

Surnames obsolescent?

'Sir, In the early 1950s, when I first went to work, the staff were mostly known by surname except for one's immediate colleagues and personal friends. By the time I retired, people were called almost always by their first name. Indeed, you did not always know what their surname was, and this could cause difficulty in looking them up in directories.

'Eastern Electricity, in their four-page advertisement, have solved this problem at one stroke by listing all their employees in alphabetical order of *first name*. Can it be long before British Telecom's directories catch up with this trend?' [letter to *The Times*, 19.xii.90, p.13; cf. 12.xii.90].

Straightway, someone pointed out that such was and always had been the Icelandic practice, and it worked [*ibidem*, 22.xii.90, p.9]. In fact, BT put out a pilot over two years ago: a fax subscriber in Belfast was a bit put out when, on receiving the relevant directory, 'he found himself listed not by his surname but under his first name—the fate of countless other subscribers too'; when challenged, the sub-contractors responsible replied:

'We only follow British Telecom rules and they say that where a subscriber supplies his or her full name the Christian name dictates its placing in the directory. If you only provide an initial, you go in under your surname' [*The Times* 'City Diary', 25.x.88, p.31].

Perhaps there is something brewing at BT: their Beatie is currently shown going through her address-book from *Alma* to *Vera* and *Zelma*, whereas we'd assumed that everyone did like us and arranged names from *Abbott* to *Young*.

Merrythoughts

If you, my astute marketeers, owned the reproduction rights of a sweetmeat hitherto known by the wholesome and historic name of *Marathon*, would you change this to *Snickers* (dread of an Eternal Footman being the least of it)? How willingly would you entrust your business to a firm calling itself *Rapid Rat Couriers*? Overheard on a bus jammed in Fenchurch Street: 'Whenever I see the name *Kleinwort Benson*, I think of underwear' [not of England?—S.]. Book-title of 1989: *Sex and Death in Protozoa: the History of an Obsession* (CUP)—*—Liebestod?*

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O. J. PADEL, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, EPNS LVI and LVII, English Place-Name Society: Nottingham, 1985, xli+349pp., price not stated.

This will be a short review. Its brevity will attract more readers, and more readers are what *Cornish Place-Name Elements* deserves. Its publication underlines the value of sharing existing research even though the research itself may be incomplete (although I prefer the author's term 'provisional'). Oliver Padel has taken the bold step of publishing his dictionary before his county survey is complete, and in the full knowledge that further new elements may appear and documentation of existing elements be supplanted. In the meantime both scholar and amateur alike have been afforded an invaluable analysis of place-names in Cornwall.

Padel has also facilitated research in other Celtic areas, particularly Wales and Brittany, by drawing attention to cognates and parallel usage. Such cross-referencing is common in philological notes to literary texts, and has been an integral feature of historical lexicography, but this is the first instance of a methodical place-name survey providing such extensive material for Brittonic languages. As such, it is a notable contribution to Celtic philology and toponymy. The presentation of this information is simple. In the 'Indexes of Welsh and Breton cognates' he has two lists: the first gives the Welsh cognate, then the Breton cognate followed by the Cornish element; the second gives the Breton cognate, then the Welsh cognate followed by the Cornish element. Thus the specialist in either language can trace comparable place-names with considerable ease. All this is preceded by an exhaustive 'Index of Cornish place-names cited' which gives not only the place-name and the element under which the discussion is to be found but its status (whether of parish, field, or even mine). His 'Index of rejected elements' will certainly shake a few trees too, in that it lists elements for which no acceptable place-name evidence can actually be documented despite their being hitherto described as 'Cornish'.

Another Celtic thorn which Oliver Padel has grasped quite firmly is the period from which the head-forms should be chosen. English scholars are used to working from Old English forms. It may not be quite that simple in Cornish, Breton and Welsh. A further Cornish complication is the Revised Cornish spelling system. His decision to use Middle Cornish forms was wise, a decision which Welsh toponymic scholars will note when a start is made in standardizing the presentation of a Welsh national survey.

English loan-words are generally disregarded unless it can be shown that the word was a living element within Cornwall for Cornish speakers. This closely parallels the 'naturalized' place-names observed especially in Clwyd and in the number of English topographic elements that have been preserved in place-names

of Wales, occasionally with different meanings.

There is an awareness here that very many etymologies are being proposed publicly for the first time and that, since this is a dictionary and not a survey volume, there is no space to cite evidence. It takes a brave man to say, 'In general it can be assumed that the more improbable a derivation looks on paper, the better the available evidence for it' (p.xiv). With reassuring charm he then expresses himself willing to provide 'interested inquirers' with more detailed evidence.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of a remarkably concise Introduction concerns the classification of place-names to reflect usage in the Celtic languages. Several scholars have, in passing, distinguished types of place-name mainly in efforts to establish chronology, especially at the interface of two languages with different systems or preferences. In this book we are reminded that Celtic compounds where the qualifier precedes the generic are by no means evidence of great antiquity. They represent equally a consciously formal, archaic or even poetic naming, a feeling for a striking 'reversed' compound which justifies over-riding the more usual name-phrase. However the general rule (of the compound being probably older than a name-phrase) is neither challenged nor invalidated. What Oliver Padel does is shake off the considerations of chronology and propose a classification by compound and name-phrase, and by qualifier and generic. This classification establishes a working model for Celtic toponymic studies partly because he meticulously lists the shortcomings of his system. Perhaps a future Supplement will unravel even those.

The English Place-Name Society is to be complimented on furthering Celtic scholarship and British toponymy by publishing *Cornish Place-Name Elements*.

HYWEL WYN OWEN

C. MARYNISSEN, *Hypokoristische Suffixen in oudnederlandse Persoonsnamen, inz. de -z- en -l- Suffixen*, Secretariat van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde: Ghent, 1986, 481pp., price not stated.

This study in Continental-Germanic modes of hypocoristic formation represents a reworking of the author's doctoral thesis, approved in 1971 by the University of Leuven and in 1973 awarded a distinction by the Belgian Royal Academy for the Study of Netherlandish Language and Literature. To all students of Germanic anthroponymy it will be invaluable, the 23-page bibliography being in itself a remarkable research-tool.

