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On the Etymology of *Jómsborg*

JÜRGEN UDOLPH

The place name *Jómsborg* and all its variants are to be found exclusively in northern and North Germanic sources, by which I mean in Old Norse sagas, such as *Knýtlinga saga* from c. 1250. According to Laur (2005: 14), the place name is further recorded in *Jómsvíkinga saga* (written in the first third of the thirteenth century in Iceland). Additionally, a corrupted form, *Hyumesborg*, is documented in the Danish chronicle, *Historia brevis regum Dacie*, written by Sven Aggesøn c. 1180. A detailed list including all essential historical records of the place name is provided by Petrulevich (2009: 91–96). I will refer to this later in the text.

The place name *Jómsborg* also became known through the Jómsvíkings who are mentioned in *Jómsvíkinga saga*. According to this source, which is not very informative concerning historical events, the Jómsvíkings are said to have fought with a particular contempt for death in the battle against Earl Hákon Sigurðarson near Hjörungavágr (Hjörungavåg).

At an early stage a connection was made that identified *Jómsborg* with the legendary *Vineta* and *Wollin* (for example by Virchow in 1872). For a long time, it was not possible to localize the exact position of the site denoted by these names. Speculation was fuelled through the different accounts of a great and wealthy (harbour) city that were written by by Ibrāhīm Ya‘qūb at-Ṭarṭūšī and Adam of Bremen. The speculation about and interpretations of at-Ṭarṭūšī and Adam of Bremen’s accounts have resulted in popular English-language websites stating the following: “Jomsborg’s exact location has not yet been established, though it is maintained that Jomsborg was somewhere on the islands of the Oder estuary.”

Following the achievements of Hofmeister (1932, 1932a, 1960), the site is nowadays often identified with the city and island of *Wollin*, Polish *Wolin* (Brather 2007; Schmidt 2000; and others). However, Schmidt (2000: 121) emphasizes:

Udolph, Jürgen. 2014. On the Etymology of *Jómsborg*.
Scripta Islandica 65: 183–209.

So ergibt sich, wie Hofmeister dies bereits 1931/32 begründet hat, dass die verschiedenen Autoren mit *Jumne – Jómsborg – Julin – Jummeta – Vineta – Wollin* ein und denselben Ort gemeint haben [So it follows, as Hofmeister already established in 1931/32, that the various authors in using *Jumne – Jómsborg – Julin – Jummeta – Vineta – Wollin* meant one and the same place].

Nevertheless, this statement does not clarify the problem at all. For the place names *Wollin*, *Wolin*, *Jómsborg*, and *Vineta*, numerous different forms are recorded. Some of them show great spelling differences such as *Vinne*, *Uimne*, *Jummeta*, *Juminem*, *Julinum*, *Uineta*, *at Jómi*, and *Vinneta*.

It is therefore evident that uncertainty about the correct place name form already existed in earlier times. Yet, with some probability it can be stated (as summarized by int. al. Rzetelska-Feleszko 1977: 561–64; Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 88–89) that in the course of history, the island and the town *Wollin* were named differently by the inhabitants of the surrounding Baltic rim. This is also supported by several historical records (Brüske 1955: 203–04; Förstemann 1913: 1617; Rzetelska-Feleszko 1977: 561; Pommersches Urkundenbuch 1868–1970; Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 88–89; Rospond 1965: 35 and 1984: 435–36; Słownik Starożytności słowiańskich vol. 6: 561; and most accurately Petrulevich 2009: 91–96). Below are listed the attested forms that I will be discussing in more detail:

1012–1018 (copy fourteenth century; Thietmari) *a civitate magna Liuilni*; c. 1075 (Adam of Bremen) *nobilissima civitas Jumne*, *vinne*, *iunne*, *uimne*, *jumne* (according to Adam of Bremen [Scholia] the famous *civitas Jumne* is the largest city of Europe); 1088 *urbs Iulin*; 1124 (copy) *Iulin*, *Vulin* (variant: *Wulin*); 1140 *in civitate Wulinensis*; *ciuitatem Willin*; twelfth century (copy fourteenth century) *Jummeta* (multiple occurrences), *Vinneta* (Helmold), in copies also recorded as *Vineta* (uncertain spelling); c. 1160 (Herbordi vita Ottonis) *Iulinae*, *Iulina*, *Iulin*, *Vulin*; 1175 *Wolyn*; 1178 *castellano Juliensi*; around 1180 (Sven Aggesøn) *Hyumesborg*, 1184 *de Wolin*; 1188 *castrum Wolyn*; 1195 *Volin*; *provincia Wolin*; c. 1200 (Saxo Grammaticus) *Julinum*; twelfth/thirteenth centuries *aliud vero Julin quod nunc Volin dicitur*; 1216 *Volin*; *provincia Volin*; 1217 *Wolin*; first third of the thirteenth century (*Jómsvíkinga saga*) *Jómsborg*; before 1223 *circa Velen*; 1232 *Wolin*; 1243 *Wolyn*; c. 1250 (*Knýtlinga saga*) *Jómsborg*; 1260 *Wolin*; 1277 *Wolin*; thirteenth/fourteenth centuries several records of *Wolin*, *Wolyn*, *Wollin*, *Wollyn*, sometimes spelled as *Woltyn*, since the fifteenth century, it is mainly *Wollin*.

According to some scholars (for example Leciejewich 1977), this list should also include *Velunzani*, the name of a tribe that can be found in the document called *Bayerischer Geograph* (Bavarian Geographer) (written in the mid-ninth century and preserved in a copy from the tenth century). This tribe's name is also documented in the tenth century as *Vulcini*, and Widukind of Corvey writes *Vuolini*. The so-called *Großpolnische Chronik* from the twelfth century interprets the name as "Welunecz, quod alias Julin dicebatur [Welunecz, also called Julin]".

The relation between the former records and the examples with the name of the Velunzani tribe is most questionable. The authors of the *Real- und Sachwörterbuch zum Altrussischen* (1995) explain the place name *Velunzani* as the name of the *Volynjane* tribe in Volhynia.

In the following, I will first concentrate on the different name types and then their variants and discuss them in more detail. Later on, I will deal with the Scandinavian forms *Jómsborg*, *Jónlat Jóni*, and a new interpretation suggested by Alexandra Petrulevich (2009).

However, it is important to note that it will not be possible to combine all the different spelling variants of the place name such as *Liuilni*, *Julin*, *Junne*, *Junneta*, *Vineta*, *Willin*, *Velin*, *Vulin*, and *Wolin* into one single etymological background (Udolph 2007: 219). Laur (2005: 14) comes to this conclusion as well when he says:

Die Namenformen *Junne* und *Wollin* werden wohl kaum auf einen Nenner zu bringen sein. Vogel vermutete ein **Vimne* als ursprüngliche Form bei Adam von Bremen, die man dann später als *Junne* verlesen hätte. Wir werden aber mit zwei eigenständigen Namenformen zu rechnen haben, wobei wir von einer einheimischen **Jumna* ausgehen können [It is unlikely that the name forms *Junne* and *Wollin* can be taken back to a common denominator. Vogel suspected **Vimne* as the original form in Adam of Bremen, which was later misread as *Junne*. But we will have to reckon with two separate name forms, for which we can assume a native **Jumna*].

When discussing the various records, one has to bear in mind that the letters *i*, *u*, *m*, and *n* consist of minim strokes (such as *uuu*). Therefore, it is particularly difficult to distinguish between these letters in medieval texts. However, this problem provides an explanation for the spelling differences in forms such as *vimm-e*, *iunn-e*, *uimm-e*. The minims have been interpreted differently by various writers. This phenomenon is apparent in all medieval texts and has to be taken into account when discussing the etymologies of *Vineta*, *Junneta*, *Junne*, *Vimne*, and others.

