen Volksparkstadion in Hamburg und dem Levi's Stadium in Santa Clara, Kalifornien. Während in Hamburg seit 2001 bereits drei unterschiedliche Sponsoren als Namengeber des Stadions auftraten (AOL ab 2001, HSH Nordbank ab 2007 und Imtech ab 2010; vgl. auch Bering 2007: 445) unterzeichneten Levi Strauss & Co., die San Francisco 49ers und die Stadt Santa Clara einen Vertrag über 20 Jahre mit einer Verlängerungsoption über weitere fünf Jahre für das im Juli 2014 eröffnete American-Football-Stadion der National Football League (vgl. http://espn.go.com/nfl/story/_/id/9255090/san-francisco-49ers-reach-stadium-naming-rights-deal-levis; zu-letzt abgerufen am 11. Januar 2015).

[3] Man könnte an dieser Stelle sicherlich deutlich einfacher von „Verein" sprechen, was allerdings in Anbetracht der Aktiengesellschaften, der ausgegliederten Profiabteilungen eingetragener Vereine und anderer Eigentumskonstrukte unangebracht erscheint. Vor allem im englischen und italienischen Kontext handelt es sich bei den Trägern von Profimannschaften in der überwältigenden Mehrheit um Aktiengesellschaften, die jedoch nicht zwangsläufig an der Börse gehandelt werden, oder um den Besitz von Einzelpersonen bzw. Familien. Im weiteren Verlauf des Textes sind diese unterschiedlichen Besitzverhältnisse an den Stellen zu berücksichtigen, an denen vereinfachend von „Klub" die Rede ist.

[4] Der Definition von Nübling (2012: 207-208) folgend werden hier sowohl Straßen- als auch Gebäudenamen als Mikrotoponyme aufgefasst, auch wenn gerade im Fall von Stadionnamen die Begrenztheit im Kommunikationsradius von Mikrotoponymen in Frage steht.

[5] Vgl. hierzu Rose-Redwood/Alderman (2011) und Berg/Vuolteenaho (2009).

welche die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit der italienischen Klubs im internationalen Vergleich zunehmend einschränken. Zu den größten Problemen zählen sicherlich die häufig in und um die Stadien stattfindenden Gewalttaten sowie die Manipulations- bzw. Wettskandale, die den italienischen Fußball im letzten Jahrzehnt erschütterten.[6] Außerdem verfügt die überwältigende Mehrheit der italienischen Fußballklubs über eine veraltete Stadioninfrastruktur. Folge dieser Problemfelder ist ein stetig schwindendes Interesse der Zuschauer, das sich vor allem in den kontinuierlich sinkenden Zuschauerzahlen in den Stadien niederschlägt.

In Bezug auf die oben angesprochene Kommerzialisierung der Stadionnamen weist die italienische Serie A große Unterschiede vor allem im Vergleich zur deutschen Bundesliga und zur englischen Premier League auf (sh. Tabelle 1). Während etwa ein Drittel der englischen Stadien und über zwei Drittel der deutschen Stadien einen Sponsorennamen tragen, findet sich in der italienischen Serie A nur ein Stadion, das den Namen eines Sponsors trägt, nämlich das *Mapei Stadium-Città del Tricolore* in Reggio Emilia – hierbei handelt es sich allerdings um das Unternehmen des Klubbesitzers. Das *Juventus Stadium* ist hingegen das einzige Stadion Italiens, bei dem der Name direkt auf den dort spielenden Klub verweist.

	Premier League (England)	Bundesliga (Deutschland)	Serie A (Italien)[7]
Sponsorenname	6	14	**1**
Lokales oder regionales Toponym	10	2	**2**
Ehemaliger Funktionär	-	-	**5**
Ehemaliger Fußballspieler	-	-	**3**
Bezug zum Verein/Klub	1	1	**1**
Lokaler Bezug	2	-	**-**
Sonstige	1	1	**4**[8]

Tabelle 1. Stadionnamen in der englischen Premier League, der deutschen Bundesliga und der italienischen Serie A (Stand: Spielzeit 2014/15)

Wie Tabelle 1 zeigt, ist in Italien die Hälfte der Erstliga-Stadien nach ehemaligen Funktionären, zumeist ehemalige Präsidenten, und ehemaligen Spielern benannt. Diese Stadionnamen haben also eher eine erinnernde Funktion, welche die Historie des Klubs würdigen soll und mit den Erinnerungsnamen z. B. bei der Benennung von Straßen zu vergleichen ist. Darüber hinaus weist Italien eine Besonderheit bei der Benennung der

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[6] Vgl. hierzu Porro (2008).

[7] Die Tabelle führt für Italien nur 16 Stadionnamen auf, da in vier Städten – Genua, Mailand, Rom und Verona – sich jeweils zwei Klubs ein Stadion teilen.

[8] Die Kategorie ‚Sonstige' enthält in Italien die Benennung nach einem sportlichen Großereignis (das *Stadio Olimpico* in Rom und in Turin), eine Widmung an alle italienischen Sportler (das *Stadio Atleti Azzurri d'Italia* in Bergamo, dt. ‚Stadion der himmelblauen [ein Verweis auf die traditionelle Trikotfarbe aller italienischen Nationalmannschaften] Athleten Italiens') und die Benennung nach einem Heiligen (das *Stadio San Paolo* in Neapel).

Stadien von Seiten der Anhänger und Berichterstatter auf: in vielen Fällen besitzt ein Stadion neben dem offiziellen Namen auch einen inoffiziellen Namen, der sich oftmals nach dem Stadtviertel richtet, in dem sich das jeweilige Stadion befindet: so werden das *Stadio Giuseppe Meazza* in Mailand bspw. *San Siro* (außerdem wird manchmal der Beiname *La Scala del Calcio*, dt. ‚die Scala [nach dem Mailänder Opernhaus] des Fußballs' verwendet) und das *Stadio Luigi Ferraris* in Genua *Marassi* genannt.

Die kommerzielle Ausnutzung des Stadions als von Fußballspielen unabhängige Sehenswürdigkeit bzw. als Emblem des dort spielenden Klubs ist in Italien weitgehend unbekannt. Anders als Klubs in Deutschland oder England erzielen die italienischen Klubs nur geringe Einkünfte aus Ticketverkäufen, Stadiongastronomie und Entertainment rund um das Stadion. Die Verwendung des Stadions selbst als Werbeträger durch den Verkauf der Namensrechte oder die Etablierung des Stadions als eigenständige Marke ist ebenfalls weitgehend unbekannt. Hierbei ist eines der entscheidenden Probleme, dass sich die meisten italienischen Stadien im Besitz der Städte befinden und somit gar nicht die Möglichkeit für die Vereine besteht, das kommerzielle Potential eines Stadions voll auszuschöpfen.

Das Juventus Stadium

Das *Juventus Stadium* ist die Spielstätte des italienischen Fußballrekordmeisters Juventus F.C. Das Stadion wurde im September 2011 eingeweiht und ist das bisher einzige Stadion im italienischen Profifußball, das sich im Besitz des darin spielenden Vereins befindet. Das Stadion liegt im Nordwesten Turins, an der Stelle, an der sich zuvor das städtische *Stadio delle Alpi* befunden hat. Neben dem *Juventus Stadium* liegt ein ebenfalls neu gebautes Einkaufszentrum, das *Juventus Museum* und eine Brachfläche, auf der in naher Zukunft ein neues Verwaltungs- und Trainingszentrum entstehen soll. Das ganze Bauprojekt umfasst ein Areal von über 500.000 m^2, das die Stadt Turin Juventus F.C. für die Dauer von 99 Jahren verpachtet hat. Die Eröffnung des Stadions im Jahre 2011 fand fünf Jahre nach dem Manipulationsskandal statt, der im Sommer 2006 den italienischen Fußball erschütterte und in dessen Folge Juventus F.C. als einer der hauptsächlich Verantwortlichen zwangsweise in die 2. Liga absteigen musste, und markiert somit einen Neustart für den Klub und seine Anhänger.

Datenanalyse

Die Datenanalyse erfolgt in mehreren Schritten: im ersten Unterkapitel wird das mikrotoponomastische Inventar vorgestellt, das sich rund um das *Juventus Stadium* auf Ebene von Gebäuden und Straßen finden lässt, das zweite Unterkapitel ist der Ebene der Stadionbereiche und der Produkte gewidmet, die im Stadion zu finden sind, während das dritte Unterkapitel kurz vorstellt, wie Namen von ehemaligen Fußballern und Anhängern benutzt werden, um den Bereich des Stadions der Klubtradition und den Anhängern selbst zu widmen. Die Analyse der Bennenungsstrategie bzw. der zu etablierenden Corporate Identity wird im auf dieses Kapitel folgenden Schlussabschnitt erfolgen.