The first part of the book consists of an onomasticon that lists—with documentary reference, date, localization and, when known, the name-bearer's status—every instance of a hypocoristic form found in the sources excerpted;

under each root-form, summary references are given to all treatments in secondary works. The term 'Netherlandish' is generously interpreted, the area covered being that represented in Maurits Gysseling's *Toponymisch Woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West-Duitsland* (Tongeren, 1960), and therefore stretches roughly from Artois through all the Low Countries into the Rhineland (regrettably, no map is provided; nor is there one in Gysseling's dictionary). Coverage has indeed been partly governed by the availability of Gysseling's personal-name collections, originally aimed towards his unrealized project for a corresponding personal-name dictionary. Further material has been gathered from relevant documents available in sound editions. Chronologically, the main survey ends c.1150, that is, before the Germanic traditions of the area had been much contaminated by Romance styles of naming and of suffixation.

The modes of hypocoristic formation seen here partly resemble those familiar from Old English. In both traditions, the first step is reduction of a 'full' name (usually, that is, a dithe-matic Germanic one) to a monosyllabic base, sometimes identical with the prototheme but often involving modification of an originally medial consonant-group. When equipped with standard inflexions, such a base produced a simple 'short-form': thus, *Ado* for *Adulf* and other masculine names in *Ad(el)-*, *Bunno* for *Beringer* or for *Bernhard*, *Giso* for *Gisalbert* or for *Wartgis*, *Hidda* fem. for *Hildiberga*, *Tammo* for *Thancmar*, and so on (knowledge of the equivalences depends upon noting alternative styles of reference to particular individuals). Some supposed *Lall*-forms diverge rather far from their apparent originals: for instance, the frequent forms in *Dod-* and *Dud-*, such as *Dodo* and *Dudo*, seem to correspond not only to names in *Theud-* but also to ones in *Leud-*; and this might seem to imply that attempts to etymologize in lexical terms the similar Old English forms might be wide of the mark.

An individual could, as observed, be designated even in official records by a hypocoristic as alternative to his/her 'full' name. There were, besides, alternative styles of hypocoristic, for any base might undergo various sorts of further modification. And it is in the complexity as well as in the detail of these that Low-German styles diverge from Old English ones. The final consonant may undergo gemination, or unvoicing, or both: thus, *Addo*, *Atto* and *Atto* all occur for names in *Ad(el)-*, *Ebbo* and *Eppo* for *Eberhard*, and so on (in these districts, unvoicing is an expressive device, not a manifestation of the *Zweite Lautverschiebung*). Either the original base or one of its modifications may be extended by suffixation: by *-k-*, as in *Attiko*, *Benneco*, *Dodiko*, and in *Sibicho* for *Sigibodo*; by *-l-*, as in *Dodilo*, and in *Odilo* for names in *Aud-*; by *-z-*, as in *Amizo* for *Amalric* or for *Ambrose*, *Azzo* beside *Ado* and *Atto*, *Cunzo* for *Conrad*, *Lanzo* for names in *Land-*, and *Warenzo*, *Wenzo* or *Wazo* for ones in *Warin-/Werin-*; or by *-in-*, as in *Adino*, *Bertin* for *Bertrand*, *Lambin* for *Landbert*, and so on. Often, several suffixal elements might be combined: *-z+-l-*, as in *Gozelo* for names in *Gaut-* or in *God-*, *Hezelo* for *Heimric* or for *Hermann*, *Wizelo* for names in *Wid-*, and so on; *-k+-in-*, as in *Bernekin* or *Benkin*,

Landekin or *Lambekin*, and *Wennekin* fem. for *Werinhild*; *-l-* with *-in-*, as in *Benmolin*, *Dudelin* and *Odelin*; *-z-+k-+in-*, as in *Gozechin*, *Ozechin*, and *Thiezekin* for names in *Theud-*; and especially the very frequent *-z-+l-+in-*, as in *Azzelin*, *Benzelin*, *Gozelin*, *Hezelin*, *Wizelin*, and so on.

The second part consists of intensive studies of the *-l-* and the *-z-* series of suffixes. Here the documentary standing of the forms listed and their general authenticity are explored more deeply. Because the datings and the strengths of the Romance influences discernible behind certain types of development are major points at issue, distributions are tabulated geographically as well as chronologically, in hopes of enabling districts of origin to be identified. The *-l-* forms, which find parallels in many Indo-European languages, are seen as partly native to Germanic, partly fostered through Romance contacts. The *-z-* ones, first evidenced in the mid-eighth century (hence their absence from Old English), are explained as generated through affixation of an *-s-* suffix copied from Late Latin name-styles to Germanic bases ending in *-d-*, *-t-*, or *-n-*, with subsequent analogical extension to other phonetic contexts.

The formal nature of the records available precludes any socio-onomastic comment beyond the obvious one that here 'hypocorism' is not synonymous with 'pet-name': even great dignitaries might be officially designated by such forms. Whether or not there were social or affective motivation behind the shortenings, geminations and unvoicings, and the elaborate suffixations remains matter for conjecture, if that. What is clear is that, as Marynissen points out, forms which were by origin derivatives came in time to be used as names in their own right.

For Anglicists, this material has a twofold value. Specialists in Old English will find in its tabulation of Low-German formations and in the etymologies it proposes a background—perhaps, despite the disparateness of the styles concerned, even a framework—against which to plan the long-overdue reanalysis of Old English hypocorisms. Those concerned with post-Conquest prosopography may seek clues as to the origins of families rather than of name-forms. The problem is, however, that, in the continuing absence of equally detailed repertories for the rest of the region furnishing William the Conqueror's followers, the evidence here cannot but remain inconclusive. An instance of this involves the rarish name *Rorkges* or *Rorgeis* borne by an early-twelfth-century under-tenant in Huntingdonshire. Forms listed by Marynissen include the interchangeable *Roricus*, *Rorico*, *Rorigo* and *Rorgo*, evidently derived from *Hrodoric* and noted as current from c.1000 to c.1130. Within the area studied, these forms seem peculiar to Artois and Picardy; and this might seem to suggest that this could be where to seek the as-yet-unidentified Longueville from which the Huntingdonshire family took its byname (still figuring as 'manorial affix' in the place-name *Orton Longueville*). On the other hand, as Marynissen himself notes, the name *Rorigo* was by c.800 current among the counts of Le Mans and their kin; and the question is thus reopened. The principle, none the less, remains clear: prosopographers even more than anthroponymists need a full geographical range of

name-repertories that give localizations, dates and social contexts of all instances recorded; and it is greatly to be hoped that Marynissen's example will inspire other workers in the field to emulate his achievement.