1. *Iulin, Julin*

According to the majority of scholars, the following records are to be considered erroneous forms: 1088 *urbs Iulin*; 1124 (copy) *Iulin*; c. 1160 (Herbordi vita Ottonis) *Iulinae, Iulina, Iulin*; 1178 *castellano Juliensi*; c. 1200 *Iulinum* (Saxo Grammaticus); twelfth/thirteenth centuries *aliud vero Iulin ... (quod nunc Volin dicitur)*.

Therefore, they are not relevant for the etymological investigation of the place name forms (Udolph 2007: 219). As stated by Rzetelska-Feleszko (1977) and later again by Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma (1991: 88–89), records such as *Julin, Iulin*, and other similar forms are results of reinterpretations by scholars or popular etymology and are not suitable for the etymological analysis. According to these studies, such forms originate in an alleged stay of Julius Caesar. Laur (2005: 22) comments:

In diesem Zusammenhang müssen wir noch auf eine weitere Namenform für Wollin eingehen, nämlich 1088 *urbs Iulin*, 1124 *Iulina* bei Herbord von Fritzlar, *Iulinum* beim Annalista Saxo um 1160, *Iulin sedein episcopalem* von 1347 in der Genealogia christianitatis ducum Stetiniensium oder *apud Iulinum* im Compendium Saxonis aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. Hieran knüpft sich die unhistorische Überlieferung, daß die Stadt von der Schwester des Julius Cäsar gegründet sei. Wahrscheinlich liegt eine Kontamination vor, eine Vermengung der Namenform *Wollin* mit einer, die mit einem *j* beginnt wie *Jumne* und *Jömsborg* [In this context we have to deal with yet another name form for Wollin, viz. 1088 *urbs Iulin*, 1124 *Iulina* in Herbord of Fritzlar, *Iulinum* in the annalist Saxo c. 1160, *Iulin sedein episcopalem* from 1347 in the Genealogia christianitatis ducum Stetiniensium, or *apud Iulinum* in the Compendium Saxonis from the fourteenth century. Connected to this is the unhistorical tradition that the city was founded by Julius Caesar's sister. It is likely that there is contamination here, a blending of the name form *Wollin* with one that starts with a *j* such as *Jumne* and *Jömsborg*].

Petrulevich (2009: 75) is also sceptical and says that “[...] *Julin* is most likely a spelling variant [...]”. We can therefore disregard these place name forms in the present discussion.

2. *Jumne*

In contrast to the toponyms discussed above, the form *Jumne*, which also appears as *Jomne* in Scandinavian sources, seems to be more reliable (for the

Tab. 1. Forms of *Jumne* etc. in various sources according to Labuda, 1964: 187; cf. also Petrulevich 2009: 93. Lib., c., p. = book/*scholion*, chapter and page, respectively, in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae pontificum*. A, A1 etc. = the different text versions.

Lib., c., p.	A, A1 and A2	B, B1 and B2	C, C1 and C2
II, 22 (79)	Uimne	Jumne, Junume, Umme	Jumne, Julinum
II, 22 (80)	Uimne	Iummem, Iumme, Jumnoe	
II, 22 (80)	Uimne	Iummem, Iumme, Iumnem	Iumnem, Iuminem
II, 22 (81)	Uimnem	Iummem, Iummen	Iuminem
II, 27 (87)	Iumne (Uimne?)	Iumme, Iumnoe	Iulinum
schol. 56 (137)		Iummem	Iuminem
schol. 121 (245)		Iuminne, Iumme	Iunine
IV, 20 (249)		Iummem, Iümmen	Iuminem

discussion of *Jomne*, see also Petrulevich 2009: 68). This form can be found in the following records according to Adam of Bremen c. 1075 (Tab. 1):

It is significant when Petrulevich (2009: 69) states:

The form *Hynniburgh* is most likely a result of copyists' mistakes. However, I do not accept the original form *Hyunsiburgh* suggested by some scholars. I am convinced that the genuine form was a logical development of *Jumne*, which was seen as an *ia*-stem by the Danish author. Irrespective of the root vowel and the gender, one can expect a form **Jumnesborg*/**Jumnisborg* in the circumstances.

Therefore, a possible original form **Jumne* is also supported by the clearly erroneous form *Hynniburgh*. The same also applies for the forms *Jomni* and *Jomune*: "Clearly, *af Jomni* and *ath Jomune* are late orthographical variants of *Jumne*" (Petrulevich 2009: 70).

Laur (2005: 14) regards the spelling variations in the various traditions as follows:

So kennt Adam von Bremen [...] die Namenform *civitas Iumne*, so nach der

Wiener Handschrift, und auch in den anderen ist nach Schmeidler der Name eher so zu lesen als *Uimne* bzw. *Vimne* [Adam of Bremen knows [...] the name form *civitas Iumne*, as in the Viennese manuscript, and according to Schmeidler the name is more likely to be read as *Uimne* or *Vimne* in the other (manuscripts)].

Since Laur refers to historians in this statement, his remark is of a certain significance. Historians are the most reliable scholars when evaluating the problem of how to read the different writings of Adam of Bremen's texts. Laur thus concludes that, the form *Iumne* and its variants are to be preferred to the *Vimne*-forms. Laur (2005: 14) summarizes: "Wir werden [...] von einer einheimischen Form **Jumna* ausgehen können [We can [...] assume a native form **Jumna*]".

The place name variant *Jumne* has already been analysed several times by different scholars. At this point, I wish to provide a brief summary of the main views and discuss them later in the text:

1. Schmid (1979: 266) explains the place name with an underlying base form *Jumna* or *Jumina*. According to him, there are two approaches from which this form may have developed. It can either be traced back to Latvian *jumis* with the meaning 'zwei zu einer Einheit verbundene, zusammengewachsene Dinge [two things grown together into one unit — to be understood in this context as suggesting confluences or branches of rivers located at estuaries]'. This Latvian word is regarded as a pre-Slavic formation of the Indo-European root **jem-* 'Zwei aus, in, zu Einem [two things out of, in, into one]'. The second approach for a base form *Jumna* or *Jumina* originates in a participle construction **Iu-mina* with a root **yu-* 'to move'. This root can be observed in Vedic (Sanskrit) *yavya* 'stream', Old Persian *yauviya-* 'channel, waterpassage', Old Indic *ud-yôdhati* 'wallt auf (vom Wasser) [to foam, to bubble (of water)]' and also (mostly) in river names such as *Jūra*, *Jū'ra* in the Baltic States, *Juras* in Thrace, *Jurata* on the Hel peninsula (northern Poland), *Jühnde* near Göttingen (Germany), *Jona*, *Jouanne* and other examples in France and along Lake Constance as well as in *Iuvavus*, which is the old name of the river Salzach near Salzburg (Austria).

