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Karl-Heinz Gersmann · Oliver Grimm (eds.)

Raptor and human – falconry and bird symbolism throughout the millennia on a global scale

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Raptor and human – falconry and bird symbolism throughout the millennia on a global scale

4

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Karl-Heinz Gersmann and Oliver Grimm

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Cover picture: Skilled eagle master. Western Mongolia, August 2011 (photo used with the permission of Dr. Takuya Soma).

*Top to the left: Seal of the Danish king Knud IV (late 11th century). Redrawing. Taken from M. Andersen/G. Tegnér, *Middelalderlige segl-stamper i Norden* (Roskilde 2002) 129.*

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Germanic personal names before AD 1000 and their elements referring to birds of prey. With an emphasis upon the runic inscription in the eastern Swedish Vallentuna-Rickeby burial

By Robert Nedoma

Keywords: Old Germanic languages, personal names, name-formation, oionophoric name elements (name elements referring to birds of prey), Vallentuna-Rickeby runic inscription

*Abstract: This paper presents a short survey of early Germanic languages and their groupings (1.), followed by a typological study of Old Germanic personal names from a processual perspective (2.). The 5th or 6th century Opus imperfectum in Matthaem, an anonymous commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, claims that a number of Germanic anthroponyms are ‘suitable for war and raving in blood’; that is true for the majority of theriophoric name elements as we have (3.). The focus of this paper is on oionophoric name elements, in this context, comprising elements relating to Accipitridae (4.1.), Falconidae (4.2.), and Strigidae (4.3.). Of these, only ‘eagle’ was frequently used in Old Germanic name-giving, yet there are a few cases of ‘hawk’-names, possibly due to the introduction of falconry as of the 6th century. (4.4.). An important example of a potential ‘hawk’ name is found in the Vallentuna-Rickeby runic inscription. Its archaeological context seems to suggest that the sequence **(x(x?)xaha-)haukr** is a supernomen referring to hawks (thus, the nickname of the deceased), although it is impossible to establish this with certainty (5.).*

1. EARLY GERMANIC LANGUAGES: A SURVEY

The ancestor of the attested early Germanic languages, *Proto-Germanic*, is – as the comparative method of historical linguistics requires – reconstructed dialect-free, but it was never actually uniform¹. It can merely be hypothesized when (and where) Proto-Germanic evolved as a ‘condensation’ of an individualized culture, or else, of a quasi-individualized ethnos. An approximate date for the split-off from other Indo-European branches would be c. 500 BC; in some respects, Germanization appears to be associated with the so-called Jastorf culture in present-day northern Germany and southern Denmark (Fig. 1).

During the first two centuries AD, the territory covered by the Germanic dialect continuum was, roughly speaking, delineated by the Rhine in the west, the Vistula in the east, and the Danube in the south, including southern Scandinavia in the north. Migrations of the east Germanic tribes from

1 There are numerous works on this topic so that I only refer to the articles concerned in the RGA². See Appendix for linguistic definitions and the end of the text for abbreviations.

the southern Baltic Sea coast to the southeast during 2nd and 3rd centuries caused the East Germanic languages to be separated from the common Germanic dialect continuum. *Gothic* is notable among these as the earliest Germanic language preserved in a longer text, namely the late 4th century translation of the Bible by bishop Wulfila. The remaining East Germanic languages are much less well represented.

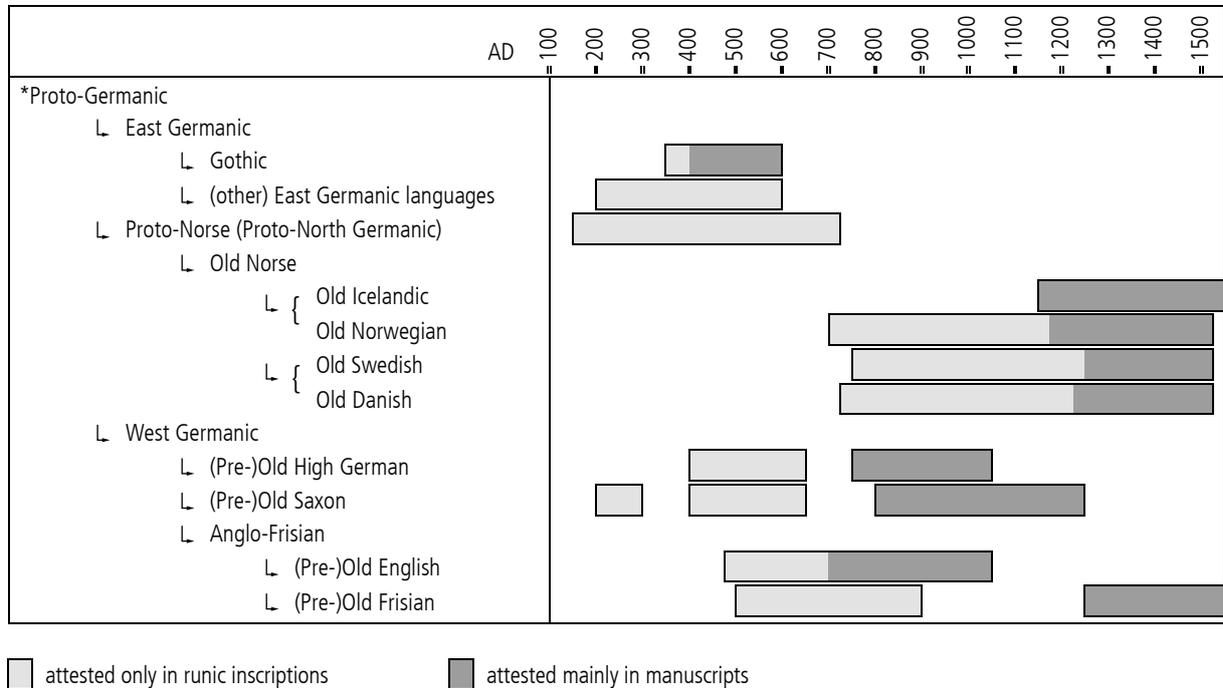


Fig. 1. Chronological survey: Documentation of the major early Germanic languages.

As of the late 2nd century, there are extant runic epigraphical texts, most of which are found on weapons, jewelry, so-called bracteates and – later on – on stone. The language attested in the early runic inscriptions found in Scandinavia, *Proto-Norse* (or *Proto-North Germanic*), is, in some respects, close to Proto-Germanic (cf., e.g., NIELSEN 2000, 287–296 *pass.*). Classical Proto-Norse remained practically unchanged until the *late Proto-Norse* of the transitional period between c. 500 and 700/725. Subsequently, within the 8th century, that language developed into *Old Norse*, which, in turn, divided into two dialectal groups, namely *Old West Norse* (basically *Old Norwegian* and its offshoot *Old Icelandic*) and *Old East Norse* (*Old Swedish*, *Old Danish* and *Old Gutnish*, the latter of which was spoken on the island of Gotland). The most conservative and best documented Old Norse language is Old Icelandic, of which the earliest preserved manuscripts date from the mid-12th century (Fig. 1).

During the Migration Period (c. 375–550/575 AD), the residual Germanic dialect continuum (excluding East Germanic varieties) was broken after Angles, Jutes and (parts of the) Saxons had left their homelands to settle in Britain. Thus, a language border developed and cut off North Germanic (see Fig. 2) from West Germanic by the 6th century. If there had been something like a North/West Germanic unity, its split occurred no later than the late 3rd century.² The subgrouping of the West Germanic branch – runic inscriptions precede glossaries and literary tradition here, too – is a

2 This has been proven by the recently discovered runic inscription *ka(m)b-a* ‘comb’ on the Fienstedt comb that has nominativ sg. WGmc. *-a* as opposed to PN *-az* (and EGmc. *-s*); see NEDOMA/DÜWEL 2012, 139–158; 164–165.