Straßen- und Gebäudenamen im Umfeld des Juventus Stadium

Der Stadionname *Juventus Stadium* ist – wie oben gezeigt – untypisch für Italien. Zum einen findet sich ein direkter Bezug auf den im Stadion spielenden Klub, zum anderen ist die englische Bezeichnung *Stadium* in Italien nicht gebräuchlich (normalerweise tragen Stadien die italienische Bezeichnung *stadio*). In Italiens öffentlichen Raum finden sich allerdings, abgesehen von den Stadionnamen, häufig englische oder englisch klingende Namen, besonders in Zusammenhang mit Marken- oder Produktnamen. Durch den Gebrauch von englischsprachigem lexikalischem Material soll gemeinhin internationales Flair und Modernität zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, wobei vom Prestige des Englischen und der positiven Einstellung der Italiener gegenüber dem Englischen profitiert wird.[9] Diese symbolische Verwendung des Englischen findet sich, wie unten gezeigt wird, auch in vielen der anderen Namen im und um den Stadionkomplex herum. Es fällt außerdem auf, dass sich in der medialen Berichterstattung die Kurzform *lo Stadium* etabliert hat, wodurch man häufig in Berichten Äußerungen wie *oggi la Juventus affronta la Lazio allo Stadium* (dt. ‚heute trifft Juventus im *Stadium* auf Lazio‘) hört oder liest.

Außer dem offiziellen Namen trägt das *Juventus Stadium* seit der Eröffnung einen Übernamen, der Teil der Marketingstrategie des Klubs ist: *Lo stadio che cambia il calcio*, dt. ‚das Stadion, das den Fußball verändert‘. Diese wenig bescheiden anmutende Selbstbezeichnung bezieht sich auf die oben beschriebenen Probleme des italienischen Fußballs vor allem in infrastruktureller und ökonomischer Hinsicht. In der Tat handelt es sich bei diesem Stadionneubau um das erste Stadion, das von einem Klub selbst errichtet und geführt wird, außerdem sind die sicherheitstechnischen und ökologischen Standards, die beim Bau eingehalten wurden, tatsächlich ein Novum im italienischen Fußball. Die Selbstbezeichnung enthält also den zusammengefassten Markenkern des Stadions und ist eindeutig als Abgrenzung zur übrigen sportlichen Infrastruktur Italiens zu sehen.

Der Name des Museums, das sich im Gebäudekomplex des Turiner Stadions befindet, weist das gleiche Namensmuster auf, nach dem auch das Stadion benannt ist. *Juventus Museum* oder *JMuseum* sind ebenfalls aus dem Englischen entnommen (anstelle der italienischen Bezeichnung *museo*), wobei es ähnliche Gründe haben dürfte, wie hier bereits für den Stadionnamen gezeigt wurde.

Das Einkaufszentrum *Area12 Shopping Center*, das sich direkt neben dem Stadion befindet, verweist durch die Verwendung der Zahl 12 auf die Ausrichtung auf die Anhänger als bevorzugte Kundschaft bzw. auf das Einkaufszentrum als idealen Ort des Einkaufs für die Anhänger, wie die Erklärung auf der Homepage des Einkaufszentrums unterstreicht:

> ‚Nomen Omen‘ dicevano i latini, nel nome il destino delle cose. Ogni nome è un ponte sonoro tra l'uomo e la realtà, un presagio che evoca immagini, sensazioni, emozioni e pensieri. **Area12** è una storia di passione svago e innovazione. ‘**Area**’ come il punto intorno alle reti in cui si concentrano brivido, entusiasmo e

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[9] Vgl. hierzu Guerini (2011: 118): „As in other European countries (cf. Spolsky)2009: 74), English words and sentences occur in advertising and brand names not because of their communicative efficacy but for their symbolic value and positive connotations." Hierbei spielt laut Guerini die Englischkompetenz der Sprecher keine Rolle. Auf ähnliche Weise wird das Englische gemeinhin in der Werbesprache verwendet. Zur Verwendung des Englischen in der deutschsprachigen Werbung vgl. Janich (2001: 114).

divertimento. Ma è anche lo spazio d'incontro per il tuo tempo libero, per quello di tutti, ogni giorno. Gli antichi davono [sic] molta importanza ai numeri, perchè portavano con sè magia e potere, '**12**' perchè a fianco di una squadra c'è sempre un dodicesimo uomo, il tifoso, l'anima senza cui luoghi come questo non avrebbero motivo di esistere. **Area12** è il tuo campo, pensato per le persone e le famiglie, da vivere ogni giorno per fare shopping e respirare l'energia dello sport. **Area12** con te per condividere passioni.[10] (Hervorhebung in der Originalversion des Textes; http://www.area12.to.it/area12/; zuletzt abgerufen am 11. Januar 2015)

Der Auszug aus der Homepage des Einkaufszentrum beschreibt eindeutig die Beweggründe für die Namenswahl. Der erste Aspekt ist die Bezugnahme auf den Strafraum (it. ,area'), in dem sich das Wichtigste des Fußballspiels abspielt, die Torchancen und Tore. Davon ausgehend wird der Bogen geschlagen zum Raum des Einkaufszentrums, in dem sich spannende und unterhaltende Dinge abspielen. Der zweite Aspekt ist, wie oben erwähnt, die Verwendung der Zahl 12, die in vielen Mannschaftssportarten, aber vor allem im Fußball, Sinnbild für die Fans und die Unterstützung einer Mannschaft durch das Publikum ist. Auf diese Weise wird direkt der Juventus-Fan angesprochen, auch wenn kein ausdrücklicher Bezug auf Juventus genommen wird, indem das Einkaufszentrum so dargestellt wird, als ob der Bau vor allem ein Gefallen für die Anhänger wäre.

Der Name des Einkaufszentrum wird durch *Shopping Center* komplettiert (anstelle von *centro commerciale*, dt. ,Einkaufszentrum') und reiht sich somit in das Ensemble der englischsprachigen Namen rund um das *Juventus Stadium* ein. Im Bereich der *Area12* befindet sich außerdem ein *Juventus Store* mit der mittlerweile weltweit gebräuchlichen englischen Geschäftsbezeichnung *Store* für ein an einer bestimmten Marke oder einem bestimmten Produkt orientierten Ladengeschäft. Besonders im Merchandise-Vertrieb mit Sportbezug sind *Stores* oder *Megastores* überaus beliebt.[11] Sie stellen meistens ein monothematisch orientiertes Geschäft dar, in der man alles rund um eine bestimmte Mannschaft erwerben kann. Die Merchandise-Abteilung von Juventus reiht sich mit dieser Bezeichnung also in eine weltweit angewandte Benennungspraxis ein, deren Motivierung ähnlich zu bewerten ist, wie die gesamte hier gezeigte Verwendung von englischsprachigem Namenmaterial.

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[10] Dt.: „Nomen Omen" sagten die Lateiner, im Namen liegt die Bestimmung der Dinge. Jeder Name ist eine klangliche Brücke zwischen dem Menschen und der Realität, eine Vorahnung, die Bilder, Gefühle, Emotionen und Gedanken hervorruft. Area12 ist eine Geschichte von Leidenschaft, Zerstreuung und Innovation. „Area" wie der Strafraum um die Tore herum, in dem sich Emotion, Enthusiasmus und Vergnügen konzentrieren. Aber er ist auch der Begegnungsraum für deine Freizeit, für die Freizeit aller, jeden Tag. Die Menschen der Antike legten viel Wert auf Zahlen, weil sie Zauber und Macht mit sich trugen, „12" weil es neben einer Mannschaft immer einen zwölften Mann gibt, den Anhänger, die Seele, ohne die Orte wie diese keinen Grund hätten zu existieren. Area12 ist dein Spielfeld, gedacht für die Menschen und die Familien, jeden Tag zu erleben, um einzukaufen und die Energie des Sports einzuatmen. Area12 mit dir, um Leidenschaften zu teilen. [Übersetzung MW]

[11] Vgl. z. B. den *Milan Megastore* in Mailand oder den *FC Bayern Megastore* im Innern der *Allianz Arena* in München.