Some years later, Schmid (1982: 64) tried to include the river name *Ina*, German *Ihna* into this discussion by tracing it back to **Jumna*. Yet, I cannot accept his suggestion since initial **ju-* in West Slavic dialects changes to **jb-*, this form, however, would not have developed

- into *I-*, but more likely into *je-* or *jo-* (Udolph 1990: 126). This can be exemplified with place names such as *Jäglin/Jaglino* and *Jizbunken*.
2. In my article (Udolph 2007: 219) about the place name *Wollin*, I considered a possible Indo-European (participle) suffix **-meno-/mono* for the form *Jumne* < **Jumina*, which is also expected in the river name *Ihne* near Hannover (Ohainski & Udolph 1998: 231–33). I will get back to this suggestion at the end of this article. In my opinion, the place name *Wollin* has to be separated from *Jumne*/**Jumina* since it seems to denote the town rather than the river.
 3. Laur (2005: 14–15) has summarized all the different academic discussions up to the year 2005. He rightly rejects unprofessional etymological explanations that make use of Low German *Inme* ‘bee’ (Goldmann & Wermusch 2004), and he mentions the explanations proposed by Wolfgang P. Schmid and Jürgen Udolph. Laur also considers a Baltic interpretation of *Jumne* which was already suggested by Labuda. This approach assumes Latvian *joma* meaning ‘bodden, bay’ or ‘Lachen zurückgebliebenen Wassers am Strande [a pool or puddle of remaining water at the bank]’ or in the meaning of ‘sandbank, shallow water’. Laur points to the problem of *Wollin* not actually being situated within the Baltic language area, but nevertheless assumes Baltic influence in the regions along the lower Oder.

Latvian *joma* was even borrowed into the German dialects of East Prussia. It is found in the usage of fishermen as *Jome* (fem.) and refers to a ‘sumpfige Schlucht zwischen zwei Sanddünen [marshy gorge between two dunes]’ (Polanska 2002: 179). However, this form represents an early borrowing from Livonian *juom* ‘Meerestiefe zwischen zwei Sandbänken [depth between two sand banks]’ (Polanska 2002: 213; she also assumes another origin; compare already existing earlier investigations by Vasmer 1958: 489). The East Prussian *Jome* can therefore not be looked for in the forms *Wollin* or *Jumne*.

3. *Jumneta*

The variant *Jumneta* apparently only occurs in the chronicles of Helmold: “In the Latin tradition, the form *Jumne* was transformed into *Ium(ne)ta* and *Vinneta* in Helmold” (Petrulevich 2009: 68). The origin of *Jumneta* is

uncertain. It is uncertain whether the form represents a younger variant, which is based on *Vineta*, *Uineta*. In a footnote, Petrulevich (2009: 68 n. 3) remarks: "According to R. Schmidt (2000: 121), the oldest manuscript suggests the reading *uineta*, which was changed by a copyist into *iumta* = *iumenta* or *iumneta*" and "*Vinneta* auf einer falschen Lesung oder einem Schreibfehler für *Jumneta* beruht [*Vinneta* is based on a misreading or a scribal error for *Jumneta*]" (Bach 1953: 26).

The statement made by Laur (2005: 15) about the problematic connection between *Vin(n)eta* and *Iumneta* seems to be the most probable explanation:

Diese Namenform begegnet uns in der Slawenchronik des Helmold von Bosau aus der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts als *Vinneta*, aber auch als *Iumneta*. Seine Ausführungen stützen sich deutlich auf Adam von Bremen, wobei die Form auf *-eta* bei ihm eine Latinisierung darstellt [We encounter this name form in Helmold of Bosau's *Chronicle of the Slavs* from the second half of the twelfth century as *Vinneta*, but also as *Iumneta*. His comments are strongly based on Adam of Bremen, and here the form in *-eta* represents a Latinization to him].

When discussing the form *Jumneta*, it can therefore be noted that we are dealing with a younger variant, which was most likely derived from the forms *Iumne*, *Jumne*. This also applies for *Vineta*, see below (paragraph 7).

4. *Liuilni*

The variant *Liuilni* only occurs in the tradition of Thietmar of Merseburg. Petrulevich (2009: 91) associates *Livilni* with *Wulinensis civitas*, *Willin*, *Julin*, *Wolyn*, *Wolin*, *Volin*. However, this is most questionable since the forms *Wolyn*, *Wolin*, and *Volin* represent considerably younger forms and *Julin* is not relevant for the investigation. I will refer to *Willin* and *Wulin* in the next paragraph. For the forms *Livilni*, *Liuilni*, I am of the opinion that they are more likely to be due to an incorrect division and reading of the minims. Besides the initial letter *L*, the name form *Liuilni* consists of eight (!) adjoining minims, which results in something like this: *LIIIIIIII*. One has to be brave when trying to present a definite reading of it. From my point of view, *Liuilni* represents a single reading which therefore must be disregarded as a relevant variant in the etymological discussion. This is also supported by the fact that it represents the only example with initial *L*.

in plurima interitum legenti uel audi...i facta ab
 antecessoribus ur̄is. que tum sui magnitudine. tum ecclesie
 huius necessitate uideantur digna relatu. S; qm̄ rerū
 memoria latet. et pontificū loci hystoria n̄ ē relicta
 litteris. fortasse dixerit aliquis. ut nichil eos dignum
 memoria fecisse in diebus suis. aut si fecerunt quippiam.
 scriptorū qui hoc posteris traderent. diligentia caru

Fig. 1. Illustration taken from a copy of Puhle, Matthias (ed.): *Otto der Große. Magdeburg und Europa*, Bd. II. Katalog, Mainz 2001: 8.

5. *Velin, Wilin*

The spelling variants *Wilin* and *Velin* cause particular difficulties (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 88–89). Due to their spelling, these recorded forms can hardly be used to explain the place name *Junne*. Petrulevich (2009: 75–76) comes to a similar conclusion: “I would rather agree with Lehr-Spławiński [...] that *Julin* is most likely a spelling variant (compare the variants of the place name *Wolin* from the decree of Pope Calixtus II, cited by Ekkehard of Aura: *Vulin, Wilin, Ulin*) [...], which became widespread owing to popular etymology”.

Subsequently, the forms *Wilin* and *Velin* represent only occasional examples which should hardly be considered in this investigation.

6. *Vimne, Uimne*

Spelling variants such as *Uimne, Uimnem* are only recorded in the tradition of Adam of Bremen; see Tab. 1. When discussing these records, one has to bear in mind that the original text of Adam of Bremen is unknown and only available in copies. Anyone familiar with these texts knows how difficult it is to read them without mistakes. This is exemplified by the following excerpt (Fig. 1).

It is obviously very difficult to separate the letters *i, n, u, m, t* and even *l* from each other in the words *magnitudine* (second line, antepenultimate word), *dignum* (last word of the fifth line) or *diligentia* (last line, penultimate word).

In my opinion, this difficulty causes the diverse spellings such as *Jumne*, *vimne* with alternative forms: *iumne*, *uimne*. This variation is most likely explained by the fact that the handwritten manuscripts showed several minims side by side, which may have represented the letters *u*, *i*, *m* or *n*. It appears that the reading of these letters must have led to different results. Therefore, I think the readings for *Uimne* must be variants of *Jumne*, this being the only form — and I will explain this later — for which a reliable etymology can be established.

7. *Vin(n)eta*

In the German-speaking countries, the most popular form of the currently disputed place name is *Vineta*, which has become a synonym for a lost city engulfed by the sea. Nowadays, the name is mainly apparent in northern Germany, for example as part of the name of the Vineta Festival, in names of discos, transport companies, and hotels, and even a student corporation ('Burschenschaft') in Heidelberg bears this name. However, as Laur (2005: 15) rightly points out, the famous place name being used in connection with the legend of the sunken city neither originates in Helmold nor in any work by Kantzow, the German historian and annalist; it is only the form of the name *Vin(n)eta*, and not the legend, that can be found in these authors' works.

However, this form represents a younger formation and is almost certainly without significance for the etymology of the place name in question. Bach (1953: 26) commented briefly that the spelling *Vineta* "beruht auf einer falschen Lesung oder einem Schreibfehler für *Jumneta* [is based on a misreading or scribal error for *Jumneta*]".