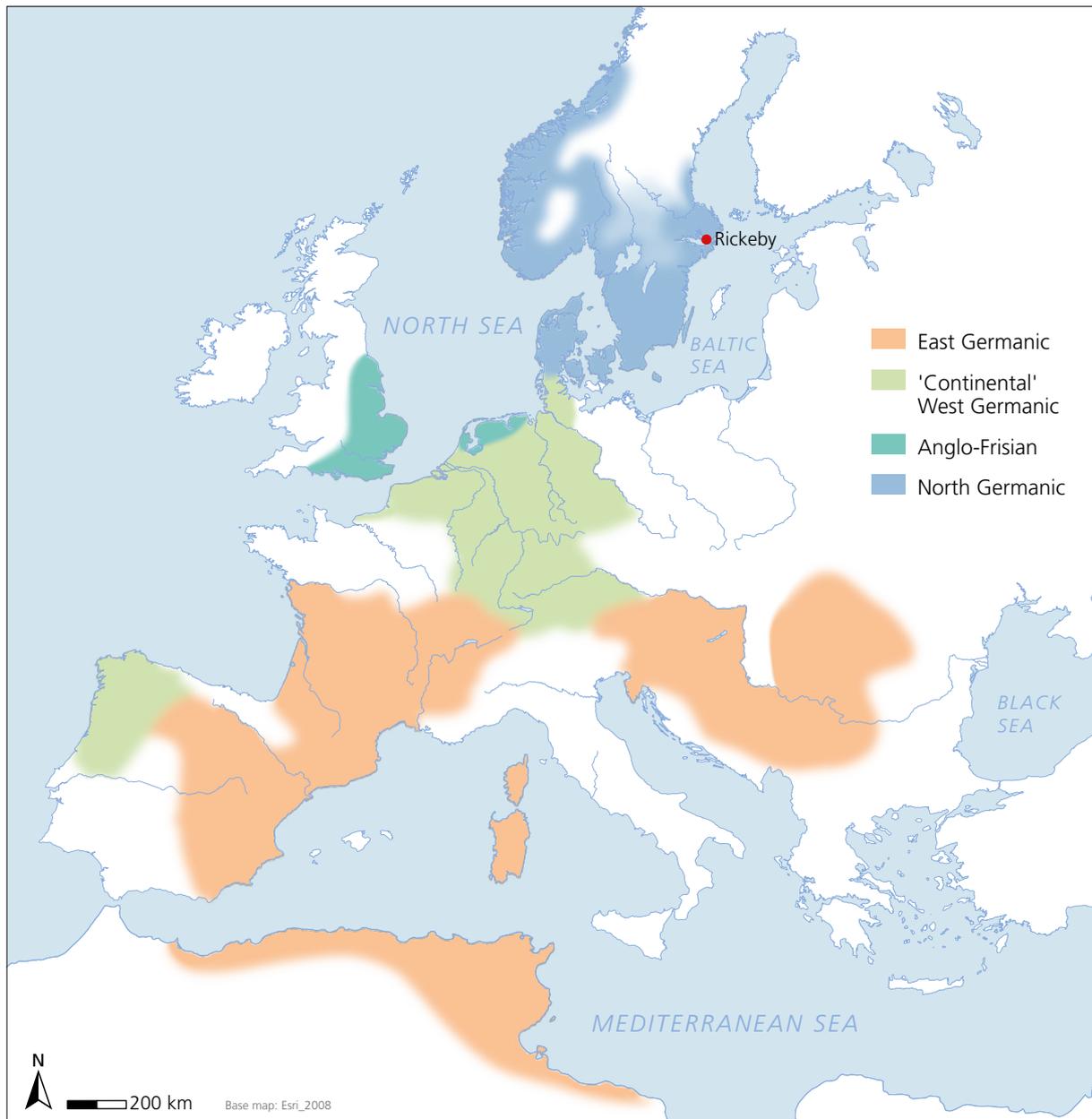


Fig. 2. Germanic dialect continuums in the late 5th century (map J. Schüller, ZBSA).

difficult task. First, we have the varieties of *Old High German*, attested as of mid-8th century. The classification of its various forms depends on the so-called Second Sound Shift that effected principally Upper German dialects but also parts of the Franconian (Central German) dialects. Further but little evidence comes from Langobardic which is related to Old Upper German. Second, there is *Old Saxon*, which seems to be a distinct variety within West Germanic (see KROGH 1996, 398–405 *pass.*). It is substantially recorded as of 800 or somewhat before, until it is eventually succeeded by Middle Low German. As in Old Saxon, the Second Sound Shift did not occur in the poorly attested language of *Old Low Franconian (Old Dutch)* either. Third, there is an Anglo-Frisian group that includes the dialects of *Old English* and *Old Frisian*. Here, the earliest extant literary texts belong to the early 8th century and to c. 1200, respectively.

Two well-known proverbial sayings bearing upon names are Lat. *nomen est omen* and G *Name ist Schall und Rauch*, both of which are modified literary quotes.^{3,4} However, whatever might be said about the general applicability of such views, no one view seems to hold true universally for Old Germanic personal names – some names are meaningful, or appear to be so, others are without literal meaning. A well-known case is to be found in Gregory’s of Tours *Decem libri historiarum* (‘Ten books of histories’, X,28; p. 522: AD 591) where two forms of name-giving are addressed, *i.e.* meaning and what is called G *Nachbenennung*, the practice of conferring names that refer to a famous ancestor:

Quem excipiens, Chlotharium uocitari uoluit, dicens: “Crescat puer et huius sit nominis exsecutor ac tale potentia polleat, sicut ille quondam, cuius nomen indeptus est.”

‘When he [Gunthchramn] took him out, he wanted him to be called Chlothar, saying: “May the boy thrive and execute what his name means (PGmc. **Hluþu/a-barjaz* ‘fame, glory’ + ‘army’); and may he exert (rule) with such power as that person (Chlothar I.) did formerly whose name he has acquired.”’

From a processual point of view, there are three types of coining personal names in Old Germanic: (i) onymic composition, (ii) onymic reduction (and derivation) and (iii) onymizing conversion.

(i) Onymic composition: Two name elements that usually refer to appellatives are combined. Word formation products are dithematic names; this is the more official or formal kind of Germanic anthroponyms and is generally assumed to be the original form.

Certainly, a whole range of compound anthroponyms are morphologically and semantically motivated (G *Primärkombinationen*: HÖFLER 1954, 33 *pass.*), even if we cannot always, in each case, determine the semantic relationship between the two constituents. For instance, we do not know if WFranc. *Chlotha(cha)rius* (see above; LaN I, 209–210) is to be interpreted ‘whose army is famous’, ‘the famous one in the army’, ‘who has fame and [a strong] army’ or something else along these lines. However, the majority of dithematic personal names are dissociated from appellative meaning and more or less demotivated in terms of morphology and semantics. In some of these *Sekundärkombinationen* (HÖFLER 1954, 34 *pass.*), a constituent of a parents’ name is repeated (name variation; cf. HAUBRICHS 2014, 36–42), e.g.

- Alem. *Agena-richus* (**Agina-rīkaz* ‘?’ + ‘ruler’; LaN I, 13), son of *Mede-richus* 4th c. (**Mizda-rīkaz* ‘reward’ [?] + ‘ruler’; LaN I, 499), varying first element;
 - *Theode-ricus* (**Þeuda-rīkaz* ‘nation, people’ + ‘ruler’; LaN I, 671–679) and Θευδι-μοῦνδος (**Þeuda-munduz* ‘nation, people’ + ‘protector’; LaN I, 692–693) are the sons of the Ostrogothic king *Thiudimer* 5th c. (**Þeuda-mēraz* ‘nation, people’ + ‘famous’; LaN I, 495–496), varying second element.
- To sum up, *Primärkombinationen* are (in every case) characterized by intended meaning, while *Sekundärkombinationen* are (in some cases) concerned with marking genealogical relationship (cf. DEBUS 1976, 63).

(ii) Onymic reduction: One part or several parts of dithematic names are excised. The process of shortening is usually accompanied by derivation (cf. MÜLLER 1970a). Word formation products are monothematic names. There are four patterns:

3 According to LaN (I, ix–x), the term *Old Germanic* refers to the period up to c. AD 600 or somewhat later. – Recent studies on Germanic onomastics are, for instance, SCHRAMM 2013, COLMAN 2014 and NEDOMA 2015.

4 The exact wordings are *Nomen atque omen quantiuis iam est preti* ‘Name and omen are worth any price’ (Titus Maccius Plautus, *Persa*, v. 625; Toxilius speaks) and *Gefühl ist alles; / Name ist Schall und Rauch, / Umnebelnd Himmelsglut* ‘Feeling is all; a name (designation) is sound and smoke, befogging heaven’s glow’ (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust I*, v. 3456–3458, p. 149; Faust speaks).

(ii.1) Unisegmental clippings I (morphologic): An element of a compound name is isolated and serves as the base ('root') of the monothematic name. Word formation products are regular one-stem shortenings. This pattern occurs in several distinguishable forms:

(ii.1.a) Reduction without derivation (or by use of a zero-suffix): There are no clear examples dating back to the Old Germanic period. However, there are later examples, including

- OE *Leofbeah* → *Leof{}* (Latinized *Leofus*) 9th c. (SEARLE 1897, 328, 333; curly brackets {} indicate deletion).

Most names of this kind, such as Pre-OHG (Franc.) *Leub* 6th c. (Mayen: RāF 143), can be explained in two ways: first, Pre-OHG (Alem.) *Leub-wini* 6th c. (Nordendorf I: RāF 151) or the like → *Leub{}*, by means of shortening (as with OE *Leof*, see above); second, Pre-OHG (Franc.) **leub* adj. 'beloved, kind' → *Leub*, by means of conversion (cf. below, iii).

(ii.1.b) Reduction with 'simple' derivation: A single suffix is added to the base. Word formation products are regular short forms. Here, an *n*-suffix (PGmc. *-*an*- m., *-*ōn*- f.) is highly productive:

- Alem.-Langob. *Droct-ulf* → *Droct{}-o* 6th c. (BRUCKNER 1895, 243), based on first element;
- WFranc. *Fele-moda* → *{}Mod-a* f., 6th c. (-*ae* gen.; LaN II, 4, 7), based on second element.