Westlich des *Juventus Stadium* verläuft eine Straße, die seit November 2012 den Namen *Corso Gaetano Scirea* trägt.[12] Sie ist nach Gaetano Scirea benannt, der in den Siebziger und Achtziger Jahren Kapitän von Juventus war und 1989 bei einem Autounfall ums Leben kam. Scirea ist eines der größten Idole der Juventus-Anhänger, dessen Name sich auch in der Benennung der Fankurve sowohl im *Stadio delle Alpi* als auch im *Juventus Stadium* wieder findet. Da es sich um eine zuvor schon vorhandene Straße handelt, stellt die Benennung in *Corso Gaetano Scirea* eine Umbenennung dar, die nicht ohne Brisanz ist, weil die Straße zuvor den Namen *Corso Grande Torino* trug. Beim alten Namen handelt es sich um eine Ehrung der Mannschaft des zweiten Turiner Fußballklubs Torino F.C. – damals noch A.C. Torino genannt –, die in den Vierziger Jahren des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts den italienischen Fußball dominierte und *Grande Torino* genannt wurde. Einen besonderen Status in der italienischen Fußballhistorie erlangte die Mannschaft durch ein Flugzeugunglück im Jahre 1949 bei dem das Flugzeug, das die Mannschaft von einem Auswärtsspiel zurück nach Turin bringen sollte, an der Basilika von Superga in den Hügeln über Turin zerschellte, wobei die gesamte Mannschaft mit Ausnahme weniger daheim gebliebener Ersatzspieler ums Leben kam. Offensichtlich ist es den Juventus-Verantwortlichen gelungen, bei den städtischen Entscheidungsträgern die Umbenennung durchzusetzen, da das *Juventus Stadium*, anders als zuvor das *Stadio delle Alpi*, nicht mehr als Heimstätte beider Turiner Klubs benutzt wird.

Westlich des *Corso Gaetano Scirea* wird in den kommenden Jahren unter anderem ein neues Verwaltungs- und Trainingszentrum entstehen. Als Standort wurde ein Gelände ausgewählt, das als *La Continassa* bekannt ist und auf dem sich auch ein historisches Gebäude, die *Cascina Contina* befindet.[13] Den Plänen zufolge wird diese Cascina nach Fertigstellung der Umbauten einen Teil des Klubgeländes bilden. Außerdem sollen auf dem Gelände Hotels und der Sitz der klubeigenen TV-Station (JTV) entstehen. Für das Trainingsgelände wird in den bisher publizierten Plänen die Bezeichnung *Juventus Training Center* aufgeführt, womit wohl auch der letzte Bereich der Stadionumgebung eine englischsprachige Benennung erhalten wird.

Benennung von Stadionteilen und Objekten

Innerhalb des Stadiongebäudes befinden sich unterschiedliche Bereiche, an dem die Zuschauer den Spieltag verbringen können bzw. an denen es bestimmte Service-Leistungen für die Besucher gibt. Es handelt sich dabei z. B. um Business-Seats und Lounges, in denen vor dem Spiel Essen serviert wird und die über luxuriöse Aufenthaltsbereiche verfügen. Diese Bereiche tragen entweder, wie im Falle oben erwähnten Beispiele, englischsprachige Namen oder mnemotopische Namen,[14] die sich in irgendeiner Weise auf die Geschichte des Klubs beziehen. Folgende Bereiche befinden sich auf der Haupttribüne des *Juventus Stadium*:

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[12] Vgl. die Berichterstattung in der Turiner Tageszeitung La Stampa: http://www.lastampa.it/2012/11/21/sport/ calcio/qui-juve/agnelli-inaugura-il-viale-scirea-un-grande-uomo-ci-manca-y3bvbAmgH4OmEz6SAW02NK/ pagina.html?refresh_ce (zuletzt abgerufen am 11. Januar 2015).
[13] Als *cascina* bezeichnet man einen Kolonialbau mit landwirtschaftlichem Zweck. Im Falle der *Cascina Contina* handelt es sich um ein Gebäude, das sich ursprünglich wohl im Besitz einer Adelsfamilie befunden hat.
[14] Vgl. Nübling (2012: 244).

Der *Club Gianni e Umberto Agnelli*, der *Club Giampiero Boniperti* und der *Club Omar Sivori* sind reservierte Bereiche auf der Haupttribüne des Stadions, in denen besonders komfortable Sitzmöglichkeiten, Catering und Servicepersonal zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Die Namen beziehen sich allesamt auf wichtige Personen der Klubgeschichte. Gianni und Umberto Agnelli sind zwei Brüder, die der Großindustriellenfamilie Agnelli aus Turin – Besitzerfamilie unter anderem von FIAT und Juventus – angehörten und die beide jeweils Präsident des Juventus F.C. waren. Giampiero Boniperti war lange Zeit Mannschaftskapitän und nach seiner aktiven Karriere ebenfalls Präsident des Klubs. Omar Sivori war ein italo-argentinischer Fußballspieler, der in den Sechziger Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts zu den ersten großen Weltstars im Fußball gehörte und der in seiner Zeit bei Juventus den Klub maßgeblich prägte. Außerdem war er der erklärte Lieblingsspieler des oben erwähnten Gianni Agnelli.

Der *Legends Club* ist ein Restaurant im Inneren des Stadions, von dem aus man nach dem Essen auf den dazugehörigen Sitzplätzen das Spiel verfolgen kann. Die Beschreibung auf der Homepage unterstreicht die luxuriöse Ausstattung und die Exklusivität des Angebots eines mit dem Spielbesuch verbundenen Restaurantbesuchs.[15]

In Bezug auf die Angebote an die Stadionbesucher sticht ebenfalls der Gebrauch des Englischen für unterschiedliche Einrichtungen ins Auge. Zuerst ist hierbei das *Baby Parking* bzw. *Baby Park* zu erwähnen, bei dem es sich um einen Babysitter-Service handelt, der sich direkt im Stadion befindet.[16] Des Weiteren ist die *Shopping Card Juventus* zu erwähnen; hierbei handelt es sich um eine Karte, mit der bargeldlos im Stadion bezahlt werden kann. In der Eröffnungssaison 2011/2012 war es möglich, sich kostenlos für diesen Dienst zu registrieren, mittlerweile ist dieser Dienst mit dem kostenpflichtigen Service *Juventus Member* zusammengelegt worden. Bei *Juventus Member* handelt es sich um eine Kombination aus Prämienprogramm und Fanclub, durch die man zum Beispiel ein Vorkaufsrecht auf Eintrittskarten erhält und an Gewinnspielen teilnehmen kann.

Benutzung von Personennamen im Umfeld des Juventus Stadium

An dieser Stelle sei kurz auf ein weiteres onomastisches Phänomen eingegangen, das sich im Bereich des *Juventus Stadium* findet. Das Stadion wird nämlich von einem Rundweg umschlossen, auf dem 50 großflächige Sterne in den Boden eingelassen sind, welche die Namen von 50 ehemaligen Spielern tragen, die durch eine Abstimmung unter den Juventus-

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[15] Vgl. hierzu die Beschreibung auf http://www.juventus.com/juve/it/stadio-e-museo/jlegend/informazioni (zuletzt abgerufen am 11. Januar 2015): „Il **Legends Club** ti consentirà di assistere alla partita da una posizione privilegiata e di usufruire di una serie di servizi esclusivi: menù completo […] con servizio al tavolo, servizio bar nell'intervallo, Account Manager dedicato per soddisfare al meglio ogni richiesta ed area parcheggio riservata. Inoltre, all'interno del Club è stata predisposta una cucina a vista che offrirà agli ospiti piatti regionali di alta qualità, con ingredienti selezionati tra i migliori a disposizione sul territorio italiano." (Hervorhebung in der Originalversion des Textes; dt.: Der Legends Club wird dir ermöglichen, das Spiel von einer privilegierten Position aus zu erleben und eine Reihe exklusiver Serviceleistungen zu genießen: ein komplettes Menü mit Service am Tisch, Bar in der Halbzeit, einen Account Manager, um auf beste Weise alle Wünsche zu erfüllen, und reservierter Parkbereich. Außerdem ist im Innern des Clubs eine offene Küche eingerichtet worden, die den Gästen regionale Spezialitäten von hoher Qualität mit ausgewählten Zutaten, die zu den besten in Italien erhältlichen gehören, bieten wird. [Übersetzung MW])

[16] Vor allem in Einkaufszentren und ähnlichen Großeinrichtungen – wie hier beim *Juventus Stadium* zu sehen – scheint sich in Italien der Begriff *baby parking* zu etablieren.

Anhängern ausgewählt wurden. Die Besonderheit dieses Rundwegs, der von der Konzeption her an den *Walk of Fame* in Hollywood erinnert, ist, dass sich im Bereich der jeden Stern umgibt auf kleinen, ebenfalls in den Boden eingelassenen Metallplaketten die Namen von Juventus-Anhängern befinden. Diese Namensplaketten konnte man in der Zeit vor der Eröffnung des Stadions kaufen und sich dabei den Abschnitt seines Lieblingsspielers aussuchen, wo die Plakette dann angebracht wurde. Die ganze Aktion lief unter dem Namen *Accendi una stella* (dt. ‚Entzünde einen Stern') und hatte das erklärte Ziel, den Anhängern, gegen Bezahlung, die Möglichkeit zu geben, sich am neuen Stadion zu verewigen. Im Bereich des Sterns mit dem Namen des oben bereits erwähnten Gaetano Scirea befinden sich 39 Sternplaketten, welche den Juventus-Anhängern gewidmet sind, die 1985 bei einer Massenpanik ums Leben kamen, die beim Europapokal-Endspiel zwischen Juventus und dem Liverpool F.C. im Heysel-Stadion in Brüssel ausgebrochen war. Auf diese Weise wird der ganze Rundweg zu einer Mischung aus Freilichtmuseum zur Klubhistorie, einem Ort des Verbundenheitsausdrucks für die Anhänger und einem Gedenkort für die Toten des Unglücks von Brüssel.