CECILY CLARK

CHARLES STEVENS, JEAN ARTHUR and JOAN STEVENS (eds), *Jersey Place-Names: a Corpus of Jersey Toponymy, I—The Dictionary, II—The Maps* (by CHARLES STEVENS and COLLETTE STEVENS), revised and supplemented by FRANK Le MAISTRE, Société Jersiaise: St Helier, 1986, viii+555pp., 41 plates, £110 the set.

These huge (15½" x 12"), magnificently produced volumes are a delight to hold and to work with. Volume One is a corpus of spellings of place-names (and of personal names too) from all periods of Jersey's history. This corpus is arranged alphabetically by name, and by specific too where the names are analyzable; generics also find their way into the sequence through representative lists of names containing them (as in the case of, e.g., *fontaine*, *moulin* and *rocque*; but not of *clos*, where the list would be a deluge). Volume Two is a collection of exquisitely detailed maps showing the name of every imaginable nook and cranny on Jersey at the scale of 12" to the mile. These tomes represent an enormous amount of labour over many years (the maps were drawn in 1973), and it is reasonable to suppose that they contain close to every surviving early reference to place-names in Jersey. As a corpus, the work is priceless, and will remain—in that over-worked reviewer's-word—indispensable for future place-name work on Jersey and the other Channel Islands (indispensable for those who can get access to it; it has taken me more than three years to get sight of a copy, not being able to afford one, for its price is commensurate with its pricelessness). The compilers, two of whom are sadly now dead, should have the lasting gratitude of the community of onomasticians.

That is one side of the coin. I am sorry to have to say that there is another, less positive one. Not content with being cataloguers of place-name mentions, the compilers also go in for providing philological material as a basis for interpretation, and the results of this are less than satisfactory. For a particular name they often offer a wealth of etymological information, in an undigested state and containing numerous inaccuracies (some curious things are called 'Old English', for instance). Highly disparate alternative potential interpretations may be offered, with no principled guidance for choosing amongst them. The discussion of *caisse* in the place-name *Les Riages des Caisses* may serve as an example which it would be easy to multiply: first, it is not unreasonably referred to the Guernsey-French dialect word *caisse* 'hog-weed; cow-parsnip', although the word seems to be absent from Jersey; the authors then

decide to err on the side of caution, unfortunately, and draw attention to French *caisse* 'chest', Dutch *kas*, Provençal *caissa*, Latin *capsa* (whence English *cash*), Gaelic *coisich*, 'Old English' *cash* 'path made of tree-trunks'. No further guidance is given. The problem is especially acute with the names with a (presumably) longer history, such as the island names, among which the treatments of *Chausey*, (*Pierres de*) *Lecq* and especially of *Jersey* itself might be adduced as models of indiscriminate 'philology'. (I have tried to cut through the tangle of the island-names in a forthcoming book of my own, *The Ancient and Modern Names of the Channel Islands: a Linguistic History*.) The editors stress that they are not themselves offering definitive interpretations in difficult cases, but the product would have been more usable if a blowtorch had been applied to some of this rank undergrowth.

Nevertheless, there is much of interest and value in the discussions, if one is prepared to exercise a keen critical discipline whilst reading. For instance, it is valuable to have references to folklore interpretations, as evidence for the process of folk-onomastics, and also to have access to patois vocabulary not easily discoverable elsewhere in print. But there will be traps for the unwary comparable with those which lurk in, say, Wallenberg's volumes on the place-names of Kent.

The Introduction contains an analysis of the names in 31 categories; or, more strictly, a categorization of the name-elements which appear in the names. The most interesting of these to me were that on land units and tenure and that on surnames and occupations. Sections 32-36 are a varied lot on the (pre)history and the language(s) of the island. Claims about Roman-origin names should be treated with scepticism, on the whole. The compilers believe that *Caesarea* is still accepted by most as the Roman name for Jersey, despite the discussion in Rivet and Smith's *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979); and that *Diélament* may represent, obscurely, the legion 'name' *Decumana*, whereas the name is clearly a purely French one, 'May God make it more fertile', (*que*) *Dieu l'amende*, cf. the mention in 1382 of *le fieue de Diexlament*.

To review adequately a dictionary on this scale would be a large undertaking indeed, and there is much detail that I would be prepared to take issue with from the philological point of view. But I must content myself with this brief notice, concluding with the verdict: a working tool of the greatest importance, but one which may be misleading and frustrating. The user must bring his or her own philological training to the foreground and not rely on what is provided.

RICHARD COATES

COLIN RENFREW, *Archaeology and Language: the Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, Jonathan Cape: London, xiv+346pp.; 14 plates and 45 inset figures, £16 [overseas publication by Cambridge University Press: New York, 1988].

It is perhaps somewhat presumptuous to review in upstate New York a book that is almost exclusively European and Asian in scope. On the other hand, geographical and cultural distance conveniently shelter this reviewer from any kind of controversy which may have, indeed will have, arisen since the book under review was published, first in Britain (1987), later in North America (1988). If there is one statement for which Colin Renfrew, the author of *Archaeology and Language*, can claim the gift of clairvoyance, it is this: 'One should not underestimate ... the controversial nature of the views which I have presented, nor the difficulties which they may encounter in their more detailed application' (p. 263). Well, if the sparks have been flying, they have not ignited anything in this part of the world yet, and it is perhaps just as well that I have not yet seen any prickly reviews or overheard any heated discussion, so that I can form my own views independently of what others may think.