Less frequent is, for instance, the suffix PGmc. *-(*i*)*ja*-:

- Ostrogoth. Οὐάκι-μοϛ* → Οὐάκ{}-ιϛ 6th c. (LaN I, 744, 741).

(ii.1.c) Reduction with elaborate derivation: A suffix combination (diminutive suffix plus *n*-suffix) is added to the base. The word formation products are hypocorisms. Best attested are the suffix combinations *-*il-an/ōn*- and *-*ik-an/ōn*-:

- WFranc. *Theodetrudis* → *Theod{}-il-a* f., 7th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 1426; *-*il-ōn*-);
- Vand. *Hildi-rix* 6th c. (LaN I, 429–430) or the like → *Held{}-ic-a* 5th c. (LaN I, 422; *-*ik-an*-).

(ii.2) Unisegmental clippings II (non-morphologic): A consonant plus a vowel (or a vowel plus a consonant) of a compound name element (or a regular monothematic name) are isolated and serve as the base. The consonant is reduplicated (cf. NEDOMA 2004, 246–248). Word formation products are de-formed one-stem shortenings (so-called 'lall names'). Most of these forms show 'simple' derivation (as per model ii.1.b, see above):

- WFranc. *Bōdi-gysilus* (→ **Bōd{}-o*) → *Bō-«b»-o* 6th c. (LaN I, 145, 144; quotes «*b*» indicate iteration).

(ii.3) Unisegmental clippings III (non-morphologic): An entire compound element and an adjacent consonant are isolated and serve as the base. Word formation products are regular two-stem shortenings. Usually an *n*-suffix is added (as per model ii.1.b):

- Goth. *Canna-bauden* acc. → *Cannab{}-an* acc., 3rd c. (LaN I, 167, 168);
- OE *Sa-berctus* (var. *Sæ-*) → *Sab{}-a* 6/7th c. (SEARLE 1897, 406).

(ii.4) Multisegmental clippings (non-morphologic): Two separate segments of a compound name are isolated and serve as the base. Word formation products are 'elaborated' two-stem shortenings. Usually an *n*-suffix is added (as per model ii.1.b):

- Pre-OHG **Hildi-birg* (or the like) → *Hi{}b{}-a* f., 6th c. (Weimar: RāF 147 *bis*);
- OS *Thiat-marus* → *Thie{}m{}-o* 10th c. (SCHLAUG 1962, 162).

In some cases, short forms untie from affiliated dithematic anthroponyms and obtain the status of a main name, e.g. NHG *Hein{}-o* : *Hein-rich* (or the like).

(iii) Onymizing conversion: An appellative undergoes transpositions in regard to referential semantics (now denoting 'person' and connoting 'state or quality of being X') and word-(sub)class (appellative adjective or noun → proper noun) while morphology retains unchanged (zero-derivation). Word formation products are both simplices and compounds (bynames of various kinds):

- Goth. *Ostrogotho* f., 5/6th c. (LaN I, 538) 'she-Ostrogoth', referring to ethnic descent (socioonym);
- late PN **haeruwulfiz** = *Hearuwul²fiz* c. 600 (Istaby: RāF 98; transliterations of runic inscriptions are given in bold type) 'son of Hearuwulf', referring to kin descent (patronym);

- Pre-OHG (Franc.) **boso** = *Bōso* 6th c. (Frei-Laubersheim: RāF 144) ‘chunk’, referring to physical property (*supernomen* ‘surname’, nickname);
- late PN **taitz** = *Taitz*, c. 600 (Tveito: RāF 94) ‘happy one’, referring to a psychic property (*supernomen*, too).

As with short forms, bynames can forfeit their characterizing function and be used as main names (OWN *Haukr*; see below, 4.1.3.).

Occasionally, alternative names were used in former times. Prokop of Kaisareia, for instance, mentions in his *De bello Gothico* (‘About the Gothic war’, IV,23,1; p. 608) an Ostrogoth leader named Γουνδοῦλφ [...]; τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰνδοῦλφ (*Ἰλδοῦλφ) ἐκάλουον ‘Gundulf [...]; some people, however, called him Ildulf’ where both names (late PGmc. **Gunþi-wulfa-* and **Hildi-wulfa-*) are semantically transparent (‘meaningful’) and synonymous, viz. ‘fight, battle’ + ‘wolf’ (cf. REICHERT 1984, 362–364). And finally, there are cases of name change; a well-known, twofold example of this (dithematic name → byname → [synonymous] byname) comes from Viking age Iceland (*Eyrbyggja saga* ‘Saga of the dwellers of Eyrr’, ch. 12; p. 29):

hann var heldr ósvífr í æskunni, ok var hann af því Snerrir kallaðr ok eptir þat Snorri.

‘he (Þorgrímr [‘god] Thor’ + ‘mask’; born 963/964) was quite stubborn in his youth, and because of this he was called *Snerrir* and afterwards *Snorri* (both: ‘the grumpy one’).’

3. THERIOPHORIC ELEMENTS IN OLD GERMANIC PERSONAL NAMES

A good deal of Germanic name stems belong to the spheres of warfare and reign: this applies obviously more to male than to female anthroponyms (cf. REMMER 2009, 288–291). Among the most common elements in older dithematic personal names and (originally) derivated short forms, respectively, are (one example each):

- PGmc. **harja-* n. ‘army’: PGmc. *Hari-gasti* 3rd/2nd c. BC (Ženjak-Negau: NEDOMA 1995, 51–56; 70–72);
- PGmc. **gunþijō-* f. ‘fight, battle’: Pre-OHG (Alem.) **blīþgub** = *Blīþ-gu(n)þ* f., 6th c. (Neudingen/Baar I: LaN I, 144) which is certainly a *Sekundärkombination* since the first element refers to the adjective **blīþa/i-* ‘mild, friendly’;
- PGmc. **heldijō-* f. ‘fight, battle’: Vand. *Hilde-guns* f., 6th c. (LaN I, 427) which is, evidently, another *Sekundärkombination* given the meaning ‘fight’ + ‘fight’;
- PGmc. **gaiza-* m. ‘spear’: Vand. *Gaise-ricus* 5th c. (LaN I, 301–306; *-*rīk-* ‘ruler’);
- PGmc. **segaz/ez-* n. ‘victory’: WGmc. (Cherus.) *Segi-merus* 1st c. BC/AD (LaN I, 595; *-*māra-* ‘famous, glorious’);
- PGmc. **rīk-* m. ‘ruler’: Visigoth. *Athana-ricus* 4th c. (LaN I, 85–86);
- PGmcæ. **māra-* adj. ‘famous, glorious’: Ostrogoth. *Mer-ila* 6th c. (LaN I, 501; suffix *-*il-an-*);
- PGmc. **þrūþijō-* f. ‘strength, power’: Pre-OHG (Franc.) **puruphild** = *Þ^urup-hild* f., 6th c. (Friedberg: RāF 141; *-*heldijō-* ‘fight, battle’);
- PGmc. **kōni-* adj. ‘keen, bold, expert’: OHG *Chuanrat* 8th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 373).

Furthermore, there is a group of name elements referring to strong and powerful animals⁵ that are also associated with the heroic-martial scape of ideas outlined here. A note in an anonymous commentary on the Gospel of Matthew called *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, dating to the 5th or 6th century, addresses Germanic theriophoric anthroponyms and their martial background (p. 626; cf. BECK 1965, 98–99; MÜLLER 1970, 178):

5 See MÜLLER 1970 (a reliable study on Germanic theriophoric anthroponyms).

Sicut solent et barbarae gentes nomina filii imponere ad devastationem respicientia bestiarum ferarum vel rapacium volucrum, gloriosum putantes filios tales habere, ad bellum idoneos et insanientes in sanguinem.

‘And so the barbarian tribes [of the Danube area, thus presumably Germanic peoples] also use to give names to their sons according to the devastations of wild beasts or of rapacious birds (birds of prey), thinking it glorious that their sons have such names, suitable for war and raving in blood.’

Probably the most frequent element in Germanic anthroponymy is theriophoric

– PGmc. **wulfa-* m. ‘wolf’: late PN **hapuwulfz** = *Hapuwulf*^{FR} c. 600 (Istaby: RāF 98; **hapu-* ‘fight, battle’).

Name stems relating to ‘bear’ and ‘boar’ are also used frequently, e.g.

– PGmc. **beran-*, **bernu-* m. ‘bear’:⁶ WFranc. *Bere-trudis* f., 6th c. (LaN I, 134), OHG *Pern-bart* 9th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 269);

– PGmc. **ebura-* m. ‘boar’: Visigoth. *Ever-vulfus* 5th c. (LaN I, 264; **-wulfa-* ‘wolf’).