The variant *Vineta* can only be encountered in the manuscripts of Helmold of Bosau. However, it is advisable to examine all the different spellings found in the edition (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, Vol 32, Hannover 1937: 8): *Iumneta*, *iun̄ta* (*iumenta*), *ūineta* (*vinneta*), *niniueta*, *Innuueta*, *Vinneta*.

Laur (2005: 15) commented on this:

[Helmold stützt] sich deutlich auf Adam von Bremen, wobei die Form auf *-eta* bei ihm eine Latinisierung darstellt, *Vinneta* statt *Jumneta* fasst man meist als eine Verlesung oder Verschreibung auf [Helmold is strongly based on Adam of

Bremen, and here the form in *-eta* is a Latinization to him, *Vinneta* instead of *Jumneta* is mainly considered a misreading or a slip of the pen].

Moreover, Laur tried to find a reason for the initial letter *V*-:

Wir können uns aber auch fragen, ob das *V* als Anfangsbuchstabe in Helmolds Original, das wir ja nicht kennen, oder der späteren Handschrift, auf die wir uns stützen, nicht nur eine Verlesung oder Verschreibung darstellt, sondern aus der hier gebrauchten Form des Volksnamens *Winithi*, d.h. 'Wenden', stammt, in deren Bereich die Stadt ja lag. [But we can also ask ourselves whether the *V* as an initial letter in Helmold's original, which we of course do not have, or in the younger manuscript, which we are relying on, does not just represent a misreading or a slip of the pen, but rather derives from the form of the tribal name *Winithi*, i.e. the 'Wends', which is also used in the manuscript and in whose territory the city was after all located.]

It will not be possible to find a final answer to this problem. For the current investigation, it is important that the variants *Vinneta*, *Vin(n)eta* and others are not relevant for the etymological analysis of this difficult name.

8. *Wollin, Wolin*

Petrulevich (2009: 94) provides a comprehensive and detailed list of the forms of *Wollin, Wolin*. See her for the full references. The variation may be listed in the following manner according to year of sources:

1175 *Wolyn*
 1184 *Wolin*
 1188 *Wolyn*
 before 1223 *Velen (Weylen, Wyelen, Welen, Velyen, Vyetun)*
 1195 *Wolyn*
 1195 *Wolin*
 1216 *Volin*
 1217 *Wolin*
 1232 *Wolin*
 1240 *Woldin*
 1243 *Wolyn*
 1243 *Woldin*
 1260 *Wolin*
 1263 *Wolin*
 1265 *Wolin*

1270 *Wolin*
 1277 *Wolin*
 1279 *Wolyn*
 1279 *Wolyn*
 1280 *Wolin*
 1283 *Wolin*
 1286 *Wolin*
 1288 *Wolin*
 1288 *Wolin, Wolyn*
 1293 *Wollin*
 1294 *Wolin*
 1295 *Wolin*

It is not definite whether the *Welen*, *Welyn*- forms should be included here. *Wolin* is not only the name that has been used for the town until today, it also represents the oldest surviving form handed down to us. It was mentioned as *Vuloini* (habitant name) by Widukind of Corvey back in c. 970.

According to the majority of scholars, *Wolin* is seen as a Slavic name. Considering the Slavic settlements on the islands Wollin, Usedom, and Rügen, and also on the mainland at the mouth of the Oder estuary, this is hardly a surprising assumption. Therefore, the repeated occurrence of forms such as *Wolin* in texts or manuscripts written by German annalists is also not surprising.

Ever since the earliest discussions, the place name *Wolin*, *Wollin* has been connected with *Volyn*, *Wolhynien* [*Volhynia*] (Buttmann 1856: 122). However, the etymology of the name has long been disputed:

- a) A connection with the Slavic word *wol* with the meaning 'Ochse [ox]' was suggested by Buttmann (1856: 122).
- b) According to Rospond (1965: 35; and similarly in Rospond 1979: 305–07 and Rospond 1984: 435), it is most likely that *Wolin* derives from **Ol-ьно* with a root *ol-*, Indo-European **el-/ol-* 'water, damp', but in the current case with a prosthetic *w-* to a root **vəl-, vel-, vol-* 'dampness, wetness, liquidity, water'. However, since from an Indo-European perspective it is not possible to combine **uīl-, *uel-, *uol-* in any ablaut (gradational form), this explanation is not convincing.
- c) A different suggestion was made by Rudnicki (1961: 230). He proposes an old ablaut in the forms *Wolin* ~ (*J*)*ulin* and refers to analogue examples such as *Wonieść* : **Unieść*, *Ulin(ia)* : *Wolin(ia)*,

Wolica : *Ulica* (Rudnicki 1936: 67–73). Yet, it is again impossible to unite this approach with the Indo-European ablaut system and its development in the Slavic languages.

- d) Another approach was used by Lehr-Spławiński (1933–34) and again by Rudnicki (1936: 67–73). They assume a relationship between the name and the shape of the island and suggest Slavic **ovel-* ‘oval, egg-shaped’. However, this view is not convincing at all.
- e) The comparison of a place name with parallel name variants, which represents a basic principle in the field of onomastics, supports the idea of a derivation from a Slavic personal name. A base form **Volynjb*, composed of a personal name *Volynb* and a possessive adjective ending, has long been considered. This approach corresponds with the Slavic form *vol-* ‘wollen [want]’ (Lorentz 1964: 139). The proposal made by Trautmann (1948: 95) is even more convincing. He suggests a derivation with *-in-* from a name *Wola*, which represents a short form of the Slavic personal name *Wolimir* (or similar). This view has generally been accepted by different scholars (see Laur 2005: 14).

A comparison with parallel name variants supports this interpretation:

1. The Polish place name *Wołyń* has been analysed in the same way, namely from an old form **Wolin* as a short form of a dithematic such as *Wolimir* (Trautmann 1948: 95; Jeżowa 1961: 43; also approvingly Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 88–89)
2. *Wollin* near Prenzlau, recorded in 1321 *Wollin*, 1354 *Wolyn*, 1472 *Wallin* etc. (Wauer 1996: 261–62)
3. Another place name *Wollin* (district of Uecker-Randow), recorded by Trautmann (1948: 95) as 1354 *Wolyn*, must rather be disregarded here, because since 1240 several records show the form *Woldin* (Niemeyer 2003: 82–83).
4. *Wollin* on the island of Rügen, 1284 *Wolin*, 1318 *Wollyn*, 1507 *Wollin* (Trautmann 1948: 95; Jeżowa 1961: 28).
5. Further name examples are given by Niemeyer (2003: 83).

Due to the numerous different records with *-i-* and *-y-* (*Wolin*, *Wolyn*), it remains debatable whether it is possible to come to the same conclusion as Petrulevich (2009: 74): “It is also suggested that two different forms can be distinguished, one for the island and one for the town of Wolin: **Vol-yn* and **Vol-in*, respectively (Rudnicki 1936, pp. 70 f.)”.

I am afraid I cannot agree with Rudnicki here: The forms *Wolin* and *Wolyn* are solely different graphic versions of the same place name, the old **Wolin*, as opposed to *Volyn/Volhynia* which denotes the name of a region. Moreover, the latter contains the suffix *-yn* which is generally used to form appellatives and names (Dickenmann 1978 and its review by Udolph 1979), and consequently, is not analogous with the name of the island, *Wol(l)in*.