This book is, of course, not primarily about names; in fact, there is unfortunately very little about names in it, and as a student of names I cannot help having an immediate reaction. Many of the arguments advanced would have gained in substance and credibility, or would not have been advanced at all, if onomastic, especially toponymic, evidence had been taken into account. Unless I have overlooked something, the only reference to actual names, or to their etyma, occurs in Renfrew's brief discussion of Hans Krahe's postulation of an 'Old European' hydronymy for which the author cites *Alba* and *Ara* as examples (p.162). As the title indicates, the book is in the first place about the relationship between archaeological and linguistic evidence and methods and, according to the subtitle, offers as a special focus an investigation of the 'The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins'. It cannot be the purpose of this review to examine in detail the views developed by Renfrew in that area of inter-disciplinary research; archaeologists and linguists, especially Indo-Europeanists, will undoubtedly take care of that. Suffice it to say that, in general terms, he advocates less emphasis on the almost automatic assumption of migrations, less reliance on linguistic 'palaeontology', greater caution in the identification of languages with peoples, closer examination of the results of language contact instead of those of the survival of hereditary features, consideration of greater time depth in attempts to establish the Indo-European homeland and the dispersal of the languages in question, and a preference for the 'processual' approach; and that, more specifically, he concludes that

'it seems likely ... that the first Indo-European languages came to Europe from Anatolia around 6000 BC, together with the first domesticated plants and animals, and that they were in fact spoken by the first farmers of

Europe' (p.288).

This conclusion he regards as 'the key to the solution of the Indo-European problem.'

Despite the almost irresistible temptation for a trained Indo-Europeanist and comparative linguist to comment in more detail and seriatim on these suggestions, this review will concentrate on some of the onomastic aspects of Renfrew's thesis, with special regard to two major points: the position of 'Old European' in his scheme of things, and the implications for the linguistic prehistory of Britain and Ireland. Concerning the former, it is of course gratifying to find that Krahe's 'Old European' hypothesis is taken seriously and into account—it so seldom is in the discussion of early Celtic and pre-Celtic matters—but it is at the same time dismaying, indeed mystifying, to discover (a) that this intermediate stage between 'a relatively unitary general-Indogermanic root language' and 'the earliest emergence of the separated individual languages' in Europe has been shifted without commentary from the European Bronze Age, where Krahe envisaged it for a number of compelling reasons, to 'around 4000 BC' (pp.162-3), a pre-dating for which the hydronymic evidence provides very little support; and (b) that certain facets of Krahe's theory are conveniently ignored because they might interfere with some of the other views advanced. I am thinking particularly in this respect of Krahe's repeated insistence on Central and Western Europe north of the Alps and the countries north of that area as the location of the 'Old European' phase in the development of Western Indo-European, a restriction which assumes that Indo-European languages were secondary in the Mediterranean peninsula. Renfrew acknowledges the presence of non-Indo-European Iberian and Etruscan but fails to mention the fact that many place-names in Greece (*Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Parnassus, Olympus*) must be ascribed to a pre-Greek linguistic stratum, a realization which is supported by other linguistic evidence. This toponymic substratum—and there are also some important personal names, like *Achilleus, Odysseus, Nereus* and *Theseus*, that belong to this category—flatly contradicts, or at least makes seem very unlikely, one of the central contentions of Renfrew's book:

'The Indo-European languages of Europe would thus be traceable back to the first farmers of Greece who would themselves have spoken an early form of Indo-European' (p.151).

The dating implied here is not borne out by the chronology of the names.

Whatever one may think of the skewed time-frame, it is puzzling that Renfrew, although he indicates that there are examples of 'Old European' *Ara* in England and Scotland, does not follow up this reference in his assessment of Celts in general and of Britain in particular. For obvious reasons, this reviewer has read the chapter entitled 'Ethnogenesis: who were the Celts?' with special interest, as it provides a kind of showcase for the various theories advanced and research methods advocated: it also is the portion of the book dealing most closely with the situation in the British Isles. Much is made in this chapter of

who called whom what, although names given to or accepted by ethnic groups—by 'peoples'—do not necessarily reflect cohesive archaeological or linguistic units. A good example is the name of the Picts, which, while seemingly applicable to people of a single kind of material culture, is also used for people speaking two different languages, one Celtic and the other non-Celtic and apparently also non-Indo-European. It is, in any case, a name given by outsiders, and there is no solid evidence that the people so designated ever called themselves by that name. Even at the risk of being accused of self-serving peevishness, this reviewer must register his disappointment at the lack of acknowledgement of any of his work concerning the complex question of the potential presence of pre-Celtic Indo-Europeans ('Old Europeans') in Britain, for which a substantial corpus of early river-names seems to provide persuasive support. If the materials and arguments paraded in my several papers on the subject and in the last chapter of my book on *Scottish Place-Names* (London, 1976) had been taken into consideration, Renfrew might well have modified or abandoned his thesis that prefers

'to see the development of the Celtic languages, in the sense that they are Celtic as distinct from generalized Indo-European, as taking place essentially in those areas where their speech is later attested. That implies an Indo-European-speaking population in France and in Britain and in Ireland, and probably in much of Iberia also, by before 4000 BC' (p.245).

Indo-European, yes—but why that early and why Celtic?

There are three other minor points regarding the Celtic question which I want to address briefly in the order in which they are referred to in the book under review:

- (1) '... Manx and Cornish were still current until a few centuries ago' (p.212). This statement is misleading, in so far as the last native speaker of Manx Gaelic did not die until the second half of this century.
- (2) '... Scottish Gaelic *is thought* to have come to be spoken, first in western Scotland and then more widely, as a result of a movement of a band of settlers from north Ireland in the fifth century AD. They *are credited* with setting up the Kingdom of Dalriada ... ' (p.226; my italics). This grudging acknowledgement of the possibility of language dispersal through migration pays no attention either to primary sources, such as the chronicles and the chroniclers, or to the intensive work of John Bannerman on this very issue.
- (3) 'Very little is known of the Brithonic language spoken in England prior to the Romans and the Saxons, the principal source of information being in the place names surviving into later times' (p.229).

As Kenneth Jackson's monumental *Language and History of Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953) demonstrates, much can be made by experts of quite limited 'sources of information': place-names in particular have proved to be very informative raw material in this respect, as long as one understands their peculiar nature.