A special case are bitheriophoric formations, which are – as far as I see – restricted to males. Compounds such as Visigoth. *Ever-vulfus* show coordinative structure;⁷ if it is a *Primärkombination*, this name may have an operative-additive sense, such as the namebearer ‘shall be (strong) like a boar and a wolf’. Alas, it is hard to spot something like a ubiquitous theriophoric name horizon.⁸ For example, in the case of ‘raven’,

– PGmc. **hrabna-* m.: WFranc. *Gunth-chramnus* 6th c. (LaN I, 405–412), PN **harabanāz** = *H^arabnaR* early 6th c. (Järsberg: RāF 70),

the name stem certainly does not refer to the bird’s strength or power. However, its characteristic as a scavenger was probably relevant in onomastic regards, evoking the idea of feeding on dead warriors at the battlefield (cf. below, 4.1.1.).

Among strong inflected monothematic formations, theriophoric personal names such as

– OHG *Wolf* 9th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 1643) versus weak inflected OHG *Wulf{-o}* 9th c. (ibid.), Goth. *Wulf{-il-a}* 4th c. (LaN I, 795),

occur commonly. It has to be assumed that most of these anthroponyms were originally bynames (*supernomina*) that stayed in use despite of their rhythmic deviance (OHG *Wolf* × versus regularly structured *Wolfo* ××, *Wolf(h)ramn* ××, *Wulfilo* ×××) because of their semantic transparency (cf. MÜLLER 1970, 120).

6 The regular formation is the *n*-stem noun PGmc. **beran-* m. > OHG *bero* etc. ‘bear’ (originally ‘the brown one’). The accusative plural PGmc. **ber-n-unz* showing zero-grade suffix was reanalyzed as *u*-stem form **bernu-nz* that gave rise to a second paradigm PGmc. **bernu-* > OIcel. *björn*, as was already recognized by VAN HELTEN 1905, 225.

7 Cf. MÜLLER 1970, 167–168; BECK 1986, 312. However, some formations, e.g. OHG *Suan-olf* 10th c. (‘swan’ + ‘wolf’), cannot be explained in this way.

8 According to SCHRAMM (1957, 77–83, 106–107; 2013, 67–73, 95 *pass.*), the use of theriophoric name elements was modelled on heroic poetry where the fighting man is identified with a mighty beast. WERNER (1963, 380–383) argues that animals, taken as divine attributes, could serve as *Heilszeichen* and representations of deities (e.g., eagle – **Wōdanaz*). Hence, theriophoric personal names would be quasi-theophoric names, and one cannot be confident of this since it is mere supposition (cf. REICHERT 1992, 561–563). In a more balanced manner, MÜLLER (1970, 178–223) allows that ideas of animal-warriors, animal masking and religious concepts played a part in the identification of the bearer of a theriophoric name with the corresponding animal. Finally, WAGNER (2008, 397–404) takes every theriophoric name as *Primärkombination*. Yet it remains unclear, for instance, if *Everulfus* is indeed the ‘prince-killer’, as Wagner states, since the metaphoric use of **ebura-* as ‘prince’ is restricted to Old Icelandic poetry only (*jöfurr*). Moreover, it is implausible that WFranc. *Wulfamnus* 7th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 1654) is to be taken as ‘the one who has wolf and raven on his side [at the battlefield]’ since such a type of compound (one would call that copulative-possessive) is unparalleled, as far as I can judge. In the end, we have to conclude with BECK (1986, 315) that the meaning of the Germanic theriophoric anthroponyms cannot be clarified definitely.

4.1. *Accipitridae*

4.1.1. ‘Eagle, big bird of prey’

In light of the passage from *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* quoted above, it is rather surprising that ‘eagle’ is the only oionophoric element – that is an element referring to a bird of prey (Gr. οἰωνός *oiōnós*) – that occurs frequently in Germanic dithematic anthroponyms (there are exceptions, but they are sparse; see below, 4.1.3). As it is in the case of the raven, the scavenging eagle – the sea eagle (*Haliaeetus albicilla*), for instance, is a carrion eater – was associated to the battle field and thus, it would seem, appropriate for heroic-martial onomastic concepts.⁹ Moreover, it is possible that such birds may have had a further symbolic importance. When we consider that there are extant warrior-helmets, produced in the same cultural milieu, that are decorated with eagles, or at least raptors (as depicted on a helmet in the East Swedish burial Vendel grave I dating to the 7th c.; HAUCK 1976, 591 fig. 115), it seems that the warrior could be identified as an eagle, as MÜLLER (1970, 186–188) and others propose.

Corresponding to the appellative triplet PGmc. **aran-* (Goth. *ara**, OHG *aro*, OIcel. *ari*), **arna-* (OE *earn*) and **arnu-* (OIcel. *orn*) m. ‘eagle’,¹⁰ we have three name elements. There is a preference for **Ara-* (the compound version of **aran-*) in East Germanic areas, but for *n-*formations (**Arna*, **Arnu-*) in Scandinavia and, although less frequently, in England and in Saxony. However, in southern West Germanic (*viz.* WFranc., OHG, Langob.) personal names of both variants are well represented. Regarding name types, ‘Eagle’ occurs as first element of dithematic anthroponyms¹¹ and in (original) short forms. Moreover, it was, in some cases, used as byname. Examples are:¹²

- *Ara-*: WGmc. (Quad.) *Ara-harius* 4th c. (LaN I, 56), Erul. Ἄρ-ουφος 5th c. (LaN I, 75; second element **-wulfa-* ‘wolf’, if **-ουλφος*), OHG *Ara-mund* 8th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 137), Hispano-Goth. *Ar-a* 7th c. (LaN I, 56; suffix **-an-*) = OWN *Ar-i* 10th c. (LIND 1905–1915, 31–32) = OSwed. **ar-i** 9–11th c. (PETERSON 2007, 24), possibly also PN **ara** = *Aræ* 5th c. (IK 47,1–2, 145: Fig. 3; **-an-*);¹³

- 9 The idea of the warrior feeding corpses of slain enemies to the beasts of battle – the eagle, raven and wolf – was highly conventional in Old English and Old Norse poetry; FIDJESTØL 1982, 200–203; GRIFFITHS 1993; JESCH 2002, 256–257, 261–265. To quote only one phrase, (OIcel.) *gefa erni (bráð)*, literally ‘to give (food) to the eagle, *i.e.* to kill enemies [at the battle field]’ crops up in the mid-11th c. Gripsholm runic inscription (SR-Sö 179; **ar-ni:kafu** = *erni gāfu*, *Málsháttakvæði*, st. 23,2 (p. 143; *gefa ornum bróð*) and *Hjalmar’s Death Song*, st. 8,5–6 (p. 51; *gef ek erni [...] bráðir*).
- 10 Starting point is the inherited *n-*stem PGmc. **aran-* m. (= Hitt. *hāran-*) that is continued in Goth. *ara** (pl. *arans*), OHG *aro*, OIcel. *ari*. As with PGmc. **beran-* ~ **bernu-* ‘bear’ (see above, note 5), the accusative plural in PGmc. **-n-unz* served as pivot that triggered a new *u-*stem paradigm **arnu-* > OIcel. *orn* (cf. furthermore, OHG pl. *erni* < **arniwiz* that later adopted an *i-*stem inflection: pl. *erni* → sg. *arn*). Another split-off developed due to *a-*thematization of case forms with a zero-grade suffix (genitive sg./pl. **-n-iz*, **-n-ōn*), *viz.* PGmc. **(ar)-n-a-* > OE *earn* (pl. *earnas*).
- 11 For euphonic reasons, second elements beginning with a vowel were most commonly avoided in Germanic dithematic names. This is Schröder’s first rule (SCHRÖDER 1940, 18–21; cf. also NEDOMA 2004, 144) for which there are only a few exceptions, most of them bitheriophoric names like OHG *Wolf-aro*, *-arn* 8th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 1646).
- 12 Cf. MÜLLER 1970, 35–43; WAGNER 1985, 245–252. Both authors do not allow for **arna-* and anthroponymic *Arna-*, respectively. As far as I am aware, OE *earn* shows nothing but *a-*stem endings (e.g., gen. sg. *-es*, nom. pl. *-as*) which could, admittedly, also result from a declension shift from the *u-* to the *a-*stems. Since this is the more complicated option, and because of evidence for a name element *Arna-* (see above), it is likelier that OE *earn* reflects **arna-*.
- 13 It is probable but not completely sure that the first part of the inscription on the 5th c. bracteates from Darum (II)-A (*bis*) = Skonager (I)-A and Revsgård-A/Allerslev (IK 41,1–2 and 145; group H1; cf. Fig. 3) – it reads **ara?? tiua????** (**u** = **∇**; **?**, renders an undeterminable character: rune, capital or capital-imitation) – has to be established as PN *Aræ* [*hai’ti’k’a* ‘I am called Aræ’, as DÜWEL (1984, 324–325; DÜWEL/NOWAK 2011, 468–469) proposes. However, the first element of Pre-OHG **aro-gis** = *Aro-gīs* 6th c. (Schretzheim II: RāF 157) does not reflect *Ara-* (KRAUSE 1966, 299: “Aar-Schöbling”) but *Arwa-* (related to OS *aru* ‘ready’, OIcel. *orr* ‘ready, swift’ < PGmc. **arwa-* adj.); see NEDOMA 2004, 199–200. As to bracteates, cf. PESCH in this book.