9. *Jóm, Jómsborg*

At this point, we have almost finished the analysis of all the different place name forms. The last variant to discuss, *Jómsborg*, is mainly apparent in Scandinavian sources. Petrulevich (2009: 91–96) provides an excellent summary of the relevant records with full references. They may be listed as follows:

- 1043 *at Jómi*
- c. 1190 *Jómsborg*
- c. 1190 *iómsborg*
- c. 1200 *at Jómi*
- c. 1200 *at Iome, Iomsborgh*
- c. 1200 *Jómsborg, at Jómi*
- 13th cent. *Jómsborg*
- c. 1230 *Jómsborg, at Jómi*
- c. 1260–70 *Jómsborg*
- c. 1270–1300 *at Jómi, Jómsborg*
- 14th cent. *a Jome, af Jomnilath Jomune, Jomsborg*

Traditionally, these variants are viewed as Old Norse name formations. Laur (2005: 14) states:

Die nordgerm. Form *Jomsborg* ist entsprechend dem Ortsnamenpaar slav. *Kammin* (slav. *kamen* „Stein“) – nordgerm. *Steinborg* gebildet. Die Form mit dem Grundwort *borg* = „Burg, Stadt“ stellt dabei eine altnordische Namensbildung für städtische und stadähnliche Siedlungen dar, wie etwa *Bursta-borg* für *Stettin* mit der Übersetzung hier auch des Bestimmungswortes oder *Aldeigjuborg* für *Alt-Ladoga* [The North Germanic form *Jomsborg* is constructed in accordance with the place name pair Slavic *Kammin* (Slavic *kamen* ‘stone’) – North Germanic *Steinborg*. The form of the base word *borg* = ‘castle, town’ represents an Old Norse name formation for urban and

town-like settlements, like, for example, *Burstaborg* for *Szczecin/Stettin* (here with a translation of the determiner) or *Aldeigjuborg* for *Staraya Ladoga/Alt-Ladoga*. (Slavic *szczęć* means 'bristly reed' and Scandinavian *burst* means 'bristle, stiff hair; roof ridge' (Petrulevic 2013: 168).)

Schmidt (2000: 120) expresses a similar view: "So wie das nord. *Steinborg* dem slaw. *Kammin* entspricht – ein anderes Beispiel ist *Burstaborg* = *Stettin*, so das nord. *Jomsborg* dem slaw. *Julin* [Just as Norse *Steinborg* corresponds to Slavic *Kammin* – another example is *Burstaborg* = *Szczecin/Stettin*, and similarly the Norse *Jomsborg* for Slavic *Julin*]".

In my opinion, Laur is absolutely right when referring to the inter-relationship of the languages that are responsible for the existence of these name variants. Thus, at this point, it seems necessary to quote Laur (2005: 22) once again:

Ein Beispiel dafür in unserem Zusammenhang stellen *Jóm* und *Jónsborg* mit der Hinzufügung des *eigensprachlichen* Grundwortes *borg* = „Burg“ im Altwestnordischen oder *Jumne* im Altdänischen zu wohl **Jum(i)na* für Wollin dar. Ein weiteres wäre in ähnlicher Weise *Aldeigja* beziehungsweise *Aldeigjuborg* für finn. **Alodejoki* oder *Aaldo-kas* für *Alt-Ladoga*. Bei Übernahmen solcher Art können wir ferner volksetymologische Umdeutungen beobachten, die den ursprünglich fremdsprachlichen Ortsnamen das Aussehen von eigensprachlichen verleihen. [In this context, *Jóm* and *Jónsborg* provide an example of the addition of the native base word *borg* = 'castle' in Old West Norse or *Jumne* in Old Danish to a probable **Jum(i)na* for Wollin. Another similar case would be *Aldeigja* or *Aldeigjuborg* for Finnish **Alodejoki* or *Aaldo-kas* for *Staraya Ladoga/Alt-Ladoga*. With acquisitions of this kind we can also observe folk-etymological interpretations that give the originally foreign-language place names the appearance of being native.]

The addition of the North Germanic element *-borg* is not only apparent in *Jónsborg*, *Steinborg* (for *Kammin*), *Burstaborg* (for *Szczecin/Stettin*) and *Aldeigjuborg* (for *Staraya Ladoga/Alt-Ladoga*), but also in Russian place names such as *Izborsk* and *Álaborg* (Schramm 2002: 263, 316) as well as in *Jórsalaborg* (for Jerusalem) (Petrulevich 2009: 67). In the discussion of the forms *Aldeigja* and *Aldeigjuborg* for *Alt-Ladoga*, Schramm's position (2002: 263) has to be mentioned. He considers it a mistake that researchers prefer the Scandinavian compound in contrast to the earlier testified simplex.

As mentioned earlier, the traditional view used to be to regard the form *Jónsborg* as a "Scandinavization" of the continental form *Jumne* or the

like. This view has now been criticized by Petrulevich (2009) who also provides a new approach to this problem. She attaches more importance to the forms including the vowel *-o-* such as *Jóm* and *Jómsborg* as opposed to the *-u-* forms such as *Junne*, *Jumine* etc. She points out: "Naturally, the form *Jómsborg* is much more frequent than *at Jómi*" (Petrulevich 2009: 68).

In the following passage, I will try to give an account of her ideas.

Petrulevich (2009: 71) explains: "If it were accepted that *Junne* was the base form, it would not be possible to derive the form *Jómsborg* from it without forcing the linguistic evidence [...] I would like to add that a derivation in the other direction, i.e. of *Junne* from the forms *at Jónil* *Jómsborg*, is also rather problematic, since there is no plausible explanation for where an extra nasal *-n-* comes from. Third, I cannot agree that the original root vowel of the forms *at Jómi* and *Junne* was *u*".

Several pages later, Petrulevich (2009: 80) complements her opinion by saying: "In my view, the forms *at Jómi* and *Junne* share the same root: *at Jómi* is primary, and *Junne*, which has a suffix *-n-*, secondary".

For the etymological analysis, she assumes the place name to be Slavic in origin and agrees with both Hennig (1935: 92–94) and Rudnicki (1936: 90) "that the toponym *at Jómi* might be derived from the Slavic *jama* f., 'pitch; ditch'" (Petrulevich 2009: 82). In the first instance, there is nothing to be said against this theory.

The appellative is certainly well-attested in the Slavic toponymy. It is found throughout the territories settled by Slavs, for example *Jama*, *Jamka*, *Jamna*, *Jamno*, *Jamy* etc. (Petrulevich 2009: 82–83).

However, how should one explain the vowel *-o-* in the Scandinavian forms? Petrulevich (2009: 83) refers to the Pomeranian language in which we encounter the forms *jama* as well as *joma*. With this approach, she relies on Lorentz who is an excellent scholar in this field of language. Consequently, Petrulevich considers the Scandinavian records with the vowel *-o-* as the reflex of the Polabian equivalent to Slavic *jama*.

Concerning the change between *Jum-* and *Jon-* in the names such as *Junne*, *Wolin* and others, Petrulevich (2009: 83) mentions the variants of the place name *Rome* attested in northern sources where we can find *Róm* and *Róma* as well as *Rúm*.

Petrulevich (2009: 83) provides a straightforward conclusion: "It seems possible that the Slavic toponym **Joma* f. was borrowed into Old Norse as **Jóm* (and, possibly, **Júm*) neut., according to the pattern *Róma* f. > *Róm*, *Rúm* neut."

On the basis of this assumption, the following conclusion for *Jumne* can be drawn: The place name is based on a typical Slavic formation with the suffix **-ьn-* as in *Brzeźno*, *Górne*, *Chłodne* and others (discussed in detail by Borek (1968)), thus, finally, Slavic **Jamьno*, **Jamьne* (Petrulevich 2009: 84).