What, then, is one to say? I like books which open up new vistas of thought and challenge established convictions, and I therefore welcome Colin Renfrew's *Archaeology and Language* on that account. I also do not mind outrageous controversy or eyebrow-raising puzzlement. New perspectives have a habit of improving one's vision. What fails to appeal to me, however, is palpable selectivity in the kind of evidence presented, neglect (surely it is not ignorance) of certain kinds of relevant materials, and therefore less than justice done to other points of view. Certainly onomastic evidence should have been less peripheral to the argumentation. If one finds Renfrew's basic tenets acceptable or plausible, then the book makes disturbing sense within itself, for undoubtedly there is consistency here, if not always reasonableness. If one does not, well, at least one has been forced to rethink one's own positions, and there is obviously no harm in that.

W.F.H. NICOLAISEN

GÖRAN HALLBERG, STIG ISAKSSON and BENGT PAMP (eds), *Nionde nordiska namnforskarkongressen: Lund 4--8 augusti 1985*, NORNA-Rapporter XXXIV, NORNA-förlaget: Uppsala, 1987, 422pp., price not stated.

This volume records the proceedings of the Ninth Nordic Congress of Onomastics, held at Lund with 'Name semantics and name structure' as its general theme. Some twenty-three of the twenty-six conference papers are printed in full, the rest being summarized. The papers are accompanied by English or German summaries and by the texts of the discussions. There are comprehensive indexes.

For Anglicists, the main value of this volume lies in the treatments it contains of the theory and methodology of name study. Thus, W.F.H. Nicolaisen's paper deals with formal alteration resulting from semantic reinterpretation of place-names, especially when they pass from one language into another (pp.9-19). Nicolaisen's examples are taken from Scotland, ideal for this type of study because of its being an area of contact between Celtic (British and Gaelic) and Germanic (English and Old Norse). The simplest type of such reinterpretation includes names like *Dollar* < Gaelic *dolair* 'valley place' and *Inch* < Gaelic *inis* 'island': Nicolaisen points out that the homonymy of such names in English is important. A further type involves lexical realignment in conformity with an English semantic pattern, as when *Colbrandespade* (c.1130), containing the Old Norse personal name *Kolbrandr*, becomes the modern *Cockburnspath*. A more complex type shows semantic re-analysis accompanied by structural reshaping, as in *Kinghorn*, representing an original Gaelic **cinn-gronna* 'bog-head', or *Closeburn*, representing the typically Celtic 'inversion compound' *Kyllosbern* (1200), denoting the church of a man with the Anglo-Scandinavian name *Osbeorn* or its Norman equivalent, *Osbern*. Nicolaisen establishes a system for the analysis of secondary

motivation in onomastic material, always based on a careful examination and documentation of earlier forms. His article thus has exemplary character for similar studies of onomastic material from other regions.

Questions of popular etymology in place-names are also examined in Þorhallur Vilmundarson's paper (pp.359-76). Though this contains much useful material, the author's preference for items of common vocabulary rather than personal names as the first elements of place-names may not always be justified; the material is, however, clearly and comprehensively presented, so that readers can form their own judgments. Alan Crozier's paper about the 'transparency' of place-names in Ireland, England and Sweden deals with a related subject (pp.33-50), but lacks the theoretical clarity of Nicolaisen's and Vilmundarson's contributions. Having compared some habitative names from Skåne with ones from Staffordshire and from County Wicklow and County Kerry, Crozier concludes that the Gaelic forms are more 'transparent' than the English or the Swedish names, rightly pointing out that the conservatism of the Gaelic lexicon is decisive here. The comparison is not, however, of like with like: the linguistic histories of English, Gaelic and the originally Danish dialect of Skåne are so disparate that comparisons with regard to 'transparency' have little more than theoretical value. Nevertheless, Crozier has valuable observations on the difficulty of dating Irish place-names, especially those in *baile*, on linguistic grounds: this aspect of his study deserved more extensive treatment.

A further field of study represented here concerns the rôle of semantic factors in modern anthroponymy. Reinert Kvillerud discusses the rôle of meaning, form and function in personal names employed by the Swedish children's author Maria Gripe (pp.51-64), while Anne Svanevik examines the significance of structure and meaning in the rise of fashionable names, using material from Stavanger covering the period since 1950 (pp.189-204). Neither article offers a sociological analysis in support of the formal linguistic investigation, though admittedly in the relatively homogeneous societies of modern Scandinavia that might not have been without difficulty. Kvillerud regards the choice of the name *Elvis* by Maria Gripe for one of her characters as a mere literary device for indicating this character's identity problems, without reference to any sociological implications. There is also a character called *Elvis* in Doris Lessing's *The Fifth Child*, and there the sociological milieu of the name, at least in an English context, is caught well: this Elvis is a hooligan of obviously proletarian origin.

The importance of sociological, historical and cultural factors in toponymy is demonstrated by Rob Rentenaar's paper (pp.221-35). Rentenaar shows that the traditional notions of 'name transfer' are imprecise and that the term 'eponymous names' provides a more systematic typological framework. His material is from Denmark and the Netherlands, the latter being based on his important book *Vernoemingsnamen: Een onderzoek naar de rol van de vernoeming in de nederlandse toponymie* (Amsterdam, 1984). His categorization can be applied to English material. Modern English field-names like *Botany Bay* and *California* find

typological parallels in the Netherlands and in Scandinavia. A part of Hilversum with a large Roman Catholic population is (unofficially) called *Klein Rome*: the parallel with Nelson in Lancashire, at one time locally called *Little Moscow* on account of its reputation as a bastion of the Left, is obvious. Eponymization is also discussed, this time in the context of Swedish lake names, by Svante Strandberg (pp.247-61).