Fig. 3. Bracteate Revsgård-A/Allerslev, Denmark, Migration period (IK 145; vol. 1,3, p. 187).

- *Arna-*: EGmc. *Arne-gisclus* 5th c. (LaN I, 73; *-geisla- ‘hostage’) = Langob. *Arna-isclo* 8th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 139), WFranc. *Arne-gysilus* 6th c. (LaN I, 73; *-gīsila- ‘arrow shaft’), OE *Earn-wine* 8th c. (SEARLE 1897, 214; *-weni- ‘friend’);
- *Arnu-*: WFranc. *Arno-ildis* f., 9th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 140), OHG *Arnu-mar* 9th c. (ibid.), OWN *Qrn-olfr* 10th c., later *-ólfr* (LIND 1905–1915, 1258–1263; *-wulfa- ‘wolf’), OWN *Qrn* 10th c. (ibid., 1256–1258), also as byname (JÓNSSON 1908, 310; LIND 1920–1921, 413) = OSwed. **arn** = *Qrn* 9–11th c. (PETERSON 2007, 26);
- ambiguous (**Arna-* or **Arnu-*) are formations such as OHG and Langob. *Arn-ulf* 9th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 141; BRUCKNER 1895, 227), OS *Arn-ghot* 8th c. (SCHLAUG 1962, 46), OWN *Arn-bjorn* 10th c. (LIND 1905–1915, 37–39),¹⁴ OHG, WFranc. and Langob. *Arn-o* 8th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 138) = OWN *Arn-i* 10th c., later *Árni* (LIND 1905–1915, 47–48) = OSwed. **arn-i** 9–11th c. (PETERSON 2007, 26; suffix *-an-), WFranc. *Arn-a* f., 9th c. (MORLET 1968, 41; *-ōn-).¹⁵

14 OWN *Arn-* can reflect either **Arna-* or **Arnu-* (with loss of connecting vowel before the occurrence of *u*-umlaut; NOREEN 1923, 77 § 80,1) while the rare variant *Qrn(-)* is presumably influenced by the appellative relatum *Qrn*.

15 *Aran-* (OHG *Aran-bilt* f., 8th c.; FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 140) and *Arin-* (Franc.[?] *Arin-theus* 4th c. ~ OHG *Arin-deo* 8th c.; LaN I, 66–68; FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 140) are secondary name stems that emerged, either as results of blending (*Ara-* × *Arna-*) and the influence of OHG *arin*, *erin* ‘floor, ground’, OWN *arinn* ‘hearth’ (< PGmc. **azina-* m.), and/or due to anaptyxis (*a*, *i*; as per WAGNER 1985, 249, 255–256). Recently, THÖNY (2013, 198–199) related *Arin-* to OHG *arin* f. (*ijō*-stem) ‘(female) eagle’, which is implausible since it seems that expressions for female animals were not used as first elements of men’s names. At any rate, the author neglects to provide any relevant example.

4.1.2. ‘Vulture’

There is no reliable evidence for OHG *gīr*, *gīro*, MLG *gīr*, *gīre* m. (**gīra(n)-*) and OE *gīw*, *giow* m. (**gīwa-*) ‘vulture’ in older Germanic anthroponymy, not even in bynames.¹⁶ *Giriso*, named in a mid-2nd century Latin stela inscription from southern Germany (Obernburg: LaN I, 357), is non-Germanic.¹⁷

4.1.3. ‘Hawk, medium or small bird of prey’

OHG *habuh*, *habih*, OS *havuk*, OE *hafoc*, *heafoc*, OWFris. *hawk*, OIcel. *haukr*, OSwed. *høker* m. (PGmc. **habuka-*) denote a ‘medium or small bird of prey’ and, more particularly, ‘hawk’.¹⁸

Most of the corresponding men’s names are monothematic formations from Scandinavia that show strong inflection:

- late PN **hawkz** = *Haukr* c. 600(–650) (Vallentuna-Rickeby: see below, 5.), OWN *Haukr* 9th c. (frequently attested: LIND 1905–1915, 492–493), OSwed. **hawkr** 9–11th c. (PETERSON 2007, 107), later *Høk(er)*.

There are extant counterparts in Frisia and England:

- Pre-OFris. **ha₂buku** = *Habukə* 8/9th c. (Oostum: DÜWEL/TEMPEL 1970, 361–362; 363–367),¹⁹ late OE *Havoc* c. 1100 or somewhat later (VON FEILITZEN 1945, 82).

It is highly probable that all these anthroponyms are (original) bynames (or, more precisely, *supernomina*): first, we know about OWN *Brynjólfr Haukr* 10th c. (Oddr Snorrason, *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*, ch. 59 [71])²⁰ and six more examples besides (LIND 1920–1921, 138); second, there is only little (and late) evidence for dithematic formations that could serve as base for a monothematic name:

- OHG *Habuh-ald* 9th c., *Habach-oldus* 10/11th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 715; GEUENICH 1971, 42), late OE *Hafc-uuine* 11th c. (VON FEILITZEN 1945, 82).

As for the motivations for addressing a man as ‘hawk’, see below, 5.

The runic inscription on the Vånga stone (RäF 66), dating c. 500 or somewhat later, reads **hawkopuz**, which seems to render an otherwise unattested agent noun being used as a byname. Alas, it cannot be determined if PN **hawkopuz** = *hawkōþur* is a ‘man who is like a hawk’ (derived from a weak verb **hawkō-* ‘to be like a hawk [?]’), an ‘austringer’ (derived from mentioned **hawkō-* ‘to hawk [?]’ or from **hauka-* ‘hawk’, which is less probable) or a ‘croucher, hunchback’ (derived from an iterative verb related to OIcel. *húka* ‘to crouch’ by ablaut).²¹ Even more opaque is **hakuþo**, a sequence that crops up in the last line of the Noleby stone inscription (RäF 67), dating before 600. Anyway, there are more than a few deviations evident when it is compared with the expected spelling late PN **hawkōþu* acc. sg., thus demonstrating that **hakuþo** has little, if anything to do with hawks or hawking (DÜWEL 1984, 327; as opposed to KRAUSE 1966, 150).²²

16 For 13th c. evidence from Germany, see VON REITZENSTEIN 2013, 477 (bynames MHG *Gyer*, *Gīr*, Lat. *Uultur*).

17 Cf. KAKOSCHKE 2007, 390 CN 1443 (with further ref.). *Giriso* could be a Celtic name, but its etymology remains completely unclear.

18 OHG *habuh*, *habih* usually glosses Lat. *accipiter* ‘bird of prey, hawk’ and, one instance each, **alietus* ‘a bird of prey’ and *capus* ‘falcon’; see AhdWb IV, 582–583.

19 For Pre-OFrise. **-u** = **-ə** < WGmc. ***-a** < PGmc. ***-az**, see NEDOMA 2014, 348–360 (Oostum: 354–355).

20 Evidence: *Bryniólfr haker*, var. *haker* (JÓNSSON 1932, 215 l. 32; 250 l. 8).

21 ‘Man who is like a hawk’: KRAUSE 1966, 148 (*i.e.* a hawk-eyed runemaster). ‘Austringer’: NÖREEN 1923, 393 no. 93 (“‘der mit habicht jagt’”). ‘Croucher, hunchback’: D. Hofmann in HAUCK 1970, 197; ANTONSEN 2002, 184, 193. There is no cogent interpretation. At any rate, **hawkopuz** can be explained neither as **hawk-wōþuz* ‘hawk-raging [man]’ (KLINGENBERG 1973, 120–124) for phonological reasons (loss of initial *w* does not occur before early 7th c.), nor as a ‘hawk’ (LOOIJENGA 2003, 336 no. 15) for morphological reasons (suffix ***-ōþu-** is disregarded).

22 Divergent interpretations were proposed by GRØNVIK 1987, 100 (*hā-ku(n)þō* acc. sg. f. ‘noble-familiar’) and ANTONSEN 2002, 183; 193 (*Hakuþō* nom. sg. m. *n*-stem ‘crooked, bent one’, cf. OE *hacod* ‘pike [fish]’). However, both explanations are inconclusive.

4.1.4. ‘Kite’, ‘harrier’

Onomastic literature seems to be free from suggestions that ‘kite’ (*milvus*) and ‘harrier’ (*circus*), respectively – OHG *wīwo*, *wīo*, MLG *wīe*, MLG *w(o)uwe* m. (PGmc. **weiwan-*) and OE *glida*, *glioda* m., cf. OIcel. *gleða* f. ‘a kind of raptor’ – are used in older personal names.²³ Yet, while obscure formations such as WFranc. *Viorad* 8th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 1621) have to be disregarded, we cannot rule out the possibility that the runic sequence **muniwiwo!**[---?] on the Eichstetten scabbard mouth-piece (OPITZ 1981, 27–29; 6th c.) contains two male names, viz. Pre-OHG (Alem.) *Muni* (= OHG *Muni* 9th c.; FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 1136) and oionophoric *Wīwo*. This, however, remains unclear.