Datenanalyse und Ausblick

Die englischsprachigen Benennungen im Umfeld des *Juventus Stadium* sollen, wie oben schon erwähnt, auf die Modernität der Anlage und ihren Innovationscharakter in der italienischen Fußballlandschaft verweisen. Die Innovation ist allerdings nur ein Teil des Markenkerns; daneben stehen vor allem die Weltläufigkeit, die Tradition sowie die ökologische Verträglichkeit im Zentrum der Marke *Juventus Stadium*. Anders als im Falle des Verkaufs der Namensrechte an einen Sponsor, den der Klub nicht grundsätzlich ablehnt und sich für die Zukunft offen hält, stellt die Verwendung dieser abgestimmten Benennungsmuster den Versuch dar, eine Corporate Identity zu entwickeln, um die Anhänger des Klubs an das Stadion zu binden und als dauerhafte Kunden in den verschiedenen Einrichtungen – dem Museum, dem Fanshop und dem Einkaufszentrum – zu gewinnen.

　　Aus der Perspektive der einleitend erwähnten kritischen Toponomastik ergeben sich weitere Aspekte der Analyse, wie das folgende Zitat verdeutlicht:

> [F]or a critical researcher of toponymy there always lurks a danger of succumbing too deeply to the minutiae or normalized rules of specific languages, leading to a myopia regarding wider social and cultural processes. Given that naming a place is always a socially embedded act, one that involves power relations, the 'pure' linguistic standpoint remains inadequate for the critical study of toponymy. Accordingly, whilst we agree with the need to be specific about what type of 'naming' we are talking, we advocate an understanding of place names as 'social facts' embedded in intricate cultural interrelations and tension-filled conceptions of space. As such, the practices of place naming are also caught up, in any given society, in the power and possibilities of 'making places'. (Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009: 9)

Vuolteenaho und Berg folgend, ist es genau dieses „Erschaffen eines Ortes", welches die Benennungsstrategien rund um das *Juventus Stadium* zum Ausdruck bringen. Hierbei springt vor allem die Umbenennung einer öffentlichen Straße (der ehemalige *corso Grande Torino*) und eines ehemals städtischen Geländes (der ehemaligen *Continassa*) und der eindeutige Stadionname anstelle des regionalen Toponyms im Namen des Vorgängerstadions *Stadio delle Alpi* ins Auge. Auch das Anbringen zahlloser Namenstafeln und -plaketten, sowohl von Spielern als auch von Anhängern, auf dem Rundweg um das Stadion und die Benennung einzelner Stadionbereiche nach wichtigen Figuren der Klubgeschichte ist in dieser Optik zu lesen. Die Verbindung von Klubgeschichte und Anhängerschaft an einem neu gebauten Stadion schafft tatsächlich einen neuen Ort, der als Zentrum der *juventinità* (zu deutsch ‚all dessen, was für Juventus steht') zu sehen ist. Dies wird außerdem dadurch unterstrichen, dass sich im Klubmuseum, das sich auf dem Gelände befindet, sämtliche Trophäen und zahlreiche Erinnerungsstücke aus der Klubgeschichte ausgestellt werden.

Dreieinhalb Jahre nach der Eröffnung stellt diese Strategie der Etablierung eines modernen Heims für Mannschaft und Anhänger einen großen Erfolg dar, was nicht nur am Stadion selbst sondern auch am großen Erfolg der Mannschaft in den letzten Jahren liegt: seit Eröffnung des Stadions hat Juventus drei Mal in Folge die italienische Meisterschaft gewonnen und sich nach einigen schwierigen Jahren zumindest sportlich von den Folgen des Fußballskandals aus dem Jahre 2006 erholt. Eine endgültige Bewertung des Erfolgs des neuen Stadions wird erst im Laufe der Zeit und nach Spielzeiten mit geringerem sportlichem Erfolg möglich sein.

Es bleibt abzuwarten, ob die Entwicklung in Turin in anderen Städten Italiens nachvollzogen wird. Momentan liegen von einigen Vereinen mehr oder weniger ausgearbeitete Pläne für Stadionneubauten bzw. -umbauten vor; hierbei sind z. B. Rom und Mailand zu nennen. Bislang wird aber einzig in Udine an einer grundlegenden Modernisierung des Stadions gearbeitet. Daher stellt sich die Frage, ob das *Juventus Stadium* als ein Trendsetter, als das Stadion, das tatsächlich den Fußball verändert, gesehen werden kann oder ob es sich am Ende doch um ein relativ isoliertes Phänomen handeln wird.

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Merseburg. Zur 'Bedeutung' des Namens

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Zusamenfassung

Vor reichlich 1000 Jahren, im Mai 1013, trafen sich in der Merseburger Burg oberhalb der Saale die führenden Vertreter der Ottonen und Piasten. Nach militärischen Auseinandersetzungen der Jahre zuvor hatten sie die Absicht, zu einem Frieden zu gelangen.

Den Ort dieses Treffens bildete eine der bedeutendsten Residenzen der ottonischen Könige und Kaiser. Seine Bedeutung hatte viele Ursachen – eine dürfte der Ursprung des Namens gewesen sein, wie er von der damaligen gelehrten Öffentlichkeit verstanden wurde.

Thietmar von Merseburg leitete ihn in seiner Chronik vom römischen Gott Mars her – eine Erklärung, die von der heutigen Wissenschaft natürlich zurückzuweisen ist. Es kann jedoch davon ausgegangen werden, dass diese Interpretation unter den damaligen sozialen Eliten bekannt und anerkannt war und ein bedeutendes Element des Prestiges dieses Ortes bildete.

Dieser Fall kann als Beispiel dafür stehen, dass die Etymologie eines Namens, wie wir sie heute rekonstruieren, nicht immer für die Bedeutung des Namens im historischen Kontext maßgeblich ist. Mitunter ist es viel wichtiger, was die Menschen seinerzeit im Namen gesehen haben bzw. was als seine Etymologie in früherer Zeit angesehen wurde. Das konnte von großer sozialer und politischer Bedeutung sein.

Abstract

About a thousand years ago, in May 1013, the leading representatives of the Ottonian and Piastic dynasties met at Merseburg castle above the Saale river. After military clashes in the years before they tried to achieve a peace treaty here.

The site of this meeting was one of the most important residences of the Ottonian kings and emperors, and its significance had many reasons. One of them might have been the origin of its name as it was understood by the contemporary learned public at the time.

Thietmar of Merseburg in his chronicle derived it from the Roman god Mars, an explanation which, of course, is rejected by modern-day science. But, as there is strong indication that this interpretation was widely accepted among social elites back then, it must have provided this place with a momentous element of prestige and symbolism.

The approach of not discarding what is nowadays deemed folk etymology may allow for a wider understanding of the significance of places and the roles they played within a social and political system. The meaning of names as comprehended by the medieval contemporaries ought to be valued as it broadens the view of modern science upon people's mindset from a thousand years ago.

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Vor reichlich 1000 Jahren, im Mai 1013, trafen sich in Merseburg an der Saale die führenden Vertreter der Ottonen und Piasten. Sie hatten die Absicht, die militärischen Auseinandersetzungen der Jahre davor zu beenden und zu einem Frieden zu gelangen. Wie es leider für diese Epoche häufig der Fall ist, bieten die erhaltenen schriftlichen Quellen nur spärliche Informationen (Lübke 1984-1988, 3: 315-317, Nr. 463-465). Immerhin werden jedoch die wichtigsten Protagonisten namentlich genannt, nämlich (1) Bolesław Chrobry, der

polnische König, (2) seine Gattin Emnildis, die Tochter eines offenbar hochrangigen Edlen im Milzenerland, der heutigen Oberlausitz (Schuster-Šewc 2002), (3) beider Sohn Mieszko, der später ebenfalls König von Polen werden sollte, weiterhin (4) Heinrich II. als später heilig gesprochener römischer Kaiser, (5) seine Verwandte Richeza, eine Nichte seines Vorgängers Ottos III. sowie (5) der přemyslidische Fürst Udalrich. Gesandte der Lutizen, die als heidnischer, so genannter „Stammesbund" damals das enfant terrible Mitteleuropas bildeten, bleiben hingegen anonym.