In the following paragraph, I will present my personal opinion about this theory. I have analysed the issue concerning Slavic *jama* and Polabian *jəma* very carefully, and unfortunately, from a Slavic point of view, I have to remark that it is not possible to explain a formation of *Jóm sborg* and *Jóm* from Polabian. I would like to give reasons for this:

When considering Pomeranian and Polish place names which are based on Slavic *jama*, it can be observed that older records — and this is important here (I will refer to younger records later) — show no *-o-* vowel at all.

Trautmann (1950: 69) gives the following examples of place names which he traces back to **Jamno*:

- 1) *Jamene*, as mentioned in 1292, 1406 *Jamen*, now deserted site near Federow (Mecklenburg)
- 2) *Jahmen* near Güstrow, 1235 *Jamin*, 1314 *Jamene*
- 3) *Jamund* near Köslin/Koszalin, until 1945 the German name of today's Polish site *Jamno*, old records supplied by Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma (1985: 199) 1227 *Jamre* (!; most likely a misprinting or scribal error) 1278 *Jamene*, 1279 *Jamene*, 1300 *Jamen*, *Gamen*, 1313 *Jamele*, 1507 *Yament*, 1780 *Iarmund*. The evidence and analyses in the collective work NMP (Nazwy miejscowe Polski) 5. (2003: 49) should also be compared.

Further examples that belong to Slavic *jama* can be found in NMP 5, p. 50:

- 4) *Jamno* near Płock, 1292 (copy 1603) *Jamno*, 1381 (copy eighteenth century) *Jamno*, 1404 (copy sixteenth century) *Iamno*, see also Borek (1968: 88).
- 5) *Janno* near Łowicz, 1297 *Janno*, 1375 (copy 1511–12) *Janno* etc.
- 6) *Jamno*, until 1945 German *Jamen*, near Bytowo, 1178 *Das Gebiet von Jamen*, 1283 (copy 1303) *Jamno*, 1308 *Jamen*, etc., see also Trautmann (1949: 9), Belchnerowska (1992: 64–65).

From these examples it is evident that the development of Slavic *-a-* into *-o-* cannot be observed in Polabian place names. There is a simple reason for this. The change into *-o-* is a rather young development, which has

been discussed in detail by Lorentz (1925: 36). From Lorentz's description of the phenomenon, we can conclude that in the Pomeranian language a widespread transformation from older *-a-* into *-o-* has indeed occurred. Yet, how old is this sound change? Since when can we observe this development? Lorentz (1925: 36) discusses the dating and makes it clear,

- 1) that *-a-* was still used in the fourteenth century in the Pomeranian dialect as well as in the rest of the West Slavic territories;
- 2) that the change into *-o-* can only have happened after this, at the earliest from 1500 onwards;
- 3) that it is impossible to assume Pomeranian influence for the much earlier recorded place names *Jómsborg*, *Jóm* etc.

This view is supported by the study of Vondrák (1924: 21) in which he states: "Der Übergang des \bar{a} in \bar{o} (geschrieben meist \bar{a} , es ist eine Verengung) ... trat jedoch im Polabischen spät ein: *zobo*, *sjot* (vor dem XVII. Jhd. existierte das *o* noch nicht in historischen Dokumenten) [However, the transition of \bar{a} to \bar{o} (mainly written as \bar{a} ; it is a narrowing) ... occurred later in Polabian: *zobo*, *sjot* (before the seventeenth century the *o* did not yet exist in historical documents)]".

My conclusion: I cannot agree with the theory that the Scandinavian forms *Jómsborg* and *Jóm* owe their *-o-* to a Polabian predecessor.

10. Reflections about the forms *Jumne*, *Jumme* etc.

To conclude, I will now — as mentioned earlier — get back to the name variants *Jumne*, *Jumme*, *Juminne* etc. To the very good and detailed summary of the records found in the manuscripts of Adam of Bremen provided by Labuda (see Tab. 1) should the following be added:

1152–1264 *Jomne* (*Historia Norvegiae*, see Petrulevich 2009: 91)

c. 1160 *Iunume* (*Annalista Saxo*, see Laur 2005: 14)

fourteenth century *Iumpne* (*Annales Ludenses*, see Petrulevich 2009: 93)

In a brief remark (Udolph 2005: 219), I suggested an etymology for this name group. Based on the supposition of a base form **Jumina*, I considered dividing the name into **Ju-mina*. The first syllable may be associated with an Indo-European base **jeu-/*jou-/*ju-*, which according to Pokorny (1959: 507, 511) and others is attested in:

- Old Indic *yáuti*, *yuváti* 'vermengt [blended, mixed]', *ud-yôdhati* 'wallt auf (vom Wasser) [to foam, to bubble (of water)]';
- Lithuanian *judra* 'Wirbelwind [whirlwind]';
- Avestan *yaozaiti* 'regt sich auf (vom Wasser, von unruhigen Ländern) [to agitate (of water, of unpeaceful countries)]'.

Pokorny assumes an original meaning 'vermengen, bei der Speisezubereitung [to blend, mix, for food preparation]', initially perhaps in the meaning 'in Bewegung setzen [to set sth. in motion, to bestir, actuate sth.]'.

He adds several appellatives which — in connection with different suffixes — may belong to the current analysis:

- Lithuanian *jaunù*, *joviaũ*, *jaũti* 'heißes Wasser darüber gießen [to pour hot water over sth.]';
- Albanian (Gheg) *gjanë* 'Schmutz, Teich, Schwemme [dirt/mud, pond/pool, watering place]'.

Furthermore an extension **jeu-dh-* 'in heftiger Bewegung sein, kämpfen [to be in vigorous motion, to fight]' can be found in:

- Old Indic *ud-yôdhati* 'wallt auf (vom Wasser) [to foam, to bubble (of water)]';
- as well as in Old Iranian **jeug-* 'aufregen, unruhig [to ruffle, agitated]', to this Avestan *yaozaiti* 'regt sich auf (vom Wasser, von unruhigen Ländern) [to agitate (of water, of unpeaceful countries)]'.

In an article (Udolph 2002) about hydronyms of Europe and in a different context, I have mentioned another base form extended with *-n-* and suggested an approach with **jeu-n-/*jou-n-/*ju-n-*. I added names such as *Jonen*, *Jona*, *Jaunbach/La Jogne*, *La Jouanne*, *La Joigne*, *La Jougneaz/La Jogne*, *Junica*, *Jühnde* and *Jauntall/Jaunfeld*, *Jaunstein-Podjuna* to this.

It is now possible to associate the *-n-* in such formations with the Indo-European participle system. This was done for the first time by Schmid (1994), who also frequently emphasized it. It can be illustrated as in Tab. 2.

With this it is now possible to regard such *-n-* formations as in *Jonen*, *Jona*, *Jaun* originally as participle constructions from a root **jeu*. We can thus connect the approach **Ju-mina* to this.

Schmid (1994, 167–74) has treated corresponding formations at length

Tab. 2. The Indo-European Participle System according to Schmid 1994: 131.