4.2. *Falconidae*

OHG *falko* (*falk*), OS *-falko*, MLG *valke* (*valk*) m. means ‘falcon’ and also, to some extent and in a broader sense, ‘medium or small bird of prey’.²⁴ OWN *fálki* (*fálk*) ‘falcon’ seems to be borrowed from Middle Low German or Middle Dutch (see, e.g., BJORVAND/LINDEMAN 2000, 199; LLOYD/LÜHR 2007, 32 with further ref.; cf. also SÆRHEIM in this book). Corresponding male personal names, e.g.

– WFranc. *Falco* 6th c. (LaN I, 265) and Langob. *Falco* 8th c. (BRUCKNER 1895, 246), are attested in the (Vulgar) Latin-speaking territories – Gaul, Iberia, Italy – so that it cannot be decided if they are Germanic or Latin.²⁵ However, *Falco* from 10th century Spain (PIEL/KREMER 1976, 126 § 85) originates from Romance tradition as is clearly indicated by its masculine ending *-o* (vs. Hispano-Goth. *-a*). Matching anthroponyms from Scandinavia (*Fálki*, *Falki*) are not recorded until the 13th century (cf. MÜLLER 1970, 48–49). There are no reliable examples of regular dithematic names. First, the initial element in formations such as OHG *Falch-rich* 10th c. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 495) may refer to **falba-* adj. (= Lith. *pálšas*) ‘pale’, a term which is continued by NHG dial. (Bav. Alem. RhFranc.) *falch*. Second, OE *Westerfalca* 6th c. (var. *-w(e)alcna*, a legendary king of Deira; SEARLE 1897, 484) should be an (original) byname (‘western falcon’), although the motivation for such a denomination is just as unclear as it is the case with his father’s name, *Sæfugel* (‘sea-bird’).

Finally, Scandinavian anthroponyms such as

– OIcel. *Valr* 10th c. (LIND 1905–1915, 1070), also as byname (9th c.; LIND 1920–1921, 397), OSwed. **ualr** = *Walr* 9–11th c. (PETERSON 2007, 246)

are ambiguous. They are connected either with OIcel. *valr* m. ‘falcon’ (and ‘hawk’, too?) or, designating the origin of the one named, to homonymous OIcel. *valr** (pl. *-ir*) ‘Romance one, southerner, foreigner’, OE *wealh*, *walh* ‘Celt, foreigner’, OHG *wal(a)h* ‘Romance one’ (PGmc. **walha-* m. ‘[romanized] Celt’).²⁶

4.3. *Strigidae*

There are several onomatopoeia in the older Germanic languages signifying ‘owl’ and ‘eagle owl’ (*bubo*), respectively. Most widespread is PGmc. **ūw(w)an-* ~ **ūfa(n)-* m. that is continued by OHG *ūwo*, *ūvo*, later *ūve*, *ūfe*, *ūf*, OS *ūwo*, OE *ūf*, OIcel. *úfr* etc. Another expression is OHG *nabt(h)raban*, *-(h)ram*, *-rabo*, OS *nabhtravan*, OE *nibthrafn*, OWN *nátthrafn* m. “‘night-raven”, nocturnal bird,

23 For instance, there is no paragraph on G *Weihe* in MÜLLER 1970. – OHG *wīwo*, *wīo* (*wīho*, *wīgo*) and OE *glida*, *glioda* most commonly gloss Lat. *milvus*, but it is hard to commit to a specific bird of prey; cf. NEUSS 1973, 168.

24 OHG *falko* (rare *falk*) glosses not only Lat. *capus* ‘falcon’, but also *herodius* and, once, *alietus* (*avis*) ‘a kind of raptor’; see AhdWb III, 540–541. It is still unclear whether Latin *falco* is borrowed from Germanic (this is the standard view, recently advocated by LLOYD/LÜHR 2007, 32–35 with further ref.), or the Germanic word from Latin.

25 Lat. *Falco*, attested as early as 1st c. AD (Nijmegen: KAKOSCHKE 2007, 338 CN 1263), refers either to ‘falcon’ or to Lat. *falx* ‘sickle’.

26 Cf. MÜLLER 1970, 49–52. For OIcel. *valr* ‘falcon’ and OE *wealh-hafoc* ‘foreign hawk, falcon’, see recently SHAW 2013 with further ref.

esp. owl' (cf. NEUSS 1973, 129–130).²⁷ However, the evidence for anthroponymic use of any of these words for 'owl' proves to be meagre (cf. MÜLLER 1970, 74–75):

- OHG *Uvo* (*Uo*) 9th c., *Uva* f. (FÖRSTEMANN 1900, 1486);²⁸
- OHG *Nahtram* 8th c. (ibid., 1147), WFranc. *Natrannus* 9th c. (MORLET 1968, 171), and perhaps *Nadramna* f., 9th c. (ibid.; hence a motion-name).

There are no extant dithematic names with a first element *Ūwa-*. Therefore, it seems that the quoted anthroponyms are all 'meaningful' and (original) bynames. The motive for denomination cannot be ascertained in any of these instances.

Two runic sequences have sometimes been suspected of rendering owl-names (cf. DÜWEL 1984, 328–330), namely **ubaz** on the Järsberg stone (RäF 70) and **hariuha** on the Sealand II-C bracteate (group H3; RäF 127 = IK 98), both dating to the early 6th century. However, because of phonological differences, there is little chance that **ubaz** and **-uha** continue PGmc. **uω(w)an-*, **ūfa(n)-* (or **hū(wu)k*).²⁹

4.4. Conclusion

As already stated above (4.1.1.), 'eagle' is the sole oionophoric name element that was commonly used in Old Germanic anthroponomy, presumably due to the poetic tradition of the eagle as a beast of battle. Evidence for other birds of prey – vulture, hawk, kite, falcon and owl – is meagre, with the exception of 'hawk', which appears as an original *supernomen*. As far as can be seen, only 'eagle' belongs to the older layer of Germanic name-giving, the earliest example is WGmc. (Quad.) *Ara-harius*, dating to the 4th century. Instances of 'hawk' crop up about two centuries later in Scandinavia (see below, 5.), possibly due to the introduction of falconry as of the 6th century.

5. THE VALLENTUNA-RICKEBY RUNIC INSCRIPTION

In 1980, grave mound A1 of the Rickeby cemetery in the central part of Vallentuna parish (Vallentuna kommun, Stockholms län, mid-east Sweden) was unearthed. The burial dates around 600(–650). The cremation layer contained the skeleton of a high-status warrior aged between 40 and 50 years, the remains of a horse, four dogs and a dozen birds (including several birds of prey, *viz.* an eagle owl, a sparrowhawk, a goshawk, and two peregrine falcons), together with countless fragments of weapons and objects of utility.³⁰

Most remarkable are the fragments of at least 44 (or 48) gaming pieces and three dice made of antler. There are runes on five of the die fragments (Figs. 4–5). Four of them fit together, yielding an inscription α that reads left to right **x(x?)xahahaukzalbuxx**. The fifth die piece, a corner fragment, has three runes **añx** (inscription β) which are uninterpretable.

27 Other words for '(eagle) owl' are (i) OHG OS *ūwila* f. (**ūw(w)ilōn-*) ~ OHG *ūla*, OE *ūle*, OIcel. *ugla* f. (**ūw(w)alōn-*); (ii) OHG *hūh*, OS *hūk* m. (**hū(wu)k-*) and OHG *hūhhila* f.; (iii) OHG *hū(w)o*, OS *hūwo* m. (**hū(w)an-*) and OHG *hū(w)ila* f. Apparently, there are no corresponding anthroponymic formations. *Uvilo*, that is listed by FÖRSTEMANN (1900, 1486), cannot be verified since GRAFF (1834, 172), to whom he refers, quotes no source.

28 Weak inflected OWN *Ūfi* 12th c. (LIND 1905–1915, 1047–1048) probably means 'the unfriendly one' (cf. OIcel. *úfr* adj. 'unfriendly, hostile, angry').

29 A few runes have, perhaps, been lost before **ubaz** (followed by *h(a)itē* '[I] am called') in the Järsberg inscription. For **hariuha** (followed by *hait-ika* 'I am called') see, e.g., MÜLLER 1988, 144 note 220; cf. furthermore DÜWEL/NOWAK 2011, 411–412. Recently, FAIRFAX (2015, 162–164) has claimed that there is a sequence **uha** = *Ūha* on the 3rd/4th c. Nydam axe handle (IMER 2015, 198) which he takes as an uninterpretable (!) personal name, but this reading is precarious.

30 For more detailed information, see SJÖSVÄRD et al. 1983; SJÖSVÄRD 1989; VRETEMARK 2013; cf. furthermore VRETEMARK in this book. A broader dating (*viz.* 600–700) is given by IMER 2015, 313.