Turning to historical questions, John Kousgård Sørensen shows that E.H. Lind's 'double byname' is a spurious category (pp.21-32): a formation of the type *Áslákr Fitiaskalli* simply denotes 'Aslak of Fit', and not, as was suggested by Lind, 'the bald-headed Aslak from Fit'. In a long and unduly complex paper, Lars-Erik Edlund seeks to establish parallels in the word-formation patterns involved in Old Norse bynames and in river names in Norway and Sweden, introducing the concept of 'friare' (unorthodox) word-formation as an explanatory model (pp.109-49). Parallels such as Edlund observes are acceptable only for areas whose linguistic history is largely homogeneous, and so are at best only partially feasible in areas of linguistic heterogeneity like the British Isles. In contrast to Edlund's somewhat speculative approach, Svavar Sigmundsson gives a concise historically-based typological survey of the structure of place-names in *Árnessýsla* in southern Iceland (pp.205-15). A similarly useful and well-documented study is provided by Tom Schmidt concerning regional patterns in the use of *mið-* and *meðal-* in Norwegian toponymy (pp.117-45). Another important study is Jan Paul Strid's comparative semantic analysis of the place-name element *-rum*, found frequently in north-eastern Götaland (pp.297-315). Less satisfactory is Arend Quak's attempt to show that the feminine personal names in the eleventh-century runic inscriptions from the Swedish province of Uppland were more conservative than the masculine names in these sources (pp.263-70); the number of feminine names is, in fact, too small a part of the entire corpus to allow definitive theses of this kind. Quak's assertion that the dithematic names in *-a* found here (*Áskatla*, *Borgg]unna*, *Ingiþora*) were original short forms which had acquired new first elements deserves to be treated with the utmost scepticism; it is reminiscent of the statement in *Eyrbyggja Saga* (ch.3) that Þórólfr Mostrarskegg originally bore the name *Hrólfr*, to which Þór- had become attached as a result of his devotion to the god Þórr ('hann ... var mikill vinr Þórs, ok af því var hann Þórólfr kallaðr').

The importance of the seignorial element in place-name compounds containing personal names has been widely recognized in recent English place-name research: for example, Margaret Gelling has shown that the Uffa of Uffington and the Wulfric of Woolstone in Berkshire were not their founders but tenth-century *seigneurs* (*PN Berks.*, III, 675-7, 824). Similar evidence from Schleswig-Holstein is presented here by Wolfgang Laur, who shows, for example, that, of the 32 place-names in *-dorf* on the island of Fehmarn that are compounded with personal names, five contain the names of persons mentioned in King Valdemar's *jordebog* as holding land there in 1231 (pp.347-57). The question, therefore,

turns on the respective ages of settlement and (re)naming, and we can perhaps come nearer to answering such questions through projects like the investigation of *-staðir* names in northern Norway described in Helge Salvesen's paper (pp.377-91).

Some of the other papers, such as Hugo Karlsson's on Swedish dogs' names c.1650-1800, Allan Rostvik's on exonyms in Swedish school atlases, and Erwin Stæt Andersen's on the structure of double first names in Arhus between 1930 and 1969, are perhaps of less immediate interest to British readers. Possibly of greater moment are the papers of Botolv Helleland, Vibeke Dalberg, Birgit Falck-Kjällquist, Gudrun Utterström and Eero Kiviniemi on theoretical aspects of naming. In particular, Vibeke Dalberg makes an important attempt to revive the discussion of structural models for place-name analysis (pp.95-107), while Gudrun Utterström's paper on the typological and semantic criteria involved in the formation of family-names in seventeenth-century Stockholm (pp.237-46) has methodological implications for English surname research.

This volume contains much valuable work. It is to be hoped that some of its impulses, especially towards theoretical questions, will find their way into onomastic studies in the British Isles.

JOHN INSLEY

INGRID HJERTSTEDT, *Middle English Nicknames in the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Warwickshire*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia LXIII, Almqvist & Wiksell: Uppsala, 1987, 247pp., price not stated.

The expressed aims of this thesis were: (a) to identify and etymologize all personal bynames of supposed 'nickname' origin recorded in the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Warwickshire (1240-1483, the only copies extant being, unfortunately, Exchequer ones); and (b) to use this material, with some supplementation, as a basis for studying that county's medieval dialect patterns (p.46). The remit was thus essentially linguistic rather than onomastic, that is, focused upon etymology and dialectology, not upon personal-naming in its more specific prosopographical and socio-historical contexts.

The major part of this book (160 pp.) consists of an annotated onomasticon listing some 600 out of the almost 3,400 bynames found in the rolls excerpted; findings are summarized in a 40-page introduction. A nine-page bibliography, three appendices, and a set of distribution maps complete the volume.

The general history of English family-naming is allotted some dozen pages. Under 'Special Dialect Features', a group of bynames in *-en* is analyzed with the aim of determining whether this suffix represents survival, a patronymic or metronymic marker, of the OE weak gen. sing. inflection or whether, alternatively, it might be a reflex of the OFr diminutive suffixes *-in* and *-on*. When mapped against unambiguous instances of OFr *-in* (e.g., *Colin* and *Robin*)

the *-en* forms appear as virtually confined to the southern half of the county, whereas the *-in* ones are evenly distributed. Moreover, although the *-en* forms noted do all seem based on shortened name-stems, a quarter of these stems are of wholly pre-Conquest origins (the two Celtic etymologies proposed are questionable, and the Aramaic, Greek and Hebrew ones beside the point) and, of the remainder, a good two-thirds are—as the author, who elsewhere classes the forms in question as 'French pet forms' (p.19), fails to remark—specifically English abbreviations of post-Conquest adoptions, e.g., *Gibbe, Hicke, Hobbe, Watte* and so on. For several cases of *-en*, patronymic function is, besides, made plain by interchanges, apparently involving the same individuals (a matter not, however, easy to determine with tax-roll materials), with forms in *-es* and with *filius*-formulas. Reference might usefully have been made here to Richard McKinley's comments on similar forms current in contiguous parts of Oxfordshire (*Surnames of Oxfordshire* [1977], 219-20; this work is not listed in Hjertstedt's bibliography).