Aktiv	Medium
Präs. -nt- (bariand-, ferent-)	-menol-mono (alumnus, femina)
Perf. -ues-/uos-/us- bēr-us-jōs „Eltern“	-to/-no- sta-tu-s, salbō-p-s

in a different context, but his thoughts have hardly been picked up on. On the basis of river names such as *Limona*, *Limene*, and *Lac Léman* (Lake Geneva), numerous names can be added. Here is a small number of selected examples:

Akmena in Lithuania (Schmid 1994: 167); *Almana*, tributary to the river Lippe (North Rhine-Westphalia), 1075 *Almana* (Schmid 1994: 131; Schmidt 1967: 2, 11–13); *Alme*, tributary to the river Exter, 1359 *Almina* (Schmid 1967: 12); *Almana* (city along the river Axios); *Almenas* district Utena in Lithuania; *Aumance* in France, < *Almantia* (Schmid 1994: 167); *Almstedt*, place name near Hildesheim, 1151 in *Almenstad*; *Almenstide* etc., located along the river *Alme*, probably developed from **Almana* (Kettner 1972: 13); *Blume*, place name near Hann. Münden, 1329 *Blomena*, 1333 *Blomena* etc. (for details refer to the NOB 4: 55); place name *Salzelmen*, 1124 *Elmen*, 1221 in *villa Elmene*, appears to contain a hydronym, tributary to the river Elbe (Bily 1996: 160); *Falmana*; *Fulmana*; **Galmina*; *Germania*, place name in Thrace, derived from a hydronym **Germana(s)* (Duridanov 1969: 23); *Germona*, hydronym in Lithuania (Duridanov 1969: 23; Vanagas 1981: 113); *Glimina*; **Helmana* in *Helme*, left tributary to the river Unstrut, with *Helmegau*, 749 *Helmana* and so on (Walther 1971: 237); *Ilm*, left tributary to the river Saale, with place names *Ilmenau*, *Dorfilm*, *Stadtilm*, 1114 in *villa ... Ilmine*, 1341 *Ylmena* (Walther 1971: 237); *Ilmenau*, feeder river of the Elbe, < **Elmanal-ina*; *Ilse*, right tributary to the river Oker, with place name *Ilsenburg*, 995 *Elsina*, 1003 *Ilsina* (Walther 1971: 237); **Imina* > *Ilme* (in Hanover) (more detailed NOB 1: 231); *Limene*, *Limonia*, *Lac Léman*, and further names (Schmid 1994: 167); *Swalmana*; *Swulmana*; *Warmana* > *Warmenau*; *Wermana*; *Wulmana*.

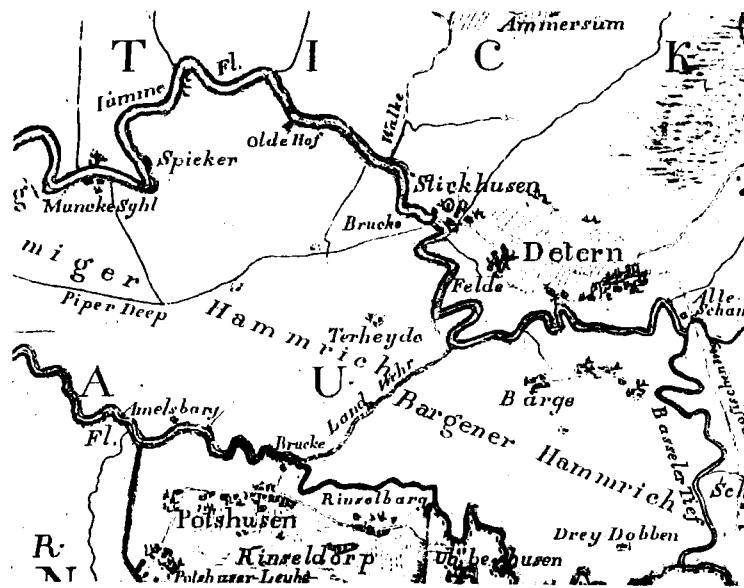


Fig. 2. *Jümme*, name of river in Eastern Friesland, top left on map (Fiks 2010: 12).

For further information on these names, historical evidence, the discussion about their origin, and other additional details compare the contributions of Greule (2004) (though he did not consider the possibility of a participle construction), Krahe (1957), Schmidt (1970: 11–13), and Udolph (2004: 146–52).

These numerous name examples, which are clearly derived from a formation with an ablaut suffix *-meno-/mono-*, open up the already mentioned possibility to add *Jümne*, *Junme*, **Jumna* as a corresponding formation to this and to assume an original form **Jumina* or **Jumana*.

The basic meaning of the root **jeu-* can be considered as ‘fließen, in Bewegung setzen [to flow, to set in motion]’ or the like. Due to this and in reference to the island as being surrounded by waterways, a basic meaning for *Jümne* = *Wol(l)in* as ‘umflossen, umspült [washed by, surrounded]’ might be proposed.

In order to verify this view, another hydronym, which has not been discussed in this context yet, can be consulted, namely *Jümme*, a river in Eastern Friesland and nowadays also a name of a borough, which is recorded in a map from 1806 (Fig. 2).

Although being sceptical, Remmers (2004: 118) connected this river

name with Old High German *gumpito* 'Pfuhl, Teich [pool, pond]', but his suggestion remains very uncertain. It is far more convincing to connect the river name with *Junne/Wollin* and to assume the word **Junina* in the East Frisian *Jümme*. This would also serve as an explanation for the umlaut. Upon my suggestion, this view was also included in the internet article by Norbert Fiks "Wie die Jümme zu ihrem Namen kam" (2010). However, this article points to the considerable problem that the river only appears for the first time on the map shown above, namely at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Can we then venture to suppose an old approach with an Indo-European suffix? I shall leave this question unanswered. However, due to the resemblance to the forms of *Junne/Wollin*, it is very tempting to explain the two names together. At any rate, we can certainly not just omit the East Frisian name.

I will now come to the last point of this article. Which root vowel should be assumed for the analysis of the etymology of the name variants *Junne*, *Jumme*, *Jóm*, *Jómsborg*, and so on? Traditionally, the *-u-* forms were preferred, and I agree with this choice. Another theory was presented by Petrulevich (2009: 71): "If it were accepted that *Junne* was the base form, it would not be possible to derive the form *Jómsborg* from it without forcing the linguistic evidence [...] I would like to add that a derivation in the other direction, i.e. of *Junne* from the forms *at Jómi/Jómsborg*, is also rather problematic, since there is no plausible explanation for where an extra nasal *-n-* comes from. Third, I cannot agree that the original root vowel of the forms *at Jómi* and *Junne* was *u*." And she concludes: "In my view, the forms *at Jómi* and *Junne* share the same root: *at Jómi* is primary, and *Junne*, which has a suffix *-n-*, secondary." (Petrulevich 2009: 80)

I have traced this approach once again, and I think to have found arguments for the assumption that the Scandinavian *-o-* forms may possibly go back to old Slavonic contacts. Equivalent examples can be found in the loanwords between Slavic and Germanic languages.

One of the most important cases is the generally acknowledged borrowing of Slavic *duma* 'Rat, Gedanke, Absicht; episches Volkslied [advice, thought/idea, aim/intention; epic folk song]' from Gothic *dōms* 'Urteil [verdict]' or from Proto-Germanic **dōmaz* (Kiparsky 1934: 171–73). Concerning the discussion of this borrowing, Kiparsky (1934: 172) states:

Got. *ō* und urgerm. *ō* haben stets slavisch *u* ... gegeben, weil das heutige slav. *u* noch in urruss. Zeit (etwa um 900) denselben Lautwert wie das germ. *ō* gehabt hatte (die Ostseefinnen, die sowohl *ū* wie *ō* hatten, wählten zur Wiedergabe des

uruss. **u* ihr *ō*: wot. *kōmina* > **gumьno*, weps. *kōma* < *kumь* ... und ebenso taten die Letten, wenn sie slav. *duma* durch *dūoma* < **dōma* wiedergaben) [Gothic *ō* and Proto-Germanic *ō* have also given Slavic *u*, because today's Slavic *u* at the time of Proto-Russian (c. 900) still had the same sound as Germanic *ō* (the Baltic Finns, who had both *ū* and *ō*, chose to reproduce Proto-Russian **u* with their *ō*: Votic *kōmina* > **gumьno*, Veps *kōma* < *kumь* ... and the Letts did likewise when they reproduced Slavic *duma* as *dūoma* < **dōma*)].