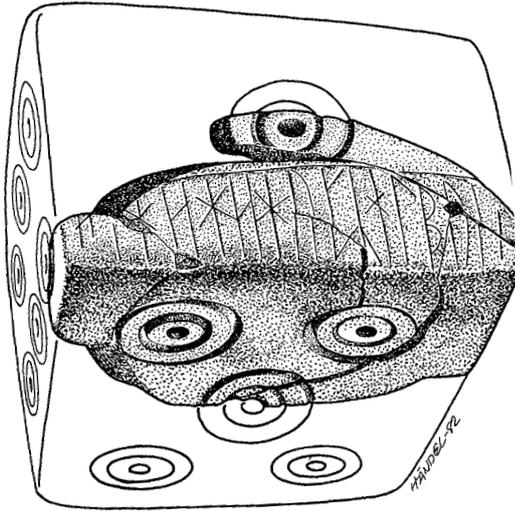


Fig. 4. Vallentuna-Rickeby die with runic inscription α : reconstruction drawing by Bengt Händel. Mid-east Swedish burial, early 7th century (GUSTAVSON 1989, 42).

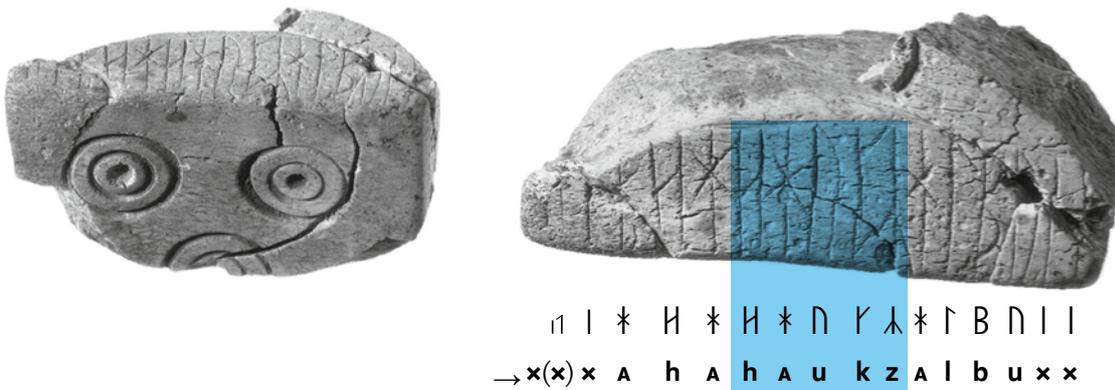


Fig. 5. Vallentuna-Rickeby die with runic inscription α . Mid-east Swedish burial, early 7th century (photo by Gunnel Jansson [IMER 2005, 313], normalization and transliteration by the author).

The middle sequence of inscription α , **haukz** (**z** = /r/ indicates end of the word), obviously renders the late Proto-Norse reflex of PGmc. **habukaz* ‘hawk, a bird of prey’ (cf. above, 4.1.3.)³¹ that can be either an appellative or (part of) a theriophoric personal name. We do not know what a writer is likely to have cut on a gaming die, but the latter alternative is more plausible since runic inscriptions of various types frequently contain anthroponyms. The rest of the runic text cannot be explained satisfactorily, although. H. GUSTAVSON (1983, 145–148; 1989, 44–47) proposes a conjectural reading/interpretation **h[|]ahahaukr albu[in]** (or: **-[na]**) = late PN *Hlahahaukr albūin(n)* (or: *albūna*) ‘H. (‘laugh’ + ‘hawk’)³² completely prepared’. He takes *Hlahahaukr* to be a compound name, connecting the first element with OHG *hlabhan* ‘to laugh’ and, furthermore, with OIcel. *hlakka* ‘to rejoice, scream (of the

31 The form **haukz** = late PN *H/baukr* indicates three sound changes: (i) loss of initial *j* (PN **jāra* > late PN **ār(a)* ‘year’), considering that the old *j*-rune * already represents *ǣ* (hence transliterated **A**); (ii) contraction *-ābu-* > *-au-*; (iii) syncope of thematic vowel *a* after a heavy syllable (*-ar* > *-r* as in **hapuwulafz**; see above, 3.); cf. NEDOMA 2007, 258–259.

32 LOOIJENGA 2003, 337 (“laughing hawk”) and IMER 2015, 313 (“Leende høg”; thus, same meaning) do not explain why they take *Hlaha-* as (either a present participle or) an adjective.

eagle)', whereas the second element, *albūin(n)* or *-na* (weak inflected), is equated with the participle OIcel. *albúinn* 'completely equipped, entirely ready'. However, the problems with this interpretation are obvious:

(i) To begin with, there are several uncertainties about the reading. First, runes no. 2, 15 and 16 (as per GUSTAVSON) are illegible. Second, it is not completely clear whether the initial carvings that lack the upper part (something like ᚠ) are indeed **h** *H – could it be **in** *H as well? (It seems that the latter option is less likely.) However, GUSTAVSON gives no detailed description of the runic characters, unfortunately. Third, it cannot be taken for granted that the inscription is complete; it might continue on another, lost part of the die.

(ii) A (late) Proto-Norse deverbal noun **blaha/ō-* 'laugh' (or adjective 'laughing, cheerful' [?]) should be derived from a *j*-less variant of the strong verb Goth. *blahjan**, OHG (*h*)*lahhan*, OIcel. *hlæja* etc., or from a weak verb such as OHG *lachen* 'to laugh' (PGmc. **blab-ǣ-*). There are, however, no extant forms that equate to an old formation **blaha/ō-*.³³ At any rate, the value of a comparing between this noun and the iterative weak verb OIcel. *hlakka* 'to rejoice, scream (of the eagle)', OW-Fris. *hlakkia* 'to laugh' (PGmc. **hlakk-ō-*), is very limited value due to the phonological difference of *-h-* and *-kk-*.

(iii) The occurrence of 'hawk' as second element of a dithematic anthroponym is without parallel, although an (original) byname *Hlahahaukr* 'laugh(ing)-hawk' could still be an unique *ad hoc* formation.

(iv) Finally, in regard to intentionality, what would be the purpose of inscribing an assertive text such as 'H. [is] completely prepared' on a game die? What, moreover, would be its function?

It must be pointed out, though, that GUSTAVSON (1989, 147) himself notes, very soundly, that his proposal "can only be hypothetical". This seems quite reasonable. But it means that, on GUSTAVSON's own admission, we cannot label it as "a convincing transliteration and interpretation" (FISCHER 2005, 201).

An alternative is to leave the uninterpretable initial runic sequence – *i.e.* GUSTAVSONS **h|l|aha** – aside and take **haukz** as an (original) byname *Haukr* (= OWN *Haukr* etc.; see above, 4.1.3.). Archaeologists might ask whether *Haukr* could be the deceased who received this *supernomen* because of his (special relationship to) birds of prey. Of course, it is quite possible that the buried man was named in a runic inscription found in his burial, but we have to keep in mind that there is no way to substantiate this theory by means of the runic text. Yet, if we proceed on the assumption that *Haukr* is indeed a byname, we have to consider this possibility in the light of the various rhetorical tropes which were used in the creating of such nicknames:

(i) Synecdoche of the type *pars pro toto* (to be paraphrased 'has X' or 'is X', respectively): Hispano-Goth. *Wamba* 7th c., 'big belly' (LaN I, 754–755) and NGmc. Θρουσκανός 1st c. AD, 'strong' (NEUMANN 1953, 53–55). For an example of a theriophoric version of such a nickname, see ONorw. (*Þórir*) *Hauknefr* 9th c., 'hawknose' (LIND 1905–1915, 492; 1920–1921, 138). However, the lack of any possible logical result shows that synecdoche clearly does not apply to *Haukr* for reasons of logic.

(ii) Metaphor (to be paraphrased 'is like X'): Pre-OHG *Bōso* 6th c., 'chunk' (regarding shape; see above, 2.). For an example of a theriophoric version of such an (original) byname, see OIcel. *Refr* 9th c., 'fox' (regarding cleverness or hair colour; LIND 1905–1915, 851–852; 1920–1921, 292). A recent oionophoric, although fictitious, example is Dan. *Ørnen* 'the eagle' (because of being on top

33 Extant old formations showing *a* and root-final *b* are the action noun **blab-tra-* 'laughter' (OE *hle(a)htor*, OIcel. *blátr* m., OHG (*h*)*lahtar* n.) and possibly the adjective **blab-sa-* (?) 'cheerful, glad' (Goth. *blas**). Late attested MHG and MLG *lach* m. 'laugh, laughter' (: *lachen*; back-formation), E *laugh* (: *laugh*; zero-derivation) probably do not date back to Old Germanic times.

of things), the nickname of (Icel.) *Hallgrímur Örn Hallgrímsson*.³⁴ Of course, there is more than one kind of metaphoric analogy, so that calling a person *Haukr* could refer, among other things, to his hawk-like appearance, sharp-sightedness or even his predatory character.