The dialect survey, to which half the Introduction is devoted, must be deemed the paramount topic. Warwickshire having traditionally been seen as a dialectological no-man's-land, a central question asked is whether differences may be discernible between the south-western third of it that appertained to the diocese of Worcester (whose boundaries have been supposed to preserve those of the eighth-century kingdom of the Hwicce) and the probably Anglian remainder. Five maps depict the distribution by parishes of (i) the variant spellings *man/mon* (here evidenced mainly as a second element of compounds and so, presumably, as developed in reduced stress), plotted for 1301-1350, 1351-1400 and 1400-1450, and (ii) the three possible reflexes of OE /y(:)/, plotted only for the two earlier periods. For *-man/-mon*, *o*-spellings at first predominate throughout, but after 1350 incidence of *a* increases, most rapidly for the north-eastern sector, becoming regular by c.1400. For reflexes of OE /y(:)/, *u*-spellings (or, for the long vowel, *uy*) were until 1350 general throughout the south-western sector and elsewhere account for some 70% of forms found; but by 1400 *e* had become dominant in the SW sector and *i/y* elsewhere. It seems a pity not to have brought in here all the relevant vernacular elements, such as place-names and other sorts of personal byname, found in the rolls excerpted. It is, besides, left open whether the orthographical phenomena may best be attributed to sound-shifts, to sound-substitutions, or to changes in scribal convention (the strictures against Lay Subsidy Rolls made by Peter McClure in his contribution to the von Feilitzen Festschrift, and also by others elsewhere, are summarily dismissed).

The definitions of 'Middle English' and of 'nickname' that underlay selection of the material were comprehensive ones. That of the latter embraces, for instance, reflexes of Old English and Anglo-Scandinavian 'idionyms' of ultimate nickname origin, such as *Blæcman, Cola* and *Grim*; their rôle at the dates concerned as 'genealogical surnames' is, however, acknowledged by a postposed '(G)' (no note is here taken of the relevant comments made by Peter McClure in

his review-article based upon J. Jönsjö's *Studies on Middle English Nicknames* published *ante* V [1981], 95-6, or of the present reviewer's analogous but independent animadversions in *English Studies* LXVIII [1982], 168; nor does either piece figure in the bibliography). The category 'Middle English' is allowed to cover such purely Old French forms as *Corbet, Giffard* and *Peveler*; but these names, despite having mostly been present in this country since 1066 and having long served as the 'genealogical surnames' of well-known families, get no distinguishing mark (no note is taken of Klaus Forster's remarks *ante* IV [1980], 101; nor is this review listed in the bibliography). Bynames of known late medieval aliens are likewise included. On the other hand, commonplace loanwords like *balance, baron, basket, button* and so on are classed as 'OF' rather than 'ME': a point relevant to the otherwise surprising classification of no less than 36.7% of forms collected as 'OF' (p.46).

These inconsistencies are part and parcel of a general lack of historical perspective. The narrow focus cuts out essential background information, not only (as noted above) genealogical, prosopographical and lexical, but documentary and socio-linguistic as well. In the context of Latin tax-rolls, the preposition *de* used in toponymical bynames ought not to be called 'French' (p.17). Nor is it tenable to ascribe the use in such documents of *t* and *d* for rendering reflexes of OE /θ/ and /ð/ to 'the inability of the French scribes to pronounce these sounds' (p.45); for mainstream historians as well as Romance socio-linguists have long accepted that in England native speaking of French never spread below the gentry and even amongst them was recessive by c.1200 (see, e.g., M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* [1977], esp. 151-4), being therefore doubly irrelevant to consideration of fourteenth-century taxers' clerks.

All in all, and despite reservations expressed, Dr Hjertstedt is to be thanked for having provided future workers in the field with so ample a corpus of forms and one so painstakingly annotated.

CECILY CLARK

TOM SCHMIDT (ed.), *Nyere nordisk personnavnskikk*, NORNA-Rapporter XXXV, NORNA förlaget: Uppsala, 1987, 307pp., price not stated.

Twenty-three Scandinavian scholars contributed to this symposium held at Skammestein, Valdres, Norway, in 1985. Its theme, personal names in modern Scandinavia, was treated in three of its facets: foreign influence on naming practices, the rôle of legislation in name-giving, and the possibilities for personal-name research offered by computer science.

The first two subjects are linked by a perception of threat to traditional national cultures by the dominant English-language media. The late Torben Kisbye's opening paper expands a motif that will be familiar to participants in

the Study Conferences organized by the Council for Name Studies. Once the preserve of a middle class which was literate in foreign classics, English names have in Denmark descended to be an indicator of low social status. Cheap pulp thrillers, deplored by respectable society, and contact with the United States by emigration mainly of the disadvantaged gave such names, Kisbye suggests, an association with an otherwise unattainable fantasy world of wealth, luxury and fulfilment.

Several other papers refer to the influx of foreign 'idol-names'. Several quantify changes in name-practices over the last century. Botolv Helleland finds surprisingly little influence on the name-giving of a rural parish, Eidfjord in central western Norway, from a large influx of construction workers in the decade 1975-84. Others discuss the relationship of nicknames and short forms with official baptismal names. Inger Lindstedt challenges the view that short familiar forms are everywhere gaining the upper hand; at least in Sweden she has found a renaissance of old-fashioned longer forms keenly guarded by parents, whilst hypocorisms hold sway only in certain 'group languages', chiefly secondary-school talk and sports journalism.

Sigurður Jonsson's paper introduces the theme of legislation in discussing the increase in the Icelandic name lexicon since the eighteenth century. This has been made up partly by combinative double names, partly by modification to make masculine names suitable for girls, and vice-versa. This latter usage, whilst old, has been revitalized by foreign suffixes. Some foreign names, though strictly illegal, have crept into Iceland, but there has been no vogue of idol names. Family-type second forenames have become popular as a device for beating the 1925 law against new surnames; Þuríður Laufdal Þorsteinsdóttir becoming Þuríður Laufdal. Gudrun Kvaran explains how parish priests in Iceland are entrusted with bestowing only Icelandic names and in cases of controversy the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Iceland is invoked to arbitrate between priests and parents.

Preservation of national identity is only one reason for name legislation. The requirements of bureaucracy finally motivated the universal adoption of surnames in Scandinavia—not until 1920 in the case of Finland. Modern desire for the linguistic expression of sexual equality has led to attempts at legislation on women's surnames which are discussed in respect of the different Nordic countries represented here. Official processing of names today enters the province of the computer, which has considerable potential for name-study research. A split of opinion in Scandinavia has emerged over how this may best be exploited; all the Nordic countries regard a common data-bank as desirable, but all except Denmark would wish to use it as a store of untreated material.