Es handelte sich also um ein hochrangiges Gipfeltreffen, in dessen Verlauf u. a. eine Heirat des polnischen Kronprinzen mit genannter Richeza vereinbart wurde. Der Frieden sollte also durch eine familiäre Verbindung gesichert werden. Dennoch bleibt unser Bild von dieser Veranstaltung eher blass, zumal der vereinbarte Frieden nicht lange halten sollte.

Im Rahmen einer interdisziplinären Betrachtung zum Millenium dieses Ereignisses, die als interdisziplinäre Tagung am Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas an der Universität Leipzig (GWZO) organisiert worden war,[1] sollte auch die onomastische Perspektive nicht ausgeblendet bleiben. Hierbei zeigte sich, ausgehend von einer eigentlich sehr bekannten Passage in der Quellenüberlieferung, ein Aspekt des Umgangs mit Toponymen im hohen Mittelalter, der – und dies nicht nur für den Fall Merseburg – anscheinend bisher nur wenig Aufmerksamkeit gefunden hat. Dieser Aspekt soll im Folgenden aus dem lokalen bzw. engen regionalen Rahmen der Betrachtung herausgelöst und einem spezifisch onomastischen Publikum vorgestellt werden.[2]

Bei Merseburg handelt es sich um einen Namen, über dessen Erklärung bisher keine Eindeutigkeit erzielt werden konnte. Vielmehr ist eine ganze Reihe von Herleitungen möglich, welche in der einschlägigen Literatur (vgl. Tab. 1) fortlaufend wiederholt wurden:

1. aus ahd. *meri, mari,* asä. *meri,* germ. **mari* 'stehendes Gewässer, Teich'; die Benennung könnte erfolgt sein nach dem 'Vorgelände in der Saaleniederung oder dem ehem. Sumpfgebiet des Gotthardsteiches' (Eichler/Walther 1984: 219). Das nördlich anschließende Mündungsgebiet der Weißen Elster könnte hier gegenüber anderen Flussabschnitten der Saale distinktiv genug für eine solche Benennung gewesen sein.

2. Möglich, aber vielleicht weniger wahrscheinlich ist eine Ableitung aus germ. **mairja-* 'Grenze, Grenzgebiet', vgl. ags. *mære.* Dass die deutsch-slavische Grenzsituation zur Zeit der Namengebung bereits vorauszusetzen ist, wäre zu bezweifeln.

3. Weiterhin ist mit einer deanthroponymischen Herleitung aus einer Kurzform *Meri* zu rechnen, die von einem zweigliedrigen Personennamen wie *Merbold* abgeleitet wurde, weiterhin auch mit einem Kurznamen *Marso.*

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[1] Merseburg 1013 – Ein Fürstentreffen von europäischer Dimension. Internationale Tagung aus Anlass des Millenniums des Merseburger Hoftages im Jahr 1013, Merseburg und Leipzig, 23.–25. Mai 2013, das Programm vgl. unter Merseburg Programm (2013).

[2] Demgegenüber richtete sich der Beitrag auf der genannten Konferenz – ganz im Sinne des ihr zugrunde liegenden interdisziplinären Gedankens – an ein eher mediävistisches und archäologisches Publikum, und die in Aussicht genommene Publikation in der Reihe des GWZO „Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa" dürfte die Aufmerksamkeit von Namenforschern nur in geringem Maße wecken.

4. Schließlich ist, obwohl 'Mit dem Stammesnamen […] hier kaum zu rechnen' (Eichler/Walther 1984: 219) sei, auch an die Übertragung eines Bewohnernamens *Marsi* aus dem Rheinmündungsgebiet zu denken.

5. Außerdem könnte dem Namen im Bestimmungswort auch ein Flussname zugrunde liegen, der aus dem Indogermanischen stammen würde, wobei idg. *mor-* 'stehendes Wasser' angegeben wird. (Eichler 2001: 24f.)

6. In diesem Zusammenhang steht auch die neuere Überlegung, **Mersa* von germ. **mersō* (aus idg. **merh₂-* 'zerdrücken') herzuleiten. (Greule 2014: 347).

Bei allen Aufzählungen, die sich in der graphischen Darstellung am besten veranschaulichen lassen (Tab. 1), wird der unsichere und mehrdeutige Charakter dieses Namens betont.

	1.*mari* 'stehendes Gewässer'	2.*mairja-* 'Grenze'	3. Personenname	4. *Marsi*	5. *mor-*	6. **mersō* < **merh₂-*
Greule (2014: 347)						1
Hartig (2012: 406)	1	2	3	4		
Eichler (2001: 24f.)					1	
Berger (1999: 198)³	1					
Eichler/Walther (1988: 186f.)	1	2	3	4		
Eichler/Walther (1984: 218-220)	1	2	3	4		

Tabelle 1. Die Erklärungen für *Merseburg* in der Literatur (die Zahlen kennzeichnen die Reihenfolge der Aufzählung)

Hinsichtlich der Motivation handelt es sich fast durchweg um plausible Herleitungsmöglichkeiten, die gut zur Lagesituation der Örtlichkeit zu passen scheinen. Damit dürfte die Wahrscheinlichkeit der vielleicht schillerndsten Variante einer Namenherkunft aus dem Rheinmündungsgebiet erheblich abfallen, auch wenn sie im engen räumlichen Kontext mit anderen offensichtlichen, aber historisch schwer einzuordnenden Ethnonymen wie *Friesenfeld, Warnenfeld* usw. stehen würde. Ernst Eichlers Vorschlag einer indogermanischen Herleitung, die mit den vorherigen Varianten bricht, ist insofern mit Vorsicht zu betrachten, als dass er diese zum einen selbst als 'unsicher' bezeichnet (Eichler 2001: 24), und zum anderen die Namenforschung in Bezug auf voreinzelsprachliche, indogermanische Etymologien von Gewässernamen gerade mitten in einem Umbruch steckt, der auch die mitteldeutsche onymische Landschaft erreicht hat (Bichlmeier 2010, Bichlmeier 2012a, Bichlmeier 2012b, Bichlmeier/Opfermann 2011). Der durchaus plausible Sachverhalt,

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³ Noch knapper unter ausschließlicher Nennung dieser Variante Walther (1982: 264).

dass die Bezeichnung einer Burg aus dem Namen eines angrenzenden kleineren Gewässers gebildet werden konnte, ist davon allerdings unberührt. Der Namenbestandteil *Mers-* entzieht sich also einer eindeutigen und glasklaren Erklärung. Diesem an sich unbefriedigenden Befund ist aber immerhin abzugewinnen, dass sich der Name nicht wie viele andere in der Umgebung reibungslos in das germanisch/deutsche oder slavische toponymische System einfügt, sondern sperrig bleibt.

Ohnehin ist es mit der Etymologie kein einfaches Ding. Spätestens, seit man sich des Phänomens der „sekundären semantischen Motivierung" voll bewusst geworden ist, muss sich die Etymologie die ketzerische Nachfrage gefallen lassen, ob sie nicht mitunter nur Phantome im Nebel erhascht. Namen kann nämlich in einer entlehnenden Sprache eine Etymologie untergeschoben worden sein, die sie ursprünglich nicht hatten. Beispielsweise hat das nicht allzu weit östlich von Merseburg gelegene *Kriegsdorf* keineswegs mit einer besonderen Wehrhaftigkeit zu tun, wie man vielleicht meinen möchte. Vielmehr wurde der Name von einem altsorbischen Anthroponym **Krik* oder von urslavisch **krekъ* als Bezeichnung einer nicht genauer bestimmbaren Wasserpflanze gebildet. Dies zeigen die überlieferten schriftlichen Belege 1146 *Crichesto[r]ph,* 1167 *Crikesdorf,* 1169 *Crikesdorf,* 1270 *Krichesdorf,* 1314 *Crysdorf* usw. (Eichler/Walther 1984: 195; Zschieschang 2012: 141 und 145). Dass Resemantisierungen solcherart dokumentiert sind, ist letztlich Glückssache, insbesondere wenn es nicht wie hier um Nominationsprozesse des Mittelalters geht, sondern um ältere Perioden. Somit ist davon auszugehen, dass wir solche Belege in einer nicht zu beziffernden Anzahl an Fällen nicht haben (Bergmann 2011). Solche Überlegungen dürfen aber nicht so weit getrieben werden, dass das etymologische Fundament der Onomastik ausgehebelt wird und postulierte massenhafte sekundäre semantische Motivierungen von geographischen Namen für verschrobene Ansichten über sprachliche Substrate und angebliche „Ursprachen" herhalten müssen, aus denen die Namen, die durchweg ungeheuer alt seien, lediglich umgedeutet worden seien.[4] Im genannten Beispiel war im übrigen die sekundäre Motivierung so wirkmächtig, dass man sich im Jahr 1945 dazu entschloss, den Ort umzubenennen, wodurch er bis heute *Friedensdorf* heißt.