Regarding the change between *Jum-* and *Jóm-* in the names of *Junne*, *Wolin* and others, Petrulevich (2009: 83) refers to the name variants *Róm*, *Róma* as well as *Rúm* of the place name *Rome*, which can be found in Nordic sources. For this, the following remarks by Stender-Petersen (1927: 484) are important: Borrowings such as Gothic *Rūmōneis* for Latin *Rōmāni* support the idea that

der urgerm. Vokal *ō* [...] so offen gewesen sein wird (etwa *ā*), dass der Römer es mit seinem *ā*, der Germane dieses röm. *ā* mit seinem *ō* = *ā* identifizieren konnte. Andererseits finden wir eine Bestätigung für diese Annahme in der Tatsache, dass dem Germanen das lat. *ō* so geschlossen erschien, dass er es mit seinem *ū* (vgl. lat. *Rōma* > germ. *Rūma*) wiedergeben konnte [the Proto-Germanic vowel *ō* [...] had become so open (approximately *ā*), that the Romans could identify it as their *ā*, the Germans could identify this Romance *ā* as their *ō* = *ā*. On the other hand, we find confirmation of this assumption in the fact that the Latin *ō* seemed so closed to the Germans that they could reproduce it using their *ū* (cf. Latin *Rōma* > Germanic *Rūma*)].

Stender-Petersen says further: "Im Gotischen ist das urgerm. *ō* kein offener Laut mehr, sondern ein geschlossener, dem *ū* nahestehender Laut, der oft mit diesem verwechselt wurde [In Gothic, the Proto-Germanic *ō* is not an open sound any longer, but rather a closed one, similar to the *ū* sound, with which it was often confused]".

The mutual mixing of Germanic *ō* and *ū* is also evident in another passage by Stender-Petersen (1927: 485) when he mentions that the equivalent for Gothic *ō*, *ū*, is not *y* anymore (in an earlier period), but later rather *u*: Gothic *bōks*, *bōka* > Slavic *bukь*, *buky*; Gothic **plōgs* > Slavic *plugь*; Gothic *Rūma*, *rūnisks* > Slavic *Rumь*, *rumьskь*.

From these observations I think we can conclude that, for the Nordic variants *Jómsborg*, *Jóm*, the same linguistic phenomenon has occurred in the reverse direction that is to say the Slavic *-u-* in *Junne*, **Jumina*, **Jumna* was perceived as the vowel *-o-* by the North Germanic peoples.

For this reason — and with this I want to finish — this approach also

supports the supposition that the difficult name *Jumne*, **Jumina*, **Jumna* consists of a -*u*- vowel in the root syllable. This theory can also be verified by the etymology, which in the approach **Ju-mina*, **Ju-mana* considers a suffix that is attested in the Indo-European participle system. In my opinion, this idea represents a not entirely convincing base form, yet still an acceptable one. After all, the explanation of the place name still remains just as difficult as the quest for the original great city or even greatest city, as some chroniclers thought.

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Summary

The place name *Jómsborg* including its variants appears exclusively in Norse, i.e. Old North Germanic sources. On the contrary, on the Continent the variants *Vineta*, *Jumne*, *Julin*, *Junneta*, *Vimne*, *Uimne*, *Juminem*, *Julinum*, *Uineta*, *at Jóni* and *Vinneta* are to be found. It is generally understood that these place names denote the island *Wollin*, Polish *Wolin*. The basic problem of onomastics is to ascribe these very diverse forms to one basic form. One has to conclude that this is not possible. Partially, the forms derive from spelling and reading variants. Also, *Jumne*, *Julin* etc. cannot be combined with the apparently Slavic place name *Wolin*.

In my opinion, the only possibility for a reasonable explanation of the most probable form *Jumne* is a comparison to the East Frisian river name *Jümme*. Both forms can most likely be ascribed to an Indo-European basic form **Jumina* or **Jumana*. In this case, an archaic participial construction with the suffix *-meno-/mono-* is present. The basis can be seen in the Indo-European root **jeu-* with the basic meaning "to flow, to set in motion". If the old evidence refers to *Wol(l)in* — and this is not certain — one could assume a basis "flowed around, bathed by water".

Still, one has to stress that this interpretation is not definite.

Keywords: Etymology, *Jumne*, *Vineta*, *Wollin*, *Jómsborg*, *Jümme*

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Comments on Jürgen Udolph's Paper

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The etymology of *Jómsborg* is a difficult and intricate issue due to above all the heterogeneity of the available place-name evidence. A lot of effort has been made to suggest a well-argued, convincing etymology of the place-name in question and to clarify the links between the different place-name forms attested in the sources, although there is still no consensus on the matter. The conference has provided a chance to discuss the general difficulties in dealing with *Jómsborg* and its etymology as well as two possible hypotheses regarding the place-name's origin, i.e. the etymologies suggested by Prof. Jürgen Udolph and me. Due to the limitations of the present format I will only summarize the discussion of the main linguistic issues of the etymological suggestions in question.

In short, Prof. Udolph's idea is that the place-name form *Jumne* is the key form among the diversity of the attested relevant place-name material. This form is to be derived from **Ju-mina*, a participial form from the Indo-European root **ǵeu-/*ǵou-/*ǵu-*, see Prof. Udolph's paper in this volume p. 200ff. for details.

Two weak points of this hypothesis were discussed at the conference. The first one concerns the evidence that Prof. Udolph's etymological suggestion is based on. The prioritization of the form *Jumne* which represents the core of this etymology, needs an explanation taking into consideration the first attestation of this place-name, *at Jóni*, from 1043. It is difficult to postulate a uniform etymology for both *Jumne* and *at Jóni/Jómsborg* without explaining the absence of a nasal *-n-* in Scandinavian forms. The second issue concerns vowel length. The participle form **Jumina* contains a short root vowel and is contradicted by the forms *at Jóni* and *Jómsborg* containing long root vowels.

My etymological suggestion can in short be summarized in the following way. The place-name *Jómsborg* is to be derived from the Slavic *jama* 'pit; ditch'. The place-names *at Jóni* and *Jumne* were formed from two

corresponding Slavic forms, **Jama* and **Jamne*. The existence of such parallel forms in Slavic onomastic material is well attested; see Petrulevich 2009 p. 82 ff. for more details.

The weak spot of the hypothesis turned out to be the explanation of the development which led to a change of a root vowel *a* in the Slavic place-names to a root vowel *o* in the corresponding Scandinavian forms. In my paper from 2009 I have suggested that the Scandinavian *o*-forms are based on the corresponding *o*-forms in Pomeranian, i.e. the development of *a* to *o* in Pomeranian was placed before the year 1043. As Prof. Udolph has pointed out the development in question is of a much later date and cannot be used to account for the change of the root vowel from *a* to *o* in this case.

My response to Prof. Udolph's criticism is a modification of the etymological suggestion from 2009. The change of the root vowel is explained by phonological adaptation which in most cases accompanies place-name replication or loan. In this case the root vowel *a* is adapted as an *o* in the same way as e.g. Basel, cf. the form *Basula* from 870, which is attested as *Boslaraborg* in *Leiðarvísir og borgarskipan* by the Icelandic abbot Níkulas of Munkaþverá from the 1150s. I am thus still of the opinion that the *jama*-etymology is the most convincing one, since it allows us to account for several issues including the relation between the Scandinavian forms *at Jómil/Jómsborg* and the German form *Junne*. I hope to be able to present the final variant of the etymological suggestion in my doctoral thesis.

The general conclusion of the conference discussion is that there is still further work to be done on the subject.

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