Only the most cursory summary of the work of so many authors is possible here, and although the themes are well adhered to there is little repetition. The volume is recommended for its own interest, and also since by awareness of the forces at work in name-giving in our own day we may find

clues to earlier and more cloudy situations. English summaries to most of the papers provide at the very least a key to the tabulated material and often much more. Unfortunately there are no such summaries of the discussions which followed the papers, but to ask for more might well be to express the kind of English-language imperialism which smaller countries are right to resist.

VERONICA SMART

EDWIN D. LAWSON, *Personal Names and Naming: An Annotated Bibliography*, Bibliographies and Indexes in Anthropology III, Greenwood Press: New York and London, 1987, xiv+187pp., £30.95.

As the series title implies, this bibliography focuses on the social rôle of personal-naming, in its historical aspects (in so far as accessible) as well as in its contemporary ones. Designed to supplement the similar handbook published in 1952 by Elsdon C. Smith, it omits all material listed there. Items are classified under fifty main heads, many comprising a number of sub-sections; use of the listings is facilitated by two indexes, of authors and of topics (the latter compensating for lack of cross-referencing within the bibliography itself).

'Naming' is widely defined, so as to embrace not only aliases and pseudonyms but also titles and other forms of address. Thematically, coverage ranges from folklore and proverbs to legal regulation, from stereotyped images to public health. Geographically, it ranges through the naming customs of, for instance, Africa, China, Finland, Indonesia, Korea, Mongolia, and the Ukraine. Plainly, no such compilation could aspire to exhaustiveness, if only because no publisher would countenance the resulting series of tomes. Here, the mode of restriction has been to admit only English-language publications: frustrating as this is, to have included (say) Dutch, French, German and Italian materials while excluding (say) Russian and Japanese ones would have been no more rational, even though it would undeniably have been of practical advantage. Lack of accents and other diacritics in the (typewritten) font employed—a defect for which the compiler apologizes—has produced some disconcerting results; and the publishers should bear this in mind.

The value of this work is enhanced by the provision for each item of a summary (rather than an evaluation) from three to fifteen lines in length. The plan excludes, on the other hand, all reviews, even those of major books; and this is especially regrettable when reservations have been widely expressed about, for instance, works of reference.

In so widely ranging a compilation, any specialist in a particular field may well note an occasional inaccuracy or omission. Thus, the name 'Fellows-Jensen' is alphabetized wrongly under 'J'—not just an inconvenience to those seeking it in the expected place, but in itself a matter of socio-onomastic import. P.H. Reaney is consistently called 'Perry' instead of 'Percy'. Provençal should have been

recognized as an independent language. Kenneth Jackson's article on *Boudicca* certainly, and probably also Oliver Padel's article and G.P. White's book on Cornish names and R.M. Thomson's article on Manx ones, would have been more appropriately placed under 'Celtic' (category 8.14) rather than, as they all are, under 'English' (8.23); only one entry, involving Gaulish, in fact appears under 'Celtic', because 'Irish' (broadly defined) and 'Welsh' constitute separate sections (8.37; 8.66) and Scottish Gaelic is subsumed under 'Scottish' (8.57). Von Feilitzen's paper on Continental-Germanic influences on Old and Middle English naming might, on the other hand, have been more relevantly listed under 'English' rather than, as it is, under 'German/Germanic/Gothic' (8.28); and his parallel study of some twelfth-century Anglo-Scandinavian forms seems unaccountably omitted. The important article on toponymic surnames published by Peter McClure in *Economic History Review* XXXII (1979) is also missing; likewise, that on the godparents' rôle in late-medieval baptismal-naming published by P. Niles in *Medieval Prosopography* III (1982). In summarizing some English items, geographical detail is described unidiomatically, although never confusingly.

For readers of *Nomina*, an especially salutary aspect of this bibliography may be the attention it draws to processes sometimes overlooked by dialectologists and etymologists, such as the range of motivations for baptismal-name choices and the likely mode of genesis for nickname forms. More practically, the many studies showing an individual's sense of identity as rooted in his/her name might prompt some overdue socio-onomastic reforms.

Professor Lawson, whose interest in this field continues, will always be glad to receive details—or, better, offprints—of any publications with socio-onomastic bearings (address: Department of Psychology, Fredonia State University College, Fredonia, NY 14063, USA).

CECILY CLARK

MARIANNE MULON, *L'Onomastique française: bibliographie des travaux publiés de 1960 à 1985*, Archives nationales: Paris, 1987, xxiv+417pp., price not stated.

This guide to work on French onomastics takes up from the one by the same compiler that carried the record to 1960 (see the review *ante* II, 64-5), supplying eleven pages of addenda and numbering the 5,500 new entries in a continuous series with the old. Classificatory system and geographical coverage (bounded by the present-day French frontiers) remain the same. Comprehensivity remains the guiding principle, with all known items, in whatsoever language, listed irrespective of merit (the former discreet warnings are, alas, no longer given). Consultation is again facilitated by a fourfold system of indexing. The listings themselves do, however, as the compiler observes, differ somewhat in content from the earlier ones, owing mainly to the recent surges of interest in literary onomastics and in

surname-studies by (amateur) genealogists: trends by no means peculiar to French scholarship.

In its pre-1000 historical sections and also elsewhere, this manual abounds in references of general import that might have been missed by a user only of bibliographies compiled from an insular viewpoint. No West-European academic library, public or private, could be considered complete without it.

CECILY CLARK

ALSO RECEIVED:

J. T. BLIGHT, *A Week at the Land's End*, Alison Hodge: Penzance, 1989, viii+227pp., £5.95.

This re-issue of a classic itinerary around Penwith, originally published in 1861, affords some interesting comparisons with O.J. Padel's *Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names* (Penzance, 1988; to be reviewed in our next issue), since along with natural history, antiquities and topography it includes frequent translations of Cornish place-names and comments on them.

VJS

THORSTEN ANDERSSON, *Namn i Norden och den forna Europa*, NORNA-Rapporter XL, Uppsala, 1989, 202pp., price not stated.

A tribute to Thorsten Andersson on his sixtieth birthday in gratitude for his great contribution to name-studies through NORNA and elsewhere, NORNA-Rapporter XL consists of a selection of Andersson's own papers published originally between 1970 and 1988. It also contains a most useful bibliography of his published writings by Margarete Andersson-Schmitt.

VJS