Ob eine tiefere Auseinandersetzung mit *Merseburg* zur eindeutigen Bevorzugung einer der genannten Erklärungsmöglichkeiten führen würde, darf bezweifelt werden. Als Nachtrag ist hinzufügen, dass hinsichtlich der Etymologie mit Bichlmeier 2016 vieles in dieser Hinsicht klarer geworden ist, so dass der hier noch geäußerte Zweifel gegenstandslos geworden ist. Die Ausarbeitung des genannten Aufsatzes fiel in die Zeit nach der Fertigstellung desvorliegenden Beitrags. In Bezug auf eine onomastische Betrachtung des Treffens vor 1000 Jahren erscheint eine andere Fragestellung von größerer Bedeutung zu sein, nämlich diejenige, was der Name bzw. das Element *Mers-* für die Damaligen bedeutete. Dies ist in doppeltem Sinne zu verstehen. Zum einen umfasst die Bedeutung eines Namens alle Informationen über das benannte Objekt.[5] Diese sind dem Namen selbst nicht zu

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[4] Gemeint ist Vennemann 2003; vom selben Autor sind auch weitere Werke erschienen. Entschieden dagegen Udolph 2013.

[5] Die mit vielen Publikationen einhergehende Diskussion um die Bedeutung des Eigennamens ist hier nicht nachzuverfolgen, da sie für die hier darzustellende Argumentation unerheblich ist. In diesem Beitrag lehnt sich der Gebrauch des Terminus „Bedeutung", im Titel bewusst apostrophiert, an den umgangssprachlichen Gebrauch an. Dass dieser eher offen als eng definiert ist, ist ganz im Sinne der Argumentation.

entnehmen. Welches Bild die Zeitgenossen von diesem Ort hatten, welche Baulichkeiten, welche Ereignisse, was genau für sie *Merseburg* ausmachte – diese Frage ist an Archäologen und Historiker weiterzureichen. Zum anderen ist wiederum auf die Etymologie zurückzukommen, was dann wiederum mit einer Rückkopplung zur genannten Namenbedeutung verbunden sein kann.

Nicht nur heute macht man sich mehr oder weniger ernsthafte Gedanken, wie und woraus unsere Namen entstanden sind. Diese Art der Beschäftigung des menschlichen Geistes ist auch schon für die Zeit vor 1000 Jahren nachzuweisen. Das in diesem Zusammenhang vielleicht bekannteste Beispiel ist die Bemerkung des sprachkundigen Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg über Niemcza/Nimptsch in Schlesien:

> … *ad urbem Nemzi, eo quod a nostris olim sit condita* (zur Burg Nemzi, weil sie einst von den Unsrigen erbaut wurde)[6]

Auch für seinen Bischofssitz stellt er solche Überlegungen an:

> *Et quia tunc fuit hec apta bellis et in omnibus semper triumphalis, antiquo more Martis signata est nomine.* (Und weil sie [die Stadt/*urbs*] damals kriegerisch und stets überall siegreich war, wurde sie, alter Sitte folgend, nach Mars benannt.)[7]

Diesen Nominationsmythos bietet auch die aus späterer Zeit überlieferte Merseburger Bischofschronik am Ende des hier ausführlicher geschilderten Gründungsmythos ganz ähnlich, aber breiter ausgeführt:

> *Sed quoniam a flumine magno Reno usque ad fluvium Salam et ultra universa victricibus armis Marte prosperante domuerat, hanc urbem bellis aptam deo Marti, quem praecipue colebat dicavit ac nomine consecravit eamque Marsburg, i. e. Martis urbem, appellavit* (Aber als er [G. Julius Caesar] vom großen Rheinflusse an bis zur Saale und darüber hinaus mit siegreichen Waffen [alles] glücklich unterworfen hatte, weihte er diese Stadt, weil sie zum Kriege geeignet war, dem Gotte Mars, den er besonders verehrte, und ehrte sie mit dessen Namen und nannte sie Marsburg, das ist die Burg des Mars.)[8]

Diese Gedanken scheinen in beiden Quellen so wichtig zu sein, dass sie mit an den Anfang, in den Zusammenhang mit der Gründungslegende, gestellt werden. Dies entspricht dem bis heute üblichen historiographischen Verfahren, im Erzählen über die Entstehung eines Ortes zu erläutern, wie dieser zu seinem Namen kam, was im wissenschaftlichen und im

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[6] MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 9: 473 (Lib. VII, c. 59 (44)); die deutsche Übersetzung nach Trillmich (2011: 420). Vgl. die Charakterisierung des Bischofs und Chronisten bei Schneidmüller 2005: 19f. Thietmar bezieht sich hier – etymologisch richtig – auf poln. *niemcy* 'Deutsche'.

[7] MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 9: 5 (Lib. I, c. 2); die deutsche Übersetzung folgt: Trillmich (2011: 5).

[8] MGH SS 10: 164. Die Übersetzung folgt – mit geringfügigen Abänderungen – Rademacher (1903: 14). Für den freundlichen Hinweis auf diese Übersetzung danke ich Christoph Mielzarek, Leipzig.

nichtwissenschaftlichen Bereich gleichermaßen verbreitet ist. Die genannte Etymologie bedarf heute keiner Diskussion, denn sie ist natürlich als verfehlt abzutun.

In der Onomastik werden unwissenschaftliche Namenerklärungen als Volksetymologien bezeichnet, einem seit langem eingebürgerten und selbstverständlich verwendeten Terminus (Wiesinger 1995: 463f.). In Zeiten von Antidiskriminierungsgesetzen scheint er jedoch bedenklich zu sein, denn wenn Volksetymologie ein Synonym für falsche Etymologie ist, dann werden auch die nicht seltenen redlichen und mitunter auch überzeugenden Versuche von Personen außerhalb des akademischen Elfenbeinturms pauschal diskreditiert und entwertet. Auch Werner Trillmich (2011: 5) kann sich nicht enthalten, die Überlegungen Thietmars in Fußnote 5 seiner Edition als 'Fabeleien' zu annotieren.[9]

Aber versuchen wir die Perspektive der damaligen Zeit einzunehmen und alles, was sich danach ereignete, außer Acht zu lassen. Damit bietet sich uns folgendes Bild: Der Bischof Thietmar war natürlich nicht einfach ein Angehöriger des Volkes, sondern ein hoch geachteter und gebildeter Vertreter der damaligen Wissenschaften. Sprachgewandt nicht nur im Sächsischen und Lateinischen, sondern, soviel sich erkennen lässt, auch im Slavischen, der Muttersprache der meisten seiner Schäfchen oder potentiell noch dem Schoß der Kirche Zuzuführenden.[10] Man darf konstatieren: Was er in punkto Wissen sagte, das galt. Was die Vorzeit und die Erklärung von Namen angeht, so hatte er die Position inne, die heute den die einschlägigen Universitätslehrstühle besetzt Haltenden zukommt.

Wenn also dieser Gelehrte des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts zu der Auffassung gelangt, Merseburg sei die Burg des Mars, dann ist das nicht spinnerte Volksetymologie, sondern anerkannte Lehrmeinung. Alles andere, was wir heute in dem Namen sehen wollen – und es wäre interessant zu wissen, was unsere eventuellen Nachfolger in 1000 Jahren davon halten werden – ist dabei gegenstandslos. Im Jahr 1013 ist Merseburg nicht von einem indogermanischen Gewässernamen abgeleitet, sondern vom römischen Kriegsgott.

Daraus ergibt sich die Frage, ob diese Lehrmeinung ausschließlich Thietmar und seinen geistlichen Brüdern und Schwestern bekannt war oder auch weiteren Kreisen der gesellschaftlichen Eliten. Letzteres erscheint durchaus wahrscheinlich, denn wer sich eines Sitzes erfreuen kann, dessen Name antike Wurzeln aufweist, der dürfte dies auch bei passenden Gelegenheiten selbstbewusst kommuniziert bzw. damit geprahlt haben.

Man darf also davon ausgehen, dass den Teilnehmern des Merseburger Hoftages, zumindest den Hochrangigen, bewusst war, dass sie sich in der vermeintlichen Burg des römischen Kriegsgottes treffen. Und man darf weitere Fragen stellen, nämlich ob dieser Name in seiner repräsentativen Symbolwirkung nicht auch eine Rolle für die Aufenthaltsqualität des Ortes spielte.