(iii) Metonymy (to be paraphrased ‘is associated with X’): OIcel. (*Þorbjörn Surr* 10th c., ‘sour [whey]’ (used to quench a fire), as explained in *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (‘Saga of Gisli, son of Surr’, ch. 4; p. 9):

hann var svá kallaðr, síðan hann varðiz með sýrunni

‘he was so called after he had defended by means of the sour whey’.

A theriophoric example of this kind of by-name is found in (*Ketill Hængr* 10th c., ‘male salmon’ (LIND 1920–1921, 169). According to *Ketils saga hængs* (‘Saga of Ketil Hængr’, ch. 1; p. 153), Ketill slays a dragon, but tells his father Hallbjörn that he has cut asunder a *hængr* (a male salmon). Hallbjörn answers:

“Lítils mun þér síðar vert þykkja um smáhluti, er þú telr slík kvikvendi með smáfiskum. Mun ek nú auka nafn þitt ok kalla þik Ketil hæng.”

“‘These trifles will later seem of little worth to you, when you rate such a creature among small fish. Now I shall extend your name and call you Ketill he-Salmon.’”

Thus, metonymy is capable of representing a wide range of relationships. As such, we would be at a loss how to interpret nicknames such as *Surr* and *Hængr* without further information, and we are certainly at a loss with a nickname such as OHG *Amalperaht cognomento Fugal* ‘bird’, 9th c. (GEUENICH 1976, 90). Of course, some kind of preference, or even passion, for hawks is a suitable motive of metonymic denomination, but this is only one of many possibilities.

However, in the case of most hawk-names – late PN *Haukr*, OWN *Haukr*, OSwed. **haukr**, Pre-OFris. *Habukə*, late OE *Havoc* etc. (4.1.3.) – we are probably dealing with ‘regular’ anthroponyms that dissociated from (metaphoric or metonymic) motivated nicknames and became demotivated individual names without any explicit relationship to hawks remaining. The find context might suggest that (x(x?)xaha-)haukr is a byname (*supernomen*) referring to hawks, but we cannot be positive about this – the Vallentuna-Rickeby runic inscription α leaves many questions open.

ABBREVIATIONS

Adj. = adjective, Alem. = Alemannic, Bav. = Bavarian, Dan. = Danish, f. = feminine, Franc. = Franconian; G = (modern High) German, Goth. = Gothic, Gr. = Greek, Hitt. = Hittite, Icel. = Icelandic, Langob. = Langobardic, Lat. = Latin, Lith. = Lithuanian, m. = masculine, MDu. = Middle Dutch, MHG = Middle High German, MLG = Middle Low German, n. = neuter, NGmc. = North Germanic, NHG = New High German, OE = Old English, OFris. = Old Frisian, OHG = Old High German, OIcel. = Old Icelandic, OS = Old Saxon, OSwed. = Old Swedish, OWFris. = Old West Frisian, OWN = Old West Norse, PGmc. = Proto-Germanic, PN = Proto-Norse, Quad. = Quidian, RhFranc. = Rhenish Franconian, WFranc. = West Franconian, WGmc. = West Germanic, v. = verse, Vand. = Vandalic.

34 Hallgrim Örn Hallgrímsson (this is the Danicized name variant) is the main character of the TV serial *Ørnen: En krimi-odyssé* (G *Der Adler – die Spur des Verbrechens*; Denmark/Germany 2004–2006). The motive of denomination is given in *Kodenavn: Hades* (Codename: *Hades*; season 1, episode 8, 9’34”–9’42”): chief constable Hallgrímur is called ‘the eagle’, *weil er als einziger den Überblick hat; er schwebt hoch über uns allen* (‘because he is the only one who is on top of things; he hovers above all of us’).

APPENDIX: LINGUISTIC DEFINITIONS

<i>ablaut (also: apophony)</i>	a systematical vowel change that can be traced back to the Indo-European proto-language: Lat. <i>tego</i> – <i>tēxī</i> ‘I (have) cover(ed)’, E <i>ride</i> [raid] – <i>rode</i> – <i>ridden</i>
<i>affix</i>	a word-formation element (grammatical morpheme) attached to a word or word-like element (lexical morpheme); an affix preceding its base is a prefix (<i>in-</i> in E <i>in-sight</i>), an affix following its base is a → suffix
<i>agent noun (also: nomen agentis)</i>	a noun that is derived from a verb or another noun, denoting action: E <i>commander</i> (: [to] <i>command</i> , verb), G <i>Täter</i> (: <i>Tat</i> , noun)
<i>anaptyxis (also: svarabhakti)</i>	the insertion of a vowel between a group of consonants for the purpose of easier pronunciation: OHG <i>berht</i> → <i>beraht</i> ‘bright’ (usually anaptyctic vowels are superscripted: <i>ber^aht</i>)
<i>anthroponym</i>	a personal name
<i>appellative (also: common noun, class noun)</i>	refers to a class of entity (subjects, objects, facts, ideas, emotions); contrary to → name
<i>compound</i>	a combination of two (or even more) words into a new morphological unit: E <i>birdcage</i> ‘cage for a bird’
<i>derivation</i>	a combination of a word or word-like element and an → affix into a new morphological unit: E <i>grim-ly</i> (adverb → suffix <i>-ly</i> attached to the adjective <i>grim</i>)
<i>dialect continuum</i>	a group of dialects (of the same language) spread across a contiguous area; differences between neighbouring dialects are slight but accumulate with increasing distance
<i>dithematic</i>	consisting of two themes (name elements), forming a compound name: E (and G) <i>Ro-bert</i>
<i>etymology</i>	1. the branch of linguistics that deals with the history (origin and basic meaning) of a word; 2. the actual history (origin and basic meaning) of a word
<i>euphony</i>	melodiousness, having the quality of a harmonious sound
<i>gloss</i>	a brief note on a word (or a group of words), either in the margin or between the lines of a text
<i>hypocorism</i>	a diminutive formation used as a pet name: Goth. <i>Wulfila</i> (where the <i>l</i> -suffix of combined <i>*-il-an-</i> expresses littleness as it does in the case of G <i>Änglein</i> ‘little eye’)
<i>iterative</i>	expressing repetition of a verbal action: E <i>flitter</i>
<i>monothematic morphology</i>	consisting of one theme (name element): G <i>Heino</i> (with suffix <i>-o</i>)
<i>motion</i>	1. the subdiscipline of linguistics that deals with the structure of words; 2. the structure (of words)
<i>name (proper noun)</i>	forming female words parallel to existing words for the male by means of → derivation: E <i>lioness</i> (→ suffix <i>-ess</i> attached to <i>lion</i>)
<i>oionophoric</i>	a noun that refers to an unique entity and thus identifies a particular subject or object; contrary to → appellative
<i>onomatopoeia</i>	(a name element) referring to a bird of prey (Gr. οἰωνός <i>oiōnós</i>): OHG <i>Ara-mund</i> (<i>Ara-</i> ~ PGmc. <i>*aran-</i> ‘eagle’)
<i>onymic</i>	a word that phonetically imitates a natural sound: G <i>miau</i> ‘miaow (of a cat)’, E (<i>to</i>) <i>whoosh</i> ‘to move rapidly (with a rushing sound)’
<i>onymic</i>	concerning names

<i>runes</i>	a set of characters used by the Germanic peoples for inscriptions as from the late 2 nd century AD; transliterations are given in bold: ᚱ = r
<i>Second Sound Shift</i> (also: <i>High German Sound Shift</i>)	a major transformation of the West Germanic obstruent system in the High German dialects, which, as such, affecting stops and fricatives: G <i>pfeifen</i> (vs. E <i>pipe</i> [paɪp]), G <i>Zitze</i> (vs. E <i>tit</i>), G <i>machen</i> (vs. E <i>make</i>)
<i>semantics</i>	1. the subdiscipline of linguistics that deals with the meaning of words or word phrases; 2. the meaning of words or word phrases
<i>suffix</i>	a word-formation element (grammatical morpheme) attached to a preceding word or word-like element (lexical morpheme): E <i>falcon-ry</i>
<i>synecdoche</i>	a rhetorical figure in which an expression for a part of something also denotes the whole, or vice versa: E <i>mouth (to feed)</i> ‘someone (especially a baby) who has to be fed’
<i>synonymous</i> <i>theriophoric</i>	having (nearly or exact) the same meaning: E <i>start – begin</i> (name element) referring to an animal: OHG <i>Eburhart</i> (<i>Ebur-</i> ~ PGmc. * <i>ebura-</i> ‘boar’)
<i>umlaut</i>	a type of sound change by which a stressed vowel is influenced by the following unstressed vowel (or vowel-like element): PN <i>balluz</i> > OIcel. <i>bolllr</i> ‘ball’, reflecting umlaut <i>a</i> > <i>ø</i> (pronounced [ɔ], later [ø]) before an unstressed <i>u</i> (which was then deleted)

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