Im Vergleich mit den seinerzeit bedeutenderen Orten flussauf- und -abwärts entlang der Saale ist festzustellen, dass mit diesen ein solcher onomastischer Staat nicht zu machen ist. Der Vergleich mag schief erscheinen, weil für die übrigen Orte jeweils nur die heute

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[9] Dies geschieht mit der natürlich redlichen Intention, einer Rezeption dieser aus heutiger Sicht natürlich abwegigen Meinung unter dem wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs, auf den seine Edition abzielt, von vornherein einen Riegel vorzuschieben.

[10] Zu diesen Fragen hat sich insbesondere Karlheinz Hengst mehrfach intensiv auseinandergesetzt; vgl. Hengst 1990a; Hengst 1990b; Hengst 1992; Hengst 1997; Hengst 2000. Zur Bedeutung der Aufzeichnungen Thietmars für die Ortsnamenforschung Freydank 1967; Eichler 1990; Hengst 2005; Eichler 2009.

gültigen etymologischen Ansätze aufgeführt sind, aber Namenerklärungen aus dem hohen Mittelalter sind nicht überliefert.

Fortschreitend von Norden nach Süden wäre mit dem schwierigsten Fall, *Halle (Saale),* zu beginnen. Der Name wird zumeist von asä./ahd. *halla* 'von Säulen getragener Bau' abgeleitet (Eichler/Walther1988: 128; Winkler 2012: 240). Dies wurde aber als 'ungewiss' betrachtet (Berger 1999: 133). Unstritig dürfte jedoch ein Bezug des Namens zur Salzgewinnung sein.[11] Ein Vorschlag von Jürgen Udolph, dass der Name aus idg. **kel-/*kol-* über germ. **hel-/*hal* 'abschüssig, schräg' entstanden sei (Udolph 2000: 437f. und 440f.),[12] erscheint topographisch für Halle (Saale) durchaus plausibel: Zwischen Marktplatz und Hallmarkt fällt das Gelände, hervorgerufen durch die von der Geologie so benannte „Hallesche Marktplatzverwerfung", sehr markant ab (Wagenbreth/Steiner 1989: 80f.). Aus philologischer Perspektive stieß dieser Vorschlag aber auf erheblichen Widerspruch (Bichlmeier 2012b: 209f., Anm. 12), und er dürfte ad acta zu legen sein. Vielmehr ist wohl mit David Stifter (2005: 237f.) von urgerm. **χalla* aus uridg. **kHl-no-* 'hartes Ding, Schwiele' bzw. '(salz)kruste, die sich beim sieden der sole in der pfanne bildet' auszugehen (Bichlmeier 2012b: 209f., Anm. 12). Ohne angesichts sehr verschiedener sprachhistorischer Gegebenheiten Gleichmacherei betreiben zu wollen, ist doch der Name im Zusammenhang mit anderen, ähnlich benannten Orten zu sehen, wo ebenfalls Salz gewonnen wurde (*Hallein, Hallstadt, Reichenhall* usw.).[13]

Auch die Erklärung für *Schkopau,* belegt 1177 *Albertus de Schapowe,* 1184 *A. de Scapowe,* 1224 *Wichardus de Zkapowe,* 1266 *castrum Skapowe,* 1347 *Schapow(e),* 1436 *Schkapow, Schkopow,* ist nicht eindeutig. Am ehesten ist **Skap+ov-* anzusetzen; das altsorbische Suffix trat an ein offenbar indogermanisches Basismorphem **skāb-* (Eichler 1987-2009, 3: 196).

Burgwerben, belegt 830–850 *Uuirbina,* 866–900 *Uuirbineburg,* 979 *civitas et castellum Uuirbineburch,* 1135 *in Uuirbinensi castro,* 1154ff. *comes de/in Wirbene, Werbene,* (1171) *in Wirbene,* (1180) 16. Jh. *in castro Wirbene,* 1298 *Burkwerbin* usw., ist hingegen eine rein altsorbische und leicht zu erschließende Bildung **Viŕb-n-* aus **viŕba* 'Weide (Salix)'.[14]

Goseck wiederum beinhaltet ältere Sprachelemente. Der Name ist belegt für das 866–900 *Gozacha civitas,* 979 *castellum Gozcoburch,* um 1135 *Gozeka, Gosecka, Gozecense,* 1138 *Gosse[ce]nse* usw. und ist – ganz ähnlich wie Merseburg – unsicher (Walther 1971: 317; Eichler/Walther 1984: 153f.). Eine Herleitung von altsorbisch **Gvozdk-* aus asorb. **gvozd* ‚Bergwald' mit dem Diminutivsuffix *-k* ist ebenso wie ein Anschluss an germanisch **gusa-* ‚Sturzbach' (vgl. Gos, Gosaubach, Gose bei Greule 2014: 185) nicht frei von Problemen.

Die genannten Orte sind entweder altsorbische Bildungen oder beinhalten ältere Elemente, die nicht eindeutig zu erfassen sind. Dass solche vorslavischen Sprachelemente in

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[11] Die entsprechenden Möglichkeiten – germ. **hal* 'Salz', ahd. *halhus* 'Siedehaus des Salzwerkes', mhd. *hal* 'Salzquelle, Salzwerk' – werden genannt bei Winkler 2012.
[12] Vgl. auch neuerdings Udolph 2014.
[13] Vgl. die entsprechenden Beiträge bei Niemeyer 2012: 240f., 515f. und 574, die unterschiedliche Bewertungen zeigen.
[14] Walther 1971: 320; Eichler 1987-2009, 4: 66f.; Eichler/Walther 1984: 325; Eichler 1985: 155f.

den Namen hervorgehobener Orte an der Saale anscheinend überproportional häufig vertreten sind, ist eine Beobachtung, der vielleicht an anderer Stelle nachgegangen werden sollte. In unserem Zusammenhang ist jedoch entscheidend, dass eine herrschaftssymbolisch so plakative Deutungsmöglichkeit wie für Merseburg nicht vorliegt. Wenn nun ein König mit römisch-imperialem Anspruch die Auswahl hat, seinen Aufenthalt in einem der genannten fünf Orte zu nehmen – für welchen wird er sich wohl entscheiden? Tatsächlich war Merseburg die vom letzten liudolfingischen Herrscher am häufigsten besuchte sächsische Stadt (Ehlers 2005: 12, Schlesinger 1963: 174-180, Altmann, in Druck), und es 'ist kein Zufall, dass Heinrich II. sein Königtum gerade in der *inclita Mersburg* präsentierte' (Schneidmüller 2005: 27). Auch seine Vorgänger nahmen hier außerordentlich oft ihren Aufenthalt (Ehlers 2005: 10-14).

Zu erwähnen ist schließlich noch ein ganz ähnlicher Name, nämlich *Meersburg* am Bodensee. Auf diese Parallele hatte zum ersten Mal ein Heimatforscher hingewiesen (Schmidt 1939: 27); im onomastischen Lichte erscheint sie aber eher abwegig zu sein.[15] Was der Etymologie recht ist, muss aber der Weltanschauung des frühen 11. Jh. nicht billig sein. Denn immerhin war der Ort am Bodenseeufer, 988 in einer Urkunde Ottos III. als *Meresburg* zum ersten Mal erwähnt, seinerzeit in königlichem Besitz (Götz 1980: 519). Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass die Ähnlichkeit dieses Namens mit *Merseburg* auch schon damals aufgefallen ist, auch wenn uns die Quellen darüber nichts berichten.[16]

Die Frage nach einem evtl. Einfluss solcher etymologischer Überlegungen auf die Bedeutung von Orten für die hochmittelalterliche Elite scheint bisher noch nicht aufgeworfen worden zu sein, und es ist auch nicht zu behaupten, dass diese gegenüber anderen Faktoren im Vordergrund standen, wenn es um die bevorzugten Aufenthaltsorte von Herrschern geht. Insofern ist diese Frage nicht überzubewerten, aber doch zu stellen. Sie erhält dadurch ein gewisses Gewicht, dass bereits seit der frühesten Zeit von einem 'durchgehenden Zeichenrealismus' (Geuenich 1995: 352) auszugehen ist. Heute wissen wir um die Arbitrarität der Benennungen, dass also dasjenige, was wir heute semantisch im Namen sehen wollen, mit dem so benannten Objekt nicht zwingend etwas zu tun haben muss. *Düsseldorf* ist kein Dorf, und in *Eisleben* ist es nicht außergewöhnlich kalt. Damals jedoch galt, dass der Name etwas über das, was er bezeichnet, verrät (Geuenich 1995: 351), und dies nicht, wohlgemerkt, über den Umweg der diachronen, etymologischen Betrachtungsweise der modernen Wissenschaft, sondern ganz direkt aus dem Schrift- oder Lautbild der entsprechend zeitgenössischen Namenform. 'Im Glauben an die Bedeutsamkeit der Namen traf sich die archaische Sprachauffassung mit einem hochtheologischen aus der Schöpfung abzuleitenden Weltkonzept, das jedem Ding seine Providenz sicherte.' (Geuenich 1995: 352) Entsprechende Deutungstechniken sind für das Mittelalter mit einer Masse von Belegen nachweisbar

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[15] Während sich *Meersburg* bei Eichler/Walther (1984: 220) noch wertungsfrei unter den Vergleichsnamen findet, urteilen beide kurz darauf: ‚Meersburg am Bodensee ist nicht vergleichbar.' (Eichler/Walther 1988: 187); in beiden Abhandlungen wird jedoch der sicher nicht unwesentliche erste Beleg 988 *Meresburg* nicht mit aufgeführt. Nicht ganz so streng jetzt (aus der Perspektive von Meersburg): Riecke (2012: 399): ‚Anders wohl Merseburg'; vgl. auch Berger (1999: 196).

[16] Falls es einen sprachlichen Zusammenhang zwischen beiden Orten gibt, wäre vielleicht auch *Merzen* in Niedersachsen zu berücksichtigen, das wohl aus *Mar-s-* gebildet wurde, aber unsicher bleibt, vgl. Möller (1998: 109f.)

(Geuenich 1995: passim). Insofern handelt es sich bei Thietmars Namenerklärungen nicht um periphere Skurrilitäten, sondern um Reflexe einer gängigen geistigen Haltung.

In Bezug auf Merseburg ist dabei allerdings nicht zu vergessen, dass sich Thietmar seiner Sache vielleicht gar nicht so sicher war, denn er ließ Überlegungen zu einer slavischen Namenherkunft unmittelbar folgen:

> *Et quia tunc fuit hec apta bellis et in omnibus semper triumphalis, antiquo more Martis signata est nomine. Posteri autem Mese, id est mediam regionis, nuncupabant eam, vel a quadam virgine sic dicta.* (Und weil sie [die Stadt/*urbs*] damals kriegerisch und stets überall siegreich war, wurde sie, alter Sitte folgend, nach Mars benannt. Spätere bezeichneten sie als „Mese", d. h. „mitten im Lande"; vielleicht aber heißt sie auch nach einer Jungfrau).[17]

Diese Äußerungen erwecken aber den Eindruck, als würde sie Thietmar als sekundäre semantische Motivierung verstehen. Solche Differenzierungen gab es also schon vor tausend Jahren. Dies gilt sicher auch für ein weiteres Phänomen, wenn nämlich nach langwieriger Forschungsarbeit, die mit dem Ergebnis endet, dass es mehrere Möglichkeiten der Namenerklärung gibt, sich manche Rezipienten allein diejenige herausgreifen, die sie für die interessanteste, spektakulärste oder in irgendeinem Sinne nützlichste halten. Diese Bevorzugung würde aber, aus damaliger Sicht, wiederum für den Mars sprechen.

Die genannte Bemerkung Thietmars ist auch bei der Frage zu berücksichtigen, ob die für das Jahr 936 genannte berüchtigte Merseburger Legion, eine aus Straftätern zusammengestellte militärische Einheit, die Raubzüge in den Osten unternehmen sollte,[18] tatsächlich in Merseburg zu verorten ist, da von einer *legio Mezaburiorum* die Rede ist, wie Walter Schlesinger (1963: 168) betont hat. An und für sich wäre *mezi* von *Merseburg* zu trennen, allerdings bringt der hierbei gewiss nicht unkundige Thietmar im oben aufgeführten Quellenzitat beide Formen zusammen, so dass Schlesingers Überlegung nicht allzu schwer wiegen dürfte. Die Legio dürfte damit tatsächlich ihren Sitz in Merseburg gehabt haben, und wieder wäre zu überlegen, ob sie nur zufällig im Schatten des römischen Kriegsgottes stationiert wurde.

In Bezug auf die oben genannte Bedeutung des Ortsnamens Merseburg im Jahr 1013 dürfte also vorauszusetzen sein, dass die gelehrte Erklärung als 'Burg des Mars' Teil dessen war, was bei den Hörern des Namens evoziert wurde, was also Teil der damaligen Namenbedeutung ist. Ob der Kriegsgott eine gute Lokalität für einen Friedensschluss lieferte, sei damit ebenso dahingestellt wie die Spekulation, wie ernst man es mit dem Friedenswunsch wohl meinte, wenn man diesen ausgerechnet hier besiegeln will. Der Name des Versammlungsortes und dessen vermeintlich antike Wurzel, an der damals niemand zu zweifeln Veranlassung hatte, dürfte aber ein willkommenes Mittel der liudolfingischen imperialen Machtdemonstration gegenüber den Nachbarn gewesen sein.

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[17] MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 9: 5 (Lib. I, c. 2); die deutsche Übersetzung folgt: Trillmich (2011: 5). Unter den „Späteren" sind die ansässigen Slaven zu verstehen, die Thietmar interessanterweise nicht explizit nennt, wie es z.B. als *in lingua Sclavorum* u.ä. durchaus möglich gewesen wäre. Auf dieses Detail hat mich Prof. Dr. Karlheinz Hengst am 2.7.2015 freundlicherweise hingewiesen, wofür ich ihm herzlich danke.

[18] MGH SS rer. Germ. 60: 69 (Lib. 2, c. 3). Vgl. zuletzt Ehlers (2005: 9 und 15f., Anm. 3).

Es ist jedoch davor zu warnen, die Semantik allzu leicht und eindeutig zu nehmen, denn mit der simplen Gleichung Mars = Krieg dürfte es nicht getan sein; auch andere Assoziationen und Konnotationen werden eine Rolle gespielt haben. Für das 11. Jh. ist dies jedoch schwer nachzuweisen. Um eine anschauliche Vorstellung davon zu bieten zu können, ist auf spätere Zeiten zu verweisen. *Mars* ist eine seemännische Bezeichnung des Mastkorbes (Grimm/Grimm 1999: 1671), und maritim Interessierten wird in diesem Zusammenhang das *Marssegel* in den Sinn kommen.[19] Noch vielgestaltiger wird die semantische Differenzierung bei einem Blick in die Gegenwart. Wer in einem Versandkatalog nach Fahrrädern geschaut hat, der hat es vielleicht ebenso mit Mars zu tun bekommen[20] wie der Liebhaber kalorienreicher Pausensnacks,[21] und hierfür wie auch bei unserem geradezu ikonisch von *little green men* bevölkerten Nachbarplaneten spielt ein Kriegsgott für die meisten Namennutzer keine Rolle mehr.

Die Etymologie eines Namens ist für seine Bedeutung im historischen Kontext nicht immer relevant. Im jeweiligen geschichtlichen Umfeld ist das viel wichtiger, was in die Namen jeweils herein interpretiert wird, bzw. was aus damaliger Sicht als Etymologie des Namens betrachtet wurde und – wie in diesem Beispiel – gesellschaftliche Relevanz erhielt. Für Merseburg ist die durch Thietmar überlieferte Ausdeutung des Namens als 'Burg des Mars' durchaus ernst zu nehmen, und zwar dahin gehend, dass sie im Kontext ihrer Zeit eine Rolle für das Prestige des Ortes in den Augen der damaligen Eliten spielte. Diese Ausdeutung ist durchaus dem 'Potential des Ortes' (Ehlers 2005: 14) zuzuschlagen, was nicht nur, wie andere Aspekte, zumeist, sondern anscheinend bisher völlig übersehen wurde.[22]

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[19] Dieses Wort geht zurück auf romanische Wurzeln, vgl. http://www.etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/mars2 (28.7.2014) mit den dort zusammengestellten Einträgen der maßgeblichen niederländischen etymologischen Wörterbücher.

[20] *Mars* war ein traditionsreiches Nürnberger Fahrzeugbauunternehmen, das 1958 in Konkurs ging. Der Markenname wurde vom ehemaligen Versandhaus Quelle übernommen, und für die von diesem angebotenen Fahr- und Leichtkrafträder verwendet, vgl. http://www.nuernberginfos.de/traditionsfirmen-aus-nuernberg/mars-werke.html; http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mars-Werke (beide 29.7.2014).

[21] Der Schokoriegel *Mars* ist Markenflaggschiff des gleichnamigen US-amerikanischen Unternehmens, das nach dessen Gründer Frank C. Mars benannt ist; vgl. Darstellung http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mars_Incorporated, weiterhin auch die Herstellerseiten http://www.mars.com/germany/de/about-mars/history.aspx und http://www.mars-riegel.de/#/History (alle 29.7.2014).

[22] Dies in Anspielung auf eine entsprechende Formulierung bei Ehlers (2005: 14).

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